CORRIGENDA

Page xxiv, line 13 from bottom, *for* (-, ... *read* (⁻, ...
Page 3, line 19, *for* ⁵⁵Ú.   .ᴋɪ *read* ⁵⁵Ú.ꜱᴀʀ(or ʜɪʀ?).ᴋɪ.
Page 12, line 18, column 3, *for* ,,₂-[*gu*- . . . . *read* ,,²-[*gu*- . . . . .

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

of

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES

JOHN ALBERT WILSON

and

THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN

Editors

STUDIES IN AKKADIAN GRAMMAR

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By

ARNO POEBEL

PREFACE

The publication of the studies here presented has suffered many delays. The first study, dealing with the unrecognized *tn*-forms, was in final shape and ready for the press as early as the autumn of 1934.[1] Although originally its immediate publication was planned, a later decision was to wait until it and the study dealing with the verb *uzuzzu* could appear together as one number of the "Assyriological Studies" series. A journey to the museums in London and Berlin in 1935 necessarily interfered with my endeavors to have the manuscript of the latter study in final shape at an early date, but at the end of 1935 the manuscript of all three studies now published was ready for delivery, although, owing to the absence on a vacation of one of the editors of the series, its actual delivery did not take place until February, 1936. The subsequent long delay of one and a half years before the manuscript was sent to the printer (in the autumn of 1937) was due to the fact that the time of the editorial office was taken up with seeing a number of other publications through the press. The printer's work on the manuscript, proofreading, etc. consumed the following nine months (till the summer of 1938), and an additional nine months (till the spring of 1939) was consumed with making extensive indices which the author had intended to add to this publication but which for the present, as explained below, must remain unpublished. It is hoped that the final issue of this publication will take place in the summer of this year.

The actual making of the observations presented in the studies here published naturally preceded the dates just given. Some observations, e.g., those on the *tn*-forms and many of those relating to the forms of the verb *uzuzzu*, were made in the course of special investigations more or less immediately preceding their

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[1] A reference to my explanation of the infinitive form *pitarrusu* is found already in Dr. S. I. Feigin's article on ḤUM-ḤUM in Analecta orientalia XII (1935) 84, n. 2.

being worked into the manuscript of the present publication. But the book also contains, in the main investigations as well as in the footnotes, observations relating to comparative grammar, the Semitic verb system, stressing of the forms, and the conception of text passages, which are already of a respectable age, some of them having been made more than twenty-five or thirty years ago, but like a great many other observations having remained unpublished for lack of time or because no particular occasion for their publication presented itself.

The decision to prepare the present publication resulted from my connection with the Assyrian Dictionary project of the Oriental Institute, for which I took responsibility after the death of my colleague, Professor Chiera, in 1933. Up to that time the work on the Dictionary had consisted chiefly in the gathering and filing of the word material; but it seemed to me that the time had come to shift the work of the Dictionary staff from that first preliminary task to the more essential task of thoroughly sifting the accumulated material according to grammatical, etymological, and phraseological viewpoints. It was clear that the Dictionary, if it was to serve its purposes for an extended period, should not be based merely on the grammatical knowledge which had already crystallized in the existing Assyriological literature but that before the final writing of the Dictionary articles all possible attempts should be made by the staff members themselves to solve the many problems which not only the enormous amount of new material, but, in spite of the admirable and ingenious work done by former generations, also the older material presented at every turn. Since, however, it was desirable for that purpose that grammatical observations passing beyond the contents of the existing grammars should be accessible in a reliable and convenient form, i.e., in print, I decided, upon urgent entreaties by my colleagues of the Dictionary staff, to publish some of my own observations, choosing as a beginning the subjects of the three studies here published.[1]

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[1] In this connection it will be pertinent to mention that owing to the financial developments of the last few years the Dictionary project has

Investigations such as here presented are of course not intended to be read casually. They must be studied thoroughly, and now and then, in order to take full advantage of their contents, it will even be necessary to restudy some of the complicated explanations, logical deductions, etc. In order to facilitate this use of the publication, I had added to my manuscript a number of indices, comprising a subject index, lists of the historical and basic forms mentioned in the studies, a list of the new paradigms, a list of the new phonetic values of cuneiform signs, and an index to the passages treated or referred to in the studies. Owing to the fact, however, that these indices by far exceeded the number of pages originally estimated, and owing to a decision that the additional costs would have to be borne by the author, unfortunately these indices, which undoubtedly would have enhanced the value of the book, had to be omitted.[1]

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encountered serious difficulties, and that, if these cannot be removed, it is doubtful whether the project can be carried through according to the ambitious plan described above. The great importance of those preliminary studies for the future dictionary as I visualized it and as I hoped to bring it out with the help of collaborators who had gone through my school, I believe, will be evident to every reader of this publication. But if it be necessary to point it out in a special instance, I may refer, for example, to the fact that with the application of the results gained in Study I, the articles of the future dictionary on the I 2 and I 3 formations of almost every verb will appear in a drastically changed form, inasmuch as many, in some cases most or even all, of the I 2 forms of present dictionaries will appear as I 3 forms. Since each of the two formations expresses a characteristic meaning, the user of the future dictionary will be enabled to recognize finer nuances expressed in the texts by means of the two formations. The same may be said with regard to the old Semitic and the syntactical use of the *t*-forms, the meanings of which are explained in this publication, though only insofar as it was necessary for the clarification of certain passages and the elucidation of their relation to the *tn*-forms. With the functions of the two *t*'s known, finally, the *t-t*-forms, which combine the two *t*'s, as well as the *t-tn*-forms, which combine the *t* and the *tn*, will no longer offer any difficulty; and one need therefore no longer turn to vague and unprovable theories concerning the meaning of a presumed infix *-tata-*, *-tatan-*, etc.

[1] Especially I had hoped that the subject index, which in the form in which it was offered amounted in part to a detailed and more or less

That in a few points treated in this publication a final decision had to be postponed for lack of material on which it could be based, and that other questions had to be left uninvestigated simply for lack of the time necessary for a thorough investigation, will readily be understood. Doubtless not only future increase of our material by new publications, but also a continued study of texts already published will here and there add further details to our knowledge, e.g., concerning the dialectical forms of the verb *uzuzzu*. I myself might exemplify this by the following. The well known *is.si.*DAN.*nu* of Darius, Bîsutûn Inscription, § 13 (Babyl. vers., col. 1_{22}), § 18 (col. 1_{35}), etc., has mostly been taken as a substantival predicate, *issî dannu*, "(was) my mighty help(er)," but judging from the Old Persian and Elamite parallel passages one would expect it to represent a verbal phrase containing a suffix of the first person singular. It has therefore been taken as *is-si-dan-nu*, I 2 from an otherwise unattested verb **sêdu* (= Hebrew *sā'ad*), "to support," but it may well represent a form *is-si-tan-nu* (= *izzîzanni* [= *izzîzam?*]), "he protected me" or "he stood by me" or "he sided with me," from **tâtu* (= **zâzu*), "to stand." Should a form of the latter verb actually have been intended, the passage would give us a purely vernacular Assyrian **tâtu* IV 1 preterit form *issît* (< **ittît* < **intît*), "he stood," which in Study III has been concluded on purely logical grounds (cf. p. 168 for *ss* < nif'al *n* + first radical *t*, and p. 170 for *t* as last radical). Here a final decision is possible only if other forms of the phrase remove the uncertainty now existing.

To the **šâzu* forms referred to on page 156 (under *a*) as the earliest found in Babylonian inscriptions the form *u-šu-uz*, "he stands," "he stood," which occurs in line 5 of the letter(?) fragment 4 R 34, No. 2, is perhaps to be added, but of course only if the text actually represents a comtemporary letter and not a later composition, and provided that the copy of Aššur-ban-apli's

systematic summary of the subjects treated in the studies would have been welcomed as a useful supplement to the inductional and deductional investigations, in which those subjects could of course be mentioned only at the places where they were needed.

library faithfully renders the original text. That the author of
the letter, or the Babylonian ruler who is speaking in the first
person, was (as Weidner in AOf IV 217 assumes) Ninurta-nadin-
MU-MEŠ, the father of Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I, is quite possible, but
does not follow conclusively from the recognizable contents of
the fragment.[1]

I also wish to use this opportunity for a few remarks on the
form *purussâ'um*, mentioned on page 140. In the singular it is
found on tablets dating from the time of the dynasty of Akkad
(cf. *mu-ḫu-ra-um*, Oriental Institute, A 7866, last line; *mu-ḫur-
ra-um*, A 7866$_2$; *ḫu-lu-qá-um*, Tell Asmar 1931/32, field number
1a, 19, last line; *ru-ku-ma-mum*, Field Museum 229203$_5$)[2] and
once also in Old Assyrian (*ḫu-lu-qá-um*, CTCT III 266$_8$), while
the texts of the latter dialect usually have the plural form (cf.
ḫu-lu-qá-e, CTCT III 18a$_{10}$; *ḫa-lu-qá-e*, Collection Rosenberg 1
[transliterated by Eisser and Lewy, MVAeG XXXIII, p. 315],
l. 1; *ú-tù-ra-ú*, CTCT I, 16b and 17a; *u-tù-ra-e*, Clay, LTC,
No. 173$_2$; *nu-ku-ra-e*, CTCT II 3$_{28}$). These old *purussû* forms
reveal the very interesting fact that Akkadian (or pre-Akkadian),
when singularizing the original plural form **pursû*, was intent
on reincorporating the unusual singular form **pursûm* into the
current system of noun formation by developing it into a "Dehn-
stufe" of the singular form **pursum*. For **pursâ'um* — like the
similarly developed form **pursânum* (cf. the Arabic plural form
fuʿlânun) — stands in the same relation to **pursum* as e.g. *'ilâhun*
(Hebrew *'elôah*) to *'ilum* (Hebrew *'el*). The plural (or, if one prefers,
ⱼollective) meaning of **pursâ'um* is clearly demonstrated by the
ⱼact that in the Old Akkadian tablets referred to above the
singulars of this formation in practically all cases appear as sum-
marizing predicates under lists enumerating specified items.
Compare A 7866, which lists deliveries of butter (measured in
DUK's and SILA's) by various persons and which sums them up
in the last line of the tablet as *14 mu-ḫu-ra-um*, "14 'receivings'";

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[1] On this question as well as the details of the chronology of that period,
see my forthcoming volume on the Khorsabad king list.

[2] These unpublished texts have been studied by Dr. Gelb, to whom
I am indebted for the references.

Field Museum 229203, which in lines 1–4 gives the names and the parentage of two women and in line 5 adds the apposition *ru-ku-ma-um*, "objects of a vindication suit"; and Tell Asmar fragment 1931/32, 1a, 19, which in the last line of its reverse (at the end of a list not preserved) has the remark *ḫu-lu-qá-um*, "losses." Because of its plural meaning it is of course not surprising that in the Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) dialect the singular form *purussâʾum* is again replaced by the plural form, while the singular in that period appears in singular meaning; cf. CTCT III, 26b$_8$: *1 ṣubâtum ḫu-lu-qá-um*, where *ḫuluqqâʾum* stands in apposition to "one garment."[1]

Finally, I wish to say a word about the form *ša-a-a-ma-nu-ùm*, mentioned on page 44. In analogy with *nâdinânum*, "seller," the word for "buyer," "purchaser," denoting not the "professional buyer" but the "person who buys (a house, slave, etc.) in a single transaction," should be *šâʾimânum*. Possibly, therefore, *ša-a-a-ma-nu-um* is to be read *ša-aịi-ma-nu-um* (= *šâịimânum*) or even *ša-aʾi-ma-nu-um* (= *šâʾimânum*). However, *šâịimânum* (< *šâʾimânum*) may well have developed — originally, of course, in vernacular language — to *šaịịimânum* (and finally even to *šaịịamânum*).

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness and to express my cordial thanks to Professor F. W. Geers, the late Professor A. Walther, and Dr. I. J. Gelb for their frequently and always willingly given help in the gathering of the form material,

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[1] An interesting attempt to define the relation between *ḫuluqqû* and *ḫulqu* from which it developed is made by von Soden in the commentary to his translation of King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, No. 27, for our Dictionary. He remarks (on p. B 103): "Während *ḫulqu* 'Vernichtung' als Zustand bezeichnet, bezeichnet *ḫuluqqû* 'Vernichtung', 'Schwund' als vor sich gehende resultative Handlung"; cf. also on p. B 177a: "*Ḫuluqqû* bezeichnet wohl eigentlich das Hineingeraten in den Zustand des Verderbens....." However, no proof for such an inchoative meaning can be found in the context of any of the numerous passages containing a *purussû* form, and the passages quoted above from Old Akkadian and Cappadocian texts definitively show that the *purussâʾum* form cannot have such a meaning. For instance, a designation of slaves, animals, or objects as "beginning to be lost" makes no sense whatever.

the tracing of indistinctly remembered passages in publications, etc.; to Dr. S. I. Feigin for excerpting passages in the Talmud and even commenting on them; and to Dr. R. T. Hallock, Dr. G. G. Cameron, and the members of the Editorial Office of the Institute, but above all to Dr. S. N. Kramer, for carefully revising the manuscript of this publication.

CHICAGO   A. POEBEL
April, 1939

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ABBREVIATIONS

A 17635 etc.	Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, registration number A 17635 etc.
ABL	Robert Francis Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum.
acc.	accusative.
AHwb	Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.
AO 7083 etc.	Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, registration number 7083 etc.
AOf	Archiv für Orientforschung, internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient.
ARAB	Daniel David Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.
Arab.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic.
ASK	Paul Haupt, Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte.
Assur 2559 etc.	Excavations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft at Assur, registration number 2559 etc.
ATKK	Julius Lewy, Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarîje (= Keilinschriften in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul [Vol. I]).
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Bab.	Babylonian.
Bab. Misc.	F. W. Weißbach, Babylonische Miscellen (= Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Heft 4).
BBSt	L. W. King, Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum.
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts, edited by H. V. Hilprecht.
BM 85194 etc.	British Museum, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, registration number 85194 etc.
CEBK	L. W. King, Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings (Vols. I and II = Studies in Eastern History, Vols. II and III).
CH	Code of Hammurabi.

Chicago Syll.	D. D. Luckenbill, The Chicago Syllabary (= American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 169–199. (New edition by Dr. Richard T. Hallock in preparation.)
col.	column.
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum.
CTCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum.
EAT	J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln.
ES	Emesal dialect.
gen.	genitive.
Glossar	Carl Bezold, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar.
GSG	Arno Poebel, Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik.
HAHwb	Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament .... bearbeitet von Dr. Frants Buhl.
Hebr.	Hebrew.
HGT	Arno Poebel, Historical and Grammatical Texts.
HS	F. Thureau-Dangin, Les homophones sumériens.
HT	Arno Poebel, Historical Texts.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
K 4309 etc.	Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, registration number 4309 etc.
KAHI I	Leopold Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. Erstes Heft (= 16. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft).
KAHI II	Otto Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. Zweites Heft (= 37. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft).
KAT	Eberhard Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament (3rd ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler).
KAVI	Otto Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (= 35. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft).
Khors.	Khorsabad.
KtBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.
KtKa	Julius Lewy, Die Keilschrifttexte aus Kleinasien (= Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena, Vol. I).
KtS	Hugo Winckler, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen.
KtSB	Julius Lewy, Die Kültepetexte der Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz, Berlin.

KtSH   Julius Lewy, Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frieda Hahn, Berlin.

KuBo   Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.

LC   François Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne.

LEDA   Henry Frederick Lutz, Legal and Economic Documents from Ashjâly (= University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 1–184).

LIH   L. W. King, The Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi, King of Babylon, about B.C. 2200.

LTC   Albert T. Clay, Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia (= Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University, Vol. IV).

MAG   Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft.

Mém.   Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse (continuation of Délégation en Perse, Mémoires).

MI   Albert T. Clay, Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection (= Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, Vol. I).

NVB   V. Scheil, Nouveaux vocabulaires babyloniens.

obv.   obverse.

OLZ   Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

pers.   person.

pl.   plural.

Pl.   plate.

Prolegomena   Friedrich Delitzsch, Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuches.

R   [Sir H. C. Rawlinson,] The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (5 vols.; cited in form 3 [for vol.] R 7 [for page]).

RA   Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.

Rass. Cyl.   Rassam Cylinder.

Reports   R. Campbell Thompson, The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum.

rev.   reverse.

RHCS   François Thureau-Dangin, Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.-C.).

Rm   Rassam Collection of the British Museum.

SA   F. Thureau-Dangin, Le syllabaire accadien.

sg.   singular.

SGl   Friedrich Delitzsch, Sumerisches Glossar.

SKAZ   Heinrich Zimmern, Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylo-
nischer Zeit (= VS II [Nos. 1–100] and X [Nos.
101–216]).

STC   L. W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation.

Suppl.   Bruno Meißner, Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörter-
büchern.

Syll. b   Syllabary b (Syllabary of the second class).

Syll. c   Syllabary c (Syllabary of the third class).

Taylor Prism   Hexagonal clay prism of Sennacherib, IR 37–42.

TC   Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales
— Textes cunéiformes.

TCa   G. Contenau, Tablettes cappadociennes (= Musée du
Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales —
Textes cunéiformes, Tome V).

TEAT   (C. Bezold and E. A. Wallis Budge,] The Tell El-Amarna
Tablets in the British Museum.

Thompson   R. Campbell Thompson, The Epic of Gilgamiš.

TTC   G. Contenau, Trente tablettes cappadociennes.

UPUM   University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum,
Publications of the Babylonian Section.

VAT 5946 etc.   Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Berliner Staatsmuseen,
catalogue of clay tablets, registration number 5946 etc.

VS   Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen
zu Berlin, herausgegeben von der Vorderasiatischen
Abteilung.

WZKM   Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Yale Syll.   Yale Syllabary (= Clay, MI, No. 53).

YOS   Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts.

ZA   Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete
(1886–1922).

ZA N.F.   Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, Neue
Folge (1924——).

ZDMG   Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

SYMBOLS USED

x   in grammatical phrases stands for "person" or "thing."

<   developed from.

>   developing into.

+   between two sign values or between a sign value and a group of sign values denotes a combination in which the second group in question is written inside the sign preceding it.

×   between two identical sign values denotes the *gilimû* combination (two signs crossing each other).

*   preceding a form indicates that the latter is hypothetical, but correctly deduced.

**   indicate an incorrectly assumed form.

.   between two sign values and
      (1) with spacing between it and the values indicates that the connection between the two values or between the two signs represented by them is doubtful or intentionally left undecided for the moment by the modern author.
      (2) without spacing between it and the sign values indicates that the two signs rendered by the two values form a compound sign with a phonetic value of its own.

·   above the line between two identical sign values indicates that the two signs rendered by the two values are vertically arranged (i. e., one above the other).

..   closely following a consonant indicate a vowel either unknown or omitted by the modern author.

...   indicate
      (1) modern omission of a single sign.
      (2) [between brackets] only one sign to be restored.

....   indicate other modern omissions from original text.

[ ]   inclose
      (1) in transliterations: restorations.
      (2) in *a verbo* schemes: forms taken from a second verb.
      (3) in the list of abbreviations: authors not named in the title of the publication.

{ }   inclose faulty additions by the ancient scribe.

⟨ ⟩   inclose
      (1) faulty omissions by the ancient scribe.
      (2) parts of compound word formations, later omitted.

( )   inclose
        (1) in transliterations of Akkadian (and Sumerian) words or forms
            (a) elided vowels.
            (b) the first of two identical consonants
                (α) if it is due to secondary doubling.
                (β) in cases where it is required by the system of word
                    and form formation, but is not written by the ancient
                    scribe.
            (c) variants.
        (2) in translations
            (a) words not expressed in the original texts.
            (b) variants.
            (c) all kinds of explanations.
=   indicates identity.
‖   means corresponding (or parallel) to.
/   (1) between two consonants in Akkadian words means "or."
        (2) between Roman numbers denotes a combination of the verb
            formations designated by those numbers.
´   (1) over vowel in connected transliteration indicates the main
            stress of the word.
        (2) after Arabic numbers referring to lines or columns is used in
            some instances to indicate that the numbering starts with the
            first preserved line or column of a broken or damaged tablet.
`   over vowel in connected transliteration indicates a secondary stress
            (i. e., a weaker second stress preceding or following the main
            stress).
ˆ   indicates length of vowel.
˘   indicates shortness of vowel (usually not especially indicated).

For other symbols marking stress and length on special occasions only
(˙, ˜, and ˀ), as well as the restricted use of ˆ on such occasions, see explana-
tions on p. 93, n. 1, and on p. 129, n. 1.

The system used for the transliteration of signs is that of Thureau-
Dangin, Les homophones sumériens. For additional values see p. 4, nn. 1
and 2; p. 5, l. 13; p. 7, l. 27; p. 10, n. 1; p. 20, n. 2; p. 29, n. 2; p. 36,
l. 8; p. 44, l. 14 and n. 1; p. 52, n. 1; p. 55, nn. 1 and 2; p. 56, n. 1;
p. 80, l. 15 and n. 2; p. 88, l. 1 and n. 1; ibid., l. 4 and n. 2; and p. 192, n. 1.

Letter-spaced roman represents Sumerian.
Italics represent Akkadian and other Semitic languages.
Small capitals are used
        (1) in cuneiform signs whose phonetic readings in the passages
            concerned are uncertain or unknown or are intentionally left
            undecided for the moment by the modern author.

(2) in Sumerian writings (so-called "ideograms") in Akkadian text.

(3) in syllabaries and vocabularies, for the ditto mark šu,[1] referring to the word in the Sumerian column.

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[1] Evidently abbreviation of the Akkadian *šu-ma,* "the same." The sign is used like an ideogram.

STUDY I

UNRECOGNIZED FORMS OF THE I 3 FORMATION

The Akkadian infinitive form *pitarrusu*, the preterit *iptarras*, the imperative *pitarras*, and the participle *muptarrisu* were taken by Delitzsch as forms of the I 2 formation and, as far as I can see, this is still the current opinion. In Delitzsch's grammatical system the forms *pitárrusum*, *pitárras*, and *muptárrisu* appeared as by-forms of *pitrusum*, *pitras*, and *muptársu*. His opinion evidently was that *pitárrusum* and *pitárras*, to mention only these forms as the most instructive examples, as well as *pitrusu* and *pitras*, originated from **p(i)tarusu* and **p(i)taras*. If stressed **pitárusu* and **pitáras*, these forms developed, with secondary doubling of the consonant after the stressed vowel, to *pitárrusu* and *pitárras;* if, however, they were stressed with receding accent, that is, as **pítarusu* and **pítaras*, they became *pítrusu* and *pítras* by syncope of the unstressed vowel immediately following the stressed syllable. For *iptárras* as preterit of I 2 Delitzsch needed no special explanation, because he believed that the preterit of the I 2 formation, exactly as its present, was stressed **iptáras*, which might appear as *iptárras* with doubling of the *r* after the stressed syllable. The subsequent discovery that, e. g., at the time of Hammurabi, doubling of the middle radical is consistently found only in the present form *iptárras*, while the similarly consistent writing *iptaras* of the preterit form evidently indicates a stressing *íptaras*, in no way reacted against the assumption that there was also a preterit form I 2 *iptárras*. For while *iptaras* now was grouped with the eliding forms *pítrusum*, *pítras*, and *muptársu*, *iptárras* was simply added to the supposed by-forms *pitárrusum*, *pitárras*, and *muptárrisu*, which are characterized by the doubling of the middle radical.

The assumed existence of a double set of forms, differing from each other merely by different stressing but not in meaning,

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naturally arouses suspicion, because language, ruled by the principle of utmost economy, would tend to use only one form. Differentiation in stressing, with consequently a different development of forms, it is true, very frequently occurs. It is indeed one of the most common of those factors that have produced the differences between related languages, as well as those between the various dialects of one and the same language. But the forms *pítrusu* and *pitárrusu* certainly have nothing to do with dialectical differences, since they, as we shall see, in many cases occur side by side in the very same texts.

In contrast to the supposed excess of forms in I 2 Delitzsch's system of verbal forms leaves blanks for the infinitive, permansive, and imperative of the I 3 formation. This, too, must appear as very strange. For there is no conceivable reason why the I 3 formation, which like I 2 is merely a specially nuanced form of I 1, should not have an infinitive, permansive, and imperative, in the same way as I 1 and I 2. An infinitive that means "to perform an action repeatedly or over and over again" is logically no less possible or necessary than an infinitive that expresses the idea "to perform some action." Nor can one imagine why Akkadian should be averse to using an infinitive expressing the idea "to perform an action over and over again," if it permits the formation of a present of the meaning "he performs the action over and over again" and of a preterit meaning "he performed the action over and over again." Nor is it reasonable to assume that, although infinitive, permansive, and imperative of I 3 could actually be formed, these forms are merely not found in the literature at our disposal at present. For since the assertive forms of I 3 occur very frequently in the texts, it would be most remarkable if by some strange coincidence no infinitive of that formation were found in the very extensive literature.

Finally, when the two preceding observations are placed in contrasting juxtaposition, it must follow as a third improbability that in the Akkadian verb system there should exist two infinitives, two permansives, two preterits, two imperatives, and two participles for the I 2 formation, but no infinitive, permansive, imperative, and participle for the I 3 formation. One will, there-

fore, think at once of the possibility that one of the supposed infinitives of I 2, namely, *pitárrusu*, is the missing infinitive of I 3, and that only *pítrusu* is the infinitive of I 2.. *Pitárrusu* would then obviously represent **pitánrusu* (< **ptánrusu*), whose consonants consist of the three radicals *prs* and the inserted *tn* of the I 3 formation. That this actually is the right explanation will become evident from the following observations.

1. THE INFINITIVE *pitarrusu* AND THE PERMANSIVE *pitarrus*

The following passages in Sumero-Akkadian vocabularies give the Sumerian equivalents of Akkadian infinitives I 1 as well as of infinitives of the form *pitarrusu*:

CT XIX 25: K 4309, col. $2_{16f.}$:

[16]inim$^{i\text{-}nim}$-gi$_4$	*e-qé-q[u]*
[17]inim-gi$_4$-gi$_4$	*e-te-eg-gu-g[u]*

CT XIX 20: K 4362, rev.$_{5f.}$:

[5]gú-BU	*ma-qa-qu*
[6]gú-BU-BU	*mi-tan-gu-gu*

CT XVIII 32–35 (K 2008 + K 2041 etc. + K 4370), col. 3_{55-58}:

[55]Ú. . KI tag-ga	*pa-šá-lum*
KU-KU-RU	*pi-še-lum*
[57]Ú tag-tag	*pi-taš-šu-lum*
NIM-NIM	*i-taš-lu-lum*

The Sumerian phrases which are equated with the Akkadian *eteqququ*, *mitangugu* (= *mitaqququ*),[1] and *pitaššulu* show the verbs in reduplication as gi$_4$-gi$_4$, BU-BU, and tag-tag, while the verbs of the phrases equating the forms *eqêqu*, *maqâqu*, and *pašâlu* are only gi$_4$, BU, and tag. The difference between *eteqququ*, *mitangugu*, and *pitaššulum*, on the one hand, and *eqêqu*, *maqâqu*, and *pašâlum*, on the other hand, should therefore be the same as that between gi$_4$-gi$_4$, BU-BU, tag-tag, and gi$_4$, BU, tag; and since reduplication of the Sumerian verb root expresses ideas of plurality, such as plurality of the subject,

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[1] For *ng* instead of *gg* (from *qq*) in this form see sec. 5.

object, or action (i. e., repetition of the action, etc.), the Akkadian *pitaššulum* etc. should likewise express a plurality of action, repetition, etc. Now, such a meaning is never expressed by I 2; this, as is well known, is the regular function of the *tn*-formations in Akkadian. There is, therefore, actually no other possibility than to take *iteqququ, mitangugu,* and *pitaššulum* as infinitives of I 3 (< *'tánququ, *mtánququ,* and **ptánšulum*).

In Assur 2559 (second tablet of Diri | *atru*), MAG III, Heft 3, p. 47, we find in col. 1_{17-35} the following equations similar to those quoted above:

[17]la-aḫ	laḫ$_5$[1]	*ša-la-lum*
		[18]*ša-lu-ú*
		re-du-ú
		[20]*ru-'u-ú*
		a-ḫa-zu
		[22]*e-ze-bu*
		a-ba-'U-Ú
		[24]*ba-ba-lum*
		e-še-'u
		[26]*e-bé-lum*
		KI-MIN *ša še-ti*
		[28]*re-'u$_7$[2]-ú*
		ri-te-'u$_7$[2]-ú
[30]la-aḫ-la-aḫ	laḫ$_4$-laḫ$_4$	*ri-te-du-ú*
		i-tar-ru-ru
		[32]*i-tab-bu-lum*
		bu-ub-bu-lum
		[34]*šu-bu-lum*
		šu-ta-bu-lum

In eleven out of a total of thirteen instances the simple laḫ$_4$ is translated with verbs in the I 1 formation, among which may be noted especially *šalâlu*, "to lead away" (as prisoners of war, booty); *redû*, "to drive"; *babâlu*, "to carry," "to bring." For Semitic equivalents of the doubled laḫ$_4$-laḫ$_4$, however, we find among others *bubbulum* (II 1 formation) and the following forms of the type *pitárrusu: itábbulum, itárruru, rité(d)dû (< rited-*

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[1] Sign DU.DU = laḫ$_5$.

[2] Sign *ia* = *'u$_7$*.

duṣu). The equation lah_4-lah_4 = *bubbulum* in comparison with lah_5 = *babâlu* is at once clear and needs no special explanation, since the II 1 formation of transitive verbs in Akkadian exactly as the duplication of a verbal root in Sumerian expresses the idea of repeated performance of an action.[1] If, then, we have the equation lah_5 = *redû* and lah_4-lah_4 = *ritedû*, the difference between *redû* and *ritedû* should be the same or at least a similar one; to fulfil this condition there is no other possibility than to see in *ritedû* the I 3 form *rité(d)dû* < *$*riténduṣu$*, < *$*ritán^aduṣum$*, < *$*rtnaduṣum$*, "to drive repeatedly, constantly."[2] Similarly, *itabbulu* (< *$uitán^abulum$*) means "to bring constantly," as opposed to lah_5 = *a-ba-lum*(!), as the original equation evidently had instead of the unintelligible *a-ba-a'-ú*, *a-ba-'u-ú*, or *a-ba-'u₉*. Compare furthermore the equations lah_5 = *ebêlu*, "to catch (birds, etc.) with a net," and lah_4-lah_4 = *itárruru*, "to catch (birds) over and over again," from *arâru* (pres. *i'árrar*), "to catch (birds)," "to keep someone a prisoner (like a bird)."

It is true this deduction seems to be somewhat upset by the fact that our very passage equates the simple lah_5 not only with *re'û*, "to shepherd," but also with I 3 *rité(')'û* (< *ritán^a'uṣum*).[3]

However, it does so superficially only. The fact just mentioned

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[1] As far as I can see, the rule that in Akkadian as well as in other Semitic languages the pi'el II 1 of transitive verbs expresses plurality, that of intransitive verbs however has a transitive causative meaning, has not hitherto been formulated in a clear and precise form. More or less inexact observations concerning the transitive meaning of the pi'el of intransitive qal's have been made even in early grammars; cf., e. g., Ewald, Kritische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache (1827), p. 197: "Wenn daher Piel von intransitiven verbis abgeleitet wird, so hat es oft transitive Bedeutung, ..." But these observations were always overshadowed by the tendency to derive somehow the transitive meaning from the supposedly basically intensive meaning of the pi'el; because of the difficulties involved in this process more recent grammars have hardly considered the problem. For a suggestion regarding the origin of the causative pi'el see p. 68.

[2] Note that not only here but quite regularly the doubling of the middle radical of I 3 of verbs *tertiae infirmae* (as well as of some verbs *mediae geminatae)* is not indicated in writing.

[3] For ' as equivalent of " in this case note the forms *eš-te-'i-ši-na-šim* (p. 26, n. 1) and *ir-ta-ta-'à-mu* (p. 29), and also the remarks in n. 2 above. Note the assimilation of *n* to the usually weaker ' (', etc.).

simply shows that while the Akkadians did form an iterativum or durativum of the idea "to shepherd," the Sumerians did not, perhaps because the reduplicated laḫ₄-laḫ₄ more or less connoted the idea "to drive forcibly," an idea obviously the exact opposite of "to shepherd," which as a rule is conceived as "a gentle leading." The Akkadian *tn*-form of *re'û*, which lacks this connotation, must therefore naturally be equated with laḫ₅, not with laḫ₄-laḫ₄, which is, as we saw, a much stronger expression than *rité'û*.[1] It is evidently for the same reason that in our vocabulary *ru'û*, that is, *ru(')'û*, II 1 of *re'û*, which like I 3 expresses plurality of action, is equated with laḫ₄, not, as one might expect, with laḫ₄-laḫ₄. Indeed, this very fact that both *rú(')'û* and *rité(')'û* are equated with laḫ₅ is an additional proof that the form *pitarrusum* belongs to the theme I 3.[2]

Instances of the equation of infinitive forms of the type *pitarrusu* with Sumerian reduplicated roots are very numerous in the vocabularies and bilingual texts. In the following I shall restrict myself to some of those cases which do not directly contrast I 1 and I 3 forms; and of these, moreover, I shall choose those instances which are either especially illustrative or which require clarifying comment.

In CT XIX 47, col. 4₅ₜₜ.,

₅ m ú ᵐ ᵘ⁻ᵐ ú m ú	*i-tan-bu-ṭu*
ḫ u d ḫ ᵘ⁻ ᵘᵈ⁻,,(=ḫ ᵘ⁻ ᵘᵈ) ḫ u d	,, (= *i-tan-bu-ṭu*) *šá kakkabê*
⁷k á r k a r ⁻ k a r k á r	*i-tan-pu-ḫu*
g í d ᵍⁱ⁻ⁱᵈ⁻,,(=ᵍⁱ⁻ⁱᵈ) g í d	*ši-ta-du-du*
⁹s u r ⁻ s u r	*mu-uṣ-ṣu-ru*

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[1] It will be noted that likewise the simple laḫ₄ had to some extent that connotation, as is evidenced by the fact that the first verbs equated with laḫ₅ are *šalálu*, "to lead away in captivity"; *salú*, "to throw," "to shoot"; *redú*, "to drive"; *ebêlu*, "to catch (with a net)." Note especially that laḫ₄ is not equated with *arú*, "to lead," which invariably is t ú m (= DU). This t ú m, which evidently does not have that connotation, forms the iterative t ú m-t ú m = *urrú, itárrú*.

[2] Note also that the Sumerian laḫ₅ itself must have an iterative meaning, because the sign with which it is written is the doubled DU (= DU.DU); laḫ₄-laḫ₄ (= DU'DU-DU'DU) is therefore, as far as its meaning is concerned, an iterativum iterativi.

for instance, we have a whole group of I 3 forms corresponding without exception to reduplicated Sumerian verbs. *Itanbuṭu* of the intransitive(!) *nabâṭu*, "to shine,"[1] can, of course, not be the infinitive of IV 2, as Delitzsch in AHwb, p. 443*b*, assumed; it is, as the Sumerian reduplication shows, I 3.[2] If it were IV 2, the equation would account neither for the doubling of the root in the Sumerian column nor for the *t* of the Akkadian verb. The same objections must be raised against Delitzsch's explanation of *itanpuḫu* as IV 2 *(ibid.*, p. 474*b*). Since it is equivalent of Sumerian kár-kár, it is, no doubt, the iterative of the I 1 form;[3] this latter is used for expressing the rising of a single celestial body (Šamaš or Sin), while *itanpuḫu*, like *itanbuṭu*, is used for the great mass of stars. For gíd-gíd = I 3 *sitá(d)dudu*[4] cf. in-gíd | *iš*(!)*-du-ud*,[5] ASK, pp. 45ff., col. 3_{54}.

The vocabulary Assur 2559, one of whose passages has already been quoted, gives in col. 1_{39-47} the following equations:

[39]gi-ig-ri	GIR₅-GIR₅	*ṭe-e-bu-ú*
		ṭi-ta-bu-ú
		[41]*ḫi-tal-lu-pu*
		ḫi-tal-lu-lu
		[43]*ḫi-tal-lu-zu*
		ša-lu-ú
		[45]*na-pa-gu*
		ra-be-e ᵈ*šam-ši*
		[47]*da-ra-ru* ᵈ*šam-ši*

Here the forms *ḫitállupu*, *ḫitállulu*, *ḫitálluṣu*, and *ṭitá(b)bû* are equated with Sumerian gigri₄ (< gi₂₃-giri₅ < *giri₅-giri₅), the reduplication of the simple gir(i)₅, as is clearly shown by its writing with GIR(I)₅-GIR(I)₅. *Ḫitallupu*, therefore,

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[1] Cf. the causative III 1 *ušanbiṭ*, "I (or he) caused to shine."

[2] For *nb* instead of *bb* in this case, as well as in *ušanbiṭ* (previous note), see sec. 5. Note also that *it-ta-na-an-bi-ṭu* therefore is not, as Delitzsch assumed, preterit of IV 3, but present of I 3.

[3] Does the nasalization indicate a pronunciation *b* instead of *p* in late times?

[4] For the writing with single *d* see p. 5, n. 2.

[5] Text *is-du-ud*, which, however, may render an actually existing pronunciation.

must mean "to hide oneself constantly," "to be hidden everywhere or in many places(?)" (from *ḫalâpu*, "to be hidden"); *ḫitallulu*, "to hide something constantly (in holes)," from *ḫalâlu*, "to hide in holes"; *ḫitalluṣu*, "to shelter many or many times"; *ṭitá(b)bû*, "to dive constantly," "to be constantly submerged."[1]

If we now turn to the bilingual inscriptions, an excellent example of the occurrence of an infinitive of the type *pitarrusu* and its Sumerian equivalent is furnished by the Sumerian and Akkadian parallel inscriptions of Samsuiluna, King, LIH, Nos. 98 and 99 (Sumerian), and Ungnad, VS I, No. 33 + King, LIH, No. 97 (Akkadian). Lines 96–100 and 102–7[2] respectively read:

[96]u₄-šú-šè sag-íl-la-[97]asila-šà-ḫúl-la-ta [98]DU-DU-da [99]sag-e-éš ḫu-mu-[100]PA.ḪUB.DU-eš

[102]u₄-mi-ša-am in re-ši-in (var.: re-ši-in) e-li-a-tim [103]in ri-ša-a-tim [104]ù ḫu-ud li-ib-bi-im [105]a-ta-al-lu-kam [106]a-na še-ri-ik-tim [107]lu iš-ru-ku-nim

"To walk each day in pride and in joy and gladness of heart they (= the gods) gave to me as a present."

It will be noticed that *atalluku* renders the Sumerian DU-DU-da. While the simple DU merely means "to go" (= *alâku*), the reduplicated DU-DU = *atalluku* expresses the idea "to go many times," "to go constantly," "to be constantly walking," etc., a meaning which is required by the context, for Samsuiluna does not want to state that by the grace of the gods he "went" in joy just once a day (to or from some place), but that he daily walked around in joy.

Similarly in obv.₁₇f. of the royal inscription 4 R 12,

[17]. . . . igi-ᵈen-líl-ᵈnin-líl-bi dib-dib-bi . . . .
[18]. . . . ina(!) ma(!)-ḫar ᵈ„ u ᵈ„ a-tál-lu-ka (var.: -ki). . . .,

"to be constantly on the go before Enlil and Ninlil (in their service),"

atalluku renders the doubled dib-dib of dib = *alâku*, a fact which again suggests a meaning "to go or to walk constantly,"

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[1] For the writing of *ṭi-ta-bu-u* with one *b* only cf. p. 5, n. 2.

The participle *ṭêbû* evidently denotes the "(professional) diver," that is, "one who dives constantly." The repetition of the action is not especially expressed in the Akkadian name for the diver, but is expressed in the Sumerian.

[2] The numbering of the lines is that of King in LIH III.

"to be constantly on the go." Again this meaning is required by the context; for what the king glories in is not that he goes just once before the two deities, but that he serves them his lifetime.

Furthermore, the infinitive *italluku*, which is the same form as *atalluku*, is equated with Sumerian paphal in Syll. c, D. T. 40 (CT XI 29–32), col. 4₄₁:

[ỷ] p[a]-ap-ḫal	pap-ḫal	*di-li-min-na-bi-* *g[i-]l[im-]u¹-ḫal-la-ku*	*i-tal-lu-ku*

A simple verbal root p a p ḫ a l in Sumerian would be rather strange, because the usual form of bisyllabic verbal roots in Sumerian is (consonant +) vowel + consonant + vowel (+ consonant). Since according to our deductions the form *italluku* must have a durative-iterative meaning, which is expressed by reduplication of the verbal root in Sumerian, it may, therefore, be regarded as certain that p a p ḫ a l represents *p a - p a ḫ a l, that is, a reduplication of a simple root *p a ḫ a l. We have here, no doubt, the same kind of reduplication of a bisyllabic root as we found above in gigri < gi-giri instead of *giri-giri. The Akkadian infinitive is therefore in this case too that of I 3 and means "to walk constantly or uninterruptedly (etc.)." For this reason it is not at all surprising that in 4 R 17, obv.₁₁₋₁₄,

[........]-maḫ-an-kù-ga-ta gìr(i) pap-ḫal-la-zu-dè
  [*ina ur-ḫe ṣ]i-ru-ti šá šame-e ellúti*ᵖ¹ *ina i-te-et-tu-qi-ka*
[an ᵈen-líl(-bi) ḫ]úl-li-eš suḫ-bí ša mu-ra-da-an-SAR-SAR
  [ᵈ*a-num ú* ᵈ*e]n-líl ḫa-diš i-kar-ra-bu-ka*

"(O Šamaš,) when thou art traveling over the high [roads] of the shining heavens,
[Anu and] Enlil hail thee with joy,"

the translator renders the phrase gìr(i) —p a p - ḫ a l with *itettuqu* (< *ʿitentuqu*), again a form of the type *pitarrusu*.

In complete accordance with the results obtained from the Sumerian equivalents of the infinitive *atalluku* or *italluku* is its ideographic writing in Akkadian texts. For instance, the commentary text CT XLI 26f. (= 5 R 31, No. 2), obv.₃₄ᶠ.,

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¹ Or a similar restoration of the word *gili(m)mu.*

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DU-DU NU *ut-tara-am-ma*[1] | *a-tal-lu-ku la ut-ta-ra-am-[m]a*
(   ) | *a-la-ku la ú-šam-ad,*[2]

which explains a passage written partly ideographically and partly phonetically by a purely phonetic transcript, quotes from the explained text the ideographic writing DU-DU for *atalluku*. The same ideogram is found in DU-DU-*ku é-zi-da*, i. e., *itallu$_{ku}$-ku é-zi-da*, "to be constantly on the go for Ezida," S. A. Smith, Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals, plate facing p. 112 (= Streck, Assurbanipal, Prunkinschrift No. 10), l. 17. Since the ideogram for *alâku* I 1 is merely DU, we obtain from these ideograms the equations

$$DU \quad = alâku$$
$$DU\text{-}DU = atalluku.$$

It follows therefore that in the ideographic writings of the infinitives of *alâku*, also, the form *pitarrusu* is expressed by the reduplicated root of the Sumerian verb.

I conclude this survey with a quotation from a unilingual text where we do not have the help of Sumerian but where the context clearly shows the meaning of the *pitarrusu* form. It is the passage CH, rev., col. 27$_{59-63}$:

[59]*ba-la-ṭam* [60]*ša it-ti mu-tim* [61]*ši-ta-an-nu⟨-nu⟩* [62]*a-na ši-im-tim* [63]*li-ši-im-šum*

"Life that is constantly wrestling with death may he (= Sin) decree as his fate."

It is at once obvious how perfectly the meaning "to wrestle constantly (with death)" of *šitannunu*(!) fits the context. The simple "to wrestle with somebody" is *šanânu*; "to wrestle with each other" is, as we shall see more fully below, *šitnunu*; "to wrestle with someone constantly" is *šitannunu*, the form which we should expect in our text. *Šitannu*, the form which is actually found in the text, is most probably due to a haplography of the *nu* at the end of the correct form *ši-ta-an-nu-nu*; if, however, the form *šitannu* really existed in the spoken language, it would be an example of haplology.

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[1] Note the longer value *tara* of the sign TAR.

[2] Probably: "First he will give up constant wandering around and then not even go very much."

If we now turn our attention to the infinitive of the type *pitrusu*, it will be observed that the Sumerian-Akkadian vocabularies comparatively rarely equate a Sumerian verbal phrase with this form. Nor is this infinitive or the permansive adjective, which in form and origin is identical with it, found frequently in the translations of Sumerian texts — a fact which is in quite striking contrast with the frequent occurrence in the vocabularies of the form *pitarrusu*. However, in the light of the preceding observations, its causes are quite obvious. Since the idea of repetition, reiteration, etc., which is conveyed by the Akkadian *tn*-form is expressed in Sumerian by reduplication of the verbal root, there was nothing to prevent the expression of this idea in a lexicographical equation of the kind

Sumerian root + root = Akkadian infinitive I 3,

exactly as, for the same reason, we find in vocabularies the equation

Sumerian root + root = Akkadian infinitive II 1.

Nor is there any reason why the Sumerian should not use the infinitive or the passive participle of verbal expressions formed of the doubled root in connected texts. In fact, he uses them, especially in poetry, almost as frequently as he uses the infinitive and the passive participle of the simple, that is, non-reduplicated, verbs. And since the doubling of the root in Sumerian denotes plurality of action, the Akkadian scholar who translated Sumerian texts into Akkadian would, therefore, have ample opportunity to use in his translation the infinitive and adjective forms of I 3, a theme which likewise expresses plurality of action.

The idea of the *t*-form, on the other hand, is expressed in Sumerian by the element -a-, which appears only as part of the verbal prefix groups. Since, however, the Sumerian verbal noun (infinitive as well as verbal adjective) can in no way be connected with a prefix, all those ideas that are expressed by a prefix — they are all of dimensional character — are simply neglected in the infinitive verbal forms. For this reason a lexicographer's equation between an Akkadian infinitive I 2 (*pitrusu*) and a Sumerian root was, under usual circumstances, quite impossible. Nor would

the Akkadian translator find in the Sumerian texts he was translating any immediate indication that he ought to use in his translation an infinitive form of I 2. Since his Sumerian texts gave only such forms of the infinitive as usually correspond to the Akkadian infinitive of I 1, it would be very natural for him to use in his translation that infinitive, not the infinitive I 2. Obviously, these facts furnish an additional proof for the non-identity of the forms *pitrusu* and *pitarrusu*.

Nevertheless, there are instances where the infinitive or the permansive participle of a *t*-form appears in the Akkadian column of a lexicographical equation or in the Akkadian translation of a Sumerian text. Compare, for instance, Syll. b, Bab. copy (Weißbach, Bab. Misc., Pl. 10), col. 1_7:

$$\text{𒑐 ur-·······} \mid \text{UR} \times \text{UR} \mid \textit{šit-nu-nu}$$

Chicago Syll. 306:

$$[\text{𒑐 ······} \mid \text{GURUŠ} \times \text{GURUŠ} \mid \text{,,}^1\textit{-min-n]a-bi-gi-li-} \mid \textit{mu-u} \lessapprox \textit{šit-pu-ṣu} \lessapprox \textit{šit-} \\ \textit{[nu-nu}$$

Fragment 81–4–28 (JRAS, 1905, plates after p. 830), rev.$_{14-18}$:

^{14}[······	ŠU-G]URUŠ	,,^{2}[*gu-ru-ša-ak-ku*]	*e-mu-qu*
^{15}[······]	ŠU-GURUŠ	,, (= *šu-u*)-,,^{3}	*za-ma-ru* ⪅ *ki-rim-mu*
16			············· [·····]
17			*ga-mi-ru* ⪅ *šit*-[·······]
18			*šit-pu-ṣu* ⪅ ·[··]-[·]·[····]

VAT 244 (ZA IX 159ff.), col. $2_{24f.}$:

^{24}A-GIŠ-ag-a	*šit-ru-ṭa-at*(?)
^{25}A-GIŠ-ag-a	*šit-pu-ṣu*

K 214 (= CT XVIII 47) and duplicate Rm 2, 587 (= CT XIX 8), obv.$_{4-7}$:

^{4}ZIL-ZIL	*qit*-[*ru-ṣu*]	^{4}[ZIL]-ZIL	*qit-ru*-[*ṣu*]
KID$_6$-KID$_6$	*qit*-[*ru-ṣu*]	[KID$_6$]-KID$_6$	*qit-ru*-[*ṣu*]
^{6}ŠU-SÁ-SÁ	*šit*-[*ru-ṣu*]	^{6}[ŠU-S]Á-SÁ	*šit-ru*-[*ṣu*]
NAM-ŠU-GURUŠ	*šit*-[*pu-ṣu*]	[NAM]-ŠU-GURUŠ	*šit-pu*-[*ṣu*]^4

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^{1} I. e., *guruš*. ^{2} I. e., *šu-u*. ^{3} I. e., *gu-ra-ša-ak-ku*.
^{4} For the restorations in ll. 6 f. cf. CT XIX 17 ff., col. 1_{12-14}:

^{12}GUB-BA	*šá-ra-ṣu*
ŠU ^{ii}-rum GURUŠ	*šá-pa-ṣu*
GIŠ-AD-UŠ	*ši-ip-ṣu*

(to be compared with the Boghazköi duplicate KtBo I, No. 44, obv.$_{4-7}$:

[z]IL-ZIL	*ḫi-it-ru-zu*	[. . . . . .]-kan-t[a-. . . . .]
ŠU-ZAG-ZAG[1]	*ḫi-it-nu-ku*	[. . . . . .]-ri-iš-kan-[. . . . .]
ŠU·si(?)-sá	*ši-it-ru-zu*	[.]. . . . . .-kan-ta-ri-i[a-
NAM-NIR-RI-A	*ši-it-pu-zu*	. . . .-kan-ta-ri-ia-. . . .-[. . . . . . .]])

and finally HGT, No. 105, col. 1$_{12-16}$:

12[ ]	LÚ + ŠU-LÁ	*ḫa-na-qu*
[ ]	LÚ + ŠU-LÁ	*ḫa-an-na-qu*
14[ᵀ . . . . .]-id(?)	LÚ + ŠU-LÁ	*ḫi-it-nu-qu*
[ᵀ e-]še·lá	LÚ + EŠÉ-LÁ	,, ⩰ *ka-mu-u*
16		*ka-zu-u*

In these passages the infinitive *šitnunu* is equated with u r . . . . . , GURUŠ ×GURUŠ, and ŠU-GURUŠ; *šitpuṣu* with GURUŠ×GURUŠ, ŠU-GURUŠ, A-GIŠ(?) —ag-a, NAM-ŠU-GURUŠ, and NAM-NIR-RI-A. Since none of the Sumerian equivalents is doubled, it is obvious that the *t* of *šitnunu* and *šitpuṣu* does not express the idea of repeated action.[2] In fact, as is shown by the ideogram UR×UR (that is, two UR signs written crosswise) in Syll. b, Bab. copy, and by GURUŠ×GURUŠ (two GURUŠ signs crossing each other) in Chicago Syll., the forms *šitnunu* and *šitpuṣu* must express the idea that two or more individuals "rival each other," "grasp each other," or the like. It will be remembered that this reciprocal idea is expressed also by the *t* of *mitḫuṣu*, "to fight with each other," originally "to strike each other"; *tamḫuṣu*, "fight"; *tâḫâzu*, "battle" (from *itḫuzu*, "to grab each other"); *qitrubu*, "fight at close quarters," literally, "to draw near each other," etc.

The reason why in the quoted cases the Akkadian vocabularies give an infinitive of the I 2 formation is therefore quite clear. Not only does I 2 in all these cases have a meaning distinctly different from that of I 1, but, moreover, the special idea expressed in these cases by the Akkadian I 2 form is sometimes expressed in Sumerian, too, by a special word or phrase differing

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[1] Perhaps šu-zà-zà, = šu-sá-sá, K 214, obv.$_6$?

[2] Note also the identity of the Sumerian equivalents for *ḫanâqu* and *ḫitnuqu* in HGT, No. 105.

from that used for the corresponding I 1 expression. There is, e. g., no doubt whatever that ur..... corresponds only to *šitnunu*, "to measure strength (etc.) with each other," not to *šanânu*, "to rival someone," the latter being invariably expressed by the phrase x-da —sá.

A different problem is offered by another set of equations. HGT, No. 102, col. 3_6, e.g., has the equation

$$\text{⌐ mu-u}_4 \quad | \quad \text{TU}_9 \quad | \quad \textit{li-it-bu-šum}$$

in the same place where CT XXXV 1ff., col. 2_{43}, has

$$\text{⌐ mu-ú} \quad | \quad \text{TU}_9 \quad | \quad \textit{la-ba-šu}$$

and Yale Syll. 140 has

$$\text{⌐ mu-u} \quad | \quad \text{TU}_9 \quad | \quad \text{,, } (= \textit{tu-kul-lum}) \quad | \quad \textit{na-al-b[a?]-šú.}$$

No matter whether *litbušu* in the first of the three equations is meant as the verbal infinitive or as a substantive, it is clear that its *t* does not express the idea of repetition, since the word (exactly as the infinitive I 1 *labâšu* in the second equation) is equated with the simple mu_4. Consequently it is to be expected that even in those cases where *litbušu* is equated with the reduplicated mu_4-mu_4 no real correspondence exists between the *t* of *litbušu* and the reduplicated root. This expectation is, in fact, completely corroborated by an analysis of the verb correspondences in 4 R 26, No. 3 (K 222)$_{8f.}$:

$$\text{[s]u-zi bí-in-ri} \qquad \text{me-lám bi-an-mu}_4\text{-mu}_4$$
$$\textit{ša šá-lum-mat(u) ra-mu-u} \qquad \textit{lit-bu-šú me-lam-mi}$$

"(O god of the fire,) who art (literally: is) covered with splendor and clad with fiery rays."

For a mere comparison of bí-in-ri = *ramû* (i.e., permansive I 1 *rami* + the relative *u*) with bi-an-mu_4-mu_4 = *litbušu* (i.e., permansive I 2 *litbuš* + relative *u*) shows that the *t* of the latter form corresponds to the infix -a- of bi-an-mu_4-mu_4 (GSG, § 609). Compare furthermore the line

$$mu_4{}^{mu\text{-}mu}mu_4 \quad | \quad \textit{la-ba-šú}$$

quoted by Delitzsch from "Fragment 4" (AHwb, p. 371*b*). Here the reduplicated mu_4-mu_4 is equated with the Akkadian infini-

tive I 1 of *labâšu* — a fact which clearly shows that the reduplica-
tion of mu₄ is completely indifferent to the *t* of the Akkadian
I 2 form. These observations leave no doubt that in all other
cases, too, where a vocabulary or a bilingual text has a redupli-
cated root in Sumerian and an infinitive I 2 in Akkadian there
is no real correspondence between the Sumerian reduplication
and the *t* of the Akkadian verb. The explanation of the equation
is simply this: that Sumerian much more frequently expresses
the idea of repetition than Akkadian. Thus, to return to the
forms found in the vocabularies quoted on pages 12f., in the
case of *qitruṣu*, "to gnaw at each other," *ḫitnuqu*, "to try to
strangle each other," and all the *t*-forms expressing the idea "to
wrestle with each other," naturally the action of more than one
person is involved. Moreover, the action of each of the two contest-
ants who try to seize, strangle, or strike each other will usually
consist of many attempts to seize, strangle, or strike the adversary.
Looking at the action of wrestling from this angle we again have
the idea of a plurality of action. The Akkadian does not especially
express these ideas; for him they follow immediately out of the
reciprocal idea expressed by the *t* of the verbal form. In the
Sumerian column, on the other hand, the reduplicated ZIL-ZIL
and KID₆-KID₆ for *qitruṣu*, šu(?) —SÁ-SÁ for *šitruṣu*, and šu(?)
—ZAG-ZAG for *ḫitnuqu* denote the plurality of action involved
in a fight; Sumerian, however, leaves, at least in the infinitive
forms, the reciprocal idea "with each other" unexpressed because
this idea is expressed by means of prefixes which cannot be
used in connection with the infinitive. With regard to this latter
point note also especially the equation of ŠU-GURUŠ with both
šitpuṣu (JRAS, 1905, plates after p. 830; see above on p. 12)
and *šapâṣu* (CT XIX 17ff., col. 1₁₃; see above, p. 12, n. 4); for
in this case it is quite clear that the reciprocal meaning of *šitpuṣu*
was expressed in Sumerian merely by means of the reflexive
infix of the verb, while the iterative-durative meaning, expressed
in the case of ZIL-ZIL etc. by the repetition of the verbal root,
in the case of ŠU-GURUŠ is evidently expressed by the Sumerian
verbal root itself, which therefore does not allow, or at least does
not need, a reduplication. Note also that none of the other

Sumerian equivalents of *šitpuṣu* (A-GIŠ —ag-a, NAM-ŠU-GURUŠ, and NAM-NIR-RI-A) contains a reduplicated root.[1]

Summarizing the results obtained thus far, we may state that while the form *pitrusu* as a rule cannot be connected with the idea of plurality of action, continuous repetition, etc., the form *pitárrusu* wherever it occurs clearly does express this idea. The natural conclusion, therefore, is that *pitárrusu* belongs to I 3, not to I 2.

2. THE PRETERIT *iptarras* AND THE IMPERATIVE *pitarras*

A suitable starting point for an investigation of the preterit forms *iptaras* and *iptárras* is furnished by the verb *alâku*, not only because it offers a good number of forms of both preterit types in bilingual as well as unilingual texts, but also, and especially so, because the two forms of this verb have distinctly different meanings and therefore can readily be distinguished by means of the context.

