

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES*

JOHN ALBERT WILSON & THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN · *EDITORS*



THE SYSTEM OF  
THE QUADRILITERAL VERB  
IN AKKADIAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS · CHICAGO  
THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY, NEW YORK; THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY  
PRESS, LONDON; THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA,  
KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI; THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED, SHANGHAI

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*BY ALEXANDER HEIDEL*

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES • NO. 13*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

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## PREFACE

The Akkadian quadriliteral verbs represent one of the most unexplored phenomena of Assyriology. So far only a few observations on their etymology, their meaning, and their conjugation have appeared in print; no comprehensive presentation of their form material and the principles underlying their conjugation has yet been published, even though quadriliteral verbs occur quite frequently in Akkadian literature and offer a number of interesting and important problems of their own. It was for these reasons that I accepted the present subject for my doctoral dissertation when it was suggested to me by Professor Arno Poebel in 1935.

In the preparation of this study I enjoyed the constant guidance and ever ready assistance of Professor Poebel, without which this dissertation would not have assumed its present form; to give adequate credit to Professor Poebel would require mentioning his name on every page. For all his kindness and his unfailing helpfulness I wish to express my sincere thanks. Particular thanks are due also to Assistant Professor F. W. Geers, the late Assistant Professor Arnold Walther, and Dr. I. J. Gelb for helping me with the interpretation of numerous passages involved in this investigation; to Professor John A. Wilson, director of the Oriental Institute, for accepting this thesis for publication in the "Assyriological Studies" series; to Mrs. Erna S. Hallock for examining the manuscript from the

viewpoint of style and for preparing the typescript for reproduction by offset; to Dr. T. George Allen and Mrs. Ruth S. Brookens of the editorial staff for the care which they have bestowed upon the publication of this study; and to my wife for typing the manuscript in its preliminary stages.

A great help in collecting the forms has been afforded me through access to the files of the Assyrian Dictionary project of the Oriental Institute. Much of the material, however, has been collected from texts which are not yet contained in the Dictionary files. It was, of course, not possible to go over every inscription of the vast corpus of Akkadian literature. For that reason there will no doubt be some forms which are known to the reader but which are not registered in my survey in the second chapter. Nevertheless, I am sure that the material there assembled will offer a good picture of the forms which are found in the published texts.

ALEXANDER HEIDEL

CHICAGO  
January, 1940



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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Harper, Robert Francis. Assyrian and Babylonian letters belonging to the Kouyunjik collections of the British Museum (14 vols.; Chicago, 1892-1914).
ADD	Johns, C. H. W. Assyrian deeds and documents recording the transfer of property (4 vols.; Cambridge and London, 1898-1923).
AJSL	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884—).
AKA	Budge, E. A. W., and King, L. W. Annals of the kings of Assyria (London, 1902—).
AMT	Thompson, R. C. Assyrian medical texts from the originals in the British Museum (London, New York, etc., 1923).
AOF	Archiv für Orientforschung III— (Berlin, 1926—).
ASKT	Haupt, Paul. Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum (Leipzig, 1881-82).
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig, 1890-1927).
BAW I and II	Meissner, Bruno. Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch (Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Assyriological studies, Nos. 1 and 4 [Chicago, 1931-32]).
BE	Pennsylvania. University. Babylonian expedition. Series A: Cuneiform texts, ed. by H. V. Hilprecht (Philadelphia, 1893-1914).
BE VIII 1	Clay, A. T. Legal and commercial transactions dated in the Assyrian, neo-Babylonian, and Persian periods, chiefly from Nippur (Philadelphia, 1908).
BE IX	Hilprecht, H. V., and Clay, A. T. Business documents of Murashû sons of Nippur dated in the

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

reign of Artaxerxes I (Philadelphia, 1898).

- BE X                    Clay, A. T. Business documents of Murashû sons of Nippur dated in the reign of Darius II (Philadelphia, 1904).
- BE XV                  Clay, A. T. Documents from the temple archives of Nippur dated in the reigns of Cassite rulers II (Philadelphia, 1906).
- Bezold, Catalogue    Bezold, Carl. Catalogue of the cuneiform tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum (5 vols.; London, 1889-99).
- BIN                    Babylonian inscriptions in the collection of James B. Nies (New Haven, Conn., 1917—).
- BIN I                  Keiser, C. E. Letters and contracts from Erech I (New Haven, Conn., 1917).
- BIN IV                Clay, A. T. Letters and transactions from Cappadocia (New Haven, Conn., 1927).
- BMS                    King, L. W. Babylonian magic and sorcery (London, 1896).
- BRM                    Babylonian records in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan, ed. by A. T. Clay (New York, 1912—).
- BRM IV                Clay, A. T. Epics, hymns, odes, and other texts (New York, 1923).
- CH                    Harper, Robert Francis. The code of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, about 2250 B.C. (Chicago, 1904).
- Chronicles            King, L. W. Chronicles concerning early Babylonian kings (2 vols.; London, 1907).
- CT                    Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets, &c., in the British Museum (London, 1896—).
- DA                    Boissier, Alfred. Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages (Paris, 1894).
- HSS                    Harvard Semitic series (Cambridge, Mass., 1912—).
- HSS V                  Chiera, Edward. Texts of varied contents (Excavations at Nuzi I [Cambridge, Mass., 1929]).
- HSS IX                Pfeiffer, R. H. The archives of Shilwateshub, son of the king (Excavations at Nuzi II [Cambridge, Mass., 1932]).

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- JEN Joint expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi (American Schools of Oriental Research. Publications of the Baghdad School. Texts [Paris, 1927-31; Philadelphia, 1934—]).
- JEN I Chiera, Edward. Inheritance texts (Paris, 1927).
- JEN IV Chiera, Edward. Proceedings in court (Philadelphia, 1934).
- JRAS Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London. Journal (London, 1834—).
- KAH I and II Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. Bd. I hrsg. von L. Messerschmidt; Bd. II hrsg. von O. Schroeder (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, Nos. 16 [Leipzig, 1911] and 37 [Leipzig, 1922]).
- KAR Ebeling, Erich. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, Nos. 28 [Leipzig, 1915-19] and 34 [Leipzig, 1920—]).
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, autographiert von H. H. Figulla, E. F. Weidner, etc. (6 Hefte; 4 Hefte, Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, No. 30 [1916-23]; 2 Hefte, *ibid.* No. 36 [1921]).
- KUB Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1921—).
- LTBA Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen (Berlin, 1933—).
- LTBA I Matouš, Lubor. Gegenstandslisten (Serie HAR-ra = *hubullu*) (Berlin, 1933).
- LTBA II Soden, W. von. Die akkadischen Synonymenlisten (Berlin, 1933).
- Maqlû Tallqvist, Knut L. Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû nach den Originalen im British Museum (Helsingforsiae, 1894).
- Mém. France. Délégation en Perse. Mémoires (Paris, 1900—).

Mém. II, IV, X, XIV	Scheil, J. F. Textes élamites-semitiques (Paris, 1900-13).
Mém. XVIII	Dossin, Georges. Autres textes sumériens et accadiens (Paris, 1927).
Mém. XXII	Scheil, J. F. Actes juridiques susiens I (Paris, 1930).
MVAG	Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, Berlin. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1896-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
OECT	Oxford editions of cuneiform texts (London, 1923—).
OECT III	Driver, G. R. Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty (London, 1924).
OECT VI	Langdon, S. H. Babylonian penitential psalms (London, 1927).
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin, 1898-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
PBS	Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian section (Philadelphia, 1911—).
PBS I 1	Myhrman, David W. Babylonian hymns and prayers (Philadelphia, 1911).
PBS V	Poebel, Arno. Historical and grammatical texts (Philadelphia, 1914).
PBS VII	Ungnad, Arthur. Babylonian letters of the Hammurapi period (Philadelphia, 1915).
PBS XV	Legrain, Leon. Royal inscriptions and fragments from Nippur and Babylon (Philadelphia, 1926).
PEA	Thompson, R. C. The prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, 1927-8 (London, 1931).
Poebel, Studies	Poebel, Arno. Studies in Akkadian grammar (Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Assyriological studies, No. 9 [Chicago, 1939]).
PRTS	Klauber, E. G. Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit (Leipzig, 1913).
PSBA	Society of Biblical Archaeology, London. Proceedings (London, 1878/79-1918).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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- R Rawlinson, Sir Henry. The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia (5 vols.; London, 1861-84; Vol. IV, 2d ed., 1891).
- RA Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884—).
- RT Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris, 1870-1923).
- SBH Reisner, George A. Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit (Berlin, 1896).
- ŠRT Gray, C. D. The Šamaš religious texts (Chicago, 1901).
- STC King, L. W. The seven tablets of creation (2 vols.; London, 1902).
- Strassmaier, Cambyses Strassmaier, J. N. Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon (Babylonische Texte V [Leipzig, 1890]).
- Strassmaier, Darius Strassmaier, J. N. Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (Babylonische Texte VI [Leipzig, 1897]).
- Strassmaier, Nabonidus Strassmaier, J. N. Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (Babylonische Texte I [Leipzig, 1889]).
- Strassmaier, Nabuchodonosor Strassmaier, J. N. Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon (Babylonische Texte II [Leipzig, 1889]).
- Streck, Assurbanipal Streck, Maximilian. Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Nineveh's (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1916).
- TCL Paris. Musée national du Louvre. Textes cunéiformes (Paris, 1910—).
- TCL I Thureau-Dangin, F. Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne (Paris, 1910).
- TCL III Thureau-Dangin, F. Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (Paris, 1912).
- TCL IV Contenau, G. Tablettes cappadociennes (Paris, 1920).

- TCL VI Thureau-Dangin, F. Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du temple d'Amu au temps des Séleucides (Paris, 1922).
- TCL XII and XIII Contenau, G. Contrats néo-babyloniennes I and II (Paris, 1927-29).
- TCL XIX Lewy, Julius. Tablettes cappadociennes. 3. sér., 1. partie (Paris, 1935).
- Thompson, Gilg. Thompson, R. C. The epic of Gilgamesh (Oxford, 1930).
- TMH Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena, im Auftrage der Universität unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen hrsg. von Julius Lewy (Leipzig, 1932—).
- TMH II/III Krückmann, Oluf. Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte (Leipzig, 1933).
- VS Berlin. Königliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (16 vols.; Leipzig, 1907-17).
- Winckler, Sargon Winckler, Hugo. Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1889).
- YOS Yale oriental series. Babylonian texts (New Haven, Conn., 1915—).
- YOS I Clay, A. T. Miscellaneous inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian collection (New Haven, Conn., 1915).
- YOS II Lutz, H. F. Early Babylonian letters from Larsa (New Haven, Conn., 1917).
- YOS III Clay, A. T. Neo-Babylonian letters from Erech (New Haven, Conn., 1919).
- YOS VI Dougherty, R. P. Records from Erech, time of Nabonidus (New Haven, Conn., 1920).
- YOS VII Tremayne, A. Records from Erech, time of Cyrus and Cambyse (New Haven, Conn., 1925).



# SYMBOLS USED

- <      developed from.
- >      developed into.
- \*      preceding a form indicates that the latter is hypothetical but correctly deduced.
- ....   indicate modern omissions from the original text.
- [ ]    inclose restorations.
- [ ]    inclose a sign, or a group of signs, which is partially damaged.
- < >   inclose faulty omissions by the ancient scribe.
- << >> inclose faulty additions by the ancient scribe.
- +      between two sign values denotes a combination of the two signs.
- :
- |      is used in bilingual passages to separate Sumerian from Akkadian.
- |      is used in syllabaries to separate columns.
- '      over a vowel in connected transliteration indicates the main stress of the verb.
- `      over a vowel in connected transliteration indicates a secondary stress (i.e., a weaker second stress preceding or following the main stress).
- or ^ over a vowel indicates length.

Letter-spaced roman represents Sumerian.

Underlined letters, words, and phrases are thus treated for emphasis or clarity.

Capital letters are used

- (1) in cuneiform signs whose phonetic readings in the passages concerned are uncertain or unknown or are intentionally left undecided for the time being by the author.
- (2) in Sumerian writings (so-called "ideograms") in Akkadian text.



## PRELIMINARY REMARKS

One of the most outstanding features of the Semitic languages is that the basic idea of a verb, as e.g. the idea "to sit," or the idea "to go," is conveyed, not by a sound complex consisting of consonants and one or several vowels, as in other languages, but by a complex made up exclusively of consonants. For instance, while in the Indo-European languages the syllabic root *sed* (*set*) is the carrier of the idea "to sit," in the Semitic languages the same idea is connected with the three consonants *utb* (so in Arabic, *uṣb* in Akkadian, *iṣb* in Hebrew, *itb* in Aramaic, and, originally, *usb* in Ethiopic).

The vowels which in the Semitic languages appear between the consonants of the root have nothing whatever to do with the basic idea of the verb but have a function of their own; they express the grammatical ideas of voice and tense. To illustrate, in Arabic the form *qatal(a)*, from the root *qtl*, "to kill," means "he has killed," but *qutil(a)*, from the same root, is passive and means "he has been killed"; *qarah(a)*, from the root *qrḥ*, expresses the active idea "(God) has covered (him) with tumors," while *qariḥ(a)* is intransitive and conveys the idea "he is (or was) covered with tumors." As for the difference of tense expressed by certain vowels, compare e.g. the Akkadian present *uṣapras*, "he causes to separate," with the preterit *uṣapris*, "he caused to separate." This use of the vowels, to express ideas of a grammatical nature, is the second outstanding

feature of the Semitic verb system.

As a rule the root of the Semitic verb consists of three consonants. It will be readily understood that this fact was bound to exert a profound influence upon the system according to which the roots were vocalized. The result was of course that the system of vocalization was completely adapted to the triconsonantal root, so that it deals only with two base vowels, namely, the vowel between the first and second radicals and that between the second and third radicals. The vocalized verbal root, or the simple base of the verbal form, thus shows the following sequence of consonants and vowels: consonant + vowel + consonant + vowel + consonant, as in qatal, qatil, qutal, and qutil. This is the third most outstanding feature of the Semitic verb system.

Besides the triconsonantal verb roots, however, we find a number of verbs whose roots consist of four consonants. It is obvious that these verbs must have presented a problem, since the system of vocalization, as we have seen, was completely adapted to the triconsonantal root. It is the object of this investigation to show how the Akkadian language dealt with this problem. But before we take up the Akkadian quadriliteral verb, it will be advisable to cast a glance at the treatment of the quadriliteral verb in the other Semitic languages, in order to gain a better foundation for our observations.

## I

## THE QUADRILITERAL VERB OUTSIDE OF AKKADIAN

## A. Arabic

Arabic shows the following quadriliteral forms, exemplified by the verb *qamṭara*, "to tie up (a waterskin)":

## 1. The Simple Formation

	Active	Passive
Preterit	qamṭara	qumṭira
Present	iqamṭiru	iḡamṭaru
Imperative	qamṭir	—
Participle	muqamṭirun	muqamṭarun
Infinitive	qimṭârun	

## 2. The t-Formation

	Active	Passive
Preterit	taqamṭara	tuqumṭira
Present	iataqamṭaru	iutaqamṭaru
Imperative	taqamṭar	—
Participle	mutaqamṭirun	mutaqamṭarun
Infinitive	taqamṭurun	

From these forms we notice that of the two base vowels, so characteristic of the Semitic system of vocalization, the first is

## 4 THE SYSTEM OF THE QUADRILITERAL VERB IN AKKADIAN

placed between the first and second radicals, while the second is placed between the third and fourth radicals. There is no vowel between the second and third radicals. In other words, the root base, or the vocalized root, is formed after the scheme: consonant + vowel + consonant + consonant + vowel + consonant. If contrasted with the basal scheme of the triconsonantal root, which is consonant + vowel + consonant + vowel + consonant, it will be apparent that the only difference between the two schemes, as far as their general formation is concerned, consists in this, that the scheme of the quadriliteral base shows two inner consonants instead of the single middle consonant of the triconsonantal root base. Compare

q a m̄t a r

q a t a l

This method of vocalizing the quadriliteral root has its counterpart in some of the enlarged themes of the triconsonantal verb, as we can see from the following preterit bases.

II q a tt a l

IV ' a qt a l

I q a t a l

It may therefore be stated that, as far as the rhythmic structure of the simple base is concerned, the quadriliteral verb is treated according to the same principle as the II and IV formations, which likewise have a quadriconsonantal skeleton. Also stem III, i.e. qâtala, comes under this scheme, since rhythmically it is

equal to \*qa'tala.

It is, furthermore, a well known fact that themes II and IV completely agree with one another in their vocalization. Both themes contrast the preterit base vowels a-a with the present base vowels a-i; in both instances the prefixed personal elements i, t, ' , and n of the present tense are vocalized not with a, as in other formations, but with the vowel i; and in both cases the participle is formed by means of the prefix m- (vocalized, mu-). The simple formation of the quadriliteral verb follows the same system, as we can see from the following list.

	Active	Passive
Preterit	qamṭara	qumṭira
	qattala	quttila
	'aqtala	'uqtila
Present	i <sub>u</sub> qamṭiru	i <sub>u</sub> qamṭaru
	i <sub>u</sub> qattilu	i <sub>u</sub> qattalu
	i <sub>u</sub> ('a)qtilu	i <sub>u</sub> ('a)qtalu
Imperative	qamṭir	—
	qattil	—
	'aqtil	—
Participle	muqamṭirun	muqamṭarun
	muqattilun	muqattalun
	mu('a)qtilun	mu('a)qtalun
Infinitive	qimṭârûn	

Infinitive (cont.)	qittâ <sup>1</sup> lun
	’iqtâ <sup>1</sup> lun

Of the three themes II, III (if we include qâ<sup>1</sup>tala as equivalent to \*qa’<sup>1</sup>tala), and IV, it was themes II and III which furnished the pattern for the quadriliteral verb. The reason for that is twofold. First, the quadriliteral base qamṭar begins with the first radical, as do the bases qattal and qâ<sup>1</sup>tal, while the base ’aqtal begins with a formative element (the causative element ’). The base qamṭar therefore looked more like qattal and qâ<sup>1</sup>tal than like ’aqtal. That is clear from the preceding list. Second, themes II and III form a reflexive with prefixed t- in the manner of Arabic V and VI, which are the t-forms of II and III. This second point will be obvious from the following table.

	Active	Passive
Preterit	taqamṭara	tuqumṭira
	taqattala	tuquttila
	*taqa’ <sup>1</sup> tala	*tuqu’ <sup>1</sup> tila
Present	<u>i</u> ataqamṭaru	<u>i</u> utaqamṭaru
	<u>i</u> ataqattalu	<u>i</u> utaqattalu
	* <u>i</u> ataqa’ <sup>1</sup> tal	* <u>i</u> utaqa’ <sup>1</sup> tal
Imperative	taqamṭar	—
	taqattal	—
	*taqa’ <sup>1</sup> tal	—

---

<sup>1</sup> For this infinitive see W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language (3d ed.; Cambridge, 1896) I, § 202.



Participle	mutaqamṭirun	mutaqamṭarun
	mutaqattilun	mutaqattalun
	*mutaqā'ṭilun	*mutaqā'ṭalun
Infinitive	taqamṭurun	
	taqattulun	
	*taqā'ṭulun	

At this point, however, it should be stated that the quadriliteral verb, in spite of the fact that it agrees in form with themes II and III, V and VI, has nothing whatever to do with those themes as far as the meaning is concerned. In meaning the simple formation of the quadriliteral verb is actually a qal, corresponding to qatala, while the form taqamṭara corresponds to 'iqṭatala, the t-form of the qal. The vocalization of the forms qamṭara and taqamṭara after the patterns of qattala and taqattala is due solely to the fact that the consonantal base skeletons, which had to be vocalized, are identical.

In addition to the quadriliteral forms which we have just discussed, Arabic grammars list two other themes, namely, 'if'ānlala and 'if'alalla, designated as stems III and IV.

Of these, the third stem answers to the seventh stem, or the nif'al, of the triliterals. Compare

Perfect	ʾibransāqa <sup>2</sup>
	ʾinqatala
Imperfect	ʾabransāqu

---

<sup>2</sup> "To open (as a flower)," "to bloom or flourish."

Imperfect (cont.)	ianqatilu
Imperative	'ibrans̃iq
	'inqatil
Participle	mubrans̃iqun
	mumqatilun
Infinitive	'ibrins̃âqun
	'inqitâlun

However, it is not the pure nif'al of the trilateral verb to which 'ibrans̃âqa corresponds but rather the nif'al-pi'el, for 'ibrans̃âqa is rhythmically equal to \*'inqattala. The reason the imperfect uses the prefix ia- instead of iu- is obviously that these forms were considered to be primarily nif'al formations (see chap. iii C 4).

The remarkable feature of this quadriliteral stem is that the characteristic n is inserted between the second and third radicals instead of being prefixed to the first radical.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to account for this phenomenon, especially since the Semitic quadriliteral verb, as we shall see more fully in the course of our study, tries to adapt itself as much as possible to the system of the trilateral, and since this transposition does not seem to serve any useful purpose. We may perhaps assume that this phenomenon is due to vernacular or dialectical influence; or it may be an indication of the former existence of an inserted n in the trilateral verb system, as we find it in the Akkadian tn-form (the I 3 stem).

Stem IV corresponds to stem IX of the trilateral, differing

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<sup>3</sup> See Wright, op. cit. I, § 71.

from it only in that as a quadriliteral it has a consonant and, usually, a vowel more than the corresponding triliteral verb forms. Compare the following table, in which the forms of *šmaḥarra*, "to be very high," and those of stem IX are paralleled.

Perfect	<i>šmaḥarra</i>	(< * <i>šmaḥarara</i> )
	<i>iqṭalla</i>	(< * <i>iqṭalala</i> )
Imperfect	<i>iašmaḥirru</i>	(< * <i>iašmaḥriru</i> )
	<i>iaqṭallu</i>	(< * <i>iaqṭalilu</i> )
Imperative	<i>šmaḥrir</i>	
	<i>iqṭalil</i>	
Participle	<i>mušmaḥirrun</i>	(< * <i>mušmaḥrirun</i> )
	<i>muqṭallun</i>	(< * <i>muqṭalilun</i> )
Infinitive	<i>šmiḥrârûn</i>	
	<i>iqṭilâlun</i>	

#### B. Syriac

Like the Arabic quadriliterals, those of the Syriac language follow the pattern of the pi'el, or pa'el. Compare the following forms:

	Active	Reflexive-Passive
Preterit	<i>ʿargel</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>ʿetʿargal</i>
	<i>qatṭel</i>	<i>ʿetqatṭal</i>
Present	<i>n<sup>e</sup>ʿargel</i>	<i>netʿargal</i>
	<i>n<sup>e</sup>qatṭel</i>	<i>netqatṭal</i>

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<sup>4</sup> "To roll."

Imperative	'argel	'et'argal
	qat̄tel	'etqat̄tal
Participle	m <sup>o</sup> 'argel	met'argal
	m <sup>o</sup> qat̄tel	metqat̄tal
Infinitive	m <sup>o</sup> 'argâlû	met'argâlû
	m <sup>o</sup> qat̄tâlû	metqat̄tâlû

From this we can see that the Syriac quadrilateral verb, like the Arabic, forms a t-stem in addition to the simple formation. But unlike Arabic, Syriac does not form a passive in which the passive idea is expressed by a passive vocalization; the function of expressing the passive idea has been taken over by the originally reflexive t-form. Thus the scheme of the triconsonantal verb is as follows:

		Active	Reflexive-Passive
Pe'al	Preterit	q <sup>o</sup> tal	'etq <sup>o</sup> tel
	Present	neq <sup>o</sup> tâl	netq <sup>o</sup> tel
Pa'el	Preterit	qat̄tel	'etqat̄tal
	Present	n <sup>o</sup> qat̄tel	netqat̄tal
'Af'el	Preterit	'aqtel	'ettaqtal
	Present	naqtel	nettaqtal

The quadrilateral verb completely conforms to this scheme. It is important to note this point, for it demonstrates with particular clarity that the quadrilateral verb does not strive to create a form system of its own, but simply follows the system of the

triconsonantal verb as worked out by the particular language in which it occurs.

The same observation can be made with regard to the vocalization, which in Syriac agrees in all particulars with that of the pa'el and ethpa'al, and in Arabic with that of qattala and taqattala. Compare

	Syriac		Arabic	
Preterit	qaṭṭel	'etqaṭṭal	qattala	taqattala
	'argel	'et'argal	qamṭara	taqamṭara
Present	n <sup>o</sup> qaṭṭel	netqaṭṭal	i <sup>u</sup> qattilu	iataqattalu
	n <sup>o</sup> 'argel	net'argal	i <sup>u</sup> qamṭiru	iataqamṭaru

#### C. Hebrew

The Hebrew quadriliteral verb likewise follows the pi'el formation, as shown by the following table.

	Active	Passive
Preterit	kirsēm <sup>5</sup>	*kursam
	qittēl	quṭṭal
Present	i <sup>e</sup> karsēm	*i <sup>e</sup> kursam
	i <sup>e</sup> qaṭṭēl	i <sup>e</sup> quṭṭal
Imperative	*karsēm	—
	qaṭṭēl	—

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<sup>5</sup> "To eat up," "to devour." The forms of the active preterit and participle are based on the Talmudic qirsēm, for which see Jacob Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1876-89) Vol. IV.

Participle	m <sup>o</sup> karsēm	m <sup>o</sup> kursēm
	m <sup>o</sup> qattēl	m <sup>o</sup> quttāl
Infinitive	*karsēm	—
	qattēl	—

Here the tendency of the quadriliteral verb to conform to the system of the trilateral is brought out even more clearly than in Arabic and in Syriac. In the preterit qittēl (< \*qittīl < \*qattīl < \*qattāl) the first base vowel a has changed to i, while in the present i<sup>o</sup>qattēl it has remained a. These changes likewise appear in the quadriliteral verb. Thus instead of karsam we find kirsēm in the preterit, and in the present we have i<sup>o</sup>karsēm. This plainly shows that as far as the verbal forms are concerned the Hebrew quadriliteral is completely linked with the pi'el.

One quadriliteral verb, however, deviates from this scheme, namely the verb šm'1, the root of the substantive š<sup>o</sup>môl. This verb follows the hif'îl formation, as evidenced by the preterit iasm<sup>o</sup>'îl (< \*i<sup>o</sup>hasm<sup>o</sup>'îl < \*iuhasma'îl). It should be noted, however, that it differs from the form of the triconsonantal hif'îl (iaqṭîl < \*i<sup>o</sup>haqṭîl < \*iuhaqṭîl) not only in that as a quadriliteral it has an additional consonant, but also in that it has an additional vowel. Originally this vowel, between the second and third radicals, was the vowel a. But in the course of time it was weakened to š<sup>o</sup>wa mobile, owing to the fact that it stands in an unstressed syllable between two stressed syllables. Finally, since the third radical is an ' , which is a weak consonant, most of the forms were contracted, with the result

that in their latest stage of development the imperative haśmēl and the infinitive haśmēl are exactly like forms of a triconsonantal verb.

The reason why the verb śm'l follows the hif'īl pattern instead of the pi'el formation lies, of course, in the meaning of the verb. The form hiśm<sup>o</sup>'īl is a causative and expresses the idea of causing a thing to be, of bringing out or producing a thing by going to the left, or by doing things with the left hand. We have an exact analogy to this in the form hēmīn (from iāmīn), "to go to the right," "to use the right hand," "to do (or produce) things with the right hand." This causative idea could not be conveyed by means of the simple quadriliteral stem, since that formation has the meaning of a triliteral gal. In form the conjugation of śm'l differs somewhat from that of the hif'īl of the triliteral verb, after which it is patterned, but in meaning it is identical with it.