An excellent collection of Old Babylonian forms of *alâku* of the type *iptaras* is found in a grammatical text belonging to Crozer Theological Seminary. This text enumerates, as far as it is

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[1] In the preceding the reduplicated signs of the Sumerian equivalents for Akkadian I 2 forms have been unquestioningly assumed to represent actually reduplicated roots and have been explained as such. In view of the fact, however, that in some cases the idea of reciprocity is denoted in writing by *gilimû*-signs, the question may be asked whether some of the reduplicated roots that are equated with Akkadian I 2 forms, as, e. g., ZIL-ZIL = *qitruṣu*, were originally likewise *gilimû*-signs. This, however, is not likely. In the case of ZIL-ZIL, e. g., it may be argued that the simple ZIL is equated with *qalâpu*, "to peel," and ZIL-ZIL with II 1 *šuḫḫuṭu*, which presupposes a simple ZIL = *šaḫâṭu*, "to pull off"; both meanings go well together with that of *qarâṣu*, "to pinch or nip off," "to gnaw off." Note especially that gnawing, as we have it in the term "to gnaw each other" = "to harass each other," "to malign each other," naturally consists of many single gnawings or bites and therefore will quite naturally be expressed in Sumerian by the reduplicated ZIL. Note furthermore that the single signs that compose a *gilimû*-sign represent the things with which two foes strike each other, or the two beings (dogs, men) that fight each other; ZIL, however, evidently denotes an action (= *šaḫâṭu, qalâpu*, etc.).

preserved, more than 270 forms of *alâku* with their Sumerian equivalents. As a rule the forms are given in groups of three lines devoted to the second, first, and third persons, respectively. The first part of the tablet treats exclusively of the singular, the second and last part of the plural forms. Within these main groups we find subdivisions treating of (a) the imperative forms, (b) the present, (c) the preterit. But what interests us most here is the fact that the first half of each of these subdivisions and even of still smaller divisions is devoted to forms of *alâku* I 1, while the other half gives *alâku* forms of the type *iptaras*. There are no preterit *iptárras* forms given by the tablet, nor any forms of the formations I 3, II 1—3, III 1—3, IV 1—3. Quoting from each group the characteristic forms only, we find the following I 1 forms and *t*-forms of *alâku*:

Imperative	Sg.	*alik*	*atlak*
		[*alkam*]	*atlakam*
		alikšum	[*atlakšum*]
	Pl.	*alkā*	*atlakā*
		alkánim	*atlakánim*
		alkášum	*atlakášum*
Present	Sg.	*illak*	*ittallak*
		illakam	*ittallakam*
		illakšum	*ittallakšum*
	Pl.	*illakū*	*ittallakū*
		illakúnim	*ittallakúnim*
		illakûšum	*ittallakûšum*
Preterit	Sg.	*illik*	*ittalak*
		illikam	*ittalkam*
		illikšum	*ittalakšum*
	Pl.	*illikū*	*ittalkū*
		illikûnim	*ittalkúnim*
		illikûšum	*ittalkûšum*

The Sumerian verbal forms that correspond to the forms in the second column of this list invariably contain the infix -a-, which in GSG § 598 has been shown to be the equivalent of the infixed *t* of the Akkadian forms, the prefix being either ba- or imma-. Moreover, none of the Sumerian forms corresponding to the Akkadian *t*-forms, in fact not one of the forms on the tablet, shows doubling of the verbal root, which is the means whereby

Sumerian expresses the idea of plurality of action. None of the corresponding *t*-forms on the tablet, i. e., the preterit *ittalak*, the present *ittallak*, and the imperative *atlak*, can therefore express plurality of action.

Let us turn now to the two types of *t*-forms of the preterit and imperative *alâku* in connected bilingual texts. In CT XVI 27ff.,$_{94\,f.}$:

> [a-lá-ḫ]ul gin-na a-ri-a-šè
> [a-]lu-ú lim-nu at-lak ana na-me-e
> "O bad *alû*, depart for the wilderness!"

we notice that gin-na (= ginn-a), "go," is given as Sumerian equivalent of *atlak*, "go away." This ginn-a, however, corresponds more accurately to I 1 *alik*, "go," with which, as a matter of fact, it usually is translated. The exact equivalent of *atlak*, as we can see from the Crozer tablet, is gin-ba. At any rate, the *t*-form of the type *iptaras* in the quoted passage corresponds to a Sumerian verb form with simple root. It must especially be noted that the context of the passage clearly shows that *atlak* means "go away" or "go on (to some place) (once and for all)," not "go constantly away," "go away over and over again," etc.

For the preterit form *ittállak*, on the other hand, we have as yet no direct Sumerian equivalent from bilingual texts. However, the inscriptions of several Assyrian kings furnish us ideographic writings, in some cases even with phonetic variant writings in the duplicate inscriptions. The ideogram is invariably DU-DU or DU-MEŠ. Cf. Annals of Aššur-naṣir-apli II (1 R 17ff.), col. 1$_{22\,f.}$:

šarru šá ina ${}^{giš}tukul$-*ti aš-šur u* ${}^{d}šá$-*maš ilâni*^{pl} *tik-le-šu me-še*(var.: -*šá*)-*riš it-tal-la-ku-ma* (vars.: *it-ta-la-ku-ma* and DU-DU-*ku-ma*) *šadâ*${}_{ni}$^{pl}-*ni šap-ṣu-te* (var.: *šap-ṣú-te*) *ù* (var.: *u*) *mal-ke*^{pl} *nakirê*^{pl}-*šu* (var.: -*šú*) ${}^{23}kima$ *qan a-bi ú-ḫa-ṣi-ṣu*

"the king, who in the *tukultu*[1] of Aššur and Šamaš, the gods upon whom he relied, constantly went[2] straight ahead and like reed(s) of the marsh crushed many mighty mountain peoples and princes hostile to him";

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[1] For the meaning of this term see Poebel, AOf IX 25f.

[2] Translated as present in Luckenbill, ARAB I; note, however, the preterit *uḫaṣṣiṣ*, "he crushed," at the end of the quotation. It is the rule in the royal inscriptions that presents are used only in the titles of gods (cf., e. g., *ša la-a ut-tak-ka-ru si-qir šap-ti-šu* [or *šap-te$_7$-šu*, with *te$_7$* = sign *ti* ?], col. 1$_5$), because the general statements contained in them apply to

ibid., col. $1_{12f.}$:

[12]. . . . *it-lu qar-du šá ina* ^{giš}*tukul-ti aš-šur bêli-šú* DU-DU-*ku-ma ina mal-ke*^{pl} [13]*šá kib-rat irbit-ta šá-nin-šú la* TUK-*u*

". . . . the valiant hero, who in the *tukultu* of Aššur, his lord, marched hither and thither and among the princes of the four regions had not his equal";[1]

Šulmanu-ašared III, Monolith (3 R 7f.), col. $1_{9f.}$:

[9]. . . . *zikaru dan-nu šá ina* ^{giš}*tukul-ti aš-šur* ^d*šá-maš ilâni*^{pl} *re-ṣc-šu* DU-DU-*ku-ma* [10]*ina mal-ke šá kib-rat arba-i šá-nin-šú lá* TUK-*ú*

". . . . the mighty hero, who constantly walked[2] in the *tukultu* of Aššur and Šamaš, the gods, his helpers, and (therefore) had not his equal among the princes of the four regions";

ibid., col. 1_{10} (immediate continuation of the preceding passage):

šàr mâtâti^{pl} *šar-ḫu šá ar-ḫe pa-áš-qu-te* DU-DU-*ku iš-tam-da-ḫu*[3] *šade*^{pl}-*e u tâmâte*^{pl} (var.: *ta-ma-a-te*)

"the great king of the lands, who many times marched[4] difficult roads, many times crossed[4] mountains and seas";

Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, Octagonal Prisms (1 R 9–16), col. 7_{36-41}:

[36]. . . . *rubû ṣi-ru* [37]*ša* ^d*a-šur ù* ^d*nin-urta a-na bi-ib-lat* [38]*lìb-bi-šu it-tar-ru-šu-ma* [39]*arki* (var.: *ar-ki*) *nakru*^{pl}-*ut* ^d*a-šur* [40]*paṭ gim-ri-šu-nu* DU-MEŠ-*ku-ma* (var.: *it-tal-la-ku-ma*) [41]*ú-šàm-qi-tu* (var.: *ú-šék-ni-šu*) *ka-liš mul-tar-ḫe*

"the high prince, whom Aššur and Ninurta constantly led[5] to the attainment of his heart's desires and who therefore could constantly pursue[5] the enemies of Aššur over their whole territory and throw down the mighty altogether."

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all times; the king, on the other hand, speaks of himself in the past, because his deeds are considered from the viewpoint of the future reader, who may live centuries after the death of the king.

[1] The variant has DU-*ku* instead of DU-DU-*ku*, which of course must be transliterated and translated (*šá* . . . .) *illi̱ₖ-ku*, "who went (or set out)." Note also col. $1_{15f.}$: [15]. . . . *šá ina* ^{giš}*tukul-ti ilâni*^{pl} *rabûti*^{pl} *bêlê*^{pl}-*šú* [16]DU-*ku-ma mâtâti*^{pl} *kala-ši-na qât-su ikšu̱-ud*, "who in the *tukultu* of the great gods, his lords, set out, and he conquered all the lands." (Note the change from the relative clause to the independent sentence.)

[2] Translated as present in Luckenbill, ARAB I.

[3] *Md* for *dd* as in late *inamdin* for *inaddin* (Hammurabi); see sec. 5 and Study III, chap. iii, sec. 10.

[4] Translated as present in Luckenbill, ARAB I.

[5] Translated as perfect in Luckenbill, ARAB I.

The ideographic writing of *ittallaku* with DU-DU-*ku* and DU-MEŠ-*ku*, which agrees with the ideographic writing DU-DU of the infinitive *atalluku*, shows that the preterit *ittallak* expresses the iterative idea. Note especially the ideogram DU-MEŠ for *ittallak*, which would be completely inexplicable if the latter did not express the idea of a plurality of action.[1] Note also that Aššur-naṣir-apli in the same relative clause containing the verbal form *ittalluku* uses another form of the type *iptárras*, namely, *ištamdaḥu* (= *ištám-daḥ*(< *ištáddaḥ*) + *u*), "who many times crossed"; and likewise Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I in the clause immediately preceding *ittallaku* uses the *iptárras* form *ittarrûšu* (< *iṷtarrai̯ū* + *šu*), "(whom) they constantly led." Similarly, the first of the quoted Aššur-naṣir-apli passages connects the preterit of *ittalluku* with the II 1 preterit form *uḥaṣṣiṣu*, which as the pi'el form of a transitive verb likewise expresses plurality of action. Note finally that in Šulmanu-ašared III, Monolith (3 R 7f.), col. 1[8],

    šá a-na ti-ib tâḥâzi[2]*-šú dan-ni tubuqâti*[Pl] *ul-ta-nap-šá-qa*
    "by whose energetic onslaught the regions of the world constantly feel
         oppressed,"

a passage immediately preceding that quoted above, Šulmanu-ašared uses the *tn*-form of formation III of *pašâqu* (that is, o *šupšuqu*), a form about whose iterative meaning there is no doubt whatever. The coupling of *ittállak* with other *iptárras*, but not with *iptaras*, forms indicates that the *iptárras* forms constitute a special verb formation which has nothing to do with the *iptaras* forms. The coupling with forms of undoubtedly iterative meaning, on the other hand, shows that such a meaning has to be attributed to *iptárras* also.

Moreover, the meaning "he walked constantly" of *ittállak* is exactly what the context in the quoted passages would require. In these quotations, which consist of glorifying predicates added after the name of the king, the latter generalizes his past expe-

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[1] We may conclude from this writing that the scribes of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I were fully aware of the grammatical meaning not only of *italluku* but also of the reduplicated Sumerian DU-DU.

[2] Note the unusual form of the ideogram for *tâḥâzu* (KA + ERIM)! To be added to the list of homophones as m e[8] ?

riences and achievements. Obviously it is not his intention to state that he was successful once only; what he glories in is the fact that with the help of the gods he was successful over and over again.

On the other hand, wherever in his inscriptions the king really refers to just one single action, he never uses the form *attallak*, but uses *attalak*. In his monolith inscription (3 R 7f.), col. $2_{7f.}$, e.g., Šulmanu-ašared III relates the subjection of the Phoenician coast. He does so in the following words:

> [7] *ma-da-tu šá šarrá$_{ni}$*[pl]*-ni šá a-ḫat tam-di am-ḫur ina a-ḫat tam-di ra-pa-áš-te m[e]-še-riš šal-ṭi-i[š* ....] [8] *lu at-ta-lak ṣa-lam bêlu-ti-ia* .... *êpuš-uš* ....

"The tribute of the kings of the seashore I received; along the shore of the wide sea straight ahead victoriously and ...., forsooth, I marched; my lordly image .... I made, ..."

The king here speaks of only one march, not of marches repeated over and over again. Note especially that in this passage I 1 forms are grouped with *áttalak*.

A very instructive example for the difference of meaning between the preterits *ittállak* and *ittalak* is found in the letter of Burnaburiaš to Amenophis IV, Knudtzon, EAT, No. 10 (= [Bezold and Budge,] TEAT, No. 3). We read there, obv., ll. 8 ff.:

> [8]*iš-tu ka-ra-in-da-aš iš-tu mârū*[p] *ši-ip-ri* [9]*ša ab-bi-ka a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi ab-bi-ia it-ta-al-la-ku-ni* [10]*a-di i-na-an-na ṭa-bu-tu šu-nu* [11]*i-na-an-na a-na-ku ù ka-ša ṭa-bu-tu ni-nu* [12]*mârū*[pl] *ši-ip-ri-ka a-di 3-šu it-ta-al-ku-ni* [13]*ù šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a mi-im-ma ul tu-še-bi-lam* [14] *ù a-na-ku-ma šu-ul-ma-na ba-na-a* [15]*mi-im-ma ul ú-še-bi-la-ku*

"Ever since messengers of thy fathers regularly came hither to my fathers, (that is,) since (the time of) Karaindaš, up to the (very) present, they (i. e., thy fathers and my fathers) were good friends.[1] Now that we, I and thou, are good friends, thy messengers have come to me just three times, and neither hast thou sent me any good present nor have I sent thee any good present."

Concerning the messengers at the time of his forefathers Burnaburiaš rightly states in a general and vague way: "they came here frequently" (=*ittallakûni*). For the visits of the

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[1] One would expect after this the statement "and they regularly sent each other good presents."

messengers who have been sent to him, on the other hand, he gives a definite number, namely, three; therefore he says: *ittal-kûni*, "they have come (three times) to me." *A-di 3-šu it-ta-al-la-ku-ni* would mean "they have come three times frequently to me," an impossible expression, since the definite "three times" contradicts the indefinite "frequently."

From all these observations it is quite obvious that only *ittalak* represents the preterit of I 2, while *ittállak* is the preterit of I 3, the verbal formation whose present is *ittanállak* and whose function it is to express plurality of action. As far as *alâku* is concerned we have, then, in accordance with our previous observations, the following two sets of forms:

	I 2	I 3
Preterit	*ittalak*	*ittállak*
Present	*ittállak*	*ittanállak*
Imperative	*átlak*	*atállak, itállak*
Infinitive	*átluku*[1]	*atálluku, itálluku*
Permansive	*átluk*	*atálluk, itálluk*

The same differentiation of meaning and form which distinguishes *itállak* from *ittalak* exists as well between the *iptárras* and *iptaras* forms of the other verbs, where and if they occur. It is here quite impossible to point this out in every single case; only a few cases selected quite at random are quoted here.

Karâbu, "to utter benedictions," "to bless," for instance, forms, besides I 1 (*ikarrab, ikrub*), a I 3, meaning "to bless constantly, continuously." Compare, e.g., Pinches, Texts in the Babylonian Wedge Writing, pp. 15f., Alliterative Hymn, obv. 5₋₉:

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[1] This infinitive is found in a letter of Rim-Sin of Larsa in the possession of the Oriental Institute. For the *a* in the infinitive I 2 of certain verbs *primae* ' (', *h*, etc.) compare, e. g., in the list of synonyms of *alâku*, CT XVIII 6 (K 52 and duplicates), obv.₄₈–rev.₈, the equations obv.₅₀ and 53

    ⁵⁰*at-ku-šu* (var.: -*š[ú]*?) | „ (= *a-la-a-ku*)
    ⁵³*a-ka-šu* | „ (= *a-la-a-ku*),

where *atkušu* is infinitive I 2, *akášu* infinitive I 1, of a root ᵓ*kš* (perhaps < *ḫkṭ*, related to Arab. *hakiṭa*, with *f* for *ṭ*, "to walk rapidly," "to run"?). The feminine singular imperative *at-ka-ši* is found in VAT 5946 (Zimmern, VS X, No. 214), col. 6₃₅.

^5ar-$ḫu$ $ù$ $šat$-tu lik-tar-ra-bu $é$-sag-il $ṣi$-i-ri
^6ar-ru-bi-e ^dmarduk li-bit-ta-$šú$ lik-tar-rab
. . . .
^8ar-ba-$a^?$ kib-ra-a-ti lit-ta-$aṭ$-$ṭa$-la zi-me-$šú$
^9ar-re-$^?i$-i za-ni-ni-$šú$ ba-$laṭ$ $ṭu$-ub $lìb$-bi $liš$-tar-rak

"May every month and every year bless sublime Esagil!
For the prince Marduk may they(!) constantly bless its brick!
. . . .
May the four quarters of the world constantly behold its splendor!
To the shepherd, its supporter, may it ever give a joyous life."

The idea of this prayer is that not just one month or one year shall bless Esagil, but each year and each month. The writer values the continuity of the blessing. Nor is it his idea that the world perceive Esagil's splendor just once; he wants it to be constantly seen. Cf. also rev.$_4$ of the same text:

zi-ir-pa-ni-tum ru-ba-tum $ṣir$-tum lik-tar-ra-ba $šarru$-us-su
"May Zirpanitum, the sublime princess, constantly bless his kingship."

In Esarhaddon, Prism (1 R 45ff.), col. $6_{27\,ff.}$, we read:

$^{27d}aš$-$šur$ ^dištar $ša$ $ninua^{ki}$ $iláni^{pl}$ $mât$ $aš$-$šur^{ki}$ $^{28}kali$-$šú$-nu ina kir-bi-$šá$ ak-ri-ma $^{29immer}niqê^{pl}$ $taš$-ri-$iḫ$-te eb-bu-ti ^{30}ma-$ḫar$-$šu$-un aq-qi-ma $^{31}ú$-$šam$-$ḫi$-ra $kàt$-ra-a-a $^{32}iláni^{pl}$ $šá$-tu-nu ina ku-un $lìb$-bi-$šú$-nu ^{33}ik-tar-ra-bu $šarru$-u-ti $^{34amêlu}rabûti^{pl}$ u $nišê^{pl}$ $mâti$-ia ka-li-$šú$-nu ^{35}ina ta-kul-te u ki-re-e-ti ^{36}ina $^{iṣu}paššûr$ ta-$ši$-la-a-ti ^{37}ki-rib-$šá$ $ú$-$še$-$šib$-ma . . . .

"Aššur, Ištar of Nineveh, and all the other[1] deities of the land Aššur in its (= the palace's) midst I invited, and splendid glorification(?) sacrifices I offered before them, and I presented my gifts. These gods in their stead-fastness of heart over and over again blessed my kingdom. All of the great as well as the common people of my country at a banquet and other kinds of entertainments I seated in its midst before a delicious meal, and . . . . . ."

The feasts offered to the gods and to his subjects by the king were single events, but the gods — according to the present text — in answer to the sacrifices and gifts presented to them by the king shower their blessings on the king.[2]

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[1] Note that in Akkadian (as well as in Sumerian) the idea "other" in the abridgment of an enumeration is not expressed!

[2] It is doubtful, however, whether the king really intends to tell of a blessing by the gods following the sacrifices. The passage noticeably interrupts the context. Furthermore, *ina kun libbišunu*, "in their stead-fastness of heart," is evidently a phrase whose purpose it is to explain why the gods continuously blessed his reign; but to show their stead-

Cyrus Cylinder (5 R 35), ll. 18f., reads:

[18]*niš*ê[pl] TIN-TIR[ki] *ka-li-šu-nu nap-ḫar mât šu-me-ri u akkadî*[ki] *ru-bi-e
ù šak-kan-nak-ka ša-pal-šu ik-mi-sa ú-na-áš-ši-qu še-pu-uš-šu iḫ-du-ú
a-na šarru-ú-ti-šú im-mi-ru pa-nu-uš-šú-un* [19]*be-lu ša i-na tu-kul-ti-ša
ú-bal-li-ṭu mi-tu-ta-an i-na pu-ta-qu ù pa-ki-e ig-mi-lu kul-la-ta-an ṭa-bi-iš
ik-ta-ar-ra-bu-šu iš-tam-ma-ru zi-ki-ir-šu*

"The whole population of Babylon, all of Sumer and Akkad, nobles
and generals, bowed under him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his kingship,
and their faces shone. As the lord who by his help had revived all the
dead and who .... had treated everyone well, they blessed him over and
over again, over and over again they hailed his name."

The writer wants to show the exceeding enthusiasm of the
Babylonians for Cyrus' reign. He says, therefore, not merely
that they blessed him, but that they could find no end to their
praise of the new ruler.

Very frequent is the I 3 form of $(u)arû$, "to lead." Cf., in
addition to the passage quoted on page 19, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I,
Octagonal Prisms (1 R 9 ff.), col. $2_{94\,ff.}$:

[94].... *šatti-šàm-ma bilta ù ma-da-at-ta* [95]*a-na ali-ia* ᵈ*a-šur a-na maḫ-ri-ia*
[96]*lit-tar-ru-ni*

"Year by year tribute and gift shall they regularly bring[1] before me to
my city Assur";

ibid., col. $8_{29\,f.}$:

[29].... *i-na qabli ù ta-ḫa-zi* [30]*šal-miš lit-tar-ru-ú-ni*

"May they lead me ever safely in fight and battle";

Code of Hammurabi, rev., col. $27_{2\,ff.}$:

[2]*uz-nam* [3]*ù ne-me-qá-am* [4]*li-ṭe₄-ir-šu-ma* [5]*i-na mi-ši-tim* [6]*li-it-ta-ar-ru-šu*

"May he (= Enki) take away from him understanding and wisdom, and
may he constantly lead him astray."[2]

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fastness or unwavering favor requires a certain time. Possibly, therefore,
the sentence might be intended as referring to the past and meaning:
"These gods in their steadfastness of heart *had* continuously blessed my
kingdom." The sentence would then probably be an attempt to remedy
the omission of one or more relative clauses originally attached to "Aššur,
Ištar, and the other deities," the original text reading perhaps: "I invited
Aššur, Ištar, and all the other Assyrian deities who in their unwavering
favor had continuously blessed my kingship."

[1] Literally: "May they bring, year by year, ..."

[2] *Mi-ši-tim* is not (with Ungnad) "oblivion," from *mašû*, "to forget,"
but a *nomen loci*, "place of entanglement," from *ešû*, root *ʾš*ʾ (cf. Arab.

Again in the Code of Hammurabi, rev., col. $24_{49 \text{ ff.}}$, we read:

[47]i-na ut-li-ia [50]ni-$ši$ $m\acute{a}t$ $šu$-me-ri-im [51]$\grave{u}$ ak-ka-di-im [52]$\acute{u}$-ki-il [53]i-na la-ma-zi-ia [54]$i\underline{h}$-$\underline{h}i$-$ša$[1] [55]i-na $šu$-ul-mi-im at-tab-ba-al-$ši$-na-ti [57]i-na ne-me-qi-ia [58]$uš$-tap-$z\acute{e}$-ir-$ši$-na-ti

"I held the people of the land of Sumer and Akkad in my lap; they prospered in my protection;[1] I governed them in peace; I let them hide in my wisdom."[2]

$\c{u}a\ta$'a, "to dislocate," "to sprain"), "to entangle," "to confuse." For the idea involved in the phrase compare CH, rev., col. 27_{24}: $\acute{u}$-ru-$u\underline{h}$-$šu$ li-$ši$, "may he ($=$ Šamaš) confuse his path (cause him to go astray)." It will be noted that the phrase "to lead someone on a path (or over or through or into places) of entanglements" is logically consequent, whereas the verbal and adverbial components of a phrase "to *lead* someone in (or into or through?) oblivion" do not really harmonize with each other. For the vowel i ($< a\c{i}$) in the first syllable of $miš\hat{\imath}tum$ in the Hammurabi and earlier periods compare $miš\acute{a}rum$ ($< {}^*ma\c{i}šarum$), written mi-$ša$-ri-im (gen.), CH, rev., col. $25_{7, 65, 96}$ and *passim*, mi-$ša$-ra-am (acc.), CH, obv., col. 1_{32}, 5_{21}, and CT VI $42a_{17}$. Note also the vowel i in $iš\hat{\imath}tum$ written i-$ši$-tam (acc.), CH, rev., col. 28_5 (later $iš\hat{\imath}tum$ and $eš\hat{\imath}tum$). For the formation of $miš\hat{\imath}tum$ compare such nouns as $mašq\hat{\imath}tum$, $m\hat{e}reštum$, and $mir\hat{\imath}tum$ (written mi-ri-tim, gen., CH, obv., col. 3_{39}; $< {}^*mar$'$a\c{i}atum$).

The singular preterit form I 3 $itt\acute{a}rr\bar{u}$ ($< {}^*\c{i}a\c{u}tanra\c{u}$) in $litt\acute{a}rr\bar{u}$, in connection with the rule given in n. 1 of p. 35, shows that the present of I 1, 3d pers. sing., is $\acute{u}rr\bar{u} < {}^*\c{i}a\c{u}\acute{a}ra\c{u}$. For the preterit $\hat{u}r\bar{u}$ ($< {}^*\c{i}a\c{u}ru\c{u}$) cf. [22]ana ma-at nu-ku-$\acute{u}r$-ti-$šu$ [23]ka-mi-$iš$ li-ru-$šu$, "may she lead him away bound into a land hostile to him," CH, rev., col. $28_{22 \text{ f.}}$. Li-ri ($< li + {}^*\c{i}ar$'ai) in [16]ni-$ši$-$šu$ [17]i-na mi-$ša$-ri-im li-ri, "may he shepherd his people in righteousness," CH, rev., col. $26_{16 \text{ f.}}$, belongs to re'$\hat{u}$, "to shepherd," not to $\c{u}ar\hat{u}$, "to lead" (thus Ungnad).

[1] The usual reading i-na la-ma-zi-a $a\underline{h}$-$\underline{h}i$-$ša$ and the translation "with the help of my protecting deity and(!) her brothers and sisters" (Ungnad with question mark) do not make good sense; moreover, the omission of the copula $\grave{u}$ would be strange in this case. Undoubtedly we must read $i\underline{h}$-$\underline{h}i$-$ša$, that is, the 3d pers. plur. fem. (referring to $niš\acute{u}$) of $na\underline{h}\acute{a}šu$ I 1, "to grow (or be) fat, rich, etc." Note that Hammurabi in the introductory part of the Code glories in having procured $nu\underline{h}šu$ for Nippur (1_{55}), Ur (2_{16}), Uruk (2_{40}), Isin (2_{53}), Maškan-šabra^{ki} (4_5), and Malgûm (4_{16}). The passage in the epilogue, rev., col. 24, is a short recapitulation of the benefactions which Hammurabi boasts of having bestowed upon the various cities of Sumer and Akkad and their populations in the introductory part.

La-ma-$z(um)$, furthermore, is here not the protecting deity, but the abstract noun "protection." Whether in the latter meaning also it is to

Attabbal is preterit, as is proved by the preterits *ukil, iḫḫišâ,* and *uštapzir*. Literally it means "I constantly carried, brought, led them"; a ruler leads not just once, but constantly. We have here the finite preterit form of the I 3 infinitive *itabbulum*, discussed on pages 4 f.[1] The preterit of the simple *t*-form of *ụabâlum*, on the other hand, appears as *itbal* (< *ittabal*) in the Code, that is, as a form of the secondary verb *tabâlu*; cf. obv., col. 6_{70}–7_{26}:

^{70}*šumma* .... ^{24}... *be-el ḫu-ul-qi-im* ^{25}*ši-bi mu-di ḫu-ul-qi-šu* ^{21}*it-ba-lam*
"If .... the owner of the lost object has produced the witnesses who know his lost object, ..."

This *šumma*-clause assumes as a completed action what the owner had promised in the preceding *šumma*-clause, col. 6_{70}–7_{17}:

^{70}*šum-ma* .... ^{13}... *be-el ḫu-ul-qi-im* ^{14}*ši-bi mu-di* ^{15}*ḫu-ul-qi-ia-mi* ^{16}*lu-ub-lam* ^{17}*iq-ta-bi*
"If .... the owner of the lost object has declared: I will produce witnesses who know my lost object."

That is to say, *itbalam* expressed the same idea as the I 1 form *ublam*, namely, the idea "to bring" (in German: "herbeibringen"), the *t* of *itbal*, like that of *iqtabi* in the preceding quotation, merely denoting the previously completed action.[2]

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be equated with *lamassu* or whether it is the infinitive of an Akkadian verb *lamâzum, laụâzum*, "to protect," is not certain. Cf. Arab. *lâḍa* (also *lâza*), root *lụḍ* (or *lụz*), "to make something or someone his protection," "to seek protection from someone," "to take refuge with someone." *Lamassu* is evidently a loan word from a Sumerian l a m a z, "protection," "protecting deity" (= l a m m a < l a m a (z) ?), which itself, however, is doubtless a loan word from an old Semitic *lamâz(um)*, "protection."

[2] More literally: "I let them hide in my 'depth.'" Hammurabi likens himself to the *apsû* of the god Ea, in whose depth all knowledge is contained and in which originally the gods themselves were hidden.

[1] Parenthetically it may be mentioned that in rev., col. $24_{17\,f.}$, ^{17}*aš-ri šu-ul-mi-im* ^{18}*eš-te-ʾi-ši-na-šim*, the verb is likewise I 3, namely *ešté*(ʾ)*ʾi*, not I 2 *ešteʾi*. Hammurabi is intent on finding places of safety and prosperity for all his subjects, and not just once, but constantly. Note that in the following sentence the II 1 form *upettî* likewise expresses the idea of plurality, and, furthermore, that none of the surrounding verbs shows the *t*-form. The value ʾi in *eš-te-ʾi-ši-na-šim* is represented by the sign *i*.

[2] Cf. p. 30 and *ibid.*, n. 1.

Sennacherib, in Taylor Prism, col. $3_{72ff.}$,[1] makes the following statements:

[72-74] .... *pa-nu-uš-šú-un aṣ-bat* [75]*ḫur-ri na-ḫal-li na-ad-bak* (var.: *na-ad-ba-ki*) *šadi-i me-li-e mar-ṣu-ti* [76]*i-na* [iṣu]*kussê áš-tam-di-iḫ* (var.: *aš-ta-am-di-iḫ*) *a-šar a-na* [iṣu]*kussê šup-šu-qu* [77]*i-na šepê*[II]*-ia áš-taḫ-ḫi-iṭ* (var.: *aš-taḫ-ḫi-ṭam*) *kima* (var.: *ki-ma*) *ar-me a-na zuq-ti šá-qu-te* (var.: *šá-qu-ú-ti*) [78]*ṣi-ru-uš-šú-un e-li a-šar bir-ka-a-a* [79]*ma-na-aḫ-tu i-šá-a ṣi-ir aban šadi-i ú-šib-ma*

"(With my soldiers) I set out against them. Traveling (at first) in a sedan chair up many ravines, canyons, and mountain passes, all of them difficult to ascend, but walking on my own feet where the ground was too difficult for a sedan chair, I (finally), like a mountain goat, ascended to high peaks against them. Where my knees became tired,[2] I sat on the mountain rock."

Sennacherib in this passage uses the I 1 form *aṣbat* because his starting out on the expedition is just one single action. The I 3 forms *aštamdiḫ*[3] and *aštaḫḫiṭ*, however, are chosen because it is his intention to say that he had to ascend many places that could be made only by sedan chair and many places that could be taken only on foot. The final ascent to the peaks where the enemies had taken refuge, however, is only one action (in each case!) and is therefore described by the king with I 1 *êli*. In the last sentence, finally, the king naturally had no intention of giving the impression that he sat down for a rest over and over again; he therefore simply says *ûšib*, "I sat down."

In contradistinction to the cases where the context requires a form of I 3, it is important to note some frequently occurring verbs which we find only in I 2, not in I 3. Theoretically, Assyrian verbs of the meaning "to set out or move on (from a place)" and "to draw near to or approach (a place)" can of course form the I 3 expressions "over and over again I set out from the city ...." and "over and over again I drew near to the city," which would mean "many times I attempted to set out" and

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[1] Variants from BM 103000 (CT XXVI 1–37), col. 4_{25-34}.

[2] The passage seems to be abbreviated; probably the original text intended to say: "Where (or when) my knees became tired and I wanted to rest, I had to sit on the mountain rock."

[3] For *md* instead of *dd* see sec. 5 (pp. 42 f.).

"many times I tried to come near the city." But no Assyrian king would ever make such a statement in his inscriptions, because by it he would admit the futility of his first attempts to approach that city. Moreover, at the head of his irresistible army the king would ordinarily not be hindered in approaching or leaving a city. We therefore never find the expression *aqṭérreb*, "over and over again I drew near," but only *áqṭerib*, "I drew near," which does not express the idea of plurality of action. Nor do we find an *attámmuš*, "over and over again I moved on (from that place)," but the simple statement *áttamuš* or (with Assyrian vowel harmony) *áttumuš*, "I marched on (from that place)."[1] The stressing of *at-ta-muš* as *áttamuš* follows from the change of the second *a* to *u* in the frequent *attumuš*, a change which is caused by vowel harmony and can take place only in syllables without stress. Note, moreover, the elision in *attumša*, which is possible only in I 2 forms, not in I 3 forms (type *iptárras*). As shown by its variant writings *at-tu-muš* and *a-tu-muš* (cf. the variants in Aššur-naṣir-apli, Annals (1 R 17ff.), col. $2_{98, 103}$; col. 3_8) and as seen already by Delitzsch (see his list of variants in AHwb), the form which is written *at-*UD*-muš* (var.: *a-*UD*-muš*) must be read *at-tú-muš*, i.e., *áttumuš*, not *at-tám-muš*. Nor can there be any doubt that the forms written *at-*NIM*-muš* and *a-*NIM*-muš* must be read *at-tu₈-muš* and *a-tu₈-muš*, with the value tu_8 for NIM (ZA IV 394; Thureau-Dangin, SA 220), as again is shown

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[1] *Ítmušu* (< **nitamušu* < **ntáu̯ušu*), pret. *íttamuš* (< **i̯antamaš* < **i̯án-tau̯aš*), is I 2 form of *nâšu*, Ass. *nuâšu* (< **nau̯âšu*), "to move" (intrans.). (For this proper meaning of *nâšu* [instead of "to shake," "to rock"] see the remarks in my HT, p. 55, and in OLZ, 1928, col. 701.) Both *it-mu-šu* and *nu-a-šu* are given in CT XVIII 6, obv.$_{51f.}$, as synonyms of *a-la-a-ku*. The *t*-form *itmušu* means "to move away," "to move on"; the *t* has here the same meaning "away" as in *tabâlu*, "to carry away," over against *u̯abâlum* (whose *t*-form it originally was), "to carry," "to bring," and in *atluku*, "to go away," over against *alâku*, "to go," "to come." Note that in I 2 *itmušu* (= *itu̯ušu*) as well as in *unammaš*, *nammaštu* (<**man-u̯ášatum*), etc. the middle radical is treated as a strong consonant, in *nâšu*, *nuâšu*, *nuššu*, etc., however, as a weak consonant. As yet *itmušu* is attested only by Assyrian inscriptions. Possibly, therefore, it is a peculiarity of Assyrian dialects.

by the variant writings *at-tu-muš* (Aššur-naṣir-apli, Annals, 1 R 17ff., col. 1_{73}, col. 2_{91}, col. 3_{12}) and *a-tu-muš* (*ibid.*, col. 1_{58}).[1]

Very instructive is a passage in the letter of Tušratta to Amenophis III (Bezold and Budge, TEAT, No. 8; Knudtzon, EAT, No. 19) because it gives both the preterit and the present of I 3 side by side. In lines 9ff. we read:

[9]*a-di* abbi[pl]-*ka-ma šu-nu it-ti* abbi[pl]-*ia dan-niš* [10]*ir-ta-ta-'à*[2]-*mu at-ta ap-pu-na-ma* DIRI-*ma it-ti a-bi-ia* [11]*ma-a-ti-iš da-an-ni-iš ta-ar-ta-ta-'à*[2]-*am* [12]*i-na-an-na at-ta ki-i it-ti-ia a-ḫa-miš ni-ir-ta-na-'à*[2]-*mu* [13]*a-na 10-šu el a-bi-ia tu-uš-te-em-'i-id*

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[1] Parenthetically it may be mentioned that the form *aq-tu-áš*, Aššur-naṣir-apli, Annals, col. $2_{44 \text{ and } 52}$ (in the latter place as variant of *aq-ṭé-rib*), is not, as Delitzsch, AHwb 594a, and others believed, a scribal error for *aqṭerib* and *attumuš* respectively, but I 2 form of *guášu*, (written *gu-a-šu* in the list of synonyms of *aláku*, CT XVIII 6, obv. $_{48}$), "to go." (Cf. perhaps Arab. *ǧáza, iaǧûzu*, "to go," "to pass"; Hebr. גוז, "to pass," "to disappear"; Aram. גוז, "to go away," "to disappear." The change of the *z* to *š* in Assyrian was probably caused by the preceding labial radical *u*.)

[2] Sign combination *'a.a = 'à*. This sign and the similarly compounded signs *'u₉* (= *'u.ú*), *'u₈* (= *'u.u*) or *'ò* (= *'o.o*), *'ì* (= *'i.i*), and *'è* (= *'e.e*) as a rule are used only in writing the open syllables *'a, 'u, 'o, 'i*, and *'e*, while in the broken writing of closed syllables beginning with *'*, such as *'id, 'al, 'er*, etc., only the simple *'..* sign is used. Cf., e. g., *iš-'à-lu* (I 1 of *ša'álu*), 5 R 1ff., col. 8_{62}, and *iš-ta-na-'à-lu₄* (I 3 of *ša'álu*), ibid., col. 9_{69}, with *'à* (= *'a.a*); *zu-'u₈-nu* (= *zú(')'unu*, infinitive II 1 of *za'ánu*), CT XI 29ff., col. 4_{32}, and *bu-'u₈-rù* (infinitive II 1 of *ba'áru*), CT XIX 17ff., col. 2_{27}, with *'u₈* (= *'u.u*); *nu-'u₉-du* (infinitive II 1 of *na'ádu*), CT XIX 5, col. $1_{3f.}$, with *'u₉* (= *'u.ú*); *li-šam-'ì-da* (III 1 of *ma'ádu*), Pinches, Texts in the Babylonian Wedge Writing, p. 16, rev.₅, with *'ì* (= *'i.i*), and *u-ma-'è-ru-in-ni* (II 1 of *ma'áru*), 5 R 1ff., col. 5_{124}, with *'è* (= *'e.e*); but *tu-uš-te-em-'i-id*, in the passage quoted above from the letter of Tušratta (l. 13); *lu ni-ir-ta-'a-am*, same letter, l. 29, and *ni-ir-ta-na-'a-am*, ibid., ll. 31 and 78f., etc. A notable exception to the rule is the form *ta-ar-ta-ta-'à-am* in l. 11 of the Tušratta letter passage quoted above, but evidently this deviating writing is due to the influence of the various other forms of *ra'ámu* found in the same passage, where *'a* occurs in open syllable.

The reason for this use of different signs for *'..* is obvious. In those cases where *'..* forms the first part of a closed but brokenly written syllable (e. g., *'a-al, 'u-ur*, or *'i-id*), the simple *'..* sign, although it can be read with any vowel, can be used without ambiguity, since its vowel is determined by that of the following sign which renders the second half of the brokenly written syllable. Where, however, an open syllable begin-

"At the time of thy fathers, they (i. e., thy fathers) had a constant and strong friendship with my fathers. Then thou hadst constantly a very stout friendship, which even excelled those before that time, with my father; (and) now that thou and I have a constant friendship with each other, thou hast made it (= the friendship) ten times greater than that (which thou hadst) with my father."

Nirtaná(')'am, as all agree, is I 3 present of *ra'âmu* (contracted *râmu*), "to love," and literally, therefore, means: "we love constantly." In view of the construction of the verb with *itti*, and especially in view of the singular form *ta-ar-ta-ta-'à-am*, *râmu* is used here as an intransitive verb, "to be a loving friend (of someone)," "to have a friendship (with someone)." The corresponding form of the 3d person plural, "they love constantly," "they have a constant friendship," would be *irtana(')'amū* and its preterit *irtá(')'amū* (< *irtán'amū*). This form can be easily recognized in the *irtata(')'amū* of our text, which is *irta(')'amū*, "they loved," with a second inserted *t* whose function is to express the idea of temporal precedence.[1] It will be noted that,

ning with ' is to be rendered in writing, the simple sign '.. would be ambiguous. The syllable is therefore written with a compound sign ('*a.a*, '*i.i*, '*u.u*, etc.), whose added vowel serves as a sort of exponent indicating the vowel with which the ambiguous simple '.. sign is to be read.

It will be observed that this usage to some extent parallels the well known use of the sign combinations *u*.. (= PI) + vowel, namely *ua.a* for *ua*, *ui.i* for *ui*, *uu.u* for *uu*, *ue.e* for *ue*, and *uo.o* for *uo*, in the Protohattic and Hurrian systems of writing. Note however that in these latter combinations the expository vowel is placed in smaller writing underneath the horizontal wedge of PI — a procedure by which the unity of the compound sign is made quite obvious. The Akkadian writing of '.. + vowel does not indicate in a similar manner the subservient character of the added vowel, the latter being written in full size and with the usual space left between it and the simple '.. sign. This, especially in connection with the fact that thus a certain confusion with the writing of the long syllables '*â*, '*û*, '*ê*, etc. must result, may perhaps be an indication that the origin of the compounded '.. signs is more complicated than appears on the surface and that the adoption of the sign may even be due to the influence of a foreign system of writing.

[1] Special studies on this use of the *t*-form in the Code of Hammurabi, the epistolary literature, the annals of Aššur-naṣir-apli, etc., as well as an article on other *t-tn* and *t-t*-forms, are to appear later. Here I merely wish to point out that Bergsträsser (on the authority of Landsberger) in the very arbitrary and misleading exposition of the meanings of the Akkadian

apart from the difference of time and the resulting insertion of the *t* in the preterit form, the context conditions in the sentences containing the forms *nirtana(')amu* and *irtata(')'amū* are completely alike. This furnishes us another proof that *iptarras* is the preterit of I 3.

tenses as given in his Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen attributes to the *t*-form an almost opposite meaning; cf. the statement on his p. 23: "Die punktuelle Erzählung verwendet nur *iprus* als frühere, *iptaras* als spätere Stufe; .... erst sekundär und beschränkt kommt die subjektive Zeit zum Ausdruck: *iprus* Vergangenheit, *iptaras* Gegenwart (punktuell), *ipárras* Zukunft (und durative Gegenwart)." On the other hand, Leo Oppenheim, WZKM XL 181 ff. (cf. also XLI 221 ff.), ascribes to the *t*-form in the Code of Hammurabi a perfect meaning, which a *t*-form actually will have when it is contrasted with a present. Note, however, that in the annals of Aššur-naṣir-apli, for example, the *t*-form is used in the sense of a pluperfect (after he had done this or that [he did this or that]).

Note also that the *t* so used indicates that the verb or the group of verbs containing it are logically subordinate to the I 1 verb or to the group of I 1 verbs that follow. In this connection it is pertinent to note that Bergsträsser, who in OLZ, 1934, cols. 173 ff., in his review of my treatise, Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament, denied the existence of logical periods or their equivalents in Semitic languages, can have taken this attitude only because he was not acquainted with the frequently occurring periods in the Code of Hammurabi and in most of the other Babylonian inscriptions, in spite of the fact that he gives a few extracts from the Code among the Sprachproben of his Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen. He could not, of course, have known of the subordinating construction based on the syntactical use of the *t*-form, since this usage was hardly known even in Assyriological circles. Quite unintelligible (and especially so with regard to what motivated him—unless it is simply the fact that in the Sprachproben given in his Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen [p. 29] he himself mistranslated the phrase) is his exceedingly bold and curious statement that the appositional conception of the phrase .... אוֹן, which in every case has been conclusively proved by reasons taken from the material as well as from grammar and general logic, is disproved by my translations. I believe that I am fully justified in my conviction that in the future no one, provided of course that he has really read and been able to understand my deductions, and provided, furthermore, that he is actually capable of grasping the contents and the logical structure of an inscription, will permit himself a translation that has the royal author of an inscription expressly assure the reader four or five times that he is Hammurabi or some other king.

In Gilgameš Epic, Tablet I, col. 2_{32},[1] the gods beseech Aruru to create the equal of Gilgameš and continue: *liš-ta-an-na-nu-ma uruk*^{ki} *liš-tap-[šiḫ]*, "may they (= Gilgameš and Enkidu) constantly wrestle, and may Uruk thereby have peace." The first verb of this passage expresses the same idea as does *šitannu⟨nu⟩* in the Code of Hammurabi, rev., col. 27_{61}.[2]

Very instructive is the frequent occurrence of the form *iteppuš* of *epêšu*, "to make," "to perform," "to build." In three of the eight examples given in Delitzsch's Handwörterbuch, *iteppuš* occurs in a relative clause dependent on the generalizing *mimmû* or on *mimma* and a substantive, e.g., in Sennacherib, Cyl. 80–7–19, 1 (ZA III 311ff.), l. 92: *mim-ma ep-šet e-tep-pu-šu*, "all of the (many) deeds I had done," "all the deeds I had ever done." The *tn*-form here expresses again plurality of action; the action is performed many times in the deeds which the king sums up with *mimma*, "all." In these examples it even expresses the comprehensive plural idea "all," "ever," as in English "what*ever* he has done" and in German "was *immer* er getan hat." This meaning is especially evident in the shorter *ep-še-it e-tep-pu-šu*, "all that I had done," Šarru-kin, Khors. (Winckler, KtS II, Pls. 30–36), l. 50; *ep-šet i-na ki-rib* ^{mat}*kal-di u* ^{mat}*ḫat-ti e-tep-pu-šu*, "all the deeds which I have performed in Kaldi and Ḫatti," *ibid.*, ll. 147f., and *ep-šet* ^{mat}*e-lam-ti* ^{21}*ša a-na aḫi-šú i-tep-pu-šu e-mu-ur-ma*, "he saw all that Elam had done to his brother," Esarhaddon, 3 R 15f., col. $2_{20f.}$. Compare, furthermore, the phrases *ul-tú ep-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti e-te-ip-pu-šú*, "after I had achieved all these deeds," Aššur-ban-apli, 5 R 1ff., col. 4_{77}, and *ul-tu an-na-a e-tap-pu-šú*, "after I had done all this," Pinches, Texts in the Babylonian Wedge Writing, p. 17 (K 891), obv. $_{12}$.

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[1] Numbering according to Thompson, The Epic of Gilgamish.

[2] See p. 10. Note that by using the form *lištannanū* the Gilgameš Epic does not expressly state that Gilgameš and Enkidu constantly contend or fight with each other (which would be *liš-ta-ta-an-na-nu*), but merely states that they constantly fight. Since, however, the poet does not state that they fight with someone else, he permits the reader to draw the conclusion that they fight with each other. Compare in English the corresponding use of "they quarrel" in the sense of "they quarrel with each other."

Finally, Nebuchadnezzar relates in Stone Slab Inscription
(1 R 53 ff. and 59 ff.), col. $7_{9\,ff.}$, that, from distant times down
to the time of his father, the kings [16]*i-na alâni* (= URU-URU)
ni-iš i-ni-šu-nu [17]*a-ša-ar iš-ta-a-mu* [18]*ekallâti* (= É-GAL-É-GAL)
i-te-ep-pu-šu, that is, "had always (or: all of them) built palaces
in other cities which they had favored or wherever else they had
pleased," whereas he himself built for himself a residence in
Babylon. Note, on the other hand, that Darius in his Behistun
inscription, wherever he uses the phrase *ṣaltum itti* x *epêšu*, "to
fight with someone," uses the forms *i-te-pu-uš* or *i-te-ep-šu*, that
is, the nonfrequentative I 2, because the king in every instance
speaks of one battle only, as is evident from the fact that as a
rule he mentions the name of the place where that battle was
fought.

For the imperative of I 3 compare Gilgameš Epic (Thompson),
Tablet XI, ll. 211 ff.:

> [211]*ga-na e-pi-i ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šú ši-tak-ka-ni ina re-ši-šú*
> *ù u₄-mi šá it-ti-lu ina i-ga-ri iṣ-ri*
> [213]*ši-i e-pi ku-ru-um-ma-ti-šú iš-tak-ka-an ina re-ši-šú*
> *ù u₄-mi šá it-ti-lu ina i-ga-ri ud-da-áš-šú*

"'Pray, bake loaves of bread for him, place them again and again at
 his head,
And the days which he has slept mark on the wall.'
She then baked loaves of bread for him, placed them again and again
 at his head,
And the days which he had slept she noted for him on the wall."

The passage shows that the imperative *šitákkan* goes with the
preterit *ištákkan*, for the actions related in lines 222 f. are those
involved in the execution of the requests contained in lines 220 f.
The poet uses the *tn*-form of *šakânu* evidently because loaves of
bread are to be placed at the head of Gilgameš on each of the
seven days to which the part of the passage immediately following
refers.[1]

The name of the god [d]*ši-tam-me-ka-ra-bu*, 3 R 66, obv., col. 5_6,
who is one of the divine "judges of the temple of Aššur" (at

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[1] The passage, it is true, actually speaks only of the seven loaves, but
there is no doubt that they are those placed at the head of Gilgameš
during the seven days, one on each day.

Aššur?), probably means "Always hear the prayer"; compare the
name of the god ᵈiš-me-ka-ra-bu, "He hears(!)[1] the prayer,"
ibid., l. 2, who is another "judge of the temple of Aššur."

Before closing this section it will be of value to examine briefly
the well-known forms *ámdaḫiṣ* (*ámtaḫaṣ*) and *amdáḫḫiṣ*, "I
fought (a battle with someone)," from *maḫâṣu*, "to strike." They
are undoubtedly forms of I 2 and I 3 respectively, but are used,
where they occur, in exactly the same meaning, "I fought."
There is no indication whatever that *amdáḫḫiṣ* means "I battled
many times"; it simply means "I battled," which is the proper
meaning of I 2 *ámtaḫaṣ*, secondarily developed from *imtáḫṣū*,
"they struck each other," "they fought with each other." *Imtáḫ-
ḫaṣ*, on the other hand, should properly be the frequentative of
maḫâṣu, "to strike," that is, its meaning should be "he struck
frequently."

The solution of this apparent difficulty may perhaps be found
by examining the participles *mundaḫṣu* and *mundaḫḫiṣu*, "fighter."
The latter as the participle of the I 3 formation would properly
mean "one who is striking frequently" or "one who has been
striking frequently." Since this striking will take place in a fight
or a brawl, *mundaḫḫiṣu* could easily assume the meaning "one
who has been involved, or is prone to become involved, in numer-
ous brawls or fights," who is a "fighter," in German "ein (alter)
Haudegen," and the like. It seems that in the vernacular language
the original difference between this *mundaḫḫiṣu* and *mundaḫṣu*,
"fighter," "warrior," was in the course of time obliterated and
that gradually both words were used indiscriminately for "war-
rior," "soldier." This process of leveling differences of meanings
then spread to the finite forms *ámdaḫiṣ* and *amdáḫḫiṣ*, the latter
finally being used with the same meaning as *ámdaḫiṣ*. Note that
the forms *amdáḫḫiṣ* and *mundaḫḫiṣu* occur in no other royal
inscriptions than those of Šulmanu-ašared III and his son Šamši-
Adad V. The use of the forms *amdáḫḫiṣ* and *mundaḫḫiṣu* in the
sense of *ámdaḫiṣ* and *mundaḫṣu* represents therefore only a
temporary surrender of the official scribes to the vernacular

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[1] We have here evidently the old Semitic present *iaqtul*. See p. 118 and
ibid., n. 3.

language, and in the end was successfully resisted by the upholders of the literary language. At all events, as the suggested explanation shows, the temporary and locally restricted use of the forms *amdáḫḫiṣ* and *mundaḫḫiṣu* in the sense of *ámdaḫiṣ* and *mundaḫṣu* can in no way be used as an argument against the frequentative meaning of the form *iptárras*. It is an isolated accidental development; similar irregularities are met with in Akkadian and in other languages. It may be noted in this connection that *amdáḫḫiṣ* and even *ámdaḫiṣ* deviate from the generally recognized language in other respects also, inasmuch as they have an *i* in the last syllable, where the grammatically recognized form *imtaḫaṣ*, in accordance with the general rule,[1] has an *a* — a feature which is likewise due to the influence of the vernacular. The same may, finally, be said of the change of *mt* to *md* and *nd* in the preterits *ámdaḫiṣ* and *amdáḫḫiṣ* and the participles *mundaḫṣu* and *mundaḫḫiṣu*.

3. THE PARTICIPLE *muptarrisu*

Because of the elision of the vowel between the second and third radicals in the I 2 preterit forms *iptársū* (< **iptárasū*), *ittálkam* (< **ittálakam*), etc., it is to be expected that the participle of I 2, which originally, according to the grammatical system, was **muptárisu*, should likewise elide the vowel between its second and third radical, for the conditions of stress and quantity of vowel are the same as in those forms. Indeed, such an elision is all the more to be expected because the *i* of the participle is a weaker vowel than the *a* of the finite forms. Without doubt, therefore, the frequently occurring participial form *muptársu* (< **muptárisu*) is that of the I 2 formation. The hardly less

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[1] This rule is that the last vowel of the present as well as the preterit of the formations I 2, I 3, IV 2, and IV 3 agrees with the vowel in the last syllable of the present of I 1. This statement of the rule, however, is for practical purposes only. According to the grammatical system it should be formulated in this way: The present and preterit of I 2, I 3, IV 2, and IV 3 have the vowels of the present and preterit of I 1; the system presupposes, however, a form **ikšad* instead of *ikšud* in the I 1 theme.

frequent participles of the form *muptarrisu*, which double the middle radical and do not elide the vowel, obviously, then, go with the preterit form *iptárras*; that is, they belong to the I 3 formation.

This conclusion is proved to be correct by the Sumerian equivalents of participles of the latter type. Starting again with the verb *aláku*, we find, e.g., in 4 R 24, No. 1, obv.$_{41f.}$,

^{41}dn[e$_7$]-iri$_{10}$-gal dingir-[...........]
   en [gi$_6$-a] DU-DU ^{giš}i[g-.....-..] ní-bi-a KUD-bi-[......]
     [bêlum] mut-tal-lik mu-ši   šá da-[la-a-tum] ed-le-tum ina ra-ma-ni-
                   ši-na ip-pa-[at ?-ta-a-šum ?]

^{41}"O Nergal, god ....,
   lord, wanderer in the night, before whom closed doors open of their own accord,"

as well as in 5 R 42, No. 1, obv.$_{25-28}$,

^{25}gunni	*ki-nu-nu*
gunni-DU-DU	*mut-tal-li-ku*
^{27}IM-ŠU-RIN-na	*ti-nu-ru*
IM-ŠU-RIN-na-DU-DU	*mut-tal-li-ku,*

the participle *muttalliku* as the equivalent of the Sumerian reduplicated DU-DU. This is in complete accordance with the Sumerian equivalents and the ideographic writings of *italluku* and its finite forms *ittallak* etc. discussed in sections 1 and 2. As there, so here the reduplication denotes plurality of action: DU-DU and *muttalliku* are not merely "the (momentary) walker" (= *muttalku*) but "the constant or untiring walker."[1]

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[1] Unfortunately we are not yet able to establish beyond any doubt whether *muttalliku* in the quoted passage 5 R 42, No. 1, is an abbreviation of *muttallik kinûni (tinûri)* or, as is more likely, an abbreviation of *kinûnu (tinûru) muttalliku.* The former would perhaps mean "the one who is constantly attending the fire pan (or the oven)"; the latter could hardly mean "movable oven" (Delitzsch, AHwb, p. 340*a*), not only because ovens etc. as a rule were movable, but chiefly because "movable" would be expressed by a passive participle. If *muttalliku* really is the name of a special kind of oven it would perhaps be a "swinging" brazier, that is, a brazier that in some way or other is suspended and kept in a swinging motion in order to fan the burning coals inside of it. Cf. the name *muttalliktum* for a "swinging" door.

Furthermore, in incantations against "head" (and other) sicknesses the victim in whose favor the incantation is recited is referred to as *amêlu muttalliku*, whose Sumerian equivalent is lú-paꝑ-ḫal or lú-GÀL-lu-pap-ḫal.[1] Whatever the exact meaning of papḫal, which was explained above as pa-paḫal, that is, as a reduplication of paḫal, in this special use may be, it definitely links the participle *muttalliku* with the infinitive I 3 *itálluku*, which likewise corresponds to papḫal, not with *atluku*, infinitive I 2 of *alâku*.

Other cases where a participle of the type *muptarrisu* is equated with a Sumerian expression are the following:

In the commentary K 2107 + K 6086 (King, STC II, Pls. 61f.), ll. 22–25, the Marduk name ^{d}tu-tu (translated or explained in l. 21 as *mu-al-lid ilâni*^{pl} and *mu-ud-di-iš ilâni*^{pl}) is also given in the forms ^{d}du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ = *mu-tak-kil ilâni*^{pl}, ^{d}tu$_6$-tu$_6$ = *mu-uš-pi-iš ilâni*^{pl}, ^{d}dù-ṭu = *ba-ni ka-la ilâni*^{pl}, and ^{d}túm-túm (= ^{d}tù-tù) = *mu-ut-tar-ru-ú ilâni*^{pl}, "the leader of the gods." With the last equation, which alone interests us here, compare the Emesal text 4 R 9, obv.$_{49ff.}$,

> ^{49}a ^{d}mu-bar-ra šu mu-un-da-ab-ḫa-za túm-túm-ši-ma-a[l-la]
> ^{51}*ta-me-iḫ* ^{d}*gir-ri ù me-e mut-tar-ru-ú šik-na-at na-piš-tim*
> "(Sin,) who holdest fire and water, who constantly leadest (all) living beings,"

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[1] Evidently the participle, at least in the older language, has to be taken as pap-ḫal, not pap-ḫal-la (thus Delitzsch, AHwb, p. 68a, and SGl., p. 72). The *a* found after pap-ḫal is in some cases part of the genitive element -ak (e. g., sag-lú-GÀL-lu-papḫall-ak-e, "at the head of the lú-GÀL-lu-papḫal," CT XVI 42ff.$_{153f., 203f.}$; su-lú-GÀL-lu-papḫall-ak-e = *zumri amêli muttalliki*, CT XVII 19ff.$_{166f.}$; su-lú-GÀL-lu-papḫall-a(k)-ta, "from the body of the *amêlu muttalliku*," CT XVII 28f.$_{62f.}$), in others the postposition -a (e.g., lú-GÀL-lu-pap-ḫal-la = *ana amêli muttalliku* (var.: -ki), CT XVI 1ff.$_{38f.}$). The only phrase to indicate that papḫalla was the participial form would be lú-GÀL-lu-pap-ḫal-la dumu-dingir-ra-na, CT XVII 31f., obv.$_{39}$, if we were really certain of its grammatical correctness; note that elsewhere we find only lú-GÀL-lu-dumu-dingir-ra-na (e. g., CT XVI 12, col. 3$_{47}$ and col. 5$_{24}$).

and furthermore col. $3_{30\,f.}$ of an unpublished text from Khorsabad:

^{30}ga-túm-túm	*mu-tar-ru-ú*	"leader"
^{31}ga-túm-túm	*mut-tab-bi-l[u]*	"leader."

Again, for *muttabbilu* in the last passage compare 4 R 14, No. 3, obv.$_{7\,f.}$:

^{7}gi-nindá-gána-za-gìn-na-túm-túm ... [......]
mut-tab-bíl gi-nin-da-na-ki [.......]
"(Nabû,) who directs the shining measuring rod, ..."

The participle *muttárrû* of (*u*)*arû*, "to lead," in the first two of the quoted passages, renders the Sumerian reduplicated túm-túm; this latter, again, is rendered by the participle *muttab-bilu*, synonym of *muttarrû*, in the last of the quoted passages. Likewise, ga-túm-túm, which in the Khorsabad text is rendered by *mu(t)tarrû* as well as *muttabbilu*, is formed of the reduplicated root, a fact which clearly shows that the two participles have frequentative meaning, "a constant leader," etc., and go together with the infinitives *itárrû*, "to lead constantly," and *itabbulum*, "to manage constantly." Note also that Hammurabi in obv., col. $4_{7f.}$ of his Code, calls himself *em-qum mu-tab-bi-lum*, "the wise one, the leader," and note the relation of the latter title to the finite verbal form *at-tab-ba-al-ši-na-ti*, "I constantly led them," rev., col. 24_{56}, which has been discussed above on page 25.

The Khorsabad vocabulary from which the equations for ga-túm-túm are taken gives among many similar ga-forms in col. 3_{29} the following additional equation of a precative form with a participle I 3:

ga-ab-bí-íb-dib-dib | *mu-te-et-ti-q[u]*.

Here again the Sumerian equivalent of the participial form *muptarrisu* shows doubling of the root. The meaning of the substantivized verbal form which corresponds to the Akkadian *mûtettiqu* is evidently: "Let me always pass it," namely a field, lot, road, or path. These are the words which a man says to the owner of a piece of property through which he wants to acquire the permanent or temporary right to pass. The *mûtettiqu* is therefore the man who has contracted for a right of way, i.e., the

right of passing again and again, as often as he wishes, through property that does not belong to him.[1]

Similarly in CT XXIV 12ff. (list of gods), col. $2_{5\,f.}$,

ᵈnagar-šà-ga	ki-sikil-ta-sì-sì-mu *mut-ta-ad-di*(?) *na-at*(?) *ar-da-a-ti*
"Nagar-šaga,	designer(?) of everything that concerns(?) women,"

the Sumerian reduplicated sì-sì-mu seems to be rendered with Akkadian *muttáddû* (cstr. *muttáddi*), the participle I 3 of *nadû*.[2]

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[1] The prefix group bí-íb- in ga-ab-bí-íb-dib-dib (hardly ga-ab-dè-éb-dib-dib), < ga +bí-íb-dib-dib (with secondary doubling of the b), if this analysis is correct would consist of the dimensional complex bí-, "at it," "on it," etc., and the accusative -b-. Since the proper meaning of dib is "to take," ga-ab-bí-íb-dib-dib, therefore, may be explained as "let me take it (namely the way) over it (that is, the field, etc.)." For dib, "to go," cf. Akkadian *ḫarránam ṣabátum* and the objectless *ṣabátum*, "to set out (for some place)," "to go" or "to march (to some place)." There is a slight possibility, however, that the original composer of the vocabulary intended the Sumerian equivalent of *mútettiqu* as ga-ab-deb-deb, "let me pass," with dè-éb as a gloss, or rather variant, for the first deb (originally, of course, dè-éb-dè-eb or dè-éb-,, for deb-deb). If this be so, the gloss would at least be in line with the reading déb for ᴅíʙ, "to take," the likelihood of which I demonstrated in The Prefix Forms e- and i- in the Time of the Earlier Princes of Lagaš.

[2] The usual reading of the Akkadian line as *mut-ta-ad-di-na-at ar-da-a-ti*, which makes the deity a goddess, is grammatically quite unobjectionable, but it is difficult to interpret the phrase so as to make good sense. For "who constantly gives (or: who gave many) women" or "who constantly gives to women" leaves in doubt to whom, or what, the goddess is giving; moreover, it does not agree with the Sumerian line, which, since -ta according to that analysis can only be the postposition -ta, "from," "out of," would mean "who constantly gives from woman." Hazardous as it may seem, we must perhaps analyze the line as indicated above, namely: *mut-ta-ad-di na-at ar-da-a-ti*, "who designed (literally 'threw'; in German, 'entwarf') everything (idea of plurality expressed by I 3) that concerns (lit.: 'strikes,' 'touches'; cf. German 'betrifft,' 'berührt') women." The Sumerian -ta in this case would be the active participle -ta(g), "striking," which as a verbal form follows its object ki-sikil. For ta g = *naṭû* cf. Thureau-Dangin, TC VI, No. 37 (= Scheil, NVB, pp. 7, 11, and 16), col. $4_{15\,ff.}$:

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However, even if, in accordance with the general assumption, the Akkadian line is to be analyzed as *mut-ta-ad-di-na-at ar-da-a-ti*, the resulting equation would again make a participle I 3, namely of *nadânu*, "to give," correspond to the Sumerian reduplicated sì-sì-mu.

For a clear I 3 participle of *nadânu* compare the equations in Meissner, MAG I, Heft 2, pp. 43 ff., col. $1_{10 \text{ and } 21}$:

[10]lú-kù-šè-an-sì-mu	*na-di-na-nu*
[21]lú-kù-šè-ab-sì-sì-mu	*mut-ta-di-nu*

Here, in contrast to *nâdinânu* (derived from the I 1 participle *nâdinu*), "the seller (in a single selling transaction)," *muttá(d)dinu* (< *muntandinu*) denotes "the seller of many objects" or "the habitual or professional seller," "the salesman." Note that the verbal form ab-sì-sì-mu in the Sumerian equivalent for *muttá(d)dinu* contains the reduplicated root si(m)-sim, while an-sì-mu in the Sumerian equivalent for *nâdinânu* is formed from the simple root sim.

Finally, for the participle *mundaḫḫiṣu*, "fighter," which in the inscriptions of Šulmanu-ašared III and Šamsi-Adad V interchanges with *mundaḫṣu*, see above at the end of section 2.

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[15] 𒁹 t a - a g	TAG	*ma-ḫa-ṣu ⚔ na-tu-u*
[21]		. . . .
		la-pa-tum šá ka-la-ma

According to the list CT XLI 47 f.$_{85 \text{ f.}}$.

[85] 𒁹 ta	TAG	
[86] 𒁹 da	TAG	

the sign TAG has only the shorter value t a, not the later longer value t a g. In the quoted Louvre syllabary (which is a much younger text) the values t a (t a - a, col. 4_{24}) and d a (d a - a, col. 4_{23}) for TAG are restricted to TAG = *šuk-lu-lu* and TAG in n a m -TAG- g a (= *arnu*). Since *šuklulu* means "to make something to perfection," it might be possible that we have to transliterate *na-aṭ ar-da-a-ti*, "that which is made (fitting) for the women," "the outfit of women"; cf. for this possibility the equation (𒁹 t a - a g) | (TAG) | ,, (*šu-ri-du*) | *na-du-ú*, CT XI 29 ff., col. 4_{37}, where *nadû* may represent *naṭû*. Finally, there is some possibility of a reading *na-ad*, to be taken as a participle (masculine or neuter ?) or an abstract noun of *nadû*.

4. NEW LIGHT ON THE PRETERIT AND PRESENT FORMATIONS

The investigation of the forms *pitárrusu*, *iptárras*, and *muptárris* has clearly shown that these forms belong to the I 3 formation, the present of which is *iptaná(r)ras* (< **i̯aptanáras*). Because of the presence of the *n* in this present form it follows that the preterit form *iptarras*, at least in the fully developed verbal system, is to be explained as representing **iptánras* < **iptánaras*. The difference between the preterit and its present form is then simply a matter of stressing. The preterit shows the natural stressing, that is, on the third syllable counting from the end: **iptánaras*; the present, in order to distinguish it from the preterit form, is stressed on the second syllable from the end: *iptanáras*. The preterit, in accordance with the general practice of Akkadian, elides the unstressed short vowel of the penultima and assimilates the resulting vowelless *n* to the following radical; in the present the stressing of the penultima prohibits the elision of the vowel and thus preserves the *n*.

It is by a similar differentiation in the stressing that the preterit and the present of I 2 were distinguished from each other. Likewise, it is the principle underlying the formation of present and preterit in I 1, for the present of this formation stresses *ipáras*, *ipáris*, *ipárus*, while the preterit stresses *ip(a)rus* (or *ip(a)ras*), *ip(a)ris*, and *ip(a)rus*.

The correct placing of the form *iptárras* in the I 3 formation thus reveals the very important fact that Akkadian in all of the three subdivisions of its I formation uses one uniform principle to indicate the distinction between the preterit and present tenses. A clear idea of the strict observance of this principle will be obtained from the following table, which lists the preterits and presents of the I 1, I 2, and I 3 formations:

<div align="center">

I 1 Formation

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Preterit		Present	
íddin	< *i̯án(a)din*	*ináddin*	< *i̯anádin*
íkpud	< *i̯ák(a)pud*	*ikáppud*	< *i̯akápud*
ílmad	< *i̯ál(a)mad*	*ilámmad*	< *i̯alámad*
íkšud	< *i̯ák(a)šud*[1]	*ikáššad*	< *i̯akášad*

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[1] See p. 35, n. 1.

I 2 Formation

Preterit			Present		
ittadin	<	*i̯ántadin*	*ittá(d)din*	<	*i̯antádin*
iktapud	<	*i̯áktapud*	*iktá(p)pud*	<	*i̯aktápud*
iltamad	<	*i̯áltamad*	*iltá(m)mad*	<	*i̯altámad*
iktašad	<	*i̯áktašad*	*iktá(š)šad*	<	*i̯aktášad*

I 3 Formation

Preterit			Present		
ittáddin	<	*i̯antán(a)din*	*ittaná(d)din*	<	*i̯antanádin*
iktáppud	<	*i̯aktán(a)pud*	*iktaná(p)pud*	<	*i̯aktanápud*
iltámmad	<	*i̯altán(a)mad*	*iltaná(m)mad*	<	*i̯altanámad*
iktáššad	<	*i̯aktán(a)šad*	*iktaná(š)šad*	<	*i̯aktanášad*

It may be pointed out that the inner consistency of the Akkadian verbal system as it appears after the form *iptarras* has been assigned its proper place is of itself a very strong indication that the forms investigated above belong to the I 3 formation.

5. THE ASSIMILATION OF THE *n* OF THE INFIXED -*tn*-

Attention must once more be called to the fact, hitherto mentioned only occasionally, mostly in footnotes, that in Old Babylonian the *n* of the inserted *t(a)n* of the I 3 forms, if, as in the preterit, imperative, permansive, infinitive, and participle, immediately followed by the middle consonant of the verbal root, is always assimilated to this radical. The latter, therefore, together with the *n* of the inserted *tn*, will always appear as a double consonant; compare *iptánras > *iptárras*, *ptánras > *pitárras*, *ptánrusum > *pitárrusum*, *muptánrisum > *muptárrisum*. To be sure, in later Babylonian we actually find such forms as *mitangugu* (p. 3), *itanbuṭu* (p. 5), *itanpuḫu* (ibid.), and *ištamdiḫ* or *ištamdaḫ* (pp. 27 and 19) instead of *mitaqququ*, *itabbuṭu*, *itappuḫu*, and *ištaddiḫ*. That in all these cases, however, the nasal is not the preserved original *n* of the *tn*-form follows not only from the fact that they occur in late periods only, but especially from the fact that the nasal is found only before *b*, *g*, and *d* (including *b* < *p* and *g* < *q*). It is therefore quite evident that *nb*, *ng*, and *nd* or *md* in the late I 3 forms are secondary dissolutions of *bb*, *gg*, and *dd*, and that

all these cases come under the general rule that in later Babylonian and later Assyrian a double voiced consonant (*bb*, *gg*, *dd*, and *zz*) frequently dissolves into nasal + voiced consonant; compare, e.g., for *ištamdiḫ* the late present form *inamdin* used instead of the *inaddin* (< *inádin*) of Hammurabi's time, where the doubling of *d* (later dissolved) is due to the present stressing on the penultima. The same applies, e.g., to the *md* of the I 3 present form *ittanamdi* < *intanaddi* < *intanádi*, "she constantly throws," Enuma eliš, Tablet IV, l. 91.[1]

If we now turn to the preterit form *ittandin*, Hammurabi Code, rev., col. 3$_{60 \text{ and } 70}$, obviously this form cannot be equated with the I 3 preterit *ittaddin* (formerly taken as I 2 preterit), since, as was just seen, the dissolution of *dd* to *nd* is not a common feature, at least in the written language of the time of Hammurabi. Nor would the I 3 form, which must mean "he gave constantly," suit the contents of the passages; for neither a law: "If a man has *constantly* given his wife or his son or his daughter *ana kiššâtim*, they shall be members of the *ka-ši-šu*'s family for only 3 years," nor a law: "If a man has *constantly* given a slave or a slave girl *ana kiššâtim*, the *tamqâru* can resell (either of) them (to someone else)," would make any sense. Finally, the last verb of a *šumma*-sentence in the Hammurabi code must be a *t*-form, which expresses previousness of action in relation to the time of the principal sentence,[2] a condition not fulfilled by the I 3 form, whose *t* is part of the plural, or iterative, element *tn*.

In view of all these facts it becomes evident that the form *ittandin* of the Hammurabi Code is not a preterit I 3, but a preterit IV 2, of *nadânu* and must be analyzed as **ia-n-ta-ndin*, the second *n* being the first radical of the basis *ndin*, while the first *n*, which is assimilated to the following *t*, is the nifʿal *n*. All the difficulties now disappear; for, in the first place, the vowelless

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[1] For a fuller discussion of the dissimilation of double voiced consonant and the conditions for it see Study III, chap. iii, sec. 10 (pp. 142 ff.).

[2] Since in the laws all of the principal sentences are present-futures, the *t*-form therefore expresses the perfect or the second future: If a man has (or shall have) done the act described, this (the consequence described) happens (or will happen).

n, the first radical of the root *ndn*, remains unassimilated in accordance with the well known rule that the first radical of the verbs *primae nûn* is never assimilated to the second radical of the *qtal*, *qtil*, *qtul* bases of the IV 2 formation. Moreover, the IV 2 form *ittandin* does not have the durative meaning which made the two laws, as translated above, illogical; and finally it is a *t*-form, as is required by the syntax of the Hammurabi Code. The introductory part of the law, rev., col. $3_{68\,\mathrm{ff.}}$, should therefore be transliterated and translated

^{68}*šum-ma wardum*(!) *ù la amtum*(!) ^{69}*a-na ki-iš-ša-tim* ^{70}*it-ta-an-di-in*
"If a slave or slave girl has been given *ana kiššâtim*,"

and in analogy to this passage the first part of the preceding law also, rev., col. $3_{54\,\mathrm{ff.}}$,

^{54}*šum-ma a-wi-lam* ^{55}*e-'i₄¹-il-tum* ^{56}*iṣ-ba-zu-ma* ^{57}*ašša*(*t*)-*zu mâr-šu ù mâra*(*t*)-*zu* ^{58}*a-na kaspim id-di-in* ^{59}*ù lu a-na ki-iš-ša-a-tim* ^{60}*it-ta-an-di-in*,

should be translated:

"If a man has run into debt and therefore (= *-ma*) has sold (lit.: given for money) his wife, his son, or his daughter, or if (his wife, his son, or his daughter) has been given *ana kiššâtim*."

Unfortunately, because the exact meaning (and even the root) of the verb *kašâšu* and the substantive *kiššatum* has not yet been established the contents of the two laws in rev., col. $3_{54\,\mathrm{ff.}}$, cannot be utilized as an additional proof that *ittandin* is a IV 2 preterit. Nevertheless, as the following analysis of the passages will show, the use of the passive form *ittandin* in these laws is by no means as strange as it would seem on the surface.

Since the statement *ana kaspim iddin*, "he sold," whose active subject is the debtor, clearly envisages a situation in which the debtor voluntarily sells members of his family (or rather their working power during the next three years) to some unconcerned stranger in order to satisfy his creditor with the money received from the sale, and since, furthermore, the *ka-ši-šu* is paralleled, as well as constrasted, with the *ša-a-a-ma-nu*, "buyer," who acquires

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¹ Sign *ḫi*.

the usufruct of the working power of the sold family members by paying money, it may be surmised that the *ka-ši-šu*, who likewise acquires the usufruct of the working power of the members of the debtor's family, does so without paying money for it. In other words, he is actually the creditor, who becomes the possessor of the members of the debtor's family in exchange for his claims against the debtor. Practically, therefore, the phrase *ana kiššâtim nadânum* means "to transfer (property of the debtor) to the creditor (so that he can indemnify himself by their work)." This transfer to the creditor could, of course, be made directly by the debtor; and had it been the law's intention to envisage this case only, it would have stated *ana kiššâtim iddin*, or rather *ittadin*, with the debtor as subject. In most cases, however, the latter would hardly feel inclined to make the transfer, and in that event the creditor might have invoked a court of justice, which, upon a decision in his favor, would order and sometimes enforce the transfer of the property to him. Now, had the law intended to deal with such a case only, the passage might very well have read "or if the judges have given (= assigned) them to the creditor," or the like. If, however, the law was intended to include both cases, the authors of the law, instead of saying expressly "or if the debtor or the judges have assigned them to the creditor," may have preferred to cover the voluntary transfer by the debtor as well as the compulsory transfer by a court of justice by the use of the passive voice, which leaves the active subject unexpressed. Finally, if the *ana kiššâtim nadânum* should have been a function of a court of justice exclusively, the lawgivers might likewise have preferred the passive construction, because in this case it was unnecessary to name the active subject.

6. THE I 3 FORMATION IN THE CAPPADOCIAN TEXTS

Having established the relations between I 2 and I 3 in the Babylonian branch of Akkadian, it will now be appropriate to examine the corresponding forms of the so-called "Cappadocian" dialect, which together with Old Assyrian is a more direct development from Old Akkadian (time of the kings of Akkad) than is

Old Babylonian (time of the first dynasty of Babylon).[1] The Cappadocian forms have not yet been drawn into the sphere of our discussion because some of the forms of I 2 deviate from those of the Babylonian branch and furthermore because Cappadocian, like Old Akkadian, does not express doubling of consonants in writing, so that, e. g., *pitárrusum* (< *pitánrusum*) would appear as *pitárusum*.

The different inflection of I 2 may be illustrated by the following table of forms of *alâkum* (and *labâšum*):

		Old Babylonian	Cappadocian
Present	Sg.	*ittállak*	*i(t)tá(l)lak*
	Pl.	*ittállakū*	*i(t)tá(l)lukū*
Preterit	Sg.	*ittalak*	*i(t)talak*
	Pl.	*ittálkū*	*i(t)tálkū*
Imperative	Sg.	*átlak, lítbaš*	*átlak*
	Pl.	*átlakā, lítbašā*	*atálkā, litábšā*
Infinitive		*átlukum, lítbušum*	*atálkum, litábšum*
Permansive	Sg.	*átluk, lítbuš*	*átluk, lítbuš*
	Pl.	*átlukū, lítbušū*	*atálkū, litábšū*

It will be noted that the difference is merely one of stressing, the Babylonian form *lítbušum* as well as the Cappadocian *litábšum* going back to the form **ltabušum*. Both Babylonian and Cappadocian insert a secondary *i* between the first radical and the *t*; whereas, however, Cappadocian leaves the stress in its old place and therefore elides the following short *u*, Babylonian moves the stress back to the *i* of the first syllable and elides the short *a* of the following syllable which has lost its stress. It will be observed that Cappadocian has the natural stress on the third syllable, counting from the end of the original form; the Babylonian stressing of the fourth syllable, counting from the end of the original form, is undoubtedly secondary.

In addition to the I 2 forms given in the above list we find in Cappadocian tablets other forms containing a *t* but quite differently constructed. As we shall see, these have to be taken as I 3

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[1] I therefore distinguish Old Assyrian (+ Cappadocian) and its later stages as the Assyrian development of Old Akkadian, Old Babylonian and its later stages as the Babylonian development of Old Akkadian.

forms. For the sake of convenience I place them side by side with the I 2 forms.[1]

Imperative	sg.	*mítḫaṣ*[2]	*itá(d)dī* (< **nita(d)dī*)[3]
		átlak[4]	*liiá(q)qḗ*[5]
			šitá(m)mḗ,[6] *tišá(m)me*[7]
	pl.	*atálkā*[8]	*itá(d)dinā* (< **nita(d)dinā*)[9]
			šitá(m)me'ā,[10] *tiša(m)me'ā*[11]
Infinitive		*atálkum*[12]	*mitá(ḫ)ḫurum*[13]
		itáṭlum (< **nitáṭlum*)[14]	
		litábšum[15]	
Permansive		[*litabšáku*]	*ita(p)puláku* (1st. pers.)[16]
Perm. adj.		*etámdum*[17]	

It will be noticed that each of the forms of the first set elides a vowel; namely, the endingless form of the imperative elides the vowel between the *t* and the second radical, and all the other forms, which add an ending, elide the vowel between the second and the third radical. The forms of the second set, on the other

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[1] The forms enumerated in this list have been taken from the files of the Assyrian Dictionary. I wish to acknowledge that for the latter we had at our disposal Dr. J. Lewy's translations of about three-fourths of the published Cappadocian texts. For the collection of the forms from the Cappadocian Dictionary files I am indebted to Dr. Gelb.

[2] *mì-it-ḫa-aṣ-ma*, Lewy, ATKK 24₁₆.

[3] *i-ta-di*, CTCT II 5*b*₂₅₍!₎.

[4] *at-lá-ak*, Contenau, TCa (I), No. 18₇.

[5] *li-ta-qí-ma*, CTCT II 18₂₂.

[6] *ši-ta-me-ma*, CTCT IV 13*a*₃₆.

[7] *ti-ša-me-ma*, Contenau, TTC, No. 24₁₇.

[8] *a-tal-kà*, Clay, LTC, No. 77₇; *a-tal-kà-nim*, Lewy, ATKK 18₂₆; *a-tal-kam-ma* (2. pl.), CTCT IV 6*d*₁₅; *a-tal-ki-im* (2. fem. sg.), Lewy, KtSH No. 6₉, ₁₆, and ₂₆.

[9] *i-ta-di-na-šu-u[m]*, Lewy, ATKK 38*c*₁₄.

[10] *ši-ta-me-a-ma*, CTCT IV 28*a*₄.

[11] *ti-ša-me-a-ma*, Contenau, TCa (I), No. 48₁₄.

[12] *a-na a-ta-al-ki-im*, Lewy, KtSB, No. 3₂₇.

[13] *i-na mì-ta-ḫu-ri-im*, CTCT II 2₁₀.

[14] *a-na i-ta-aṭ-li-im*, CTCT II 5*b*₁₃.

[15] *a-na li-tab-ši-a*, Clay, LTC, No. 94₁₃.

[16] *i-ta-pu-lá-ku*, CTCT II 47₂₂ (uncertain).

[17] *e-ta-am-dam* (acc.), Lewy, KtKa 2*b*₂₂.

hand, show no elision whatever. Since the texts give us the regular I 2 forms *mitḫaṣ* and *átlak*, there is no real reason why the corresponding I 2 forms of *laqâ'um* and *šamâ'um* should be ****lítaqē* and ***šitamē* instead of *lítqē* and *šitmē*, as the latter forms do not present the slightest difficulty of pronunciation. Nor would the forms *šitám'ā*, *itádnā*, *mitáḫrum*, and *itapláku* present greater difficulties than the supposed I 2 forms ***šitáme'ā*, ***itádinā*, ***mitáḫurum*, and ***itapuláku*. On the contrary, elision of a short vowel in an open syllable immediately after a stressed open and short syllable is one of the most characteristic features of Akkadian; indeed, this law is so characteristic that it is imperative to find special explanations for those comparatively rare instances which deviate from it. Moreover, the forms given in the list are used quite constantly; for instance, *ši-ta-me*, *ti-ša-me*, *ši-ta-me-a*, and *ti-ša-me-a* occur eleven times in a group of Cappadocian tablets comprising about two-thirds of all that have been published, while in none of them is a form *ši-it-me* or *ši-it-me-a* found. All these observations lead to the conclusion that the unelided forms are forms not of I 2 but of I 3; that is, that they must be analyzed as *šitámmē* < **šitánma'*, *litáqqē* < **litánqaḫ*, *mitáḫḫurum* < **mitánḫurum*, *itappuláku* < **itanpuláku*, etc.

This conclusion is completely corroborated by an examination of the meanings of the eliding and non-eliding forms. The simple infixed *t*, if we leave out of consideration its grammatical-syntactical function of denoting timely or logical precedence, expresses either a reflexive or reciprocal idea or the idea "away."[1] For instance, in each of the Cappadocian letters in which a form of *alâ kum* with inserted *t* occurs, the context shows quite clearly

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[1] In addition to the examples already referred to (p. 18, p. 28, and *ibid.*, n. 1) as illustrating the latter use of the *t*-form, note also the fact that the frequent *šitkun* in most cases does not seem to mean simply "it is situated" (this is expressed by *šakin*), but "it is lying off the road or out of the way," as, e. g., towns on the other side of the river, villages on high mountains, etc. The meaning "away," "off" originated, of course, from the reflexive meaning; cf., e. g., German "etwas mit sich nehmen," which corresponds to English "to take along," "to carry off," and Akkadian *šitkunu*, literally: "to be situated all by itself."

that the writer wanted to express the idea "to go away (or to come away) from something"; the writer therefore uses the eliding I 2 form *atálkum*. He does not use the non-eliding *tn*-form *atállukum*, as this has the meaning "to go frequently," "to walk around," an idea which the merchants who wrote the letters had no opportunity to use, because the directions which they give refer to definite movements of their agents from one place to another. Furthermore, with *mitḫaṣ* in ATKK 24₁₆ the two writers of the letter ask a certain Pušukin, whom they call their lord and their father, to fight in their behalf and gain renown thereby. But "to fight" is *mitḫuṣu* (Capp. *mitáḫṣum*), whose older meaning was "to fight with each other," literally, "to strike each other." We have therefore in our passage the eliding *mitḫaṣ*, not *mitáḫḫaṣ*, which would mean "strike continually." On the other hand, *ši-ta-me*, according to the context, means not "hear away," "hear for yourself," or "hear each other," but "hear (my letter or my message or my messages) over and over again" or "several times" or "hear all (my messages, so that you know the entire contents thoroughly)." It is for this reason that the writer uses the non-eliding *tn*-form *šitámme*, not the eliding *t*-form *šitme*. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the present form *ištaná(m)-me*, which stresses the vowel after the inserted *-t(a)n-* and therefore does not elide the *n*, occurs quite frequently in the letters with the same shade of meaning as *šitámme* (eight cases of the former to eleven of the latter).

Our evidence thus shows that in the Cappadocian texts, too, forms of the type *pitá(r)rusu* are I 3, not I 2 forms. As regards the endingless preterit forms, only analysis of the contents will enable us to decide whether a form written *ip-ta-ra-as* must be taken as the I 2 form *iptaras* or as the I 3 form *iptárras*.

7. THE FORM *iptanarras* AS PRETERIT

Delitzsch in his grammatical system of the Akkadian verb assumed as preterit of I 3 the form *iptanárras*, that is, the same form as the present I 3. Among the examples adduced by him in his grammar and his Handwörterbuch there are, however,

some that in reality are presents of I 3. For instance, in the sentence *ba-la-ṭu iš-ṭe-né-eb-bi*, which he quotes from obv., l. 7, of 5 R 31, No. 4 (= K 36; see now CT XLI 29 = K 36 + K 2917), part of a commentary on the omen series *Âlu ina mêlê šakin*,[1] and which he translates "mit Leben wurde er gesättigt" (AHwb, p. 636b), it is quite obvious that those words belonged not to the first part of the omen, that is, the omen observation — old age cannot furnish the basis for an omen — but to the second part, namely the prediction, which is based on the observation and naturally must be rendered by the present-future. The sentence therefore means: "(If such or such a thing happens, the man concerned) will be continually satiated with life." For the same reason we may assume that also GAM-GAM-*ud* = *iq-ta-na-ad-du-ud*, rev.[7] of the same tablet, is a present, not a preterit.[2]

In Gilgameš Epic (Thompson), Tablet I, col. 2[29], *ta-zi-im-ta-ši-na iš-te-nem-me*, "over and over again she hears their wailing," *iš-te-nem-me* is the historical present, which is quite natural in epics.

In the case of *it-ta-nam-di* (< *ittanaddi*), "she utters (her incantation) many times," in the epic Enuma eliš, Tablet IV, l. 91, Delitzsch himself in AHwb, p. 449b, and the second edition of his grammar corrected his former view that it was preterit. It is parallel there to *imanni šipta*.

The fact remains, however, that in texts of the late periods, notably in the inscriptions of Aššur-ban-apli, forms of the type *iptanárras*, which the context shows to have a preterit meaning, are actually found. Compare, for instance, Aššur-ban-apli, Rassam Cylinder + duplicates (5 R 1 ff.), col. 10[40 ff.]:

[40]*ištar-dûru šàr* [māt]*ur-ar-ṭi* [41]*ša šarráni*[pl] *abbê*[pl]-*šú a-na abbê*[pl]-*ia* [42]*iš-ta-nap-par-u-ni* (var.: *iš-ta-nap-pa-ru-ni*) *aḫu-ú-tú* [43]*e-nen-na* [m]*ištar-dûru da-na-a-nu ep-še-e-tú* [44]*ša iláni*[pl] *rabúti*[pl] *i-ši-mu-in-ni iš-me-e-ma* [45]*ki-ma šá máru a-na abi-šú iš-ta-nap-pa-ra* (var.: *iš-ta-nap-pa-ru*) *bêlu-u-tú* [46]*ù šu-ú ki-i pi-i an-nim-ma* [47]*iš-ta-nap-pa-ra um-ma lu-u šul-mu* [48]*a-na šarri bêli-ia.*

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[1] Judging from the scribal note in obv.[12], that particular passage belonged to the fifty-fourth tablet of the series.

[2] Delitzsch in the second edition of his grammar (p. 282) leaves the tense of this verbal form undecided.

"Sarduris, king of Urartu, whose royal ancestors in their letters had always addressed (= used to address) my fathers as their brothers — (this) Sarduris, now that he had heard of the mighty deeds which the great gods had decreed for me, as a son addresses his father as his lord, always addressed me in his letters with the following words: Well-being (be granted) o the king, my lord!"

In this sentence the second *ištanáppar*, namely that in the relative clause, "as a son is accustomed to write to his father," is undoubtedly a present, used in the sense of the timeless tense. Likewise, it is quite conceivable that the last *ištanáppara* is intended to mean "he always writes to me now," although as a rule the royal inscriptions refer in the preterit to events that still are happening at the time of their composition, because the kings relate the incidents from the viewpoint of the reader, who may live centuries after the inscriptions were written. However, there is no doubt whatever that the *ištanápparū* in the relative clause "whose fathers used to write to my fathers" must be rendered as preterit, since the predecessors of Sarduris as well as of Aššur-ban-apli were dead at the time of the composition of the inscription.

Compare, furthermore, tablet K 228 etc. + duplicate tablet K 2675 (3 R 28f.),[1] rev.,₉: *ḫu-bu-ut* ^mātᵢ*a-mut-ba-la ka-a-a-an iḫ-ta-nab-ba-tu ú-šaḫ-ri-bu na-me-e-šú*, "(the people of Kirbêtu . . . . (and!) Tandaiiu, their *ḫazannu*, ...) had constantly raided[2] (the people of) Yamutbal and devastated its precincts." *Iḫtanáb-batū* refers, of course, to the past, because at the time when the inscription was written the people of Kirbêt had been led into captivity in Egypt. Note also that *iḫtanabbatū* is coupled with the verb *ušaḫribū*, whose preterit meaning is beyond any doubt.

Although, as is obvious from the preceding, the present form *iptanárras* occurs in the meaning of a preterit I 3, it is, nevertheless, a very significant fact that in at least three cases the duplicate cylinders of Aššur-ban-apli have the form *iptárras*, that is, the

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[1] K 2675, rev., ll. 6–12, is separately published in G. Smith, Hist. of Assurb., pp. 80 ff.

[2] Note the pleonasm involved in the use of the *tn*-form and the adverb *ka-a-a-an*.

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correct form of the preterit I 3. Compare Cyl. A (3 R 17–26),
col. 8_{47-49} (variant taken from Rass. Cyl. [5 R 1–10], col. 8_{48-51}):

[47]*ù šu-ú it-ti* mᵈᵗ*na-ba-a-a-ta-a-a* [48]*pi-i-šú iš-kun-ma ni-iš ilâni*[pl] *rabûti*[pl]
la ip-làḫ-ma [49]*iḫ-ta-nab-ba-ta* (var.: [51]*iḫ-tab-ba-ta*) *ḫu-bu-ut mi-ṣir mâti-ia*

"He, however, conspired with the Nabatean and not fearing the oath
by the great gods constantly plundered the frontier district(s) of my land";

Cyl. A, col. $9_{54\,\text{ff.}}$ (and similarly Rass. Cyl. [5 R 1–10], col. 9_{68-71};
the two variants, taken from additional cylinders, are given in
the text of 5 R 1–10):

[54]*nišê*[pl] mᵈᵗ*a-ri-bi ište_n-en ana ište_n-en iš-ta-na-'à-lu₄* (var.: *iš-ta-'à-lu₄*)[1]
a-ḫa-meš [55]*um-ma ina eli mi-né-e ki-i ep-še-tu* [56]*an-ni-tu limut-tú im-ḫu-ru*
mᵈᵗ*a-ru-bu* (var.: *a-ri-bi*)

"The people of Arabia (on the other hand) used to ask one another
again and again: Why is it that this evil[2] befell the land of Arabia ?";

and Rass. Cyl. (5 R 1–10), col. $6_{33\,\text{ff.}}$ (variant indicated *ibid.*):

[33]ᵈ*šu-mu-du* ᵈ*la-ga-ma-ru* [34]ᵈ*pa-ar-ti-ki-ra* .... [35].... [36]*ša šarráni*[pl]
mᵈᵗ*elamti*[ki] [37]*ip-tal-la-ḫu* (var.: *ip-ta-na-la-ḫu*)

"Šumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira ...., (all of) whom the kings of Elam
used to fear."

These variants are unmistakable evidence of the fact that by
no means all of the scribes of Aššur-ban-apli formed the preterit I 3
as *iptanárras*; some, if not most, of the scribes knew that the
correct form was *iptárras* and, we may assume, objected to the
use of *iptanárras* as preterit of I 3, since they replace this form
by the correct *iptárras*. This conclusion, moreover, is corroborated
by the fact that the form *iptárras*, which occurs quite frequently
in the inscriptions of Aššur-ban-apli, can be rendered, almost
without exception, with a plural meaning. For example Rass. Cyl.
(5 R 1–10), col. $8_{82\,\text{ff.}}$ (similarly Cyl. A [3 R 17ff.], col. 8_{72-76}):

[82]*e-tel-lu-ú ḫur-šá-a-ni šá-qu-u-ti* [83]*iḫ-tal-lu-pu* ᵍⁱˢ*qišâti*[pl] *ša šu-lul-ši-na*
rap-šú [84]*bi-rit išê*[pl] *rabûti*[pl] *gi-iṣ-ṣi* [85]*amurdinê*[pl] *ḫar-ra-an* ᵍⁱˢ*eṭ-ṭe-e-ti*
[86]*e-te-it-ti-qu šal-me-eš*

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[1] For 'à see p. 29, n. 2.

[2] *Ep-še-tu* (var. *ep-še-e-tú*, Rass. Cyl. [5 R 1–10], col. 9_{70}) is probably
a remnant of a more detailed statement, which the redactor condensed in
a rather careless fashion. Note also that following the quoted text he
omitted the statement that the Arabs themselves *answered* this question.
The present text has only: "By saying: Because we ....."

evidently was intended to express the idea

"Many high mountains they climbed, into many forests whose shadowy (ceilings) stretched far away they plunged; but they passed safely among all the big trees, the many spiny bushes and thorny vines, (at times) a (very) path of thorns."

Note especially the following passages:

Rass. Cyl. (5 R 1–10), col. 2_{129} (first variant from Cyl. A [3 R 17–26], col. 3_{49}; second variant indicated on margin of 5 R 1–10):

.... *ki-rib mât man-na-a-a e-ru-ub-ma it-tal-lak* (vars.: *at-tal-lak* and *it*[or *at* ?]-*ta-lak*) *šal-ṭiš*

ibid., col. 5_{40}:

ki-rib ^{mât}*elamti*^{ki} *a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá at-tal-lak šal-ṭiš*

ibid., col. 5_{125}:

ki-rib ^{mât}*elamti*^{ki} *e-ru-ub-ma* (var.: *e-ru-ub*) *at-tal-lak šal-ṭiš*

ibid., col. $8_{116 f.}$:

$^{116}8$ KAS-GÍD *qaq-qa-ru* ^{117}*ummânê*$^{coll.}$-*ia lu-u it-tal-la-ku šal-ṭiš*

and Cyl. C, col. $8_{64—66}$ (= George Smith, Hist. of Assurb., p. 180, ll. 105–7):

^{64}[*ina tukul*]-*ti* AN-ŠÁR ^{d}*sin* ^{d}*šamaš* ^{d}*bêl* ^{d}*nabû* ^{65}[^{d}*ištar šá*] *ninua*^{ki} ^{d}*ištar šá* ^{âlu}*arba-il* ^{d}*ninurta* ^{d}*nusku* ^{d}*nirgal* ^{66}*ša it-tal-la-ku ida*^{II}-*a-a i-na-ar-ru ga-re-ia*

For in all these instances the verb is *atallukum*, "to march continually," "to march hither and thither," etc. All our observations, therefore, seem to justify the assumption that the occurrence of *iptanárras* as preterit of I 3 has to be regarded as an exception rather than the rule with the scribes of Aššur-ban-apli.

However, it must be recognized that what preceded does not seem to describe all of the complications caused by the intrusion of the form *iptanárras* into the preterit of I 3. The scribes who adopted this preterit form did so, of course, because to them the genuine preterit form of I 3, *iptárras*, did not seem to express clearly enough the idea of plurality, since as a result of the assimilation of the *n* of the infix *-tan-* to the middle radical of the verb one of the characteristic features of the *tn*-formation had become obscured. To put it in another way, it is not unreasonable

to assume that the form *iptárras* appeared to these scribes to be a *t*-rather than a *tn*-form, and we may therefore suppose that there was a tendency to substitute this form for, or at least use it alongside of, *iptaras* as preterit of I 2. Moreover, it might be argued that this tendency would have received additional support from an analogy with the new I 3 formation; for as the new preterit *iptanárras* was identical in form with its present, so also the supposed I 2 preterit *iptárras* would show the same form as the I 2 present *iptárras*. In other words, the new I 2 and I 3 formations would exhibit a common principle of formation, whose characteristic feature would be agreement in form between present and preterit. Moreover, it is not at all unlikely that those scribes who formed the preterit of I 3 as *iptanárras* and the preterit of I 2 as *iptárras* may have been inclined, as Delitzsch was, to read and stress every *iptaras* form found in the inscriptions of their time *iptá(r)ras*.

Despite the seeming reasonableness of the possibilities described in the preceding paragraphs the inscriptions present little if any actually conclusive proof. In the first place it is self-evident that those scribes who opposed the new I 3 preterit form *iptanárras* and clung to the old form *iptárras* would not think of stressing forms of the type *iptaras* as *iptá(r)ras* except, of course, in cases where it is quite evident that *iptaras* is only a "defective" writing for *iptárras*. Note, moreover, the eliding forms *ittáklu* (Rass. Cyl. [5 R 1–10], col. 3_{53}, col. 7_{22}; Cyl. B [3 R 27 and 30ff.], col. 6_{12}) and *issanqamma* (Rass. Cyl., col. 8_{64}) in the inscriptions of Aššur-ban-apli, and especially the following eliding preterit forms found in Assyrian letters of the Sargonid period (quoted from Ylvisaker, Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik[1]): *iḫ-tal-qa, ik-ta-an-ku, in-ta-at-ḫu, it-taḫ-ṣu, it-taḫ-ra-a-ni, i-tuq-tu-u-ni, ip-ta-aq-da, i-ṣab-tu, i-ṣar-ḫu-u-ni, i-sa-ak-nu, i-sa-al-mu, a-sa-ap-ra; i-tab-ru, e-tar-bu-u-ni, e-ta-at-qu; in-ta-aʾ-da; ik-ta-al-ʾu; it-tu-ub-lu, i-tu-ur-du, it-tu-uš-bu* (pp. 33f., 41, 42, 45, and 48), as well as the imperative form *it-la-ka* (p. 41) and the permansive form *kit-lu-lat* (p. 37). Moreover, in contradistinction to the fact

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[1] No attempt to check up on the forms has been made.

that the *iptárras* forms as a rule can be translated with a plural or iterative meaning, the form *iptaras*, pl. *iptarsū*, in many cases does not allow such a plural or iterative translation if the passage is to make good sense. Thus we find quite frequently in the royal inscriptions *ittakil* (e.g., Aššur-ban-apli, Rass. Cyl. [5 R 1ff.], col. 1_{57} = Cyl. A [3 R 17ff.], col. 1_{56}; K 228 + K 2675 [3 R 28f.], obv.₃) and *ittaklu* (e. g., Rass. Cyl. [5 R 1ff.], col. 3_{53}, col. 7_{22}), where the meaning of the passage is not that Aššur-ban-apli's adversary constantly trusted in the help of the king of Elam, etc., but that he trusted only in that special case for which he had bribed him or in some other way obtained his help. Never is *ittákkil* or *ittákkilu* used in these cases. Compare, furthermore, Rass. Cyl. (5 R 1ff.), col. $8_{60\,ff.}$:

[60]*ša ma-te-ma a-na šarráni*[pl] *abê*[pl]*-ia* [61]*lú már šipri-šú la iš-pu-ra* [62]*la iš-'à¹-lu* (var.: *iš-'á²-lu₄*) *šu-lum šarru-ti-šú-un* [63]*ina pu-luḫ-ti* [giš]*kakkê*[pl] AN-ŠÁR *ka-ši-du-u-ti* [64]*is-sa-an-qa-am-ma iš-'à¹-la* (var.: *iš-'á²-la*) *šu-lum šarru-ti-ia*

"who never had sent his messenger to my royal ancestors and never had inquired after their royal welfare, but (later) in fear of the approaching weapons of Aššur had personally come to me[3] and inquired after my royal welfare,"

where the idea conveyed by *issanqa(m)* (< *istániqam*) is, of course, that the king of the Nabateans came personally to Aššur-ban-apli once only, not continually or many times; the verb immediately following, therefore, is *iš'ala*, not *išta(')'ala* (or *ištana(')'ala*)!

While, as a result of the preceding, it is quite evident that a general tendency to replace the old preterit I 2 by *iptárras* is, even at this late period, out of the question, there is nevertheless some evidence of a rather substantial character to indicate that at least some scribes did, at times, use *iptárras* as a I 2 preterit. Note, e. g., K 2802 (+ 3047 + 3049) (3 R 35, No. 6, and 36,

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[1] *'à* = *'a.a*; see p. 29, n. 2.

[2] *'á* = *a*.

[3] The idea "personally" is evidently expressed by the *t* of the I 2 form. Note the contrast: in former times he had not even sent a messenger to my fathers, but to me he came personally.

No. 1; partly republished in G. Smith, Hist. of Assurb., pp. 290ff.), col. 6 (not 3!)$_{3\,ff.}$:

^{3}*ar-di ur-ḫe* [*ru-qu-u-ti*] ^{4}*e-te-li ḫur-šá-a-ni šá-*[*qu-u-ti*] ^{5}*aḫ*(!)*-ta-lu-up* ^{giš}*ḳišáti*[pl] ^{6}*ša ṣu-lul-ši-na rap-šú* ^{7}*bi-rit iṣê*[pl] *rabúti*[pl] *gi-iṣ-ṣu* ^{8}^{giš}*amur-dinnê*[pl] *ḫar-ra-nu* ^{giš}*iṭ-ṭe-tú*(!) ^{9}*e-te-ti-iq,*

for this passage presents the forms *e-te-li, aḫ-ta-lu-up,* and *e-te-ti-iq* (1st pers. sg.) where the parallel passage Rass. Cyl., col. 8$_{82-86}$, quoted and translated above (pp. 52f.), has *e-tel-lu-u, iḫ-tal-lu-pu,* and *e-te-et-ti-qu* (3d pers. pl.). When discussing the latter passage we saw that its content allows or even suggests an iterative translation of the verbs — an observation that may indicate that the author really intended to use the I 3 forms. If then the author of K 2802 writes *e-te-li, aḫ-ta-lu-up,* and *e-te-ti-iq,* he may perhaps have done so because he wanted to express a different idea (probably that conveyed by the syntactical use of the *t*-form); but it is more likely that he took *êtélli, iḫtállup,* and *êtétteq* as I 2 forms, and that he simply replaced them by the reputedly better writings *êteli, iḫtalup,* and *êtetiq,* which, however, he may well have pronounced *êté(l)li, iḫtá(l)lup,* and *êté(t)teq.*

Interchange of the *iptarras* and the *iptaras* form is found once more in the continuation of the passage just discussed, namely in Rass. Cyl., col. 8$_{96\,ff.}$ = K 2802, col. 6$_{17-28}$.

^{96}.... *ina* ^{arḫi}*simáni* .... ^{98}U$_4$-25-KAM .... ^{100}*ul-tú* (var.: *ultu*) ^{dlu}*ḫa-da-at-ta-a at-tu-muš* ^{101}*ina* ^{dli}*la-ri-ib-da* É.BÁD *ša* NÀ-MES-MEŠ (var.: *abnê*[pl]) ^{102}*ina eli gu-ub-ba-a-ni šá mê*[pl] ^{103}*at-ta-ad-di* (var.: *at-ta-di*) *uš-man-ni* ^{104}*ummânê*[coll.]*-ia mê*[pl] *a-na maš-ti-ti-šú-nu iḫ-bu-ma* ^{105}*ir-du-ú il-li-ku* $_1$^{06}*qaq-qar ṣu-um-me a-šar reb-reb-ti*[1] ^{107}*a-di* ^{dli}*ḫu-ra-ri-na* .....

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[1] For the reading *reb-reb-ti* of KAL-KAL-*ti,* "continuous hunger" (which Delitzsch, Muss-Arnolt, and Bezold cite as *qalqaltu*) cf. the equations on the unpublished vocabulary fragment A 17635 of the Oriental Institute, a duplicate (recognized as such by Dr. Geers) of 5 R 11 (= K 4319), col. 2$_{33-47}$:

^{10}[*šà-ma*]r	*šà-gar*	*bu-bu-tú*
[*šà-mar-ma*]r	*šà-gar-gar*	*ḫu-šaḫ-ḫu*
^{12}[*šà-mar-ma*]r	*šà-gar-gar*	*rab-rab-tú.*

As noted by Dr. Geers, the reading of the word for "hunger" as *rabrabtu* is here assured by the use of the sign ⩤ for *rab.* The LÚ-LÚ-*tum* of 5 R 11,

"In the month of Siwân .... on the 25th day .... I set out from Ḥadattâ. In Laribda, a fortification (built) of ....-stones (variant, only 'of stones') (and situated) at (literally, 'above') water holes, I established my camp while my troops, after having provided themselves with drinking water, marched on through regions of thirst and hunger as far as Ḥurarina ....."

In this case, only Rass. Cyl. (= 5 R 1ff.) has *at-ta-ad-di*, while Cyl. A (= 3 R 17ff.), col. 8_{90}, as well as K 2802 (= 3 R 35f.), col. 6 (R: $3)_{24}$, reads *at-ta-di*. This seems to indicate that *attadi* was considered by most of the scribes as the correct form. As a matter of fact, the context of the passage, as it now stands, does not suggest a meaning "I established many camps" or "I established my camp continually" or the like. If nevertheless the scribe of Rass. Cyl. writes *attaddi*, it seems reasonable to assume that he may have been induced to use this original I 3 form because he took it as a form of I 2.

col. 2_{43} (which Zimmern [Delitzsch, AHwb, p. 586b] likewise read *qalqaltu*, with a phonetic value **qal* for LÚ, derived from the formerly assumed Sumerian value **galu* for LÚ = *amêlu*), is therefore an ancient mistake for *rab-rab-tum* (⊞⊞ for ⊞⊞). Accordingly, as further noticed by Dr. Geers, the GAL-GAL-*ti* of CT XVIII 44f. (K 2022), col. $4_{23\,f.}$:

[šà]-gar	bu-bu-[ti]
[šà]-gar-gar	GAL-GAL-*ti*

must be read *ráb-ráb-ti*. It may be pointed out that this writing proves that *ráb* is a phonetic value of GAL, against Thureau-Dangin, who in SA as well as HS gives it only as rendering of the ideogram (indicated as such by brackets) for the construct *rab*, "master," in such compounds as *ráb ṭup-šar-re*, *ráb ka-a-ri*, etc.

As I shall show in my forthcoming volume on the Khorsabad king list, *rabrabtu* and *rebrebtu* are loan words from West Semitic idioms, formed from the reduplicated root *rġb*, "to be hungry" (cf. in Hebrew רָעֵב, "to be hungry," רָעֵב, "hungry," and רָעָב and רְעָבוֹן, "hunger"). As shown by the repetition of the verbal root in *rabrabtum* and its Sumerian equivalent šà-gar-gar, as well as by the doubling of the last radical of *ḫušaḫḫu* (< *ḫšáḫuḫum*), which likewise goes back to an original doubling of the whole root (ḫšḫ, "to desire"), these three words mean not merely "hunger" — the words expressing this idea are šà-gar and *bubu'tu* — but "continuous hunger," "hunger suffered by many," "famine," etc.

The change of *a* to *e* in *rebrebtu* is of course due to the influence of the ġ of the root *rġb*.

The same form *attaddi* with the variant *attadi* is found in Rass.
Cyl., col. $4_{83\,ff.}$ = Cyl. A, col. $5_{18\,ff.}$:

^{83}GÌR-PAD-DU-MEŠ-*šú-nu*{-*ti*} (var.: GÌR-PAD-DU-MEŠ-*šú-nu*) *ul-tú ki-rib bábili*^{ki} ^{84}*kutê*^{ki} *sippar*^{ki} *ú-še-ṣi-ma* ^{85}*at-ta-ad-di* (var.: *at-ta-di*) *a-na na-ka-ma-a-ti* (var.: *ka-ma-a-ti*)

"I removed their bones from inside of Babylon, Kutha, and Sippar, and
I threw them on . . . . ."

Here, too, one would hardly expect a I 3 form, and Cyl. A with
the reading *áttadī* has evidently again the better form, the *attáddi*
of the Rass. Cyl. then being again due to a confusion of the two
forms. Since the form *attaddi* is given by the scribe of Rass. Cyl.
in two cases in each of which Cyl. A has *attadi*, we may assume
that that scribe had a certain predilection for the form *iptárras*,
at least with regard to some verbs, e.g., *nadû*. The scribe of Cyl. A,
on the other hand, may perhaps have known that the form
iptárras belongs to I 3; nevertheless this does not follow necessarily
from the fact that he uses the old I 2 form; like the scribe of the
Rassam Cylinder he may simply have been prejudiced in favor
of a special form, namely the I 2, not the old I 3 form.

As will be realized from these considerations, the evidence
for the conjectured identification of *iptárras* with *iptaras* by the
scribes of the late periods, at least if we confine ourselves to
material which is strictly conclusive, is very meager, and moreover,
because of the many possibilities involved, rather elusive, though
at the same time quite suggestive. Nevertheless there remains the
important fact that the duplicate and parallel inscriptions of
Aššur-ban-apli in a few cases actually show an interchange of
iptaras and *iptarras* forms parallel to the interchange of *iptarras*
and *iptanarras* forms which was treated before — an interchange
which clearly shows the uncertain position of the preterit form
iptárras after it had been replaced by *iptanárras*.

It goes without saying that the question of the role played by
the *iptárras* and *iptanárras* forms in the late periods needs a
much more comprehensive investigation than that undertaken
in this chapter, which, because of lack of time, is restricted to the
material of mainly one special group, namely the inscriptions of
Aššur-ban-apli. But clearly such an investigation again presupposes

more detailed studies similarly restricted to special periods or
to special groups of inscriptions. Furthermore, not only should
such groups of inscriptions be examined from the point of view
of the general stage of the language to which they belong, but
attention must be paid to those of their peculiarities which are
indicative of the customs, practices, and grammatical theories of
scribal schools at that time. For it is quite evident that since
approximately the beginning of the second quarter of the last
millennium before Christ, in Babylonia as well as in Assyria, the
language of the Akkadian inscriptions is no longer based on the
spoken language of the time, but is more or less trying to continue
the inscriptional language of older periods. Under such conditions,
obviously, the language of the late inscriptions or, more generally,
the literary language of the time must have depended largely
on the teachings of the scribal schools. Naturally these did not
always present a correct reflection of the old language and its
grammar, and the deviations of course multiplied as the time when
the old language had been spoken became more and more distant.
When reading the inscriptions of Aššur-ban-apli and the letters
of that period, one cannot even escape the impression that at
that time the official Akkadian was on the verge of a transforma-
tion similar to the one which overtook Sumerian in the post-
Sumerian periods. And in fact the conditions by which Akkadian
was confronted in the last period of the Assyrian Empire as well
as in the Neo-Babylonian period can to some extent be compared
with those encountered by Sumerian in that earlier age. For as
Sumerian was losing ground to Akkadian, so Akkadian gradually
gave way to Aramaic, which already occupied, or was to occupy
very soon, the position of a language used as a general means of
communication in the greater part of the western orient.

Because of the importance of this development for the evaluation
of the changes in the Akkadian verb system discussed in this
section, it will be pertinent at this point to mention a few observa-
tions indicating at least the beginning of an encroachment of
Aramaic on the written Assyrian language, or indicating influence
of the Aramaic alphabetic writing on the writing of Assyrian in
that late period. Slight though these indications might seem to

be, it must of course be kept in mind that a firmly established written language like Akkadian is naturally averse to adopting features from a foreign language and that therefore even when it submits to foreign influence only on minor points we must necessarily infer far-reaching changes in the spoken language.

In the last chapter of Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. I have drawn attention to the fact that the inscriptions of Aššur-ban-apli and his successors deviate from the older inscriptions in the position of the modified pronoun — a change which evidently was caused by the influence of the Aramaic idiom of that time. Nor is there any doubt that in late inscriptions, notably those of Aššur-ban-apli, the comparatively frequent use of the present in relative and other subordinate clauses in order to express duration, simultaneousness, and similar ideas, ultimately goes back to the corresponding use of the present in Aramaic. Note, e.g., Aššur-ban-apli, Cyl. B (= 3 R 27 and 30ff.), col. $7_{4\,f.}$:[1]

　　[4]ṣabê[pl] taḫâzi-ia šá ina [mât]kár-dun-iá-áš [5]it-ta-na-al-la-ku ú-kab-ba-su [mât]kal-du

"my soldiers, who (at that time) were already on the march (and constantly advancing) in Karduniaš and were already trampling down the land of Kaldu."[2]

Moreover, it is to Aramaic influence that we must attribute the tendency toward a new stressing of certain verbal forms on the penultimate, as is unmistakably indicated by the unusual doubling of the last radical or the lengthening of the preceding vowel. Note, e.g., such writings as lik-ru-ú-bu (Harper, ABL, No. 895_2), ni-iš-pur-ra (No. 736, rev.$_{10}$), liš-pur-ra (No. 637, rev.$_9$), taš-pur-ra (No. 357_7), tu-dam-me-iq-qa (No. 561_{15}), us-sa-al-lim-mu (No. 214, rev.$_{11}$), u-še-tu-uq-qu (No. 51, rev.$_6$), še-tu-uq-qi (No. 51, rev.$_4$), liš-ul-lu (No. 148_5), u-ši-i-bu (No. 281_6; like ši-i-ba, No. 541_{11}, from ašâbu). This stressing, even though as a rule it occurs at the end of a phrase and therefore represents a kind of "pausal

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[1] In 3 R called ll. 5 f.

[2] It remains to be seen whether perhaps this usage contributed to the use of iptanarras, which properly is the present of I 3, as preterit of I 3.

stress," nevertheless undoubtedly, especially in view of its extraordinary frequency, also shows the influence of the different Aramaic word stress, as found, e.g., in the third person plural of the qal: *qaṭálū* > *qᵉṭál* (where other Semitic languages have or presuppose a stressing *qátalū*).