Unfortunately the comparatively scanty material of the Hebrew language as preserved in the Old Testament records does not permit us to determine whether in the historical periods of Hebrew only the quadriliteral verb hiśm<sup>o</sup>'īl had a hif'īl formation or whether other quadriliteral verbs also formed a hif'īl. Nor can we tell whether in Hebrew the quadriliteral verb could form a t-stem (which after the pattern of the hitpa'ēl would have been hitkarsēm). If it did, that t-stem, in spite of its agreement in form with the t-form of the pi'el, would of course represent the t-form of the quadriliteral gal, corresponding to the t-form of the gal of the triliteral verb, as we have it, though quite exclusively, in Hebrew hitpāqēd, of the

verb pāqad.<sup>6</sup>

#### D. Ethiopic

Before we take up the Ethiopic quadriliteral verb, a few words ought to be said with regard to the arrangement of the verbal stems of this language. I have given up the schemes formulated by Dillmann and Praetorius,<sup>7</sup> both of whom were influenced by Arabic, and I have instead adopted Professor Poebel's logical and lucid arrangement, according to which the active and reflexive-passive are always grouped together, as in Syriac and in Akkadian. Professor Poebel arranges the verbal stems as follows:

I 1	II 1	III 1
qatala	qattala	qâatala
I 2	II 2	III 2
taqatala	taqattala	taqâatala
IV/I 1	IV/II 1	IV/III 1
'aqatala	'aqattala	'aqâatala
IV/I 2	IV/II 2	IV/III 2
'astaqatala	'astaqattala	'astaqâatala

It will be noted that Professor Poebel follows Dillmann in omitting the types qâatala and qôatala from his arrangement of the

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<sup>6</sup> In the Mesa' inscription we also find the t-forms 'lthm and hlthmh.

<sup>7</sup> August Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, 2. verbesserte .... Aufl. von Carl Bezeld (Leipzig, 1899) pp. 128 ff.; F. Praetorius, *Äthiopische Grammatik* (Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1886) pp. 36 ff.



verbal stems; that he also omits the n-theme, because it occurs only in quadriliteral verbs; and, finally, that he combines the st-form 'astaqtala with the simple causative form 'aqtala, because originally 'astaqtala was, of course, the t-form of a simple causative saqtala (cf. Babylonian u-ša-qtil), which, however, has been lost in Ethiopic, as well as the t-form of the causative 'aqtala (cf. Syriac 'ettaf'al).

### 1. Verbs of the Type mandaba

Beginning with the most common class of the Ethiopic quadriliteral verbs, i.e. the verbs of the type mandaba, we can again observe the tendency to model the quadriliteral verb after the pi'el pattern. This is quite obvious from the following list, in which the forms of the quadriliteral verbs of the type under consideration are paralleled with those of the pi'el of the triliteral.

#### Simple Stem

	Active	Reflexive-Passive
Preterit	mandaba <sup>8</sup>	tamandaba
	qattala	taqattala
Present Indicative	<u>i</u> emanadeb	<u>i</u> etmanadab
	<u>i</u> eqêtel	<u>i</u> etqêtal
Present Subjunctive	<u>i</u> emandeb	<u>i</u> etmandab
	<u>i</u> eqattel	<u>i</u> etqattal

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<sup>8</sup> This verb does not occur at all in the reflexive-passive of the causative stem, and of the active of the simple stem only the passive participle mendûb ("afflicted") and the noun mendâbê ("affliction") are found. Cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae* (Lipsiae, 1865) cols. 680 f. Nevertheless, I shall, for the sake of simplicity, use it for all the stems of this type.

Imperative	mandeb	tamandab
	qattel	taqattal
Gerundive	mandîbô	tamandîbô
	qattîlô	taqattîlô
Infinitive	mandebô	tamandebô
	qattelô	taqattelô

## Causative Stem

	Active	Reflexive-Passive
Preterit	ʾamandaba	ʾastamandaba
	ʾaqattala	ʾastaqattala
Present Indicative	îâmanadeb	îâstamanadeb
	îâqâtel	îâstaqâtel
Present Subjunctive	îâmandeb	îâstamandeb
	îâqattel	îâstaqattel
Imperative	ʾamandeb	ʾastamandeb
	ʾaqattel	ʾastaqattel
Gerundive	ʾamandîbô	ʾastamandîbô
	ʾaqattîlô	ʾastaqattîlô
Infinitive	ʾamandebô	ʾastamandebô
	ʾaqattelô	ʾastaqattelô

With the exception of the present indicative forms, which will be discussed later on, the enumerated forms mandaba and qattala are rhythmically completely identical, that is to say, the forms of mandaba show the same arrangement or sequence of consonants and vowels as those of qattala, the only difference being that the former

theme has two different consonants (the two middle radicals of the quadriliteral verb) where the latter shows a doubled middle radical.

Here again we must bear in mind that the enumerated quadriliteral verb forms and those of the pi'el of the trilateral are identical with each other only as far as the rhythmic features are concerned, but not as to their meaning; for in meaning mandaba is the quadriliteral qal and therefore corresponds to the form qatala of the trilateral verb. That rhythmically it follows the pi'el theme is, of course, due solely to the fact that the consonantal skeleton of the quadriliteral verb consists of four consonants, just like that of the pi'el of the trilateral. Likewise the causative 'amandaba, although it follows the pattern of the causative-pi'el 'aqattala, is not a causative-pi'el but the causative of the qal mandaba, corresponding to the causative 'aqtala of the trilateral.

This difference between the quadriliteral mandaba and the pa'cal qattala becomes especially evident from the fact that the forms of the present indicative differ in the two formations; for while the indicative of the pa'cal is ieqâtel, that of the quadriliteral is ïemanâdeb, whose prototype is clearly the triconsonantal qal indicative ieqâtel. For ïemanâdeb stands in the same relation to ieqâtel as the subjunctive ïemâdeb (< \*ïemâdeb) stands to the triconsonantal form ïéqtel (< \*ïéqatel); ïemanâdeb shows the same stressing as ieqâtel, on the short vowel of the penult, the difference being merely that ïemanâdeb, as a quadriliteral, has one consonant and, consequently, one vowel more than ieqâtel. Likewise ïemâdeb has a consonant as well as a vowel more than ïéqtel, both

iemán(a)deb and iéq(a)tel having the stress on the antepenult of the originally unelided forms.

This difference between mandaba and qattala becomes obvious also from the forms tamanâdaba and 'astamanâdaba, the reflexives of the simple forms manâdaba and 'amanâdaba, which are not found in the extant material of the Ethiopic language, but which originally must have occurred, otherwise the existence of the corresponding t-forms would be inexplicable. These forms, manâdaba and 'amanâdaba, however, do not correspond to any form of the theme qattala; they are of course the quadriliteral equivalents of the triconsonantal formations qâtala and taqâtala, from which they differ again merely in this, that as forms of a quadriliteral they have not only an additional consonant, but also an additional vowel. The scheme of these quadriliteral verb forms is as follows:

III 1	III 2	IV/III 1	IV/III 2
*manâdaba	tamanâdaba	*'amanâdaba	'astamanâdaba
qâtala	taqâtala	'aqâtala	'astaqâtala

## 2. Verbs Formed with the Nif'al n

In addition to the type of verbs discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, Ethiopic has a special group of quadrilaterals, whose characteristic feature is that their simple form, i.e., that form which stands for the qal of the trilateral verb (qatala) or the qal of the usual quadriliteral verb (mandaba), is formed with the nif'al n. Originally this n, as far as the system of verb formation is

concerned, was vowelless,<sup>9</sup> but now it is preceded by a secondary 'a, which together with the original n forms the syllable 'an.<sup>10</sup> Compare, e.g. 'anṣabraqa (from the root ṣbrq), "to be clear," "to be transparent," "to shine through," "to sparkle"; 'anfar'aṣa (from the root fr'ṣ), "to leap," "to dance." It may be expressly stated in this connection that with the exceptions of gēgaia and g<sup>u</sup>adg<sup>u</sup>ada, which will be discussed later on, none of the verbs of this group ever occur in the simple quadriliteral stem.

The verbs belonging to this group are the following:

- a) 'anṣabraqa, "to be clear or transparent," "to shine through," "to sparkle" (intr.)
- 'anfar'aṣa, "to leap," "to dance" (intr.)
- 'anqâ'daya,<sup>11</sup> "to look up" (intr.), "to lift up (the eyes)" (tr.)
- 'anṭôl<sup>o</sup>'a (< \*'anṭaul<sup>o</sup>'a), "to stretch out," "to spread out" (tr.)
- b) 'angallaga, "to band together" (intr.), "to call a meeting" (tr.)
- c) 'anzâhlala, "to become weak or soft" (intr.), "to soften," "to dissolve" (tr.)
- 'anšôṭaṭa, "to be alarmed" (intr.), "to frighten" (tr.)
- 'ankôlala, "to be giddy" (intr.), "to make giddy" (tr.)
- 'anṭôlala, "to relax," "to hang loose" (intr.)

<sup>9</sup> See Poebel, *Studies*, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the similar development of Arabic ('i)nqatala and Hebrew (hi)qqaṭēl < \*nqaṭēl, etc.

<sup>11</sup> The length of the vowel a in this word and in some of the other words in this list is of course due to the following guttural.

'andôrara, "to turn" (intr.)

d) 'angargara, "to roll about" (tr. and intr.)

'anqalqala, "to totter" (intr.), "to shake" (tr. and intr.)

'anzafzafa, "to spread (the wings)" (tr.)

'anbasbasa, "to spring forth," "to wink" (intr.)

'ansafşafa, "to drip or drop" (intr.), "to let fall in drops" (tr.)

'ang<sup>u</sup>adg<sup>u</sup>ada, "to thunder," "to make a loud, thundering noise"  
(intr.)

'ang<sup>u</sup>arg<sup>u</sup>ara, "to murmur" (intr.)

'ank<sup>u</sup>ark<sup>u</sup>ara, "to roll" (tr. and intr.)

'ansâ's<sup>e</sup>a, "to bubble" (intr.), "to boil" (tr. and intr.)

'ansâhs<sup>e</sup>ha, "to move" (tr. and intr.)

'anbâhb<sup>e</sup>ha, "to rattle," "to murmur" (intr.)

'antâ't<sup>e</sup>a, "to be excited," "to be alarmed" (intr.)

'antaltala, "to drip" (intr.)

'angôgaia (< \*'angaigai), "to wander about," "to err" (intr.)

'ansôsaya (< \*'ansausaya), "to walk about" (intr.), "to make some-  
one go" (tr.)

Actual quadrilaterals are only those listed under (a), where each verb has four different radicals. The verb under (b) is difficult to explain. The verbs under (c) repeat the third radical, and in this respect they correspond to the Hebrew pōlēl (cf. qômēm), which is only a special form of the pi'el of the triconsonantal verbs mediae infirmae. The large group of verbs under (d), on the other hand, repeat the first and second radicals, and thus they correspond in form to the Hebrew pilpel formation, which represents

the pi'el of the mediae geminatae or mediae infirmae. It is difficult, however, to determine which of the apparent pa'cal forms enumerated under (b), (c), and (d) are actually pa'cal formations of verbs occurring at least originally in the simple stem and which of them are only of an onomatopoeitic origin, as is doubtless the case, e.g. with 'ang<sup>u</sup>arg<sup>u</sup>ara, "to murmur,"<sup>12</sup> whose simple stem perhaps never existed.

The appearance of the n as a formative element in the quadriliterals is rather surprising, since Ethiopic, like Syriac, has eliminated the n-formation from the regular system of its triconsonantal verb. Furthermore, the use of the n-formation in the other Semitic languages seems to indicate a well defined reflexive-passive meaning of the n; although some of the quadriliteral verbs listed above have an intransitive meaning which might be explained as having arisen from an originally reflexive meaning of the n-form, two of the verbs are only transitive, while about half of them are transitive as well as intransitive, a fact which does not seem to harmonize with the reflexive-passive meaning. We shall see later on that a certain class of Akkadian quadriliteral verbs, and in some cases even trilateral verbs, show a similar use of the n-formative; we shall therefore postpone a more detailed discussion of this fact until then.

Two of the verbs belonging to this class, namely, 'antôl<sup>e</sup>a and 'ank<sup>u</sup>ark<sup>u</sup>ara, form also a t-stem, tantôl<sup>e</sup>a (< \*tanta<sup>u</sup>l<sup>e</sup>a) and

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<sup>12</sup> Latin murmur, "a murmur," is a similar reduplication.

tank<sup>u</sup>ark<sup>u</sup>ara. The simple n-form 'antôl<sup>o</sup>'a has the transitive meaning "to stretch out (something)," "to spread out (something)," and it is therefore quite natural that it forms a passive theme tantôl<sup>o</sup>'a, "to be spread out or stretched out." 'Ank<sup>u</sup>ark<sup>u</sup>ara appears in the intransitive meaning "to roll" as well as in the transitive "to roll (something)"; it is clear, of course, that tank<sup>u</sup>ark<sup>u</sup>ara, "to be rolled (about)," is the passive of the transitive meaning of 'ank<sup>u</sup>ark<sup>u</sup>ara. No doubt other transitive verbs of the quadriliteral class under consideration, as, e.g., 'anşafşafa, "to let fall in drops," and 'anzâhlala, "to soften," also could form the passive t-formation; that they are not found in the extant literature is evidently purely accidental.

As stated above, gêgaia (< \*gaigaiā) and g<sup>u</sup>adg<sup>u</sup>ada are the only quadriliteral verbs of this group which occur not only in the nif'al theme, i.e., in the forms 'angêgaia, "to wander about" ("umherirren"), and 'ang<sup>u</sup>adg<sup>u</sup>ada, "to thunder," but also in the simple form, viz., as gêgaia, "to err," "to go astray," "to sin," and g<sup>u</sup>adg<sup>u</sup>ada, "to strike," "to beat," "to knock." There can, of course, be no doubt that the latter forms, which naturally are to be counted among the verbs of the type mandaba and originally probably represented palpal formations, are more original than the n-forms. We may also conclude that the numerous verbs listed under (c) and (d) originally were pi'el (or pôlal and palpal) formations, which changed into nif'al forms (modeled after the nif'al-pi'el pattern) only after Ethiopic had lost the feeling that they were actually pi'el forms and took them for quadriliteral verbs. This evidently was greatly



facilitated by the fact that Ethiopic has eliminated from its regular verb system all p<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>al and palpal formations; for instance, the verbs mediae infirmae without exception follow the picel pattern of the strong verb, forming, e.g., the picel of the mediae waw as paual and that of the verbs mediae i<sup>h</sup>ôd as paial, thus treating the weak middle radical as a strong consonant.

Finally, gêgaia, "to err," "to sin," also forms a causative stem, ʾagêgaia (< \*ʾagaigaiā), "to lead astray," "to cause to sin." This fully corroborates our previous statement that gêgaia belongs to the type mandaba. The form ʾagêgaia, then, corresponds to the causative ʾamandaba.

No other formations of the n-class are found in the extant material. We may say, then, that the scheme of this class of the Ethiopic quadriliterals is as follows:

Simple Form	t-Form
ʾangargara	tangargara

## II

## THE EXTANT FORMS OF THE AKKADIAN QUADRILITERAL VERBS

We now come to the subject of our investigation proper, viz. the system of the Akkadian quadriliteral verb. In order to gain a sure foundation for our study, I shall present in this chapter all the form material which I have been able to gather from the inscriptions. Profiting from our investigation of the quadriliteral verb in Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, and Ethiopic, I shall present the forms already classified according to the principles derived from our observations in the first chapter. The detailed analysis of the forms and the proof for our classification will be given in the third chapter. Wherever it was deemed necessary I have indicated the period to which each form dates back and the locality from which each text has come; for in many cases this will provide a basis for tracing the historical development of the various systems into which these forms fit.

A. A Quadriliteral on the Pi'el Pattern  
of the Triconsonantal Verb

paršumu

I 1 Form

Precative

šarru be-lí mâr mârê<sup>pl</sup>-šú-nu lu-par-ši-im, "May the king, my lord, outlive their grandchildren," ABL 358 rev. 14 (Assyrian);

ABL 6 rev. 6 f. (Assyr.)

šarru be-lí lu(:)<sup>1</sup>-pa-ar-ši-man-ni, "May the king, my lord, outlive me," ABL 358 rev. 9 (Assyr.)

#### Permansive Participle

<sup>am</sup>par-šu-mu, "an old man," ABL 3 rev. 3 (Assyr.)

ana <sup>am</sup>ardi-šú ù par-šu-me, "to his servant and the old man (of his house)," ABL 9:14 f. (Assyr.)

inimnim-ma pár-šum-ti, "incantation for an old woman," KAR 70:5  
par-šu-ma-a-te ina zi-iq-ni-šú-nu li-mur, "May he (live to) see gray hair on their beards," ABL 178 rev. 7-9 (Assyr.)

<sup>am</sup>par-ša-mu-te i-ra-qu-du <sup>am</sup>mârê<sup>Pl</sup> i-za-mu-ru, "The old men dance, the young men sing," ABL 2:16 f. (Assyr.)

<sup>am</sup>par-šá-mu-ti, "the elders," ABL 168 rev. 15 (Assyr.)

<sup>m</sup>tu-ra-ilu pur-šu-mu, "Tura-ilu, the elder," BE XV, No. 92:8

itti pur-šu-mi, "with the elder," PBS I 1, No. 2 ii 41b

<sup>m</sup>še-ip-<sup>d</sup>sin pašiš <sup>d</sup>šamaš pu-ur-šu-mi li-ta-ra-ni-ik-kum-ma, "Let them bring to you Shêp-Sin, the pašišu of Shamash, my(?) elder(?),"  
G. Boyer, Contribution à l'histoire juridique de la 1<sup>re</sup> dynastie babylonienne (Paris, 1928) Pl. 3, No. 107:9 f.

pur-šum-tu, "an old woman," CT XVII 22:133

u m - m a z a g k a š t u š - a - r a á g n a m - m u -

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<sup>1</sup> The reading lu instead of Harper's ip is based upon a collation of the original by Dr. F. W. Geers. The uppermost and the lowest of the three horizontal wedges are very faint, while the middle one is deeply impressed. Evidently the scribe had originally written ip, but later he changed it to lu, probably, however, not before the tablet had dried a little, so that the two added wedges did not sink so deeply into the clay as did the middle one.

u n - g i <sub>4</sub> - g i <sub>4</sub> : pur-šum-tam šá a-šar šī-ka-ri [aš]-bat la ta-da-ak, "The old woman who sits at the place of strong drink do not kill," S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts* (Leipzig, 1887) p. 24:16 f.

<sup>d</sup> n u n - b a r - š e - g u n (?) - n u u m - m a - b i - n a - n a m : MIN pur-šum-ta-šu-ma, "Nunbarshegunnu(?) is its matron," T. G. Pinches in *JRAS*, 1919, p. 190:12-12a

pur-šu-un<sup>2</sup>-tum | šī-[ib-tum], "an old woman," V R 42:66e-f

#### I 4 Form

##### Present

100 šanâte<sup>pl</sup> [ú-bal-lul-ṭu-šú-nu<sup>3</sup> mârê<sup>pl</sup>-šú-nu mâr mârê<sup>pl</sup>-šú-nu up-ta-tar-šu-mu šarru be-lí e-mar, "A hundred years may they (Nabû and Tashmêtu) cause them (the children of Esarhaddon) to live. May they outlive their sons and grandsons. May the king, my lord, (live to) see (it)," ABL 113 rev. 14-17 (Assyr.)

#### B. Verbs on the Šaf'el-Pi'el and Šaf'el Patterns

##### 1. The Group šuharruru

##### šuharruru

##### I 1 Form (Type A)

##### Present

a é - a m u - l u - b i a l - s i s í b - b i š e - à m - DU :

<sup>2</sup> Partial assimilation of the original m to the following dental.

<sup>3</sup> This reading is based upon a collation made by Dr. Geers.

a-ḥu-lap bīti ú-tul-la-šú uš-qa-am-ma-mu ri-ʾu<sub>9</sub>-šú<sup>4</sup> uš-ḥa-ra-ar,

"How long will the watchman of the house be quiet, its shepherd inactive!" SBH, No. 24 rev. 16 f.; same form, CT XL 38:11

m e - è n - š è ĩ - g i : [a]-di ma-ti tuš-ḥa-ra-ár, "How long wilt thou be inactive?" SBH, No. 34:9 f.

[u š u - g i m] n í - s i - a - à [m ....] ĩ - g i : [kima b]a-aš-mu pu-luḥ-tum ma-lu-ú [mil-na tuš-ḥar-ra-ar, "(Who) [like] a dragon is full of terror, why art thou inactive?" SBH, No. 20:1 f.

na-ki-ru-ka up-tal-ḥu-ma uš-ḥa-ra-ra tû-te-ir-šû-nu-ti, "Thine enemies are afraid, they are benumbed (with fear), thou wilt turn them back," VS XII, No. 193 rev. 22

#### Preterit

i-nu-uḥ tâmtu uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma im-ḥul-lu a-bu-bu ik-lu, "The sea became calm, the storm subsided, the flood ceased," Thompson, Gilg. Pl. 48:131

[u<sub>4</sub>]-mu uš-ḥa-ri-ir ú-ša-a ik-li-tum, "Day(light) failed, darkness came on," ibid. Pl. 19:16

uš-ḥa-ri-ir i-qu-ul-ma, "He was benumbed (with fear) and was quiet," ibid. Pl. 2:47

i[d-ri]-iš uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma ša-qu-um-mi-iš uš-bu, "He became (was) benumbed with f[ea]r and sat in silence," STC II 14:6; W. von Soden in ZA XL (1931) 167, n. 2

uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma an-šár qa-q-ri i-na-aṭ-ṭa-[al], "Anshar lapsed

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<sup>4</sup> For the reading of ʾu-ú as ʾu<sub>9</sub> see Poebel, Studies, p. 29, n. 2.

into silence, looking upon the ground," S. H. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris, 1913) Pl. 9, No. VIII bis, line 2

qêmušasqû ana d<sup>d</sup>sin inaqqi<sup>qf</sup> liš-har-ri-ir šal-tiš ul i-ta-me,

"Meal for Sin he shall pour out; he shall be silent (and) shall not speak proudly," CT IV 5:12

#### Infinitive

z i - i n [...] | šu-har-ru-rum, II R 21:20c-d

s i - d u g <sub>4</sub> - g a | šu-har-ru-ru, V R 19:11a-b

#### Permansive

šu-har-ru-ur sa-gi-e-a šu-har-ru-rat a-šir-ti, "Silent is my sanctuary, silent is my holy place," STC II 81:75

šu-ha-ru-ur ši-e-ru pa-ar-ka <sup>is</sup>dalâte<sup>Pl</sup>, "Silent is the plain, barred are the gates," OECT VI, Pl. 12:8

a-na ši-tul-ti-šu <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ku áš-riš šu-har-ru-ru, "upon whose decision the Anunnaki are submissively silent," W. J. Hinke, *Selected Kudurru Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1911) No. 5 i 7 f.

#### I 1 Form (Type B)

#### Infinitive

šu-uh-ru-ru | MIN (= qa-a-lu), "to be silent," LTBA II, Pl. 8:125

šu-uh-ru-ru | MIN (= ka-lu-u), "to cease," *ibid.* line 130

#### Permansive

1) šah-ra-ar-tu at-bu-uk-ma, "Silence I poured (upon all the mountains)," TCL III 158

it-bu-ku šá-ah-ra-[ar]-tú, "(Over the wide land of Elam) they

poured out silence," III R 13, Slab 3:17

2a) é-kál-lum ša-hu-ur ša-qú-um-mu še(!)-ru-ú, "The palace is silent, quiet are the fields," von Soden in ZA XLIII (1936) 306:10

im-ma-ti-a ša-hu-ur-ra-ta-am ta-at-bu-uk, "In my land thou hast poured out silence," CT XV 4:5

[s ĭ g] - s ĭ g | šá-hur-ra-tú, II R 38:25g-h

šá-hur-ra-tú it-ta-bi-ik eli-šú-un, "Silence (numbness) was poured out upon them," TCL III 40

2b) [e-ru-u]m-ma ana <sup>ál</sup>kâr-dûr-a-píl-<sup>d</sup>sin at-ta-šab šu-har-riš,  
"The city of Kâr-dûr-apil-Sin [I entered] and sat down in silence,"  
III R 38, No. 2:64

šu-har-ra-tu it-ta-bi-ik-šu-nu-ti, "Silence was poured out upon them," TCL III 251

šu-har-ra-tu na-da-at, "Silence is 'thrown down,'" CT XXXIX 41:3

## I 2 Form (Type B)

### Present

šumma šêlibu ina rêbêti il-su-um âlu šû uš-tah-ra-ár, "If a fox ran through a street, that town will sit in silent mourning," CT XL 43 rev. 7

### Preterit

ina bîti-šû li-qu-ul liš-tah-ri-ir, "In his house let him be silent (and) quiet," KAR 177 rev. ii 37

uš-ta-ah-ri-ru pa-nu-šû, "His face was benumbed (with fear)," Thompson, Gilg. Pl. 2:45

## I 4 Form (Type B)

## Preterit

u r ú n i m g i r - [r a] n u - m u - u n - n a - a b - s è -  
 g a - r i n í - b i n u - m u - u n - n a - a b - s è - g [a -  
 r i] : âlu šá na-gi-ri la ú-saḥ-hi-ru-šú ina ra-<ma>-ni-šú uš-ta-taḥ-  
ri-ir, "The city which the administrator did not surrender(?) became  
 silent by itself," SBH, No. 14:1 f.

šuparruru

## I 1 Form (Type A)

## Preterit

uš-pa-ri-ir-ma be-lum sa-pa-ra-šú ú-šal-me-ši, "The lord spread  
 cut his net and enmeshed her," CT XIII 21 rev. 3

a n - š è s a - p à r - n a a n - š è b a - n i - i n -  
 p à r : ana šamé<sup>e</sup> sa-par-šú uš-pa-ri-ir-ma, "He spread his net toward  
 the sky," V R 50 ii 42 f.

## Infinitive

[p a] - r a PÁR | šu-pa-ru-ru-um, PBS V, No. 108:6

[p a - r a PÁR da-a]q-qu | šu-par-ru-ru, D. D. Luckenbill in  
 AJSL XXXIII (1916/17) 188:13

## Permansive

šumma sin ina nāmuri-šú .... šu-par-ru-ur, "if the moon at his  
 appearance .... is 'spread out' ('stretched out')," Charles  
 Virolleaud, L'Astrologie chaldéenne (Paris, 1908) "Sin," No. 3:7  
 (= III R 64:7)

ša nu-ba-lu-šu ki-ma ú-ri-in-ni eli mât<sup>i</sup><sub>i</sub>-šú šu-pár-ru-ru-ma,



"whose wings like (those of) a falcon(?) were spread over his land,"  
AKA 94:57 f.

šumma sin su-pu-ra lamī mātu irappi<sup>š</sup> nišē<sup>pl</sup> issapahu [....]  
tarbaši šu-par-ru-ru, "If the moon has a ring, the land will become  
wide, the people will be scattered, [the flocks(?)] of the fold will  
be dispersed (lit.: are stretched out)," Virolleaud, op. cit. No. 3:  
131 (= III R 64 rev. 13)

ki šá lim-na <sup>d</sup>za-a a-na ka-me-šú šu-par-ru-ra [....], "As if to  
capture the evil Zû, spread are [his ....]," KAR 169 i rev. 33

še-e-tú šu-par-ru-ur-tú, "the spread-out net," IV R 26, No. 2:23

### šugallulu

#### I 1 Form (Type A)

##### Present

1) šumma iz-bu ina līb-bi iz-bi-im-ma qaqqad-su ina pī-šú uš-qá-  
lal, "if a fetus is in the interior of (another) fetus and its head  
hangs out of its (the latter's) mouth," CT XXVII 26:1; same form,  
ibid. Pl. 44:13

šumma iz-bu ina irbī<sup>bi</sup>-šú qur-sin-na-a-tum a-ḥa-a-tum uš-qa-  
lal, "if a fetus has additional legs hanging down besides its (usual)  
four," CT XXVII 47:9; same form, ibid. line 10

2) erûm ša bīt a-lá-ḥi-nim iš-qá-lá-al-ma a-na ša-qá-lim-ma,"  
"The copper of the miller's house is hanging, (namely) for weighing,"  
BIN IV, No. 63:3 f. (Cappadocian)

[šumma imêru ....] ina [šêpê]-šú iš-qá-lá-la, "[if an ass  
....] hanging down from his [feet]," CT XL 33:18

## Preterit

[šumma sî]ru KIMIN ana bâbi uš-qa-li-la, "[if a sn]ake ditto  
(and) hung at the door," KAR 389 i 13

bûru uš-qa-[li]-lam-ma, "The young hung down," CT XXVIII 37  
(K 798) rev. 1

## Infinitive

s u - u r | SUR<sub>5</sub> | šu-qa-lu-lu, CT XXXV 6:40  
s u - r u | SURU<sub>5</sub> | šu-qa-lu-[lum], PBS V, No. 104 rev. iii 9  
á - [š u] - l á l | šu-qa-lu-lu, CT XIX 16:15 (= V R 20:14a-b  
[sic!]); same form, YOS I, No. 53:207  
MIN (= l a - a l) | LÁL | šu-qa-lu-lu, CT XI 16:11; II R 1:144  
šadâ<sup>a</sup> ta-na-áš-ši [ina qa]nî(?) šu-qa-lu-la ul ta-li-šî,  
"Thou art trying to lift a mountain, (but) thou canst not hang [from  
a re]ed(?)," T. J. Meek in RA XVII (1920) 158(K 8216):10 f.