Then again it must be noted that the Semitic alphabet in which Aramaic was written and with which the scribes of the late periods were of course familiar is responsible for certain peculiarities of cuneiform writing at that time. For a better understanding of the point involved it must be kept in mind that the Semitic alphabet is basically, like cuneiform, a syllabic system of writing, using, however, only syllables of the pattern consonant + vowel. Moreover, these syllables are regularly polyphonic in the sense that the vowel of any such syllable can be pronounced indiscriminately as *a*, *i*, *u*, or *šᵉuâ*. What is usually called the letter *bêth* is thus in reality a polyphonic sign with the phonetic values *ba*, *bu*, *bi*, or *b* + vowel zero.[1] When, then, in Late Assyrian and Babylonian letters we find quite frequently such writings as *a-pa-ta-laḫ* instead of *ap-ta-laḫ* (Harper, ABL, No. 843, rev.₃), *li-qi-bu-ni* instead of *li-iq-bu-ni* (No. 255, rev.₆), *šu-ṣu-bu-ta-ka* instead of *šu-uṣ-bu-ta-ka* (No. 852, rev.₃), *ú-še-ḫi-liq* instead of *ú-še-iḫ-liq* (No. 430₇), and *ú-ḫu-ta-ri-du-šu-nu* instead of *uḫ-ta-ri-du-šu-nu* (No. 342₁₂), it is evident that the peculiar writing of vowelless consonant with a syllable consisting of consonant + vowel — a writing utterly incompatible with the recognized principles of genuine Akkadian systems of writing — merely reflects the conception of a vowelless consonant as a syllable consisting of consonant + vowel zero in the Semitic alphabet. In Aramaic, Akkadian *liqbuni*, e.g., would be written לקבן, i.e., with Hebrew vocalization, לִקְבֻנִ, where ל corresponds to *li*, ק to qi, בֻ to *bu*, and נִ to *ni* in the writing *li-qi-bu-ni* for *liqbûni*. This explanation holds good also for the frequent cases in which a short vowel, notably *i*, is added at the end of a verbal form which according to the grammatical system should end

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[1] As far as I know, this syllabic character of the Semitic alphabet has heretofore not been fully perceived.

with the third radical, as in *ni-ib-ṭi-li* for *nibṭil* (Harper, ABL, No. 450, rev.$_8$), *li-ik-mi-si* for *likmis* (No. 168, rev.$_{25}$), *lip-qi-di* for *lipqid* (No. 577, rev.$_8$), *li-ir-ṣi-bi* for *lirṣip* (No. 314, rev.$_8$), *ap-ti-qi-di* (No. 479, rev.$_9$) and *ap-ti-qid-di* (No. 883$_{23}$) alongside *ap-ti-qi-id* (No. 361, rev.$_{11}$), *nu-šal-li-me* for *nušallim* (No. 526, rev.$_{13}$), *u-ṣa-bi-ti* for *uṣabbit* (No. 599$_{12}$), etc. For the rendering of final *l*, *d*, etc. with *li*, *di*, etc. in these cases compare such writings as קְטַלְתְּ in Hebrew, and especially يَقْتُلْ, قَدْ, etc. in Arabic, in which the vowelless final consonant appears as a syllable consisting of that consonant + vowel zero (in Hebrew ְ , in Arabic ْ). The last-mentioned Arabic word, *qad*, would therefore appear in cuneiform writing as *qa-di*, in which *qa* corresponds to قَ and *di* to دْ.[1] A much closer or almost direct parallel is presented in the Ethiopic alphabet by the fact that it expresses the full short vowel *e* and the vowelless state of a letter by one and the same vowel sign, a feature that is of course not a late innovation, but goes back to the very beginning of the so-called "alphabetic" writing and was handed down unchanged through all the centuries.[2]

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[1] It is to be especially noted that with this explanation the two phenomena referred to above are traced back to a single principle. However, this explanation in no way excludes the possibility that in some cases actually existing phonetic conditions contributed to the adoption of what we may call the Aramaic writing of Assyrian. It will be noted that the inserted vowel is especially frequent after *ḥ* and may therefore in this case have some affinity with the ḥatef-vowels after gutturals in Hebrew. The pronunciation of such a light vowel after *ḥ*, however, is merely another indication of the influence of a foreign idiom, since it is quite unknown to Akkadian. In other cases, especially at the end of a word, the adding of a vowel is probably due to the desire of the writer to distinguish between final *t*, *d*, and *ṭ*; *p* and *b*; *k*, *g*, and *q*; *s*, *z*, and *ṣ*.

[2] It will be observed that in this point the Ethiopic vocalization reflects the original conception of the Semitic alphabets as syllabic writings more faithfully than does the Masoretic vocalization system of Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic or the Syriac or Arabic system, each of which already uses a special sign for vowellessness (Arabic and in part Hebrew) or denotes vowellessness by simply not adding any vowel sign (Syriac and in part Hebrew). In this respect the Ethiopic vocalization also stands much nearer

Finally, it is not at all unlikely that the very frequent writing of a doubled (or rather sharpened) consonant with one consonant only, which is a striking peculiarity of the late letters, is likewise to be traced back to the same peculiarity of the Semitic alphabet; at least this custom of the late scribes will have received a new impetus as the result of the introduction of the Aramaic alphabet.[1]

If, now, we take into consideration the following facts, namely, that brief Aramaic inscriptions or notes are found on contracts from Nineveh dated in the time of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Aššur-ban-apli, that weights from Kalḫu dated in the reigns of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra V, Šulmanu-ašared V, Šarru-kin II, and Sennacherib have brief Aramaic inscriptions either in addition to or without an Assyrian inscription, and finally that Aramean scribes in the service of Esarhaddon as well as an Aramaic letter received by the secretary of a son of Šulmanu-ašared V are

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to the Cypriote syllabic system, the system followed by Hittite in the spelling of foreign western names, and the system traced above in the Late Assyrian inscriptions, than do the late Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic vocalization systems. Only the Hebrew Masorah, by using the same sign for its *šewâ mobile* and *šewâ quiescens*, carries on, at least partially, the old tradition. Note that Ethiopic reflects much more clearly the syllabic character of the alphabet in still another respect: it reads all of the simple signs as syllables with the vowel *a* and connects the diacritical marks for the other vowels directly with the sign, thus producing signs denoting syllables with the vowels *ê, û, î, e,* etc. From the observations made above on the Late Assyrian writing (combined with those made on the Ethiopic vocalization system), it follows quite clearly that at least as late as the seventh century B.C. the syllabic character of the Semitic alphabet must still have been universally taught in the scribal schools.

[1] In this connection it may be mentioned that the closing of the 3d pers. plur. ending *û* with ʾ or, in other words, the writing of this ending as *..u-uʾ*, a custom found so frequently in Babylonian texts of the late periods, is not customary in the Assyrian letters. Since the adding of ʾ after that ending is a regular feature in Arabic (cf. قَتَلُوا, يَقْتُلُوا, etc. [and in Hebrew הוּא]), it seems that this custom too was adopted from a Semitic alphabetic writing. Since the usual Aramaic systems do not show this peculiarity, we must assume that it was principally a feature of a system used for the writing of southern Aramaic or kindred Semitic dialects.

mentioned in the literature of the period, the conclusion is not unlikely that in that late period in Assyria (as well as Babylonia) the Akkadian language was no longer spoken except perhaps in certain limited circles, and that it merely held a traditional position as the official language of the state, religion, etc., comparable to the status of Sumerian in Babylonia immediately before and after the fall of the third dynasty of Ur.

To return to the main problem, this result may be stated with certainty: The use of the form *iptaná(r)ras* as preterit of I 3 as well as the use of *iptárras* as preterit of I 2 is late; it belongs to the period in which Assyrian grammar was already on the verge of decay. Moreover, it never became a general practice, not even in the latest period. Obviously, this use of the *tn*-form, late as it is and never completely followed out, cannot be used for an exposition of the verbal system of the older classical periods of the Akkadian language.

STUDY II

NOTES ON THE PIʿEL AND ŠAFʿEL-PIʿEL

1. THE BASIC MEANING AND THE ORIGINAL FORMATION OF THE PIʿEL

In connection with the remarks made in n. 1 on p. 5 it is important to draw attention to the fact that the universal opinion that the piʿel formation basically denotes intensity is quite erroneous. Indeed, not one single case where the piʿel unmistakably has this meaning is to be found in any of the Semitic languages. Among the few examples cited by Brockelmann in Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen I (§ 257 *b*) for the "Intensivstamm" as denoting "eine besondere Kraftentfaltung," only *ḍarraba*, "to beat violently" ("heftig schlagen"), would seem to express that idea, if the translation gave the original meaning, or if it comprised all the meanings of *ḍarraba*. Compare, however, Lane's statement in his Arabic-English Lexicon, p. 1777, under *ḍaraba*, first sentence: "[*ḍarraba*] signifies the same [as *ḍaraba*] in an intensive sense, i. e., he beat, &c., him, or it, much, or violently; or in a frequentative sense, i.e., several, or many times; or rather *ḍarraba* is used in relation to several, or many objects." From this description of its meanings it is quite evident that the real meaning of *ḍarraba* is not "to strike violently" (= intensity), but "to strike many" or "to strike many times," that is, "to deal many strokes" (= plurality). If, as some claim, *ḍarraba* is used also in the sense of "to strike violently" (cf. Lane, *ibid.*, l. 10: "and as some say, ... with violence or vehemence"), this, in the light of all other observations, is no doubt an inaccurate use, or at any rate a secondary meaning, which is valueless for the determination of the genuine original meaning of the piʿel formation. As a matter of fact, the opinion that the piʿel denotes intensity owes its origin to a past era when it was assumed that the *dageš forte* by which the Hebrew piʿel is distinguished from the qal, or, in other words, the "Verstärkung"

(Arab. *tešdîd*) of the middle radical, must denote a similar "Ver-
stärkung," or increase in intensity, of the action expressed by the
simple root. And, astonishing as it may seem, since that early
time the assumption of the intensive meaning of the pi'el forma-
tions has not met with any skepticism on the part of the gram-
marians.

Naturally the question as to the meaning of the pi'el formation
is closely connected with the conception of its origin. The usual
assumption is that the doubling or sharpening of the middle
radical is actually the original principle underlying not only the
formation but also the meaning of the pi'el forms. Now, it is quite
true that if the doubling or sharpening of the middle radical were
an original feature in the Semitic verb systems, it would follow
quite naturally that it was intended to convey the idea of an
intensified action, since the sharpened pronunciation of one of the
radicals can readily be conceived as an imitation of the intensifi-
cation of an action, whereas there is no such immediate connection
between the sharpening of a consonant and the idea of plurality.
Since, however, there cannot obtain the slightest doubt that the
function of the pi'el is to express not the idea of intensity but
that of plurality, the only logical conclusion is that what in the
Semitic verb now appears as doubling or sharpening of the middle
radical goes back to a more original principle which actually
conveyed the idea of plurality in a quite natural manner. This
immediately suggests that the doubling of the middle radical
is the last remnant of an original doubling of the whole verb root;
and this actually is the solution of the pi'el problem, at least as
far as the pi'el of the transitive verbs is concerned.[1] For doubling
of a root as a means of conveying the idea of plurality is a phenom-
enon well known from other languages. We need only recall
the plural formation after the pattern k u r - k u r, "(all of) the
mountains," from k u r, "mountain," in Sumerian, as well as
the fact that in the same language plurality of action, subject,
or object is expressed by a reduplication of the verbal root (GSG,
§§ 444–446a). Thus doubtless Arabic *iuqattilu*, "he kills many,"

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[1] For the pi'el of the intransitive cf. below on p. 68.

was originally *i̯-qtl-qtl*, which became *i̯qttl* by dropping the last radical of the first root and the first radical of the last root (*i̯-qt-(l-q)tl*). Shortening of a reduplicated root, too, is a very common feature in many languages; I need only call attention to the reduplicated verb roots in Greek and Latin, e.g. in βε-βλη-κα, *pe-pul-i*, γι-γνω-σκω, *si-st-o*, *gi-gn-o*, where the first root is reduced to its first consonant and a conventional vowel (*i* in the present, *e* in the preterit). A similar phenomenon is found in Sumerian, where we have tu-tki for *tuk-tuk(u) (as it is still written), gi-gri for *gir-gir(i), di-dli for *dil-dil(i), su-sulun for *sulun-sulun, etc. Nor is the fact that in the Semitic languages both roots suffered a shortening, the first by losing its last consonant, the second by losing its first consonant, altogether unique; it in turn has its parallel in Sumerian tu-tki, gi-gri, and di-dli, inasmuch as there not only the end of the first root, but also the vowel in the middle of the second root, was dropped. What the actual reason or reasons for the peculiar shortening of the reduplicated root in the Semitic languages may have been is a question by itself, which need not be gone into here.[1] Very important, however, is the fact that certain classes of verbs show a shortening of the reduplicated roots that deviates from the usual pattern by preserving other consonants of the two roots and by this deviation clearly indicates the original reduplication of the whole root. Compare, e.g., in Hebrew the pilpel formation of the verbs *mediae infirmae* and *mediae geminatae* with forms such as *kilkēl* (< *ku̯l-ku̯l*), from the root *ku̯l*, and **gilgēl* (< *gll-gll*), from the root *gll*. It will be noted that in the latter case the doubled consonant of both of the reduplicated roots is reduced to the simple consonant, which makes it unnecessary to drop the first consonant (*g*) of the second root. In the former case the weak middle consonant of the *mediae infirmae* which is so frequently lost by contraction is dropped in both roots, a procedure which makes the dropping of the last radical of the first root as

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[1] The principal determining factor was, of course, the grammatical system of vocalization, which is built up on the triconsonantal root, together with the desire to have a pi'el basis deviating as little as possible from that of the qal (*qattal—qatal*).

well as of the first radical of the second root unnecessary. Finally, in the polel formation of the Hebrew *mediae infirmae*, e.g. in the form *qômēm* of the verb *qŭm*, which (with Barth) goes back to *qaŭmim*, all three consonants of the first root are preserved, and as a consequence the first two consonants of the second root are dropped.

As this analysis shows, the formation of the pi'el form can in all cases be traced to the same original principle, namely, reduplication of the root, a principle which, moreover, is in complete harmony with the pluralic meaning of the pi'el of transitive verbs.

Doubtless, too, the doubling of the middle radical in the transitive pi'el of intransitive verbs originally expressed merely the idea of plurality of action etc., since language (at least if not disturbed by the influence of a foreign idiom) would not use the same means for the expression of two ideas as disparate as those of plurality and causation. We must of course assume that when, in a very remote period, the Semitic languages could form the transitive as well as the intransitive qal theme of every verb, they also formed a pi'el of each of the two forms, the pi'el of the transitive being of course transitive and that of the intransitive being intransitive. By a process of elimination indicated by means of brackets in the accompanying scheme

	Qal	Pi'el
Transitive	[*qatal*]	*qattal*
Intransitive	*qatil*	[*qattil*]

the historical languages preserved only the intransitive qal and the transitive pi'el, the latter now functioning as the causative of the former.

Quite unequivocal is the pluralic meaning of the doubling of the middle radical, and as a consequence its origin from the doubling of the whole root, in the substantives of the form *qattâl* which denote professions; the *ḥabbâz*, "baker," and the *ḥaiiâṭ*, "tailor," e. g., are not men who "intensively bake bread" or "intensively sew with thread," but men who "constantly bake bread," "bake many loaves of bread," etc. and who "sew constantly" etc.

2. THE CONDITIONS FOR THE FORMATION OF A ŠAF'EL-PI'EL

From the rule stated on p. 5, n. 1, that the pi'el of transitive verbs expresses plurality, while that of intransitive verbs has a causative meaning, it follows that the pi'el and the šaf'el of intransitive verbs have similar or even identical meanings. Note, e.g., in Akkadian those of *urabbi* and *ušarbi*, *unammir* and *ušanmir*, *upaššiḫ* and *ušapšiḫ*, *upazzir* and *ušapzir*, *uḫalliq* and *ušaḫliq*. It will also be noted that it is such (and, at least in the usual language, only such!) intransitive verbs that form a III/II causative of exactly the same meaning as that of their II and III formations; compare *ušrabbi*, *ušnammir*, *ušpaššiḫ*, *ušpazzir*, *ušḫalliq*, etc. These III/II forms are, as one sees, merely a combination of the corresponding III and II forms, caused by the identity of meaning of the two formations in all these cases.

A tentative attempt to explain the position of the III/II formation in the Akkadian verb system has recently been made by von Soden in Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen, chapter viii, "Das Šafel-Pa'el (III/II) des starken Verbums" (ZA N.F. VII 151ff.). However, none of the interrelations just pointed out between the III/II formations and the simple pi'el and šaf'el has been recognized by him. To judge from his statement "der größere Teil der bezeugten III/II Bildungen gehört zu den Adjectivwurzeln"[1] (later contrasted with the "fientisch" verb, which according to him only rarely forms a šaf'el-pi'el[2]), his only criterion for the formation of a šaf'el-pi'el is the fact that the verb belongs to the so-called "adjective-root" class. But that this is no actual criterion he himself admits when he states that only the greater part of those verbs that form a šaf'el-pi'el, not all of them, belong to the "adjective-root" class. Moreover, the

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[1] By the latter term von Soden evidently means roots originally used to form adjectives only. Thus, e.g., because of the existence of the šaf'el-pi'el *ušnammir*, the root *nur* or *nmr* would, if we reverse von Soden's argument, originally have been used only for the formation of the adjective *namru*, "shining," while the verb *namâru*, "to shine," would be a derivation from this adjective.

[2] Von Soden (*op. cit.*, p. 153) mentions among others as an example for a "fientisch" verb *ḫalâqu* ("to disappear" etc.).

criterion is in itself improbable, since there does not seem to be the slightest logical connection between an "adjective root" and the supposed custom of forming šaf'el-pi'el's from roots of this kind. And, finally, it is completely beyond our power to determine which of the roots involved are to be considered as "adjective roots," since this would necessarily presuppose some actual knowledge of the Semitic languages as of the time when they were just beginning to form a special type of languages; and most likely even that would not give us the desired information, since the Semitic languages no doubt merely succeeded some earlier type of language, from which very probably most of the roots were taken over. In other words, the criterion suggested by von Soden would lead us to a subject lying beyond the possibility of any real scientific investigation.[1]

At the beginning of the chapter on the šaf'el-pi'el referred to above von Soden furthermore states as his opinion that there is a fundamental difference between III/II forms of verbs *mediae u* and *i̯*, such as *ušmêt*, and III/II forms of strong verbs, such as *ušnammir*, since according to him the verbs *mediae infirmae* form a šaf'el-pi'el regularly and independently of any criterion. That this view is erroneous is self-evident, for there is no logical reason whatever for this differentiation between strong verbs and verbs *mediae infirmae*. It is based on the further erroneous conception, adopted from Delitzsch and others, that *all* the causative forms of the verbs *mediae infirmae* formed by means of the formative

[1] As shown by the above, the assumption of "adjective roots" (it goes back to von Soden's teacher, Landsberger) is, at least as far as the historical systems of the Semitic languages are concerned, a sterile and quite superfluous conception and, moreover, one that disregards a main feature of those systems, namely the fact that the root, which consists of consonants only, is completely disassociated from the idea of word classes. As is well known, the consonantal root can become a word only by vowels which are subject to special systems of vocalization. Especially unprovable and purposeless is the assumption of "adjective roots" in those cases where the form of the adjective fits into the extant verb system. Cf., e.g., *namrum* < **namirum* and *rábūm* < *rábiɪum*, which are the regular adjective forms of the permansive, while *irbi*, "he grew," and *irabbi*, "he grows," have of course the "fientisch" meaning given to them by the forms of the preterit or present, which are "fientisch" forms.

element *š* belong to the III/II formation. In the first place, it is to be noted that *none* of the causatives of the *transitive* verbs *mediae infirmae* really can belong to it. For instance, *ušdīk*, "he caused someone to kill someone," is a simple šaf'el originating from the basic form **iušda'ik*, and not a šaf'el-pi'el *ušdēk* < *iušdáiiik*. For, since the verb *dâku* is transitive, the pi'el *udēk* (< *udáiiik*), which has not yet been found, would mean "he killed many," not "he caused someone to kill," as is evident from a comparison with Arabic *iuqattilu* and Hebrew *i^eqaṭṭēl*, "he kills many." There can, therefore, be no combined causative form *ušdēk*, "he caused someone to kill." On the other hand, the intransitive verb *mâtu*, "to die," can form, in addition to the simple šaf'el form *úšmīt* (< *iúšmaiit*), "he caused to die," "he killed" (cf. Arabic *iumîtu*, Hebrew *iāmît̠*, "he causes to die," "he kills"), also a pi'el *umēt* (< *umáiiit*), "he caused to die," "he killed" (cf. Arabic *iumáiiitu*, Hebrew *i^emôt̠ēt̠*, "he kills," and Akkadian *utêr*, "he caused someone to turn"); it can also therefore very well form, at least theoretically, the causative šaf'el-pi'el form *ušmēt* (< *iušmáiiit*), "he caused to die," "he killed," a form which combines the synonymous šaf'el and pi'el forms *úšmīt* and *umēt*. Only this šaf'el-pi'el form *ušmēt* is the counterpart of the III/II forms of the other verb classes, e.g., *ušrabbi*, "he caused to be great," while the simple šaf'el *ušmīt*, "he caused to die," can of course be compared only with the III form *ušarbi*, "he caused to be great." As was to be expected, therefore, there is no difference between the *mediae infirmae* and other verb classes with respect to the conditions for the formation of a šaf'el-pi-'el.

3. THE VERNACULAR CHARACTER OF THE ŠAF'EL-PI'EL AND ITS USE IN POETICAL COMPOSITIONS

Among other points, the comparatively frequent occurrence of forms of the type *ušnammir* in the epics and hymns is mentioned by von Soden as a characteristic peculiarity of the "hymnisch-epischer Dialekt," assumed by him and Landsberger, and is thus taken as additional evidence to prove the existence of such a

dialect.[1] That it furnishes no such proof, however, is clear from the fact, which von Soden himself mentions, that the šaf'el-pi'el forms occur also in texts that are neither hymns nor epics, e.g. in the archaizing introductory part of the law code of Hammurabi, in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar II, and other kings, in prayers, omens, etc.[2] Moreover, these forms, from a rigidly philological point of view, represent a faulty combination, since in spite of the fact that they combine two causative forms they nevertheless express only the simple causative idea, this latter thus being doubly expressed. Undoubtedly, therefore, the combined III/II forms orginated in the vernacular language and were as a consequence used with special frequency, not in a special dialect, but in any of the vernacular idioms and wherever Akkadian was spoken. While the sober literary prose language on the whole was reluctant to adopt vernacular forms, poetry, because it strives to appeal to the common people, and, moreover, because of its conscious desire to differ from the usual literary language, was prone to adopt them. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them frequently used in the hymns and epics, since these use poetic language; but we may be sure that if we had any extensive remnants of Old Babylonian lyric or other poetry this peculiarity would certainly be found there to a no smaller extent than in the epics and hymns.

Similarly many other points taken by von Soden as evidence for a "hymnisch-episch" dialect can, and must, be explained by the well known fact that the poets take the liberty of using forms of the vernacular language, forms of local dialects, and even obsolete forms of older periods, if for some reason or another

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[1] From the introductory remarks at the beginning of his publication (ZA N.F. VI 164) it is quite obvious that von Soden does not take the phrase in the sense of what we would call the language of the poets; he actually believes that the language of the hymns and epics, at least as found in the Old Babylonian hymns and epics, is to be placed on a par with such dialects as those termed Babylonian and Assyrian.

[2] In some of these cases von Soden assumes that the author of the inscription quite unconsciously slips into the "hymnisch-episch" dialect, or consciously tries to imitate it; but in the case of the omens (according to ZA N.F. VI 224, n. 4) he is inclined to assume a special "*bārûtu*-Dialekt"!

they feel the need to do so, e.g., when these forms suit the meter
better than do the usual forms, when they believe that the
deviating form is more characteristic or forceful, etc. On the other
hand, if they feel it to their advantage not to use vernacular or
dialectal or old forms they use the forms of the written language.
As a matter of fact, this liberty which the poets had of choosing
whatever forms they might deem preferable points to a use of the
language just the opposite of that which characterizes a dialect,
which has its *fixed* forms and uses these forms *exclusively*. There
are other liberties which the Akkadian poet ˚can take, such as
the arbitrary change of stress, lengthening of short vowels to
long vowels (under the stress), and expansion of long vowels into
either long vowel + short vowel (with falling circumflex stressing)
or short vowel + long vowel (with rising circumflex stressing).
These changes, again, have nothing to do with a special dialect
but simply concern the rhythm,[1] and it is highly doubtful whether
all or even some of these changes had their counterpart in any
actual dialect. For example, the word *lalûm* (< *lalâ'um* or
lalâ'um), which is a loan word from Sumerian la-la, is inflected
in the language of Hammurabi *lalôm* (*lalûm*), *lalêm* (*lalîm*),
lalâm. Now, one could imagine that, since the word is a contraction
of *lalâ'um*, the uncontracted accusative form *lalâ'am* for example
was still in use in a dialect and was therefore used also in the
language of the poets; the Nanâ hymn VAT 5798 (Zimmern,
VS X, No. 215), rev.₄, however, forms the accusative as *lalû'am*
(written *la-lu-ú-a[m]*). It actually represents the form *lalâm*
and is understood as such by everyone. But in order to make
it fit into the meter *lalâm* is expanded, not, however, as one
would expect, to *lalâ'am*, but to *lalû'am*, after the pattern of the
nominative *lalûm*, which would regularly be expanded to *lalû'um*.
Furthermore, the form *imtallîku* (written *im-ta-al-li-i-ku*) in the
Ištar hymn AO 4479 (Thureau-Dangin, RA XXII 169ff.), 1. 36,
is likewise no dialectal form, but the regular I 2 present form

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[1] Note that most of the expanded or otherwise changed forms occur at
the end of a verse, i.e., at the point which is rhythmically most important;
von Soden does not seem to have noticed, or at least does not discuss, this
fact.

imtállikū, stressed, however, in a different manner, with additional lengthening of the short vowel and probably expansion of the now lengthened vowel. To some extent the deviating stressing of this form as well as others is paralleled in Greek and Latin metrical compositions, where, as is well known, the poets stress the words with utter disregard to their stressing in the actually spoken language — a peculiarity which no one thinks of taking as an indication that there existed in Greek as well as Latin a special poetic dialect characterized by such deviating stressings.[1]

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[1] From what has been said above it is obvious that in von Soden's publication the question as to whether there actually is a basis for the assumption of a special "hymnisch-epischer Dialekt" has not been investigated with the necessary care nor with the necessary impartiality. The question is not even expressly treated but is merely referred to in occasional remarks of more or less programmatic and even apologetic character. This is the more regrettable because, if the basic conception of a special dialect is erroneous, the assumption of the latter's existence will in the future prove to be a considerable obstacle to a correct apprehension of the historical development of the Akkadian language.

STUDY III

THE VERB *UZUZZU*, "TO STAND"

The verb for "to stand" is undoubtedly one of the most fre-
quently used verbs in any language; and since it is a common
observation that frequent use causes a more rapid development
of the verb, i.e., a much faster change of its grammatical forms,
than can be observed in the great bulk of verbs less frequently
used, we may be certain to find the verb for "to stand" in almost
all languages among the so-called "irregular" verbs. In Akkadian
too, therefore, it would not be surprising if the verb for "to stand"
should show the more or less anticipated irregularities. However,
in the form in which it has hitherto been conceived, i.e., as a
supposed *primae nûn* and *mediae z geminatae* verb **nazâzu, the
irregularities are far more drastic and manifold than anticipated.
For under the assumption just referred to not only could very
few of the extant forms be classed as regular, but the irregular
forms would themselves show a variety so large and unusual as
to be unparalleled by any other verb in the Semitic languages.
As a matter of fact the so-called "irregularities" in Semitic verbal
forms concern as a rule whole classes of verbs, while deviations
of single verbs from the pattern of their respective class are com-
paratively rare and certainly cannot be found in such a veritable
accumulation as is supposed in the case of the Akkadian verb for
"to stand."

These more or less general observations lead us to suspect that
the common conception of the Akkadian verb for "to stand" as
**nazâzu is erroneous. In point of fact, the following investigation
will show that all peculiarities of the various forms of the verb
point unmistakably to a root *mediae infirmae zuz* or *ziz*, or even
z'z (all of these possibilities designated for our purposes as *z'z*),
and that with the recognition of this root the forms of the verb,
in spite of noticeable peculiarities, form a comparatively simple
and coherent system such as we would expect from our knowledge
not only of Akkadian itself but of the Semitic languages in general.

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I. INDICATIONS THAT THE ROOT OF THE VERB FOR "TO STAND" WAS NOT *nzz*

The common assumption that the root of the Akkadian verb for "to stand" is *******nzz* meets with the following difficulties:

1. DOUBLING OF THE LAST RADICAL

Numerous forms of the verb double the last radical of the assumed root *******nzz*. Compare, among many other instances, the present forms *iz-za-az-zu* (= *izzázzu*), "(which) stands," in a Samsuiluna letter (King, LIH, No. 49_{13}); *a-za-az-za-ku-nu-ši-im*, "I shall stand bail (= guarantee something) for you," in an Old Babylonian letter (CT XXXIII 20_{17}); *i-za-az-zu*, "they will be responsible" (Thureau-Dangin, LC, No. 133_{14}); *i-za-az-zu*, "they are stationed," in an Old Babylonian letter (CT XXIX 17_{27}); *ša itti x iz-za-az-zu*, "who is in the service of X," in a Hammurabi letter (King, LIH, No. 35_{7-9}); *iz-za-az-zu*, "they stand" (Ungnad, UPUM VII, No. 27_{24}; letter of the time of Hammurabi); further, the imperative form *i-zi-iz-za*, "help me" (CT VI $27b_{33}$; Old Babylonian letter); and the infinitive forms *i-zu-uz-za*, "to stand" (Ungnad, UPUM VII, No. 82_{18}), and *a-na* .... *ú-zu-uz-zi-im* (CH, rev., col. $21_{70f.}$). All of these examples are drawn from Old Babylonian sources, i. e., from texts of the classical period of Babylonian grammar which show almost no deviations (such as are so frequent in later times) from a recognized standard of grammar and orthography. It is evident from this fact that the doubling of the last radical must be regarded as a regular feature of the verb for "to stand." To meet the objection that this doubling might be due to a "pausal" stress, it is sufficient to point out that it would be very strange that this "pausal" doubling should occur only in the case of the assumed verb *******nazâzu*, and in no other strong verb. But what proves beyond all doubt that no "pausal" stress is involved is the fact that forms of the verb for "to stand" which double the last radical are given in a grammatical text of the Hammurabi period. A tablet belonging to Crozer Seminary gives paradigms for certain forms of the Sumerian verb gub, "to stand," with added Akkadian translation which includes the following Akkadian verbal forms of the type described above:

a) Imperative of the simple intransitive and causative

i-zi-iz-za-am	*šu-zi-iz-za-am*	col. $1_{7f.}$
	šu-zi-iz-za-aš-šu	col. 1_{10}
i-zi-iz-za-aš-šum	*šu-zi-iz-za-aš-šum*	col. $1_{11f.}$
i-zi-iz-za-am		col. 1_{13}
	šu-zi-iz-za-an-ni	col. 1_{17}

b) Present of the simple intransitive and causative

uš-za-az-za-am	col. 3_{26}

c) Preterit of the *t*-form of the intransitive and causative

it-ta-zi-iz-za-am	*uš-ta-zi-iz-za-am*	col. $2_{22f.}$
it-ta-(zi-)iz-za-aš-šu	*uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šu*	col. 2_{24}, col. 3_1
it-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum	*uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum*	col. $3_{2f.}$

Forms like the above with doubled last radical are likewise quite frequent in later periods. Even Delitzsch's Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, with the relatively limited material it utilized, enumerated fourteen cases, comprising the forms *iz-za-az-zu*, *iz-za-az-za-ma*, *iz-ziz-za-am-ma*, *it-ta-ziz-za*, *ul-zi-iz-za-an-ni*, *šu-zu-uz-zu*, *u-zu-uz-zu*, *u-šu-uz-zu*, *it-ta-ši-iz-zu*, *ta-ta-ši-iz-za*, *ta-at-ta-ši-iz-za-a'*.

The actual extent of the doubling, in so far as it is expressed in writing, and the numerical relationship of the forms with doubled last radical to those which do not double it may be seen from the following lists, which are based on the material at present contained in the files of the Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago, with additional examples taken from a large number of other texts, some of them unpublished, which I have been able to examine for this investigation. The lists register the forms of all periods and branches of Akkadian except Old Akkadian and Cappadocian, which as a rule do not express doubling of consonants and whose forms therefore are quite useless for our purpose. In order to avoid possible misunderstandings it is to be noted that, in the second part of the list containing the forms without doubling of the last radical, for obvious reasons only such forms are registered as allow doubling of the last radical, that is to say, only those forms which show a vowel after the last radical. On the other hand, late forms with doubled last radical are included even though in the later periods

doubling of the last radical is likewise and not infrequently found in forms of the strong verb, a fact which of course prevents its occurrence in late forms of the verb for "to stand" from having the same evidential value as in the forms, e. g., of the Hammurabi period. It will be observed, however, that even in the late periods the doubling of the last radical of our verb is by far more frequent than the more or less occasional doubling of the last radical in the strong verb; and it is upon this fact that the evidential value of these late forms is based. For the sake of simplification, as a rule no distinction is made between forms which, though different in meaning, are identical in writing, as e. g. the singular form $izzi(z)z$ + the relative u and the plural form $izzi(z)z\bar{u}$, or the singular $izzi(z)z$ + a, "to me," and the feminine plural $izzi(z)z\bar{a}$. Finally, it may be pointed out that none of the Old Babylonian forms written iz-za-az-zu, iz-za-az-zum, etc., where -zu, -zum, etc. represent the pronominal suffixes -$šu$, -$šum$, etc., is included in the list.

A. Forms doubling the last radical z

I. The formation expressing the simple idea "to stand"

1. Present

az-za-az-zu	1
az-za-az-za-ku-nu-$ši$-im	1
ta-az-za-az-zi	1
ta-az-za-az-za	1
$[ta]$-za-az-zu	1
iz-za-az-zi	1
iz-za-az-zi-ma	1
iz-za-az-zu	35
$izza_2$-$z(i)$-zu	3
$izza_2$-$z(i)$-zu-u'	2
iz-za-az-zu-ma	8
iz-za-az-zu-ni	1
iz-za-az-zu-ka	5
iz-za-az-zu-$šu$	3
iz-za-az-za	4
iz-za-az-za-ni	1

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2. Preterit and precative

az-ziz-zi	1
az-zi-iz-zu	1
ta-az-ziz-za	1
ta-az-ziz-zu	1
iz-zi-iz-zu	5
iz-ziz-zu	1
iz-ziz-za	1
li-iz-zi-iz-zu	5
li-zi-iz-zu	2
li-iz-ziz-zu-ma	1

} 19

3. Imperative

i-zi-iz-zu	1
i-zi-iz-za	1
i-ziz-za	1
i-zi-iz-za-am	1
i-zi-iz-za-aš-šum	2
i-ziz-za-am-ma	4
i-zi-iz-zi	2
i-ziz-zi-ma	2
i-ziz-zi-im-ma	6
i-ziz-za-nim	1
[i]-ziz-za-nim-ma	1
i-ti-is-sa	2

} 24

4. Permansive, permansive adjective, infinitive, and gentilic adjective formed from infinitive

na-zu-uz-za-at	1
na-zu-uz-zu	2
na-zu-iz-zu-ú	1
i-zu-uz-zu	1
i-zu-uz-za	1
i-zu-uz-zi-im-ma	1
u-zu-uz-zu	4
u-zu-uz-zi-im	1
u-zu-uz-za	1
u-zu-uz-zi-ia	3
u-zu-uz-zu-[ki]	1
u-zu-uz-zi-ka	1
uz-za-uz-zu	1
u-šu-uz-zu	42
u-šu-us-su(?)	1

u-šu-uz-zi	1
u-šu-uz-zu-ia	1
u-šu-uz-zi-šu-nu	2
u-šu-uz-za-ak-ka	2
u-šu-uz-za-ta	2
u-šu-uz-za-a-ta	2
u-šu-uz-za-ti	1
u-šu-uz-za-nu	2
u-šu-uz-za-an-ni	1
u-šu-uz-zu-u'	3
u-šu-uz-za	2
u-šu-uz-za-a'	2
u-šu-uz-za-'e-e-ti[1]	6
u-šu-uz-za-'e-ti[1]	1
u-šu-uz-za-a(i)i̯e-e₇²-tú[1]	1
u-šu-us-su-'e-e-ti[1]	1

(brace totaling **92**)

II. The *t*-form of the preceding formation

Preterit

it-ta-zi-iz-za-am	1
it-ta-(zi)-iz-za-aš-šu	1
it-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum	1
it-ta-ziz-za	1
it-ta-ši-iz-zu	3
it-ta-ši-iz-za	1
ta-ta-ši-iz-za-a'	1
it-ti-ti-is-su	1

(brace totaling **10**)

III. The *tn*-form

1. Present

it-ta-nam-za-az-zu	2	2

2. Infinitive

i-ta-az-zu-uz-zi	1	1

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[1] Pl. feminine of the adjective *ušuzza(i)i̯u* (*ušuzzái̯u* etc.) and *ušussû* (< *ušussai̯i̯u*), "belonging to (or connected with) a service (literally: 'standing')," which is formed from the infinitive *ušuzzu, ušussu,* "to stand (in someone's service)," "to serve," by means of the gentilic ending. The adjective occurs in the phrase *qašáti*[pl] *ušuzzai̯i̯êti* (*ušuzza'êti* etc.) *ù pa(i)i̯iṣêti,* evidently "Dienst- und Zinslehen," "socages and copyhold fiefs" (cf. BE IX, No. 60₁₃f., and BE X, No. 15₁f.). Bezold (Glossar, p. 195a) takes erroneously (though with question mark) *ušuzza'êti* as pl. feminine of *ušuzzu,* "aufgestellt"(!), said of bows (*qašáti*).

[2] Or *-ai̯i̯a-a₁₁-tú*? *A₁₁* and *e₇* = sign *a'* (*e'*, etc.).

IV. The simple causative form

1. Present

uš-za-az-za-am	1
uš-za-az-zu	1
u-ša-az-za-az-zu	2
u-ša-az-za-az-zu-ma	6
u-ša-az-za-az-u-ma(?)	1

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2. Preterit

uš-ziz-zi	1
uš-ziz-za	1
uš-ziz-zu	3
ul-zi-iz-za-an-ni	1
u-ša-az-[zi-]iz-zi	1

7

3. Imperative

šu-zi-iz-za-am	1
šu-zi-iz-za-aš-šu	1
šu-zi-iz-za-an-ni	1
šu(?)-zi-iz-zu(?)	1

4

4. Permansive

šu-zu-uz-zu	4
šu-zu-uz-[zu-u]	1
šu-zu-uz-za	1

6

V. The *t*-form of the causative

Preterit

uš-ta-zi-iz-za-am	1
uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šu	1
uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum	1

3

B. Forms that do not double the last radical *z*

I. The simple form for "to stand"

1. Present

az-za-zu	1
a-za-za	1
a-za-zu-ni	1

a-za-zu-u-ni	1	66
ta-az-za-zi	2	
ta-az-za-zu	1	
ta-za-za	1	
iz-za-zi	4	
i-za-za	3	
iz-za-zu	31	
i-za-zu	4	
i-za-zu-u	1	
iz-za-zu-ma	3	
i-za-zu-ma	2	
iz-za-zu-ni	1	
iz-za-zu-u-ni	4	
i-za-zu-ni	2	
i-za-zu-u-ni	2	
iz-za-zu-nim	1	

2. Preterit and precative

az-zi-za	1	
az-zi-zu	3	
az-zi-zu-u-ni	2	
ta-az-zi-zu	1	
ta-az-zi-za-ma	1	
ta-zi-za-a-ni	1	
ta-az-zi-sa(?)	1	
i-zi-za	7	
iz-zi-za-am	1	
iz-zi-za-am[-...]	1	
iz-zi-za-ak-kum	1	
iz-zi-za-aš-šu	1	
iz-zi-zi	2	
iz-zi-zu	27	
i-zi-zu	1	
e-zi-zu(?)	2	
iz-zi-zu-u	4	
iz-zi-zu-ma	3	
i-zi-zu-ma	1	
i-zi-zu-u-ma	1	
iz-zi-zu-ni	1	
iz-zi-zu-u-ni	3	
i-zi-zu-u-ni	1	
iz-zi-zu-ni-ma	3	
lu-uz-zi-za-ak-kum	1	106
li-zi-zi	4	

li-iz-zi-za	1
li-iz-zi-zu	17
li-zi-zu	3
li-iz-zi-zu-ma	1
li-iz-zi-zu-[u]-[ni]	1
li-zi-zu-nim-ma	2
li-iz-zi-zu-ka	2
li-iz-zi-zu-ku-um-ma	1
li-iz-zi-zu-[....]	3

3. Imperative

i-zi-za	1	
i-zi-za-ma	3	
i-zi-za-nim-ma	1	6
i-ti-sa[1]	1	

4. Infinitive, permansive, and gentilic adjective formed from infinitive

i-zu-zu	1	
u-zu-zi	1	
u-zu-za	2	
uz-zu-zi-im-ma	1	
u-šu-za-ku	1	
u-šu-za-an-ni	1	17
u-šu-zu	3	
u-šu-zu-ma	1	
u-šu-za-ʾe-e-ti[2]	1	
na-an-zu-zu	5	

II. The *t*-form of the preceding formation

Preterit

it-ta-zi-za-ak-kum	1	
it-ta-ši-z(i)-uʾ	1	
at-ti-ti-zi	1	
it-ti-ti-zi	1	
i-ti-ti-zi	2	
i-ti-te-zi	1	12
ni-ti-ti-zi	1	
ta-ti-ti-sa[3]	1	
it-ti-ti-su[3]	1	
i-ti-ti-su[3]	2	

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[1] See, however, pp. 169f. on *s* = *ss* in this and other Late Assyrian forms.
[2] See p. 80, n. 1.   [3] Cf. n. 1.

III. The *tn*-form

Present

it-ta-na-za-zu	2	
[it]-ta-nam-za-zu	1	} 3

IV. The simple causative form

1. Present

tuš-za-za-ma	1	
tuš-za-za-a-ma	1	
u-ša-za-za-ma	1	
u-ša-az-za-zu	2	9
u-ša-az-za-zu-ma	3	
u-ša-az-za-zu-šu-nu-ti	1	

2. Preterit

uš-zi-zi	1	
uš-zi-zu	5	
uš-zi-zu-ma	1	
ul-zi-zu-šu	1	
liš-zi-za-an-ni	1	
u-ša-zi-zi	1	
u-ša-zi-zu-u-ni	1	22
u-ša-zi-zu-ni-ma	2	
u-ša-zi-zu-in-ni	4	
lu-ša-zi-zu	2	
u-ša-az-zi-zu(?)	1	
u-ša-az-zi-zu-u'	1	
tu-ša-az-zi-za-a'	1	

3. Imperative

šu-uz-zi-za-a'	1	1

4. Infinitive and permansive

šu-zu-zi	4	
šu-zu-zi-im-ma	2	
šu-zu-za-at-ma	2	12
šu-zu-zu-ú-ma	1	
šu-uz-zu-zu	3	

V. The *t*-form of the causative

Preterit

ul-te-zi-zi-šu	1	2
us-sa-an-zi-sa-an-ni	1	

VI. The *tn*-form of the causative

Present

ul-ta-na-az-za-zu-ma   1   1

For convenience the occurrences of forms with doubled final consonant and those of forms with simple final consonant are compared in the following list.

A. The intransitive forms

	(*a*) with doubled final radical	(*b*) with simple final radical
Simple form		
Present	69	66
Preterit and precative	19	106 ·
Imperative	24	6[1]
Infinitive and permansive	92	17
t-form	10	12[2]
tn-form	3	3
	217	210

B. The causative forms

	(*a*) with doubled final radical	(*b*) with simple final radical
Simple form		
Present	11	9
Preterit and precative	7	22
Imperative	4	1
Infinitive and permansive	6	12
t-form	3	2
n-form	0	1
	31	47

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[1] Note, however, the remark on p. 83, n. 1, according to which the ratio would actually be 25 : 5, not 24 : 6.

[2] See p. 83, n. 3, according to which the actual ratio would be 14 : 8 instead of 10 : 12.

On the whole, the forms with doubled last radical are about as frequent as those with simple last radical — a fact which makes it quite evident that the doubling of the last radical is not in any respect an accidental feature. To some extent it may even suggest that the forms which do not double the last radical merely represent a kind of "defective" writing, i. e., that they too were pronounced with double z. Doubling of the last radical, however, is a feature observable, at least in Old Babylonian, only in the conjugation of verbs *mediae* u and in part *mediae* i, e.g. in such forms as *itúrrū*, *ukánnū*, and *ukínnū*, from *târu* and *kânu* — a fact which would indicate that the root of *izzázzū* etc. should have a weak consonant between its first and its second z.

2. "*Plene*" WRITING OF THE VOWEL BETWEEN THE TWO RADICAL z'S

In sixteen cases the writing of the present forms of the verb for "to stand" with inserted vowel a indicates either a long vowel $\bar{a}$ or the sound group $a'a$ between the first and the second z of the root. For instance, the Crozer grammatical text mentioned above enumerates in col. 3 the following present forms:

iz-za-a-az	*uš-za-a-az*	ll. 18f.
	uš-za-a-az	l. 21
iz-za-a-az-zu	*uš-za-a-az-zu*	ll. 20 and 22
(= *izzáz* + *šu*)	(= *ušzáz* + *šu*)	
iz-za-a-az-zum	*uš-za-a-az-zum*	ll. 23f.
(= *izzáz* + *šum*)	(= *ušzáz* + *šum*)	

Legal documents of the Hammurabi period furnish the following additional forms:

iz-za-a-az	"he will stand (as guarantor)"	VS VII, No. 50₁₅; UPUM VIII, 2, No. 196₁₃
i-za-a-az	"he will stand (as guarantor)"	Mém. XVIII, No. 209 (= XXII, No. 43), l. 13; LEDA, No. 109₁₈
iz-za-a-a[z-z]u	"they will stand (for it)"	LC, No. 156₁₉

It will be observed that in the last form a long $á$ (or $a'a$) is indicated even before the doubled z (*izzázzū*). In texts of the later periods, finally, we find once

uš-za-a-su	"he causes him to stand	RHCS, 1. 122
(< *ušzâz* + *šu*)	(on enemies and foes)"	(Šarru-kin II)

and three times *iz-za-a-zu*, namely in

iz-za-a(!)-*zu i-na*	"(while thy wives) were	TEAT, No. 1_{27}
pa-ni-ka	standing before thee"	(Tell Amarna)
iš-tu a-ḫa-iš	"they shall stand	KAVI, No. 2, col. 6_{25}
iz-za-a-zu	together"	(Assyrian Code)

and probably

a-na me-i-ni nišê[pl]		ABL, No. 1126, obv.$_{10}$
iz-za-a-zu		(Sargonid period).

The fact that the forms with long *â* are found in a grammatical text which gives them as paradigms for the pupils of a school again clearly shows that the verbal forms enumerated are not "pausal" but regularly used forms. Note especially that the Crozer tablet writes the long vowel in each of the seven instances in which the endingless present form occurs; in other words, it never writes *iz-za-az* and *uš-za-az*, but always *iz-za-a-az* and *uš-za-a-az*. It is therefore a fair conclusion that the scribe of the Crozer tablet actually knew, or recognized as correct, *only* the forms with a long vowel, i.e., *izzâz* and *ušzâz*. Moreover, the occurrence of the same forms in other early and late texts indicates quite clearly that the present forms of the verb for "to stand" were pronounced with a long *â* in the last syllable in every period. Since, however, long *â* in the last syllable of a present form is found elsewhere, only in verbs *mediae infirmae* — e.g. in the I 1 form *itâr* (< **itá'ar* < **itáwar*), "he returns," and in *iddâk* (< **indá'ak* < **indáwak*), "he will be killed," where it is due to a contraction of the two vowels of the present basis *paras* after the dropping of the middle weak radical *u̯* — this is another indication that the root of the Akkadian verb for "to stand" must have shown a weak consonant between its two *z*'s.

3. FORMS WITH *i̯* BETWEEN THE TWO RADICAL *z*'S

The weak consonant which the root of the verb for "to stand" according to the preceding deductions must contain between its two *z*'s is actually shown by the following forms of III/II 2:

u-sa-za-aẓẓi[1]*-zi*	"I caused to stand,"	ABL, No. 257, rev.$_6$
(< *uštazáẓẓiz*)	"I set up"	

and

us-sa-ze-ẓi[2]*-zi*	"I caused (them)	*ibid.*, No. 1022$_{27}$.
(< *uštazáẓiz*	to stand"	
< *uštazaẓẓiz*)		

That the III/II 2 form *u-sa-za-aẓẓi-zi* in the first-mentioned passage is a form of the verb for "to stand" is clearly shown by the context: ^{5}*ṣa-lam-a-ni ša šarri bêli-iá ina eli ki-gal-li* ^{6}*i-mit-tú šu-me-li u-sa-za-aẓẓi-zi*, "the images of the king, my lord, I set up on the *kigallu* at the right and at the left."[3] Note that the verbal form commonly used in the inscriptions for the setting up of a statue etc. is *uš-ziz*, *ul-ziz*, *u-še-ziz*, etc. (Delitzsch, AHwb, p. 456). Unfortunately the text of No. 1022 is too badly broken to establish from its context the exact meaning of *us-sa-ze-ẓi-zi* with the same degree of certainty. The passage is as follows:

^{25}*ištu* 30 40^4 *mârê*^{pl} [................]
1650 *napšâte*^{pl} ....]
^{27}*us-sa-ze-ẓi-zi* [.......................]
šá ina pani-ia e-t[*a-* ....]

But since the only other verb that could be taken into consideration, namely *zâzu*, "to divide," or here better "to distribute," is an active verb and therefore cannot form a III/II, it seems to be evident that *us-sa-ze-ẓi-zi* is likewise a form of the verb for "to stand." For the relationship between the forms *us-sa-ze-ẓi-zi* and *ú-sa-za-aẓẓi-zi* compare among others the II 2 forms *up-te-ẓi-ṣi* (Harper, ABL, No. 633$_{17}$) and *up-ta-aẓẓi-ṣi* (*ibid.*, No. 639, rev.$_6$) as well as the II 1 forms *lu-ke-'i-il* (of *kâlu) (*ibid.*, No. 379$_{9 \text{ and } 12}$) and *lu-ka-aẓẓi-in* (of *kânu*) (*ibid.*, No. 168, rev.$_{18}$, No. 639$_8$).

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[1] Sign *a.a.*

[2] Sign *ia.*

[3] Thus correctly interpreted already in Behrens, Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe religiösen Inhalts aus der Sargonidenzeit, p. 50.

[4] The two numbers probably mean "30 or 40." A reading "3 *nêr* and 40," i.e., "1840," is excluded, since in the following line 1650 is written "1 LIM 6 ME(!) 50" and thus 1840 should be written "1 LIM 8 ME 40."

4. THE *a* BETWEEN THE TWO RADICAL *z*'S NOT SUBJECT TO VOWEL HARMONY

If the root of the verb for "to stand" were **nzz* and if, with Delitzsch, its present form were **izzăz* with a short *a*, the corresponding plural form should read in Cappadocian **i-zu-zu* (= **izzuzū*), according to the law of vowel harmony; the form actually found in Cappadocian, however, is *i-za-zu*. Since the preservation of the *a*-sound in Cappadocian can only be accounted for either by the fact that the vowel was long or by the fact that if it was short it was stressed and formed part of a closed syllable, "they stand" must have been in Cappadocian either *izzâzū* or *izzázzū*, but never **izzăzū*. This likewise applies to Middle Assyrian, for which the Law Code actually gives, besides *iz-za-zu*, the form *iz-za-a-zu* mentioned above under section 2. It also applies to Late Assyrian, for which only such forms as *iz-za-zu*, but not such forms as **iz-zu-zu*, are attested.

5. INFINITIVE **nazâzu* AND OTHER FORMS OF A **nzz* QAL WANTING

If *iz-za-az* and *iz-zi-iz* actually were present and preterit I 1 of a root **nzz*, one would expect, in view of the very frequent occurrence of the word for "to stand," to find rather often the following I 1 forms of **nzz*: the infinitive **nazâzu*, "to stand," the participle **nâzizum*, "standing," and the permansive **nâziz*, pl. **nâzzū* (< **nâzizû*), "he is standing" and "they are or were standing" respectively. The truth is that these forms never occur; the forms really found are the infinitives *izuzzu, uzuzzu, ušuzzu*, the participles (construct) *muzziz, muzzāz, manzāz*, and the permansives *nazūz, izūz, uzūz, ušūz*, etc. Note especially the passage in the first column of Syllabary b (Weissbach, Bab. Misc. Pls. 10f., col. 1_{15-18}),

15	⎸ du-u	DU	*a-la-ku*
	⎸ ri-i	DU	,,
17	⎸ gu-ub	DU	*ú-zu-uz-zu*
	⎸ su-ḫu-uš	SUḪUŠ	*iš-du-um*

8*

where, had there existed a qal verb **nazâzu, "to stand," the scribe would certainly have given that form instead of uzuzzu.[1] Both the fact that the last basis vowel of the infinitive and permansive forms is u, which means that they are formed by means of the basis parus, and the fact that the participle is formed by means of the prefix mu- unmistakably point to one of the derived formations, not to I 1.

6. **Ízzaz NOT A REGULAR FORM OF **nzz

If a verb **nazâzu, "to stand," had actually existed, even a present form **ízzăz, as assumed by Delitzsch, would present difficulties. Delitzsch mentions as a parallel for such a formation the case of iddăn, "he gives," from nadânu, "to give." It must, however, be remembered that the present form iddan occurs only in the Assyrian branch of Akkadian; the oldest Babylonian form, found in a text of the third dynasty of Ur, is inádan, while the language of the Hammurabi period has the form ináddin, Middle Babylonian inándin, and Late Babylonian inámdin. The present form iddan, "he gives," is a metaplastic formation modeled after the preterit iddin, and there is of course no reason why an **inázaz, "he stands," if it had existed, should not, by a similar process, have been assimilated to its preterit **izziz, if this form had existed, thus resulting in the form **izzaz. But it would certainly be very strange to assume that at the time of Hammurabi, for example, only **nazâzu had developed a present form of this type, while nadânu, "to give," had not, though it also was a primae nûn and certainly no less frequently used and therefore no less exposed to transformation than the word for "to stand."

7. Ušzīz NOT A FORM OF **nzz

During the Hammurabi period the causative of the word for "to stand" in the preterit is exclusively uš-zi-iz. This form is found

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[1] The equation 𝖸 gu-ub | DU | na-za-zu in Haupt, ASK, Part I, sec. 2 (Zeichensammlung), No. 351, which is quoted also in Muss-Arnolt, Concise Dictionary, p. 658, col. 2, is only Haupt's erroneous construction; actually it does not exist.

considerably earlier also, in the inscription of Anubanini of Lulu-
bum, probably not long after the Dynasty of Akkad, and continues
to be used in the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian periods. This form,
however, certainly does not point to a root **nzz, since it does not
contain an *n*; in fact, it leaves no room for an *n*, because the radical
z follows immediately, i.e., without the intervention of a vowel,
the šaf'el *š*. This immediate sequence of the radical *z* upon the
šaf'el *š* would naturally indicate that the *z* is the first radical of the
verb for "to stand." The šaf'el preterit of the assumed **nazâzu
would of course be **ušázziz (< **įušánziz), plural **ušázzizū, with
the word stress on the *a* of the šaf'el element *ša*. To derive **úšzīz
from such an **ušázziz would, to say the least, be extremely
difficult, since naturally only unstressed vowels tend to elide.

8. SUPPOSED **ušâziz AND **ušêziz

In addition to the late form *u-ša-az-ziz*, which Delitzsch re-
garded as the regular causative form of the verb for "to stand,"
and in addition to the form *ušzīz* (later also *ulzīz*), which, as we
have seen, was the only form in existence at and before the time
of Hammurabi, we find in later periods the form *u-ša-ziz* also, and
in the inscriptions of Aššur-naṣir-apli II and his son Šulmanu-
ašared III both *u-ša-ziz* and *u-še-ziz* occur. Delitzsch believed that
the forms *u-ša-ziz* and *u-še-ziz* were pronounced **ušâziz and
**ušêziz, a conception that presupposes a transition of the assumed
primae nûn verb **nazâzu into the *primae* ' and *primae į* classes.
If we add the fact that *ušzīz* is a causative of the type of the
mediae infirmae, while **nazâzu, supposedly the original form of
the verb, is a *primae n*, we would have the startling situation that
the verb for "to stand" formed its causative not only as a regular
primae nûn, but also after the model of three additional verb
classes, namely the *primae* ', the *primae į*, and the *mediae infirmae*.
Even more remarkable would be the fact that *ušzīz*, although,
under Delitzsch's assumptions, undoubtedly the most advanced
of the various causative forms of the verb **nazâzu, is the form
used in the older periods, whereas *ušazziz*, which Delitzsch regards
as the oldest form, is found only in late inscriptions; in other words,

Delitzsch's conception of the development of the causative forms contradicts the historical evidence. Now it is quite obvious that if the development of the causative forms of the verb for "to stand" can be so traced that all the difficulties just mentioned would be eliminated this would offer a solution of the problem that would be far preferable to that attempted by Delitzsch. As a matter of fact, this result is achieved as soon as, in complete accordance with the historical evidence, the historically oldest form, i.e., *ušzīz*, is taken as the starting point of the development. This form is the regular šaf'el (or šaf'el-pi'el) of a verb *mediae infirmae*, the class of verbs to which the observations made in the preceding paragraphs also indicated the verb for "to stand" belonged. The forms *ušazīz* and *ušezīz* can then easily be understood as immediate developments from *ušzīz*; they merely insert a short vowel between the causative *š* and the following first radical *z*, whether it be for the purpose of avoiding a difficulty of pronunciation caused by the fact that the sibilant *z* immediately follows the sibilant *š*, or for some other independent or concurrent reasons, such as assimilation of the form *ušzīz* to the III 2 form *uštazīz*, certain rhythmic tendencies, etc. Note the insertion (or reinsertion) of an *a* into the causative form under apparently quite similar circumstances in *u-ša-za-nin*, i.e., *ušazánnin* (for *ušzánnin*), III/II of *zanânu* "to rain," in the inscriptions of Aššur-naṣir-apli II and his son Šulmanu-ašared III, the same kings who use also the forms *ušazīz* and *ušezīz* (cf. Aššur-naṣir-apli, 1 R 17–26, col. 2_{106}, and 3 R 6, rev. $_{24}$; Šulmanu-ašared, Monolith, 3 R 7f., col. $2_{6\varepsilon}$). Note further *u-ša-na-ma-ra* besides *tuš-nam-mar*, *u-še-qel-pu-ú* (instead of *ušqelpû*), and the especially frequent *ušabálkat, ušabálkit* besides *ušbálkat, ušbálkit*. Now no one has ever made the claim that in any of these cases the inserted *a* is long and that it is the result of a contraction with a first radical ' or *i̯*; it is agreed by all that the *a* is short and is a secondary insertion or, according to some, the original vowel of the šaf'el element *ša*. And there is no real reason why the very same should not hold good in the case of *ušazīz* besides *ušzīz*; i.e., the *a* is a short inserted secondary vowel. Note especially that all cases of an insertion of an *a* after the vowelless šaf'el *š* occur only in the periods after the time of Hammurabi, a fact quite in accor-

dance with the observation that the form *ušazīz*, too, is not found before that time. In a later section we shall see that even the forms *ušazzīz* and *ušezzīz* can be readily understood as further developments from *ušazīz* and *ušezīz*.

II. NEW CLASSIFICATION OF THE FORMS OF THE VERB FOR "TO STAND" AS OF THE ROOT *z'z* (*mediae infirmae*)

If we sum up the observations made in the preceding eight sections we find that they clearly show (1) that the first radical of the root of the Akkadian word for "to stand" was not *n*, but *z* (hitherto considered to be the second radical), and (2) that the root of the verb for "to stand" had a weak consonant between its first radical *z* (hitherto considered the second radical), and its last radical *z*. In other words, the infinitive of the I 1 formation of the verb for "to stand" should be *zâzu (root נ׳ז [or ר׳ז]) instead of **nazâzu (root נז׳). The *n* which we observe in forms like *na-zu-uz* and *na-zu-uz-zu*, or whose existence can be concluded either from the doubling of the first radical *z*, as in *izzâz*, or from such forms as *izīz* < *nizīz, must of course be a verbal formative element, namely, the nif'al *n*. The doubling of the last radical *z* replaces the length of the preceding vowel, which is due either to a contraction of two vowels after the dropping of the weak second radical or to the contraction of the weak consonant and a vowel.

With these facts in mind, the form system of the verb for "to stand" is the following:[1]

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[1] In the following list the sign ˆ over the contracted vowel between the first and third radicals indicates not only that the vowel is long, but also that it is stressed.

The sign ˜ over the contracted vowel between the first and third radicals indicates that the vowel can be pronounced both as a simple long vowel (as indicated by ˆ) and as a long vowel with falling stress ($\tilde{a} = \acute{a}_a$).

The sign ¯ over the contracted vowel between the first and third radicals indicates that the vowel is long and that the word stress fell either on the contracted long vowel or on the syllable preceding it, according to whatever system of stressing prevailed at the time concerned.

The sign ˆ over endings indicates the original length of these endings, but not that they were stressed.

The sign ¯ over endings indicates that the ending is not stressed and that, although originally long, the quantity had been reduced (to half-long or even short).

A. The Nif'al Formations

IV 1 (and IV/IV 1)

Present	Sg.	*izzâz* (< **inzâz* < **i̯anzá'az* [< **i̯andá'ad*])
	Pl.	*izzâzū, izza'ázzū, izzázzū* (< **inzâzû* < **i̯anzá'azû*)
Preterit	Sg.	*izzīz* (< *izzēz* < **i̯anzēz* < **i̯ánza'iz*)
	Pl.	*izzîzū* and *izzizzū* (< *izzêzū* < **i̯anzá'izû*)
Imperative	Sg.	*izīz* (< *izēz* < **nizēz* < **nzá'iz*)
		itīz (< **it̠ēz*, for *izīz* < **id̠ēz*)
		itzᵉ (< *ítiz* < *itīz* etc.)
	Pl.	*izízzā* and *izîzā* (< *nzá'izá*)
		itissā (< **it̠ítt̠ā* < **it̠êt̠ā* < **nt̠á'it̠á*)
Permansive (a)	Sg.	*izūz* (< **nizūz* < **nzá'uz*)
		uzūz (< *izūz* etc.)
		ušūz (< *uzūz* etc.)
	Pl.	*izúzzū* (< **nizûzú* < **nzá'uzú*)
		uzúzzū (< *izúzzū* etc.)
		ušúzzū (< *uzúzzū* etc.)
(b)	Sg.	*nazūz* ([< **náz'uz*] < **nzá'uz*)
	Pl.	*nazúzzū* (< *nazúzū* < **n(a)zá'uzú*)
(c)	Sg.	*nanzūz* (< *nazūz* etc.)
	Pl.	*nanzûzū, nanzúzzū* (< *nazûzū* etc.)
Infinitive		*izúzzum* (< **nizûzum* < **nzá'uzum*)
		uzúzzum (< *izúzzum* etc.)
		ušúzzu (< *uzúzzu* etc.)
		[*ušússu* (< *uzúzzu* etc.)][1]
Participle (a)	Abs.	[*muzzázum, muzzázzum* (< **munzá'zum* < **munzá'i-zum*)]
	Cstr.	*muzzāz* (formed after *muzzázum*)
	Cstr.	*manzāz* (< *munzāz* etc.)
(b)	Abs.	[*muzzízzum* and *muzzîzum*(?) (<**munzêzum* < **munzá'izum* and **múnza'izum*)]
	Cstr.	*muzzīz* (< *muzzēz* < **múnza'iz*)

IV 2

Present		—
Preterit	Sg.	*ittazīz* (< **intazīz* [< **i̯antáz'iz*] < **i̯antazá'iz* < **i̯antzá'iz*)
		ittašīz (< **intat̠īz* etc.)
		ittélīz and *ittitīz* (< **intátīz* etc.)
	Pl.	*ittazizzū* and *ittazîzū* (< **intazêzū* < **i̯antzá'izû*)
		ittašizzū and *ittašîzū* (< **i̯antt̠á'izû*)
		ittitissū (< **ittit̠ítt̠ū* < **ittit̠ít̠t̠ū* < ** i̯antt̠á'it̠û*)

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[1] Cf. p. 80, n. 1.

Imperative		—
Permansive	Sg.	*izzūz* (< **nitzūz* < **ntzáʾuz*)[1]
	Pl.	*izzúzzū* (< *izzúzū* < **nitzûzū* < **ntzáʾuzû*)
Infinitive		*izzúzzum* (< *izzûzum* < **nitzûzum* < **ntzáʾuzum*)
		uzzûzu (< *izzûzu* etc.)
Participle		—

IV 3

Present	Sg.	*ittanazāz* ([< **intanázʾaz*] < **i̯ant(a)n(a)záʾaz*)
		ittanamzāz (< **ittanazzāz* < *ittanazāz* etc.)
	Pl.	*ittanazázzū* (< **ittanazâzū* < **i̯antnzáʾazû*)
		ittanamzázzū (< *ittanazázzū* etc.)
Preterit		—
Imperative		—
Permansive	Sg.	*itazzūz* (< **ntnzáʾuz*)
	Pl.	*itazzúzzū* (< **ntnzáʾuzû*)
Infinitive		*itazzúzzum* (< **ntanzáʾuzum*)
Participle		*muttazzîz* (< **muntnzáʾiz(u)*)

B. The Šafʿel Formations

III 1 (III/II 1) (III/IV 1 [= (b)])

Present	(a)	Sg.	*ušzāz* (< **i̯uszáʾaz* [and **i̯uszáʾʾaz*])
		Pl.	*ušzāzu*, *ušzazzū* (< **i̯uszáʾazû*)
	(b)	Sg.	*ušazzáz* (< **ušanzáz* < **i̯ušanzáʾaz*)
		Pl.	*ušazzázzū* (< *ušazzázū* etc.)
Preterit	(a α)	Sg.	*úšzīz* (< **i̯úšzaʾiz*) and *ušzîz* (< **i̯uszáʾʾiz*)
			ulzīz and *ulzîz* (< *ušzīz* and *ušzîz*)
		Pl.	*ušzîzū*, *ušzizzū* (< *ušzîzū* etc.)
			ulzîzū and *ulzizzū* (< *ušzîzū* etc.)
	(β)	Sg.	*ušazīz* (< *ušzīz* etc.)
		Pl.	*ušazîzū* and *ušazizzū* (< *ušzîzū* etc.)
	(γ)	Sg.	*ušezīz* (< *ušazīz* etc.)
		Pl.	*ušezîzū* and *ušezizzū* (< *ušzîzū* etc.)
	(δ)	Sg.	*ušuzīz* (< *ušzīz* etc.)
		Pl.	*ušuzîzū* (< *ušzîzū* etc.)
	(b α)	Sg.	*ušazzīz* (< **ušanzīz* < *ušazīz* etc.)
		Pl.	*ušazzîzū* (< *ušazîzū* etc.)
	(β)	Sg.	*ušezzīz* (< *ušezīz* etc.)
			[*ušezzîzū* (< *ušezîzū* etc.)]

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[1] For this and the following forms see pp. 103 f., but also pp. 141 f.

Imperative	(a)	Sg.	*šuzîz* ([< *šazîz*] < *šzá'iz* and *šzá"iz*)
		Pl.	*šuzîzā* and *šuzîzzā* (< *šzá'izâ* and *šzá"izâ*)
	(b)	Sg.	*šuzzîz* ([< *šunzîz*] < *šuzîz* etc.)
		Pl.	*šuzzîzū, šuzzîzzū* (< *šuzîzū* etc.)
Permansive		Sg.	*šuzûz* ([< *šazûz*] < *šzá'uz* and *šzá"uz*)
		Pl.	*šuzúzzū, šuzúzū* (< *šzá'uzú* and *šzá"uzú*)
Infinitive	(a)		*šuzúzzum, šuzûzum* (< *šzá'uzum* and *šzá"uzum*)
	(b)		*šuzzûzu* ([< *šunzûzu*] < *šuzûzu* etc.)

III 2 (III/II 2) (III/IV 2 [= (b)])

Present			—
Preterit	(a)	Sg.	*uštazîz* (< *iuštzá'iz* and *iuštazá"iz*)
			ultazîz (< *uštazîz* etc.)
			ultezîz (< *ultazîz* etc.)
		Pl.	*uštazîzū, uštazîzzū* (< *iuštazá'izú* and *iuštazá"izú*)
			ultazîzū (< *uštazîzū* etc.)
			ultezîzū (< *ultazîzū* etc.)
	(b)	Sg.	*ussanzîz* (< *uštanzîz* < *uštazîz* etc.)
		Pl.	*ussanzîssū* (< *ussanzîttū* < *uštazzá'itú* etc.)
Imperative			—
Permansive			—
Infinitive			—
Participle			—

III/II 2

Present		—
Preterit	Sg.	*ussazáiiiz* and *ussazéiiiz* (*ussazé"iz, ussazê'iz* ?) (< *uštazáiiiz*)
	Pl.	*ussazáiiizū* and *ussazéiiizū* etc. (< *uštazaiiizū*)
Imperative		—
Permansive		—
Infinitive		—
Participle		—

III 3 (III/II 3) (III/IV 3)

Present	(a)		—
	(b)	Sg.	*ultanazzáz* (< *uštazzáz* etc.)
		Pl.	*ultanazzázu* (< *uštazzázū* etc.)
Preterit			—
Imperative			—
Permansive			—
Infinitive			—
Participle			—

C. Nif'al-Nif'al (IV/IV 1)

Present   (*a*)   Sg.   [**innazīz*]

           (*b*)   Sg.   *innanzīz*

Permansive (*a*)   *nanzūz* (see A, IV 1, Perm., under *c*)

D. Šaf'el-Nif'al

(See in B the forms enumerated in the various *b*-sections)

E. Nif'al-Nif'al-Nif'al

(See C, Present, under *b*)

III. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE VERB *uzuzzu*

1. THE NIF'AL INSTEAD OF THE QAL

While the III form *ušzâz*, "he causes to stand," can be derived only from an intransitive I 1 form **zâzu*, "to stand," the IV 1 form *izzâz* (< *inzâz*), "he stands," would of course presuppose a transitive I 1 form **zâzu*, "to stand (something)," "to place or set up (something)," since, at least in the fully developed system of historical times, it is the function of the *n*-formation to change the transitive meaning of the root into that of a passive-intransitive. In the historical stage of Akkadian, however, the old intransitive qal **zâzu*, "to stand," is replaced by the nif'al of the deduced active **zâzu*, while this active **zâzu*, "to cause something to stand," if it really existed in the pre-Akkadian stage of the language, is in historical times replaced by the causative of the intransitive **zâzu*. It is interesting to note that a similar development resulting in the coupling of the nif'al of the active verb form with the hif'il of the intransitive verb form is found in one of the Hebrew verbs expressing the idea "to stand," namely in the verb נצב,[1] which instead of an old intransitive qal form **naṣiba* uses the nif'al form נִצָּב of an old transitive qal **naṣaba*,[2] and which instead of this old transitive **naṣaba* uses the hif'il הִצִּיב of the old intransitive **naṣiba*. Note furthermore that in Hebrew the nif'al

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[1] In the hitpa'el *hitiaṣṣēb* the root appears as יצב.

[2] Cf. Arabic *naṣaba* (present *ianṣubu*), "to plant," "to erect."

form נָכוֹן, "to be firmly established," "to stand upright," etc.,
which necessarily presupposes the existence of a transitive qal
*כּוּן, has completely superseded the intransitive qal *כּוּן, al-
though this latter is in common use in Akkadian (kânu, "to be
firmly established"), Arabic (kâna, "to be"), Ethiopic (kâna, "to
come to pass," "to become"), and is also presupposed in Hebrew
by the hif'il הֵכִין and the polel כּוֹנֵן, both of which mean "to
establish firmly," literally "to cause something to be firmly
established." These Hebrew parallels show unmistakably that no
valid objections can be raised against the assumption of an original
intransitive qal *zâzu, "to stand," which later fell into disuse,
merely on the ground that this formation is not found in historical
Akkadian. Nor, obviously, if the forms izzâz, izzīz, nazuzzu, etc.
can be satisfactorily explained as nif'al forms of a verb mediae
infirmae *zâzu, is there any greater need to derive them from an
extremely irregular **nazâzu than to derive the Hebrew forms
נָכוֹן, יִכּוֹן, הֵכִן, etc., which likewise show all the characteristic
features of the nif'al formation of a verb mediae infirmae, from a
most irregular verb *nākán. Moreover, in Akkadian itself the use
of the nif'al instead of the intransitive qal is by no means restricted
to uzuzzu; compare the quadriliteral preterit ibbalkit (< *inbalkit),
infinitive nabalkutum, "he revolted," and its šaf'el ušbalkit, "he
caused to revolt"; ippalsiḫ, "he threw himself on the ground,"
and ušpalsiḫ, "he caused someone to prostrate himself"; ippalis,
"he looked (at something)," and its šaf'el ušaplis, "he caused
someone to look (at something)," "he showed (something) to
someone"; etc. For transitive and intransitive usage of the same
verb formation (but naturally only in different languages) note,
e.g., the fact that whereas Hebrew has the intransitive verb אָבַד,
present יֹאבַד (paus. יֹאבֵד), "to get lost," "to perish," with its
causative pi'el אִבַּד and hif'il הֶאֱבִיד, "to cause to get lost,"
"to destroy," "to extinguish,"[1] Akkadian has the transitive verb

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[1] Similarly, Arabic has only the intransitive 'abada, present ia'bidu,
"to run away," "to grow wild," and the equally intransitive 'abida, present
ia'badu, "to grow (= become) wild," "to turn into wilderness," with the
causative pi'el 'abbada, "to drive away," and the latter's passive or in-
transitive ta'abbada, "to become desolated," "to grow wild or timid or shy."

abâtu, preterit *êbut*, "to destroy," pi'el *ubbutu*, "to destroy many," with its nif'al *nâbutum*, "to disappear," "to flee," "to be destroyed." Note that the Akkadian nif'al *innabit* therefore corresponds to the Hebrew intransitive qal אָבַד, while the Hebrew hif'il הֶאֱבִיד corresponds to the Akkadian transitive qal *êbut*.

2. DIFFERENT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PREFIXLESS NIF'AL FORMS

Among the prefixless formations of the nif'al of *zâzu* the permansive appears in two different types, namely (1) as *izūz* (plural *izúzzū*) with its later developments *uzūz* (plural *uzúzzū*) and *ušūz* (plural *ušuzzū*) and (2) as *nazūz* (plural *nazúzzū*) or, with late nasalization, *nanzūz* (plural *nanzúzzū*). In the first set of forms the nif'al *n* at the beginning of the word has been dropped (*izūz* <*nizûz*), whereas in the second it has been preserved. Moreover, the first syllable of the former set contains the weak vowel *i* (or *u* in the later forms), whereas the first syllable of the second set shows the strong vowel *a*. Since the basis vowels of the permansive are *a-u*, it is obvious that in the form (*n*)*izūz* these vowels must be contained in the long contracted vowel of the second syllable; in other words, the basic form of *izūz* is **nzá'uz*. As a matter of fact, *izūz* is an almost immediate development from this basic form, the only changes, apart from the retraction of the stress in certain cases, being the insertion of the secondary weak vowel *i* between the vowelless nif'al *n* and the first radical, the dropping of the originally vowelless *n* at the beginning of the form,[1] and the

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[1] The rule for the dropping of an *n* at the beginning of a word in Akkadian has never, as far as I know, been defined with precision; it is: The *n* at the beginning of a word is dropped whenever it is vowelless in the immediate basic form of the word. For instance, it must be dropped in the imperatives of the verbs *primae nûn* (cf. *úṣur* [< **uṣúr* < **nuṣúr* < **nṣur*], "watch," and *idin* [< **idín* < **nidín* < **ndin*], "give"), the I 2 imperatives, permansives, and infinitives of verbs *primae nûn* (cf. *itpaṣ* [< **itapaṣ* < **itápaṣ* < **nitápaṣ* < **ntápaṣ*] and *itpuṣum* [< **itapuṣum* < **ntápuṣum*]), the I 3 infinitives of verbs *primae nûn* (cf. *itáppuṣum* [< **ntánpuṣum*]), the IV 2 infinitives of all verb classes (cf. *itáplusum* [< **ntáplusum*]), etc. For in all these cases the respective basic forms to which the historical forms can be traced begin with a vowelless *n*. On the other hand, the *n* is

contraction of the two basis vowels *a* and *u* into *û* after the elision
of the weak middle radical, all of which are purely phonetic

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not dropped in the IV 1 imperative, permansive, and infinitive forms (cf.
náplis, náplus, and *náplusum),* because in the immediate basic forms,
which in this case are identical with the historical forms, it is followed by
the first basis vowel *a.* The bases *naplis* and *naplus* themselves, it is true,
are secondary, for their original forms, as pointed out above, are *npalis*
and *npalus* with vowelless *n.* Here, however, this fact is altogether irrelevant
because the rule, as stated above, refers only to the immediate, not to the
original, basic form. It must be noted that the original basic form — the
oldest stage in the system of verbal formation to which a given form can
be traced — is characterized by the fact that the two basis vowels have
their position within the three radicals, while the formative elements added
before the basis, as far as the system is concerned, are vowelless. A younger
development of the original basic form can play the rôle of a new, and in
certain cases immediate, basic form only if the first basis vowel, which is
always *a* in Akkadian, has been moved to a position between the first
radical and the last of the preceding formative consonants; cf. *šapris*
(< *šparis*) and *napris* (< *nparis*). In passing it may be mentioned that
to this latter class belong also the I 1 preterit bases, for in the system of
verbal formation they are properly not *prus, pris,* and *pras,* but *aprus,*
apris, and *apras* (< *parus, paris,* and *paras*), as e.g. in **iakšud* (<**ikašud),*
*iandin (< **inadin*), and **ialbaš* (< **ilabaš).* It is actually only for the
sake of convenience that one may speak of the younger bases *prus, pris,*
and *pras* (< *parus, paris,* and *paras*), although in the imperative, from the
viewpoint of the actually existing form, there is a certain right to assume
these shorter bases since, owing to the fact that there is no formative
consonant to support the first basis vowel *a,* this vowel does not show. At
any rate, the *n* of the secondary I 1 imperative basis *(a)ndin* (which at the
same time is the immediate basic form of the imperative) complies with
both requirements of the rule concerning the dropping of the *n;* it stands
at the beginning of the form, and it is vowelless.

It must be noted, furthermore, that insertion of one of the weak vowels *i*
or *u* (instead of the full first basis vowel *a*) does not make such a new
development a new basic form; e.g., *kúšud,* even in spite of the stressing
of the first *u,* represents merely a minor development from the basic form
kšud or *(a)kšud;* likewise *kiššudum* (< *kitšudum),* in spite of the stressing
of the *i* and the elision of the first basis vowel *a,* still represents only an
unessential modification of the original basic form *ktášudum.* In both
cases therefore the first radical *n* of the verbs *primae nún* must be dropped
in accordance with the rule given above.

It will be noted at once that — in spite of the insertion and preservation
of the secondary vowel — the dropping of the originally vowelless *n* forms

processes that may be designated as quite regular in Akkadian. The immediate basic form of *nazūz*, however, is **náz'uz*, a form which itself developed from the original basic form **nzá'uz* by transferring, roughly speaking, the first basis vowel *a* from its natural place between the first and second radicals to a position between the nif'al *n* and the first radical, thus ceasing, as it were, to be a nif'al basis of *z'z* and becoming the simple basis of a quadriliteral *nz'z*. In detail this process is marked by the following steps: **nzá'uz* > **nizá'uz* > **nízá'uz* > **názá'uz* > **náza'uz* > **náz'uz*; it involves a retraction of the stress, elision of the old, but now unstressed, first basis vowel *a*, and creation of a new first basis vowel *a* (instead of the lost one) in the preceding syllable by changing the formerly weak, but now stressed, *i* into the strong vowel *a*. From this analysis it follows that *izūz*, which developed from *nzá'uz*, represents the older and more original formation, while *nazūz*, which developed from the younger basis *naz'uz*, represents the younger formation. As a matter of fact, *nazūz*, although occurring as early as the time of Hammurabi, never obtained a large circulation in the written language; in all of the texts utilized for this investigation it occurs just 8 times, whereas the permansive and infinitive forms of the type *izūz* are quite numerous in the earlier as well as in the later periods, their occurrences totaling 107.[1] It seems therefore that *nazūz* belonged rather to the colloquial (and therefore also to the poetical) form of the Akkadian language.

Since in the nif'al formation the basic as well as the final forms of the infinitive and the imperative are formed under the same phonetic conditions as those of the permansive, we should naturally expect to find in the imperative and infinitive, too, a double set

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a parallel to the dropping of a vowelless *u* at the beginning of a form in the case of verbs *primae u*, as, e.g., in *bil* (< *ubil*) and *šubtum* (< *šibtum* < *ušibatum*). Note that in Late Assyrian the imperative of *nadânu* is *din* (< *ndin*) and thus follows completely (exactly as *tēn* in Hebrew) the analogy of the verbs *primae u*; cf. *di-na*, Harper, ABL, No. 241, rev.$_9$; *di-i-ni*, ibid., No. 185$_8$, No. 253$_6$, No. 537$_{12}$.

[1] More specifically 71 permansive and 36 infinitive forms. No ideographic writings (139 infinitive forms) have been included in the numbers given above.

of forms corresponding to those of the permansive; in other words, we should expect the following two sets of forms:

Imperative	*izīz*	**nazīz*
Permansive	*izūz*	*nazūz*
Infinitive	*izúzzu*	**nazúzzu*

Actually, however, the imperative and infinitive forms of the second set are not found in the Babylonian literature now available. It seems, therefore, that at least in the written language the Akkadians recognized forms of the type *nazūz* as permissible only for the permansive; as for the colloquial language, obviously, we have no way of learning whether an imperative form **nazīz* and an infinitive **nazûzu* did or did not exist. Especially noteworthy, and completely in accord with the observations made in the foregoing, is the fact that the Crozer tablet which contains part of the paradigm of the verb gub = *uzuzzu*, although it gives the imperative as *izīz*, i.e., in the form of the first set, nevertheless avoids the permansive form *izūz* of the same set and uses instead the form *nazūz* of the second set.[1] This change of forms can hardly be unintentional, and it is not unreasonable to surmise that the change was probably caused by the fact that the younger permansive form was commonly used in the colloquial language of that time, on account of which fact the scribe thought that the form *nazūz*, when quoted without any context, would be more easily recognized as a permansive form than *izūz*.[2]

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[1] Cf. the following pairs of simple intransitive and transitive-causative forms in the Akkadian columns at the beginning of the four main groups treating the imperative, permansive, preterit, and present respectively:

	Intransitive	Causative
Imperative	*i-zi-iz*	*šu-zi-iz*
Permansive	*na-zu-uz*	*šu-zu-uz*
Preterit	*iz-zi-iz*	*uš-zi-iz*
Present	*iz-za-a-az*	*uš-za-a-az*

(The first of the causative forms in the permansive group is actually written *šu-zi-iz*; that this is merely an error, however, is proved by its Sumerian equivalent and by the correct *šu-zu-uz* in the following lines.)

[2] Should perhaps the fact that the scribe of the tablet wrote *šuzīz* instead of *šuzūz* in the instance mentioned in the preceding note be considered an indication that he himself was somewhat concerned about the

The fact that the forms of the first set, *izîz*, *izûz*, and *izúzzu* (< **nizîz*, **nizûz*, and **nizúzzu*), which are traceable directly to the bases *nzaʾiz* and *nzaʾuz*, are imperative, permansive, and infinitive of the IV 1 formation of a verb *mediae infirmae* may at first seem very strange to most Assyriologists, since in the strong verb the prefixless IV 1 forms are formed, without exception, by means of the younger bases *napris* and *naprus*. As a matter of fact, however, the forms *izîz*, *izûz*, and *izúzzu* actually furnish a further corroboration of the conclusion that the prefixless nifʿal forms vocalized after the pattern *nápris* and *náprus* must, in conformity with the general system of verb formation in the Semitic languages, be traced back to the more original basic forms **npáris* and **npárus*, a fact which can easily be established (as was actually done, for the first time, if I am not mistaken, by myself in OLZ XIX [1916], cols. 48 ff.) by a comparison with the corresponding forms of the other Semitic languages. Thus I would call attention merely to the forms *niqṭal* < **náqṭal* in Hebrew and *ʾinqátala* < **nqátal* in Arabic. Indeed, even the simultaneous existence of *izûz* and *nazûz* in Akkadian has a parallel in Hebrew with its two rows of nifʿal infinitive forms, i.e., those of the type הֵאָכֵל, הִנָּתֹן, and אִדָּרֵשׁ (instead of הִדָּרֵשׁ) on the one hand, and those of the type נִכְסֹף, נִלְחֹם, and נִשְׁאֹל on the other hand. Similarly, we find in the imperative (if the text passages and their usual interpretations are correct) the forms נִקְבְּצוּ (*in pausa* נִקְבָּצוּ) and נִלְווּ beside the commonly used forms of the type הִקָּטֵל.

The realization that *izîz*, *izûz*, and *izúzzu* are IV 1 forms of **zâzu* also enables us to recognize and establish the prefixless forms of the IV 2 and IV 3 formations of this verb; for there can be no doubt now that *i-ta-az-zu-uz-zi* (Lutz, YOS II, No. 1, obv. 12) is the infinitive of IV 3, originating from **nitanzáʾuzum* < **ntnzá-*

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discrepancy of the forms *izîz* and *nazûz* ? If, for instance, he was preoccupied by the thought that in conformity with the imperative *izîz* he should use the permansive form *izûz*, or that, since he used the permansive form *nazûz*, he should have used the imperative form **nazîz*, his attention would momentarily have centered on the imperative form, and he might therefore easily have written the imperative form *šu-zi-iz* instead of the permansive form *šu-zu-uz*.

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ʾuzum, while the infinitive form of IV 2 is *izzúzzu* < **ntzáʾuzum*. These forms represent a completely self-consistent system, as can easily be judged from the following list of infinitives:

IV 1	*izúzzum*	< **n(i)záʾuzum*
IV 2	*izzúzzum*	< **n(i)tzáʾuzum*
IV 3	*itazzúzzum*	< **n(i)t(a)nzáʾuzum*

The corresponding forms of the younger formation would be:

IV 1	*nazûzu*	(< **názʾuzu*)	< **nzáʾuzum*
IV 2		(< **ntázʾuzu*)	< **ntzáʾuzum*
IV 3		(< **ntnázʾuzu*)	< **ntnzáʾuzum*.[1]

Unfortunately no unambiguous prefixless forms of the nifʿal formation of other verbs *mediae infirmae* are at our disposal at present; and we are therefore in no position to state whether the prefixless nifʿal forms of the type *izúzzu* are restricted to the verb **zâzu* or whether perhaps they are paralleled by corresponding forms of other verbs *mediae infirmae*. It must be kept in mind that in the case of verbs which owing to their transitive meaning can have a nifʿal as well as a qal, Akkadian as a rule uses the permansives of I 1 and II 1 instead of the permansive of IV 1,[2] which latter actually would have a passive-passive, not a simple passive, meaning. As a rule, imperative, permansive, infinitive, and participle of IV 1 occur only in those cases where the IV 1 formation forms an independent theme, i.e., where it is not coupled with a qal, or where it has developed a special meaning.[3] IV 1 permansive

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[1] Cf. in the strong verb

IV 1	*náprusum*	< *náprusum*	< **npárusum*
IV 2	*itáprusum*	< **ntáprusum*	< **ntpárusum*
IV 3		< **ntnáprusum*	< **ntnpárusum*

[2] This point, too, seems to have escaped observation hitherto. As far as their meaning is concerned, for instance, the following forms of *maḫáṣu*, "to beat," must be grouped together:

immáḫḫaṣ	he is (or will be) beaten
immaḫiṣ	he was beaten
máḫiṣ	he has been beaten.

I hope to publish the material relating to these logical groupings in a future study.

[3] For the participle cf. the examples given on p. 107.

forms of verbs *mediae infirmae* therefore could be expected only in *mediae infirmae* verbs which, like *izuzzu*, "to stand," exist only in the IV 1 formation.

3. *U* INSTEAD OF *i* AT THE BEGINNING OF PREFIXLESS NIF'AL FORMS

The replacement of the secondary vowel *i* at the beginning of the permansive form *izūz*, as well as of the infinitive *izúzzu*, by *u*, a process from which the forms *uzūz* and *uzúzzu* (in late language also *ušūz* and *ušúzzu*) result, is of course owing to an assimilation of the *i* to the *ū* (or *u*) in the following syllable. Completely parallel is the case of the permansive *utûl* and infinitive *utûlum* instead of *itûl* (< *n(i)tá'ul*) and *itûlum* (< *n(i)tá'ulum*), the more regular prefixless I 2 forms of **nâlu* (**na'âlu*), "to lie down."[1] The dropped

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[1] For *utûlum* cf. e.g. [71]*it-ti zi-ka-ri-im ša-ni-im* [72]*i-na ú-tu-lim*, "in the act of lying with another man," CH, rev., col. $5_{71f.}$, and rev., col. 5_{84}–6_2, for which, however, the passage [43]*it-ti zi-ka-ri-im* [44]*ša-ni-im* [45]*i-na i-tu-lim*, CH, rev., col. $5_{43f.}$, has the older *itûlum*.

The correct explanation of *utûlum* as I 2 form of *nâlu* was first given by Ungnad in Kohler and Ungnad, Hammurabi's Gesetz II, p. 150, while Delitzsch, because of the *u* at the beginning of the form, had taken it as II 2 form of *nâlu*. Note that Delitzsch in his Handwörterbuch (p. 487*b*) also took the I 2 preterit *ittîl* as I 1 form *ittîl* from a verb **natâlu*, evidently because of the *t-t*-form *it-ta-til* (i. e., *ittâtîl*) believed by him to be the *t*-form *ittatîl* of the same verb. The same explanation for the latter form, which occurs in the Hammurabi Code as *it-ta-ti-il*, was given by Ungnad (*op. cit.*, p. 156*b*), who however expressly designates **natâlu* as a secondary development from *nâlu* I 2. It is obvious, however, that in the Hammurabi Code *it-ta-ti-il* (i.e., *ittâtîl* < *iantáta'il*) is the syntactical *t*-preterit (i.e., the preterit with the *t* of previousness) of the I 2 infinitive *itûlum* (< **ntá'ulum*), whose simple preterit (i.e., the I 2 preterit without the syntactical *t*) is *ittîl*. (Note that the latter form does not occur in the Code, because in the passages where the preterit occurs the syntactical *t*-form, which then is the *t-t*-form, is required.) The *t* of the simple *t*-forms is the old reciprocal *t*, for originally *itûlum* meant "to lie with each other," "to have mutual intercourse," and it was then, of course, used only in the plural: "they lay or had intercourse with each other." The use of the *t*-form in the singular (*itti* x *ittîl*, "he had intercourse with someone") is a later development after the original reciprocal meaning of the *t* had been forgotten and the *t*-form *itûlum* (< **ntá'ulum*) had, as it were, become a quadriliteral verb *nt'l*. Compare the parallel development of *mithuṣum*, "to strike each other,"

n at the beginning of the form is in this case of course not the nif'al *n*, but the first radical *n*; since, however, the I 2 form infixes a *t* after this first radical *n*, the I 2 form of **nâlu* (**ntâ'ul*) and the IV 1 form of **zâzu* (**nzâ'uz*) present rhythmically the same form, just as, e.g., in Arabic the themes (*'i*)*qtátal(a)* and (*'i*)*nqátal(a)*. The case of *uzūz* is further identical with the change of **iṣúr* (< **niṣur* < **nṣúr*) to **uṣúr* (> *úṣur*) in the imperative of I 1 *naṣâru*. Note that in all these cases the vowel is assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable. It is hardly necessary to point out that in the imperative form *izīz* the secondary *i* at the beginning does not, and cannot, become *u* because the vowel of the second syllable is *ī*.

4. THE CONTRACTED VOWELS IN THE IV 1 PARTICIPLE

The participle of *uzuzzu*, which up to the present has been found only in connection with a genitive (*pânim, maḫri, bâbim, abullim,* and *ekallim*)[1] and therefore only in the construct state, appears in two forms, namely as *muzzâz* (written *mu-uz-za-az*, CT VI 24a_6(!), and *mu-za-az*, CH, rev., col. 16$_{51}$; CT VIII 40a_4)[2] and as *muzzīz* (written *mu-uz-zi-iz*, Nabunaid, 5 R 65, col. 2$_{32}$; *mu-zi-iz*, Tukulti-Ninurta I, KAHI II, No. 55$_2$). Since the basis of the participle of IV 1 is *npariš* (exactly like that of the preterit) and since we do not know of any Akkadian *mu*-participle being formed with an *a-a* basis, it is obvious that not only *muzzīz* or *muzzēz* but also *muzzâz* (which occurs much more frequently than *muzzīz*[3] and is the form exclusively used at the time of Hammurabi[4]) must go back to the basic form **munza'iz(um)*. Since, however, the long vowel *ā*

"to fight," originally used in the plural only (*imtáḫṣû*, "they struck each other," "they fought with each other"), but later construed *itti* x *imtaḫaṣ*, "he fought (not he struck!) with someone." The two *t*'s of the I 4 preterit *ittátīl* are therefore of totally different character. Note that in the later language not only *ittīl*, but even *ittátīl*, has the simple meaning "he lay" (originally *inīl*); cf. the quotations in Delitzsch's dictionary (under **natâlu*), where both forms appear in parallelism with *ûšib*.

[1] Its meaning is "doing service (somewhere = gen.)."

[2] Cf. also the late form *manzâz*.

[3] *Mu(z)zīz* occurs only in the two passages quoted above.

[4] See the passages cited above.

cannot possibly be the result of a contraction of the vowels *a* and *i*, it is evident that the development which led to the replacement of the two basis vowels by *ā* started from the form with case endings, which commonly elides the second basis vowel *i* (cf., e.g., *munnáb-tu, munnárbu, muppálsu,* and *muppáršu*); in other words, *muzzāz* developed from the form **muzzá'zum* (< **munzá'izum*), which by contraction of the vowel *a* and the following vowelless ' became *muzzâzum* in the same manner as, e.g., the original I 1 participle **muštá'ilum* (root *š'l*), by way of the elided form **muštá'lum*, became *muštâlum*. The fact that the construct form in this case simply follows the form of the absolute state presents no difficulty; for since in a certain prehistoric period of Akkadian the construct of the uncontracted **munzá'izum* was not **múnza'iz* but **mun-zá'izu* with the mimationless case ending *u* (gen. *i*, acc. *a*) and, furthermore, since the tendency toward elision of unstressed vowels as well as the tendency toward contraction probably antedates the dropping of the case vowels in the construct state, the construct form in a late prehistoric period must have been **muzzâzu*, which naturally became *muzzāz* at the time when the construct endings were dropped. But even if the old construct form *munzá'izu* had lost its case endings and consequently moved the stress back to the third (originally the fourth) syllable (counting from the end) at a time before the forms of roots *mediae infirmae* contracted, in other words, if the old construct form *munzá'izu* had become *múnza'iz* before any contraction of the basis vowels (*a-i*) took place, nevertheless, as soon as the form *múnza'iz* contracted into *muzzēz*, this latter form, because it deviated too much from *muzzâzum*, the contracted form of the absolute *munzá'(i)zum*, would certainly in time have been replaced by a form more in harmony with that form, i.e., it would have been replaced by *muzzāz*. Note that *muštâlum* similarly forms its construct as *muštāl*.

It is obvious from the preceding that the construct form *muzzīz* (*muzzēz*) found in Middle Assyrian and in Late Babylonian is certainly not the construct form (contracted from **múnza'iz*) that originally might have gone with the absolute form *muzzâzu* (< *munzá'zu* < *munzá'izu*), but the construct of an absolute

form *muzzêzu* or *muzzizzu* derived directly from the non-eliding
*munzá'izu (or, as we shall see in a later chapter, from **munza(i)-
iizu*, which secondarily doubled its weak radical *i*); in other words,
we must assume two different developments of the participle form
in both the absolute and construct states, namely *muzzâzu*, with
its construct *muzzâz*, and *muzzizzu*, with its construct *muzziz* or
muzzēz.

5. WRITING OF *zz* (< *nz*) WITH ONE *z*

The writing of a double consonant with only one consonant is
a custom that can be observed in the Akkadian systems of writing
of all periods, but especially in the system of the Old Akkadian
period, when it was actually the rule and when, therefore, writing
of both consonants occurred only in comparatively rare cases.[1]

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[1] Like other features of the Akkadian systems of writing, the custom
of writing a single consonant for a double consonant can be traced back
to the Sumerian systems of writing and to certain peculiarities of the
Sumerian language. For a double consonant is never an inherent feature
of any Sumerian word outside of those cases in which it is due to the
assimilation of an *n* or some other consonant to the following consonant.
As a matter of fact, doubling of consonants in Sumerian is merely the conse-
quence of the stressing of the word concerned, since the rule is that any
consonant between two vowels can be doubled or sharpened if the vowel
before it is stressed. As a consequence of the more or less accidental and
unessential character of the doubling in Sumerian (but probably also
because doubling of consonants was not at all recognized by some gram-
marians as really existing in the Sumerian language), it was as a rule not
expressed in writing, at least not in the older forms of the Sumerian systems
of writing; cf., e.g., a-ra-li, "nether world," in Akkadian *arallû*, etc. If
this fact does not seem very obvious from the inscriptions, it is only
because the signs are usually read with the phonetic values ending with a
consonant. Actually, however, the Sumerians, at least as a rule, read
the signs without the final consonant, as may be seen, e.g., from ⟨kù-⟩
AN-na (< ku(g)-an-a(k)), "precious metal of Anu," "tin," "lead,"
whose pronunciation is usually assumed to be kug-anna but actually
was, at least with most Sumerians, ku(g)-âna(k) with long *â* and single
n. This is obvious, e.g., from the Akkadian loan word *ânakum* and the
Arabic *ânukun*, from the Akkadian transliteration of an by ᵈ*a-nu-um*,
and from the Greek transliteration ανος (instead of αννος), all of which

In the Babylonian inscriptions of the Hammurabi period, however, writing of the double consonant had already been adopted as a principle of the Akkadian system of writing; nevertheless, writings with one consonant are still quite frequent, the official orthography of that time actually being to some extent the result of a compromise between the new and the old fashion of treating the double consonants in writing. In the contemporary, or only slightly earlier, Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) documents conservatism in the tendencies of writing is even more marked than in Babylonian. In the later periods, finally, at least in Babylonia and in the later royal inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, the custom of actually writing the double consonants becomes more and more general, whereas in the Middle Assyrian inscriptions and in the Assyrian letters of the last period the tendency to write only one consonant continues to remain in force and is particularly strong in the letters, where it might almost be said to have undergone a revival.

While in the I 1, 2, 3 and IV 1 present forms, as well as in all forms of the II formations, such writings as *i-ka-ša-ad* and *u-ba-li-iṭ*, i.e., with single middle radical, occur quite frequently in all periods, the doubled consonant which arises in the IV 1 formation from the assimilation of the nifʻal *n* to the following first radical is written with one consonant only in comparatively rare cases. The reason is quite obvious, for, whereas the writings *ikášad* and *ubáliṭ* can cause no uncertainty concerning the grammatical character of the two forms, a writing *i-ka-ša-ad* instead

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require a transliteration a_{10}-*na* for AN-*na*, with the shorter phonetic value a_{10} for AN. As the same example shows, Sumerian does not express the length of vowels either; for that too is not an independent feature in Sumerian. In principle, therefore, Sumerian, apart from contracted vowels, has short vowels' only; these may, however, at least in open syllables, be lengthened as soon as they are stressed.

When the Akkadians adopted the Sumerian writing, they took it over together with the features discussed in the foregoing, in spite of the fact that in the Semitic idioms doubling or sharpening of consonants and especially lengthening of vowels play a very important part grammatically and ideologically. Note that the so-called "Semitic" alphabet, or rather the system of writing which uses it, likewise, at least originally, expressed neither doubling of consonants nor length of vowels, both of which features clearly indicate its non-Semitic origin.

of *ik-ka-ša-ad*, "he will be caught," or *i-da-ak* instead of *id-da-ak*, "he will be killed," would certainly lead to a confusion with the active I 1 forms *ikášad*, "he will catch," and *idák*, "he will kill." In the case of *izzâz* and *izzîz*, however, writings with one *z* instead of *zz* are comparatively numerous, for against 374[1] cases of writings with *zz* no less than 111 cases[2] of writings with one *z* are found, the numerical proportion between the latter and the former being 1:3.37.[3] One of the reasons for this frequency of the writing with one consonant, or rather one of the circumstances that could facilitate the writing with one *z* only, was evidently the fact that there existed only a IV formation of *zâzu*, but no I formation, a fact which naturally made it unnecessary to guard against the danger of a confusion of, e.g., *izzâz* with a I 1 form *izâz*. Nevertheless, this fact alone would hardly suffice to explain why the Babylonians and Assyrians, if they actually knew that the forms of *uzuzzu* were IV 1 forms, did not write them like the other IV 1 forms of verbs *mediae infirmae*. Obviously, the main cause for the frequency of such writings as *izâz* is that in colloquial language the Akkadians, or at least large numbers of them, actually pronounced the present and preterit forms of *uzuzzu* as *izâz* and *izîz*, i.e., as if they were I 1 forms of *zâzu*, and in all likelihood actually conceived them as such forms, whereas the literary forms *izzâz* and *izzîz* probably impressed them as being uncommon forms. The extraordinarily large extent to which those writings or forms were used by the scribes in the written language, on the other hand, is an indication of the extent to which those forms were used in the spoken language even by what may be termed the educated people of that time. Note, moreover, that a very large percentage of the forms with one *z* occurs in the Late Assyrian letters and in other written documents from Assyria, which, as mentioned before, have a very decided tendency not only to write one consonant instead of a double consonant, but also to use forms of the spoken language instead of the literary forms.

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[1] More specifically 146 present and 228 preterit forms (including precative).

[2] More specifically 50 present and 61 preterit forms (including precative).

[3] In the present, 1 : 2.92; in the preterit, 1 : 3.74.

6. "*Plene*" AND SIMPLE WRITING OF THE CONTRACTED VOWEL AND THE PROBLEMS OF STRESSING CONNECTED WITH IT

A. The Endingless Forms

So-called "*plene*" writing of the long *a* in the endingless present forms of the simple nif'al and šaf'el forms (i.e., in such forms as *izzâz* and *ušzâz*) is comparatively rare, for in all the text groups on which this investigation is based only fifteen such forms are found against several hundred forms with simple writing of the *a*. The same observation can be made with regard to the writing of the long *a* in the presents of verbs *mediae infirmae*; for instance, the present-future *imât*, "he dies," "he will die," is commonly written *i-ma-at* or *i-mat* and only rarely *i-ma-a-at*; even a text like the Old Babylonian omen collection, CT III 2f., in which the *plene* writing *i-ma-a-at* is actually found five times, writes *i-ma-at* in five other instances. The Code of Hammurabi has *id-da-ak*, "he will be killed," twenty-one times, and not once *id-da-a-ak*; *i-ta-ar*, "he will come back," eleven times, never *i-ta-a-ar*; *u-ta-ar*, "he will return (something)," eleven times, and *u-ta-a-ar* (< *utá''ar*) only twice.

On the other hand, none of the endingless preterit forms of the nif'al or of the šaf'el of our verb *zâzu shows *plene* writing of the vowel *i* or *e* between the two radical *z*'s, the writings being without exception *iz-zi-iz* and *uš-zi-iz*. This too is paralleled by the fact that the preterits of other verbs *mediae infirmae* almost never show *plene* writing, the preterit, e.g., of *târu*, "to (re)turn," being always written *i-tu-ur* or *i-tur*.

The fact that the presents *izzâz* and *ušzâz* show at least occasional *plene* writing, whereas no such writing is ever found in the corresponding preterit forms, is doubtless due to stress conditions and to the different rhythmic values of their contracted vowels. The present *izzâz*, e.g., originated from **inzá'az*, which has the stress, as has every present, on the penultima, i.e., on the first of the two basis vowels. The contracted form is therefore *izzâz*, with a circumflex stress on the contracted vowel. It is evidently this circumflex stressing that is expressed by the *plene* writing *iz-za-a-az*, which in an older period actually represented *iz-za-'á-az*,

that is, the uncontracted *izzá'az*, a form and pronunciation prob-
ably in all periods occasionally used besides *izzâz*. The preterit
izzîz, on the other hand, goes back to the form **izza'iz* (< **inza'iz*).
Since the uncontracted form is stressed on the antepenultima,
the immediate result of the contraction was **izzēz* with the stress
on the prefix, which means that the unstressed long vowel *ē*,
into which the two basis vowels *a-i* had been contracted, could
of course have had no circumflex stressing. It is evidently for
this reason that the contracted *ē*, later *ī*, of the nif'al preterit is
never found in *plene* writing. Similarly, therefore, the šaf'el
present *ušzâz* must go back to a form *i̯ušzá'az*, while correspond-
ingly the basic form of the preterit *ušzîz* must be *i̯ušza'iz*. This
observation, to mention this point by way of parenthesis, is quite
important, for, as is well known, the present and preterit šaf'el
forms of the strong verb, i.e., *ušápras* and *ušápris*, are formed
with the secondary bases *šapras* (< *šparas*) and *šapris* (< *šparis*);
the fact that *ušzâz* and *ušzîz* presuppose the bases *ša'az* and
ša'iz, however, proves that *ušápras* and *ušápris*, too, had been
preceded by forms like *ušpáras* and *úšparis* — an observation
which furnishes additional proof for the correctness of our general
assumption that all bases of the enlarging formations (as, e.g.,
the bases *šapris*, *napris*, and *t(a)napras*) had originally their
first basis vowel between the first and the second radicals (i.e.,
their bases were originally *špáris*, *npáris*, *tnparas*, etc.).[1]

What has been said in the preceding about stressing and
quantity of the contracted vowels is not restricted, of course, to the
forms of the verb **zâzu* here under discussion, but naturally also
applies to corresponding and similar forms of the other verbs
mediae infirmae. The nif'al present of *dâku*, "to kill," e.g., must,
in accordance with our deductions, be conceived as *iddâk* and
its preterit as *iddēk*. Likewise the present of I 2 of *târu*, if it were
found, would be *ittâr*; the preterit, however, is *ittūr* (< **ittu'ur*
< **ittu'ar* < **ittu̯ar* < **ittau̯ar*). In Assyrian, on the other hand,
the present forms of I 2 would, if found, be stressed e.g. *iptú'ag*
(< *iptáu̯ag*) and *aḫti'aṭ* (< *aḫtái̯aṭ*), but the preterit forms are stressed

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[1] Cf. p. 103.

iptu'aq (written *ip-tu-aq*) < **iptaɥaq* (Harper, ABL, No. 421, obv.$_{16}$) and *áḫti'aṭ* (written *aḫ-ti-aṭ*) < **áḫtaiaṭ* (ibid., No. 180, obv.$_8$). In the causative form, finally, the šafʿel present forms *ušmât*, "he kills," and *ušdâk*, "he causes to kill," are to be conceived as *ušmât* (< *ušmá'at*) and *ušdâk* (< *ušdá'ak*), but the šafʿel preterits *ušmīt* and *ušdīk* as *úšmīt* (< *úšma'it*) and *úšdīk* (< *úšda'ik*).

With regard to the causative forms, however, the situation is more complicated than it would seem from the above deduction. For since many of the verbs *mediae infirmae* are intransitive, and since therefore their piʿels must have a transitive meaning, they can usually also form a šafʿel-piʿel of transitive meaning. The forms of the latter as they finally developed in Akkadian resemble very much those of the šafʿel, as may be seen from the following list:

	Šafʿel	Šafʿel-Piʿel
Present	*ušmât* (< *ušmá'at*)	*ušmât* (< *ušmá''at*)
Preterit	*úšmēt* (< *úšma'it*)	*ušmēt* (< *ušmá''it*)

In the two sets, only the forms of the preterit differ in the stressing, the preterit of the šafʿel stressing the first, that of the šafʿel-piʿel the last, i.e., the contracted, syllable. Under these circumstances it can be readily realized that at least in those verbs which formed or could form a šafʿel-piʿel with the same meaning as the šafʿel, the two formations might easily have been confounded, a development which would naturally lead to the elimination of one set of forms, at least in certain local dialects, certain periods, etc.; in other words, some dialects, periods, etc. would prefer the šafʿel form *úšzīz*, others the šafʿel-piʿel form *ušzīz*. There is even the possibility that in certain local dialects the transitive verbs, which cannot properly form a causative piʿel, and therefore cannot form a šafʿel-piʿel either, became involved in this development; i.e., they too would stress their šafʿel preterits as šafʿel-piʿel's, as, e.g., *ušdīk* instead of *úšdīk*. This seems to be corroborated by the fact that the Nippur tablet HGT, No. 93, which contains part of the law code of Hammurabi, in col. 11 (toward the end of the preserved text) writes the causative form of *dâku*, "to kill," *uš-di-i-ik*, i.e., in the same manner as another Nippur tablet, HGT, No. 142, in col. 2$_{22f.}$ writes the II 1 imperative *ṣi-i-ip*

(i.e., *ṣīp* < *ṣáịịip*) and the II 1 precative *lu-ṣi-i-ip* (< *lu* + *uṣēp* < *lu* + *uṣáịịip*) of the verb **ṣâpu* (metaplastic for *ụaṣâpu*).[1] Nevertheless, the writing *uš-di-i-ik* is not quite conclusive proof, since the Nippur scribes use *plene* writing in the rendering of both stressed and unstressed long ultimates.[2] When writing *uš-di-i-ik*, the scribe of that particular Nippur tablet may therefore actually have intended to render *úšdīk*, not *ušdīk*, although the latter stressing would be quite possible.

Like the long vowel in the contracted syllables of the preterit forms *ízzīz* and *úšzīz*, the vowel of the imperative form *izīz*, the permansive forms *izūz* (*uzūz*, *ušūz*) and *nazūz*, and the IV 2 preterit *ittazīz* (*ittašīz*, *ittetīz*) is never found written *plene*. The reason for this is the same as in the case of the preterit forms, namely the fact that the contracted vowel is not stressed and therefore is treated as a simple long vowel. As regards *nazūz* and *ittazīz*, the immediate basic forms from which they were contracted are *náza'uz* and *ịantáza'iz*, with stress on the antepenult. The immediate result of the contraction was therefore *názūz* and *ittázīz*, with the stress on the penult — a stressing which agrees completely with that of the corresponding nif'al forms in the strong verb, i.e., *náprus* (< *náparus*) and *ittándin* (< *intánadin*). In the case of *ittázīz* we have definite proof for the stressing on the penult in the fact that the half-vernacular Assyrian form *ittétīz*, which will be more fully discussed later on, also appears as *ittétzi* (= *it:étz*), i.e., with elision of the contracted vowel *ī* in the last syllable, a development which obviously would have been impossible if this vowel had been stressed. In the case of the older permansive *izūz* and the imperative *izīz*, however, since they had not yet changed the secondary *i* between the nif'al *n* and the first radical *z* into a full basis vowel *a*, one might rather have expected a stressing *izūz* (< *nzá'uz*) and *izīz* (< *nzá'iz*), but here again Late Assyrian with its imperative form *itzi* (= *itz*) for *itīz* proves that those forms too, at least in certain periods, were stressed on the vowel before the old root basis, i.e., as *izīz* and *izūz*. In other words,

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[1] See p. 116, n. 1.

[2] See p. 116 and further examples on p. 117 in n. 1.

the secondary *i* of their bases *niza'iz* (< *nzá'iz*) and *niza'uz* (< *nzá'uz*), at least as far as stressing was concerned, was already treated as a full vowel — a process which made retraction of the accent to the syllable *ni* and thus a stressing *níza'iz* and *níza'uz* possible. Here again we may point to a parallel in the strong verb, namely the I 2 imperative *pítras* (< *pítaras* < *pitáras* < *ptáras*), whose secondary vowel *i* likewise attracted the stress.

Closely connected with the stressing of the preterit, imperative, and permansive forms on the penult (in the basic forms, the antepenult) is the question as to a possible shortening of the contracted vowel of these forms. To my knowledge, this important question has not yet been treated with the care it deserves; mostly it has been altogether avoided, while the treatment of the problem by Ungnad in his Assyrische Grammatik (1st and 2nd eds., § 50) is too radical.

Ungnad is inclined to assume (cf. *op. cit.*, §§ 8a and 50d) that in Akkadian every doubly long syllable, i.e., every closed syllable with a long vowel, was shortened, presumably (as he says in § 8a) in a rather early period. In the paradigm for the *mediae* *u* and *i* on pages 96f. he therefore gives the present of *kânu* as *ikán* and its preterit as *ikún*; the present of the *nif'al* as *ikkán*, its preterit as *ikkín*. It will be noted that he stresses these forms on the last syllable.

It is obviously quite impossible to assume a shortening of the contracted vowel in the *present*, which, as we have seen, sometimes appears in *plene* writing, as in *iz-za-a-az, id-da-a-ak, i-ma-a-at*, etc. For these *plene* writings clearly indicate length of the vowel and in certain systems of writing even circumflex stressing. Moreover, we recall that Assyrian — as well as Old Babylonian in the class of the *mediae* *i* — has the uncontracted present forms *idúak, tabiat, iriab*, etc., whose vowel combinations *úa* and *ía* (with the stress on the first vowel) are, as far as rhythm is concerned, exact parallels to the circumflexed *â* of the contracted forms.

The assumption that the contracted vowel of the *preterit* forms could be shortened meets, it is true, with no difficulty in the writing, since *plene* writing of the contracted preterit vowel is not found, at least in what may be called the customary Bab-

ylonian system of writing. Note, however, that in certain systems of more local character *plene* writings actually are found; compare e.g. the Nippur writings (quoted already on pp. 113f.) *uš-di-i-ik* (HGT, No. 93 [Code of Hammurabi], col. 11, toward end), *ṣi-i-ip* (HGT, No. 142 [Hammurabi period], col. 2_{22}) and *lu-ṣi-i-ip* (*ibid.*, l. 23). Furthermore, in the Boghasköi text KtBo I, No. 10, rev.$_{54}$, the imperative of *dâku* I 1, "to kill," is written *du-ú-uk*, whose *u* may again be circumflexed, if in analogy to the strong verb its uncontracted form is presupposed as *dŭ'uk*. Note, moreover, that the form *ṣîp*, mentioned above, goes back to an original I 1 form *(ṷ)ṣip* (of *ṷaṣâpu* [pi'el *uṣṣupu*]); here, therefore, the short vowel in a closed syllable has actually been lengthened, a process which is exactly the reverse of that assumed by Ungnad.[1] Nor is there elsewhere any conclusive evidence that Akkadian had in any way a general aversion to closed syllables with a long vowel at the end of a word. Note, e.g., the monosyllabic *ku-u₄-um* (= *kôm* < *kâ'um*), "thine" (HGT, No. 102, col. 8_{58}), the infinitives *la-ṷu-u-um* (i.e., *la-ṷo-o-om*, = *laṷôm* < *laṷâịum*) (*ibid.*, col. 2_1), *qá-bu-u-um* (= *qabôm* < *qabâ'um*) (*ibid.*, col. 3_{16}), *qá-tu-u-um* (= *qatôm* < *qatâ'um*) (*ibid.*, col. 5_{13}), and *pe-tu-u₄-um* (*ibid.*, col., 5_{15}) and *pe-tu-u-um* (*ibid.*, col. 7_{37}) (both = *petôm*

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[1] The frequent transformation of the I 1 formation of verbs *primae ṷ* to II 1 forms of verbs *mediae infirmae* doubtlessly started with the imperative forms, which after losing their first radical seemed to be too short, i.e., to lack a consonant; by lengthening the short and stressed vowel *i* of the imperative *ṣip*, i.e., by pronouncing it *ṣîp*, the form would seem to fulfil the requirement that the root should contain three radicals, since it could then be felt as an imperative of a II 1 verb *mediae infirmae*. Moreover, the change of the I 1 *primae ṷ* to II 1 *mediae infirmae* found support in the fact that the I 1 forms *uṣṣap* (present) and *úṣip* (preterit) began with an *u* or *ú*, a fact that seemed to group them with the pi'el forms whose prefix in Akkadian is *u-* (< *ịu-*). It is interesting to note that in the later periods the original qal form *úṣip* changes to the pi'el form *úṣṣip*. Cf. the similar process in the verb *ṷaqûm* (pp. 194f.). In the Old Babylonian contracts the present forms of the verb for "to add" appear (at least in the extant material) always as *ú-ṣa-ap* (about 20 times) and as *u-ṣa-pu* (once), writings that may well be read *uṣâp* and *uṣáppū* (instead of *úṣṣap* and *úṣṣapū*, as usually read).

< *patâḫum*).[1] In all these cases circumflex stressing of the last syllable must necessarily be assumed, since the contraction of the long *â* of the infinitive and a case vowel *u*, *i*, or *a* will result in a long syllable of the quantity 3 (2 + 1). Note, moreover, that even in cases where the basic form stresses the antepenultima, and the contracted form therefore stresses the penultima, the Nippur scribes indicate length of the last, closed syllable; compare, e.g., *ša-ni-i-im* (HGT, No. 93 [Code of Hammurabi], col. $9_{2'\text{ and } 13'}$), and *ri-e-'u$_7$-ú-um* (HGT, No. 140, case 6).