## Permansive

šumma aš-qú-la-lu ištu šamê<sup>e</sup> ina qabli šamê<sup>e</sup> šu-qa-lu-lu, "if a  
cmet-sword (appeared) hanging from the sky in the middle of the  
sky," CT XXXIX 32:24

âlu dân<sup>an</sup> dan-niš kîma irpiti ištu šamê<sup>e</sup> šu-qa-lu-la, "The city  
was exceedingly strong (and) hung down like a cloud from heaven,"  
AKA 361:51

ubânu a-ši-tu šá pu-ut <sup>â<sup>l</sup></sup>ni-iš-tu-un šá kîma irpiti ištu šamê<sup>e</sup>  
šú-qa-lu-la (vars.: šu-qu<sup>5</sup>-lu-la, šu-qa-lu-lat, šu-qa-lu-la-at)

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<sup>5</sup> The reason for the vowel u instead of a is not clear. This change, however, cannot be due to vowel harmony, to which only unstressed vowels submit.

išbututú, "They occupied a lofty mountain peak which was over against the city Nishtun, which hung like a cloud from heaven," AKA 275:62

šá kīma irpiti ištu šamê<sup>6</sup> šu-qal-lu-la-at, III R 8:70

šumma iški immeri(!) ana libbi nadât-ma ašar kalâte<sup>pl</sup> ra-ak-sa ù šu-qal-lu-la, "if the testicle of the sheep is located within and they are tied at the place of the kidneys and they hang," KAR 152 rev. 20; same form, *ibid.* line 21

šu-qal-lu-lu, "They hang," CT XVII 45:118

n í - d ú b a - š à - g a g í n - n a k u š a - g a - l á  
[b a] - š è - l á : ku-up-pu-ru šá eqlí ina a-la-ki-šú na-ru-uq-q[u]  
šu-qal-lu-lu, Langdon in AJSL XXVIII (1911/12) 243(K 8358):4-6

[ina] uzni-šu mu-ú šu-qal-lu-lu-ni, "Water hangs from his ear(s)," CT XVII 42:17

#### I 1 Form (Type B)

##### Preterit

[s á g - b í] m u - b a r - r a a n - d a - a b - l a l : [za-  
ap]-hu(!)-us-su bar-ba-ru ú-šaq-lil, IV R 28\*, No. 4 rev. 65 f.<sup>6</sup>

#### I 2 Form (Type A)

##### Preterit

[s a l] - l a - b í [u r - r í] a n - d a - a b - [l a l ....] :  
gal-la-šú ka[l-bu uš-ta-qal-lil .... [s á g] - b í m u - b a r - r a  
a n - d a - a b - [l a l] : za-ap-hu-us-su-šú b[ár-ba-ru] uš-t[a-qa]l-  
lil, SBH, No. 70:7-10

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<sup>6</sup> The meaning of this passage as well as that of the next three is not clear.

## I 2 Form (Type B)

## Present

sinništu šī ul uš-taq-lal, AMT 65, 3:20

## Preterit

[s a l - l a - b] i u r - r i a n - d a - a b - s u r <sub>5</sub> (var.:  
u r - r a a n - d a - a b - s u r <sub>5</sub> - e, var.: - r i): [gal-la]-šu  
kal-bu uš-[ta]q-lil na-ak-ru it-ta-ši, IV R 28\*, No. 4:63 f.

šugamumu

## I 1 Form (Type A)

## Present

1) a é - a m u - l u - b i a l - s i : a-hu-lap bīti ú-tul-  
la-šú uš-qa-am-ma-mu, "How long will the watchman of the house be  
quiet!" SBH, No. 24 rev. 16 f.; same form, SBH, No. 46:5

2) d ĩ m - m e - i r k i - a g ú g ù - m u - u n - s i - s i -  
e š : ilāni<sup>Pl</sup> šá iršitim<sup>tim</sup> ana šī-si-ti-ka uš-qa-ma-am-mu, "At thy  
cry the gods of the earth are silent," IV R 30, No. 1 rev. 5 f.

šumma eš-rit āli uš-qá-ma-am-ma, "if the shrines of a town  
are silent," CT XXXVIII 8:26; same form, ibid. line 27

## Imperative

a-na bu-uk-ri u bi-in-ti šu-[qam]-me-im ma-a<sup>3</sup>-diš, "About the  
first-born and the daughter be very concerned(?)," K. D. Macmillan  
in BA V (1906) 624:15

## Infinitive

[....] SUR | šu-gam-mu-mu šá u<sub>4</sub>-me, "the quiet of the day," CT

XII 41:18 (= II R 21:18)

s i - s i<sub>g</sub> | šu-qa-mu-[mu], II R 44:8c-d

[g e<sub>6</sub> - b a r - à m] é - s i<sub>g</sub> - g a - r a - a - b a : ina mu-  
ši ma-ši-il bītu ina šu-qa-mu-[mi-šu], "at midnight when the house  
is quiet," CT XVII 1:12

#### Permansive

1) [...] m u - [u n - n a - a b - s i - i g] : išid šamê u elât  
šamê šu-qam-mu-mu-šú, "The foundation of heaven and the height of  
heaven are silent before him," Macmillan in BA V (1906) 636:3 f.

[...] m u - u n - n a - a b - s i - i g : [...] ir-ši-tim  
iš-te-niš šu-qam-mu-šu, "[... of heaven and] earth alike are  
silent before him," ibid. lines 7 f.

[...] - s i - i g [...] š]u-qam-mu-šú ir-ši-tum šu-qam-mu-  
m[u-šu], ibid. lines 1 f.

ù ti-âmat šu-qam-mu-mat (var.: [šu]-qam-mu-[ma-at]), "Also  
Tiâmat became silent," OECT VI, Pl. 31:26; STC II 2:26

2) š e - i b s i - s i - i g - g a - b i : [...] li-bit-ti-šá  
šá šu-qam-ma-mu, "her brick building, which is silent," SBH, No. 60  
rev. 35 f. (copy from the Greek period)

#### I l Form (Type B)

#### Permansive

1) é-kál-lum ša-ḥu-ur ša-qu-um-mu ṣe(!)-ru-ú, "The palace is si-  
lent, quiet are the fields," von Soden in ZA XLIII (1936) 306:10

[s i l a s i] - g a | su-qu šá-qu-um-mu, "the quiet street,"  
CT XII 41:17 (= II R 21:17)

n i m g i r s i l - a s i g - g a - g é : na-gir su-qí šá-qu-um-mi, "the overseer of the quiet street," CT XVI 15 v 21 f.

d i n g i r s i l - a - s i - g a - g é : il su-qí šá-qu-um-me, "the god of the quiet street," CT XVI 49:302 f.

i-na aš-ri-im ša-qu-um-mi-im, "in a quiet place," F. Thureau-Dangin in RA XI (1914) 92 i 11

ḥa-ab-ra-tum ni-šu-ú ša-qu-um-ma-a, "The (otherwise) noisy(?) people are quiet," von Soden in ZA XLIII (1936) 306:3

i[d-ri]-iš uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma ša-qu-um-mi-iš uš-bu, "He became (was) benumbed with f[ea]r and sat in silence," STC II 14:6; von Soden in ZA XL (1931) 167, n. 2

qu-lu iṣ-ba-tu šá-qu-um-miš (var.: -mi-iš) uš-bu, "They took to silence, they sat quietly," KAR 117:7; STC II 9:10; ša-qu-um-miš, SBH, No. 67:20; CT XVI 20:97

k a 5 - a u r u - s i g - g a - g i m g i 6 - a - n i  
d u 7 - d u 7 [....] : šá ki-ma še-lib âli šá-qu-miš (var.: -um-mi-iš) ina mu-ši i-dul-lu<sub>4</sub>(!), "who quietly like a fox stalks about the city at night," CT XVI 28:44 f.

[....] KA+ŠE | šá-qu-ma-tum, "silence," CT XII 41:15 (= II R 21:15)

[s i g - s i g] - g a | šá-qu-ma-tum, "silence," CT XII 41:16 (= II R 21:16)

[s i g] - s i g | šá-qu-um-ma-tú, II R 38:24g-h; same form, CT XVII 27:22

šu-ḥar-ru-ur sa-gi-e-a šu-ḥar-ru-rat a-šir-ti eli bīti bâbi u qar-ba-a-ti-ia šá-qu-um-ma-ti tab-kát, "Silent is my sanctuary,

silent is my holy place; upon house, gate, and fields of mine silence is poured out," STC II 81:75 f.

[<sup>d</sup> n i n - š e g <sub>5</sub>] - š e g <sub>5</sub> | be-lit ša-qú-ma-tum, CT XXIV 12:20

<sup>d</sup> n i n - š e g <sub>5</sub> - š e g <sub>5</sub> : be-lit ša-qú-ma-te, ibid. Pl. 25:84

2) [....] s i - i g [....] šu-qam-mu-šú ir-ši-tum šu-qam-mu-m[u-šu], Macmillan in BA V (1906) 636:1 f.

## 2. The Group šukênu

### šukênu

#### I l Form

#### Present

šarru a-na bīt ili [ir]-rab uš-ka-an, "The king [en]ters the temple (and) prostrates himself," KAR 135 i 7 and 216:13

3-šú iqabbī-ma uš-ka-na, "Three times he shall say (it) and shall prostrate himself," KAR 73:31

[tu-u]š-ka-a-na, V R 45 vii 6

šiptu an-ni-tú 3-šú ina mahar <sup>d</sup>ištar tamannû-ma uš-kin, "Three times thou shalt recite this incantation before Ishtar, and he shall prostrate himself," IV R 55, No. 2:19 f.; same form, CT IV 5:7 and 33; AMT 15, 3:11

lâ uš-kin, "He shall not prostrate himself," KAR 194:12 f.

lâ tuš-kin, "Thou shalt not prostrate thyself," STC II 84:109; CT IV 5:5

šikaru rêštû tanaqqî<sup>q1</sup>-ma tuš-kin, "Fine beer thou shalt pour

out, and thou shalt prostrate thyself," IV R 25 ii 19

minûtu<sup>tú</sup> an-ni-tú 3-šú tamannû-ma uš-ki-in-ma, "This recitation thou shalt recite three times, and he shall prostrate himself," BMS, No. 62:30

3-šú iqabbî-ma .... uš-[ki]-en, "Three times he shall say (it) and .... shall prostrate himself," CT XXXIX 27:11

3-šú tamannû<sup>nu</sup> tuš-ki-en-ma, "Three times thou shalt recite (it), and then thou shalt prostrate thyself," CT XXXVIII 23 rev. 6

la tuš-ki-en, "Thou shalt not prostrate thyself," IV R 25 ii 37

šarru a-na pa-pa-ḥa an-tum illak-ma [uš]-kin-ni, "The king shall go to the sanctuary of Antum and shall prostrate himself," KAR 132 i 13 f.

#### Preterit

<sup>d</sup> d a - g á n - r a k i - a m u - n a - z a | a-na <sup>d</sup>da-gán uš-kà-en, "Before Dagan he prostrated himself," PBS XV, Pl. 15 v and vi

uš-kà-in, "I have bowed down (submitted)," BIN IV, No. 106:3

uš-kà-i-in, ibid. No. 114:19

uš-kin-ma iš-ši-iq qaq-qa-ra, "He prostrated himself and kissed the ground," CT XIII 8:69; STC II 27:8

šumma KIMIN-ma mîtu uš-kin-šú imât-ma, "If ditto and a dead one fell down before him, he shall die," DA 30:3

a-na <sup>d</sup>en-líl <sup>d</sup>nin-líl pal-ḥiṣ uš-kin-ma, "Before Enlil (and) Ninlil I prostrated myself reverently," TCL III 9

ma-ḥar šar-ri uš-ki-[in], "Before the king I prostrated myself," PBS VII, No. 83:27



ana d<sup>š</sup>samaš d<sup>n</sup>ergal liš-kin, "He shall prostrate himself before Shamash (and) Nergal," IV R 33\* iii 23; same form, *ibid.* ii 48; CT IV 5:18 and 6 rev. 5

#### Participle

mi-en-di m<sup>r</sup>at ištēn<sup>en</sup> mu-uš-ki-nu, "Perhaps she is the daughter of a liegeman,"<sup>7</sup> C. Bezold, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892) No. 1:37

muš-ki-nu, "a liegeman," ABL 421:18; KAR 26:29; R. E. Brünnow in ZA IV (1889) 30:21

šarru muš-ki-e-nu, "The king (feels himself) a liegeman," ABL 78:15

l alpum ša mu-uš-ki-nim, "1 ox belonging to a liegeman," YOS II, No. 71:5 f.; same form, *ibid.* No. 117:25

muš-ki-ni-šu šarru ʔe-e-mu liš-kun-ma, "May the king give a command to his liegeman," ABL 1059:6 f.

l ú l ú m a š d á - e n a m - g ú - b í - i n - a g - a : šá muš-ki-na i-ḥa-ab-bi-lu<sub>4</sub>, "he who afflicts the liegeman," KAR 119: 11 f.

mârê<sup>pl</sup> bâbili<sup>ki</sup> muš-ki-e-nu-te, "the Babylonian liegemen," ABL 340 rev. 9 f.

ilâni<sup>pl</sup> an-nu-tum .... mu-uš-ki-nu-ut-ta ù e-ir-ri-šu-ut-ta li-id-din-ku-nu-ši, "May these gods .... reduce you to the state of liegemen and peasants," KBo I, No. 1 rev. 63 f.

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<sup>7</sup> This translation of muš-kênu was suggested to me by Professor Poebel.

## Infinitive

b[a-la]-šu | šu-ki-nu, CT XVIII 6 rev. 29; compare BAW I 16 f.

šu<sub>4</sub>-ki-nu, CT XXXIX 44:4

ki-i šá .... šu-kin-ni la am-ru, "(I looked, and behold! trouble is my pursuing destiny,) as if .... I had not observed prostration," IV R 60\* B:12-14

SUB s u - u b - MIN SUB | šu-kin-nu, CT XVIII 30:25c-d (= V R 30 rev. 25c-d)

ta-šim-me dšamaš su-up-pa-a su-la-a ù ka-ra-bi šu-kin-na kit-mu-su lit-ḥu-šu ù la-ban ap-pi, "Thou hearest, O Shamash, prayer, supplication, and petitions; prostration, bowing down, bending down(?), and falling down," ŠRT, Pl. 2 iii 18 f.

## I 2 Form

## Preterit

ul-ta-ka-in, "I have submitted," Erich Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. "Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen," No. 50 [Leipzig, 1927]) No. 302:3

šupêlu

## I 1 Form

## Present

tu-šá-pa-a-la, V R 45 vi 52

šu-un-ma amêlu šu-ú .... ip-še-e-ti ši-na-ti fušl-pi-el-flul-ma, "if that man .... changes these things," Mém. X, Pl. 11 iii 9 and 30

dmarḍuk bêlu rabû ša ši-it pi-šu ilu ma-am-ma la uš-pi-el-lu<sub>4</sub>, "Marduk, the great lord, the word of whose mouth no god changes,"

Mém. II, Pl. 23 vi 29-32

ša za-ma-ru an-na-a ú-šab-ta-lu la ú-šar-ra-ḥu dšamaš .... ù šum  
 māššur-bân-apli .... uš-pi-lu-ma šu-me šarri šá-nam-ma i-nam-bu-ú,  
 "he who discards this song, does not magnify Shamash ...., and changes  
 .... the name of Ashurbanipal and (in its place) names the name of  
 another king," KAR 105 rev. 10-12 and 361 rev. 5-7

g i š - ḥ a r a n - k i - a n u - k ú r - r u - d a : ú-ḡu-rat  
 šamš<sup>8</sup> u irsitim<sup>tim</sup> šá la ut-tak-ka-ru | d i n g i r d i š - à m  
 n u - b a l - e : ilu iš-ta-a-nu la uš(!)<sup>8</sup>-pi-lu, "the decree of  
 heaven and earth which cannot be altered (and) which no god can  
 change," CT XVII 34:5-8

#### Preterit

1/2 karpatim bu-uq-lam uš-pá-i-lu, "Half a jug they exchanged  
 for malt," Julius Lewy, Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn  
 (Leipzig, 1930) No. 35:11 f.

3 karpat [ar]-ša-tim [bu-uq]-lam(!) nu-uš-pá-il<sub>5</sub>(!), "Three jugs  
 of barley we exchanged for [ma]lt," TCL IV, No. 84:15-17

it-ti a-ḥa-meš uš-pi-e-lu, "They exchanged (the property) among  
 each other," Strassmaier, Cambyses, No. 375:7; same form, ibid. No.  
 349:5 and 28

uš-pi-e-lu-u<sup>9</sup>, "They exchanged," ibid. No. 362:7 f.; same form,  
 ibid. No. 377:6

i-na bi-ri-šu-nu eqlu ki-ma eqlu uš-pí-i-lu, "They have exchanged

<sup>8</sup> The copy has muš.

<sup>9</sup> On the final u' see Poebel, Studies, p. 63, n. 1.

field for field among themselves," HSS IX 18:5

ṭṭ<sup>ṭ</sup>ṭuppi šu-pil-tum šá qanâte<sup>pl</sup> .... šá it-ti <sup>md</sup>bêl-ri-man-nu  
.... uš-pi-il-lu, "the tablet concerning the exchange of reeds ....,  
which he exchanged .... with Bêl-rimannu," VS VI, No. 120:4-7

i-na mi-it-gur-ti-šú-nu it-ti a-ḥa-meš uš-pi-lu, "In their mutual  
agreement they have exchanged with each other," VS V, No. 38:22

[ku-un qâti] enû<sup>u</sup> uš-pi-lu, "(unless) I have changed, altered  
[the arrangement of the hand]," PRTS, Nos. 27:5; 36 rev. 3; 55:7;  
passim; same form, CT XX 2 rev. 10

eqlum .... ša ri-iš-dšamaš <sup>m</sup>ki-ma-a-ḥi-ia ù za-ri-qum mârê<sup>pl</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>šamaš-a-bu-um itti âmat-dšamaš mârat bûr-dsin ù la-ma-zi mârat <sup>d</sup>še-  
rum-i-lî uš-pi-lu-ú-ma, "the field .... which Rish-Shamash, Kimâḥia,  
and Zariqum, the sons of Shamash-abum, with Amat-Shamash, the daughter  
of Bûr-Sin, and Lamazi, the daughter of Sherum-ili, have exchanged,"  
TCL I, No. 74:1-9

ṭup-pi šu-pil-ti šá zêri zaq-pi u pi-i šul-pu šá <sup>md</sup>marduk-na-ṣir-  
apli .... ù <sup>f</sup>su-qa-a-a-i-ti .... it-ti a-ḥa-meš uš-pi-e-li, "tablet  
of exchange concerning the seedland, cultivated and uncultivated,  
which Marduk-nâṣir-apli .... and Suqaîṭi .... have exchanged with  
each other," Strassmaier, Darius, No. 265:1-3

[ku-un qâti en]û<sup>u</sup> uš-pi-el-[lu], "(unless) he has altered, has  
changed [the arrangement of the hand]," PRTS, No. 11 rev. 6

ša .... šu-luḥ-ḥi-šu uš-pi-el-lu, "who .... changed its cult,"  
V. Scheil in RT XVIII (1896) facing p. 15 iii 16-20

## Participle

an-na-šú-un ki-e-nu la muš-pi-lu at-ta-kil-ma, "I put my trust in their unalterable affirmative answer," B. Weissner and P. Rost in BA III (1898) 295:27

na-an-nu-uš-šu-un la muš-pi-e-lu at-ta-ki-il-ma, "I put my trust in their unalterable affirmative answer," D. G. Lyon, Keilschrifttexte Sargon's (Leipzig, 1883) No. 1:56

## Infinitive

šar-ru-zu šu-pi-lam .... li-iq-bi, "May he order .... the overthrow of his dominion," CH xlii 75-80

b a 1 | šu-pi-lu šá sinništi, II R 28, No. 4:43

i-na qí-bi-ti-ka ši-ir-tim ša la šu-pi-e-lu, "by thine exalted command which cannot be altered," I R 52, No. 3 ii 30

ina ši-it pi-i-šú-nu šá la šu(!)<sup>10</sup>-pi-e-lu, "by their unalterable word," III R 38, No. 1 rev. 10

i-na a-ma-ti-ka el-li-ti šá la šú-pi-e-lam, "by thy holy command which cannot be altered," D. W. McGee in BA III (1898) 558 iii 25 f.

## Permansive Participle

[š e] - b a 1 | šu-pil-tum,<sup>11</sup> "exchange," II R 28, No. 4:45

2 gur 2 (pi) 24 (qa) uttatu šu-pil-tum šá su[luppi], "2 gur, 2 (pi), 24 (qa) of barley (in) exchange for da[tes]," VS III, No. 7:1;

<sup>10</sup> The copy has uš.

<sup>11</sup> For a brief discussion of šupêltu see M. San Nicoló and A. Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden I (Leipzig, 1929-35) 144.

same form, VS V, No. 18:6 and 12; No. 108:13; VS VI, No. 120:4

100 gur uṭṭatu šu-pil-ti šá 100 gur suluppu šá <sup>md</sup>é-a-lu-mur ina muḫḫi <sup>nâr</sup>pit-qa šá <sup>md</sup>bêl-êṭir ik-ki-su, "100 gur of barley, (in) exchange for 100 gur of dates which Ea-lumur cut on the Pitqa canal of Bêl-êṭir," TCL XII, No. 68:1-4

ṭup-pi šu-pil-ti bîtât<sup>Pl</sup> šá irsitim<sup>tim</sup> ŠU.AN.NA šá qí-rib bâb<sup>iki</sup>il<sup>ki</sup> šá <sup>md</sup>bêl-ri-man-ni .... ù <sup>m</sup>la-a-ba-ši .... it-ti a-ḥa-meš uš-pi-lu, "tablet of exchange of estates of the district Shuanna in Babylon which Bêl-rimanni .... and Lâbashi .... have exchanged with each other," VS V, No. 38:1-4; same form, ibid. Nos. 18:30 and 108:31

ṭup-pí šu-pí-ul-ti ša <sup>m</sup>hu-bi-ta .... ša <sup>m</sup>ta-i-qa .... ù ša <sup>m</sup>ši-il-wa-te-šup, "tablet of exchange of Ḥubita ...., of Taiqa ...., and of Shilwateshup," HSS IX 18:1-4

8 imêr ŠEP<sup>1</sup> 2 imêr kibât<sup>Pl</sup> ša <sup>m</sup>ši-il-wa-te-šup .... <sup>m</sup>un-ku-ra .... a-na šu-pi-ul-ti iṣ-tu âl<sup>1</sup>šilli-a-wa il-te-qí, "8 homers of barley, 2 homers of wheat of Shilwateshup .... Unkura .... from the town of Šillī<sup>1</sup> for exchange has received," HSS IX 16:1-4; same form, ibid. No. 47:2

## I 2 Form

### Present

ši-it pi-i-šu la uš-te-pi-il (var.: uš-te-pi-el-lu) ilu a-a-um-ma, "The utterance of his mouth no god can change," CT XIII 27:28; STC II 44:9; Adam Falkenstein, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk (Berlin, 1931) No. 38 rev. 22

a l i m - m a <sup>d</sup> m u - u l - l í l d u g <sub>4</sub> - d u g <sub>4</sub> - n a

š u - n u - b a l - e - d è : kab-tu <sup>d</sup>MIN šá ši-it pi-i-šu la uš-te-pil-lu<sub>4</sub> (var.: -pi-il-lu<sub>4</sub>), "honorable Enlil, whose word cannot be altered," SBH, No. 4:100 f. and p. 130:10 f.

ina a-mat ilu-ti-ka rabfti<sup>ti</sup> ša la uš-te-pi-lu, "at the word of thy great divinity, which cannot be changed," V R 65 ii 30 f.

#### Preterit

šum-ma a-wi-lum šu-ú a-na a-wa-ti-ia ša i-na narī-ia aš-ṭu-ru i-qul-ma di-ni la ú-ša-az-zi-iq a-wa-ti-ia la uš-te-pi-el, "if that man gave heed to my words which I have written upon my monument and did not efface my judgments, did not change my words," CH xlii 2-8; same form, *ibid.* line 30

### 3. The Verb šhḥn

#### I l Form

#### Preterit

a-na šēpē<sup>pl</sup> šarri<sup>rī</sup> bēli-ia 7-šu ši-bi-ta-an uš-he-ḥi-in, "At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times seven I prostrated myself," J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln I* ("Vorderasiatische Bibliothek," 2. Stück [Leipzig, 1908]) No. 221:5-7; same form, *ibid.* Nos. 232:9; 233:13; 234:9

a-na šēpē<sup>pl</sup> šarri<sup>rī</sup> be-lī-ia 7-šu 7-ta-an uš-he-ḥi-en, *ibid.* Nos. 223:5 f. and 242:6-8

a-na šēpē<sup>pl</sup> šarri<sup>rī</sup> [i bēli-ia] 7-šu 7-ta-an uš-ḥi-ḥi-en, *ibid.* No. 222:4-6

[a-na] š[ē]pē<sup>pl</sup> [šarri bēli-ia] .... 7-e-t[i-šu] [as]<sup>12</sup>-ḥi-ḥi-en,

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<sup>12</sup> The reading *as* is quite uncertain; but the traces of the sign hardly permit the reading *uš* or *iš*; see VS XI, No. 123:4-6.

ibid. No. 214:4-6

## I 2 Form

### Preterit

a-na 2 šêpê šarri bêli-ia .... 7-šu u 7-ta-àm lu-ú iš-ta-ha-hi-in,  
ibid. No. 298:9-12; same form, ibid. Nos. 304:12; 305:12; 306:9;  
308:7; passim

a-na 2 šêpê šarri bêli-ia .... 7-šu ù 7-ta-àm iš-ti-ha-hi-in,  
ibid. No. 301:5-10; same form, ibid. Nos. 303:10; 307:2; 329:12

a-na šêpêPé šarri bêli-ia .... 7-šu ù 7-ta-àm iš-ti-hi-hi-in,  
ibid. No. 302:6-10

a-na 2 šêpê šarri bêli-ia am-qú-ut 7-šu ù 7-ta-na lu-ú iš-tu-hu-hi-in, "At the feet of the king, my lord, I fell down; seven times  
seven I truly prostrated myself," ibid. No. 325:6-8

a-na 2 šêpê šarri<sup>r</sup> bêli-ia .... 7-š[u] ù 7-ta-àm l[u]-ú i[š-t]u-ha(!)-[h]i-in(!), ibid. No. 331:7-11

a-na pa-ni-šu ul-te-hé-hi-in, "He prostrated himself before him,"  
KBo I, No. 3:7; KUB IV 49a

a-na šarri uš-tu-hé-hi-in, "I prostrated myself before the king,"  
JEN IV 321:8

## C. The Nif'al Class

### nabalkutu

#### IV 1 Form

#### Present

1) ša i-ba-la-kà-tu, "(he) who breaks the contract," Mém. XVIII,  
No. 230:18



ša i-ba-la-ka-tu, Mém. XXII, Nos. 42:25 and 61:25

ša ib-ba-la-ka-tu, Mém. XVIII, Nos. 202 rev. 19 and 222:9;

XXII, Nos. 65:3; 68 rev. 2; 9 rev. 8; passim

ša ib-ba-la-ak-ka-tu, Mém. XVIII, Nos. 203:47; 204:51; 205:41;

211:44; XXII, Nos. 19 rev. 4 and 92:16<sup>13</sup>

la ta-ba-lak-ka-ta lišân-šá, "It shall not pass over its tongue," KAR 43:6

<sup>m</sup>amat-šamaš ù ma-ad-du-mu-uq-ilim i-ba-la-ka-tu-ma 1/3 ma-na kaspan išaḡalu, "If Amat-Shamash and Mād-dumuq-ilim break the agreement, they shall pay 1/3 mina of silver," VS VIII, No. 33:21-24 (Sin-muballit)

ú-ul ib-ba-la-ka-tu, OECT III, No. 78:29 (First Babylonian Dynasty)

ib-ba-lak-ka-[tu], BMS, Pl. 32:17

From Nuzi texts (ca. 1500 B.C.):

[m]a-an-nu ša i-bal-la-ka<sub>4</sub>-tu, JEN I 32:14

ša i-bal-la-ka<sub>4</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub>, HSS IX 33:10

ša i-na bi-ri-šu-nu ib-ba-la-ka<sub>4</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub>, "he who among them breaks the agreement," JEN I 89:16

ma-an-nu-um-me-e ša i-na bi-ri-šu-nu i-ba-la-ka-tu<sub>4</sub>, HSS V 58:13 f.

ša i-na bi-ri-šu-nu i-ba-la-ak-<ka>-tu<sub>4</sub>, JEN I 8:17 f.

šum-ma <sup>m</sup>ta-a-a i-ba-la-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-tu<sub>4</sub>-ma, JEN I 11:11 f.

<sup>13</sup> The examples taken from Mém. come from Susa and date back to the time from the Dynasty of Akkad to the First Babylonian Dynasty inclusive.

šum-ma <sup>m</sup>du-ra-ri ib-bá-la-ka<sub>4</sub>-tù, HSS V 30:26 f.; same form,  
ibid. line 30

ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na bi-ri-šú-nu ib-bá-la-ka<sub>4</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub>, HSS V  
60:18 f.

From neo-Assyrian contracts:

man-nu šá ib-bal-lak-kāt-u-ni, "whoever breaks the contract,"  
ADD I 161:9

[man-nu] ša .... [ib]-[bal]-a-kāt-ú-ni, ADD I 265 rev. 6 f.

2) ib-ba-lak-kit, "He will be guilty of breaking the contract,"  
BIN I, No. 114:9

ib-bal-lak-kit, TCL XIII, No. 211:7

šá ib-bal-lak-kit, P. Dhorme in RA XXV (1928) 77, No. 2 rev.

3 (Nebuchadrezzar)

šá ib-bal-la-kit, YOS VI, No. 46:17 (Nabonidus)

ki-ma pi-ti-iq-ti ab-ba-lak-kit-su-nu-ti, "I will cross over  
them as (over) a garden wall," Maqlû, Tablet II 165

me-šir la ib-bal-ak-ki-ta, "He shall not step across the  
boundary," PRTS, No. 105:19

kīma <sup>i</sup>smaurru an-ni-ta ib-ba-lak-ki-tu, "as this barge is  
crossing over," Maqlû, Tablet III 124; same form, CT XVII 34:32

ki-ma <sup>am</sup>šāb<sup>pl</sup> <sup>am</sup>pu-qu-da-a-a šá uš-ši-ú an-ni-i šá šār  
<sup>māt</sup>elamti<sup>ki</sup> il-te-mu-ú ib-ba-lak(!)-kit-ú<sup>14</sup> i-na-du-ú it-ti <sup>md</sup>aššur-  
bân-apli, "When the men of the Fuqudeans, who have gone forth, will

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<sup>14</sup> The reading lak instead of Harper's al is based upon a  
collation made by Dr. Geers.

hear this about the king of Elam, will they rebel? Will they revolt against Ashurbanipal?" ABL 1195 rev. 1-5

šá ib-ba-lak-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>, Strassmaier, Darius, No. 316:22

b a - r a - b a l - e - m e | ib-ba-lak-ki-tú, V R 29:20c-d

še<sub>z</sub>êram ma-la ib-ba-lak-ki-tu-ú, "as much seedland as they will tear up(?)," YOS VI, No. 150:12 (Nabonidus)

la ta-kal a-bi še-e-tu šá dšamaš i-ba-[ar-ka] giš-par-ru ma-mit dšamaš ib-bala-ki-tu-ka-ma i-bar-ru-ka, "Do not eat (it), my father! (Otherwise) the net of Shamash will catch thee; the snare (and) the curse of Shamash will come upon thee and catch thee," Morris Jastrow, Jr., in BA III (1898) 379:11 f.

dûra u sa-me-ti la tab-ba-lak-ki-ta-ni, "Over outer wall and inner wall ye shall not pass," Maqlû, Tablet V 134

From Nuzi contracts:

3) šum-ma <sup>m</sup>te-hi-ia i-bal-ka<sub>4</sub>-at, JEN I 14:8

ma-an-nu-me i-na be-ri-šu-nu i-bal-ka<sub>4</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub>, HSS V 61:7 f.;

IX 115:12

ša ib-bal-ka<sub>4</sub>-tu<sub>4</sub>, HSS V 68:22

šum-ma <sup>m</sup>pa-ni-ú <sup>m</sup>e-ih-pa-a-pu i-bal-ka<sub>4</sub>-tù, JEN I 3:14 f.

From neo-Assyrian documents:

ú-la-a i-bal-ka-ta i-ma-qu-tú, "Or will they revolt (and) fall away?" ABL 312 rev. 11 f.

man-nu ša .... i-bal-ka<sub>4</sub>-u-ni, "whoever .... breaks the contract," ADD I, Nos. 376 rev. 3 f. and 633:7; II, No. 780:11; Scheil in RT XX (1898) 203:10 f.

man-nu šá ina muḥḥi man-ni ib-bal-kat-u-ni, "whoever breaks the agreement with another, VS I, No. 97:10

man-nu ib-bal-kat-u-ni, Scheil in RT XXXVI (1914) 181:21

## Preterit

šumma<sup>ma</sup> ubân kabitti qablîtu ib-ba-al-ki-it-ma, "if the middle finger of the liver has crossed (the bounds of its location)," KAR 447:4

<sup>m</sup>am-ma-ri-tú šîru-uš-šú ib-bal-kit-ma, "Tammariṭu revolted against him," V R 4:1; same form, *ibid.* Pl. 10:10; III R 8:33

lib-bal-kit-si sūqu ù su-lu-ú, "May street and road rebel against her," Maqlû, Tablet V 40; same form, *ibid.* line 41; KAR 267 rev. 18

šad<sup>ka</sup>-šî-ia-ra .... ab-bal-kit, "Mount Kashiṭara .... I traversed," AKA 36:72 f.; same form, KAH II, No. 75:11

ina tar-ši <sup>ma</sup>aššur-uballiṭ .... ummânâte<sup>pl</sup> kaš-šî-e ib-bal-ki-tu, "In the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ .... the Kassites revolted," CT XXXIV 38:8-11; same form, TCL III 310; KAH I, No. 13 ii 8

<sup>am</sup>rabûti<sup>pl</sup>-šú-nu ib-bal-ki-tú, "Their nobles revolted," AKA 237:37

<sup>m</sup>nu-ra-tum ša i-na pa-ni-ia ap-lu-za il-qú-ú-ma ib-ba-al-ki-tu-šî-i-ma, "Nuratum, who before me had taken her inheritance and then turned against her," PBS VII, No. 55:9-11

man-nu šá i-bal-ki-[ti] 4 ma-na kaspu i-tur-ru, "Whoever will have broken the contract shall furnish 4 minas of silver," TMH II/III 271:9 f. (Nabopolassar)

šum-ma ša-mi šarru a-na ardi-šu .... ni-iš-bat âla<sup>ki</sup> la l-[a

ti-il-qí] ṣâbê<sup>pl</sup> mârê<sup>pl</sup> abdi-aš-ra-ti a-na š[a-a-ši] ù ti-bal-ki-  
[tu]<sup>15</sup> amêlûti<sup>pl</sup>-ši, "If the king had hearkened to his servant, ....  
 we would have taken the city, (so that) it would [not have taken] the  
 soldiers of the sons of Abdi-ashrati [to itself], and its people have  
 rebelled," VS XI, No. 73:97-103 (Amarna letter)

ar-ka-niš ina ši-bu-ti-sú mâtât<sup>pl</sup> ka-li-ši-na ib-ba-al-ki-ta,  
 "Afterwards in his old age all the lands revolted," Chronicles II  
 6:11

tí-ir-ta-ak-nu li-ba-al-ki-tám, "May your report get across,"  
 BIN IV, No. 42:29 f.

a-na qa-an-ni mât<sup>i</sup> [i nu-ri]-da-am-ma i ni-ba-al-ki-ta-am-ma,  
 "[Let us go] against the border of the land and let us make an in-  
 vasion," Bezold, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum,  
 No. 2:20 f.

kiš-pu-šá (var.: kiš-pi-šú-nu) lib-bal-ki-tu, "May her (var.:  
 their) spells cross over," Maqlû, Tablet III 125

lib-bal-ki-tu-ši-ma ilâni<sup>pl</sup> šá ṣêri u âli, "May the gods of plain  
 and city rebel against her," Maqlû, Tablet V 42; same form, Tablet  
 VII 16

li-ba-al-ki-tù, "Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the  
 British Museum" IV (London, 1927) 2a:34

ù r - m u n a m - b a - b a l - b a l - e - d è : ana ú-ri-ia  
 a-a ib-bal-ki-tu-ni, "May they not climb up to my roof," CT XVI 14

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<sup>15</sup> This form, instead of ta(b)balkitu, is due to Canaanite influence; see Ebeling in BA VIII (1912) 46.

iii 53 f.; same form, *ibid.* Pl. 32:164

<sup>mât</sup>ú-ru-aṭ-ri ib-bal-ki-tu(var.: -ta)-ni-ma, "(The land of) the Uruatri rebelled against me," KAH I, No. 13 i 27 f.

[.... a-n]a e-piṣ qabli u taḥāzi da-a-a-i-qu ib-bal-kit-u-ni,  
 "To engage in battle and combat, (my troops) crossed the siege ramp,"  
 T. Bauer in ZA XL (1931) 257:8 f. (see also p. 253, n. 31)

<sup>am</sup>rabûti<sup>pl</sup> am-mar ib-bal-ki-tu-ni a-ku-ṣu, "I flayed all the chief men who had revolted," AKA 285:89 f.

<sup>mât</sup>ma-da-a-a .... ša ina šarrâni<sup>pl</sup> abbê<sup>pl</sup>-ia mi-ṣir <sup>mât</sup>aššur<sup>ki</sup> la ib-bal-ki-tú-nim-ma, "the Medes .... who in (the time of) the kings, my fathers, had not crossed the border of Assyria," PEA, Pl. 8:35 f.

i-[nu] naphar ma-[ta-tim] .... [i]-ba-al-ki-tá-an-ni, "when all the cou[ntries] .... revolted against me," CT XXXII 1 i 28-ii 5  
 (Manishtusu)

<sup>mât</sup>qu-ti-i .... ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ni-ma, "The Gutl .... revolted against me," KAH I, No. 13 iii 8-10

i-nu-ma ki-ib-ra-at ar-ba-i iṣ-ti-ni-iṣ ib-ba-al-ki-tu-ni-in-ni,  
 "when the four regions rebelled against me," A. Boissier in RA XVI  
 (1919) 161:12 f.; same form, *ibid.* line 17

#### Participle

[mu]-ba-al-ki-tum, "the one who breaks the contract," H. F. Lutz,  
 Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech ("University of  
 California Publications in Semitic Philology" IX 1 [Berkeley,  
 Calif., 1927]) No. 83 iv 59 f. (Old Akkadian contract!)

## Infinitive

1) š i - š i | pa-da-nu-um

š i - š i - š i | na-ab-la-ku-tum, H. de Genouillac in RA XXV (1928) 124:7 f.<sup>16</sup> (syllabary of the First Babylonian Dynasty)

2) b a l | na-bal-ku-tum, II R 26 rev. 40; same form, CT XXX 22:18  
na-bal-ku-tu e-ni-tum, CT XXXI 40:7

BAL e-nu-ú BAL na-bal-ku-tú, CT XXXI 40:13

na-bal-kut a-tu-u-ni, "There is insurrection against us," ABL 1127:5 (neo-Assyrian)

g i š - ħ a r d i n g i r - r i - e - n e - g é n u - b a l -  
e : ú-šu-rat ilâni<sup>16</sup> šá la na-bal-ku-ti, "the bound(s) of the gods,  
which must not be crossed," CT XVII 34:3 f.

ki-ma pi-ti-iq-ti ana na-bal-ku-ti-ia, "(They have made all  
kinds of spells) to cross over me as (over) a garden wall," Maqlû,  
Tablet II 154

ina na-bal-kut-ti-ka, "when thou crossest (the mountain range),"  
Meek in BA X (1913) 68:14

## Permansive

[KAL] na-ba-al-ku-ut, Ungnad in Babyloniaca II (1907/08) Pl. 6,  
facing p. 257:16

šum[ma ....] rêš manzâzi na-bal-kut(!), "i[f ....] the path of  
the station is crossed," KAR 423 ii rev. 15

s u 11 b a l - b a l | š i - i n - n u na-ba-al-ku-tu, C.-F. Jean in  
RA XXVIII (1931) 158:12

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<sup>16</sup> See also B. Landsberger in AOF, Beiand I (1933) 174.

## IV 2 Form

## Present

[šumma immeru ....] iš-tu imni a-na šumšeli it-ta-ba-lak-ka-at(?),

"[if the .... of the sheep] crosses from the right to the left,"

Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931) No. 9 rev. 3

## Preterit

1) i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi šu-ma <sup>m</sup>[.... it]-ta(!)-bal-kat,<sup>17</sup> "at that time  
[.... r]evolted," BRM IV, No. 49:31 f. (Arikdēnilu)

ṭi-e-mu ut-te-ru-ni ma-a <sup>âl</sup>su-ru .... it(var.: i)-ta-bal-kāt,  
"They brought me word, saying: 'The city of Suru .... has revolted,'"  
AKA 280:75 (Ashurnasirpal)

<sup>mât</sup>ni-ir-bu .... itabalkat<sup>kāt</sup> (var.: i-ta-bal-kāt), AKA 300:  
15 f. (idem); same form, *ibid.* p. 303:24 (idem)

šá it-ta-bal-kāt 10 šiqu kaspu ú-šal-lam, "(He) who breaks the  
contract shall pay 10 shekels of silver," VS V, No. 50:21 (Cambyses)

<sup>mât</sup>ku-ub-bu at-ta-bal-kāt, "I traversed the land of Kubbu," AKA  
375:96 f. (Ashurnasirpal); same form, *ibid.* p. 291:106 (idem)

<sup>šad</sup>kaš-ia-ru at-ta-bal-kāt, "Mount Kashiari I crossed," AKA  
230:14 (Ashurnasirpal); same form, III R 7 ii 14 (Shalmaneser III);  
*ibid.* Pl. 8:31 and 40 (idem); TCL III 29 and 280 (Sargon)

<sup>mât</sup>na-am-da-a-nu <sup>mât</sup>me-ir-ḫi-su a-ta-bal-kāt, III R 8:41  
(Shalmaneser III)

ṭi-e-mu ut-te-ru-ni ma-a niš<sup>ple</sup> <sup>mât</sup>aš-šu-ra-a-a .... it(var.:  
i)-ta-bal-ku-tú(var.: -tu), "They brought me word, saying: 'The

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<sup>17</sup> Clay's copy has ib-bal-kat. But the photograph plainly  
has ta instead of ib; see Pl. IV.



Assyrians .... have revolted,'" AKA 289:101-3 (Ashurnasirpal); it-ta-bal-ku-tú, also in AKA 353:27 (idem)

išbi-nu u iṣgišimmarê<sup>pl</sup> [it-ta-bal-ka-ta], "The tamarisk and the date-palms [rebelled]," KAR 324:19

2) m á š b a - r a - b a l | (ṣi-ip-tu) it-ta-bal-kit, "The rate of interest has risen," ASKT, p. 55:34; same form, ABL 1386:6; VS V, No. 86:13 (Darius); TMH II/III 206:15; ibid. No. 117:15 (Cyrus); ibid. No. 137:20 (Cambyses)

mâtgu-ra-sim-mu i-na qâtê<sup>du</sup>-ia it-ta-bal-ki-tu, "The Gurasimmu have revolted from my control," ABL 754:8; same form, ABL 462:17; Strassmaier, Nabuchodonosor, No. 90:17

[it]-ta-bal-ki-it, "He rebelled," KUB III, No. 58:17 (Hittite)

#### IV 3 Form

##### Present

i n - b a l - b a l - e : it-ta-nab-lak-kât, "He moves back and forth," CT XVII 19:19 f.

kaspum i-ta-na-áb-lá-kà-at, "The silver will continually come over(?)," G. Eisser and J. Lewy in MVAG XXXIII (1928) 302:15 f. (Cappadocian)

l u - l i l <sub>7</sub> - l u - b i z i - n i - t a í - b a l - b a l - e : a-me-lu šu-ú it-ti na-piš-ti-šú it-ta-nab-<lak>-kât, "That man is hostile to himself," CT XVI 24:12 f.

GUD é d ù - a : e-ṭim-mu šá kal bitâti<sup>pl</sup> it-ta-nab-lak-ka-tu<sub>4</sub> : b a l - b a l - e - m e š, "the ghosts that pass over all the houses," CT XVI 14 iv 16

<sup>f</sup>kaššapti-ia<sub>5</sub> e-li-ni-ti-ia<sub>5</sub> šá tattanallaki<sup>ki</sup> kal mâtâtî ta-at-ta-nab-lak-ka-ti kal šadâni<sup>pl</sup> nî, "my sorceress, my enchantress, who roamest over all the lands, (who) crossest all the mountains," Maqlû, Tablet VI 118-20 and 127-29

é - t a é - a - š è i n - b a l - b a l - e - d è : iš-tu bi-ti ana bi-ti it-ta-nab-lak-ka-tù, "They break through from house to house," CT XVI 12 i 26 f.

šumma ša-pu-la-šú it-ta-nab-la-ka-[ta], KAR 401 rev.(?) 4

#### Infinitive

ina i-tab-lak-ku-ti, IV R 60\* C rev. 6

#### IV 4 Form

##### Preterit

šadâni<sup>pl</sup> mî dan-nu-tu<sup>pl</sup> it-ta-ta-bal-ki-tu, "(he) who crossed over mighty mountains," KAH II, No. 84:31

#### IV 5 Form

##### Preterit

at-ta-tab-lak-ka-ta šá-di-i šap-[lu-ti], "I repeatedly crossed the lo[wer] mountains," Chronicles II 92:17

#### III 1 Form

##### Present

1) in kirîm i-ṭa-ba-aḥ-šî-[ma] ma-ša<sub>10</sub>-ak-ša<sub>10</sub> uš-ba-la-kà-at, "In the orchard he shall slay it [and] shall strip off its skin," Mém. XIV 123

šu dîn-su uš-ba-la-kà-tù, "who perverts his judgment," Mém.

IV, Pl. 2 iv 9 f.

ITU-3-KAM la ma-ma-na uš-ba-la-ak-ka-tu, "(Now already in) the third month they are unable to induce anyone to revolt," CT IV 1:7

[iš(?)]-tu bi-ti-ka [uš(?)]-ba-la-ka-tu-nim, Mém. X, Pl. 9, No. 2:3 f.

2) tu-sá-bal-kát, V R 45 vi 53

a-mah-ḥa-aš si-ip-pu-ma ú-sá-bal-kát <sup>iš</sup>dalât<sup>iPl</sup>, "I shall smash the door pivot and remove the doors," IV R 31:18

ú-sá-bal-kát, "I will change (the contract)," YOS III, No. 193:

17

<sup>am</sup>maḥḥān<sup>iPl</sup> pá-šú-nu ú-sá-bal-ku-tú, "The chiefs are speaking rebelliously" (lit.: they are causing their mouth to overstep the bounds)," ABL 205 rev. 1 f.

3) ú ma-an-nu ša ba-a-na-a-ti [...] uš-bal-kat-ma, VS XI, No. 15:17 f. (Amarna letter)

#### Preterit

1) <sup>am</sup>a-ru-bu ka-li-šú eli <sup>m</sup>ia-ta-'a uš-bal-kit-ma, "He caused all the Arabs to revolt against Iatâ," PEA, Pl. 8:24; same form, I R 29:41 (Shamshi-Adad V); ibid. Pl. 49 ii 17 (Esarhaddon); ABL 483:7; CT XXVI 15:65 (Sennacherib); V R 3:100; Winckler, Sargon II, Pl. 31:34

šum-ma amēlu ta-ḥu-ú-ma šihra .... us-bal-ki-it, "if a man has removed the small boundary ....," O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. "Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen," No. 35 [Leipzig, 1920]) No. 2 iv 20 f. (Assyrian code)

liš-bal-kit kiš-pi-ku-nu <sup>d</sup>asari-lú-du<sub>10</sub>, "May Asariludu overturn your sorcery," Maqlû, Tablet IV 7 f.

iškussi-ia li-iš-bal-ki-it, "May he overturn my throne," KBo I, No. 3 rev. 35 (Hittite)

<sup>d</sup>[kin]-gu-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-qu-un-tu ti-[âmat] uš-bal-ki-tú-ma, "It was Kingu who created the strife and caused Ti[âmat] to revolt," KAR 164:23 f.

ma-tam uš-ba-al-ki-tu, "They tried to cause the land to revolt," CT IV 1:6 (First Babylonian Dynasty)

nu-uš(!)-ba-al-ki-it, TCL XIX, No. 44 rev. 19 (Cappadocian)  
iškussâ-ka li-iš-bal-ki-it-tù, "May they overturn thy throne," KBo I, No. 1 rev. 64 (Hittite)

2) iškussâ šarru-ti-šú li-šá-bal-ki-t-ma, "May he overthrow his royal throne," C. F. Lehmann, Šamaššumukin, König von Babylonien (Leipzig, 1892) Pls. 16:75 f. and 22:93 f.

[man]-nu-um-ma šá ib-nu-ú tu-qu-un-tu <sup>d</sup>[ti-âmat] ú-šá-bal-ki-tú-ma, "Who was it that created the strife and caused [Tiâmat] to revolt?" KAR 164:17 f.

an-nu ú-sa-bal-ki-tú, "These have caused rebellion," ABL 1250 rev. 10 (Assyrian)

#### Imperative

me-iḫ-ra-am ša ṭup-pi-im .... šu-ba-al-ki-it-ma šé-bi<sub>4</sub>-lam, "A copy of the tablet .... bring over and send (it) to me," TCL XIX, No. 9:16-20

me-iḫ-ra-am ša ú-ṭí-tí-ka šu-ba-al-<ki>-it, "A copy concerning

thy wheat bring over," "Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum" II 15:27 f.

kaspam ù tup-pí-šu šu(!)-ba-[al(!)]-ki-ta-ma,<sup>18</sup> "Let the silver and his tablet come over here," ibid. IV 34b:19 f.

#### Infinitive

ina muhhi ša-bal-ku-te ša ma-a-ti, "concerning the rebellion of the land," ABL 223 rev. 6 f. (Assyrian)

#### Permansive

ki pí ú-íl-tim gab-ri nippur<sup>ki</sup> šu-bal-kut. Pinches, The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection (London, 1915) No. 110:21  
[š e - m a r - š u] - b a l - a g - a | MIN (= še-im) šá ina mar-ri šu-bal-ku-tú, "(grain) which was thrown over with a winnowing-shovel," CT XIX 41(K 272):14

#### III 2 Form

##### Preterit

di-na-a ul-ta-bal-kit, "He overthrew justice," ABL 716 rev. 18  
i-li-ik-ma a-ha-sú uš-ta-ba-al-ki-it, "He went and caused his sister to depart (therefrom)," "Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum" III (London, 1925) 15:16 f.  
uš-ta-ba-al-ki-sú (= uštábalkitsu), TCL XIX, No. 50:35  
uš-ta-bal-ki-tu-ki, Maqlû, Tablet III 57

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<sup>18</sup> Copy has ku-ba-[ta]-ki-ta-ma.

## Infinitive

k u š - d ù g - g a n - a n - t i - b a l | š u - t a - b a l - k u ( ? )<sup>19</sup> -  
tum, LTBA I, No. 33 iii 9

## III 3 Form

## Preterit

ul - t a b - l a k - k i - i s - s u - [ m a ] ul e - l i - ' i - i a n u - u s - s u, "I tried to move  
 him away, but I could not remove (him)," Thompson, Gilg. Pl. 6:30

## Infinitive

[ s ] a g ( ? ) b a l - k i - t a | š u - t a b - l a k - k u - t u, BAW II 77  
 [ . . . . b a ] l | š u - t a b - l a k - k u - t ú, LTBA I, No. 84:9

naharbušu

## IV 3 Form

## Present

šumma ina arah<sup>h</sup>du'uzi mīlu illak-ma mû-šú it - t a - n a - a h ( ? )<sup>20</sup> - r a - b a -  
šú, "if a flood comes in the month of Tammuz and its waters are  
 chilly(?)," CT XXXIX 15:29

naharmumu

## IV 1 Form

## Preterit

a - m i - i r - š ú - n u š a r - b a - b i - i š l i - i h - h a r - m i - i m, "(so that) he who  
 looks upon them shall perish from terror," STC II 16:25; same form,  
 CT XIII 11:87

<sup>19</sup> Copy has [ki].

<sup>20</sup> Copy has har, which is perhaps a mistake for ah.

## Infinitive

na-ḥar-mu-mu | na-ḥar-mu-ṭu, V R 28:66g-h

## III 1 Form

## Present

[...] -na | uš-ḥa-ram-ma-mu-uš(!) | [na]-[ḥar-mu-mu | na-ḥar-mu-ṭu], CT XLI 41:21; Landsberger in ZA XLIII (1936) 71, footnote

šar-ba-bi-iš uš-ḥa-ram-ma-mu-šu ú-bal-lu-šú ki-ma la-a-mi, "They cause him to perish from terror, they extinguish him like a flame," James A. Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts I (Leipzig, 1895) 52:52; Landsberger in ZA XLIII (1936) 70:286

## Preterit

a-mir-šú-nu šar-ba-ba liš-ḥar-[mi-mu], "that they might cause him who looks upon them to perish from terror," CT XIII 7:29

[a-mir-š]u-nu šar-ba-ba (var.: -ba-bi-iš) liš-[ḥar-mi-mu] (var.: li-ih-ḥ[ar-mi-im]), KAR 118 rev. 6; STC II 4:9

naharmutu

## IV 1 Form

## Present

šalam-šú ú-'à-ab-ba-tú-ma<sup>21</sup> ih-ḥa-ra-am-ma-tu, "They will destroy and demolish his image," AKA 251:85 f. (= I R 27:85 f.)

## Preterit

šá i-pu-šú kiš-pi ki-ma ṭābtī lih(!)-ḥar-miṭ, "The enchantment

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<sup>21</sup> For the reading 'a-a as 'à see Poebel, Studies, p. 29, n. 2.

which she has produced may dissolve like salt," Maqlû, Tablet I 33;  
pp. 53:33 and 57, ca. line 27<sup>22</sup>

## Infinitive

na-ḥar-mu-mu | na-ḥar-mu-ṭu, V R 28:66g-h  
 z u - u r | ZUR | na-ḥar-mu-ṭu, CT XII 10:24a  
 z a - a l | ZAL | na-ḥar-mu(!)-ṭu, B. Zimolong, Das sumerisch-assyrische Vokabular Ass. 523 (Leipzig, 1922) pp. 10 and 13<sup>23</sup>  
 š á - a l | ŠĀL | na-ḥar-muṭ, E. F. Weidner in RA XI (1914) 124:14 (neo-Babylonian)

## IV 2 Form

## Preterit

[ṭup-p]a ša ri-ki-il-ti a-na <sup>m</sup>ri-mi-šār-ma .... a-bu-ú-a <sup>m</sup>mur-ši-  
 [li] e-pu-ša-aš-šu ù ṭup-pa it-ta-ḥar-ma-aṭ, "A treaty [table]t for  
 Rimisharma .... my father Murshi[li] made, but the tablet was de-  
 stroyed," KBo I, No. 6:3 f.