From the foregoing it is obvious that Akkadian did not have a generally observed rule that the long vowel of a doubly long ultimate syllable must of necessity be shortened, this observation applying both to the cases where the ultima is stressed and those where the preceding syllable is stressed. Similarly, since there are found such writings as *ṣe-e-eḫ-tum* (HGT, No. 141, obv.$_{2'}$), *še-e-er-tum* (HGT, No. 152, col. 11_{18}), etc., shortening of a doubly long penult cannot be assumed as having taken place quite generally and in all periods of the long development of Akkadian, although there can be no doubt that the long vowel of a doubly long penult at least in certain periods tended to be shortened. We need only

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[1] As shown on the one hand by these and many other examples (cf., e.g., the infinitive *e-du-u* [= *edô* < *iadáʾum*, *uadáʾum*], HGT, No. 102, col. 7_{40}) and on the other hand, e.g., by *ue-e-du-ú* (= *uêdû* < *uádiʾum*), ibid., col. 7_{41}, *ra-bu-ú* (= *rábû* < *rábiium*), ibid., col. 4_4, and *re-e-'u$_7$-ú-um* (= *rêʾûm* < *ráʾiium*), HGT, No. 140, case 6, the Nippur scribes of the time when the tablets were written, or rather when the originals from which they were copied were written, distinguished between u_4 and $u = o$, and $ú = u$; the former are used, at least in certain tablets, only where *a* + *u* is contracted, the latter where *i* + *u* or *u* + *u* are contracted. The distinction between *o* and *u* is completely parallel to that between *e* (< *a* + *i*) and *i* (< *i* + *i* and *u* + *i*). Compare, e.g., the different declensions, on the one hand:

Nom.	*leqôm*	(written *le-qú-u-um*, < *laqâḫum*)
Gen.	*leqêm*	(written *le-qí-e*(-*im*), < *laqâḫim*)
Acc.	*leqâm*	(written *le-qá-a-am*, < *laqâḫam*)

and on the other hand:

Nom.	*rábûm*	(written *ra-bu-ú*(-*um*), < *rabiium*)
Gen.	*rábîm*	(written *ra-bi-i*(-*im*), < *rabiiim*)
Acc.	*rábiʾam*	(written *ra-bi-*(*a-*)*am*, < *rabiiam*).

think of Syriac *qấmt* against Hebrew *qâmtā* and Arabic *qúlta* to realize that in Akkadian pronunciations like *bêltu* and *beltu* may have existed side by side,[1] although at times, e.g. under the influence of local dialects or foreign Semitic idioms, one of them may have gained ascendancy over the other in the spoken language of the time.[2]

In assuming for Akkadian such forms as *ikún* etc., with stressed short ultima, Ungnad was probably influenced by Brockelmann's statement in the sixth edition of A. Socin's Arabische Grammatik (§ 42*d*) that the apocopate form of the verbs *mediae infirmae* stressed *iakún* etc., i.e., with accent on the last syllable, against the general rule (given *ibid.*, § 15) that Arabic retracts the stress from the last syllable. But note that e.g. in the ninth edition of Socin's grammar Brockelmann omits this statement. Indeed, there is no reason whatever to assume a stressing of *iakun* on its last syllable, since the Arabic apocopate is not secondarily derived from the indicative *iaqûlu* (< **iaqúu̯ulu* < **iaqáu̯ulu*) by dropping the case ending, but is an independent endless formation **iáqu̯ul* (< **iáqu̯u̯ul* < **iáqau̯ul*), which developed to **iáqūl* > *iáqul*, or to **iáqꜣul* > *iáqul*, independently of the development of the inflected form to *iaqûlu*. Compare especially the Hebrew apocopate form in *u̯aii̯áqom* < **u̯ali̯áq(u)u̯um* (against *iāqûm* < **iaqúu̯umu*), *u̯aii̯igel* < **u̯aii̯igl* < **u̯ali̯áglai̯* (against *iiglǽ* < **iáglai̯u*), *u̯a(i̯)i̯ᵉgál* < **u̯aliu̯gállii̯* (against *i̯ᵉgallǽ* < **i̯ᵉgállǽ* < **i̯ugállai̯u* [for **i̯ugálliᵢ̯u*]).

The Akkadian preterit *ikšud*, as I pointed out in OLZ XIX (1916), cols. 23 ff. and 46 ff., was originally, like the corresponding themes of the other Semitic languages, a present theme, and has developed the meaning of a preterit via its use as a historical present (cf. in Hebrew the use of the form *i̯iqṭōl* in the meaning of a preterit after the so-called *u̯ consecutivum*, in reality after *u̯a*, "and," and *l(a)*, "truly").[3] As far as the form is concerned,

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[1] The latter, as the more advanced, originally of course occurred only in the vernacular.

[2] It is even possible that under the influence of foreign idioms as well as of certain Akkadian formations occasionally a pronunciation **bᵉᵓéltu* arose.

[3] In Akkadian, as I pointed out in Historische Zeitschrift CXXIX (= 3. Folge, XXXIII) 123 f., we still find *ikšud* in its original present-future

however, the Akkadian preterit *ikšud* does not correspond to the
Arabic indicative form *i̯aqtulu*,[1] but to the endingless apocopate

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meaning in the proper names of the cook and cellarer of Esagil, ᵈ*mi-na-a-
i-kul-be-li*, "What will my lord eat ?," and ᵈ*mi-na-a-iš-ti-be-li*, "What will
my lord drink ?" (CT XXIV 12ff.: K 4332, col. 3_{13f}.); obviously the cook
and the cellarer are in no way interested in what their lord (here the god
Marduk) has eaten or drunk in the past (this interests only the physician),
but solely in what food their lord wants to eat, or what kind of beverage
he wants to drink, at the next meal. Furthermore, we find the form *ikšud* in
its old present meaning in the name of the god ᵈ*iš-me-ka-ra-bu*, "He hears
the prayer," 3 R 66, col. 5_2. Regularly preserved, however, we find it in the
precative *likšud*, "may he catch" (which corresponds to the Arabic apoco-
pate *i̯aqtul*, "may he kill," or more accurately, as far as its composition is
concerned, to *li̯aqtul*, "may he kill"), as well as in the prohibitive *a ikšud*,
"may he not catch." Bergsträsser's view in his Einführung in die semi-
tischen Sprachen that the preterit meaning of *ikšud* in Akkadian is one
of the original meanings of the theme *i̯aqtul* (like corresponding views of
his predecessors) was simply due to the erroneous belief (likewise taken
over from his predecessors) that the theme *qatal* is younger than the
theme *i̯aqtul*.

[1] The ending *-u*, which in Arabic denotes the indicative mood, but which
in the oldest Semitic denoted the nominative of the then extant case
inflection of the verb, is used in Akkadian to substantivize the finite verb,
or rather to substantivize a whole assertive sentence, as, e.g., after the
prepositions *aššum*, "concerning," "because of," "on account of" (< *ana
šum(i)*, literally: "to the name of"), *ištu*, "since," *inū*, "when" (< *in
ūm(i)*, "at the time of"); cf. *aššum ikšudu*, "because he caught," and
aššum iká(š)šadu, "because he will catch," according to the original
conceptions "because of his having caught" and "because of his future
catching."

Neither Akkadian nor Arabic has preserved intact, to any extent, the
complicated verbal case inflection of the oldest Semitic in which the
indicative *-u* of Arabic as well as the relative *-u* of Akkadian originated.
Nevertheless, a combination of what has been preserved in the two languages
gives us at least an approximate idea of what grammatical ideas were
expressed by it. Note, e.g., that Arabic in its indicative *i̯aqtulu*, "he kills,"
has preserved the nominalized verbal form in the sense of a *nomen agentis
(finitum)*, "a killer," a usage which is not found in Akkadian, not even in
its so-called "relative" verbal form *ikšudu*, mentioned above, which because
of its combination with the construct form of its *regens* must be conceived
as a *nomen actionis* (*šu ikšudu* = "he of the killing"). It will be noted
that the oldest Semitic in this case, as well as after the prepositions men-
tioned above, must necessarily have used the genitive case. This latter as

i̯aqtul.[1] Obviously, therefore, we should not expect a form stressed and vocalized like Arabic *i̯akûnu*, but a form similar to Arabic

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well as the accusative, which was identical with the genitive, is completely lost in Akkadian, where the two cases are replaced by the nominative form. The genitive-accusative of the diptotic case declension of the verb is preserved, however, in Arabic in the so-called "subjunctive"; cf., e.g., *li̯aqtula*, "that he may kill," which consists of the preposition *li*, "to," "for," and the genitive *i̯aqtula* of the "finite" infinitive or *nomen actionis* *i̯aqtulu*, "his (future) killing." A further trace of the verb declension, but from a comparatively much older period, is found in the Akkadian present form *ikâšad* as well as in the Ethiopic present indicative form *i̯eqátel*. For these forms represent the old case forms *ikášadu/a* and *i̯aqátulu/a* of the present theme with the original two-vowel base *qatal* (*qatul* and *qatil*) and with the natural stress on the third syllable from the end, i.e., since the case ending was not yet dropped at the time when the stressing originated, on the first basis vowel *a*. The old uninflected present form (in Akkadian precative and preterit [i.e., historical present] and in Ethiopic precative and subjunctive), on the other hand, was *i̯áqatul* (*i̯áqatal*, *i̯áqatil*), again with stress on the antepenult. Since this form is endingless, the stress naturally fell on the prefix vowel; then, by elision of the unstressed first basis vowel, this form became *ikšud* in Akkadian, *i̯eqtel* in Ethiopic, *i̯áqtul* in Arabic, etc. This is the simple solution of the problem of the present forms *ikâšad* and *i̯eqátel*, which have puzzled so many scholars and led them into rather risky theories. The Arabic present indicative form *i̯áqtulu* and the subjunctive form *i̯áqtula* presuppose, of course, an Old Semitic form *i̯áqatulu/a* with stress on the first syllable, which is in accordance with the usual Arabic tendency of stressing.

   [1] The use of the endingless form (i.e., the form without the nominative ending -*u*) in Akkadian, but of the form with nominative ending -*u* in Arabic, as predicate of an identification ("something is something") is a characteristic difference between the two languages. Note that the same difference as exists between *iqtul*, "he killed," in Akkadian, and *i̯aqtul-u*, "he kills," in Arabic, is found also in the predicative use of the noun; cf. Akkadian *awilum šû šarráq*, "that man is a thief," and Arabic *arraǧulu sáriqun*, "the man is a thief." In its preterit *qatal(a)*, "he killed," *qatalat*, "she killed," etc., Arabic, however, follows the Akkadian custom — a fact which, like many other features, shows the composite character of the Arabic language. That prehistoric Akkadian likewise used the nominative form (i.e., verb form + nominative ending -*u*), at least in the present, is shown by the fact that the stressing of the historical present form *ikâ(š)šad* presupposes the form *ikásad-u* (see preceding note).

   The endingless form, as the basic form of the Semitic present, originally, or in a certain stage of prehistoric Semitic, must have expressed all possible

iákun and Hebrew *ṷaii̯ā́qom*; that is, the stressing to be expected
in Akkadian is *ikū́n*, and there is no doubt that this form actually
was used not only in older periods, but also, at least by people
who were accustomed to a careful pronunciation, i.e., by literarily
educated people, even in late periods. On the other hand, it is
no less certain that even in the earliest periods vernacular language
will occasionally have shown a tendency to shorten the unstressed
last syllable, the form thus becoming *ikŭ́n*. A similar development
will of course have taken place with the forms of the other forma-
tions; i.e., the nif'al form *izzíz*, the šaf'el form *ušzíz*, and the IV 2
form *ittázīz* will occasionally have been pronounced *izzĭ́z*, *ušzĭ́z*,
and *ittázĭz*. The existence of such forms at an early time, even
though only in vernacular and colloquial language, will certainly
make it much easier to understand why the last vowel of the
forms *izīz*, *izzīz*, *ittázīz*, *ušzīz*, *izūz* (*úzūz*, *úšūz*), *názūz*, *šúzūz*, etc.,
is never found written *plene*.

It is very unfortunate that vernacular Akkadian, which forms
the natural background of literary Akkadian and which, moreover,
was the main factor in bringing about the changes in the literary
language in the various periods of its development, is so little
known or, apart from certain features to be concluded from the
literary language, almost unknown to us. Of course, the vernacular
language itself was by no means a stable datum; it too underwent
changes, and especially did it show considerable variation in the
various regions where Akkadian was spoken. But, what is of
greatest importance, it was the vernacular language that first of
all was exposed to the influence of foreign idioms and adopted
their linguistic tendencies. These facts must of course caution us
against unconditionally assuming that the vernacular language

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uses of the present form. After, however, in Akkadian the absolute ending-
less form has been confined to the indicative meaning and in Arabic to
that of the jussive or precative, in order to distinguish between the two
moods Akkadian indicates the jussive, but Arabic the indicative, by a
special modus element, that of the Akkadian precative being the prefixed
li-, that of the Arabic indicative the nominative ending *-u*. The common
use in Arabic of the prefixed *li-* before the so-called "apocopate" may
therefore be taken as an indication that Arabic, too, in a prehistoric stage
used the endingless form in the indicative meaning.

and under its influence perhaps even the literary language followed all the phases of the trend of development as outlined above. For instance, if among the Semitic immigrants or invaders of Babylonia there were foreigners speaking a language in which, as in Arabic, the assertive form of the *mediae infirmae* was formed like *i̯aqûmu*, this might easily have led to a more or less widespread tendency in vernacular Akkadian, at least for a certain period, to stress the endingless form as *ikûn* for example, instead of *ikūn* or *ikun*, and correspondingly also *izîz*, *izzîz*, and *ušzîz*, instead of *izīz* etc. — a change of stressing which would not necessarily show in the inscriptions, because these followed the traditional orthography. For this very reason we have, at least to date, no basis for making any definite statement as to whether such a retrogressive tendency actually played a rôle in Akkadian or, if it should have played such a part, to what extent this tendency may have been of influence on the pronunciation of those forms in the literary language.

Finally, the interesting fact may be mentioned that in the pi'el formation of verbs *mediae infirmae*, although we not infrequently find writings of the present form with inserted *a* (cf., e.g., *ú-ta-a-ar*, CH, obv., col. $16_{47 \text{ and } 52}$, and also the uncontracted form *ú-ki-a-al*, "she holds," Zimmern, SKAZ, No. 214, col. 2_{11}), writings of the preterit with inserted *e* or *i*, apart from very rare instances,[1] are not found,[2] in spite of the fact that the basic form is *i̯utái̯i̯ir* etc., with stress on the penult. To some extent this writing of the pi'el preterit is doubtlessly due to analogy with the writing of the preterit forms of the formations that do not double the middle radical; but in addition to that the scribes may have been led by a more or less vague idea that in the pi'el, too, present and preterit were characterized by some kind of different stressing in their basic form, i.e., that *utár* (< *i̯utái̯i̯ar*) represented something like an original *i̯utai̯ái̯ar*, but *utêr* (< *i̯utái̯i̯ir*) perhaps an original *i̯utái̯i̯ir*.

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[1] Cf. p. 116.

[2] This statement applies only to the Babylonian branch of Akkadian, not to the Assyrian branch with its uncontracted (but also contracted) forms.

B. The Forms with Endings

Plene writing of the contracted vowel *a* in present forms with endings beginning with a vowel is found in four instances, namely in the forms *iz-za-a-a[z-z]u* (Thureau-Dangin, LC, No. 156₁₉) and *iz-za-a-zu* (Bezold and Budge, TEAT, No. 1₂₇(!); Schroeder, KAVI, No. 2, col. 6₂₅, and Harper, ABL, No. 1126, obv.₁₀). The latter form needs no further explanation after what has been stated on the writing of the endingless form *iz-za-a-az*; it evidently represents the form *izzâzū*, whose circumflex stressing (= *izzâᵃzū*) is easily explained by the stressing of the basic form *įanzá(')'azû*. Nor does it seem advisable here to discuss the form *iz-za-a-az-zu*, which in addition to the *plene* writing of the contracted vowel shows doubling of the last radical; because of the latter phenomenon it will be best to treat it in the next section.

In the preterit, on the other hand, no *plene* writing is found except in *iz-zi-i-zi* in col. 4₁₆ of Zimmern, SKAZ, No. 214. This isolated writing, however, is of no consequence whatever, since the same text, an Old Babylonian poetical composition, writes also *i-li-bi-i-šu* (i.e., *i(l)li(b)bišu* or even *illibišu*) for *in(a) libbišu* (*ibid.*, col. 4₁₁), and the similar Ištar hymn (Thureau-Dangin, RA XXII 170ff., 1. 36) writes *im-ta-li-⌈i⌉-ku* (i.e., *imta(l)līkū*) for the I 3 form *imtállikū*; in both cases the long vowel actually represents a grammatically short and unstressed *i*. The stressing, and we may add circumflexing, of the *i* in these instances is of course poetic license; poetry was allowed to change the rhythm of a word in order to make it fit into the rhythm of the poem or the rhythm of the tune to which the chant was sung. For our grammatical investigations the *plene* writing of SKAZ No. 214 may therefore be completely disregarded.

If then the vowel of the preterit form is never, or practically never, written *plene*, it does not, of course, follow that the *i* of the penult must have been short and unstressed, i.e., that the verbal form was pronounced **izzizū*; such a pronunciation is altogether out of the question in view of the fact that writings of the type *iz-zi-iz-zu*, i.e., with doubling of the last radical and therefore with the stress on the penult, occur as often as 19 times. Nor is it possible

on the other hand to read every *iz-zi-zu* as *izzízzu* on the strength
of the 19 *iz-zi-iz-zu* writings, since the writing *iz-zi-zu* occurs
106 times, i.e., more than five times as frequently as the writing
iz-zi-iz-zu. The complete absence of *plene* writing therefore can
indicate only that the contracted *ī* of *izzīzū* represents a simple
long *î*, not a circumflexed *ῖ*. In point of fact a pronunciation
izzīzū would be against all expectations if the pattern after which
the *uzuzzu* form was shaped was that of the fully developed nif'al
form of the strong verb, i.e., the elided form *ikkáśdū* (< *inkáśidû*);
for the contraction of the short vowel *a* and the consonant *i̯* of the
basic form *izzái̯zū* could result rhythmically only in a simple long
vowel *ê* (> *î*).[1] Another derivation of the form *izzîzu* with simple
long *î* is discussed in the next section, since it presupposes knowl-
edge of some other facts to be discussed there.

Finally, as is the case with the preterit, *plene* writing is not found
in those imperative, as well as permansive and infinitive, forms
which are written with simple last radical; here again the con-
clusion must be that the contracted vowel represents a simple
long vowel. Since, however, the forms with simple last radical are
outnumbered by those with doubled last radical in the ratios 4 : 1
and 6 : 1, it will be appropriate to take up the question as to the
character of the contracted vowel only in connection with the
doubling of the last radical, which is discussed in the following
section.

7. DOUBLING OF THE LAST RADICAL AND THE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH IT

From the tables on pages 78 ff. (see especially the summarization
on p. 85) it will be seen that, while in the present of the IV 1

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[1] In the extant Akkadian grammars very little attention is paid to the
elision of vowels in the verbal forms, although this elision is governed by
rules strictly applied and although, e. g., the schemes *ikká(ś)śad, ikká(ś)-
śadū, ikkaśid, ikkáśdū* and *iktá(ś)śad, iktá(ś)śadū, iktaśad, iktáśdū* (cf.
pp. 46 ff.) are no less important features of the inflectional system of the verb
than, e.g., the scheme *dámqum, dámiq, damíqtum, dámqat, damqútum,
damqâtum* is of the inflection of the noun.

formation of *zâzu* the numerical relation between such writings
as *iz-za-az-zu* (i.e., *izzázzū*) with doubled last radical *z* and such
writings as *iz-za-zu* (i.e., *izzâzū*) with simple last radical *z* is slightly
more than 1 : 1 (69 : 66), the corresponding relation between the
writings *iz-zi-iz-zu* (i.e., *izzízzū*) etc. and *iz-zi-zu* (i.e., *izzîzū*) etc.
in the preterit and precative forms IV 1 of *zâzu* is only 1 : 5½
(19 : 106). Somewhat similar proportions are observed in the
causative formation III 1. The relation between such writings as
uš-za-az-zu and *uš-za-zu* in the present tense is again slightly more
than 1 : 1 (11 : 9), while that between such writings as *uš-zi-iz-zu*
and *uš-zi-zu* is only 1 : 3 (7 : 22). These proportions clearly show
that, at least to a considerable extent, doubling of the last radical
must have been considered a characteristic feature of the present
forms of *zâzu* IV 1 and III 1, while it would seem to have been
the prevalent feeling that it was not correct to double the last
radical in the preterit forms. It will at once be recalled that what
here seems to appear as a tendency only is, at least in certain
periods of the Akkadian language, e.g. at the time of Hammurabi,
the established rule for the I 1 and I 2 formations of verbs *mediae
infirmae*; compare, e.g., the present-future form *itúrrū*, "they come
back," with doubled last radical *r*, and the corresponding preterit
form *itûrū*, "they came back," with only one *r*. Since the present
itúrrū originated from *itáṳṳarū* with secondarily doubled middle
radical, while the preterit *itûrū* originated from or at least was
conceived as the equivalent of, *itṳurū*, whose second radical *ṳ* as a
consequence of the different stressing and of the elision of the
first basis vowel *a*[1] could not be doubled, our observation concern-
ing the doubling of the third radical of the *mediae ṳ* may be formu-
lated in the following manner: Doubling of the third radical in the
qal of verbs *mediae ṳ* will be found only in those cases where the
strong verb doubles its middle radical. The correctness of this
formulation is strikingly demonstrated by the doubling of the last
radical in both the present and preterit themes of the *piʿel* of the
mediae infirmae.[2] For in the *piʿel* the strong verb doubles the

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[1] I.e., the elided *a* of the bases *q(a)tul, q(a)til, q(a)tal.*

[2] To my knowledge these correspondences have not heretofore been
observed by anyone.

middle radical not only in the present, but also in the preterit
and all of its other themes, and obviously for this reason we find
doubling of the last radical of, e.g., the verb *kânum*, "to be firm,"
not only in the present form *ukánnū* (< **ukáʾanū* [< **ukáii̯anū*]
< **ukáu̯u̯anū*), "they establish firmly," but also in the preterit
ukínnū (< *ukáʾinū*), "they established firmly," the participle
mukínnum (< **mukáʾinum*), "one who firmly establishes (some-
thing)," and the infinitive *kúnnum* (< **kúʾunum* <**káʾunum*),
"to establish firmly." Since, furthermore, we established in
section 6 the fact that circumflex stressing expressed by *plene*
writing is a characteristic feature of the present forms of verbs
mediae infirmae, we can now establish as well a correspondence
between the doubling of the last radical in the present forms with
vocalic ending (*izzázzū*) and the *plene* writing and circumflex
stressing in both the present forms without vocalic ending (*iz-za-
a-az*) and those with vocalic ending (*iz-za-a-zu*).

As regards the present forms of the nifʿal formation, the doubling
of the last radical in *iz-za-az-zu* needs no further explanation,
since in accordance with the preceding it corresponds to the doubling
of the second radical in the IV 1 form *ippá(r)rasū* of the strong
verb, as well as to the circumflex stressing expressed by the *plene*
writings in the forms *iz-za-a-az* and *iz-za-a-zu* discussed and analyzed
in section 6. A word remains to be said, however, on the form
iz-za-a-az-zu of Thureau-Dangin, LC, No. 156$_{19}$, since it seems to
contain both features, namely circumflex stressing and doubling
of the last radical, at the same time. It may be noted that this
form is obviously paralleled by the I 1 form *i-ri-a-ab-bu-šum*, "they
shall make restitution (of the lost object) to him" (CH, obv.,
col. 9$_{45}$), the only difference being that instead of the seemingly
contracted *ã* (< *aʾa* < *au̯a*) of *iz-za-a-az-zu* it shows the uncon-
tracted *iʾa* (< *ai̯a*), a difference generally noticeable between the
I 1 forms of the *mediae u̯* and *i̯*, as e.g. in *i-ta-ar* (= *itãr*) and *i-ri-
a-ab* (= *iriʾab*), in the Hammurabi Code. Since the form *i-ri-a-
ab-bu* permits no other pronunciation and stressing than *iriʾábbū*,
i.e., with the stress on the vowel immediately before the doubled
last radical, *iz-za-a-az-zu* must obviously have been stressed
izzaʾázzū. When comparing *iriʾábbū* and *izzaʾázzū* with what their

forms would have been if the development of the verbs *mediae infirmae* had not gone beyond that of the strong verb, i.e., **iráṣṣabū* and **izzá"azū*, it will be noted that the difference between the final and original forms of the two verbs is actually the same as that between *kúnnum*, or rather its precursor **ku'únnum*,[1] and the original **kú"unum* (< **káyyunum*). Actually, therefore, the form *iz-za-a-az-zu* does not represent a form with both double third radical (as equivalent of the double middle radical) and circumflex stressing (as compensation for the lost doubling of the middle radical), but a form with double third radical only, in order to compensate for the lost doubling of the now simple middle radical.

As regards the nifʿal preterit, it has been pointed out in section 6 that the elided form of the IV 1 formation of the strong verb *ippársū*, if it served as a pattern for the corresponding form of **zâzu*, would indicate that the contraction in the **zâzu* form results in a simple long vowel, not in a circumflexed vowel. Consequently the preterit form should be expected to stress *izzêzū*, as contrasted with the present form stressing *izzāzū* (= *izzấdázū*), and to be written *iz-ze-zu*, not *iz-ze-e-zu* or *iz-zi-iz-zu* (the doubling of the last radical in the latter being the compensation for the circumflex stressing). Although this expectation is borne out comparatively well by the fact that in 106 out of 125 cases the preterit form

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[1] The development of **kú"unum* to *kúnnum* is usually conceived as having proceeded in the stages **kú"unum* > **kúnum* > *kúnnum*, and the usual impression is that the transition of **kúnum* to *kunnum* is an immediate one. In reality the process (as in most linguistic developments) was far more complicated, obviously proceeding not in one jump but gradually in numerous almost imperceptible steps, and not in a straight development, but with more or less frequent detours or even reversals. The steps that led, e. g., from **kú"unum* to *kúnnum*, at least the more important of them and of course only those that lie in the straight line between the two ends, are **kú"unum* > **kû'unum* > **kúᵘnum* > **kûnum* (with an *û* of the quantity 3 [< 2 ½ + ½ < 2 + 1]) > **kᵘûnum* > **ku'û'num* > **ku'únnum* > **kᵘúnnum* > *kúnnum*. The form of *ri'ábu* corresponding more closely to *kúnnum* than does *iri'ábbū* would be *iribbū*, for which one may compare e.g. *i-bi-it-tu* (Harper, ABL, Nos. 460₁₃, 462₁₃), and *i-ṭib-ba* (*ibid.*, No. 892₆) in Babylonian letters of the Sargonid period. The great importance of the forms *izza'ázzū* and *iri'ábbū* of the Hammurabi period lies in the fact that they prove the intermediary stage **ku'únnum* between **kúnum* and *kúnnum*.

actually appears as *izzêzu*, nevertheless the fact that in 19 instances such forms as *izzizzū*, i.e., with doubled last radical, occur indicates that matters are much more complicated in the case of the preterit IV 1 of **zâzu* than in the preterit I 1 of verbs *mediae infirmae*, where we find *only* such forms as *itûru* or *idînu*. What must be taken into account in this connection is the fact that the I 1 and IV 1 preterits are by no means identical in their development, since e.g. in *itu̯urû* (< *it(a)u̯urû*), the basic form of *itûru*, the first of the basis vowels is elided, but in **izzái̯(i)zû* the basic form of *izzêzū*, it is the second basis vowel which is elided; rhythmically, however, the elision of the second basis vowel is of much less weight than the elision of the first basis vowel. This becomes quite evident, e.g., from the frequent or almost regular *plene* writing in Late Assyrian times of the I 1 permansive forms of verbs *mediae infirmae* with vocalic ending, whose equivalent in the strong verb is *pársū* (< **párisû*), as e.g. in *re-e-ḫu* (Harper, ABL, No. 245, rev.$_7$), *re-e-ḫa-at* (No. 948$_8$), *bi-e-du-u-ni* (No. 629$_8$), *de-e-ka* (No. 197$_{11}$), *de-e-ki* (No. 166$_7$), *me-e-ti* (No. 186$_{15 \text{ and } 23}$), *mi-e-ti* (No. 473$_3$), and *ni-e-ḫu* (No. 128$_6$), to be contrasted with the simple vowel writing in the I 1 preterits and precatives *i-du-ku* (No. 251, rev.$_5$), *li-du-lu* (No. 652, rev.$_{4 \text{ and } 8}$), etc., from **idu̯ukū*, **lidu̯ulū*, etc. For strictly speaking the *plene* written *de-e-ku* is not the equivalent of *dai̯kū* (< *dái̯ikū* < *dáu̯ikū*) but of *dái̯i̯ikū*, and actually it is on this latter form, which because of its doubled middle radical does not elide its second basis vowel *i*, that the writing *de-e-ku* and the pronunciation *dēkū* are based. In the Semitic languages, as I shall show more fully in a future study, *i̯* between two short vowels inherently tends to double. I refer here only to such cases as Hebrew בוֹכִיָּה (< *bâki(i̯)i̯atum*), גְּדִי and Akkadian *gadû* (< *gadi-(i̯)i̯um* < *gádi̯um*), יְהִי (< *i̯ahii̯(i̯)* < *i̯áh(i)i̯* etc.), צְבִיָּה (< *ṣabi(i̯)i̯atum* < *ṣábi̯atum*; Arabic *ẓábi̯atun*, Aram. masc. *ṭabi̯â*), גְּדִיֹתָיִךְ besides גְּדִיֹתָי and especially to the fact that in Arabic the participle of intransitive verbs *mediae infirmae*, although its basic form is *qatilun*, appears as *qai̯i̯ilun*, as e.g. in *mai̯i̯itun*, "dead," *kai̯i̯isun*, "clever," *mai̯i̯ilun*, "rich," and *lai̯i̯inun*, "soft," "tender."[1] As far as the

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[1] This tendency of the *i̯* has hitherto, as far as I can see, completely escaped observation. Note furthermore the tendency of Hebrew to place

word rhythm is concerned, the case of the nif'al form *ikkášdū* (< **iankášidû*) is completely parallel to that of *kášdū* (< **kášidû*), and it would therefore by no means be astonishing if occasionally instead of or besides *izzêzū* (< **ianzáizû*) a form **izzēzū* (written **iz-ze-e-zu* or, in Babylonian, **iz-zi-i-zu*; < **ianzá(i)iizû*) were found. Although, as we have seen, these writings are not actually found in Akkadian literature, the extant forms *izzézzū* and *izzízzū*, which, as was shown, necessarily presuppose such forms as *izzēzū* and *izzēzū*,[1] furnish unmistakable proof of the tendency to develop the last named forms, which, therefore, must have existed in dialects or in the language of the common man, even though they do not appear in the inscriptions.

From the preceding it is obvious that we have to distinguish two different formations, namely *izzêzū*, which is based on the elided form *ippársū*, and *izzízzū*, which is based on the unelided form **ippárisū*. In a purely systematical appraisement, which after all may coincide with the actual historical development, *izzízzū*, since it presupposes an unelided form as its immediate basis, must be considered the older form, while *izzêzu*, which is derived from the younger eliding basic form, would be a later development. The relation $1 : 5\frac{1}{2}$ between the occurrences of such forms as *izzízzū* and those of such forms as *izzêzu* shows, however, that in historical times the older form *izzízzū* was largely superseded by the younger

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the stress on the secondary *i* inserted in *qatl* (etc.) forms before the last radical *i*, a tendency which goes hand in hand with the doubling of the *i*.

The Arabic forms *maiiitun* etc. are of course not *fa'il* forms, as, strangely enough, is the common opinion. Real *fa'il* forms of verbs *mediae u* in Arabic are *tauilun*, "long," from *tâla, iatúlu*, "to be long," *qauiiun*, "strong," from *qauiia*, "to be strong," etc. **Mauitun* would mean something like "very dead," "completely dead," a meaning for which there would be no general need. As far as I know, no one has ever attempted to explain plausibly how **mauitun* could actually become *máiiitun*, if the equation of the two forms is to be understood as implying a development from one form to the other. Note that the explanation of *maiiitum* as given above reduces the deviation of the form from the usual pattern to just the doubling of the *i*, which itself, as pointed out above, is an inherent tendency of this consonant.

[1] In contradistinction to ~, which denotes the falling circumflex stressing, ⁀ is here used to indicate the rising circumflex stressing.

form and therefore was regarded as the less recognized form. As a matter of fact, the Crozer grammatical tablet actually gives only forms of the *izzêzū* type, of which it enumerates the following: *lu-uz-zi-za-ak-kum* (col. 1_{15}), *iz-zi-za-am* (col. 3_4), *iz-zi-za-aš-šu* (col. 3_6), *iz-zi-za-ak-kum* (col. 3_{14}). The scribe of the Crozer tablet therefore evidently recognized as correct only forms of this kind. Similarly, in col. 3_{16} he writes the IV 2 preterit form *ittazēzakkum* (< *$\underset{\sim}{i}antzai(i)zankum$), like the corresponding IV 1 form *iz-zi-za-ak-kum* (< *$\underset{\sim}{i}anzai(i)zankum$), with one z only, i.e., as *it-ta-ze-za-ak-kum*, although in col. 2_{22} on the other hand he gives the form *it-ta-zi-iz-za-am*, in col. 2_{24} the form *it-ta-⟨zi-⟩iz-za-aš-šu*, and in col. 3_2 *it-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum*, with double z — a fact which clearly shows that in his time the presumably older form was still largely used.[1] It will, however, be observed that the form *it-ta-zi-za-ak-kum* with one z is found in a later section of the tablet than the forms with doubled z, a fact which I am convinced must be interpreted as indicating that the scribe intended to correct his former writing of the similar forms with *zz* to the writing with simple z. Undoubtedly, therefore, he regarded *ittazêzam, ittazêzáššu*, etc. as the correct forms, the three writings with double z being merely a momentary and inadvertent concession to the vernacular language.

It will be noted that in contradistinction to the inflection scheme

Present	*izzázzū*	(< *$\underset{\sim}{i}anzáiiazû$)
Preterit	*izzêzū*	(< *$\underset{\sim}{i}anzáizú$)

which goes with the nif'al of the strong verb, the scheme

Present	*izzázzū*	(< *$\underset{\sim}{i}anzá(i)iazû$)
Preterit	*izzizzū*	(< *$\underset{\sim}{i}anzá(i)iizû$)

completely parallels the scheme of the pi'el of verbs *mediae infirmae*, which inflects

Present	*ukánnū*	(< *$\underset{\sim}{i}ukáiianû$)
Preterit	*ukínnū*	(< *$\underset{\sim}{i}ukáiiinû$)

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[1] According to the list on p. 84 the relation between the *t*-forms with doubled z and those with simple z is 10 : 12; considering the facts pointed out on pp. 169 f., however, the proportion actually was 14 : 8.

If the preterit with double *z* actually *is* the older form, its preservation in the vernacular or colloquial language was evidently due to this parallelism with the established pattern of the *mediae infirmae* pi'el.

On the other hand there are traces also of a tendency of the IV 1 formation of **zâzu* to develop in the opposite direction, namely toward an increased assimilation to the I 1 theme. It will be noted that the scheme

	Present	Preterit
Sing.	*izzâz*	*izzêz, izzîz*
Plur.	*izzázzū*	*izzêzū, izzîzū*

is only partially parallel to the scheme

	Present	Preterit
Sing.	*itâr*	*itūr*
Plur.	*itúrrū*	*itûrū,*

since the present form *izzázzū* has the vowel of the present singular, whereas the present form *itúrrū* has the vowel of the preterit. In the Susa texts published by Dossin in Autres textes sumériens et accadiens (= Mém. XVIII) as Nos. 207 and 208, however, the 3 d person plural of the present appears as *iz-zi-iz-zu*, whose present meaning is assured by the fact that texts Nos. 203 and 209 have in exactly the same phrase (but with singular subject) the singular form *iz-za-az* or *i-za-a-az*.[1] The scribes at Susa therefore evidently inflected

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[1] The passages of the four texts (purchase documents) are the following:

No. 203 (after it has been stated that ᵈNIN-ŠUBUR-*abi* has purchased from *Damiq-Šušinak* a house and paid for it): ¹¹*a-na du-úr ù pa-la* ¹²*a-na še-er še-er-ri* ¹³*a-na ba-aq-ri ù ra-gi-ma-ni* ¹⁴⸢*da-mi-iq*-ᵈ*šušinak* ¹⁵*a-na* ᵈNIN-ŠUBUR-*a-bi iz-za-az.*

"For all times (literally: for period [the Akkadian word] and period [the loan word from Sumerian]) to (i.e., with the provision that the obligation shall devolve on) (all of his) posterity (literally: child of child) for (the frustration or prevention of any possible) vindication suit and (for the frustration or satisfaction of any) vindication suitor *Damiq-Šušinak* (i.e., the seller) shall stand for ᵈNIN-ŠUBUR-*abi* (i.e., the buyer)."

No. 209 (after the statement that *Kasap-Sin* has bought a part of a house from *Šat-rimki*(?) and paid for it): ⁷*a-na du-úr ù pa-la* ⁸*a-na še-er še-er-ri* ⁹*a-na ba-aq-ri* ... ¹⁰... *ru-ku!-ma!-ni?* ¹¹*ša-at-ri-im-ki*(?) ¹²*a-na kasap-sin* ¹³*i-za-a-az.*

	Present	Preterit
Sg.	*izzāz*	*izzīz, izzēz*
Pl.	*izzízzū*	*izzîzū, izzêzū,*

a scheme which completely corresponds to that of the qal of the *mediae u̯*.

In the preterit of III 1 the relation between writings of the types *uš-zi-iz-zu* and *uš-zi-zu* is 1 : 3, a fact which clearly indicates that *uščizzu* is the less recognized of the two forms. As a matter of fact, this result of our observations was to be expected, since the situation is here quite similar to that in the nif'al, as may be seen from the basic forms of the two formations:

		Nif'al	Šaf'el
Present	Sg.	**inzá'az (> izzāz)*	**uszá'az (> uščāz)*
Preterit	Sg.	**inza'iz (> izzīz)*	**úsza'iz (> úščīz)*
	Pl.	**inzáįzū (> izzîzu)*	**uszáįzū (> uščîzū)*

Nevertheless, the percentage of occurrence of the *uščizzū* forms in the šaf'el is twice that of the *izzízzū* forms in the nif'al; but this too will be readily understood if we take into consideration the fact that *uščízzū* (instead of *uščîzū*), like the previously discussed *izzízzū* (instead of *izzîzū*), indicates an assimilation to the pi'el form *utírrū*, which in the case of the šaf'el seems much more natural than in the case of the nif'al, since, the relations between šaf'el and pi'el in meaning as well as in form are much closer than those between nif'al and pi'el. Add to this the fact that **zâzu* as an intransitive verb could (if only potentially) form a transitive pi'el **zuzzu*, which again could easily give rise to a šaf'el-pi'el form *uščēz*, of which *uščízzū* would be the regular plural form. Note that Late Assyrian actually offers the uncontracted III/II 2 form *ussazaįįiz*[1].

No. 208 (after the statement that *Sin-irîbam* has bought from *Šalmu* . . . and *Nuriri* a field and that he has paid for it): [8]*a-na du-úr ù pa-la* [9]*a-na še-er še-er-ri* [10]*a-na ba-aq-ri ù ru-* . . . . . . [11]*ša-al-mu-* . . . *ù nu-ri-ri* [12]*a-na sin-i-ri-ba-am* [13]*iz-zi-iz-zu.*

No. 207 (after the statement that [d]NIN-ŠUBUR-*abi* has bought house property from *Šušinak-gamil, Sin-êriš, Belî,* and *Amur(?)-rabussu(?)*: [8]*a-na du-úr ù pa-la* [9]*a-na še-er še-er-ri* [10]*a-na ba-aq-ri ù ra-gi-ma-ni* [11]⟨ [d]*šušinak-ga-mil* ⟨ *sin-eriš* [12]⟨ *be-li-i ù a-mur(?)-ra(?)-bu-uz-zu* [13]*a-na* [d]NIN-ŠUBUR-*a-bi iz-zi-iz-zu.*

As in the case of the nif'al preterit, the Crozer tablet gives, at least for the III 1 formation, only forms with simple *z*, namely *lu-uš-zi-za-ak-kum* (col. 1_{16}), *lu-uš-zi-za-ak-ka* (col. 1_{18}), *uš-zi-za-am* (col. 3_5), *uš-zi-za-aš-šu* (col. 3_7), and *uš-zi-za-ak-kum* (col. 3_{15}); this clearly indicates that at the time of Hammurabi the regular šaf'el *úšzīz* was the recognized form, in spite of the conclusions that might possibly be drawn from the writing *uš-di-i-ik* in the Nippur tablet containing part of the Code of Hammurabi. Compare also the III 2 form *uš-ta-zi-za-ak-kum* (col. 3_{17}), although the forms *uš-ta-zi-iz-za-am* (col. 2_{23}), *uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šu* (col. 3_1), and *uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum* (col. 3_3) testify to the existence of the form *ušzizzū* at that time. That this form was not considered correct by the scribe of the Crozer tablet, however, is shown by the transition to the writing *uš-ta-zi-za-ak-kum* in col. 3_{17}, which in this case too implies a correction of the former writings with double *z*.

In the imperative of IV 1 the relation between the forms with doubled third radical and those with simple radical is 4 : 1 (24 : 6),[1] which clearly indicates that the Babylonian grammarians considered the doubling of the last radical as more or less normal for the imperative forms. The proportions would at first seem rather surprising in view of the fact that in the preterit the relation between the forms with double and simple third radical is reversed, namely $1 : 5\frac{1}{2}$ (19 : 106); for the imperative is closely connected with the preterit (originally present), the two themes being formed with the same basis and differing only in the fact that the imperative lacks the prefixed personal element *ta-*, "thou," of the preterit (originally present). Nor do the stressing conditions seem to offer any key for the solution of the problem, since both in the basic form of the imperative, i.e., **nzá'izā*, and in that of the preterit form, i.e., **ia-nzá'izū*, at least when the latter was stressed as usual on the antepenult, the stress is in exactly the same place, namely on the first basis vowel.

In this connection it is useful to point to a similar phenomenon in the imperative and preterit forms of the I 1 formation of the usual verbs *mediae infirmae*. As mentioned above, the Harper

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[1] Note that according to p. 83, n. 1 (cf. also p. 85, n. 1) the proportion would be as high as 5 : 1 (25 : 5).

letters write the preterit and precative forms of these verbs with simple vowel, namely as *i-du-ku* (No. 251, rev.$_5$), *li-du-lu* (No. 652, rev.$_4$ and $_8$), etc.; the imperative forms *di-i-na* (No. 716, rev.$_{13}$), *du-ú-ka* (No. 280$_{10}$), and *ḫi-i-ṭa* (No. 185$_{10}$), however, are written with an additional vowel, which, as we have seen, indicates circumflex stressing. The *plene* writing of the contracted vowel of the imperative form, but simple writing of the contracted vowel of the preterit, is completely parallel to the writing of the nifʿal imperative with double *z*, but writing of the preterit with one *z*, since both circumflex stressing of the contracted vowel and doubling of the last radical, as we have seen, are compensations for the lost doubling of the middle radical.

Furthermore, it will be observed that for the nifʿal permansive and infinitive, whose basic forms **nzáʾuzū* and **nzáʾuzum* are to be grouped with the basic form **nzáʾizā* of the imperative, doubling of the last radical was likewise considered to be the norm, as is shown by the relation $5\,^3/_8 : 1$ (92 : 17) between the forms with double *z* and those with simple *z*; and again this feature is paralleled by the *plene* writing of corresponding I 1 forms of the usual *mediae infirmae* verbs, namely the permansive forms *re-e-ḫu*, *re-e-ḫat*, *de-e-ka*, etc.,[1] whose basic forms *ráʾiḫū*, *ráʾiḫat*, etc. rhythmically correspond to the basic forms **nzáʾuzū* and **nzáʾuzum*.

From the facts that on the one hand imperative (basic form **nzáʾizâ*), permansive (**nzáʾuzû*), and infinitive (**nzáʾuzum*) of IV 1 **zâzu* double the last radical and on the other hand imperative (**d(á)ʾukâ*) and permansive (**dáʾikû*) of I 1 of verbs *mediae infirmae* circumflex the contracted vowel,[2] whereas the preterit of IV 1 **zâzu* (**i̯anzáʾizû*) does not double the last radical and correspondingly the preterit of I 1 of verbs *mediae infirmae* (**i̯ad(a)ʾukû*) does not circumflex the contracted vowel, it is obvious that the difference must be due to the fact that in the first case the basis of the form is not preceded by a prefix as it is in the preterit. The rule then would be this: The prefixless forms are treated, in a manner, after the pattern of the present form, i.e., as if their middle radical were doubled — a treatment which in

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[1] See p. 128.

[2] See above and p. 128.

the case of those forms that begin with the first radical results in a circumflex stressing of the contracted vowel (cf. *du-ú-ka*, *di-e-ku*), whereas in the case of those that begin with a formative element, e.g. the nif'al *n*, it results in the doubling of the last radical (*izízzā*, *izúzzū*, *izúzzum*). On the other hand, those forms which begin with a prefix show neither circumflex stressing nor doubling of the last radical (cf. *idûkū* and *izzîzū*).

In order to explain this rule it must be kept in mind that the development of a kind of "present" stressing in the prefixless forms is quite natural, since in these forms the stress must necessarily rest on the first syllable of the basis, exactly as in the present forms; in the forms with prefix, however, the stress of the uncontracted form can rest on the prefix (cf. *ꭟáduꭟukū*, *ꭟánzaʾizū*), and evidently this was actually the case at the time in which the different treatment of the preterit originated. This is conclusively shown by the I 1 preterit, since its oldest basic form *ꭟa-parus-û* (> *ꭟapurusû*) could develop to *iprusū* only if it was stressed *ꭟáparusū*, not if it was stressed **ꭟapárusû*, which obviously would have developed to **ipársū*. Likewise, the nif'al form *ꭟa-n-zaʾiz-û* was stressed *ꭟánzaʾizû*, even if only in the schematic system that forms the background of the forms here discussed. For stress on the fourth syllable counting from the end in Akkadian, compare e.g. the Babylonian I 2 permansive form *pítrusū* (< *pí-tarusû* < *p(i)tárusû*), for which Cappadocian has *pitársū* (< *p(i) tárusû*) with the stress still on the third syllable from the end. Of course, stressing on the fourth syllable from the end is quite uncommon in Akkadian of the historical periods and actually foreign to it. In the cases referred to, it may therefore be conceived as simply due to the tendency to stress the plural forms like those of the singular, i.e., *ꭟáp(a)rusû* like *ꭟáp(a)rus*, *ꭟánzaʾizû* like *ꭟánzaʾiz*, *pít(a)rusû* like *pít(a)rus*. It will be noted that here we have traced a second line of development leading to the form *izzîzū* in addition to that traced in the preceding parts of our investigation (p. 124).

A relationship similar to that which exists between imperative and preterit of the nif'al in regard to the writing with doubled or simple third radical is shown by our tables to exist between

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imperative and preterit of the šaf'el; for in the latter formation the ratio between the imperative forms with doubled and simple third radical is $4:1$, but that between the corresponding forms of the preterit is $1:3$ $(7:22)$. Here again the reason for the reversal of the relation lies in the different stress of the basic forms of the imperative and the singular preterit, namely, *šzá'iz and *i̯ušza'iz. Rather surprising, however, is the fact that the extant writings of the šaf'el infinitive and permansive forms do not give us a proportion similar to that of the corresponding forms of the nif'al; for, whereas the relation in the nif'al is $5^1/_2:1$ $(87:16)$, that in the šaf'el forms is $1:2$ $(6:12)$. This fact seems to indicate that in the šaf'el the form with single, not that with doubled, last radical was considered for some reason the more correct. It must be left to future researches, based on more comprehensive material than is at present available, to decide whether this conclusion is correct and, if so, by what the deviation was caused.

8. Insertion of a Secondary Vowel between the Causative Element š and the First Radical z

It has been pointed out before that since *zâzu, "to stand," is a verb *mediae infirmae*, its šaf'el forms should naturally be expected to follow the established pattern of the *mediae infirmae*; i.e., its simple šaf'el should appear as ušzîz ($<$ i̯ušza'iz) and its šaf'el-pi'el as ušzîz ($<$ i̯ušzá''iz), both of which are characterized by vowellessness of the šaf'el element š. As a matter of fact, the old language testifies to the existence of these forms only. According to all available evidence, therefore, the form u-ša-zi-iz, found for the first time in inscriptions of Aššur-naṣir-apli II and his son Šulmanu-ašared III, represents a late development of those regular šaf'el forms; for this reason it is to be stressed ušazîz, if derived from the simple šaf'el ušzîz, but ušazîz, if derived from the šaf'el-pi'el ušzîz. The inserted a is merely a secondary short vowel and unstressed.

Nevertheless, it will be useful to disregard for a moment these conclusions and consider briefly the question whether u-ša-zi-iz

may not represent the form *ušázīz*, from an original *i̯ušáz'iz* formed on the pattern of the strong verb šaf'el *i̯ušápris*. Such a form might even be comparatively old, namely as old as the strong verb pattern *ušápris*, which itself undoubtedly goes back to pre-Akkadian times. As a matter of fact, it must be considered as very likely or almost certain that at the time when *i̯ušápris* (instead of *i̯úšparis*) became the generally recognized form of the šaf'el of the strong verb, the *mediae infirmae* too succumbed to the tendency to form a šaf'el on the new pattern, i.e., as *i̯ušámi̯it*, *i̯ušáz'iz*, etc., which naturally would contract to (*i̯*)*ušámīt* and (*i̯*)*ušázīz*. However, there can be no doubt that following the contraction these forms were unable to survive alongside of the older forms of the types *úšzīz* and *ušzīz* for any length of time, because stress on a short open syllable preceded by another short open syllable and followed by an unstressed long syllable is rather inconvenient. Moreover, in those periods in which contracted syllables at the end of a verbal form tended to attract the stress, *ušázīz* would become *ušazíz*, whose *š* would soon again become vowelless by elision of its now unstressed and unprotected *a*. Obviously, therefore, the form *ušazíz* which we meet in the inscriptions of Aššurnaṣir-apli II and Šulmanu-ašared III was not stressed *ušázīz*. Against such a stressing may be adduced also the fact that no similar form of any other verb *mediae infirmae* is found in the inscriptions, although this fact by itself would by no means furnish a conclusive argument.

On the other hand, as has been pointed out in chapter i, section 8, parallels for the insertion of a short vowel after vowelless šaf'el *š* are found in the strong verb šaf'el-pi'el forms *ušazá(n)nin* and *ušaná(m)mara* and also in the quadriliteral šaf'el forms *ušeqélpû* and *ušabalkat* and *ušabálkit*, which show the same word rhythm as the šaf'el-pi'el forms. Obviously this is an indication that *u-ša-zi-iz* likewise represents a šaf'el-pi'el form, i.e., *ušazíz*, and not the simple šaf'el form *úšazīz*.

The insertion of the short *a* into the old *ušzīz* is a development counter to the tendency of Akkadian to elide short vowels in open syllables preceded by another short and open syllable. In view of the fact that Akkadian had carried out this tendency almost

without exception, the insertion actually represents a retrogressive development possible only at a time when the genuine Akkadian tendency to vowel elision had been somewhat weakened by some foreign factor. This latter, considering the historical possibilities, consisted, no doubt, of the penetration into Akkadian territory of some other Semitic dialect that did not elide short vowels or even showed a tendency to fill in again, at least in certain rhythmic patterns, the gap created by elision. It will be observed that the case of *ušzîz* as developing into *ušazîz* is completely analogous to the replacing of Hebrew **siprîm*, the plural of **siprum* (> *sêfer*), by **siparîm* (> **sifárîm* > **sifārîm* > *s^efārîm*) or in Arabic the replacing of *'ardûn(a)*, the plural of *'árdun*, by *'aradûna* and of **ḫaiuâtun*, the plural of **ḫáiiatun* ([< **ḫáiiuatun*] > *ḫaiiatun*), by *ḫaiauâtun*. There is nothing to show that the influence of a foreign Semitic idiom made itself felt on Akkadian to such a degree that the genuine tendency to elision was completely replaced by the tendency of the foreign idiom; where it did penetrate, however, was at certain weak points of Akkadian, that is, where Akkadians, or foreigners who spoke Akkadian, would find some other difficulty. Such a difficulty was evidently felt in *úšzîz* or *ušzîz* on account of the immediate neighborhood of the sibilant *š* to the quite different sibilant *z*. This difficulty, however, immediately disappears if, as is the case in the secondary form *úšazîz* or *ušazîz* here under discussion, the two sibilants are separated from each other by the short vowel *a*. It was, of course, the same difficulty that in Cassite times led to the change of *úšzīz* or *ušzîz* to *úlzīz* or *ulzîz*; in these latter forms the difficulty was overcome by changing the first sibilant *š* to the liquid *l*. The change of *a* to *e* in the forms *u-še-zi-iz* and *u-še-ziz* found in the inscriptions of Aššur-naṣir-apli II and Šulmanu-ašared III corresponds, of course, to the same change in the šaf'el as well as the pi'el forms of certain strong verbs.

9. DOUBLING OF THE FIRST RADICAL z

The doubling of the first radical *z* of the verb **zâzu*, to be discussed in this section, is not that doubling of the radical *z* which

is due to the assimilation of a vowelless nif'al *n* to the following first radical *z*, as found, e.g., in the regular nif'al present and preterit forms *izzâz* < *inzâz and *izzîz* < *inzîz. This assimilation and the resulting double consonant are quite regular and therefore need no explanation. Here we shall be concerned exclusively with those forms of *zâzu in which the added *z* is a secondary development and not the equivalent of any consonant of the basic form.

There is no doubt, e.g., that the doubling of the first *z* in the causative form *ušazzîz* (*ušazzîzzū*, *ušezzîz*, *šuzzîz*, *šuzzûzu*, etc.) is of secondary origin, since the original basic form is **ịú-š-za'iz*, or rather *ịu-š-zá"iz*, which would not immediately develop into a form *ušazzîz* with double *z*. As a matter of fact, the historical evidence shows that the forms *ušazzîz*, *ušezzîz*, etc. are late. Moreover, the form *ušazzîz* necessarily presupposes an already existing form *ušazîz*, in which separation of the šaf'el *š* and the first radical *z* by means of the vowel *a* actually makes it possible to double the *z*. But this form, as we saw in the preceding section, is itself an otherwise unusual secondary development and, moreover, constitutes a marked deviation from the recognized principle of vowel elision in Akkadian.

This last point, however, undoubtedly gives us the explanation for the doubling of the first radical *z* in the forms here under discussion. Since the *a* of the form *ušăzîz* is in conflict with the tendency toward vowel elision in Akkadian and therefore under ordinary circumstances would be likely to be dropped again sooner or later, the doubling of the first radical *z* evidently served to assure the preservation of the imperiled short vowel, since after the doubling of the following consonant the law of vowel elision no longer applies. As far as the rhythmic figure of the word form is concerned, we may again point to a similar phenomenon in Hebrew. As shown by the Arabic *ğámalun* and *ğamlun*, the basic form of the word for "camel" in the Semitic languages is *gamalun*. The plural of Hebrew *gāmāl*, however, is *gᵉmallîm* (< *gamállūm < *gamálūm < *gamalûm), which rhythmically is the exact equivalent of *ušazzîz*. Note also such cases as *qᵉṭannîm* and *qᵉṭannā* from *qāṭān* (< *qáṭanum) [and *qāṭōn* < *qáṭunum?]; *ḫamiššîm* and *ḫamiššā* from *ḫāmēš* (< *ḫámišum); etc. In Akkadian, such

forms as *rugummûm, buqurrûm, šukunnûm, purussûm,* and *nudunnûm,* which at first seem rather strange for a Semitic language, must undoubtedly be explained along the same lines; they were no doubt originally *plurale tantum*'s of infinitive forms of the basis *p(a)rus* (in Hebrew *qᵉṭōl, qŏṭ(ᵉ)l-*). That is to say, the development was as follows: (**nudnû* or) **nudunû > *nudunnû,* "givings," "gifts," > *nudunnûm* (sg.) and *nudunnâʾum,*[1] "dower," "Mitgift." Note that the idea of plurality is inherent in the meanings of practically all words of this formation; e.g., the dower, under ordinary circumstances, consists of a large number of gifts.