## III 1 Form

## Present

šarru ša qí-bit pī-šú uš-ḥar-ma-ṭu šadē<sup>pl</sup> e, "the king whose word  
 destroys mountains," AKA 218:13 (Ashurnāṣirpal)

la uš-ḥar-ma-si, "He shall not destroy it," AKA 248:39 (idem)

<sup>22</sup> In all three cases Tallqvist's copy has liš-ḥar-miṭ, which no doubt stands for lih-ḥar-miṭ and is perhaps due to a scribal error in the original, from where the mistake crept into subsequent copies.

<sup>23</sup> Zimolong reads na-ḥar-ma-ṭu, but the photograph plainly has na-ḥar-mu-ṭu.



## Preterit

áš-šu ah-rat u<sub>4</sub>-me qaq-qar âli šu-a-tu ù bîâtî<sup>Pl</sup> ilâni<sup>Pl</sup> la  
muš-ši i-na ma-a-mi uš-har-miṭ-su-ma, "That in days to come the site  
of that city and the temples of the gods might not be discerned, I  
blotted it out with water," III R 14:53 f.; same form, V R 3:69

<sup>d</sup>girru liš-ru-up-šú-mu-ti <sup>d</sup>girru liš-har-miṭ-su-nu-t[i], "May  
the fire-god burn them up; may the fire-god destroy them," Maqlû,  
Pl. 94:16

## Infinitive

z a l - b i - r i - a | šu-har-mu-ṭi, Weidner in AOF VII (1931/  
32) 273:26

## Participle

iz-zu <sup>d</sup>girru muš-har-miṭ a-pi, "mighty fire-god, who destroyest  
the canebrakes," Maqlû, Tablet II 128

muš-har-me-ṭu ga-ri-e-šú, "who destroys his opponents," VS I, No.  
78 rev. 24

mu-uš(var.: muš)-har-me-ṭi(var.: -miṭ) kul-lat nâkirê<sup>Pl</sup>-šú, "who  
destroys all his enemies," AKA 266:35

napalsuhu

## IV 1 Form

## Present

amêlu ina kihulli bîti-šú ip-pa-la-sah, "The man will fall down  
at the place of mourning in his house," TCL VI, Pl. 3:13; CT XXXVIII  
38:39

[....] bīt it-lu ip-pa-la-sa-hu, Bezold, Catalogue, p. 1776

[é t] u<sub>18</sub> - uš m e - i š MÉS | bīt it-lu i-pa-la-sa-hu,

Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, No. 42

rev. 5

#### Preterit

ur-sa-a qaq-qa-riš ip-pal-si-ih, "Ursâ prostrated himself on the ground," TCL III 411

ina iršiti lip-pal-sih, "He shall prostrate himself on the ground," AMT 90, 1:13

#### Infinitive

g u - u s | GUS | na-pal-su-hu, TCL VI, Pl. 70 i 27 and 32

d ú r - r u - u [n] | na-pal-su-hu, Langdon in RA XIII (1916) 191  
rev. 19c-d (= II R 26:19a-b)

k i - l á | na-pal-su-hu, II R 49:26a-b

ú r - z é - z é | ú r - d u<sub>17</sub> - [d u<sub>17</sub>] | na-pal-su-hu, V R  
11:21a<sup>24</sup>

#### Permansive

1) [....] a - š e - i r - r a m u - n a - d ú r - r u - n e -  
e š : [....] ta-ni-hi na-pal-su-hu-ši, "[With] sighing they are  
prostrate before her," Macmillan in BA V (1906) 667:15 f.

2) ru-bu-ú ina qaq-qar na-pal-si-ih. "The prince lies prostrate  
upon the ground," BRM IV, Pl. 4:8

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<sup>24</sup> For the reading of the Sumerian cf. Poebel, Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik (Rostock, 1923) p. 30, § 84; idem in ZA XXXIX (1930) 155.

ne-pal-sih, KAR 196 rev. ii 23

#### Permansive Participle

na-pal-su-uh-tum | MIN (= ku-us-[su]-u) MIN (= šá-pil-tum), CT  
XVIII 3 vi and v 8 (= II R 23:8a-b)

#### IV 2 Form

##### Preterit

[ina e-pi]-ri it-ta-pal-si-ih, "He threw himself down [in the  
du]st," Thompson, Gilg. Pl. 57:97

k i - s i k i l .... s a ḥ a r - ḥ u b - b a b a - t u š :  
ar-da-tum .... ina e-pi-ri it-ta-pal-sih, "The slave-girl .... threw  
herself down in the dust," ASKT, p. 120:5 f.

[....] - b i s a ḥ a r - r a d u r u n - n a - e š - à m [....]  
ina e-pir it-ta-pal-si-ih, "They have(?) thrown themselves down in the  
dust," Meek in BA X (1913) 109:12 f.

#### III 1 Form

##### Imperative

šu(?)-pal-sih-šú-nu-ti,<sup>25</sup> "Cause them to prostrate themselves,"  
Maqlû, Pl. 94:13

šu-pal-si-hi ina šap-li-ia, "Throw (them) down under me," STC II,  
Pl. 83:98

##### Infinitive

1) [....] bīt šu-pal-su-hi, Bezold, Catalogue, p. 1776

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<sup>25</sup> The copy has lip-pal-sih-šú-nu-ti. But this form is impossible, because napalsuḥu is intransitive.

2) [é] - d ú r - m è š | bīt šu-pal-si-ih iṭ-lu-ti, Schroeder,  
Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, No. 42 rev. 8;  
Scheil in RA XIV (1917) 174:17

naparqudu<sup>26</sup>

## IV 1 Form

## Present

[....] ù ip-pa-ra-qid [....], KAR 357:58

## Preterit

šumma GAR.TAB imitta ik-bi-is-ma ip-pār-qid, CT XX 31:15; same  
form, ibid. line 16; Pls. 32:80 f. and 36:19 f., 21, 23

## Permansive

šumma [is:kakkil] lunun libbi na-pār-qud, DA 218 rev. 7

šumma kaskasu imitta u šumēla na-pār-qud, CT XX 45:17; same form,  
TCL VI, Pl. 12:1 f. and 26; CT XXXI 36:8; KAR 423 i 19; PRTS, No. 129  
obv. 9 and rev. 3; KAR 422 rev. 13 ff.; passim

šumma GAR.TAB imitta na-pār-qú-da-at, CT XX 31:17; same form,  
ibid. line 18; Pl. 33:94; TCL VI, Pl. 2:34; KAR 151:54

## IV 3 Form

## Present

šumma kaskasu imitta ik-bi-is-ma it-ta-nap-raq-qad,<sup>27</sup> Boissier,

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<sup>26</sup> This verb is apparently connected with the Talmudic parqēd, "to lie on one's back," and with the Arabic barqaṭa, "to turn back," of which the t-form tabarqaṭa means "to fall on one's back." It is thus equated by Dr. Samuel I. Feigin. This word seems to occur only in amn texts.

<sup>27</sup> In these passages the syllable qad is written with the ŠU-sign, which shows that the third radical is q.

Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne (Genève, 1905) p. 95:19; same form, *ibid.* line 20; probably also in CT XX 29:16

naparsudu

IV 1 Form

Present

[d u<sub>10</sub> - b a d - d u - z u a - b] a b a - r a - š u b - [b u] :  
ina pi-[it] pu-ri-di-ka man-nu ip-pa-ra-šš-šid, "When thou stridest  
forth, who shall escape?" IV R 26, No. 4:1 f.

[d u<sub>10</sub> (!) - b a d (!)] - d u - m u a - [b a] b a - r a -  
š u b - b u : ina pi-it(!) pu-ri-di-ia man-nu ip-[pa-raš]-šid, ASKT,  
p. 128:69 f.

man-ma šá a-na bēl šarrāni<sup>pl</sup> i-ḥaṭ-ṭu-ú ul ip-para-šid,<sup>28</sup> "Who-  
ever sins against the lord of kings shall not escape," ABL 808 rev.  
10-12

Preterit

e-diš ip-par-šid, "He fled alone," VS I, No. 83 i 11; I R 43:8;  
III R 12:34; V R 8:42; same form, V R 9:40 and 10:12; PEA, Pl. 9 v 11  
<sup>m</sup>la-a-a-li-e šār <sup>ā</sup>l<sup>1</sup>ia-di-')i [ša] ul-tú la-pa-an <sup>i</sup>š<sup>1</sup>kakkē<sup>pl</sup>-ia  
ip-par-ši-du, "Lai<sup>1</sup>alê, the king of Iadî, [who] fled before my weap-  
ons," I R 46 iii 40 f.

a-na pa-ni dšamšiši ip-pár-ši-du, "They fled before the sun,"  
KBo I, No. 5 i 10 f.; same form, BRM IV, No. 8:26; AKA 37:86 and 38:3  
ša i-na giš-par-ri-šú e-piš li-mut-ti la ip-par-šid-du-ma, "whose  
net no evil-doer has (yet) escaped," TCL III 118; same form, *ibid.*

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<sup>28</sup> For this reading see I. J. Gelb in AJSL LIII (1937) 183.

lines 149, 175, 214; I R 44:54; Winckler, Sargon II, Pl. 35:133

ṣâbê<sup>Pl</sup> am-mar ištu pân iṣkakkê<sup>Pl</sup>-a ip-pár-ši-du-ni, "all the men who had fled from before my weapons," AKA 227:47; same form, *ibid.* pp. 277:66; 279:72; 298:9

[lil]-par-ši-du-ni, "Let them escape," AMT 42, 4:7

[lil]-par-ši(!)-du-ú-ni, AMT 45, 5:5

#### Infinitive

ilâni<sup>Pl</sup> rabûti<sup>Pl</sup> .... šá la na-par-šu-di, "the great gods .... from whom there is no escape," V R 4:61; same form, TCL III 315 and 333

ni-ta la-mu-ú na-par-šu-diš (var.: -di-iš)<sup>29</sup> la li-ʾè, "They were completely encircled, (so that) it was not possible to flee," CT XIII 19:110 and 21 rev. 18

#### Permansive Participle

na-par-šu-du-um-ma ul ip-par-šid, "Not a fugitive escaped," PEA, Pl. 10:19

#### IV 2 Form

##### Preterit

it-ta-par-šid, Meissner in ZA VII (1892) 29 iii 1

it-ta-par-ši-id, *ibid.* line 2

<sup>29</sup> Naparšudiš = ana naparšudi; see von Soden in ZA XLI (1933) 126.

## IV 3 Form

## Preterit

ul-tu šadē<sup>30</sup> bīt mar-ki-ti-šú a-šar it-ta-nap-raš-ši-du<sup>30</sup> ki-ma  
 surdī a-bar-šu-ma bal-ṭu-us-su al-qa-áš-šú a-na mât daššurki, "From  
 the mountains, the place of his refuge, whither he used to flee, I  
 brought him forth like a falcon and took him to Assyria alive," V R  
 10:13-16

## Participle

ša amêli mut-tap-raš-ši-di, "of the fugitive man," KAR 96:19;  
 same form, *ibid.* lines 21, 25, 27

naparzuḫu

## III 1 Form

## Preterit

sa-at-tu-uk ilâni rabûte uš-pa-ar-zi-ih-ma, "I made abundant the  
 offerings of the great gods," I R 65 ii 38

*immer* niqêp<sup>1</sup> taš-ri-ih-ti aq-qî uš-par-zi-ih si-ga-ar-šá (var.:  
 šî-gar-šá), "I offered up abundant sacrifices; I provided its sanc-  
 tuary(?) with plenty," YOS I, No. 41:15; Thureau-Dangin in RA XI

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<sup>30</sup> This is really a IV 3 present form, as we shall see in the last chapter of our investigation; but the context very plainly requires a IV 3 preterit, i.e. the form ittaprašsidu. There are various ways of explaining this difficulty. It may be that the inscription in reality has ap instead of nap, or that we are dealing with a scribal error, or that the scribe failed to realize that the tn-element was already contained in ittaprašsidu (= \*ittaprašsidu) and simply regarded ittaprašsidu as a IV 2 form instead of a IV 3 and that he therefore substituted ittanašsidu, which to him appeared to be the IV 3 preterit, for ittaprašsidu. On the last mentioned possibility see Poebel, *Studies*, pp. 50 ff.

(1914) 98:15; compare Ungnad in ZA XXXI (1917/18) 53 f.

[niqêPl] qa-aš-du-u-ti [a-na] dnabû dtaš-me-tum bē[1ē]Pl-[ia] aq-qi-ma uš-par-[zi]-ha ki-rib êkurri, "I offered pure [sacrifices] to Nabû (and) Tashmêtum, my lords, and provided the interior of the temple with plenty," Streck, Assurbanipal III 842 iv 13-16; Meissner in OLZ XIX (1916) 311

#### Infinitive

DUG du - d u DUG | šu-pár-zu-hu, TCL VI, Pl. 65 i 8

[...] hu - ú | šu-pár-zu-hu, CT XVIII 25(K 10094):7<sup>31</sup>

#### našarbuṭu

#### IV 1 Form

#### Infinitive

bu - ú | KASKALA | [ka - a] s - ka - la | na-šar-bu-ṭu, YOS I, Pl. 47:232

bu - ú | KASKALA | na-šár-bu-su,<sup>32</sup> CT XXXV 6:65

#### IV 3 Form

#### Present

[e] - ne - è m d m u - u l - l í l - l á - g é t u k t u k - à m : a-mat dMIN it-ta(n)-na-aš-rab-biṭ, "The word of Enlil sweeps along," SBH, No. 52 rev. 37 f.; same form, ibid. No. 4:39

a n - e d i n - n a l í l - g i m í - b u - b u : šá ina ši-rim

<sup>31</sup> Ungnad (ZA XXXI 54) furthermore refers to CT XVIII 31 obv. 5: su-pár-su-hu, which he would like to emend to šu-pár-zu-hu.

<sup>32</sup> Našarbuṣu, obviously identical with našarbuṭu, is probably a dialectical form.



ki-ma za-qí-qí it-ta-na-áš-rab-bi-tu, "who sweeps along like the wind on the steppe," CT XVII 29:5 f.; same form, CT XVI 1:37

ad-ki šâbê<sup>pl</sup> tahâzê<sup>pl</sup>-ia mun-tah-ši ša ina qí-bit aššur dšin u dīstar it-ta-na-áš-rab-bi-tu ina qa-bal tam-ḥa-ri, "I mobilized my warriors, my fighters, who by the command of Ashur, Sin, and Ishtar ever sweep along in the midst of the battle," A.C. Piepkorn, Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal I (Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. "Assyriological Studies," No. 5 [1933]) 66:80 f.

#### Participle

b u - b u : mut-taš-rab-bi-it, "one who sweeps along," SBH, No. 9:39

e - n e - n e - n e l í l - l á b ú - b ú (var.: b u - b u) - m e š : šú-nu za-qí-qu mut-taš-ra-bi-tu-ti (var.: -tu), "They are the winds that sweep along," CT XVI 15 v 4 f.; ibid. line 40 has mut-taš-rab-bi-tu-ti (var.: -tú)

#### nazarbubu

#### IV 1 Form

#### Infinitive

l i k i r - t u g - t u g | na-zar-bu-bu, CT XVIII 45 rev. 9a-b  
s u r | na-zar-bu-[bu], CT XI 33(K 7761):7

#### Permansive

na-šú-ú tam-ḥa-ra na-zar-bu-bu la-ab-bu, "They prepare for battle, they fume, they rage," CT XIII 11:79

negeltû<sup>33</sup>

## IV 1 Form

## Preterit

[il-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši dīštar ú-šab-ru-u-šú, "He awoke, and Ishtar let him see a vision," III R 32 v 47 f.

[ina mu-ši i]t-til [ig-gil-tu-ma šu-ut-tum, "[During the night he] lay down and awoke from a dream," Thompson, Gilg. Pl. 34:13

[šiptu še]-ir-ru ša .... [ana r]i-gim qūli-šú .... dē-a ig-gi-el-tú(!) [dīštar i]g-gi-el-tu-ma, "[Incantation: Ch]ild .... [at] whose lamentation .... Ea awoke, [Ishtar] awoke," AMT 96, 2:9-13

ina pi-it-tim-ma il-pu-us-su-ma ig-gil-ta-a (var.: i-te-gil-ta-a) amēlu, "Suddenly he touched him, and the man awoke," Thompson, Gilg. Pl. 51:218

lu-pu-us-su-ma li-ig-gil-ta-a amēlu, "Touch him, and let the man awake," ibid. Pl. 50:206

## IV 2 Form

## Preterit

ina pi-it-tim-ma il-pu-us-su-ma i-te-gil-ta-a (var.: ig-gil-ta-a) amēlu, ibid. Pl. 51:218

[ina] pi-it-tim-ma te-it-[te]-gil-ta-a at-ta, "Suddenly thou didst awake," ibid. Pl. 51:228

nehelsû

## IV 1 Form

## Present

rubû .... iḥ-ḫi-li-ḡi-ma, "The prince .... will fall," CT XXVII

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of this verb see BAW II 18 f.

34:10

ana irsiti ih-hi-li-ši, CT XXVIII 50:12rubû [....] ih-hi-li-iš-ši, CT XXVII 33:14-17

## Preterit

1) [l ù š i š̃] g i š̃ i m m a r - t a b a - a n - z i - i r -  
 z i - i r - r i - d a h é - m e - e n : [lu-u] šá iš-tu gi-šim-ma-  
 ri ih-hi-il-ša-a at-[tal], "Be it that thou art one who hath slid from  
 a date-palm," CT XVI 10 v l f.

šumma<sup>ma</sup> šá imitti ana imitti šá šumêli ana šumêli ih-hi-el-šu-  
 ma, "if they slide; the one on the right to the right, the one on the  
 left to the left," CT XX 27(K 4069):14

2) ir-ši-tum lu-ú šu-ri-pu-ma te-ih-li-iš-ša-a, "Let the ground  
 be ice, that ye may slip," KBo I, Nos. 1 rev. 67 and 3 rev. 15 (Hit-  
 tite)

## Permansive

iš<sup>kakku</sup> ri-ši ana nâri TÛ ne-hi-el-šu, "The weapon of the helper  
 is fallen toward the river .....", CT XX 15:23 and 48:15

[....] ne-hi-el-ša-at, DA 227:32

## IV 2 Form

## Preterit

ú r - b i b a - a n - š i - i r | i-š̃i-is-su it-te-hi-il-su,  
 II R 15:23a-b

## IV 3 Form

## Infinitive

s a g - k i - d ú b - d i | i-ta-ah-li-s[u], BAW II 76:39

## III 1 Form

## Preterit

i n - [š i - i] r | uš-hal-ši, ASKT, p. 51:43

<sup>d</sup>siriš nap-šat ilâni<sup>Pl</sup> eli-ia us-hal-gu, "Wine, the life of the gods, they have caused to slip away from me (lit.: upon me)," KAR 108:8; Langdon, Babylonian Wisdom (London, 1923) Pl. 5:24

išid um-ma-ni-šu li-iš-ši-šî, "May he cause the foundation of his troops to slide," CH xliii 24 f.

## Participle

[b] a - a n - š i - i r | muš-hal-gi-tum, Meissner, Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern (Leiden, 1898) "Autographien," p. 22 (Rm 345):21

nekelmû

## IV 1 Form

## Present

ik-ki-lim-mu(var. adds -û)-ma ul ú-tar-ra ki-šad-su, "He looks on and does not turn his neck," CT XIII 27:29; STC II 48:9

ilâni<sup>Pl</sup> mâta ikkilimmû(IGI.HUŠ.MEŠ; var.: ik-ki-lim-mu-u), "The gods will look upon the country," CT XXXIX 33:52 and 18:89

## Preterit

ù - m u - u n š â - í b - b a - b i s a g - k i - b a - a b - g í d : be-lum ina ug-gat lîb-bi-šú ik-kil-ma(n)-an-ni, "The lord has looked upon me in the anger of his heart," IV R 10:48 f.

[l ú i g i] - ħ u l - g á l - e i g i - ħ u š b a - a n - š i - í b - í l - l a : [ša i]-nu li-mut-tú iz-zi-iš ik-kil-mu-šú, "upon

whom an evil eye has looked in anger," V R 50:71 f.

i - b í - ħ u š - a - z u š u - n i - i n - í l - [l a] : šá  
iz-zi-iš tak-kil-mu-šu, "upon whom thou hast looked in anger," OECT  
VI, Pl. 10(Sm 306):10 f.

iz-zi-iš lik-kil-mi-šu, "May he look upon him in anger," IV R 12  
rev. 32

<sup>d</sup>na-na-a ag-giš lik-kil-me-šu, "May Nanā look upon him in anger,"  
YOS I, No. 40:23; same form, *ibid.* No. 41:24; KAH II, No. 127 viii 3;  
ADD I, Nos. 646 rev. 28 and 647 rev. 28; Maqlû, Tablet V 45

<sup>d</sup>marduk i-na nap-ħar ma-li-ki lik-kil-mu-šu-ma, "May Marduk  
single him out from among all princes," Meissner and Rost in BA III  
(1898) 347 vi 11-13; same form, I R 70 iii 11; Maqlû, Tablet VII 17;  
III R 41 ii 14; V R 56:38

ilâniPl rabûti .... iz-zi-iš li-kil(var.: -kil)-mu-šu-ma, AKA  
107:74 f.

iz-zi-iš li-ki-el-mu-šu-ma, AKA 10:32; KAH I, No. 3 rev. 27

aššur u <sup>d</sup>ninurta iz-zi-eš lik-kal-mu-šu, AKA 188:30 (Ashurnasir-  
pal)

#### Infinitive

1) s a g - k i - [k] é š (?) - d a | ni-ik-li-mu-ú, Langdon in  
RA XXVIII (1931) 18:7

s a g - k i - g í d - d a | MIN (= ni-ik-li-mu-ú), *ibid.* line 8

2) s a g - k i - k é š - d a | ni-kil-mu-ú, *idem* in RA XIV (1917)  
11 rev. ii 7 (= V R 20:40e-f)

s a g - k i - g í d - d a | MIN (= ni-kil-mu-ú), *idem* in RA  
XIV 11 rev. ii 8 (= V R 20:41e-f)

s a g - k i - s a r - d a | ni-kil-mu-u, II R 38:10g-h

s a g - k i - g í d - d a | ni-kil-mu-u, II R 38:11g-h

i g i - s u h | ni-kil-mu-ú, ASKT, p. 198:40

i g i - í l | ni-kil-mu-ú, ASKT, p. 198:41

[ni]-[kil]-mu-ú na-ṭa-lum, CT XX 26:13

[i-na] ni-kil-mi-šá ku-zu-ub-šá il-qí, "[With] her look she (the enchantress) took away her charm," Maqlû, Tablet III 10

#### Permansive

šumma iz-bu KIMIN l qaqqad-su zibbat-su ni-kil-mu, "if a fetus ditto, its one head is looking (toward) its tail," CT XXVII 11 rev. 16; same form, CT XX 2 rev. 3 and 26:12

a-di ma-ti <sup>d</sup>bêlti bêlê<sup>pl</sup> da-ba-bi-ia ni-kil-mu-ú-in-ni, "How long, my lady, shall my calumniators be gazing upon me?" STC II 79:56

#### IV 2 Form

##### Preterit

u r - s a g <sup>n a 4</sup> a l g a m i š b a - g u b i g i - t ú l -  
b a - a n - a g : qar-ra-du ana al-ga-mi-ši iz-ziz-ma it-te-kil-me-  
š<sup>u</sup>, "The hero stepped up to the algamishu-stone and looked at him,"  
Ludwig Abel and Hugo Winokler, Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vor-  
lesungen (Berlin, 1890) p. 60:18 f. ("Hymnus an Ninib")

#### IV 3 Form

##### Present

[....] DU - z u i - b í a - b a s u h - s u h - e š : gi-ru-  
ka za-ia-a-ru it-te-ni-ik-li-mu-ú, "Thine enemies, those who hate (thee), are ever looking upon (thee)," KAR 128:26

## Participle

<sup>d</sup>nin-urta ušungallu mu-tak-lam-mi qar-da-[mi], "sovereign Ninurta, who lookest upon the evil foe," KAR 83 rev. 13

šumma mu-ut-te-ik-lim-mu-[u] ....], "if he is one who looks [....],"  
F. R. Kraus in ZA XLIII (1936) 100:6

## Infinitive

s a g - d ú b - d ú b | i-te-ik-lim-mu-ú, VR 16:45c-d

nemerkû<sup>34</sup>

## IV 1 Form

## Present

kaspu ina šêri ul im-[mar]-rik-ki, "The silver shall not remain behind in the country," Strassmaier, Nabuchodonosor, No. 64:21 f.

a-na-ku am-me-rik-ki, "I shall remain behind," YOS III, No. 17:51  
mi-ma ma-la ina lîb-bi im-me-ri-ik-ku-u, "Whatever thereof will still be due (at the appointed time)," BE IX, No. 64:9

ma-la ina lîb-bi im-mir-ik-[ku-ú], BE X, No. 29:9

<sup>m</sup>šum-ukîn u <sup>md</sup>šamaš-ahhê<sup>Pl</sup>-iddin im-me-rik-[ku-u], BE VIII 1, No. 25:23

## Preterit

ša <sup>i8</sup>ma-gar-ra-šu bit i-mit-ti šarri bêli-šú la im-mir-ku-ma,  
"whose chariot did not remain behind the right of the king, his lord,"  
L. W. King, Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the  
British Museum (London, 1912) Pls. 84:26 f. and 85:4 f.

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<sup>34</sup> This verb has been discussed by von Soden in OLZ XXXVIII (1935) 345-48 and in ZA XLIV (1938) 180 f.

am-mar-ka, "I remained behind," TMH II/III 260:5

l littu rabītu šá kak-kab-tum še-en-di-e-ti ul-tu LID.GUD<sup>coll</sup>-ia  
ina muh-ḫi nār šarri ki-i ta-am-mi-ir-ku-ú<sup>m</sup>la-a-ba-ši .... i-ta-  
bak-šú, "1 large cow of the star mark from my cattle on the canal of  
the king, because it had remained behind, Labashi .... has led  
away," YOS VII, No. 159:4-6

ta-mir-ki, Alfred Pohl, Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den  
Berliner Staatlichen Museen ("Analecta Orientalia," No. 8 [Roma,  
1933]) No. 41:16

ištēn<sup>en</sup> [....] ul im-mir-ka, "Not one [....] remained behind,"  
ABL 960:2 f.

ana-ku am-mir-ki, "I remained behind," STC II 80:60

a-na muhḫi dul-la šá ilāni<sup>pl</sup> šá šarri šá ina [....] am-mir-ku-ú,  
"concerning the service of the gods of the king (with regard to)  
which [....] I have been behind," ABL 968:10 f.

20 ḡi-e-ni ri-ḫi-it eš-ru-ú šá mār šarri šá .... ina pa-ni  
<sup>md</sup>ninurti-ia .... im-meš-ka-a<sub>4</sub>,<sup>35</sup> "20 head of sheep, the remnant of  
the tithe for the crown prince, .... which are (still) due to  
Ninurtia," YOS VI, No. 233:3-6

#### IV 2 Form

##### Preterit

kaspi-šú [....] i-šal-li-mu kaspu ma-la .[... it(?)-t]e(?)-mir-  
ku(!)-ú, "His money [....] he shall refund, as much money as .[...  
he] is in arrears," Strassmaier, Nabonidus, No. 581:9-11

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<sup>35</sup> Here r before k has changed to š; see von Soden in OLZ  
XXXVIII (1935) 346.



a-na mu<sup>h</sup>hi karâni<sup>coll</sup> ù hi-š<sup>i</sup>-ih-ti .... at-te-me-eš<sup>ki</sup><sup>36</sup> a-mur  
 ul a-ka-š<sup>u</sup> al-la-ku, "I have remained behind .... on account of the  
 wine and the need for provisions; behold! I cannot come to thee,"  
 YOS III, No. 88:7-12

napalkû

## I 1 Form

## Permansive Participle

(b u - r u | BURÙ MIN (= gi-gu-ru-u) | MIN (= šá GI.U) pal-ku-  
u, CT XII 2 rev. 2 (= V R 37 i 2)

pal-ku uz-mi, "a wide understanding (lit.: ear)," STC II 7:18  
 i-na mi-ri-š<sup>i</sup>-ia pal-ki, "in my wide understanding," I R 36:37  
 ina .... ha-sis-si pal-ki-e ša iš<sup>ru</sup>-ka .... d<sup>mu</sup>-dim-mud, "by  
 .... the wide understanding which .... Nudimmud granted unto me,"  
 Meissner and Rost in BA III (1898) 293:10 f.

pal-ka uz-ni ha-sis, "(With) a wide understanding, wise was he,"  
 KAR 118:17

immerê pal-ku-ti, "broad sheep," III R 9, No. 3:55

hi-is-sa-at uz-ni-ia pal-ka-a-te, "the wide understanding of my  
 mind," I R 36:38

## IV 1 Form

## Present

âlu šû nišêšû ip-pi-li-ka (var. adds -a), "The people of that  
 city will be widespread," CT XXXVIII 3:50

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<sup>36</sup> Here r before k has changed to š; see von Soden in OLZ  
 XXXVIII (1935) 346.