Doubtlessly, however, the unusual development of *ušazīz* to *ušazzīz* was supported by an additional consideration. As far as the meaning is concerned, the form *ušazīz* (like the older *ušzīz,* from which it had developed) is the causative of the nifʿal form *izzīz* (< **įánzaʾiz*); and it would not be surprising for the idea to arise that this logical relation to the nifʿal should be made unmistakably clear in the form of the causative, namely by the formative element *n,* the sign of the nifʿal. Influenced by this trend of thought, the Babylonian was led to form a kind of nifʿal šafʿel(-piʿel) **įu-ša-n-zīz,* whose *n,* being vowelless, was assimilated to the following first radical *z* in the usual manner, the final form thus being *ušazzīz.* It is of course by no means necessary to assume that the Babylonian actually thought of the *n* as expressing the nifʿal idea; he may quite as well have taken *izzīz* as the preterit of a quadriliteral *primae nûn* and therefore have considered the form *ušazzīz* as the šafʿel or šafʿel-piʿel of a verb **nzʾz.*

If now we turn to the infinitive, permansive, or permansive adjective form *šuzzûzu* (< *šuzûzu* < **šzáʾuzu* [or **šazʾuzu*]), it must be conceded that *šuzúzzu,* the form from which it developed, does not offer any immediate cause to double the first radical *z,* since in it the short vowel *u* which precedes the first radical *z* stands in the first syllable of the form and therefore is in no danger of being elided. Still, the tendency to change the simple šafʿel into a šafʿel of the nifʿal form must have applied to the infinitive *šuzúzzu* no less than to the finite form *ušazīz;* that is, the nifʿal *n*

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[1] On this form see pp. xi f.

would have been missed (and consequently supplied) in the infinitive no less than in the finite form. Moreover, after the doubling of the first radical in the finite form *ušazzīz* had become a fixed feature, it was only natural that from there it should spread to the infinitive and permansive forms for the simple reason that the šaf'el was naturally conceived as a theme of uniform formation in all of its forms. Therefore, after *ušazīz* had changed to *ušazzīz*, this would at once have forced the infinitive form *šuzûzu* (*šuzuzzu*) to become *šuzzûzu* (*šuzzuzzu*) and similarly the imperative *šuzīz* to become *šuzzīz*.[1]

From what has been said concerning the principal causes of the irregular doubling of the first radical it will readily be understood that this doubling should be restricted to the šaf'el formations, for obviously there is no logical need to insert a nif'al *n* in the nif'al form. Nor is there any need to double the first radical in the nif'al forms in order to preserve an imperiled vowel, since the short vowel before the first radical either stands in the first syllable of the word (cf. *izīz*, *izúzzu*, *uzuzzu*) or follows a double consonant (as in the IV 2 form *ittazīz*). As a matter of fact, we find only two nif'al forms with irregularly doubled first radical, namely *uz-zu-zi-im-ma* (Thureau-Dangin, RHCS, l. 57) and *uz-za-uz-zu* (reference unfortunately lost), and it is not unlikely that in both of these cases the deviation from the ordinary form *uzúzzu* is due merely to some kind of confusion caused by the fact that in late times the formation of the infinitive *uzúzzu* was no longer fully understood. For the form with doubled *z* actually represents a kind of nif'al-nif'al, a case similar to that of *nanzúzzu*, which is discussed in the following section. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the doubling of the first radical in *uz-zu-zi-im-ma* and *uz-za-uz-zu* is due to stress conditions. The correct form *úzuzzímma* with main stress on the syllable *zim* would offer some real difficulty in pronunciation, inasmuch as the short open syllable at the beginning has the secondary stress, while the following closed, and therefore long, syllable *zuz* is unstressed. The natural tendency in Akkadian, however, is to double a single consonant after a short

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[1] On *šuzzûzu* as *t*-form see following footnote.

stressed vowel and, vice versa, to change a double consonant to a single consonant after a short unstressed vowel, i.e., to pronounce *ùzuzzímma* as *ùz:uzímma*. Similarly, the doubling of the first radical *z* in *uz-za-uz-zu* may be due to the stressing of the short *u* at the beginning of the form; for if *uz-za-uz-zu* is not merely a mistake for *u-zu-uz-zu*, but renders an actually existing vernacular form *ù(z)za'úzzu*, which would be a parallel to the forms *izza'ázzū* and *iri'ábbū* discussed in section 7 (pp. 126f.), the short *u* would in this case, too, bear the secondary stress.[1]

10. NASALIZATION OF THE FIRST RADICAL *z*

Among the forms of **zâzu* that show a vowelless *n* before the first radical *z*, the late and corrupted form of the participle of IV 1, *manzâz* (the word is found in the construct state only), is the only one in which the *n* represents a formative element of the regular or original formation scheme of the verb **zâzu*, namely the nif'al *n*, as may be seen from an analysis of the original form of the participle from which *manzâz* developed, namely **munza'zum* < **mu-n-za'iz-um*. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, it must be carefully noted that, as above stated, the *n* of *manzazu* merely represents, but is not actually itself, the old nif'al *n*. For, as already mentioned, *manzâz*, at least as far as the evidence of the written language goes, is a late form, whereas the older form used, e.g., at the time of Hammurabi, is *mu(z)zâz* (written *mu-za-az*), which, in conformity with the rule that in the Akkadian of that time a vowelless *n* is assimilated to the following consonant, assimilates its vowelless nif'al *n* to the first radical *z*. Obviously, therefore, the *n* of *manzâz* is due to the process, so common in Late Akkadian, of dissimilation of a double sonant (in our case *zz*) into nasal + sonant (in our case *nz*); in other words, *manzâz*, or its more original form **munzâz*, originated from *muzzâz* exactly as,

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[1] Taken by themselves, *uzzuzzu* and *šuzzûzu* could well be IV 2 and III 2 forms originating from **(n)itzá'uzu* (< **ntzá'uzum*) and **šutzá'uzu* (< **štzá'uzum*). However, as far as I can see at present, the context in which the forms occur does not permit such an assumption. The *t* would of course be the nonsyntactical, phrasal *t*, which, however, it would be difficult to explain in the cases concerned.

e.g., the late forms *inándin*, *inámbi*, and *inámṣar* originated from *ináddin*, *inábbi*, and *ináṣṣar*. The complete historical development of *manzâz* is therefore (in reversed order): *manzâz* (< **munzâz*) < *muzzâz* < **munzâz*, a development corresponding, e.g., to that of *imbi* < *ibbi* < **inbi*, "he called."

In all of the other forms of **zâzu* which show a nasal before their first *z*, namely the III 2 form *ussanzīz*, the IV 1 permansive form *nanzūz*, the IV 3 present form *ittanamzāz*, the IV/IV 1 form *innanzīz*, and the *nomen loci* of **zâzu*, *manzâzu*, the nasal cannot be traced back to any formative element, but is clearly a secondary addition to the more original and regular forms *uštazīz* (< **ịušt-za'iz*), *nazūz* (< **nzá'uz*), *ittanazâz* (< **ịantnzá'az*), **innazīz* (< ***ịannza'iz*), and *mazâzu* ([< **maz'azu*] < **mazá'azum*). Superficially, therefore, it might seem that the inserted nasal represents merely what we may describe as a nasalization of the following consonant, this term to be understood as denoting the placing of an *n* before a consonant merely for the sake of euphony, facilitation of pronunciation, etc. As a matter of fact, however, no such nasalization as that described above exists in Akkadian; the truth is that wherever a nasalization seems to take place in Akkadian, the combination nasal + consonant has developed from, and is the equivalent of, a double consonant. Obviously, therefore, the forms enumerated above, which because of the presence of the *n* may conveniently be called nasalizing forms, go back to, or presuppose as their prototypes, forms with doubled first radical, i.e., the forms *uštazzīz*, **nazzūz*, **ittanazzâz*, **innazzīz*, and **mazzâzu*; in other words, they merely represent a further development of the phenomenon discussed in the preceding section. At least at the outset, therefore, our present task will consist of merely examining the nasalizing from the viewpoint of the results obtained in that section.

It will be remembered that there the attempt was made to explain the development of the form *ušazzīz* from the older *ušazīz*, which itself had developed from an even older *ušzīz*. To recapitulate, the form *ušazzīz* was found to be the result of two concurring tendencies, namely (1) to save the secondary *a* inserted immediately before the first radical from elision by means of doubling the first

radical and (2) to achieve a certain adjustment between formation and meaning by converting the šafʿel *uš(a)zīz* into a šafʿel-nifʿal **ušanzīz*. The first of these tendencies, however, can have been at work in the development of only one of the nasalizing forms enumerated above, namely the IV 3 present *ittanamzāz* (< *ittanazāz*) < **ittanazāz* (< **ittanzâz* < **ittazzâz* < **ittanzâz* < **iantnzáʾaz*); for only this form inserts before the first radical *z* a secondary short vowel *a*, which was liable to elision.[1] The second tendency, on the other hand, can have been at work, at least originally, only in the development of the *nomen loci manzâzu* from the original *mazâzu*; for all other nasalizing forms, namely (if we momentarily disregard *uṣṣanzīz*[2]) *ittanamzāz* (< **intanazâz*), *nanzūz* (< *nazūz*), and *innanzīz* (< **innazīz*), were already nifʿal forms before the nasalization of the first radical *z*. In the forms *nanzūz* and *innanzīz*, finally, neither of the two tendencies can have been operative; for they were real nifʿal forms before their nasalization and also did not contain any secondary vowel to be guarded from elision. If, nevertheless, these forms too underwent the process of nasalization, this can be explained only by the assumption that after nasalization or doubling of the first radical had become a recognized feature of those forms that offered some actual phonetic or logical cause for that process, it spread, by mere analogy, even to forms which, at least originally, did not offer any cause for it. From this deduction it follows that in comparison, e.g., with the substantive *manzâzu*, which can be explained as the *nomen loci* of the nifʿal or quadriliteral verb *nzʾz*, the nasalized nifʿal form *nanzūz* was a relatively much younger form — a conclusion which seems to be corroborated by the fact that in texts of the Hammurabi period the nasalizing form *manzâzu* is found along-

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[1] Note, however, that as a late form *ittanamzāz* evidently already presupposes *iantnázʾaz* instead of *iantnzáʾaz* as its immediate basic form. Its pronunciation was therefore *ittanámzāz* with stress on the penult, in conformity with the tendency of later Akkadian to stress the present forms of certain longer formations, like their preterits, on the original antepenult; cf. *ittanápras* (< **iantpáras*) in IV 3 of the strong verb, and especially in the quadriliteral verb the change of the old pattern for present and preterit *ibbalákkat / ibbálkit* (later *ibbalákkit / ibbálkit*) to *ibbálkat / ibbálkit*.

[2] See pp. 152 f.

side of *mazâzu*, but no example of the form *nanzūz* is found alongside of *nazūz*, provided, of course, that the scanty material from this period correctly reflects the relative frequency of the forms at that time.[1]

Owing to the fact that in the minds of a great portion of the Akkadian population the nasalization of the first radical *z* in a number of **zâzu* forms was associated with the idea that the nasal represented a nif'al *n*, it was to be expected that the nasalizing *n* of the nif'al form *nanzūz* (that is, its second *n*) would likewise be regarded as a nif'al *n*. In other words, *nanzūz* (< *nazūz*) would be conceived, at least by some parts of the Akkadian population, as a kind of nif'al-nif'al. That this conception, strange as it may seem, did exist is definitely proved by the form *innanzīz* (written *in-na-an-zi-iz*) given by the Crozer tablet among the forms of the verb *uzuzzu*. In this form the first *n* corresponds to the nif'al *n* of the forms *izzâz* (< **inzâz*) and *nazūz*; the second *n*, immediately after the first *n*, to the second *n* of *nanzūz*, that is, to the old nasalization; and the third *n*, immediately before the *z*, represents a new, that is, a second, nasalization of the first radical *z*. It must be borne in mind, however, that the conception of a nif'al-nif'al obviously related only to the formation, not to the meaning of the form; instead of as a nif'al-nif'al of **zâzu* the form may therefore more appropriately be designated as the nasalizing nif'al form of a secondary quadriliteral verb *nz'z*, derived from the old nif'al of **zâzu*. Note that the development of a nif'al form of such a verb *nz'z* is merely a parallel to, or, it may even be said, a repetition of, the process that changed, or was thought to have changed, the old intransitive **izâz* into the nif'al form *izzâz*.

As hinted in several places, dissimilation of double sonants into nasal and sonant can be observed as a *generally* recognized feature of written Akkadian only since the Cassite time. For instance, the recognized form of the present of *nadânu* during the Hammurabi period is *inâddin*, written *i-na-ad-di-in* or *i-na-di-in*; the nasalized *inândin*, written *i-na-an-din* etc., is frequently found, in addition

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[1] An absolute statement on this point is hardly possible for the time being, since the form *nazūz* occurs in just one text, namely the Crozer grammatical text mentioned in some of the earlier sections.

to *ináddin*, only since the Cassite period; while the form *inámdin*, written *i-nam-din* etc., comes into use at a still later period. Note, however, that the nasalized forms *manzâzu* and *innanzīz* occur as early as the Hammurabi period. To this period belongs also the nasalized nif'al permansive adjective *na-an-ze-rum*, "the hated one," "a man who is disliked," in the school practice tablet HGT, No. 145, col. 1₄, for which col. 2, which repeats col. 1, gives the non-nasalized *na-ze-rum*.[1] Moreover, in a letter of King Rim-Sin of Larsa in the collections of the Oriental Institute, the form *anandikkunûšim*, "I shall give to you," i.e., the nasalizing form of the present of *nadânu* with dative suffix of the second person plural, is found twice. This early occurrence of the nasalization is easily explained, for it is a general observation that grammatical or phonetic features which in the written language appear or become common only at a given time have already existed before, and sometimes long before, that time in the language of the common people. Thus, as shown by the examples cited above, nasalization existed as early as the Hammurabi period, but, to judge from its rare occurrence, it had not yet been accepted as a feature of the written language of that period, although it did occasionally and under especially favorable conditions make its way from the vulgar tongue into the literary language even at that early time. Note on the one hand, that the verbs from which the nasalized forms enumerated above are derived, i. e., *uzuzzu*, "to stand," *nadânu*, "to give," and *zâru*, "to dislike," "not to like," are among those most frequently used in everyday speech, and that vulgar forms of such verbs are likely to make their entry into the written language much faster than those of verbs less frequently used. To what extent, however, nasalization at the time of Hammurabi, in spite of its rare occurrence in the written language, must have been a feature of the vulgar language can easily be estimated from the form *innanzīz*, which, as pointed out above, is a nif'al-nif'al of *zâzu* or a nif'al of the quadriliteral verb *nz'z*; for the fact that such a formation could develop can be

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[1] Col. 1 gives lú-šà-ḫul-AG, but col. 2 gives lú-šà-ḫul-gi₁₇, as the Sumerian equivalent of *nanzêrum* and *nazêrum*; evidently both should be emended to lú-šà-ḫul-gi₁₇-aka.

explained only on the assumption that in the vulgar language of that time nasalization of forms of the verb *zâzu* had become so frequent and so common that the nasal was regarded as a part of the verbal root or as a verbal formative element necessary to establish the proper meaning of the verb. Note, furthermore, that the form *innazîz*, which was the immediate result of the development just described, was again nasalized and thus changed into *innanzîz*, obviously because it was felt that nasalization of the first radical *z* was an indispensable prerequisite of the forms of *zâzu*.[1]

These observations make it evident that the form *innanzîz* is actually a "doubly" vulgar form; i.e., it underwent twice the process of nasalization which at that time was still unrecognized in the literary language. As a matter of fact, its quotation by the compiler of the paradigm on the Crozer tablet, who, except perhaps for the preference given to the younger permansive form *nazûz*, avoids all vulgar forms, can be explained only on the assumption that he was at a loss how to express the nuance of meaning of the Sumerian form or how to parallel its formation by means of one of the recognized forms of the Akkadian verb *zâzu*. But when for the reason just stated he did choose a vulgar form, it was natural for him to take it in exactly the form in which it appeared in the vulgar language of his time, i.e., in the nasalized form *innanzîz*, and to make no attempt whatever to give it a more literary appearance by omitting the nasalizing consonant and changing it to the less vulgar form *innazîz*.

The state of affairs in the Hammurabi period as described in the preceding paragraphs makes it apparent also that nasalization of the sonants cannot have been a comparatively recent development

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[1] Unfortunately the indistinctness of the last sign in obv., l. 3 (actually case 2) of the Nippur school practice tablet HGT, No. 140 (perhaps *en* superinscribed on another sign, or some other sign over an erasure ?), makes it impossible, at least for the present, to decide whether *né-en-ṣi-*... is another nasalizing form illustrative of the vernacular language of the Hammurabi period. It may be pointed out that presumably some of the school practice tablets of the Hammurabi period, namely those on which the pupils translated into Akkadian Sumerian verb and noun forms dictated to them by their teachers, may become an important source for our knowledge of the vernacular language of that time.

in the vulgar language of that time, but on the contrary must go
back to a considerably earlier period, although the question as to
how far back in time it actually may go cannot easily be answered.
For since we have no inscriptional material for the vulgar language
of the earlier periods, the only fact to guide us is the certainty
that the tendency toward nasalization in Akkadian, the only
Semitic idiom in which this phenomenon appears as a regular
feature of the language, cannot have sprung up independently
from, or at least cannot have developed unaffected by, the same
phenomenon to be noted in Sumerian, the language with which
Akkadian had the closest contact and by which it was influenced
in many other respects. Note that in both languages the conditions
for nasalization, especially with regard to the consonants before
which nasalization is found, are either identical or very similar.
For instance, nasalization is found in Sumerian, as shown in § 48
of my Sumerian grammar, and likewise in Akkadian, before the
voiced explosives b, g, and d; compare, e.g., Sumerian ambar,
ḫenbur, nimgir, dingir, sangu, kengi(r) (or šenge(r)?),
banda, and ninda and, on the other hand, Akkadian *inambi*,
namgâru, *pungulu* (< *puqqulu*), and *inandin* (*inamdin*). Before
z and $ṣ$ compare munzu (< mu-zu, "thy name"), ḫenzer or
ḫenṣer (written ḫe-en-ṣi-er and ḫe-en-ṣir), and munṣub
(variant of munšub) and, on the other hand, *inamzar*, *kunzubu*,
and *inamṣar*; before k compare e.g. kankal (< ki-kal) in Sumerian
and *ušamkar* in Akkadian. Since it is hardly to be doubted
that this tendency toward nasalization originated not in·Akkadian
but in Sumerian — for outside of Akkadian, as just mentioned,
none of the Semitic languages shows this tendency to any extent —
it may be assumed that the tendency in vulgar Akkadian toward
nasalization dates from the very time when Sumerian developed
this tendency, or, if this tendency should prove to have been an
old feature of Sumerian, from the period when the Akkadians first
came in contact with Sumerian. Unfortunately, however, attempts
to trace nasalization for Sumerian in the really Sumerian periods,
that is, those periods in which it actually was spoken, meet with
considerable difficulty. For statements concerning the pronuncia-
tion of Sumerian words are found, as a rule, only in sign lists,

syllabaries, vocabularies, etc. that date from post-Sumerian times, the oldest of those at our disposal up to the present being not earlier than approximately the time of the Isin dynasty. Moreover, it must be remembered that Sumerian, at the time when it was actually spoken in Babylonia, as a rule dropped the consonants (especially such comparatively weak consonants as the nasals) at the end of a syllable, and nasalization therefore would seem to have been virtually excluded in the truly Sumerian period, since the nasalizing consonant would always be the final consonant of a syllable. Nevertheless, the fact that during the third dynasty of Ur and in the following post-Sumerian periods many of the dropped consonants were restored, and especially the fact that even in the Sumerian period the elided consonants were treated grammatically as still unelided and occasionally were even written,[1] clearly indicate that even in old Sumerian a consonant was not wholly elided but evidently continued to exist at least in the form of a hiatus, a doubling of the following consonant, etc. Especially in the case of elided nasals do we have to envisage the possibility that the preceding vowel had a sort of nasal pronunciation. It therefore seems quite reasonable to assume that even in Old Sumerian there existed something corresponding to the nasalization of certain consonants, namely a kind of hiatus before the consonant concerned, a doubling of this consonant, or a nasal pronunciation of the vowel preceding the consonant. But the tendency to pronounce a regular nasal before these consonants cannot have made itself felt vigorously, at least in literary Sumerian, until the movement just mentioned, which led to the reinsertion of the lost consonants, arose, i.e., during the dynasty of Ur or in a somewhat earlier time, as may be inferred, for instance, from the comparatively frequent occurrence of the form in-dù-a in the inscriptions of Gudea (e.g. in Battle Mace, l. 9). Judging from our observations concerning the early occurrence of nasalization in vernacular Akkadian, however, we may conclude that in vernacular Sumerian, too, actual nasalization existed already in a much earlier period, and that even in that early time it

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[1] Cf. e.g. ^{5}u$_4$ an-dù ^{6}KA an-gál, Eannatum, Stela of Vultures, obv., col. 17$_{5f.}$, with ^{28}u$_4$ a-dù ^{29}KA a-gál, *ibid.*, rev., col. 5$_{28f.}$

exercised some influence on the spoken language of the educated classes, however much these may have tried to speak the language of the inscriptions. Of great importance in this respect must certainly have been the annihilation or reduction of the Sumerian upper classes by the kings of Akkad, as a result of which the Sumerian lower classes, and with them the vulgar Sumerian language, were brought into the foreground.

The events of that time also marked the beginning of the Akkadianization of the Sumerian South, a process which in the course of the next centuries was completed by a new influx of Semites from Arabia and on the other hand by the gradual adoption of Akkadian as their language by the Sumerian population. Since these Akkadianized Sumerians would speak the adopted language more or less with phonetic peculiarities of their former tongue, many of these peculiarities, and among them the tendency toward nasalization of certain consonants, will have been transferred to Akkadian, at least to the vulgar Akkadian of that region. In view of the foregoing, therefore, the time when the tendency for nasalization originated in spoken everyday Akkadian may be fixed approximately after the middle of the third millennium B.C. It will be noted that the interrelations, as sketched above, between Sumerian and Akkadian with regard to nasalization give us a good explanation for the fact that the latter is primarily characteristic of the Babylonian dialect, for it was only this dialect that in the historical period still had immediate contact with Sumerian.

In Akkadian, however, as pointed out above, nasalization of a consonant was by no means an independent phenomenon, but replaced a more original doubling of that consonant. It occurred, moreover, primarily in cases where the doubling was of secondary origin, as e.g. in the present form *ipárras* < *ipáras*, where the doubling was due to the peculiar stressing of the present tense. It is pertinent, therefore, to touch briefly the question how the doubling, the precursor of the nasalization, compares with the interrelations just pointed out between nasalization in Sumerian on the one hand and in Akkadian on the other hand. Since the doubling of a single consonant after a short stressed vowel is likewise not found, at least to any large extent, in the other

Semitic languages,[1] the presence of this feature in Akkadian must again be due to the influence of Sumerian, in which as a rule every consonant can be doubled or sharpened if the immediately preceding vowel is stressed — a peculiarity which, to judge from all indications, must go back to the earliest prehistoric periods of Sumerian. This feature was taken over by the Akkadians from Sumerian probably already at the time when they immigrated into Babylonia, but most likely it had already been a characteristic of the Semitic idiom spoken in Babylonia before the immigration of the Akkadians.[2] At any rate, it must have been adopted long before the tendency toward nasalization took hold of Sumerian. With the recognition of these interrelations between Sumerian and Akkadian we obtain a twofold parallel, namely (1) between the secondary doubling of consonants in older Sumerian and the secondary doubling of the middle radical, at least in the present tense, in the older stages of Akkadian and (2) between the dissolution of the doubling into nasal and consonant in later Sumerian and the same phenomenon in later Akkadian. The latter parallel existed for a long period between late Sumerian and vulgar Akkadian only; owing to the great conservativeness of the written language it took approximately half a millennium before the influence exercised by Sumerian took effect in written Akkadian.

If now we return to the discussion of the nasalization in the verb *zâzu*, it should not be overlooked that certain forms of this verb appear only in the nasalized form, and never with doubled first

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[1] Only Hebrew, in a measure, shows this feature in the cases referred to on pp. 128f. and 139. Hebrew, furthermore, offers a parallel to the phenomenon here under discussion (i.e., the doubling of any consonant following a stressed vowel) in its tendency to lengthen the stressed vowel, the result being in either case a long stressed syllable instead of the former short stressed syllable. Note that the same peculiarity is found in Sumerian. Its existence in Hebrew is of course likewise due to the influence of some foreign idiom; it is to be remembered that Hebrew as well as Akkadian occupied a position on the borders of the territorial domain of the Semitic languages, where of course they were more likely to come in contact with, and to be exposed to the influence of, foreign idioms.

[2] The people speaking that pre-Akkadian idiom may have been the Martu.

radical, in spite of the fact that nasalization was meant to replace the double consonant. Thus we find *nanzúzzu,* but no **nazzúzzu;* *ittanamzāz,* but no **ittanazzāz; innanzīz,* but no **innazzīz; manzâzu,* but no **mazzâzu.* Nor is this problem satisfactorily explained by the assumption that these forms passed from the spoken language into the written language at a time when the former had already completely carried through nasalization instead of doubling. For the fact remains that it is only in certain cases that we find nasalization and no doubling, while in others the opposite is true, i.e., that we find only the doubling of the first radical, but not nasalization. For a case of the latter kind compare e.g. *ušazzíz,* which is not paralleled by an **ušanzīz.*[1] Now it will be observed that all of those forms which show nasalization[2] have this in common: The last consonant before the nasal (more accurately, the consonant immediately before the short vowel that separates it from the nasalizing consonant) is again a nasal, namely either the dental nasal *n* or the labial nasal *m;* compare *nanzūz, innanzīz, ittanamzāz, manzâzu,* as well as the late participial form *manzâz* (instead of *muzzâz*). It is quite obvious, then, that this preceding nasal was not only the cause for the change of the doubled first radical *z* to *nz* in certain forms of the verb **zâzu,* but also the condition, or at least one of the conditions, under which this change could take place. Nor does this observation apply merely to forms of **zâzu;* it is actually a general rule for nasalization,[3] as can easily be seen from a juxtaposition of the nasalizing forms *inandin* (*inamdin*), *inambi, inanzar, inamṣar, imangur, imandad, umandū, unambi, immangar, innandar* (*innamdar*), *nandur, nandi, nanzêrum, ittanamdi, ittananbiṭ, iṣṣanundu, mandattu,* etc. and the doubling forms *iṣabbat, ilabbin, iqabbi, isaddir, ireddi,* etc., for which we never find ***iṣambat,* ***ilambin,* ***iqambi,* ***isandir,* ***irendi,* etc.[4] It must be pointed

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[1] Note, however, the Late Assyrian III 2 form *us-sa-an-zi-sa-an-ni.*

[2] Again with the exception of *us-sa-an-zi-sa-an-ni;* cf. also the remarks on *manzanzu* in sec. 11.

[3] As far as I can see, all of these points have completely escaped observation hitherto.

[4] Note also the nasalization in the I 3 infinitive and permansive forms *mitangugu, itanbuṭu* (< *nitanbuṭu), *itanb/puḫu* (< *nitanpuḫu), etc. from

out, however, if only to avoid any possible misunderstanding, that the observations made in this paragraph trace only one single (though clearly the most important and most original) line of the development toward nasalization in Akkadian. That in some periods of the long development of the Akkadian idiom there were at work still other factors that likewise led to nasalization, can easily be seen from such nasalizing forms as *pungulu, kunzubu, ušanbiṭ, šundulu, zumbu, tuzambab, ṣumbu, ṣindu*, and even *imbi* (against *iddin, iddi, iṣṣur*, etc.). From these few examples it is, e.g., evident that the presence of a labial had some similar bearing, at least in the later periods, on nasalization. It would, however, lead us far beyond the limitis of this investigation to examine thoroughly these and similar points which do not have a direct bearing on the forms of **zâzu*, although it must be admitted that there is an imperative need for an investigation of this kind, and especially one that distinguishes the various tendencies and developments that marked the Akkadian language in its different periods and localities.

To illustrate the importance of the last point we may turn for a moment to the III 2 form *ussanzi(s)sánni* which is a nasalized form of *uzuzzu* not complying with the rule that precedence of a nasal is a necessary condition for nasalization. The form is late and occurs just once in the Assyrian letters of the Sargonid period. At that time evidently the tendency toward nasalization had already progressed to such a point that, at least in especially vernacular language, precedence of a nasal was no longer a condition for its occurrence. Note also that in *ussánzi(s)-sánni* the short vowel before the nasalization is stressed, a fact which, if the following first radical were not nasalized, would naturally cause it to be doubled and would thus at least prepare a basis for the nasalization of the first radical.

In the late form *ittanamzāz*, finally, the change of the nasalizing consonant from *n* to *m* is of course due to a tendency to dissimilate

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verbs *primae m* and *n*, to be compared with such forms as *ṭitabbū* from *ṭebū*. In these special cases the nasal exercises its influence in spite of the intervening *t* of the formative element *tn*, and in the case of the verbs *primae n* in spite of the fact that the *n* has been dropped.

this nasal from the *n* beginning the syllable; for this process compare e.g. the similar *tn*-forms *ittanamdi* and *ittanamdar* as well as the I 1 presents *inamdin* and *inamṣar*. Note the similar dissimilation in Sumerian ni mgir (ES libir, ligir), "warden," "guardian," as compared with dingir (digir), "god." In Akkadian this tendency, however, is not operative in those cases where the *n* of the preceding syllable stands at the beginning of the form; we find, therefore, only *nanzú(z)zu*, *nanzuzzat*, etc. and (outside of *zâzu*) *nanduru*, *nandi*, etc., never *namzūz*, *námdur*, or *namdi*. Such forms as *nambaṭu* (< *manbaṭu*), *namba'u* (< *manba'u*), etc. are not really exceptions, since in all these cases (as also in *imbi* etc.) the labial nasal *m* is the result of a partial assimilation of the dental nasal to the following labial explosive *b*.

11. NASALIZATION OF THE LAST RADICAL z

To date, nasalization of the last radical *z* has been found only in the *nomen loci manzanzu* (written *ma-an-za-an-zu*), "stand," in lines 8 and 13 of column *a* of the vocabulary 79–7–8, 170 (Meissner, Suppl., Pl. 26, and Meek, RA XVII 188). It is to be noted, however, that only the text as it was originally written by the scribe who first drew it up or copied it from an older original had the word in this form, for in both lines the sign for *an* was afterward erased. The fact that the scribe wrote *manzanzu* in two places is conclusive proof that the insertion of the *an* was not due simply to a slip, but that a nasalized form *manzanzu* (< *manzazzu* < *manzâzu* < *mazâzu*) actually existed. Obviously, this form belonged to the vernacular language, as is shown by the fact that with the usual revision or checkup of the text it was promptly erased by the scribe who did the revising. As in many, indeed as in most, other cases, the tablet had evidently been written by a young and more or less inexperienced scribe (dubsar-tur), who, moreover, was not yet well versed in the discernment of classical and vernacular forms; the revising, on the other hand, was usually done by the teacher, who of course knew better than his pupils which forms were permissible according to good standards, or indeed who himself set up these standards. The incident,

however trivial it may seem on superficial examination, is actually
of very great importance for our conception of vernacular Akkadian
and its relation to the written language; for, as has been shown
at the end of section 10, nasalization of a voiced sound such as *z*,
or, rather, dissolution of a double voiced consonant into *n* + voiced
consonant, was admitted to the written language only when the
consonant in question was preceded by nasal + vowel, as, e.g.,
na, *ma*, *nu*, or *ne*. In the case of the old *mazâzu* this condition
was fulfilled only for the first *z*, and the originally vernacular
form *manzâzu* had therefore long ago become an accepted form of
the written language. The accidental preservation of the form
manzanzu (< *manzazzu < *manzâzu*) proves, however, that the
vernacular of the time when the text was copied had adopted
nasalization beyond the boundaries drawn by the rule referred to
above. We shall therefore be quite justified in assuming that a very
extreme vernacular Akkadian of the latest period may also have
had such forms as *izzánzū* for *izzázzū* (< **ịanzá'azū*), forms which,
however, we probably shall never find on any document except
perhaps through some occasional slip of an inexperienced scribe,
since even the scribes of the latest periods would have considered
writing such extreme vernacular forms altogether beneath the
standards of their profession.

12. FIRST RADICALS *š* AND *t* INSTEAD OF *z*

The replacement of the first radical *z* in certain forms of *zâzu
by *š* is decidedly a Babylonian development; its replacement by *t*,
on the other hand, is decidedly an Assyrian development, as can
readily be seen from the distribution of the forms in inscriptions
whose Babylonian or Assyrian origins are known to us. For in-
stance, in the letters from the Sargonid period published by Harper
forms with *š* occur only in those letters which are written in
Babylonian characters or which, although written in Assyrian
script, are proved to be of Babylonian origin by certain linguistic
peculiarities found only in Babylonian Akkadian; the forms with
t, on the other hand, occur only in letters written in Assyrian

script and frequently showing additional features of unmistakably
Assyrian character.[1]

a) The oldest forms with *š* that have been found to date are the
IV 2 forms *it-ta-ši-iz* (col. 1$_{42}$), "he stood," and *it-ta-ši-iz-zu*, "they
stood" (col. 1$_{20}$), in the *kudurru* inscription of Nabû-kudurri-
uṣur I (King, BBSt, pp. 31 ff.). Other forms of the same formation
are *at-ta-ši-iz* (Harper, ABL, No. 520, rev.$_{13}$), *ta-at-ta-ši-iz* (TC XIII
167$_5$), *it-ta-ši-iz-zu* (Harper, ABL, No. 280, rev.$_{20}$), *ta-at-ta-ši-iz-
za-aʾ* (*ibid.*, No. 281, obv.$_{31}$), etc. The change from *z* to *š* is found
also in the IV 1 permansive and infinitive forms *ušūz*, *ušuzzu*, etc.,
forms that occur most frequently[2] in the Neo-Babylonian period.
Compare, e.g., for the infinitive the frequently used phrase *i-na
u-šu-uz-zu šá* x (*i-na u-šu-uz-zi-šu-nu*, etc.), the phrase *eli na-ki-re
u-šu-uz-zu i-na li-i-ti* (Antiochus I, 5 R 66, col. 1$_{27}$), etc. Permansive
forms found in the texts are *u-šu-uz-za-ku*, *u-šu-uz-za(-a)-ta*, *u-šu-
uz-za-ti*, *u-šu-uz-za-nu*, *u-šu-uz-zu(-uʾ)*, *u-šu-uz-za(-aʾ)*, etc. As a
matter of fact, the IV 1 infinitive and permansive forms with *š*
may be regarded as the usual forms of the Neo-Babylonian period.

Outside of the IV 1 infinitive and permansive and the IV 2
preterit, however, no form with *š* instead of *z* as first radical has
been found.

b) As far as I know, Assyrian forms of the verb *uzuzzu* with *t*
instead of *z* as first radical have not been found up to the present
in inscriptions earlier than the Sargonid period, i.e., the period of
the last kings of Assyria, beginning with Šarru-kin II; moreover,
they are found only in the letters, reports, etc. of that period.
Before discussing these peculiar forms it will, however, be neces-
sary to establish their identity — a task which in part of the cases
has not yet been satisfactorily achieved. As a matter of fact, this
task, at least on the surface, meets with numerous difficulties. For
not only does the change of the first radical *z* to *t* in conjunction
with the infixed formative *t*, and with the assimilation of the nifʻal
n to the latter, result in a somewhat confusing accumulation of

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[1] See the list and classification of these features in Ylvisaker, Zur
babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik, pp. 38 f.

[2] In the texts utilized for this investigation, altogether 93 times.

t-sounds,[1] but, in addition, certain peculiarities of the orthography employed in those late letters, e.g. the custom of writing vowelless consonants with an added vowel or the custom of writing double consonants with one consonant only, frequently prevent the prompt recognition of the form.

α) It is comparatively easy to recognize the following IV 1 imperative forms: singular: *i-ti-iz*, "stand!" (Harper, ABL, No. 523, rev.₁₀), for *izīz* (< *nzáʾiz*); plural: *i-ti-is-sa* (*ibid.*, No. 543, obv.₇; No. 561, rev.₁₅) and *i-ti-sa* (*ibid.*, No. 129, rev.₁₀), "stand ye!" for *izízzā* or *izīzā* (< *nzáʾizá*). Hitherto these imperatives have been taken as *t*-forms of *uzuzzu*;[2] but that they belong to IV 1, i.e., that they are simple nifʿal forms, cannot be questioned. For the fact is that the imperatives of the *t*-formations are formed only of those verbs whose *t*-forms have developed a meaning different from that of the simple formation, as, e.g., *mitḫuṣu*, "to fight" (originally "to strike each other"),[3] *atluku*, "to go away," "to leave" (originally "to go for oneself" etc.).[4] In all the imperatives just listed, however, the meaning of the verb, to judge from the context, is simply "to stand." Note also that the compiler of the paradigm for g u b = *uzuzzu* on the Crozer tablet, although he parallels each form of the simple preterit themes *izzīz* and *ušzīz* with the corresponding forms of the *t*-theme preterits *ittazīz* and *uštazīz*, does not similarly parallel the imperative themes *izīz* and *šuzīz* with *t*-forms, a sure indication that the Babylonians did not attribute to the *t*-form of *uzuzzu* a special meaning (e.g. that of German "beiseite stehen," "von etwas abstehen," etc.), but used it only in its syntactical meaning to denote previousness, an idea that naturally can be connected only with the preterit. Although the facts set forth in the preceding are sufficient to disprove the

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[1] Behrens (Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts, p. 76, n.1) for this reason believed that some of the IV 2 forms might be I 4 forms, i.e., forms with inserted *-ta-ta-*.

[2] Cf. Ylvisaker (*op. cit.*, p. 39), who lists them as I 2 forms of *nazázu* (probably assuming a basic form **nitzaz* = **nittaz* after I 2 *pitras*). Behrens (*loc. cit.*) took *i-ti-sa* (though with question mark) for **ittezaz* with apocope of the last *z*.

[3] See pp. 13 f.

[4] See p. 18.

assumption that the imperatives under discussion are *t*-forms, note, nevertheless, as an additional proof for their IV 1 character, the parallelisms in Harper, ABL, No. 523, between the preterit forms *ta-ti-ti-iz* (IV 2) and *ta-at-ta-ṣar* (I 2) in rev.$_{4\,f.}$, on the one hand, and *i-ti-iz* (imperative IV 1) and *ú-ṣur* (imperative I 1), *ibid.*, ll. 10 f., on the other hand;[1] the coupling of *i-ti-iz* with the I 1 form *uṣur* shows that it too is not a *t*-form, just as the coupling, in the preceding lines, of the preterit *ta-ti-ti-iz* with the I 2 form *ta-at-ta-ṣar* shows that the former too is a *t*-form. In conformity with this IV 2 preterit *ittitīz*, the imperative of IV 2, if it existed, would be **ititīz*, not *itīz*.

Especial attention must be called to the doubling of the last radical *s* (for *z*) in *i-ti-is-sa*, i.e., *itissa*, which proves that at least in the plural forms of the imperative the stress was on the contracted (here, however, shortened) vowel between the first and third radicals, exactly as in *izizzā*.

β) Of the IV 2 forms, the 2d singular *ta-ti-ti-iz* in Harper, ABL, No. 523, rev.$_4$, which according to the context[2] must have the preterit meaning "thou hast stood," is proved to be a *t*-form, as already mentioned, by its parallelism with the I 2 form *ta-at-ta-ṣar*, "thou hast watched" (l. 5). It therefore corresponds to the Babylonian IV 2 preterit forms *ittazīz* and *ittašīz* (< **iantza'iz*).[3] The same may be said of the 3d person singular *it-ti-ti-iz* found in Thompson, Reports, No. 235, obv.$_8$; No. 236 G, rev.$_1$; and No. 251, rev.$_1$. Note especially in No. 235 the parallel groups [3]*la in-né-mid la i-zi-iz* and [8] .... *it-te-mid it-ti-ti-iz*, of which *innemid* and *i(z)zīz* are IV 1 preterits and *ittēmid* and *ittitīz* IV 2 preterits. The last

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[1] The context of the two passages is: [3]*šaluš!-su šattu* (= MU-AN-NA) [4]*ta-ti-ti-iz ma(ṣ)ṣartî* (= EN-NUN-MU) [5]*ta-at-ta-ṣar šum-ka* [6]*ina pani-iá tu-dam-me-iq* .... [10]*ú-la i-ti-iz ma[(ṣ)ṣartî]* (= EN-[NUN-MU]) [11]*ú-ṣur adi šat-ta-.*[...] [12]*u nu-me-šú tal-la-ka* [13]*ḫad-du-ú-te tam-mar* [14]*u ta-saḫ-ḫur ina šá l[ibbi(-ka)]* [15]*tal-lak*, "(It is now) the third year (that) thou hast stood and kept the watch for me, and thou hast caused thy name to stand in favor with me! .... (Then) serve on and keep the watch for me till next year, and then thou canst come here and have a good time, or thou canst turn away and go where thou pleasest."

[2] See the quotation in the last footnote.

[3] Cf. also [....]*at-ti-ti-iz* in broken context (No. 951, rev.$_{25}$).

group is found also in No. 236 G, obv. [8] .... *it-te-mì-di*, rev. [1]*it-ti-ti-iz*.

Similarly, the 3d person singular form *i-ti-ti-zi* (= *ittitīz*) in ABL, No. 102, obv.[7], is proved to be a I 2 preterit form by its association with other I 2 preterits.[1] Only by their context, finally, are *at-ti-ti-zi* (= *attitīz*) in No. 1174, obv.[11],[2] *it-ti-ti-zi* (= *ittitīz*) in Reports, No. 228, obv.[2], and *i-ti-ti-zi* (= *ittitīz*) in ABL, No. 565,

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[1] Context: [6]*it-tal-ka ina pa-ni-ia* [7]*i-ti-ti-zi ma-a* .... [13] .... *iq-ṭé-bi-a*, "he came here, stood before me, and said to me: ....."

Cf. also *i-ti-ti-su* in No. 762, obv.[8], in broken context.

[2] Context: [10]*i-šá-dag-di-iš šá-lu-ši-ni* [11]*ina pa-ni at-ti-ti-zi*, "I have served the last year and the year before the last." For the meaning "year before the last," "last year but one" of *šalušeni, šalšeni* (< *šaluššeni* etc.), which is commonly translated "the third time" (Bezold, Glossar, p. 272 *a*, under *šalšiānu*) or even "three times" (Muss-Arnolt, Concise Dictionary, p. 1049 *a*; Behrens, ZA XVII 391 [bottom of page]; Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire, Part III, p. 98, under Letter 252, obv. 17, with the note: *šeni*, from *šanú*, 'double,' 'repeat'), cf. No. 252, obv.: [16]*amêlu*ṣabê[pl] *šarri* *amêlu*nišê[pl] *mâti* [17]*ša šad-dag-diš ina šal-še-ni ina ra-bu-še-ni* [18]*issu parṣi* (or *pa-an*?) *il-ki issu pán*(?) *ṣabê*[pl] *šarru-te* [19]*iḫ-li-qu-u-ni*, "the soldiers of the king and the people of the land who last year, in the year before the last, and in the second year before the last have fled (escaped?) from *ilku* orders(?) (referring to the soldiers of the king?) and from service in the royal army (referring to the population of the land?)." For the combination in *šalušeni* and *rabūšeni* of the ordinals *šalšu* (< *šalu-šum) and *rabû* (< **rábu'um*) with *šattum* (< *šanatum*), "year," cf. *šalšûmi*, "day before yesterday," "last day but one." The original meaning is evidently "the third of the (past) days (with the present day taken as the first)," "the third of the (past) years (with the present year taken as the first)," (not "the third day" and "the third year"!); *šeni, šani* (or *šinni, šanni*?), the last component of *šalušeni* and *rabūšeni*, therefore evidently represents a plural of *šattum*, such as שָׁנִים, "years," in Hebrew, سُنُون or سِنُون, "years," in Arabic, and ܫܢܝܐ, "years," in Syriac.

In connection with *issu* (< *ištu*) in the passage quoted from No. 252, it is interesting to note that the letters of the Sargonid period write *issu* with the sign 𒅖, but the syllable *ta* with 𒋫 — a feature which as far as I know has not been observed before. Thus in No. 252 the syllable *ta* of [m]*ia-ta-'u* (l. 7), *ta-ḫu-me* (l. 8), and *a-ta-a* (l. 11) is written with the latter sign, while the word *issu*, which appears twice in rev.[18], is written both times with the former sign; in No. 80 cf. *ta-za-az* (obv.[11]) and *a-ta-a* (rev.[9–13]) with *issu man-ni-im-ma* (obv.[17]); in No. 23 cf. *e-ta-pa-aš*

obv.$_{10}$,[1] shown to be preterits and hence *t*-forms, while the 1st person plural *ni-ti-ti-zi*, "we stood" (No. 604, rev.$_2$), is found in a context that is not quite clear with regard to the time in which the action occurs. The vowel at the end of each of the verbal forms enumerated here is the secondary *i* which we find so frequently added to a final voiced consonant.

Clear cases of IV 2 preterit forms with endings (3d and 2d pl.) are the following: *it-ti-ti-is-su*, "they have stood" (ABL, No. 885, rev.$_{14}$),[2] which corresponds to Babylonian *ittazîzzû* and *ittašîzzû*; *it-ti-ti-su* (No. 117, rev.$_{17}$),[3] and *i-ti-ti-su* (No. 206, obv.$_8$,[4] and No.

(obv.$_{18}$) and *ta-mar-ti* (rev.$_{14}$) with *issu lib-bi* (rev.$_{15}$); etc. The same distinction is made in the new king list from Khorsabad and in the cylinder dealing with Šarru-kin's eighth campaign (Thureau-Dangin, RHCS); in the latter inscription cf. e.g. ^{âl}gi-*e-ta* (l. 282), ^{âl}qu-*ut-ta* (l. 304), *ta-a-a-ar-ti*(-*ia*) (ll. 311 and 309), and *ma-ta-a-ti* (l. 314) with *ultu* (= 𒉌𒌝) in ll. 269, 280, 297, and 307. The distinction was therefore a well established custom under the late Assyrian kings. Lack of the necessary time prevents a more thorough investigation of the use of the different signs in the various periods; but notice that Aššur-nasir-apli II in the great Annal Inscription, 1 R 17–26, uses the sign 𒋫, his son Šulmanu-ašared III in the Monolith Inscription uses the sign 𒁹, indiscriminately for *ta* and *ištu*. Cf. e.g. 1 R 17ff., col. 3$_{56}$ (*ištu* ^{âl}kal-*ḫi*), with *ibid.*, l. 60 (*at-ta-ḫar*), and 3 R 7f., col. 1$_{23}$ (*ištu* $^{âl}ḫu$-*bu-uš-ki-ia*), with *ibid.*, l. 24 (*ak-ta-šad*).

[1] Beginning of an astronomical report: ^{9}^{d}SAG-ME-GAR *ina arki sin* ^{10}i-*ti-ti-zi an-ni-u pi-šir*-[*šu*], "Jupiter (in the past night in which the observation was made) stood behind the moon. The following is its interpretation (i.e., the interpretation of the observation)."

[2] Context: ^{13}.... *abu-u-a ab abi-ia* ^{14}ina *biti-ka it-ti-ti-is-su*, "My father and my grandfather have stood (i. e., have done service) in thy family." The father and the grandfather of the writer of the letter are no longer living, as is evident from rev.$_{11-13}$.

[3] Although the passage is broken, the preterit meaning follows from the phrase *ina libbi abi-šu ša šarri* [*bêli-iá*] in the immediately preceding l. 16, which belongs to the same sentence.

[4] Context: ^6i-*tal-ku-ni ina pa-ni-ia* ^7ina *pa-an* ^{m}*már*-^{d}*ištar amêl qur-bu-ti* (in this late period probably conceived as ^{amêl}qur-*bu-ti*) ^8i-*ti-ti-su* ^9ki *an-ni-e iq-té-bu-ú*, "they came here, stood before me and before Mar-Ištar, the bodyguard, and said as follows." Note the association with the I 2 preterit forms *ittalkûni* and *iqtébû*; the sequence is completely parallel to that of the singular preterits *ittálka*, *i-ti-ti-zi*, and *iqtébia* in No. 102 (see p. 159, n. 1.

762, obv.$_8$[1]). According to all indications, therefore, the 2d person *ta-ti-ti-ša* in No. 604, obv.$_5$, is likewise the preterit of IV 2 rather than the present, as it has been thought to be; for insertion of a *t* which denotes previousness is no less impossible in the present than in the imperative.[2] The passage [2]. . . . *ša šarru be-li* ³*iš-pu-ra-an-ni ma-a* ⁴*ina ḫa-ra-am-me ina pu-tu-u-a* ⁵*ta-ti-ti-ša ma-a a-bu-tú* ⁶*i-ba-aš-ši ina pi-i-ku-nu* ⁷. . . . should therefore have some such meaning as: "Regarding the fact that the king, my lord, has sent here (the message): 'Only lately (or the like) ye have stood before me. Is there (again) a wish in your mouths ?'. . . ."[3]

γ) In addition to the forms discussed in the preceding we find also a number of forms which elide the contracted, and therefore originally long, vowel between the first and third radicals, namely the imperative form *it-zi* (ABL, No. 194, rev.$_5$) and the preterit forms 3d person singular *it-te-et-zi* (No. 439, obv.$_4$), *it-ti-it-zi* (No. 1432, obv.$_{15}$; Thompson, Reports, No. 96, obv.$_3$; No. 106, obv.$_7$; No. 180, obv.$_8$), and *i-ti-it-zi* (ABL, No. 1288, obv.$_{10}$) and 1st person singular *a-ti-it-zi* (No. 1371, obv.$_5$). Since in all cases in which these strange-looking forms[4] occur the context suggests a meaning "to stand" for the verb from which they are derived;[5]

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[1] Restore: ⁶. . . . ᵐ*za-la-a-a* ⁷ ᵐ. . . .-*a-a* ᵈˡᵘ*ša-pi-a-a* ⁸[*i-tal-ku-ni ina*] *pa-ni-ni i-ti-ti-šu* ⁹[*ki*] *an-ni-e i*[*q-ṭé-bu*]-*na*(!)-*ši*, "Zalaiia and . . . .aiia, the Sapieans, came here, stood before us, and spoke to us as follows."

[2] See the discussion of the imperative forms (pp. 157 f.).

[3] The writer of the letter continues with: "there is no wish (in our mouths but this): 'May the great gods of heaven and earth give long life to the king my lord!' because the king (after all) is (actually) thinking of us who — how long now! — have not seen the king. (Now) as regards the other (literally: yon) point, (namely,) 'we have stood before the king,' through whom did he (the king) get (that information) ?"

[4] For their fuller discussion cf. sec. 14 (pp. 172 ff.).

[5] Cf. ABL, No. 194, rev. ². . . . *bit-*ᵐ*ú-kan-a-a* ³*gab-bu pa-ḫi-ir* ⁴*ma-a ina pán* ᵃᵐᵉˡᵘ*rab*-BI-LUL ⁵*it-zi ma-a mi-nu* ⁶*ša i-qa-ba-i-ni e-pu-uš*, "Gather the whole clan of U-kan-a-a and then stand (together with them) before the *rab*-BI-LUL and whatever he will say, do."

No. 439, obv. ³*i-lu ina pu-ut ár*(?)-*ni* ⁴*ša šarri it-te-it-zi*, "a god(?) stood in front of the sin(?) of the king."

No. 1432, obv. ¹⁴*a-na gi-zi la e-ru-ub iḫ-ti-lik* ¹⁵*ina lib-bi napšaki it-ti-it-zi a-sa-ap-ra* ¹⁶*us-se-ri-du-ni-eš-šu*, "Before (even) entering upon the sheep-

since, furthermore, the consonants exhibited by them correspond to those of *i-ti-iz* (IV 1 imperative), "stand," and *it-ti-ti-iz* (IV 2 preterit), "he stood," and finally, since we know of no other verb with the meaning "to stand" from which those forms could be derived, it is obvious that they actually are forms of *uzuzzu*, "to stand." The imperative *it-zi*, then, is a parallel form to (or only a different writing of) the previously discussed IV 1 imperative *i-ti-iz*, "stand,"[1] while *it-ti-it-zi* and *a-ti-it-zi* correspond to the IV 2 preterits *i-ti-ti-zi*, "he stood," and *at-ti-it-iz*, "I stood."[2]

Outside of the imperative of IV 1 and the preterit of IV 2, *t* instead of *z* as first radical is not found, at least in the material at hand at present.

The distribution of the forms with *š* and *t* instead of *z* as first radicals, therefore, is as follows:

	Babylonian	Assyrian
Imperative IV 1	—	*itīz, itz^i*
Permansive IV 1	*ušūz*	—
Infinitive IV 1	*ušúzzu*	—
Preterit IV 2	*itašiz*	*ittitīz, ittétz^i*

It has been suggested that the changes of the first radical *z* to *š* in Babylonian and to *t* in Assyrian were due merely to the tendency to dissimilate the first and the third radical (according

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shearing he stole away and stayed in the granary, whereupon I sent some people, who brought him down here."

No. 1288, obv. [9] m *d nabû-zêr-iddin ina pa-ni-ia* [10] *i-ti-it-zi ma-a* m *ša-ili-ṭù-bu* [11] *immerê* [pl] *uk-ta-ši-di* .... rev. [1] .... *iq-ṭe-bi*, "Nabû-zêr-iddin stood before me and said: 'Ša-ili-ṭubbu took the sheep and ..... '"

No. 1371, obv. [5], in broken and not yet satisfactorily interpreted text.

Reports, No. 96, obv. [1] *mu-šu ša* U₄-1-KAM mul SAG-ME-GAR *ina tarbaṣ(i)* (gloss.: *tar-ba-ṣi*) d *sin* [3] *it-ti-it-zi*, "During the night of the first day Jupiter stood within the halo of the moon."

No. 106, obv. [4] [mul]GUD-AN-NA *ina tarbaṣ sin* [5] *iz-za-az-ma* [6] 2 *u₄-me* .... [7] *ina tarbaṣ* d *sin it-ti-it-z[i]*, "The mul GUD-AN-NA (still) stands in the halo of the moon and has stood (now) for two days .... in the halo of the moon."

No. 180, obv. [8] .... mul LU-BAD-SAG-UŠ *ina tarbaṣ* d *sin it-ti-it-zi*, "Saturn stood within the halo of the moon."

[1] Like *i-ti-iz*, *it-zi* is listed as I 2 (of **nazâzu*) by Ylvisaker (*op. cit.*, p. 39).

[2] The elision of the long vowel *ī* or *ē* is discussed in sec. 13.

to the usual conception of the root as *nzz*, the second and the third) from each other. Superficially this theory might seem to be quite plausible; more carefully considered, however, and taken in connection with the new problems it raises, it will be found to be no solution of the problem.

In the first place, it does not explain satisfactorily why the *z* should be dissimilated to *š* in Babylonian, but to *t* in Assyrian. In order to meet this difficulty it was further assumed that while Babylonian contented itself with changing the first radical *z* into the Babylonian consonant supposedly nearest in character to *z*, namely *š*,[1] Assyrian continued the process of dissimilating the first radical *z* from the following *z* with the new process of assimilating it to the preceding formative *t* of the *t*-stems of *uzuzzu*. Against this new additional theory, however, it may be argued that if Assyrian deemed it necessary to dissimilate the two radicals *z*, it would be rather strange that it should have felt the necessity to assimilate again the consonant just dissimilated to some other consonant and thus create a situation altogether similar to the one which had supposedly been rectified by the dissimilation of the two *z*'s. Moreover, assimilation of one consonant to another in Akkadian is found only in cases where the assimilated consonant either precedes or follows immediately the consonant to which it is assimilated.[2] In the case of *ittitiz < ittaziz*, however, the two consonants are separated by a vowel, and to assume assimilation in this case is quite out of the question, since we have no other instance to support such an assumption. Especially important, however, is the fact that in the case of the

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[1] Steinmetzer in a note to his translation of a *kudurru* inscription from the time of Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I (King, BBSt, Pls. 83–91) for the Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute suggests that the sound into which *z* was changed was not the voiceless *š* but the voiced *ž* (= French *j* as in "*jour*").

[2] Cf. *bêlitsu* and *bêlissu < *bêlitšu, iddin < *indin, innabit < *in'abit*, etc.

For dissimilation, on the other hand, an intervening vowel or even several intervening syllables are no obstacle; cf. e.g. *napraku, našpaku, narâmu*, and *naglabu < *mapraku, *mašpaku, *marḥamu*, and *maglabu* with change of the labial *m* to the dental *n* on account of the labials *p, b*, and *m*.

imperative forms *itīz* and *itissā* the original forms, i.e., *izīz* and *izizzā*, do not contain any *t* to which the first radical *z* could be assimilated, and yet those forms show a *t* as their first radical.

As regards the form *ušuzzu* (< *uzuzzu*) in Late Babylonian, furthermore, it has been assumed that the change from *z* to *š* might be due to the fact that the former was preceded as well as followed by the vowel *u*, which is of labial character as is also the *š* (at least the labial kind of *š*), so that this change would represent an assimilation of the dental sibilant to the labial vowel *u*. However, we find the same change from *z* to *š* in the form *ittašīz*, where neither the preceding nor the following vowel is an *u*.

If now we attempt to find for the interchange of *z* with *š* and *t* as first radicals in the word for "to stand" an explanation that will account for all of the phenomena connected with that change, we may start by pointing out that if there is a phonetic interrelation, as is to be expected, between the first radicals *z*, *š*, and *t*, it can be found only if we realize (*a*) that Akkadian *z* represents not only etymological *z*, but also etymological *ḏ*, the voiced dental aspirate, and (*b*) that etymological *ṯ*, the voiceless dental aspirate, developed in Akkadian to *š*, but in Aramaic to *t*. The simple fact underlying the differences in the first radical of the verb *uzuzzu* is therefore evidently this, that in addition to the verb form **ḏâzu*,[1] "to stand," which in genuine Akkadian became **zâzu*, in Late Babylonian and Late Assyrian we find also forms of the verb **ṯâzu*, "to stand," which in Babylonian appears as. **šâzu*, but in Assyrian, evidently under the influence of Aramaic, as **tâzu*.[2]

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[1] For the sake of convenience and in order to avoid complications in this section, which deals exclusively with the first radical, no attention is paid to the actual character of the third radical in the basic as well as the Late Babylonian and Assyrian forms. It is therefore given as *z* all through this section, although, as will be made clear in the following section, for which the subject of the character of the third radical is reserved, *z* actually represents only the form which the third radical has in the historical genuine Akkadian verb **zâzu*.

[2] In order to avoid possible misunderstanding, it may be pointed out that the term "Aramaic" as used in this section is to be taken in its broadest sense, i.e., as not referring exclusively to those well known types of Aramaic which in a later period became the more or less universally

With the realization that the basic forms are *ḏâzu* and *ṯâzu*, the variation in the historical forms between the consonants *z*, *š*, and *t* is reduced to that between the voiced *ḏ* and the voiceless *ṯ*, a variation which is completely parallel to that between the voiced dental *d* in Akkadian *nadânu* and the voiceless dental *t* in Akkadian vernacular *natânu* (cf. Hebrew נָתַן).[1]

In order to understand better the change of the verb *ṯâzu* on the one hand to *šâzu* in the Babylonian vernacular, and on the other hand to *tâzu* in the Assyrian vernacular under Aramean influence, it must be kept in mind that the assumed verb *ṯâzu* was brought into Babylonia (or was there originated) by foreign immigrants at a comparatively early time, namely at least some centuries before Nabû-kudurri-uṣur I, in whose inscription we meet the forms with *š* for the first time, and that, moreover, in that early period, i.e., in the last half of the second millennium B.C., Akkadian was still the ruling language of Babylonia and still had the power to change the pronunciation of words brought into Babylonia by Semitic immigrants, along the typically Akkadian lines of phonetic development. At that time, therefore, when foreigners introduced into Akkadian from their own language the verb form *ṯâzu* instead of the genuine Akkadian *zâzu*, this *ṯâzu* became *šâzu*, because the common Akkadian pronunciation of old Semitic *ṯ* was *š*. In Assyria, on the other hand, the vernacular form *tâzu* made its appearance in the written language almost half a millennium later than had *šâzu* in Babylonia, and at a time when Akkadian actually continued to be spoken in certain circles only, while the common people of Assyria spoke Aramaic. Owing to this preponderance of Aramaic in those later (and perhaps even in earlier) times, the verb *ṯâzu*, which in Assyria too had been brought in (or originated there) by earlier Semitic immigrants, developed its pronunciation along Aramean

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recognized literary representatives of Aramaic and to a large extent even succeeded in displacing other Aramean dialects. As used here it refers to the whole group of languages or dialects spoken by the Aramean or Aramean-like tribes of the older as well as the later periods.

[1] Cf. also the reverse relationship between Akkadian *abâtu* and Hebrew *'âbaḏ* (< *'abada*).

lines; i.e., it changed the *ṭ* of **ṭâzu* not to *š* as in Babylonia but to *t*, the result being the verb **tâzu*, "to stand."