## Infinitive

d a l l a | na-pal-ku-ú, Virolleaud, L'Astrologie chaldéenne,  
 "Sin," No. 5:5

## Permansive

šumma<sup>ma</sup> i-na šu-me-el marti pī-it-rum ni-pī-il-ku, "if on the  
 left of the gall bladder a gap is wide open," KAR 150:5

pitru ni-pil-ku, CT XXX 11(K 6785):11

šumma ME.NI ne-pil-ku, DA 10:41

šumma .... ênâ-sú ana šamê<sup>6</sup> na-pal-ka-a, "if .... his two eyes  
 are wide open toward the sky," AMT 106:4

## III 1 Form

## Preterit

pa-a-ša uš-pal-ki, "Her mouth she opened wide," CT XIII 18:100

ar-ḥa-te-šu-nu la pi-ta-te uš-pil-ki-ma, "Their closed paths I  
 opened wide," KAH II, No. 60:45; same form, ibid. No. 61:50

mi-ḥi-ir-ta .... uš-pil-ka-am-ma, "I opened up a wide .... res-  
 ervoir," ibid. No. 60:103-5

## Participle

muš-pal-ku-ú da-lat da-ád-me, "who openest wide the doors of the  
 inhabited earth," ŠRT, Pl. 2 iv 14

## Infinitive

(b a - á r BAR) | [šul-pal-ku-ú, CT XII 17(93038) rev. 35

## Permansive

šu-pal-ka-a bâbâti<sup>p1</sup>, "The gates are opened wide," V R 65:15b

## III 2 Form

## Preterit

ša mârô<sup>pl</sup> âli šu-nu-ti za-ku-su-mu uš-ta-pil-ka, "The freedom of those citizens I extended," Winckler, Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten II (Leipzig, 1893) 1:38

napaltû<sup>37</sup>

## IV 1 Form

## Preterit

kak-ki-ka a-a ip-pal-tu-ú li-ra-i-su na-ki-ri-ka, "May thy weapons not miss, may they crush thy foes," CT XIII 14:16

## Infinitive

[na-l-pal-tu-u | MIN (= e-te-qu), LTBA II, Pl. 13 iv 250; same form, ibid. Pl. 5 ix 11

[....] p a - á r PÂR | na-pal-tu-ú, CT XIX 48 i 12

d i b | [na-pal-tu-ú, Langdon in RA XIII (1916) 191:20c-d

## III 1 Form

## Present

tu-šá-pal-ta, V R 45 vi 61

napardû

## IV 1 Form

## Present

ul-tu lib-ba-šá i-mu-uh-hu kab-[ta]-as-sa ip-pi-rid-du-u, "After

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<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of napaltû see BAW I 15 f. This verb may be connected with the Hebrew pālaṭ, "to escape," to which Dr. Feigin has called my attention.

## 82 THE SYSTEM OF THE QUADRILITERAL VERB IN AKKADIAN

her heart becomes quiet, her mind becomes glad (lit.: bright)," CT  
XV 46 rev. 16

šurma <sup>d</sup>adad rigim-šú iddi ūmê<sup>P1</sup> ip-pi-ri-du-ma, "If Adad roared,  
the days will become bright," III R 61 i 10

## Preterit

ka-bat-ta-šú ip-par-du, "His heart rejoiced (lit.: became bright),"  
IV R 60\* C rev. 20

i-li-iš lib-bi ka-ba-[at]-ta ip-pa-ar-da, "My heart rejoiced,  
(my) mind became glad," Bezold in PSBA XI (1888/89) Pl. 4:50

[dan]-ni-iš li-pár-da-a, "May he rejoice greatly," AKA 211:25

## Infinitive

u d - z a l | na-pár-du-u, Weidner in AOF VII (1931/32) 273:27c-d

z a l | na-par-du-u | na-[na]-rum, idem in RA XI (1914) 124:19

## Permansive Participle

kīma u<sub>4</sub>-me na-par-di-i, "like the bright day," CT XXVI 25:71

u<sub>4</sub>-mu ni-pir-du-ú, KAR 104:13

u<sub>4</sub>-mu ni-pír-du-ú, AKA 33:40

## IV 2 Form

## Preterit

du-tum um-mul-tum it-ta-par-di. "The faded form became bright,"  
Langdon, Babylonian Wisdom, Pl. 3:28

## III 1 Form

## Preterit

su-qa-a-ti uš-par-di-ma, "The streets I made bright," Weissner

and Rost, Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs (Leipzig, 1893) Pl. 12:8;  
same form, KAR 11 rev. 10

#### Infinitive

šá šú-par-du-ú šu-šú-bu ba-šú-ú it-ti-šú, "in whose power it is  
to enlighten and to settle," I R 35, No. 2:5

šá šu-par-du-u ù šu-bu-bu ba-šú-u it-ti-šú, "in whose power it is  
to enlighten and to brighten," Meissner and Rost in BA III (1898)  
287:8

#### Participle

muš-par-du-ú e-ṭu-tum muš-na-mir uk-li, "thou who makest bright  
the darkness, who makest light the dusk," ŠRT, Pl. 2 iv 8; same  
form, KAR 321:5

muš-par-du-u ik-lit, "the one who makes bright the dusk," Meissner  
and Rost in BA III (1898) 287:6

muš-pár-du ki-rib apší, "the one who lightens the interior of the  
apsû," AKA 257:8

#### naparkû

#### IV 1 Form

#### Present

l qa .... la ip-pa-ra-ak-ku, "Not l qa .... shall be lost," TCL  
I, No. 30:23 f.

in-na-ab-bi-it ú-da-ap-pa-ar ip-pa-ra-ku, "(if) he flees, dis-  
appears(?), quits," Elihu Grant, Babylonian Business Documents of the  
Classical Period (Philadelphia, 1919) No. 16:9-11

<sup>m</sup>ul-lu-su-nu <sup>mât</sup>ma-an-na-a-a áš-šú a-na tu-ur-ri gi-mil-li-šú ša

šatti-šam la-pa-rak-ku-ú<sup>38</sup> a-lak gir-ri-ia iš-me-ma, "Ullusunu, the Mannean, because I do not cease to avenge him every year, (when) he heard of the coming of my expedition(, appeared in my presence),"

TCL III 32

ul ap-pa-ra-ak-ka-a ka-a-a-na, "I never cease," V R 63 i 20

sīsē<sup>pl</sup> a-li-kut i-di-ia ša a-šar nak-ri ù sa-al-mi la ip-pa-rak-ku-ú, "the horses which go by my side, which they do not leave, be the place (that) of friend or foe," TCL III 132; same form, *ibid.* line 209

la-a te-ip-pí-ri-ik-ki-[an-ni], "Do not forsake me," KUB I, Pl.

42:68 (Hittite)

[la te-ip]-pí-ri-ik-ki-i-an-ni, *ibid.* line 65

#### Preterit

d u<sub>5</sub> - m u<sup>d</sup> m u - u l - l í l - l á š u - m u - u n - k í d :  
mār<sup>d</sup> en-líl ša ip-pár-ku-ú, "son of Enlil that has disappeared," KAR 14 i 10 f.; same form, PEA, Pl. 13:64

ki-ma a-na-ku .... la a-pár-ku-ma (var.: a-par-ku-ú), "since I .... did not cease," AKA 101:17 ff.

i-na pí-i ip-pa-ar-ku-ú, "(The offerings) had ceased to be mentioned," Winckler in ZA II (1887) 170:6

ina pi-i-šú ip-par-ku-ú su-up-pi-e teš-li-ti, "In his mouth prayers (and) supplications ceased," IV R 60\* B 15; same form, Winckler, Sargon II, Pls. 33:85; 33:100; 34:114; 36:190; 39:140

a-a ip-par-ku, ASKT, p. 99:51

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<sup>38</sup> For la ap-pa-rak-ku-ú.

i-na ri-šī-ka a-ia ip-pa-ar-ku, "May he never depart from thy head," PBS VII, No. 105:12

### Participle

la mu-up-pa-ar-ku-ú-un a-na é-zi-da, "who does not cease (in his care) for Ezida," CH iii 14 f.

la mu-up-pa-ar-ku-ù, Langdon in ZA XIX (1905/06) 144:9

la mu-up-par-ku-ú, TCL III 156

la mu-par-ku-u, Brünnow in ZA V (1890) 79:18

ú š kú - kú - m e š s u ḥ - n u - t ú m - m u - m e š : a-kil  
da-mi la mu-par-ku-ti šú-mu, "They are unceasing devourers of blood,"  
CT XVI iv 34 f.

### Infinitive

s u ḥ - g a | s u ḥ - g a (var.: - t ú m) | na-pár(var.: -par)-  
ku-u ma-ru-u, V R 11:14

na-pa-ar-ka-am ú-ul e-li-i, "I could not stop," TCL I, No. 43:9

la na-pa-ar(var.: -par)-ka-a, I R 51, No. 2 ii 25

la na-par-ka-a, PEA, Pls. 4:63 and 13:61; III R 15 ii 25

la na-par-ka-a?, CT XXXIV 29:17

### Permansive Participle

mi-e nu-uh-šu la na-pa-ar-ku-ti, "never failing waters," I R 67  
ii 10

### IV 2 Form

### Preterit

t u k u m - b i l ú s a g - g á - e l ú - ḥ u n - g á - e -

d è b a - BAD b a - a n - z á ħ u g u - b i - a n - d é - e  
 g á n - l a - b a - a n - d a g ù t u - r a b a - a b - AG : šum-  
 ma a-wi-lum ar-da i-gu-ur-ma im-tu-ut iħ-ta-liq it-ta-ba-ta it-ta-pa-  
ar-ka ù im-ta-ra-šu, "if a man hired a slave, and then (the slave)  
 died, disappeared, fled, ceased work, or became sick," II R 10:13-19  
 (= V R 25:13-19)

á g - š a <sub>6</sub> - š a <sub>6</sub> - g a - n i - <<b i>> s u ħ - b a - n i -  
 í b - g a : ša bu-ši-šu dam-qú-ti it-ta-pár(!)-ku, "What (belongs to)  
 his valuable possessions has ceased (is gone)," KAR 375 rev. iii 53 f.

## III 1 Form

## Infinitive

ma-da-at-ta šatti-šām-ma a-na la šu-pár-ki-e eli-šu-nu ú-kin,  
 "A yearly tribute which should not cease I laid upon them," AKA 72:  
 40 f.

neqelpû

## IV 1 Form

## Present

<sup>is</sup>elippi-šú iq-qí-lip-pu, "His ship drifts along," Scheil in RT  
 XX (1898) 128:20

ina <sup>arah</sup>tišrītu U<sub>4</sub>-25-KAM nim-ru bal-[tu] nâra iq-qí-lip-pu-ma  
 .... i-du-ku-šu-ma, "On the 25th of Teshri a leopard was floating  
 down the river alive, and .... they killed him," Chronicles II 75:  
 9-11

šumma sin ina tamarti-šú ina urpâti i-qí-lip-pu mīlu il-la-ak,  
 "If the moon at its appearance moves along in clouds, a flood will



come," III R 58, No. 7:8 f.; Meissner in ZA VIII (1893) 80

iq-qí-lip-pu-ú, CT XXXIX 19:121

iq-qí-lip-pa-a, CT XXXIX 20:148

#### Preterit

<sup>m</sup>tam-ma-ri-tú šār <sup>mât</sup>clamtiki ša .... ina ki-rib mar-ra-ti i-qí-il-pa-a, "Tammarišu, the king of Elam, who .... sailed through the Bitter Sea," Streck, Assurbanipal II 336 rev. 1 f.

qu-[ra]-du-ú(!)-a i-na <sup>is</sup>ellippê<sup>Pl</sup> i-qil-pu-ú nârpu-rat-tu, "My warriors went down the Euphrates on ships," III R 12, Slab 2:23

#### Participle

g i š - m á - d i r i g - g a - BA - BAD<sup>39</sup> | mu-gal-[pil]-tum, II R 46:10a-b

[ki]-ma [ir]-[pi]-e-ti muq-gal-pi-ti, "like a cloud drifting along," SBH, No. 71:11

ana muq-gal-pi-ti, CT XXIII 6:11; AMT 67, 1:13

<sup>is</sup>elippu ša mu-uq-qí-el-pi-tim, "the ship of the boatsman of a vessel going downstream," CH xxxvi 69 and 77

<sup>is</sup>elippam me-hi-ir-tam ù mu-qí-el-pí-tam tankâram ša ṭup-pí šarrim na-šu-ú nu-ba-'à-ma nu-še-it-te-iq, "Any ship going upstream or downstream we allow to pass after we have investigated (whether) the merchant has a written authority from the king," CT II 20:7-9

#### Infinitive

d i r i g | ni-qil-pu-ú, II R 62:48o-d

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps we ought to read b a l instead of BA - BAD.

š ú | ni-qil-pu-ú, II R 62:49c-d

i r - t a - s ù - s ù | MIN (= ni-qil-pu-ú) šá zu-u'-tú(!), II R 62:50c-d

l ù l u - l u l ù | MIN (= ni-qil-pu-ú) šá mur-ši, II R 62:51c-d  
ni-iq-il-pu-u a-la-ku, III R 58, No. 7:10

e - n e - è m - m à - n i a n - n a d i r i g - g a - b i k u r  
 g i g - g i g - g a : a-mat-su e-liš ina ni-qil-pi-šá ma-a-tam ú-šam-  
 ra-aš, "His word as it drifts along above makes the land sick," SBH,  
 No. 4:74 f.; same form, IV R 9:62

#### IV 3 Form

##### Preterit

tar(!)-kul-la lu-suh<sub>4</sub>-ma lit-te-iq-li-pu <sup>1</sup>šelippu, "I will pull  
 up the mooring mast that the ship may drift," KAR 169 rev. iii 25

##### Infinitive

[l ù] - l ù | i-te-iq-lip-pu-u, CT XIX 45 (K 264) rev. 15 and 18  
 (= V R 41, No. 3:57 and 60)

#### III 1 Form

##### Preterit

a-di âl<sup>1</sup>ú-pu-a ú-še-qil-pu-ú, "I caused (them) to go down to Opis,"  
 III R 12, Slab 2:15 f.; same form, *ibid.* line 18  
 elippam .... a-na bâbili<sup>ki</sup> uš(!)-qí-el-pí, "He let the ship ....  
 float down to Babylon," CT IV 32b:2 f.

##### Participle

muš-qa-al-pi-ti, Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts

## III

## ANALYSIS OF THE AKKADIAN QUADRILITERAL VERBS

From the survey in the preceding chapter it is apparent that in Akkadian we have to distinguish three different classes of quadriliteral verbs, namely, the classes paršumu, šuharruru, and nabalkutu.

A. The Class paršumu

The first class is represented chiefly by the verb paršumu, "to surpass in age," "to outlive," the finite forms of which are found exclusively in Assyrian letters of the Sargonid period, while the permansive participle occurs as early as the First Babylonian Dynasty. Of this verb I have found only the following forms: the precativ of the first formation, luparšim; the tt-form uptataršumu; and the permansive participle, which is puršumu in Babylonian and paršumu (or paršamu) in Assyrian.

From the use of the prefix u- (instead of i-), the base vowels a-i for the preterit, and a-u for the Assyrian and u-u for the Babylonian permansive, as well as from the rhythmic build of its bases, which show the sequence consonant + vowel + consonant + consonant + vowel + consonant, it can easily be recognized that this quadriliteral verb follows the pattern of the triconsonantal pi'el. As far as its formation is concerned, it is therefore the exact counterpart of the Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, and Ethiopic quadrilaterals represented by the types īuqamṭiru, n<sup>e</sup>argel, ī<sup>e</sup>karsēm, and īemandeb. This kind of

treatment of the quadriliteral verbs is therefore found in all the Semitic languages. But while in Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew this pattern is followed almost throughout, and while in Ethiopic at least the greater number of quadriliteral verbs follow this type, Akkadian offers only one such example. Nevertheless, the existence of this one verb is sufficient evidence that the tendency to treat the quadriliteral verb like the pi'el had made itself felt in Akkadian as well as in the other Semitic languages. Originally the verbal forms of this class were probably more numerous. In favor of this view it can be urged that the existence of the simple quadriliteral gal stem of the pi'el pattern is presupposed, as we shall see later on, in a good many instances of the class nabalkutu, and that in at least one instance, viz. in the case of the verb napalkû, the permansive participle of the pi'el pattern still occurs (see chap. ii C, napalkû, and chap. iii C 1).

Although to date only a few forms of the verb paršumu have been found, the recognition that this verb follows the pattern of the pi'el enables us to reconstruct without any difficulty the whole scheme of the simple formation. The difference between paršumu and the corresponding pi'el forms of the triliteral verb consists merely in that the quadriliteral has two different consonants for the doubled middle radical of the pi'el. This is obvious from the following list, in which the quadriliteral forms are paralleled with the corresponding triliteral forms.

		Quadriliteral	Triliteral
Present		*uparšam	uparras
Preterit		uparšim	uparris
Imperative	{ Assy.	*paršim	parris
	{ Babyl.	*puršim	purris
Participle		*muparšimu	muparrisu
Infinitive	{ Assy.	*paršumu	parrusu
	{ Babyl.	*puršumu	purrusu
Permansive	{ Assy.	*paršum	parrus
	{ Babyl.	*puršum	purrus
Perm. Adj.	{ Assy.	{ m. paršumu (< paršamu)	parrusu
		{ f. paršumtu	parrustu
	{ Babyl.	{ m. puršumu	purrusu
		{ f. puršumtu	purrustu

Besides this stem, we find also an example of the present of the tt-formation, viz. uptataršumu (from \*uptataršamu, under the influence of vowel harmony). This form corresponds to such II 4 present forms of the triliteral verb as ugdadammar, "(when) it (the star) reaches its maximum," ABL 82 rev. 10, and uktatalâ (= \*uktatala'), "I retract (the interpretation)," ABL 744 rev. 12 and 17.

It should be emphasized, however, that paršumu (no less than Hebrew kirsēm, Arabic qamṭara, etc.) is in no way an actual pi'el, although the pattern after which it is formed is clearly that of the pi'el of the triconsonantal verb, but that, in spite of its pi'el features, it is a quadriliteral qal form, corresponding to the I 1

form of the triconsonantal verb. The real pi'el doubles its middle radical, whereas paršumu represents the simple quadriliteral root and has the meaning of the qal. The genuine pi'el formation of this root could be only puraššumu.

#### B. The Class šuharruru

The verbs composing this class of quadriliterals are šuharruru, šuparruru, šuqallulu, šuqammumu, šukênu, šupêlu, and šh̄hn. All of them have š as their first radical, a feature which has been of great importance, as we shall see presently, for the determination of the prototypes after which their form system was built. For reasons which will become evident from the following, we shall divide this class into three groups, the first being represented by the verbs šuharruru, šuparruru, šuqallulu, and šuqammumu, which, apart from their first radical š, are characterized by the fact that their third and fourth radicals consist of the same consonant and which therefore may be designated as verbs *tertiaae geminatae*; the second being represented by the verbs šukênu and šupêlu, whose characteristic feature is that their third radical is a weak consonant, and which therefore may be designated as quadriliterals *tertiaae infirmae*; and the third by the verb šh̄hn, which may be characterized as a *secundae geminatae*.

##### 1. The Group šuharruru

The simple formation of the verbs of this group, i.e. the formation which takes the place of the I 1 stem of the triconsonantal verb, usually exhibits forms of the following type:

Present	uṣḥarrar	Infinitive	šuharruru
Preterit	uṣḥarrir	Permansive	šuharrur
Imperative	šuharrir	Perm. Part.	šuharruru

The characteristic features of these forms are the use of the prefix u- (instead of i-), the doubling of the third radical, the šaf'el-pi'el vocalization of the bases, and the fact that the first consonant is š. All this shows very plainly that the simple formation of these quadrilaterals presents the appearance of šaf'el-pi'el forms of the type šunammuru, "to cause to shine." That will become even more apparent from the following table.

#### Quadrilateral Trilateral

Present	uṣḥarrar	ušnammar
Preterit	uṣḥarrir	ušnammir
Imperative	šuharrir	šunammir
Participle	*muṣḥarrirū	mušnammiru
Infinitive	šuharruru	šunammuru
Permansive	šuharrur	šunammur

Nevertheless, these quadrilateral forms are not actual šaf'el-pi'el forms. If they were, they would be derivations of the verbs ḥarâru, parâru, qalâlu, and qamâmu. As a matter of fact, however, there is no connection at all between the meanings of these trilateral verbs and the quadrilaterals under examination. That can be demonstrated quite clearly by means of the following comparison.

Triliteral	Quadriliteral
ḥarâru, "to hollow," "to dig" (tr.)	šuharruru, "to be(ccme) benumb- ed (with fear)," "to be- (ccme) quiet," "to abate," "to cease" (intr.)
parâru, "to break," "to de- stroy" (tr.)	šuparruru, "to spread (out)" (tr.)
qalâlu, "to be light" (intr.)	šugallulu, "to let something hang," "to hang" (tr.)
—	šugammumu, "to be overawed," "to be quiet" (intr.)

If šugallulu, e.g., were actually a šaf'el-pi'el of qalâlu, it should of course mean "to cause (something) to be light" but not "to let (something) hang." Similarly, one should expect that šuharruru would have a meaning such as "to cause (someone) to dig" but not "to become benumbed," and that šuparruru should mean "to cause someone to break something" but not "to spread out something." The two last named verbs would even present an additional difficulty, for, as Professor Poebel has demonstrated,<sup>1</sup> Akkadian as a rule forms a šaf'el-pi'el only for intransitive verbs, not for transitive verbs. Finally, a triconsonantal verb qamâmu is not found. The root, indeed, occurs in the noun qimmatu, "the hair of the head," "the vortex," "the top of a tree"; but the meaning again has no connection with that of šugammumu, "to be silent." In view of these considerations it is clear that the

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<sup>1</sup> Studies, pp. 69 ff.



š belongs to the root of the verbs under discussion, and that they are therefore quadrilaterals beginning with š.<sup>2</sup>

The explanation of the adoption of the šaf'el-pi'el pattern by the quadrilaterals here discussed is necessarily similar to that of the pi'el pattern by the verb paršumu. Assuming the doubling of the third radical (which is identical with the fourth radical) as a well established fact, we may draw the conclusion that the base of the present theme, i.e., the root šhrr plus the vowels characteristic of the present theme, would have been šhá(r)rar, and that the complete form of the present of the simple formation of this quadrilateral would originally have been \*išhá(r)rar, which differed from the tri-consonantal ipá(r)ras merely by the additional consonant of the quadrilateral. The reason these verbs follow the pattern of the šaf'el, or the šaf'el-pi'el, is that in all the cases under consideration the first radical is š, which naturally suggested a parallel between these quadrilateral forms and the causative š-forms of the triliteral verb, which in contradistinction to the simple qal and pi'el likewise had a š as their first basal consonant. It can readily

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<sup>2</sup> Although it does not belong to our present task to go into etymological questions, it may be recalled that Friedrich Delitzsch (Assyrische Grammatik [Berlin, 1906] p. 332) and Ungnad (Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik [München, 1926] p. 54) regard the roots sqll, šhrr, etc. as amplifications of the triconsonantal roots šql, šhr, etc. In the case of šuqallulu, considered as being derived from šaqālu, this would seem to be quite possible, the more so since to some extent it would be supported by the fact that the Sumerian word LAL is used for both šaqālu and šuqallulu (ŠUR is used only for šuqallulu, not for šaqālu). For the verbs šuharruru and šuqammumu neither Akkadian nor any other Semitic language offers a triliteral verb that could be connected with them, and even the derivation of šuparruru from šapāru is very unlikely, since the former means "to spread," while the latter means "to send."

be understood that, as a consequence of this similarity between the bases, the form iṣḥarrar<sup>3</sup> was eventually completely assimilated to the form uṣnammar, this assimilation consisting in reality merely in a change of the prefix i- to u-. This change was facilitated by the fact that the ṣ as pronounced by the Akkadians was a labial ṣ, which naturally tended to change the preceding i into the labial vowel u. We notice here a concurrence of two factors leading to the same result, although the main impulse for the assimilation was of course the general tendency to shape the quadriliteral verb after some quadriconsonantal theme of the triconsonantal verb system.

From the foregoing it is also obvious that the doubling of the third consonant of the quadriliteral root originally had nothing to do with the pi'el. This question, however, will be discussed later on in connection with other observations on the verbs of this class.

In addition to the simple formation ṣuharruru etc., only t- and tt-forms of the simple stem are found. Among these, however, only one form can be grouped immediately with the simple forms just discussed, namely the form uṣtaqallil, which parallels the III/II 2 form uṣtanammir of the triliteral verb, just as the simple form uṣḥarrir parallels the III/II 1 form uṣnammir. All the other t-forms of the verbs of this class of quadriliterals (to date only t-forms of the verbs ṣuharruru and ṣuqallulu have been found) deviate from the

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<sup>3</sup> This type may actually be represented by the form iṣqalal (found in a Cappadocian business document and in an omen text), which may be the old qal form of ṣuqallulu, or the syllable iṣ- may be due to a careless pronunciation of uṣ-.

pattern uštaqallil, inasmuch as they do not double the third radical and even elide the base vowel before that radical, stressing the syllable before the one containing the elided vowel. The forms of this type are the presents uštaḥrar and uštaqlal and the preterits uštaqlil, uštaḥrir, and uštataḥrir. In contradistinction to uštaqallil, which imitates the šaf'el-pi'el form uštaḥalliq, these forms are built after the pattern of the t-form of the šaf'el uštaḥliq of the triconsonantal verb. This fact is very important, because the forms of the simple stem of the group of quadrilaterals which would go with these t-forms would be ušaqlal and ušaḥrar in the present and ušaqlil and ušaḥrir in the preterit, corresponding to the simple šaf'el forms ušaḥlaq and ušaḥliq of the triconsonantal verb, which are the regular causative forms of the qal, whereas e.g. the šaf'el-pi'el form ušḥalliq, as Professor Poebel<sup>4</sup> has pointed out, is merely a faulty combination of the causative pi'el uḥalliq, "he caused to disappear," with the causative šaf'el ušaḥliq. Of the simple quadrilateral formation following the pattern of the šaf'el of the triconsonantal verb, three examples have actually been found, namely, the finite verbal form ušaqlil, the infinitive šuhruru, and the verbal substantive šahrartu.<sup>5</sup>

Taking into consideration a purely phonetic peculiarity of the mediae geminatae of the triconsonantal verb which applies also to the tertiae geminatae of the quadrilaterals, we shall be able to enlarge considerably the range of the formation of the pure šaf'el type.

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<sup>4</sup> Studies, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> For this formation, with the base vowels a-a instead of a-u, of. šapšaqu, "difficulty," "distress."

For in addition to the permansive forms *šuharrur* and *šugammumu*, which follow the pattern of the *šaf'el-pi'el* of the triconsonantal verb, we find also the shorter forms *šahur(r)* and *šaquumu*; and it will be noticed that in two points the latter differ from the former in the same manner as *ušaqlil* differs from *ušqallil*, namely, by showing in the last part of the form not three identical consonants but only two (cf. *šaquumu* with *šugammumu* and *ušaqlil* with *ušqallil*) and by placing the first base vowel a immediately after *š*, the first of the four radicals, not after *q*, the second radical, where it is found in the forms of the *šaf'el-pi'el* type (cf. *šaquumu* with *šugammumu* and *ušaqlil* with *ušqallil*). The last mentioned feature, viz. the position of the base vowel a after the first radical, makes the forms *šahur(r)* and *šaquumu* conform at least in this respect to the pattern of the simple *šaf'el*, whose permansive forms appear as *šaprus* and *šaprusu* in the Assyrian branch of the Akkadian language and as *šuprus* and *šuprusu* in the Babylonian branch. The quadriliteral forms *šahur(r)* and *šaquumu* of course follow the Assyrian pattern. As regards the first mentioned feature — only two identical radicals instead of three — we notice that it is accompanied by a transposition of the second base vowel u; the forms are *šaquumu* instead of *šaqmumu* (parallel to *šaprusu*) and *šahurru* instead of *šahruru*, with the complexes *-umm* and *-urr* instead of *-mum* and *-rur*. For the explanation of this feature we need only to bear in mind that the quadriliterals here discussed are *tertia* *geminatae*, and that in the Semitic languages it is a common phenomenon that triliteral verbs whose last two radicals are identical (the so-called *mediae geminatae*) show the tendency to unite the two identical

radicals into a double consonant and to place the second base vowel, which should stand between the last two radicals, before them in those cases where there is no vowel between the first and second radicals, with the result that in the forms with endings the accent is placed on the vowel before the double consonant; compare, e.g., Arabic *iafirru* instead of \**iafriru*, Hebrew *iāsōbbû* instead of \**iāsb<sup>o</sup>bû* (< \**iāsbbû*), and Syriac *ʾabēz(z)* (< \**ʾābzizû*). Thus *šaqqumu* actually represents \**šāqumumu*, which completely corresponds to Assyrian *šahluqu* (Babylonian *šuhluqu*), the *šaf'el* permansive (3d pers. pl.) of the triliteral *halâqu*.

In the Akkadian system of the triconsonantal verbs *mediae geminatae*, the permansive and the infinitive forms of the *šaf'el* do not undergo the development just outlined for the *tertia geminatae* of the quadriliterals; e.g., the *šaf'el* infinitive of \**kalâlu*, "to be complete," is *šūklulu* and not \**šakūllu*; the permansive participle of the *šaf'el* of *alâlu*, "to enjoy or amuse oneself," is *šūlulu* (< \**šū'lulu*), "pleased," "jubilant," not \**ša'ūllu*. Nor does Akkadian contract in the I l form of the verbs *mediae geminatae* (cf. *īšlulu*, *idbubu*, etc.) or in the present and preterit forms of the causative (cf. *ušašlil*, *ušaklil*). Nevertheless, the existence of the permansive forms *šahur(r)*, *šaqqumu*, as well as the adjectives, substantives, and adverb, such as *šaqqumu*, *šaqqumatu*, *šaqqumiš*, *šuharratu*, and *šuharris*, which are derived from the permansive participle, plainly show that the contraction of the identical radicals and the advancement of the second base vowel to a position before the first of the contracted radicals actually existed in Akkadian; and since such a tendency

## 100 THE SYSTEM OF THE QUADRILITERAL VERB IN AKKADIAN

would hardly have arisen just for two (or four) quadriliteral verbs, we may confidently assume that at least in certain dialects of Akkadian and in certain periods this tendency had made itself felt quite generally. The language of the inscriptions, however, did not as a rule absorb the forms resulting from that tendency.

The fact that the singular form *šahur* (written *ša-hu-ur*) shows only one *r* at the end (which might lead to the erroneous assumption of a verb *šahāru* instead of *šuharruru*) needs hardly any explanation. It stands, of course, for *šahurr*, with a double consonant at the end, instead of which, however, only one *r* is written and pronounced, as, e.g., in *kudur* (< \**kudurr*), the construct form of *kudurru*, and in *šar* (< \**šarr*), the construct and predicative form of *šarru*. Before endings, as in *šaquumu*, the double consonant is of course preserved. The permansive accordingly inflects *šahur*, *šahúrrat*, *šahúrru*, etc. The noun *šuharratu* and the adverb *šuharris̄*, on the other hand, presuppose a permansive participle *šuharru*, which follows the Babylonian pattern.

The results thus far gained concerning the form system of the *tertiaes geminatae* of the quadriliterals may be illustrated by the following list.

System A (*šaf<sup>c</sup>el-Pi<sup>c</sup>el* Pattern)

	I 1	I 2	I 4
Present	ušharrar		
Preterit	ušharrir	uštaharrir	—
Imperative	šuharrir		

Participle	*mušḥarriru
Infinitive	ṣuharruru
Permansive	ṣuharrur

## System B (Šaf'el Pattern)

		I 1	I 2	I 4
Present		*uṣḥrar	uṣṭarar	
Preterit		uṣḥrir	uṣṭarir	uṣṭatarir
Imperative	Assyr.	*ṣḥrir		
	Babyl.	*ṣuhrir		
Participle		*muṣḥriru		
Infinitive	Assyr.	*ṣahruru		
	Babyl.	ṣuhrruru		
	Assyr.	*ṣahurru		
	Babyl.	*ṣuharru		
Permansive	Assyr.	*ṣahrur and ṣarar		
	Babyl.	*ṣuhrur		
	Assyr.	ṣahur (pl. ṣahurru)		
	Babyl.	ṣuhar (pl. ṣuharru)		

The simultaneous existence of the two sets of forms marked as systems A and B has so far on these pages been explained only in a very general way as being due to the tendency to model the forms of the quadrilateral verb after patterns provided by the system of the triconsonantal verb, the patterns in this connection being the šaf'el in one case and the šaf'el-pi'el in the other. But this does not yet satisfactorily explain why the quadrilateral was modeled after

two different formations; and above all it is very remarkable that Akkadian did not restrict itself to the simple šaf'el, whose quadriconsonantal skeleton is doubtless more in conformity with the consonantal skeleton of the quadriliteral root than is that of the šaf'el-pi'el, which is actually a quinqueliteral formation.

To clear up this point, we have to begin with the rule established by Professor Poebel for the arrangement of the base vowels as presupposed in the Semitic system of verb formation. The rule is that the first of the two base vowels, which in the historical system of Akkadian is always a, is placed between the third and second consonants, counting from the end, while the second base vowel, which in Akkadian is either a, i, or u, is naturally placed between the second-last and last consonants. The simple bases of a triconsonantal verb, as e.g. parâsu, will naturally be paras, paris, and parus; the nif'al and the šaf'el bases, however, are nparas, nparis, and nparus, šparas, šparis, and šparus (not napras etc. or šapras etc.), while, e.g., those of the šaf'el t-form and the tn-form of the first formation are štparas and tnparas and that of the nif'al tn-form is ntnparas. If we apply this rule to the quadriliteral verb šhrr, the present of its original qal (patterned after the qal of the triliteral verb) should be (and is presupposed as such by the system of verb formation) ia-šhárar, while its preterit should be ia-šharir. Similarly, the present of the šaf'el of the triliteral verb parâsu was originally iu-špáras (not iu-šápras) and its preterit iu-šparis (not iu-šápris). Assimilating itself, because of its first radical š, to the šaf'el form iu-špáras, the original qal form ia-šhárar became iu-šhárar, the



only change necessary to perfect this assimilation being the change of the prefix vowel a to u. In a younger (but still preliterate) period Akkadian developed younger bases for certain verb forms, as, e.g., for the permansive form of the nif'al and for the whole šaf'el, of which the younger base forms are náksud and šáksad (cf. the permansive nakšud and the present ušaksad), developed from \*nákašud < \*nakášud and \*šakasad < \*šakásad. The quadriliterals of the type šuharruru, however, did not, on the whole, follow this new development but retained the old forms: present ušhárar, preterit \*úšharir, infinitive šuhárurum (< \*šhárurum), etc. In the case of the present the further development of ušhárar to ušhárar, with doubling of the r after the stressed base vowel a, needs no explanation whatever, since this doubling, which is caused by the accent on the penult, was the general development in the forms of the present; compare I 1 iká(š)šad, II 2 iktá(š)šad, IV 1 ikká(š)šad, etc. The development of \*šuhárurum (< \*šhárurum) to šuhárurum likewise cannot surprise us, since the rhythmical conditions in this form are similar to those in the present form ušhárar inasmuch as ušhárar and \*š(u)hárurum stressed the same basal syllable. With this secondary doubling of the third radical, however, by which the majority of the forms of the class šuharruru took on the appearance of šaf'el-pi'el forms (ušhárar, e.g., could theoretically be the šaf'el-pi'el present of a verb ḥarâru, and šuharruru, the šaf'el-pi'el infinitive of the same verb), the basis for a complete assimilation of the theme šuharruru to the šaf'el-pi'el of the triliteral verb was provided, for the only step necessary for its completion was the changing of the endless forms like

\*ušḫarir, which had the stress on the antepenult, to ušḫá(r)rir etc., with the stress on the penult, a process which was greatly facilitated by the fact that, for instance, all the preterit forms with endings, such as the plural form ušḫáriru, already stressed the first basal syllable according to rule.

This analysis clearly shows that the forms of the system designated as A were originally not modeled after the pattern of the šaf'el-pi'el but that they, like the forms of system B, were originally patterned after the pure šaf'el of the triconsonantal verb. The main difference between the two systems consists simply in this, that system A is built up on the older base, while system B is built up on the younger base.

Although the quadrilaterals of the class šuḫarruru did not escape the tendency of the šaf'el of the triconsonantal verb to develop the bases šapras, šapris, and šaprus, as evidenced by the forms uštahrar, uštahrir, uštaqlal, ušaqlil, šahrartu, šaḫur, šaqummu, and šuqammu, it must not be overlooked that the quadrilateral forms built on these secondary bases are rather rare as compared with the forms of the type šuḫarruru. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that our observations are naturally restricted to the inscriptional language, alongside of which there existed the vernacular language and various local dialects, which did not at all or only to a small extent contribute to the formation of the inscriptional Akkadian. In those unrecorded forms of the Akkadian language quadrilateral forms built on the younger bases may well have been quite common or may even have been used exclusively. It is possible that the comparatively

few forms found in literary Akkadian penetrated into it from those dialects.

In order to avoid a possible misunderstanding, it should be recognized that the verb forms which show the younger base do not necessarily belong to a relatively young period of historical Akkadian. A comparative study of the Semitic languages shows that tendencies found in late developments of these languages as a rule have been at work in some form already in the earliest times, and we may therefore assume almost as a certainty that in some of the oldest Akkadian periods forms like ušqalil, šaqummu, etc. belonged to the regular verbal system. Finally, we must not forget that neither the form šaqummu nor the form šuqammumu is original; for the latter, although it has preserved the original position of the base vowels, is nevertheless a secondary form, because it doubles the third radical; šaqummu, on the other hand, although it has changed the position of the vowels, is more original than šuqammumu, because it does not show the secondary doubling of the third radical. The original forms would be found, e.g., in an infinitive form \*šiqámumu (which might have developed into šuqámumu and even into šuqámmu) and in the present išqálal and the preterit \*išqalil.

In this connection it may also be stated that the extant present and preterit forms of the type ušqalil only rarely show an actual doubling of the third radical; they are usually written ušqalil etc. This fact, however, can easily be paralleled by hundreds of pi'el forms of the triconsonantal verb, in which the doubling of the middle radical is a feature required by the system of verbal formation,

and it would therefore be very hazardous to draw any definite conclusions from the frequent simple writing of the third radicals of our quadriliteral forms. Nevertheless, it is possible not only that grammatical experts among the scribes still knew that the seeming šaf'el and šaf'el-pi'el forms were actually qal forms, but also that the original qal forms (even though the prefix i- had been changed to u-) were still used in the vernacular language, from where they could invade the literary language at any time.

The results gained in the foregoing investigation concerning the development of the verb system of the class šuharruru may be illustrated by the following table.

Present	System A	išqá(1)lal > ušqá(1)lal > ušqállal
	System B	išqálal > *išaqálal > *ušáqalal > ušáqlal
Preterit	System A	*išqalil > *ušqalil > ušqállil <sup>6</sup>
	System B	*išqalil > *išaqalil > *ušáqalil > ušáqlil

## 2. The Group šukênu

The two verbs of this group, šukênu, "to prostrate oneself," and šupêlu, "to (ex)change (something)," have been designated by Delitzsch<sup>7</sup> and Bezold<sup>8</sup> as III/II formations of the triliteral verb roots k'n and p'l, although with reservations. In both cases, however, no I l forms, not even nouns or adjectives, of the supposed

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<sup>6</sup> Under the influence of the present.

<sup>7</sup> Assyrisches Handwörterbuch (Leipzig, 1896) pp. 313 and 514.

<sup>8</sup> Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar (Heidelberg, 1926) pp. 136 and 219.

triconsonantal verbs from which the meanings of the respective šaf'el-pi'el forms could readily be derived have been found in the Akkadian literature or in the other Semitic languages. E. A. Speiser<sup>9</sup> regards šukênu as a denominative šaf'el formation of kn', "to bow down," "to submit oneself," on the basis of which he translates uškên with "he makes himself humble, bows down." But if šukênu actually were connected with kn', it could only mean "to cause (someone) to bow down" but not "to prostrate oneself." Virtually the same difficulties present themselves in the case of šupêlu. Delitzsch<sup>10</sup> derives this verb from the root p'1, as we have just seen, and suggests that p'1 might be identical with b'1, "to rule," "to take possession"; Ungnad<sup>11</sup> goes a step farther and regards this as an established fact. But, in the first place, the supposed root p'1 and the root b'1 begin with two different radicals. It is true that at certain periods and in certain localities forms of the verb bêlu written with the consonant p do occur; but those are exceptions, they are dialectical forms. Šupêlu, on the other hand, is regularly written with the radical p; here the writing with b, found chiefly during the First Babylonian Dynasty, when the sign pi quite commonly stood for wa, wi, wu, and in texts from Nuzi, is exceptional.<sup>12</sup> In the second place, to derive

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<sup>9</sup> Language XI (1935) 20 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, p. 162.

<sup>11</sup> Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik, pp. 12 and 172.

<sup>12</sup> The writing pá (= BA) in the Cappadocian forms uš-pá-i-lu and mu-uš-pá-il<sub>5</sub> does not prove anything pro or con, since in Cappadocian this is the regular way of writing the syllable pa.

šupêlu from p'1, considered as being equal to b'1, is semantically unsatisfactory. For in that case šupêlu should mean "to cause (some-one) to rule," "to cause (someone) to take possession," but not "to (ex)change (something)."

In view of these considerations we feel compelled to regard šukênu and šupêlu as quadriliteral verbs of the same type as šuharruru, šuqammumu, etc. Like these verbs, šukênu and šupêlu have modeled their forms after the šaf'el. The reasons for that are the same as those involved in the system of the verbs of the class šuharruru. We can therefore pass up that point. The only question which has to be discussed at some length is whether šukênu and šupêlu follow the old šaf'el or the šaf'el-pi'el, or both.

To begin with the uncontracted forms (because they are nearest to the oldest stages of the verb), we find the following examples of the preterit: uš-kà-en, "he prostrated himself," uš-kà-in and uš-kà-i-in, "I bowed down (or submitted)," and nu-uš-pá-il<sub>5</sub> and uš-pá-i-lu, "we (they) exchanged (something)." The first example is taken from an inscription of Sargon of Akkad, while the others come from Cappadocian documents. Unfortunately, these forms do not allow us to determine whether they are patterned after the šaf'el-pi'el or whether they represent the old šaf'el. This is true even of uš-pá-i-lu, which can stand either for \*ušpa'ilu, the plural of the old šaf'el, or \*ušpa>>ilu, the plural of the šaf'el-pi'el. If uš-pá-i-lu came from a Babylonian text, it would most likely represent the šaf'el-pi'el \*ušpa>>ilu and not a form of the old šaf'el, since the plural of the old šaf'el \*ušpa'il would probably be \*ušpa'lu.

In the present we find the forms uš-ka-na, in a late text from Ashur, and [tu-u]š-ka-a-na and tu-šá-pa-a-la, in a late grammatical text from Nineveh. The last two examples, with plene writing, could stand for the šaf'el-pi'el forms \*tuška'ana and \*tuš(a)pa'ala, or for the old šaf'el forms \*tuška'ana and \*tuš(a)pa'ala.<sup>13</sup> The first example, however, seems to point to the old šaf'el, because since it has an ending but is not written plene, we should expect a doubling of the final radical (i.e. \*uškanna) to replace the doubling of the preceding weak radical if it were contracted from a šaf'el-pi'el form.<sup>14</sup>

The contracted forms appear in the present as uš-kin, uš-ki-in, uš-ki-en, uš-te-pi-il, uš-pi-lu, and uš-te-pi-lu, also as [uš]-kin-ni, uš-pi-el-lu, uš-te-pi-el-lu, uš-te-pil-lu<sub>4</sub>, and uš-te-pi-il-lu<sub>4</sub>; and in the preterit as uš-kin, uš-ki-[in], uš-te-pi-el, uš-pi-e-lu, uš-pi-e-lu-u', uš-pí-i-lu, uš-pi-lu, uš-pí-lu-ú, uš-pi-e-li (= uš-pi-e-lu), and also as uš-pi-il-lu and uš-pi-el-lu.

Here again it is rather difficult to draw any definite conclusions. The forms of the present which have no endings may represent the old šaf'el or the šaf'el-pi'el; the forms uš-pi-lu and uš-te-pi-lu probably belong to the old šaf'el; all the other present forms with endings are indicative of nothing, for while the doubling of the fourth radical of course replaces the doubling of the preceding weak radical, it must not be forgotten that this doubling of the weak

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<sup>13</sup> See Poebel, *Studies*, pp. 111 ff. For the insertion of the secondary a after š see *ibid.* pp. 92 and 136 ff.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.* pp. 124 ff.

radical may simply be due to the accent. Of the preterit forms, uš-pi-il-lu and uš-pi-el-lu probably follow the šaf'el-pi'el pattern (cf. ukinnu), while all the other preterit forms with endings apparently are modeled after the old šaf'el.

What has been said about the preterit must of course be true also of the participle, since it is formed from the preterit base. Here we find only such forms as muš-ki-nu, mu-uš-ki-e-nu, muš-ki-e-nu-te, muš-pi-e-lu, etc. (the participles of the old šaf'el), never such forms as muškinnu, mušpillu, etc. (the šaf'el-pi'el participles), whereas of the pi'el participle of kânu we find frequently the form mukinnu.

Especially significant, however, are the infinitive forms šukênu and šupêlu. For in spite of the fact that, e.g., the infinitive of the šaf'el-pi'el of the mediae infirmae verb mâtu, "to die," is šumuttu,<sup>15</sup> "to kill," the infinitives of šk'n and šp'l are not šukunnu and šupullu but šukênu and šupêlu. The infinitive šupêlu can of course go back only to \*šupá'lum < \*šupá'ulum < \*špá'ulum, which is in reality the infinitive of the old šaf'el formation úšpa'il. Also the noun šupe'ultu, which is naturally derived from \*šupa'úlatum,<sup>16</sup> goes back to this. The forms šu-kin-nu, šu-kin-ni, and šu-kin-na, then, represent only a late development of the older šukênu, under the influence of the trilateral šaf'el-pi'el forms and the general tendency to model the quadrilateral verb after the pi'el

<sup>15</sup> See E. J. Harper in BA II (1894) 499:10.

<sup>16</sup> The vowel *e* in šukênu and šupêlu is of course due to the nature of the third radical.



pattern (in this case after the pi'el of the šaf'el).

In the light of these observations, it is quite clear that the forms of šukêmu and šupêlu, like those of the group šuharruru, were first adapted to the old šaf'el but that the forms which have come down to us are already on the way toward being modeled after the šaf'el-pi'el. In fact, it seems probable that these forms, in spite of the frequent simple writing of the fourth radical and even the occasional occurrence of a long preceding vowel, were commonly regarded as šaf'el-pi'el formations.

### 3. The Verb šhñn

This verb is found in letters from Amarna, in an inscription from Bogazköy, and in an inscription from Nuzi. The forms of this verb used to be derived from a root šahâhu. The insufficiency of this theory was pointed out by Knudtzon<sup>17</sup> in 1914. Knudtzon himself regarded them as III/II 1 and III/II 2 forms of a root ḥahâmu and was followed by Bezold<sup>18</sup> (although with reservations) and by René Labat.<sup>19</sup> The difficulties connected with this derivation are the same as those attending the efforts to explain šukêmu and šupêlu as šaf'el-pi'el forms of trilateral roots. It is therefore clear that here again we are dealing with a quadrilateral root, viz. šhñn, whose first radical is š, just as in the case of šuharruru, šuparruru, šuqallulu, šuqammumu, šukêmu, and šupêlu.

<sup>17</sup> OLZ XVII (1914) 489-91.

<sup>18</sup> Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, p. 120.

<sup>19</sup> L'Akkadien de Boghazköi (Bordeaux, 1932) p. 128.

A remarkable feature of this quadriliteral verb is that the forms belonging to the t-stem display the prefix i (except the forms from Boğazköy and from Nuzi), while the examples of the simple stem, entirely in accordance with the other quadrilaterals, show the prefix u. It is not quite clear how this phenomenon must be explained. However, since all the forms which exhibit the prefix i come from the West and belong to the first person singular, it seems that this irregularity is due to the influence of the Canaanite form *eštaḥawe*, which at that time was probably pronounced *ištaḥawe*.<sup>20</sup> The vowel u in the forms *ištuḥaḥen* and *ištuḥuḥen* as well as the second u in *uštuḥeḥen* no doubt arose through indistinct pronunciation. Another point which merits special consideration is whether the forms of *šḥn* were modeled after the old *ša'el* or after the *ša'el-pi'el*. In view of the fact that the third radical is never doubled in writing, it may seem to be a justified conclusion that *šḥn* was patterned after the old *ša'el*; but on the other hand it may also be that we are here confronted with a virtual doubling of the third radical, and that the forms under *šḥn* follow the *ša'el-pi'el*.

### C. The Class nabalkutu

#### 1. Preliminary Observations

The verbs composing the class *nabalkutu*, which we shall arrange according to the peculiarities of their roots, are the following ones.

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<sup>20</sup> See F. M. T. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig, 1909) p. 56.

## a) The Strong Verbs

## (1) Verbs with Four Different Radicals

- (a) nabalkutu, "to revolt" (intr.), "to cross," "to transgress" (tr.)  
 napalsuhu, "to fall down" (intr.)
- (b) naharbušu, "to be chilly(?)" (intr.)  
 naharmuṭu, "to be vigorous(?)" (intr.), "to annihilate" (tr.)  
 naparqudu, "to fall or lie on one's back(?)" (intr.)  
 naparsuḍu, "to flee" (intr.)  
 naparzuḥu, "to be plentiful" (intr.)  
 našarbuṭu, "to sweep along" (intr.)

## (2) Verbs Tertiae Geminatae

- naharmumu, "to be overcome (with terror)" (intr.)  
 nazarbubu, "to rage" (intr.)

## b) The Final Weak Verbs

- (1) negeltû, "to awake" (intr.)  
 nehelsû, "to slip" (intr.)  
 nekelmû, "to look" (intr.), "to behold" (tr.)  
 napalkû, "to be wide open" (intr.)  
 napaltû, "to fail," "to miss" (intr.)  
 neqelpû, "to drift," "to float" (intr.)
- (2) nemerkû, "to remain behind" (intr.)  
 napardû, "to be(come) bright" (intr.)  
 naparkû, "to cease" (intr.), "to leave" (tr.)

An examination of the roots of these verbs reveals the

astonishing fact that all the quadriliterals of this class have as their second radical either l or r, two consonants which are closely related to one another. In this connection we might call attention also to the fact that the second radical of paršumu is r. The prominence of these two consonants may become of the greatest importance for the establishment of the etymology and the origin of these verbs. But for our present investigation this problem is quite irrelevant.

Another interesting fact is that nine out of the nineteen verbs belonging to this class have a weak consonant as their fourth radical. It is doubtful, however, whether this is of any etymological consequence, since the Akkadian weak consonants comprise not only i and u, but also the gutturals ' , h, ḥ, ' , and ġ. For our present study the weak consonant is of importance only in so far as its elision causes a contraction of the vowels, and because the change of the vowel a to e in some of these forms must be attributed to the nature of the weak consonant, a circumstance which is of no greater importance than e.g. the change of a to e in erêbu (< \*ġarâbu).

The outstanding characteristic feature of this class of verbs, as far as the form system is concerned, is that the simple nif'al (the IV l stem) functions as their qal or primary stem. It will be recalled that Ethiopic also has a considerable number of quadriliteral verbs which use the simple nif'al in place of the qal. Even within the triconsonantal verb in Akkadian, as well as in Hebrew, this use of the nif'al can be observed. In his study on the verb uzuzzu, Professor Poebel<sup>21</sup> has pointed out that the nif'al form izzâz, "he

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<sup>21</sup> Studies, pp. 97 ff.

stands," has replaced the qal form \*izâz, from \*zâzu, "to stand," from which ušzâz, "he causes to stand," is formed as the simple causative. In that connection Professor Poebel also adduces the forms ippalis, "he looked," innabit, "he fled," and the Hebrew forms niššab, "to stand," and nākôn, "to stand upright," for which Arabic and Akkadian have intransitive qal's (kāna and kânu, respectively). To these can be added the Akkadian ippariš, "he flew." There can therefore be no doubt that the n-form of the Akkadian quadrilaterals replaces an old intransitive qal, the more so since all the verbs belonging to this class have an intransitive meaning, although some of them have a transitive meaning as well. The fact that all the verbs of this class of quadrilaterals have replaced the intransitive qal by the nif'al is indeed a very astonishing phenomenon, which can be explained only by assuming that all the quadrilateral verbs of this class were felt to belong to the same class and were therefore treated after one and the same pattern. This is, incidentally, a very good illustration of the tendency of the Semitic languages to develop common patterns for their verb systems. In many cases, however, the existence of a simple quadrilateral qal stem is presupposed by the causative formation; compare, e.g., ibbalkit, "he revolted," and ušbalkit, "he caused to revolt"; ippardâ, "it became bright," and ušpardî, "I made bright," etc. The former existence of such a qal is especially clear in the case of napalkû, "to be wide open," of which we still find the adjective or permansive participle palkû, "wide open," from \*palku'u, formed after the pi'el pattern, after which is modeled also the quadrilateral verb paršumu, as we have seen.

As indicated before, the quadriliteral verbs of this class appear in two main formations, namely, the nif'al and the šaf'el. Although I have found examples of the causative formation of only half of the quadrilaterals of this class, there can be no doubt that it could be formed for every verb. In the case of naparzuḥu, on the other hand, we find only the causative, a fact which is of course merely accidental.

Besides the simple formations of the nif'al and the šaf'el (i.e., IV 1 and III 1), also their t- and tn-formations are found (i.e., IV 2 and IV 3, III 2 and III 3) and, in the case of nabalkutu, even a tt- and a ttn-formation (i.e., IV 4 and IV 5). This fact hardly needs to be mentioned, since the t-, tn-, tt-, and ttn-stems are merely subdivisions of the main formations and theoretically can be formed of any such formation.

The system of the formations of this class of quadrilaterals is as follows:

IV 1	ibbalkit	III 1	ušbalkit
IV 2	ittabalkit	III 2	uštabalkit
IV 3	ittablakkat	III 3	uštablakkat
IV 4	ittatabalkit	III 4	*uštatabalkit
IV 5	ittatablakkat	III 5	*uštatablakkat

## 2. The Nif'al Formation

Our investigation of the system of vocalization of the verbs of this class must take its starting point with the fact that in the general system of verb formation the first and second vowels of the

original base were between the third, second, and first radicals counting from the end, that is, the original bases of nabalkutu, e.g., were blakat, blakit, and blakut, while the base forms balkat, balkit, and balkut were of secondary origin. Here we must bear in mind that wherever it is necessary to insert a vowel between the first and second radicals, this vowel is the same as the first base vowel; this means that in Akkadian it is always a. And this circumstance, together with a recession of the accent, which thus caused the elision of the original first base vowel, gave rise to the secondary bases balkat, balkit, and balkut.

Starting with the simple IV 1 formation, we find it advisable to investigate first not the present but the preterit tense, since the latter follows the usual Akkadian tendency to stress the antepenult, while the present exhibits, as it were, an unnatural stressing on the penult, which of course makes the investigation more complicated.

The preterit form *ibbálakit*, of course, goes back to *\*ibbálakit* (< *\*ianabálakit*). The original base *blakit* has thus been provided with the additional vowel a, which attracted the stress because the syllable containing it is the antepenult. The original form, according to the system, would have been *ianblakit*, but such a form, although easy for us to pronounce, would have presented a difficulty to the Semites, who have an aversion to two consonants without intervening vowels. Now, since the rhythm of the stress in Akkadian according to Professor Poebel follows the scheme ([stressed syllable]-unstressed syllable-)stressed syllable-unstressed syllable-stressed

syllable, the original form, īanabálakit, which underlies the historical form, quite naturally became īanbálakit and later ībbákit, in accordance with the rule that a short unstressed vowel in an open penult after a short open antepenult is elided. The development here sketched is of course not restricted to the nif'al of the quadriliterals. We can also trace it, e.g., in the nif'al t-formation īttákšad and the šaf'el t-formation īštákšid of the trilateral verb, as evidenced by the following list of the various stages of the verb forms just mentioned.

ībbákit < īanbálakit < īanabálakit

īttákšad < īantákāšad < īanatakāšad

īštákšid < īuštákāšid < īušatakāšid

Nor is this parallelism in any way astonishing; it simply shows that the vocalism of the verb forms in the Semitic languages is dependent on rhythmic conditions, which of course will lead to a similar vocalization in all those cases where the form shows the same consonantal skeleton, as is the case in the above three instances. Compare

īnblkt

īntkšd

īštkšd

Turning now to the present of the simple nif'al, we find that it, unlike the preterit, which in all Akkadian dialects and in all periods appears as ībbákit, shows three different formations, viz., ībbalá(k)kat, ībbalá(k)kit, and ībbákkat. For the present and the



preterit, therefore, we have the following three schemes:

	Pattern I	Pattern II	Pattern III
Present	ibbalá(k)kat	ibbalá(k)kit	ibbáalkat
Preterit	ibbáalkit	ibbáalkit	ibbáalkit

Of these three themes, the first and second are more original than the third because they are formed from the original bases blákat and blákit, with the first base vowel a still in its original place, between the second and third radicals, whereas the present of pattern III is formed from the secondary base báalkat, with the first base vowel between the first and second radicals. Again pattern I, with a as its second base vowel, is more original than pattern II, with i as its second base vowel; this is borne out by the fact that pattern III also has a as its second base vowel. The originality of the first pattern as compared with the second and the third is shown also by the following observations. In the first theme we note three points of distinction: (1) the second base vowel of the present is a, that of the preterit i; (2) the preterit is stressed on the original antepenult, the present on the penult; (3) as a consequence of this different stressing, the third radical of the present has been doubled, while in the preterit the first base vowel has been elided.

In the second theme the difference between the second base vowels has disappeared; both tenses now have i as their second base vowel. In this respect the present has assimilated itself to the preterit. The only difference between the two tenses is that in the present the stress falls on the penult, in the preterit on the original

antepemult, with the accompanying doubling of the third radical in the present and the elision of the first base vowel in the preterit.

The third theme, finally, has retained the difference between the second base vowels which we observed in the first scheme, but it has renounced the difference of stressing in the present and the preterit, both tenses placing the accent on the original antepemult. Again the present has assimilated itself to the preterit by adopting the preterit stressing. With this difference in accentuation gone, the doubling of the second-last radical could, of course, not take place; in fact, the present now elided its second base vowel, exactly like the preterit. Consequently the third theme bears only one mark of distinction, namely, in the present the last base vowel is a, in the preterit it is i.

The simplification of the differences between the present and the preterit in the second and the third pattern is a clear example of the tendency to economize as much as possible in expressing grammatical ideas. If a language finds one grammatical element or device sufficient to express a certain idea, it will not endeavor to give expression to the same idea by means of further grammatical devices. Hence where a grammatical idea is expressed by more than one device the natural tendency always is to restrict the various characteristics to only one. Therefore it is quite obvious that of the three present themes just discussed the first, showing more distinguishing features between the present and the preterit than the two other patterns, is the oldest one, while the two other schemes are the result of a later tendency to reduce the number of these distinguishing features.

These conclusions are fully borne out by the occurrence of the three present themes in the various periods of the history of Akkadian. For *ibbalá(k)kat* is found in texts of the Dynasty of Akkad and the First Babylonian Dynasty and in Nuzi and neo-Assyrian contracts; *ibbalá(k)kit* occurs only from the neo-Babylonian period to the days of the Persian supremacy, while *ibbáalkat* (alongside of *ibbalakat*) is found only in neo-Assyrian and Nuzi documents.

In this connection it is very interesting to note that the development of these present-preterit schemes has a parallel in the development of the *qal* present-preterit schemes of the trilateral verb *nadāmu*. Compare

#### Pattern I

Present	<i>iná(d)dan</i> (< * <i>ianádan</i> )
Preterit	<i>iddin</i> (< * <i>ianadin</i> )

#### Pattern II

Present	<i>iná(d)din</i> (< * <i>ianádin</i> )
Preterit	<i>iddin</i> (< * <i>ianadin</i> )

#### Pattern III

Present	<i>iddan</i> (< * <i>ianadan</i> )
Preterit	<i>iddin</i> (< * <i>ianadin</i> )

Also here pattern I belongs to the oldest period, for it is found regularly in the Akkadian of the Third Dynasty of Ur, while the second pattern is the Babylonian development, traceable from the time of Rim-Sin down to the Persian period, and pattern III is found in

Late Assyrian. This parallelism is most significant, since it shows very plainly that the facts established in our investigation are by no means isolated and arbitrary developments but are, in accordance with Professor Poebel's thesis, a part of general systematic tendencies characteristic of certain regional developments as well as of certain periods. The periods in which the corresponding forms of nabalkutu and nadânu are found in the inscriptions do not coincide in all instances, yet the sequence of the periods to be distinguished is the same. Thus, e.g., the form ina(d)din appears in Babylonia as the regular present as early as the Larsa and First Babylonian Dynasties, whereas the form ibbalá(k)kit does not occur before neo-Babylonian times. This proves, of course, only that the late forms of nadânu and nabalkutu found their way into the literary language at different periods; for, like all deviating forms, they originated in the vernacular language, from where the new forms of nadânu entered the literary language at an earlier date than did those of nabalkutu, simply because nadânu was one of the most commonly used verbs.

Also the IV 1 infinitive exhibits two different formations: the theme nabálkutum and the theme nablákkutum. The former is paralleled by numerous quadriliteral verbs (cf. naḥarmumu, naḥarmuṭu, napalsuḫu, naparqud [permansive], naparšudu, našarbuṭu, nazarbubu, napaltû, nehelsû [permansive], napalkû, napardû, naparkû, and neqelpû) and may therefore be designated as the usual infinitive formation, at least for the periods from which these examples date. The form nablakutum, on the other hand, occurs only once, viz. in the strange vocabulary published by De Genouillao in RA XXV (1928) 124 ff.,

which dates from the First Dynasty of Babylon. The only other example belonging to this theme is the form neklémû, which is found in a vocabulary from Kish; to judge by the writing and the use of mimation, this syllabary likewise dates from the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Of these two formations, that of nablákutum and neklémû of course represents the older theme, since it still uses the original base blakut, while the infinitives of the type nabalkutum already follow the secondary base balkut. This is again in conformity with historical evidence, for the two texts in which nablakutum and neklémû occur are older than any text from which the infinitives of the pattern nabalkutum have been taken. To date, however, the inscriptional evidence is not extensive enough to warrant a definite statement as to whether at the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty the form nablakutum was still in general use or whether it had already been superseded by the form nabalkutum.

In this connection an irregularity occurring in the IV 1 permansive of the verb napalsuḫu should also be noted. For a text dating from the Seleucid period gives the permansive as na-pal-si-iḫ, with i as the last vowel instead of the regular vowel u. The same change of vowel is found at a much earlier period in a text from Ashur, which has ne-pal-si-iḫ, with the additional irregularity that it attenuates the a of the first syllable to e. The change from u to i is probably due primarily to the fact that the short unstressed vowel before the fourth radical may have been pronounced more or less indistinctly.

The various themes of the simple nif'al formation can now be summarized as follows:

## Pattern I

Present	ibbalá(k)kat
Preterit	ibbáalkit
Infinitive	nablákutum

## Pattern II

Present	ibbalá(k)kit
Preterit	ibbáalkit
Infinitive	nabáalkutum

## Pattern III

Present	ibbáalkat
Preterit	ibbáalkit
Infinitive	nabáalkutum

In the IV 2 preterit of nabáalkutu we again find two different formations, viz., ittabalkat and ittabalkit. The former occurs from Middle Assyrian times down to the Persian empire, while the latter is found in documents from neo-Assyrian, Late Babylonian, and Persian times, and even in a Hittite document. It would seem, then, that ittabalkat is relatively older than ittabalkit, which probably developed under the influence of the frequently occurring IV 1 preterit form ibbáalkit.

In the IV 3 formation the present still shows the first base vowel exclusively in its old position, between the second and third radicals. Compare ittanablákkat, ittanapráqqad, ittanapráššid, and ittanašrábbiṭ. Of these verbs, the first two quite consistently have

a as the second base vowel of the present, while the last two just as consistently have i instead. In the case of *naparšudu* this applies even to the present of the IV 1 stem. This means of course that we have here, as in the IV 1 formation, two different bases for the present tense, namely, the bases *paras* (as in *ikášad*) and *paris* (as in *inádin*).

The designation of certain preterit, participle, and infinitive forms as IV 3 forms, going with the present *ittanablakkat*, will probably seem rather strange at first sight. These forms are represented by the following examples:

Preterit	<i>itteqléppû</i> (in the precative <i>litteqléppû</i> )
Participle	<i>muttapráššidu</i> , <i>muttašrábbiṭu</i> , <i>mutaklámmû</i> , <i>mutteklémmû</i>
Infinitive	<i>itablákkutu</i> , <i>itahlîṣu</i> , <i>iteklémmû</i> , <i>iteqléppû</i>

Up to the present they have been taken as IV 2 forms. But, as Professor Poebel has discovered and as he has promised to show in an article of his own, these forms contain a second *n*, which is separated from the consonant *t* by the first and second radicals and has been assimilated to the third radical, and hence they belong to the IV 3 stem. The forms *muttapráššidu* and *itablákkutum*, e.g., stand for *\*muntapráššidu* and *\*intablákkutum*, respectively. Generally speaking, we may say that in all these cases the *n* of the element *tn* has been transposed from its expected place before the first radical to a position before the third radical of the quadrilateral. The development of these forms has a certain analogy in the case of the *tn*-forms of the trilateral verb, as we can see from the following

correspondences between the forms of the trilateral and the quadrilateral.

#### Trilateral

	I 2	I 3
Present	iktáššad	iktanáššad
Preterit	íktašad	iktáššad (< *iktánsad)

#### Quadrilateral

	IV 2 (= I 2)	IV 3 (= I 3)
Present	ittabalákkat	ittanablákkat
Preterit	ittabákkat	ittablákkat

In the trilateral verb the fully developed I 2 present and the fully developed I 3 preterit are alike; in the case of the former the doubling of the middle radical is of course due solely to the accent on the penult, while in the case of the latter the doubling is due to the assimilation of the consonant n to the second radical. In analogy with this correspondence the IV 3 preterit is formed almost exactly like the IV 2 present ittabalákkat, the result being of course that in the quadrilateral n-formation the doubling affects the third radical and not the second.

Besides these rare formations, we find also one example of the IV 5 stem, viz. the preterit form attatablákkata, which of course goes back to \*antatablákkata.

### 3. The Šaf'el Formation

With the results of our investigation of the nif'al forms of



the quadriliteral verb at our disposal, the explanation of the šaf'el forms does not offer any difficulties.

There are, however, a number of points which deserve special consideration. Beginning with the simple šaf'el, we notice that the preterit presents a shorter form, ušbálkit, and a longer one, ušabálkit. The form of the type ušbalkit is found in texts from the First Babylonian Dynasty down to about the end of the Assyrian empire (or later), while ušabalkit occurs exclusively in Sargonid days, with the exception of one example taken from Emûma êliš; this example is probably due to later influence. The additional vowel in ušabalkit, between the prefixed š and the first radical, is of course secondary.<sup>22</sup>

Turning to the present tense, we note three different formations, viz., ušbalá(k)kat, ušbálkat (cf. also ušhármaṭ), and ušabálkat. Here we observe the following marks of distinction: First, in ušbala(k)kat the first base vowel still occupies its original position between the second and third radicals, while in ušbalkat and in ušabalkat the first base vowel stands between the first and second radicals, which shows that ušbala(k)kat is formed from the original base blakat and belongs to the older development, whereas ušbalkat and ušabalkat are formed from the secondary base balkat and belong to the younger development. Second, ušbala(k)kat is accented on the penult, with the attending doubling of the third radical, whereas in ušbalkat and in ušabalkat the stress rests on the original antepenult, with the result that the vowel between the second and third radicals is elided. The forms ušbalkat and ušabalkat have thus partially

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<sup>22</sup> See Poebel, *Studies*, pp. 92 and 136 ff.

assimilated themselves to the preterit forms ušbalkit and ušabalkit; the only point of distinction between the former and the latter is that in the present the second base vowel is a, while in the preterit the second base vowel is i. Third, in ušabalkat, as in the preterit ušabalkit, an unaccented secondary a appears between the prefixed š and the first radical.

Our conclusion as to the age of these forms is again borne out by the texts in which they occur. The form ušbala(k)kat is found in documents of the Old Akkadian period and the First Babylonian Dynasty; the formation of the type ušbalkat occurs in an Amarna letter and in two neo-Assyrian inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal; while ušabalkat occurs only in texts from neo-Assyrian to Late Babylonian times.

We may here draw the following interesting comparison between the various patterns of the IV 1 and the III 1 present and preterit tenses.

#### Pattern I

IV 1	Present	ibbalá(k)kat
	Preterit	ibbálkit
III 1	Present	ušbalá(k)kat
	Preterit	ušbálkit

#### Pattern II

IV 1	Present	ibbalá(k)kit
	Preterit	ibbálkit
III 1	Present	—
	Preterit	ušbálkit

## Pattern III

IV 1	Present	ibbálkat
	Preterit	ibbálkit
III 1	Present	uš(a)bálkat
	Preterit	uš(a)bálkit

Special attention must also be given to the preterit form uštablákkít (cf. ultablakkissu) and the infinitive šutablákkutu. These forms, as Professor Poebel will demonstrate in one of his forthcoming articles, stand for \*uštablákkít and \*šutablákkutu, respectively, and belong, therefore, to the III 3 stem. On the basis of these two examples and the IV 3 stem it is quite easy to reconstruct the scheme of the III 3 formation of the quadriliterals of this class. Compare the following list, in which the forms of the IV 3 and the III 3 stems are placed side by side.

	IV 3	III 3
Present	ittanablákkat	*uštanablákkat
Preterit	ittablákkat	uštablákkít <sup>23</sup>
Infinitive	itablákkutum	šutablákkutum
Participle	muttablákkítum <sup>24</sup>	*muštablákkítum

4. The Patterns of the Class nabalkutu

As pointed out before, the most prominent characteristic of

<sup>23</sup> The last base vowel of this form is i (instead of a as in IV 3) because it is the šaf'el.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. muttapraššidu and muttašrabbitu.

this class of quadrilaterals is that the simple nif'al functions as their qal, or primary stem. But the causative of these verbs is not formed from the nif'al ibbalkit (< \*inbalkit), which here takes the place of the qal, but from an original quadrilateral qal \*ubalkit, modeled after the trilateral pi'el upazzir. Rhythmically the šaf'el ušbalkit is thus identical with the trilateral šaf'el-pi'el ušpazzir. The forms of the šaf'el are therefore completely in line with the general practice in the other Semitic languages of modeling the quadrilateral verbs after the pi'el pattern of the trilaterals. That in the other Semitic languages the quadrilaterals do not form a šaf'el is due solely to the fact that in the historical periods these languages no longer form a šaf'el from the pi'el; we must therefore suppose that with the disappearance of the šaf'el-pi'el in these languages also the šaf'el of their quadrilaterals, which was modeled after the pi'el of the šaf'el, disappeared. In complete harmony with this conclusion is the fact that Ethiopic, which, like Akkadian, forms a causative of the trilateral pi'el ('aqattala), also forms a regular causative of its quadrilaterals, namely 'amandaba, which is rhythmically the exact counterpart of 'aqattala.

These observations shed some most welcome light on the nif'al formations. Disregarding for the moment the vocalization of the prefix, we find that also the nif'al ibbalkit corresponds to the pi'el pattern; as far as the rhythm is concerned, ibbalkit is the nif'al of the pi'el pattern \*ubalkit. We have here, as in the case of the Ethiopic quadrilateral n-class, the transition of the simple quadrilateral qal formation of the pi'el pattern into the nif'al of the

pi'el pattern, which is completely parallel to the transition of the simple intransitive qal into, or its replacement by, the nif'al formation of the trilliterals; compare, e.g., the Hebrew nākōn instead of the simple \*kūn, or niṣṣab instead of \*naṣiba, and the Akkadian izzâz instead of \*îzûz, etc.<sup>25</sup> This transition was quite easy, since all the Akkadian quadriliterals of the n-class are at least basically intransitive. We may therefore state that also the Akkadian quadriliteral n-class fits into the general Semitic tendency of modeling the forms of the quadriliteral verbs after the pi'el pattern. The fact that the prefix is not vocalized like that of the pi'el is inconsequential, since this form was evidently felt to be primarily a nif'al form, which requires the prefix ia-, with only its base conforming to that of the pi'el. We met the same phenomenon in connection with the third stem of the Arabic quadriliteral verbs. Other examples in point are the Arabic forms iataqattala and iataqâtala, which use the prefix ia- even though they represent the t-forms of qattala and qâtala, which in the imperfect use the prefix iu- (iuqattilu and iuqâtilu).

In the light of these observations we may therefore describe the situation offered by the Akkadian class parṣumu with its scheme uparšim-\*ušparšim and the class nabalkutu with its scheme ibbalkit-ušbalkit as being basically the same in both classes, with only this difference, that the class parṣumu still offers the old pi'el pattern, while in the great majority of the quadriliterals the original simple

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<sup>25</sup> On this question see Poebel, *Studies*, pp. 97 ff.

pi'el pattern has been changed to the nif'al-pi'el pattern; but in both classes the causative still shows the original šaf'el-pi'el pattern.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the forms of this class, however, at first sight do not seem to follow the pi'el; these are the old present forms *ibbala(k)kat* and *ibbala(k)kit*, *ittabala(k)kat* and *\*ittabala(k)kit*, *ušbala(k)kat* and *\*uštabala(k)kat*, the infinitive *nabla(k)lutu*, and the *tn-* and *ttn-*forms of the *nif'al* and the *tn-*forms of the *šaf'el*.

To understand these forms properly, we must go back to Professor Poebel's explanation of the pi'el formation in the triliteral verb system.<sup>27</sup> According to Professor Poebel, the pi'el arose from a reduplication of the entire root. Thus the consonantal skeleton of the present of the pi'el of *parāsu*, e.g., originally was *i-prs-prs*. This became *iprrs*, which originally was pronounced *iuparāras*, or *iuparārras*, the latter with doubling of the second *r*, owing to the accent. Accordingly, the vocalized *nif'al-pi'el* originally was *ianpará(r)ras*, while the infinitive was *naprá(r)rusum*; likewise the *šaf'el-pi'el* of *namāru* originally was *iušnamá(m)mar*. These are exactly the forms which we have in *ušbalá(k)kat* (< *\*iūšbalá(k)kat*) and *ibbalá(k)kat* (< *\*ianbalá(k)kat*), which under the influence of the

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<sup>26</sup> Also the nominal formations *nabalkattu* ("rebellion," "assault") and *nabalkattāmu* ("the breaker of a contract") follow the *nif'al-pi'el* pattern. These two forms, incidentally, stand for *\*mabalkattu* and *\*mabalkattāmu*, respectively. For the significance of the original *m* in these two terms see Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, pp. 178 f. (especially the word *mēšaru*, "justice").

<sup>27</sup> *Studies*, pp. 66 ff. and 122 (bottom).

frequent preterit *ibbalkit* became *ibbalá(k)kit*, and the infinitive *nablá(k)kutu*. The *tn-* and *ttn-*forms are to be explained in the same way. It is apparent, then, that all these formations are patterned after the old *nif'al-pi'el* or *šaf'el-pi'el* of the triliterals. The fact that quadriliteral forms which are modeled after the old *nif'al-pi'el* or the old *šaf'el-pi'el* of the triliteral verbs are still found in Akkadian literature, even though these old formations have disappeared from the triliteral system of verb formation, can readily be explained. *Ibbala(k)kat*, *ibbala(k)kit*, *nabla(k)kutu*, *ittabala(k)kat*, and *ušbala(k)kat* occur only in old texts, i.e. at a time when these forms, at least in the language of the inscriptions, had not yet come under the influence of the new *pi'el* system. Forms of the type *ittanabla(k)kat* (instead of *\*ittanabalkat*) are found even in some of the latest inscriptions, but they are of rather infrequent occurrence and therefore could not develop so rapidly as others. Finally, all the forms of the other tenses of the *tn-* and *ttn-*stems could not develop any further because of the infixed *n* between the second and third radicals.

## CONCLUSION

After the detailed examination of the treatment of the quadriliteral verbs in Akkadian and our discussion of the quadriliterals in the other Semitic languages, it may be advisable to offer a brief résumé of the most salient points from the viewpoint of how the Semitic languages, particularly Akkadian, managed to fit the quadriliteral verbs into the system of the triliterals.

In our "Preliminary Remarks" we called attention to the well known facts that the vast majority of the Semitic verb roots consist of three radicals and that the system of verb formation built on the trilateral verb has become one of the most prominent characteristics of the Semitic languages. In addition to that, however, our investigation has shown that the Semitic verb system is built on the trilateral verb not only preponderantly but exclusively. For we have seen that the quadriliteral verbs did not strive to create a system all their own, but that they adapted themselves to the enlarged formations of the triliterals.

The most common adaptation is that to the pi'el, evidently because this stem is the simplest of the enlarged formations, its four consonants being due merely to a doubling of the middle radical, not to the addition of a different consonant. This adaptation is especially obvious in Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew. It also plays a very important role in Ethiopic, but in Akkadian it is found only in the



verb paršumu and the permansive participle palkî.

The great bulk of the Akkadian quadriliteral verbs as well as a considerable number of Ethiopic quadrilaterals form their simple stem with a prefixed n, i.e. the gal is here replaced by the nif'al. The verbs of this group, designated as the class nabalkutu, are modeled after the pattern of the nif'al-pi'el and the šaf'el-pi'el.

The observations which we have made in connection with these two important types of quadriliteral verbs also throw valuable light on the class šuharruru, which is represented only in Akkadian. These verbs, because they begin with š, have been treated in analogy with the šaf'el formation. But in general the pattern of these verbs in the historical periods is not that of the pure šaf'el (ušahrir) but that of the šaf'el-pi'el (ušharrir), which in the case of this class of verbs developed from the old šaf'el. It is quite evident that this development has come about under the influence of the real šaf'el of the quadrilaterals, i.e., ušharrir has been modeled after the pattern of ušbalkit, which, as we have seen, rhythmically imitates the šaf'el-pi'el ušpazzir. In other words, this development has come about under the influence of the general tendency to adapt the forms of the quadriliteral verbs to the pi'el pattern, a process which in this case was greatly facilitated by the accent in the present and the infinitive.

## APPENDIX

## Paradigms of the Akkadian Quadriliteral Verbs

I. The Verb paršumu

Form	Pattern	Present	Preterit	Imperative	Participle	Infinitive
I 1	II 1	*uparšam	uparšim	*paršim <sup>1</sup> *puršim <sup>2</sup>	*muparšimu	*paršumu <sup>1</sup> *puršumu <sup>2</sup>
I 4	II 4	uptataršam	*uptataršim			

<sup>1</sup> Assyrian.<sup>2</sup> Babylonian.

## II. The Group šuḥarruru

	Form	Pattern	Present	Preterit	Imperative	Participle	Infinitive
Type A	I 1	III/II 1	uṣḥarrar	uṣḥarrir	šuḥarrir	*muṣḥarriru	šuḥarruru
	I 2	III/II 2	*uṣṭaḥarrar	uṣṭaḥarrir	*ṣutaḥarrir	*muṣṭaḥarriru	*ṣutaḥarruru
Type B	I 1	III 1	*uṣaḥrar	uṣaḥrir	*ṣaḥrir <sup>1</sup> *suḥrir <sup>2</sup>	*muṣaḥriru	*ṣaḥruru <sup>1</sup> suḥruru <sup>3</sup>
	I 2	III 2	uṣṭaḥrar	uṣṭaḥrir	*ṣutaḥrir	*muṣṭaḥriru	*ṣutaḥruru
	I 4	III 4	*uṣṭataḥrar	uṣṭataḥrir			

<sup>1</sup> Assyrian.<sup>2</sup> Babylonian.<sup>3</sup> Babylonian. Also \*ṣaḥurru for the Assyrian and \*ṣuḥarru for the Babylonian branch of Akkadian (cf. the permansive forms saḥur, saqummu, and suqammu).

III. The Group šukênu

Form	Pattern	Present	Preterit	Imperative	Participle	Infinitive
I 1	III 1 <sup>1</sup> > III/II 1	uškân uškên uškın	uška'în uškên uškın	*šukên *šukîn	muškênu muškîmu	šukênu šukenmu
I 2	III 2 <sup>1</sup> > III/II 2	*uštakân uštakên uštakîn	uštake'în uštakên *uštakîn	*šutakên *šutakîn	*muštakênu *muštakîmu	*šutakênu *šutakenmu

<sup>1</sup> Old šaf'el.

IV. The Verb šhmn

Form	Pattern	Present	Preterit	Imperative	Participle	Infinitive
I 1	III 1 <sup>1</sup> > III/II 1		ušḥeḥen			
I 2	III 2 <sup>1</sup> > III/II 2		ištahāḥen išteḥeḥen ušteḥeḥen <sup>2</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> Old šaf'el.<sup>2</sup> Also ištahāḥen, ištuḥāḥen, ištuḥuḥen, and uštuḥeḥen.

V. The Class nabalkutu

Form	Pattern	Present	Preterit	Imperative	Participle	Infinitive
IV 1	IV/II 1	ibbala(k)kat ibbala(k)kit <sup>1</sup>	ibbalkit	*nabalkit	mubbalkitu	nabla(k)kutu nabalkutu
IV 2	IV/II 2	ittabala(k)kat *ittabala(k)kit	ittabalkat ittabalkit	*itabalkat *itabalkit	*muttabalkitu	*itabalkutu
IV 3	IV/II 3	ittanabla(k)kat <sup>2</sup>	ittablakkat		muttablakkitu	itablakkutu
IV 4	IV/II 4		ittatabalkit			
IV 5	IV/II 5		ittatablakkat			

<sup>1</sup> Neo-Assyrian and Nuzi also ibbalkat.<sup>2</sup> Also ittanašra(b)biṭ.

V. The Class nabalkutu (cont.)

Form	Pattern	Present	Preterit	Imperative	Participle	Infinitive
III 1	III/II 1	ušbala(k)kat uš(a)balkat	ušbalkit ušabalkit	šubalkit	mušbalkitu	šabalkutu <sup>1</sup> šubalkutu <sup>2</sup>
III 2	III/II 2	*uštabela(k)kat *uštabalkat	uštabalkit	*šutabalkit	*muštabalkitu	šutabalkutu
III 3	III/II 3	*uštanabla(k)kat	uštablakkit	*šutablakkit	*muštablakkitu	šutablakkitu

<sup>1</sup> Assyrian.<sup>2</sup> Babylonian.