Now that the problem of the origin of the late forms with *š* and *t* as first radical has found a comparatively simple solution, it is still necessary to explain the seemingly strange fact that Late Babylonian and Late Assyrian use the forms of the vernacular verbs **šâzu* and **tâzu* respectively, side by side with forms of the genuine Akkadian verb **zâzu*. In the first place it will be noted that the variation of the first radical is by no means an arbitrary feature, as can readily be established from the following list of verb forms and their more original forms, namely on the one hand

IV 1	Present	*izzâz*	< **inzâz*
	Preterit	*izzîz*	< **inzîz*
	Participle	*muzzâz*	< **munzâz*
III 1	Preterit	*ušazzîz*	< **ušanzîz*
III 2	Preterit	*uštazzîz*	< **uštanzîz*
		ussanzîz	< **uštanzîz*
	Nomen loci	*manzâzu*	= *manzâzu*
		ma(z)zassu	< *manzâzu*

and on the other hand

IV 1	Imperative	*itîz*	< (**n*)*izîz*
		itissâ	< (**n*)*izizzâ*
IV 1	Permansive	*ušûz*	< (**n*)*izûz*
IV 1	Infinitive	*ušûzzu*	< (**n*)*izûzzu*
IV 2	Preterit	*ittašîz*	< **intazîz*
		ittašizzû	< **intazizzû*
		ittitîz	< **intazîz*
		ittit^e z^i	< **intazîz*
		ittitissû	< **intazizzû.*

As will be seen from this list, in Late Babylonian as well as in Late Assyrian the first radical appears as *z* in all those cases where it follows a consonant, namely either an *n* (nif'al *n* or nasalizing *n*) or a *z* which originated from the assimilation of such an *n* to the first radical; in all those forms, however, in which the first radical immediately follows a vowel (to these forms belong only those in which the first radical is never nasalized), it appears as *š* in Babylonian and *t* in Assyrian.[1]

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[1] To my knowledge, no Late Babylonian imperative form **išîz* and no Late Assyrian permansive form **itûz* (**utûz*) or infinitive form **itússu*

Although this rule is quite unequivocal, its correct interpretation is by no means a simple matter. Superficially considered, the most satisfactory solution of the problem would seem to be that the combination *šš* (< *nš* < *nṭ*) in Babylonian and *tt* (< *nt* < *nṭ*) in Assyrian regularly developed to *zz*, for then all the forms of the verb could be understood as homogeneous derivations from **šâzu* and **tâzu*. Unfortunately, however, there is no proof whatever that voiceless *šš* and *tt* could become voiced *zz*. Nor is there — as far as the extant material goes — any better proof that the *n* which in all the basic forms concerned precedes the radical *t*, could change the latter to *ḏ*, which in Akkadian would become *z* and together with the assimilated *n* would result in *zz*. The only plausible conclusion therefore seems to be that the verb for "to stand" in the late periods takes its forms partly from the old and genuine Akkadian verb **zâzu* and partly from the late vernacular verbs **šâzu* or **tâzu* respectively. Such a combination of different, but synonymous, verbs into one paradigm is a phenomenon known from many other languages, and the only condition for its rise is that the verbs thus combined be very frequently used in everyday speech. Compare, e.g., in Latin the verb *fero*, [*tuli*], [(*t*)*latum*], *ferre*, which is made up of two different verbs meaning "to bear," and in German the verb for "to be," to which three verbs have contributed the forms: I: *ist, seid, sind, sei, sein*; II: *war, wäre, gewesen*; and III: *bin, bist*; furthermore, in Syriac, preterit ܗܘܳܐ, imperative ܗܘܝ, present ܐܝܬܰܘ, infinitive ܡܗܘܐ (sometimes ܡܗܘܐ); in Hebrew, preterit טוֹב (טֹבוּ, etc.), present יֵיטַב, infinitive טוֹב and טוּב. The Hebrew example presents an

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(**utússu*) have been found as yet. This, however, is more or less accidental. Note, e.g., that in the Babylonian letters of the Sargonid period published by Harper in which the imperative could be expected to appear as **išīz* no imperative occurs, although in the Assyrian letters, owing to their different contents, the imperative *itiz* etc. is found comparatively frequently. Similarly, no permansive form is found in the Assyrian letters, while on the other hand such forms are relatively frequent in the Babylonian letters. The fact is that where the Babylonians used the permansive of *ušuzzu*, the Assyrians used a present or a preterit form. Note that for the same reason the IV 2 preterit form occurs much more frequently in the Assyrian than in the Babylonian letters.

especially close parallel to the combination of *$z\hat{a}zu$ with *$\check{s}\hat{a}zu$ or *$t\hat{a}zu$ because its forms are likewise taken from two related verbs, namely טוב and יטב.

Still to be explained, however, is why the dividing line for the forms of the verbs *$z\hat{a}zu$ and *$\check{s}\hat{a}zu$ (or *$t\hat{a}zu$) adopted into the paradigm of $uzuzzu$ is not drawn at random but, as shown above, follows a line of actual differences in the composition of the forms. Since the combination nz is, or can be conceived as, the equivalent of zz, the rule given above may be stated in a simpler way as follows: The *$z\hat{a}zu$ forms are used in those cases where the first radical is doubled, while the *$\check{s}\hat{a}zu$ forms are used where the first radical is not doubled. Obviously therefore the use of the $z\hat{a}zu$ forms must be due to a special development of the vernacular form with doubled first radical, i.e., $\check{s}\check{s}$ in Babylonian and tt in Assyrian. Now it is well known that in Assyrian inscriptions (and therefore doubtless regularly in certain local Assyrian dialects) tt sometimes appears as ss, as e.g. in $ma\text{'}assu$ (< $ma\text{'}attu$ < $ma\text{'}\acute{a}d(a)tu$) and $issi$ (< $itti$); in the Assyrian vernacular therefore forms like the preterit *$itt\bar{\imath}z$ and the present *$itt\hat{a}z$ must have become *$iss\bar{\imath}z$ and *$iss\hat{a}z$, while the imperative $it\bar{\imath}z$ and the I 2 form $ittit\bar{\imath}z$ did not change. Evidently because of the great similarity of the forms *$iss\bar{\imath}z$ and *$iss\hat{a}z$ to the forms $izz\bar{\imath}z$ and $izz\hat{a}z$, the writers of the Late Assyrian letters, who did not simply reproduce the spoken vernacular but still tried to write at least approximately the classical Akkadian, wrote $izz\bar{\imath}z$ and $izz\hat{a}z$ for *$iss\bar{\imath}z$ and *$iss\hat{a}z$, while they did not change $it\bar{\imath}z$ and $ittet\bar{\imath}z$ to $iz\bar{\imath}z$ and $ittez\bar{\imath}z$. A similar transition of $\check{s}\check{s}$ into ss and therefore a change of *$i\check{s}\check{s}\bar{\imath}z$ to *$iss\bar{\imath}z$, *$i\check{s}\check{s}\hat{a}z$ to *$iss\hat{a}z$, etc. must be assumed for the vernacular Babylonian; note in Late Babylonian the frequent $re\text{-}es\text{-}su$ (< *$r\hat{e}\check{s}\text{-}\check{s}u$) as well as such sporadic cases as $it\text{-}ta\text{-}di\text{-}is\text{-}su$ < $it\text{-}ta\text{-}di\text{-}i\check{s}\text{-}\check{s}u$ < *$ittadin\check{s}u$ (Harper, ABL, No. 336, rev.[11]) and $lu\text{-}lab\text{-}bi\text{-}su$ < $lulabbi\check{s}\text{-}\check{s}u$ (ibid., No. 293, rev.[3]).

13. LAST RADICAL $(s)s$ INSTEAD OF $(z)z$

$(S)s$ as the third radical of the verb for "to stand" occurs in the Late Assyrian letters quite frequently, namely in

IV 1	Preterit	*ta-az-zi-sa* (2d pl.)
IV 1	Precative	*li-zi-su* (3d pl.)
IV 1	Imperative	*i-ti-is-sa, i-ti-sa* (2d pl.)
IV 2	Preterit	*ta-ti-ti-sa* (2d pl.)
		it-ti-ti-is-su, i-ti-ti-su (3d pl.)
III 2	Preterit	*us-sa-an-zi-sa-an-ni*
	Nomen loci	*ma-za-su-šu-nu, ma-za-si.*[1]

The *s* of these forms has hitherto been conceived as being due to a simple change of the third radical *z* to *s*.[2] Furthermore, it has been supposed that this change is a general one, i.e., that it might be found under given conditions with every *z* in the Assyrian dialect. As a matter of fact, however, a change from *z* to *s* occurs nowhere outside of the verb *uzuzzu*, for which, however, within certain limits, it is an established feature, as is attested by the examples cited above.

The explanation for the *s* as third radical must therefore be sought in quite a different direction. From the writings *it-ti-ti-is-su* and *i-ti-is-sa* as well as from their parallelism with the forms *ittazizzū* and *izizzā* it is obvious that even writings like *i-ti-sa*, *i-ti-ti-su*, *li-zi-su*, and *ta-az-zi-sa* actually represent *itissā*, *ittitissū*, *lizzissū*, and *tazzissā*, i.e., forms with double *s*. Double *s*, however, is, as we have seen, an Assyrian development of *tt*; and, since the Assyrian equivalent for the verb **zâzu* shows a *t* instead of the first radical *z*, the presumption follows at once that its third radical too was a *t* instead of a *z*. In other words, the real vernacular Assyrian verb was not **tâzu* but **tâtu* (< **ṭâṭu*, for **dâdu* > **zâzu*), and the forms *itissā*, *ittitissū*, etc. therefore actually represent **itittā* (‖ *izizzā*), **ittitittū* (‖ *ittazizzū*), etc. Correspondingly, therefore, in Babylonian the real vernacular form of the word for "to stand" must have been **šâšu* (< **ṭâṭu*), not **šâzu*.

Nor, as might be superficially suggested by the forms *itissā*, *itissū*, *lizzissū*, etc., is it possible to assume that the third radical of the vernacular verb was *s*,[3] for from the list given above of

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[1] For references see Ylvisaker, *op. cit.*, p. 11, under (*e*), and p. 39, under (*b*) A I 1, I 2, III 1, and III 2.

[2] Cf. Ylvisaker, *op. cit.*, p. 11, under (*e*).

[3] This erroneous assumption would make the Assyrian verb ***tâsu* and the Babylonian verb ***šâsu*, while the genuine Akkadian verb **zâzu* would have represented ***dâzu* with etymological *z* as its last radical.

forms showing $(s)s$ as the third radical it will be observed that this $(s)s$ appears exclusively in forms in which the third radical is followed by an ending beginning with, or consisting of, a vowel. All of the endless forms, on the other hand, end with z, as is clearly shown by the writing of *lizzīz*, *ittitīz*, *nittitīz*, etc. as *li-zi-zi* (Harper, ABL, No. 309, rev.₇), *i-ti-ti-zi* (*ibid.*, No. 102, obv.₇; No. 565, obv.₁₀), *it-te-et-zi* (No. 439, obv.₄), *ni-ti-ti-zi* (No. 604, rev.₂), etc. In other words, the paradigm of the IV 1 imperative and the IV 2 preterit for example was as follows:

		IV 1 Imperative	IV 2 Preterit
Sg.	3d		*ittitīz*
	2d m.	*itīz*	*tattitīz*
	2d f.	*itissī*	*tattitissi*
	1st		*attitīz*
Pl.	3d		*ittitissū*
	2d	*itissā*	*tattitissā*
	1st		*nittitīz*

The z of the endingless forms is, of course, taken from the genuine Akkadian verb *zâzu*, and the forms *itiz*, *ittitiz*, *tattitiz*, etc. are therefore mixed forms, while completely genuine vernacular forms are represented only by *itissā*, *ittitissū*, etc. (< *itittā*, *ittitissā*, etc.).

It is quite obvious that there must have been a good reason for this incongruity of forms, since it is the usual tendency within a single tense theme to make the forms as congruous with each other as possible. Consequently it is impossible to assume that the third radical of the vernacular verb was s (and the verb therefore *tâsu*), since this s would certainly not have been changed to z. If, however, the ss of the forms with endings originated from tt, and if therefore, e.g., the 3d plural *ittitissū* represents *ittititū*, the genuine Assyrian vernacular form of the 3d person singular must have been *ittitīt*, and this form would actually have given good cause for a replacement by the partly vernacular form *ittitīz*, because the latter undoubtedly seemed to harmonize better with the plural form *ittitissū* than did the form *ittitīt*. The form *ittitīz*, it is true, is not entirely in harmony with the plural form *ittitissū*, as a form **ittitīs* would have been; but since, as we have just seen, such a form did not exist, scribes who objected to the form *ittitīt*

were naturally compelled to resort to the *z*-forms of the genuine Akkadian idiom. It need hardly be pointed out that what has been described in the preceding (from the viewpoint of vernacular Assyrian) as replacement of vernacular features by those of genuine Akkadian, from the viewpoint of the latter idiom (which in spite of far-reaching concessions to vernacular developments continued in Late Assyrian) should be described as an attempt to defend the paradigm of *uzuzzu* against too conspicuous encroachments upon it by the vernacular idiom.

It is noteworthy that while in the half-vernacular forms *itīz* and *ittitīz* just discussed the vernacular element is found in the first, and the genuine Akkadian element in the last, radical, the converse relation is observed in mixed forms such as *izzissū*. Furthermore, in the verb system of *uzuzzu* in the late vernacular idiom, owing to the tendencies described in the preceding, forms of entirely vernacular character, as e.g. *itissā* and *ittitissū*, are matched with those of entirely genuine Akkadian character. The following list is intended to group the principal forms of the verb *uzuzzu* in inscriptional Late Assyrian under this viewpoint.

Purely Akkadian forms	*izzáz, izzīz, lizzīz*
Mixed forms *a)*	*izzissū, lizzissū, ussanzissánni, ma(z)zássu*
b)	*itīz, ittitīz*
Purely vernacular forms	*itissā, ittitissū*

Late Babylonian inscriptions as a rule avoid all forms with the third radical as it appears in the vernacular and therefore completely omit the purely vernacular class as well as the mixed class designated as (*a*); Babylonian equivalents of Assyrian forms of the former class, as e.g. *ittašizzū*, come therefore under the mixed (*b*) class, while equivalents of the forms of the mixed (*a*) class, as e.g. *lizzizzū*, come under the class of purely Akkadian forms. Note, however, *u-šu-us-su-'e-e-ti* in BE X, No. 15$_2$ (time of Darius I), whose *ss* of course developed not from *zz* but from *šš*. The main part of the word, i.e., the infinitive *ušussu*, "to stand," "to serve," therefore represents **ušuššu*, i.e., a purely vernacular Babylonian form of the verb **zâzu* (**šâšu*). However, even in this case the use of the purely vernacular form is but an exception, as is shown

by the *ú-šu-uz-za-aẓẓe-e₇-ti* of BE IX, No. 60₁₄, with the usual double *z*.[1]

14. ELISION OF THE LONG VOWEL BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE THIRD RADICAL

In section 12[2] mention was made of the fact that in the Late Assyrian letters occur a number of forms which elide the long vowel (between the first and the third radical) that originated from the contraction of the two basis vowels after the elision of the middle radical. The extant forms, for which the references have been given in the place referred to, are the following:

IV 1	imperative	*it-zi*	< *itīz*
IV 2	preterit	*it-ti-it-zi*	< *ittitīz*
		i-ti-it-zi	< *ittitīz*
		a-ti-it-zi	< *attitīz*.

As will be seen from this list, all of the eliding forms have *t* as their first radical, and, like the other **tâzu* or **tâtu* forms, they occur only in those themes which allow the first radical to follow immediately after a vowel. It may be noted that the latter circumstance is actually a condition for the elision of the following long vowel, for if the first radical were separated from the vowel of the preceding syllable by an intervening consonant, elision of the following vowel would result in the coming together of three consonants, i.e., nif'al *n* + first radical (or, instead of these two, the doubled first radical) + last radical.

Furthermore, it will be noted that the elision is restricted to the endingless forms, i.e., to those ending, at least as far as the system is concerned, with the last radical *z*. This too is readily understandable, since, as has been shown in the preceding section, the forms with endings (as e.g. *itissā*) double their last radical to *ss*, so that in case of an elision of the long vowel between the first and third radicals again three consonants would come together.

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[1] Some other forms in texts of the latest periods, seemingly written with double *s*, must be disregarded here as long as the writing with *ss* instead of *zz* (*su* instead of the similar *zu*) is not placed beyond any doubt by a collation of the originals.

[2] See p. 161 under γ.

Finally, it must be noted that all of the eliding forms add a secondary *i* at the end. This again is an essential feature; for since the eliding form ends with the radical *z* the form would, in case of an elision of the preceding long vowel, end with the two consonants *tz*, which, even if pronounceable, could not be written with cuneiform signs unless the last consonant *z* was supplied with a secondary vowel which together with the *z* again formed a syllable.

The main condition for the elision of the contracted vowel, however, was the fact that the word stress of the forms concerned was on the syllable preceding that containing the long vowel. For instance, the IV 1 imperative form, which allowed a shortening to *itz*, was of course stressed not *itîz* but *ítīz*; and likewise the IV 2 form which developed to *ittítz* must have been stressed *ittítīz*, not *ittitíz*. The stress on the preceding syllable caused, of course, at first only the reduction of the long vowel to a full short vowel, which however was again shortened into a half-vowel and finally was dropped entirely. The development of the two forms just mentioned was therefore as follows: *ítīz > ítiz > ít^{e}z > ítz*, and *ittétīz > ittétiz > ittét^{e}z > ittétz*. A further development of the IV 2 preterit forms *ittét^{e}z* and *ittétz* to *ittét^{e}z^e* and *ittetz^e*, and of the imperative form *itz* to *itz^e* may be indicated by the writing of these forms as *it-ti-ti-zi, it-ti-it-zi*, and *it-zi*, provided we can assume that the secondary *i* at the end of each of these forms was not merely written but was also pronounced.

It has been pointed out in section 6 *A* what great importance these Late Assyrian eliding forms have for the establishment of the stressing of certain endingless forms of the verbs *mediae infirmae*, namely those which in their uncontracted state would have the stress on the syllable preceding the root basis, as e.g. *iddēk* (< **ịánda'ik), izzēz* (< **ịánza'iz), izēz* (< **(n)ịza'iz) or izīz* (< **(n)íz(a)'iz), and ittázīz* (< **ịantáz(a)'iz)*. Again, however, as was done before in section 6, it may be pointed out that this stressing need by no means have been the uniform tendency in all the periods of the history of the Akkadian language nor in all the regions where Akkadian was spoken, since it is quite conceivable that in certain periods etc. a tendency toward stressing the contracted vowel existed. The solution of the problem as to which

tendency prevailed at any given time and place must be left to future researches that can be based on unequivocally conclusive material.

It will be noticed, however, that elision of the contracted vowel of a verb *mediae infirmae* is not found in the extant material outside of the verb *zâzu*. At least as far as the written language is concerned, it must be regarded therefore as a special feature of the latter verb due evidently to the fact that the verb for "to stand" is one of the most frequently used words; for this circumstance caused it to develop much more rapidly than other verbs of similar formation. To illustrate this point by another example, one may refer to the I 2 form of the verb *uabâlu*, "to carry," "to bring," *itbal*. It was originally **ittabal* (< **iautabal*) with double *t* and an *a* before the second radical, and it might have been expected that, as in the case of other verbs and in accordance with the established laws, the double consonant before the first *a* would protect the latter from elision. As a matter of fact, however, it afforded no protection in this case because the verb for "to carry," "to carry away," "to bring," etc. was one of the most frequently used verbs and as such was exposed to developments in which verbs less frequently used did not participate.[1] Note that in the development **ittabal* > **ittᵉbal* > *itbal* the double consonant is treated as if it were a simple consonant; in the development of *ittitiz* to *ittitz* a long vowel is treated as if it were a short vowel. Compare, moreover, in Late Babylonian the frequent appearance of the imperative forms *idnâ*, "give" (pl.), *idnâ*, "give to me" (sg.), and *idnī*, "give" (fem. sg.), as *innâ* and *innī* with assimilation of the dental

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[1] Note also, among others, the shortened *tn*-forms *it-na-aq-qi* (< *ittanáqqi*), "he sacrifices over and over again," in the Ištar hymn AO 4479 (Thureau-Dangin in RA XXII 169–77), l. 42, and *ta-at-na-da-an-ši* (< *tattanadanši* ?), "she always ....," in the poetical composition VAT 5946 (Zimmern, VS X, No. 214), col. 2_9; both forms show the same elision of the short *a* after *tt* as found in *itbal*. The fact that the poets used such shortened forms in their compositions without fear that these forms might not be understood by their public proves conclusively that in verb forms elision of the short *a* after *tt*, whose last *t* was the inserted *t* or the *t* of the inserted *tn*, must have been a very common feature of the vernacular language even in relatively early periods.

d to the following nasal *n*, a phenomenon not found elsewhere in the written language.[1] Here again it is due to the fact that the verb (i.e., "to give") is one of the most frequently used verbs.[2]

Although, as has been pointed out above, elision of the long *ī* would not be expected in such forms as *izzīz*, *lizzīz*, etc., since under ordinary circumstances their doubled first radical would prohibit the elision, the double consonant would not, of course, prohibit a shortening of the unstressed long vowel of these forms; in other words, the forms *izzīz*, *lizzīz*, etc. could easily become *izziz*, *lizziz*, etc. in vernacular language, and from there they could undoubtedly enter the colloquial speech of the educated as well. Moreover, such writings as *li-zi-zi* (Harper, ABL, No. 309, rev.₇) and *u-ša-az-zi-zi* (*ibid.*, No. 349, rev.₈) would seem to indicate that the vernacular language in its tendency toward shortening the former long vowel even went so far as to shorten it to *ᵉ*, i.e., pronounced the form as *ušazzᵉz(ᵉ)*. Since such forms with final *i* are found quite frequently in the late Neo-Babylonian texts, it would follow that in Babylonia too, at least in the vernacular, the shortening of the long vowel had progressed at least to that point. Moreover, as can be seen from the development of *ittᵉbal* > *itbal* more than a millennium earlier, there is not the slightest doubt that in the vernacular Babylonian even the half-vowel, and then of course the last of the two preceding *z*'s, could be elided. Thus, for example, a form such as *lizzᵉzᵉ* could undoubtedly develop in the Babylonian vernacular to *liz'zᵉ* and *lizzᵉ*, and it is not at all impossible that we have actual evidence for the existence of this latter form in the writing *li-iz-zi* found in a Babylonian letter, Harper, ABL, No. 781 (rev.₁₂), although, as long as this form is found only once, we must at least

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[1] Doubtlessly the change of *dn* to *nn* occurred more frequently in extremely developed vernacular language; but it entered the written language only in the case of the verb *nadânu*, because of the especially great frequency of that verb.

[2] Such a more rapid (or at least unusual) development of forms of frequently used verbs is naturally observed in other languages also. Cf. e.g. in Latin the infinitives *ferre*, "to carry" (a verb of the same meaning as *ŭabâlum*); *esse*, "to be" (cf. also in Arabic the shortened *iắkū* < **iắkūn*); *velle*, "to will"; *nōlle*, "not to will."

reckon with the possibility that this particular *li-iz-zi* is merely a mistake for *li-iz-zi-iz* or *li-iz-zi-zi*. Nevertheless, the fact that, except for the possible instance just mentioned, the shortened form does not occur in the texts proves sufficiently that even in the latest times complete elision of the long vowel in all those cases where the first radical was doubled was not favored in the written language.[1]

IV. POSSIBLE OCCURRENCES OF THE ROOT *z'z* OUTSIDE OF THE VERB *uzuzzu*

1. PRE-AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN *zâzum*, "BASE"

The mathematical texts BM 85194 (CT IX 8 [other copies: 9] ff.)[2] and BM 85196 (RA XXXII 2f.)[3] mention quite frequently in connection with the computation of the volume of certain geometrical solids a term z a - z u m. Its meaning may best be seen from the paragraph col. 2_{19-25} of the first-mentioned text, which computes the volume of a city wall section from four given data,

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[1] There still remain several problems connected with certain forms or writings of the verb *uzuzzu* which I should have liked to take up here, but which other more immediate duties compel me to reserve for future treatment. I refer, e.g., to the forms *ú-šu-zu-uz-zu, ú-šu-zu-uz, ú-šu-zi-iz, it-ta-zi-uz, na-zu-iz-zu-ú, na-an-za-as-su*, etc. Here I only wish to point out that the forms *ittáziuz* and *nazuizzú* (for *ittázīz* and *nazúzzū*) in no way indicate a pronunciation *ü* (as in German "Bücher") of the vowels *i* and *u* in Akkadian (thus assumed, e.g., by von Soden in the commentary to his translation [for the Assyrian Dictionary] of the Ištar hymn, RA XXII, pp. 170f.). The forms occur in a poetical text, and poets are interested not in phonetics but in rhythm. *Ittázi'uz* and *nazu'izzú* are simply, so to speak, "decontracted" or distorted forms of *ittázīz* and *nazúzzū*, which were so changed in order that they might better fit into the rhythm of the poem.

[2] For transliteration and translation see Neugebauer, Mathematische Keilschrifttexte I 142ff. Previously the text had been partly treated and commented upon by Thureau-Dangin in RA XXIX and XXX, *passim*.

[3] For transliteration and translation see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*; Neugebauer, *op. cit.* II 43.

namely length, height, *mu-ḫu*,[1] and za-zum. The shape of this wall section may be illustrated by the following figure:[2]

$$l = 60$$
$$h = \tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$AB = \tfrac{1}{2}$$
$$CD = 1$$
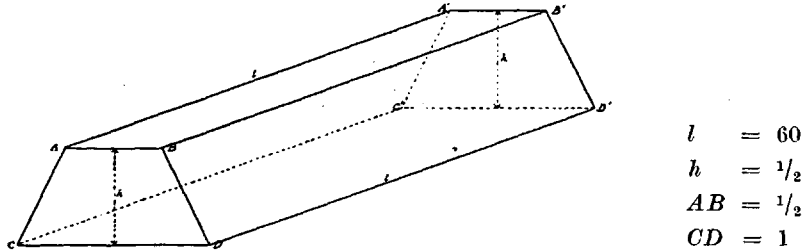
In this figure the length of the wall is represented by the lines designated as *l*, and the height by lines *h*. Since the contents are computed by multiplying half of *mu-ḫu* plus za-zum first by the height and then by the length $(\dfrac{mu\text{-}ḫu\ +\ za\text{-}zum}{2} \cdot h \cdot l)$ it is quite evident that *mu-ḫu* and za-zum should be referred to the lines AB ($= A'B'$) and CD ($= C'D'$) respectively, i.e., to the upper and lower parallel lines of the trapezoid ABDC ($= A'B'$ $D'C'$), which represents the profile of the wall. Since, furthermore, *muḫḫu* is the well known word for "skull," "brainpan," "top of the head," i.e., the uppermost part of the human body, and moreover since in the case of our wall the za-zum measures twice as much as the *muḫḫu*, it follows that *muḫḫu* denotes the upper parallel AB, and consequently za-zum denotes the lower parallel CD, i.e., the base of the trapezoid or, in other words, the width of the lowest part of the wall. This is fully corroborated by the fact that in the first paragraph of the tablet, col. 1_{1-12}, which treats of an *arammu*, "rampart," the measured dimensions corresponding to our za-zum, "base," *muḫḫu*, "head," and SUKUDA, "height,"

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[1] Other forms: *mu-ḫu-um*, col. 1_{44} etc.; *mu-ḫa-am*, BM 85196, col. 1_{18} etc.; *mu-ḫi*, BM 85194, col. 4_{11}.

[2] The relative dimensions of the two trapezoids in this figure are based on Neugebauer's assumption that the measurements for height are given in cubits, those for width and length in GAR's (1 GAR = 12 cubits). This is not conclusively proved; but the question whether the Babylonian mathematician intended to indicate a larger or smaller height than shown in the figure is quite irrelevant for the problem here discussed.

are given once as DAGALA KI-TA, "lower width," *mu-ḫu*, "head," and SUKUDA, "height," and another time as DAGALA KI-TA, "lower width," DAGALA AN-TA, "upper width," and SUKUDA, "height." As yet we do not know whether z a - z u m, like its opposite, *muḫḫu*, was also used outside of mathematical terminology as a word of everyday speech. If so, it should likewise have designated a part of the human body, but obviously only the lowest part, i.e., either the foot or the sole of the foot. With this antithesis of *muḫḫu*, "skull," and z a - z u m, "foot" or "sole," compare the English phrases "from head to foot," "from head to heels," and "from top to toe" and the German phrase "vom Scheitel bis zu den Fuß-sohlen."

In view of its meaning "base," i.e., the lowest part of a body, solid, or figure, it is of course very likely that z a - z u m, i.e., the Akkadian *zâzum*, is a derivative of the verb *z'z*, "to stand," since the base of a geometrical solid or figure is that part with which it "stands" on the ground or on some imaginary horizontal plane or line. If, as is undoubtedly the case, this derivation is correct, *zâzum* would of course be the usual Akkadian infinitive form or some other abstract substantive of the lost I 1 formation **zâzum*, and as such it would have denoted not only the action of "standing" but also the place on which something is standing (i.e., "the stand") and finally even that by means of which something is standing, e.g. the leg, the foot, the sole, or the bottom. For the interchange of these meanings compare e.g. the use in German of "Sohle" for the sole of the foot or of a boot, for the bottom of a tunnel or a river, for "floor," for "sill," and even for a "level (in a mine)." Note especially, however, the use of the Greek abstract noun βάσις, whose literal meaning is "stepping," "step," also for (1) "that whereon one steps or stands," "a base," "a pedestal"; (2) "that with which one steps," "the foot"; (3) "the base (of a triangle etc.)."

ZA-ZUM, read *za-zum*, could, at first glance, actually be conceived as the genuine Akkadian word for "base." Note, however, that in contradistinction to *muḫḫu*, which occurs not only in the nominative form. (*mu-ḫu, mu-ḫu-um*) but also as genitive (*mu-ḫi, mu-ḫi-šu*) and accusative (*mu-ḫa-am*), and which, moreover, occurs

sometimes with and sometimes without mimation, the word for "base" is invariably and exclusively found in the writing ZA-ZUM, even in such a case as BM 85196, col. 3_{24}: 20 *mu-ḫa-am* ù 15 ZA-ZUM u(?)-bi(?)-g a r-*ma*, where it is coupled with the accusative *mu-ḫa-am* and where one therefore would expect **za-za-am* instead of ZA-ZUM. It is therefore evident that in the mathematical texts the latter is an ideogram. This, however, means that the Akkadians of the historical periods did not have a word *zâzum*, "base," but knew only a Sumerian word z a z u m, which obviously, as the Semitic case ending *um* indicates, is a loan word from some pre-Akkadian Semitic dialect. In all likelihood, therefore, our z a - z u m would appear in historical Akkadian as *sâsum* or, better, as *sassum*, i.e., as a loan word from Sumerian z a z, the endingless form of z a z u m.[1]

2. AKKADIAN *zâzu*, "TO DIVIDE," "TO DISTRIBUTE," "TO APPORTION"

Like the verb **zâzu*, "to stand" (intransitive and transitive),[2] the verb *zâzu* (root ᛰᛰ), "to divide," has no direct equivalent in

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[1] A word *sassu* appears in the vocabulary fragment 79–7–8, 170 (Meissner, Suppl., Pl. 26; Meek, RA XVII 188), which enumerates parts of the chariot. Note the group *man-za-zu, as-kup-pu, sa-as-su*, ŠU(= Sumerian equivalent)-*lum*, ŠU-[b]u(?), [m]an-za-zu (Sumerian equivalents missing). In Nabû-naid, 5 R 65, col. 2_{33}, Bunene is called the *ra-ki-ib* ᵍᶦˢ*narkabti, a-ši-bi sa-as-si* (variant *ša-as-su*), "who mounts the chariot, who sits on (or in ?) the *sassu*." Bezold in his Glossar, probably on the basis of this passage, ascribes to *sassu* the meaning "Sitz des Wagenlenkers, Bock"; this interpretation may perhaps be correct for the late time, but originally the word probably meant "the stand" (from **zâzu*, "to stand"), since originally the chariot was built so that the driver had to stand in it. Or does *sassu* here denote the bottom of the chariot ? Cf. e.g. the za-zum of a *ḫirîtum*, "moat," in CT IX 8ff., col. $5_{41\ ff.}$, which of course can be only "(the width of) the bottom of the moat." (Note that in this case quite naturally the za-zum is smaller than the *muḫḫu*, the upper width of the moat, this *muḫḫu* measuring 10, while the za-zum is only 7). The interpretation of *a-ši-bi sa-as-si* as "in which Šamaš sits" (Zimmern, KAT, 3d ed., p. 368) is of course grammatically impossible; nor is Langdon's interpretation (Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften, p. 261), "der da thront in der Sonne," possible, since (and this applies to Zimmern's translation as well) *šamšu* can become only *šaššu*, not *šassu* or *sassu*.

[2] Cf. the following section.

the known vocabularies of the other Semitic languages. This fact
alone justifies the question whether there may be any connection
between the two Akkadian verbs. Obviously, it would be very
difficult to derive a meaning "to stand" from a meaning "to
apportion," "to divide"; but the ideas "to divide something"
and "to apportion something to someone" might easily have
arisen from the idea "to stand (or set) up the things to be divided
(in separate heaps)." It cannot, of course, be denied that, taken
by itself, any speculation of this kind is of very little value if
unsupported by some really substantial evidence, which, unfortun-
ately, is lacking in this case. Nevertheless, it will be worth while
to keep in mind the possibility of such a combination which reduces
two homogeneous roots to one single root. Moreover, the com-
bination traces, completely within the borders of a natural devel-
opment of concepts, the quite complex ideas "to divide" and "to
apportion" to simple and concrete ideas, which may reasonably
be expected to have been their basis; note especially the phrase
nap-ḫar um-ma-ni-ia a-na še-na lu-u a-zu-uz, "I divided my men
in two parts" (RA VII 180, col. 2_{4-6} [cf. also CT XXXII 1ff., col.
2_{9-11}]), originally perhaps "I stood them up·to form ($=$ to be) two
parts (crowds, etc.)." Furthermore, if such a connection actually
existed between *zâzu*, "to stand," and *zâzu*, "to apportion," the
Old Semitic root of the latter verb would likewise be *dud*,[1] and
the fact that the root of *zâzu*, "to apportion," then ended with *d*
would furnish a ready explanation of the seemingly strange *zettu*,
zittu, "portion," as having developed from *daʾid(a)tum*, "that which
has been apportioned," more originally "that which has been set
up (for someone as his pile or portion)";[2] for, as shown e.g. by
Arabic *ʾaḫáttu*, "I have taken," from *ʾaḫádtu*, assimilation of the
last radical *d* to the following *t* is quite a natural process.[3]

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[1] This root for *zâzu*, "to apportion," is assumed also by Albright in
RA XVI 181 (under *16*) in order to explain, on the strength of Greek
νέμω, Arabic *dáda*, "to drive," "to drive (back)," etc. (especially in *madá-
dum*, "pasture grounds," "Weidetrift"), as meaning originally "to divide."

[2] Cf. the similar development of *kettum, kittum < kaʾinatum*, "that which
is firmly established."

[3] To combine *zettum*, "portion," with *ṣitum (< ṣiʾatum)*, "exit" (so
Bezold, Glossar, p. 60*a*) is, to say the least, a rather bold etymology. For

Whatever, after all, the relation between *zâzu*, "to divide," "to apportion," and **zâzu*, "to stand," may be, it is interesting to observe that the two verbs, as they were finally shaped in Akkadian, carefully avoid any overlapping by their formations (judging at least from the form material at our disposal), as may be seen from the following table:

			zâzu, "to divide"	**zâzu*, "to stand"
I	1	Present	*izâz*	—
		Preterit	*izûz*	—
		Permansive	*zîz*	—
		Infinitive	*zâzu*	—
II	1	Present	*uzâz, uzâʾaz*	—
		Preterit	*uzâʾiz*	—
		Participle	*muzaʾiz*	—
III	1	Present	—	*ušzâz*
		Preterit	—	*ušzîz*
III	2	Preterit	—	*ussanzîz*
II/III	1	Preterit	—	*ušzîz*
II/III	2	Preterit	—	*ussaẓẓiz*
IV	1	Present	—	*izzâz*
		Preterit	—	*izzîz*
		Permansive	—	*izûz, nazûz*
		Participle	—	*muzzâz, muzzîz*
IV	2	Preterit	—	*ittazîz*
I	1	Perm. Subst.		
		a) Contracted	*zettu*, pl. *zêzâti*	—
		b) Uncontracted	*zaʾiztu*	—

the connection of *zittu* with *zâzu* cf. Sumerian ḫal = *zâzu*, "to divide," "to apportion," passive participle (= *nomen actionis*) ḫal-a (written ḫa-la, ḫal-la, and ḫala) = *zittu*, and especially the fact that the plural of *zittu* appears as *zizâti*; cf. Thureau-Dangin, RA XI 144 ff., double line 25 (= ll. 49 and 50): sag-tab an- ᵈen-líl- ᵈen-ki-ge nig-ḫal-ḫal-la ba-an-bà-a-ta = *šur-ru-û* ᵈ*a-nu* ᵈ*en-líl u* ᵈ*é-a u-za-ʾi*(!)-*zu zi-za-a-tim*, "at the beginning when Anu, Enlil, and Enki divided all portions." Bezold, Glossar, p. 110*b*, gives *zizâti* as plural of *zizu*, "portion," but to my knowledge there is no evidence for assuming the latter form instead of the frequent *zittu* to be the singular. Note that the part. perm. fem. *ziztum* in *šamûtum la zi-iz-tum*, "uninterrupted rain," Sennacherib, Nebi Yunus Inscr. (1 R 43 f.), l. 43, does not assimilate the third radical, evidently because it belongs to the inflectional system of the verb *zâzu*; the assimilation of the last radical in *zittu* is due of course to the fact that this substantive originated in a period in which the *ḏ* had not yet changed to *z*.

	zâzu, "to divide"	**zâzu,* "to stand"
II 1 Perm. Subst.	*zu(')'uztu*	—
Nomen loci, masc.	—	*ma(n)zâzu*
fem.	—	*manzaztu* etc.

This distribution of the various formations among the verbs *zâzu,* "to apportion," and **zâzu,* "to stand," may, with the proper caution, be taken as a further indication of a connection between the two verbs. In any case, there can be no doubt that the existence of the verb *zâzu,* "to apportion," "to divide," no matter whether it is formed from an independent root or owes its origin to a gradual transformation of the meaning of the transitive **zâzu,* "to stand up," "to set up," was one of the reasons, if not the main one, for the disappearance of the old transitive **zâzu,* "to set (up)," and the old intransitive **zâzu,* "to stand," from the vocabulary of the historical Akkadian.

The fact that Akkadian *zûzu,* "a half-shekel," which is evidently derived from *zâzu,* "to divide," appears in Talmudic Aramaic as זוּזָא and in Syriac as ܙܘܙܐ (= δραχμή; pl., "money"), not as דִּיךָא etc., is by no means to be regarded as proof that the Old Semitic root of *zâzu,* "to divide," was not *d̠u̯d̠* but, against the conclusions drawn in chapter iii (pp. 164 ff. and 169), *zu̯z.* For *zûzâ* is a loan word from Akkadian, in which *d̠* had become *z* at a very early period; and, since the Arameans themselves did not have a verb for "to divide" which corresponded etymologically to the Akkadian verb, obviously neither they nor the Aramaic-speaking Jews could be expected to recognize the etymological nature of the two *z*'s of Akkadian *zûzu,* "half-shekel." They simply adopted the word in its Akkadian form.

3. NEW HEBREW *zu̯z,* "TO MOVE AWAY"

If we now approach the question whether equivalents of the verb **zâzu,* "to stand," can be found in Semitic languages outside of Akkadian, it should first be stated that a verb of the same root (*zu̯z* or *d̠u̯d̠*) with the express meaning "to stand" cannot be

traced in any of the other Semitic languages.[1] Talmudic Hebrew, however, has a verb זוז, "to move (intrans.) (from a place)," hif'il, "to remove (someone or something from a place)," a verb which not only completely corresponds in form to Akkadian *zâzu*, "to stand," but whose meaning has at least this in common with that of the Akkadian verb, that both "to stand" and "to move away from" are closely related to the idea "place." Note especially with respect to this point that זוז is never found as an absolute verb, "to move," but is always supplemented by the preposition מִן and a substantive denoting a place, as e. g. מִמְּקוֹמוֹ, "from his or its place"; מִשָּׁם, "from there"; מִכָּאן, "from here"; מִתּוֹכוֹ, "from its midst"; and מִבֵּיתוֹ, "from his house." Compare e.g. וּבִלְבַד שֶׁלֹּא יְזִיזֶנּוּ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ, "only that he shall not remove it from its place," Bᵉk̲ôrôt̲ 3 : 3, and אַלְמָנָה שֶׁאָמְרָה אִי אִפְשִׁי לָזוּז מִבֵּית בַּעֲלִי, "a widow who said: 'I do not want to move from the house of my husband,'" Kᵉt̲ubbôt̲ 12 : 3. We may, however, go even a step further and ask whether the constant connection of זוז with מִן, "from," may not indicate that the ablative meaning "to move away" is given to the verb זוז merely by the ablative preposition מִן, and that, at least in an older period, such a combination as זוז בְּ for example would have meant "to stand in a place," not "to move in a place." In other words, would not the New Hebrew verb זוז be identical with the Akkadian verb *zâzu*, "to stand"? That this is actually the case is, it seems,

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[1] As long as the root of Akkadian *uzuzzu*, "to stand," was conceived as *nzz*, it was of course quite natural for the etymologist to be on the lookout for a verb *nzz* or *nd̲d̲* in the other Semitic languages. In the vocabularies of the latter, however, no such verb is known except in Arabic, where we find on the one hand a *nazza*, "to run" (said, e.g., of a gazelle), but also "to bleat" (likewise said of a gazelle), "to flow," "to exude water," "to have numerous springs," etc., and on the other hand a *nadda*, "to urinate." None of these meanings, to say the least, lends itself easily to a comparison with that of the supposed Akkadian *nzz*, "to stand"; much less can they be used as a proof for the existence of a root *nzz* "to stand," in Akkadian. Akkadian vocabularies mention a verb *na-za-zu*, which, however, is a variant form or variant writing of *nasâsu*, "to lament."

placed beyond any doubt by the following parallels between the meanings of the verb *zuz* and those of the verb *qum*:

a) The meanings of Arabic I قَامَ, (1) "to stand up," (2) "to stand upright," (3) "to stand still," (4) "to come to a standstill," "to halt," (5) "to stay," "to remain," either are identical with, or very closely approach, those of Akkadian *uzuzzu* (IV 1 instead of the old intransitive I 1 *zâzu), "to stand." Likewise the meaning "to set up," "to erect" of the causative formation IV أَقَامَ (literally: "to make something stand") is completely identical with that of the Akkadian causative III 1 *ušzîz*, "to set up," "to erect."

b) On the other hand, Arabic I قَامَ مِنْ, "to break up the camp and move on," "to decamp," "to march off," "to depart," "to start (literally: 'to rise up [and depart]') from (some place)," closely corresponds to New Hebrew זָז מִן, "to move out of (something)," "to move away from (something)," while IV أَقَامَ مِن, "to cause someone to depart from (a place)," closely corresponds to New Hebrew הֵזִיז מִן, "to remove something from (a place)."

This list discloses the interesting fact that while the meaning of New Hebrew זז is completely restricted to that of Arabic قَامَ under *b*, the meaning of Akkadian *uzuzzu* (for old *zâzu) is equally restricted to that of Arabic قَامَ under *a*. Note, however, how closely the Akkadian phrase *i-na a-ḫa-a-ti li-iz-ziz*, "may he (the bad demon etc.) stand aside," approaches the idea "may he move away," listed above under *b*.

From the foregoing it follows that the usual combination of זז מִן, "to move away from," with Arabic (I) زَأزَ, "to stir," "to shake," "to frighten," and (II) تَزَأزَ, "to be shaken," "to be a coward," "to desist from something out of fear,"[1] is erroneous. Note that זז has no ideological connection whatever with the idea of "fear" ("trembling for fear," etc.); nor is the movement expressed by زَأزَ, "to shake," of the same nature as that expressed by זז, which is merely "to leave a certain place." The same

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[1] Cf. Gesenius-Buhl, HAHwb, 15th–17th eds., under זז I.

must be said with respect to Jastrow's suggestion[1] that זוז might
be derived from a plpl-form of זוע, "to move," "to shake," "to
tremble." Nor is a combination with Arabic زَوْزَى, "to take short,
quick steps with the back raised" (said of cattle), but also "to
despise" (construed with بـ) and "to drive away (obj. بـ)," or with
the substantive زَنَازِنَة, "haste," referred to by Gesenius-Buhl,
HAHwb, *loc. cit.*, much better; for (and this applies to the deri-
vation from زَأْزَأ quite as well) it would be difficult to explain
how זוז as a derivative from a plpl-form does not show the
meaning characteristic of that form. In point of fact, the assump-
tion that the triconsonantal זוז originated from a quadriliteral verb
by omission of the fourth radical and a change of the second radical
is in itself rather precarious and should not be reverted to unless
supported by conclusive or at least plausible reasons, based e.g. on
the development of special forms of the quadriliteral in accordance
with recognized phonetic laws or tendencies. Note, finally, the
considerable fluctuation in the character of the sibilant and aspi-
rate consonants of the Arabic plpl-verbs, as well as in their
meanings or shades of meanings, as may be seen, e.g., from زَأْزَأ,
"to move (a thing or a person) away from (=عَنْ) a place," "to
take away," and "to keep someone from (=عَنْ) doing something,"
but also "to call the he-goat (بـ) to copulate," "to let a camel
(acc.) drink its fill," and "to let it thirst" as well; also intransitive,
"to become stilled (said of anger)" and "to drink its fill"; II, "to
be afraid of (= مِنْ)" and "to refrain from (a planned journey,
etc. عَنْ)"; زَأْزَأ I and II, "to have a vacillating gait," etc. These
formations, which belong primarily to the vernacular language
and therefore are not guarded by fixed standards of speech, are
as a rule too elusive to be of much use in etymology, especially
since most of them actually have an onomatopoeic background
and probably were still felt as imitations of natural sounds.

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[1] A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, ... (ed. of 1903,
reprinted 1926), p. 385*a*.

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4. HEBREW $m^e z\hat{u}z\bar{a}$, TALMUDIC ARAMAIC $m^e z\hat{u}zt\bar{a}$

Although, as pointed out in section 3, the verb *zuz* in Hebrew is restricted to the ablative meaning "to move away," at least a trace of the original meaning of its root, "to stand," is probably preserved in the Hebrew substantive מְזוּזָה (plural מְזוּזוֹת), "door-post." As a matter of fact, this word had been connected with the Akkadian word for "to stand" by Haupt in BA I 173 and by Schwally in ZDMG LII (1898) 136f. and 511, even under the supposition that the root of the Akkadian verb was *nzz*. Zimmern (in KAT, 3d ed., p. 649, and in Gesenius-Buhl, HAHwb, 15th ed., p. 406; 16th and 17th eds., p. 411), and apparently also Haupt (*loc. cit.*), even thought that probably $m^e z\hat{u}z\bar{a}$ was a loan word from Akkadian *manzazu*; Zimmern (cf. Schwally in ZDMG LII 511) moreover believed that in addition to its usual meaning, "stand-ing-place," *manzâzu* had also the meaning "doorpost," since in the vocabulary 79–7–8, 170 (Meissner, Suppl., Pl. 26; republished by Meek in RA XVII 188), it is followed by *askuppu*, "doorsill," "threshold."[1] As a matter of fact, however, as can be seen from the remnants of the Sumerian column, the vocabulary enumer-ates words for parts of a chariot, and as one of these *manzâzu* doubtless has its usual meaning, "standing-place (namely of the chariot driver)," not "doorpost." Nor is such a meaning proved for *manzâzu*, as Winckler in OLZ, 1901, cols. 249f., assumed, by the passage Aššur-ban-apli, Rass. Cyl. (5 R 1ff.), col. 2: [41]2 $^{i\check{s}u}$*tim-me ṣirûti* .... [42].... *man-za-az bâb ekurri* [43]*ul-tu man-za-al-ti-šu-nu as-suḫ-ma*, which Winckler translated: "two obelisks, the doorposts of the temple gate, I removed from their standing-places"; for the *man-za-az* of this passage is obviously the late form of the parti-ciple of *uzuzzu*, and the words *man-za-az bâb ekurri* therefore mean: "which stood at the temple gate." Moreover, if $m^e z\hat{u}z\bar{a}$ were a loan word from Akkadian *manzâzu*, "standing-place," "stand," "service," etc., it would be rather difficult to understand how the

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[1] Cf. Arabic أُكِفّة and أُكِفّة, "lintel (of a door)." The proper, more general, meaning of Akkadian *askuppu* is "slab (of stone [and other material, e.g., wood ?])"; it is used of slabs laid on the ground as well as slabs placed upright to line walls, the inner sides of gates, etc.

meaning "doorpost" for *mᵉzûzā* was arrived at, for a doorpost is
certainly not a "standing-place," which is the established and
natural meaning of the Akkadian *nomen loci manzâzu*. It would
therefore be necessary to assume that it is derived from *manzâzu*,
the late form of the participle IV 1 *muzzâzum*; but then it would
be difficult to explain why the Hebrew word should be *mᵉzûzā*
instead of *mazzûzā*, whose first *z*, which represents the assimilated
nifʻal *n*, would be quite essential to the nifʻal form. Since a change
of the correct *mazzûzā* to *mᵉzûzā* is not justified by any phonetic
law, the form *mᵉzûzā* would presuppose a quite unnecessary muti-
lation of the assumed Akkadian prototype.

If, however, *mᵉzûzā* is a genuine Hebrew word, it would be a
perfectly normal Hebrew *ma-q(a)tal-at-um* form of a root *mediae
infirmae* זוז, "to stand" (corresponding to Akkadian **zâzu*, "to
stand"). For after the pattern of *mᵉnûḥá* (< **mᵉnôḥā* < **manâ-
ḥatum*), "rest" (masc. form: *mānôaḥ* < **manâḥum* [< **mán̬ua-
ḥum* or, better,] < **manáṷaḥum*), from נוח, "to rest"; *mᵉnûsā*
(< **mᵉnôsā* < **manâsatum*), "refuge" (masc. form: *mānôs* <
*manâsum) from נוס, "to flee"; *mᵉlûnā*, "place where someone
spends the night" (masc. form: *mālôn*) from לון, לין, "to spend
the night"; etc., *mᵉzûzá* would, via the form **mᵉzôzā*, go back to
an older *mazâzatum* (< *mazáṷazatum*) and thus, as far as its form
is concerned, be the normal Hebrew equivalent of Akkadian
ma(n)zâztu, manzaltu, etc.

The problem still to be answered is how the *maqtalatum* form
mᵉzûzā could be used for "doorpost," while the Akkadian word
manzâztu means "standing-place." As a derivative from a verb
for "to stand" (either intransitive or transitive), *mᵉzûzā*, "door-
post," should of course have a meaning like "upright-standing
(beam)," or "(a beam) that makes something (perhaps the door)
stand upright," or "(a beam, or any other means,) by which
something is made to stand upright." Unfortunately, our knowl-
edge of the history of the door technique of the older Hebrews as
well as our knowledge of the older history of the terminology
employed for this technique is practically nil. Superficially, the
prefix *ma-* at the beginning of *mᵉzûzā*, if taken as the so-called
"instrumental" prefix, might seem to point to the last of the

meanings suggested above, especially if one thinks of the revolv-
ing doorpost of the Babylonians, to which the door was fastened,
and which therefore could have been regarded as the means by
which the door was kept upright.[1] Such an explanation of the *ma*-
prefix is not quite likely in view, e.g., of the similarly formed word
maṣṣēḇā < manṣibatum (< *ma-n(a)ṣib-at-um*) from the root נצב,
"to stand," which means not "a means by which something is
stood up" but "(a stone) that stands upright (or that is placed
upright)." The formation of this *maṣṣēḇā* from נצב, "to stand,"
as well as, most likely, that of *mᵉzûzā* (from *זוז, "to stand"),
obviously dates from a very old period in which the meaning of the
prefix *ma-* was not so restricted as in the historical times of the
Hebrew language; note that at least in the case of *mᵉzûzā* its
formation in a comparatively early age is indicated by the fact
that in the historical times of the Hebrew language the verb זוז,
"to stand," is altogether obsolete. We must therefore content
ourselves with the assumption that *mᵉzûzā* represents an old
abstract or infinitive noun which, like any other abstract noun,
could be used in a concrete (usually passive) sense, i.e., in the
sense of "something that is stood up." Its use in the exclusive
meaning of "doorpost" would be due of course to a restriction of
the original meaning.[2]

In the Aramaic parts of the Talmud מְזוּזָה appears as מְזוּזְתָּא,
though there the latter, as well as the Hebrew *mᵉzûzā* in the

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[1] That in Hebrew terminology the doors (at least those of a city gate)
"stand" is shown, e.g., by Joshua's curse on a future rebuilder of Jericho,
Josh. 6 : 26: בִּבְכֹרוֹ יְיַסְּדֶנָּה וּבִצְעִירוֹ יַצִּיב דְּלָתֶיהָ, "At the cost of his first-born
will he lay its foundations, and at the cost of his youngest will he
stand up its (gate) doors." Cf. also I Kings 16 : 34: בַּאֲבִירָם בְּכֹרוֹ יִסְּדָהּ
.... וַיֲעֲמִיד .... נֵיבְנוּ אֶת־שַׁעַר הַצֹּאן Neh. 3 : 1: וּבִשְׁנֹוב וּבִשְׁנֹוב) וּבִשְׁנֹוב (qᵉrê) צָעִירוֹ הַצִּיב דְּלָתֶיהָ
דְּלָתֹתָיו, "and they built the Sheep Gate .... and they stood up its doors"
(similarly vss. 6, 13, 15). Note the use of הַצִּיב as well as הֶעֱמִיד.

[2] Note that the form pattern of *ʿammûḏ*, "column," which likewise
means "something that stands up or is stood up," from עמד, "to stand,"
also has ceased to be a usual feature in the systems of verb and noun for-
mation of the historical time. It was originally the passive (passive-intran-
sitive) participle of the causative piʿel *עמד, "to make (something)
stand," corresponding to the passive (originally passive-intransitive)
participle *qāṭûl* of the *qal*.

Hebrew parts of the Talmud, denotes the parchment roll containing the two passages Deut. 6 : 4–9 and 11 : 13–21 and fastened to the doorpost. Since the word is clearly not a genuine Aramaic word, but simply the Aramaicized Hebrew word, the fact that in this word the first and second radicals of the word appear as *z*, not as *d* (*ḏ*), is not to be taken as a proof (against the conclusions drawn in chapter iii from the existence of the vernacular forms *šázu* and *tázu* [*tátu*] < *ṭáṭu*) that the two *z*'s of *záxu* represent Old Semitic *z*, not *ḏ*. As in the case of *zúzu*, account must be taken of the fact that, since Aramaic (at least that Aramaic with which the Jews came in contact) lacked a verb of the same root from which the Jews could recognize the nature of the Hebrew *z*, it was not to be expected that they should have taken the *z* for anything else but a real *z*.

5. HEBREW *mazzālôṯ*, TALMUDIC ARAMAIC *mazzālāṭā*, ETC.

Hebrew מַזָּלוֹת, II Kings 23 : 5 (מַזָּרוֹת, Job 38 : 32), LXX (in both passages) μαζουρωϑ, Targumim מַזָּלָתָה (II Kings 23 : 5) and מַזָּלַיָּא (Job. 38 : 32), Mandaic מאנזאלאתא, Syriac ܡܲܙܲܠܬ݂ܵܐ (II Kings 23 : 5), interpreted by some as "the (12) constellations of the zodiac," by others as "the planets" or "the stars," and also Jewish-Aramaic מַזָּל, "star," "planet," or "constellation," Syriac ܡܲܙܲܠܬ݂ܵܐ, "star," "planet," "constellation" (of the zodiac), "sky," "firmament," "sphere of heaven," "orb," "sphere," "globe," "hollow ball," and Arabic مَنَازِل, "stations of the moon," are now, following the proposal of Delitzsch, Prolegomena, p. 142, Zimmern, KAT 628, and others, commonly taken as loan words from Akkadian *manzaltu*, "stand (of a god or a star in the firmament)." As a matter of fact, the derivation is quite likely, since in cuneiform texts of the late periods[1] the plural of *manzaltu* (< *manzaštu* < *manzáztu*) was actually formed as *manzalátum*,[2] a form that

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[1] In vernacular language, of course, in a much earlier period.

[2] Cf. the following passages:

Pohl, Analecta orientalia VIII, No. 44, obv.: [1] *amêlubêlê* (= EN-MEŠ) *man-za-la-a-tum* ᵃᵐᵉˡᵘ[UR-É-MEŠ ᵃᵐᵉˡᵘ . . . -MEŠ] [2]LÚ-BABBIRU-MEŠ ᵃᵐᵉˡᵘGÍR-LÁ-MEŠ *ù* ᵃᵐᵉˡᵘ[. . .]-MEŠ [. .].[. .] [3]*šá* U₄-9-KAM *šá* ᵃʳᵃᵇšabâṭu MU-4-KAM

corresponds precisely to מַזָּלוֹת. It will be observed that here
again the Akkadian and Hebrew z appears as z in the Aramaic and
Arabic forms; and in this case there would seem to exist, at least
on the surface, some real ground for the argument that if the word
was actually derived from *manzaltu* the first and the third radicals,
if the conclusions drawn from the by-forms **šâzu* and **tâzu*
(**tâtu*) are to stand, should appear as *d* (*ḏ*) instead of *z* in Aramaic,
since the Babylonian philologists at least might be supposed to
have been able to recognize the character of the *z* by a comparison
of the **zâzu* forms with the vernacular **šâzu* and **tâzu* forms.
However, it is quite uncertain how far Babylonian and Assyrian
scribes really were able to trace such etymological contacts, and
especially to what extent they actually did trace them; at all
events there cannot obtain even the slightest doubt that for the
great mass of Babylonians the etymology of the substantive *man-
zaltu* had become obscured, since otherwise they would not have
treated its *l* as the real radical, as they did when forming its
plural as *manzalâtum* instead of *ma(n)zâzâtum*. Much less, therefore,
could it be expected that foreigners such as the Jews, the Ara-
means, and the Arabs should become aware of the original character
of the *z* of *manzaltu*, especially when the *z* of *manzaltu* and *mazzaltu*,
as we saw in chapter iii, section 12 (p. 166), was never changed to
š in Babylonian nor to *t* in Assyrian. The western Semites, there-
fore, simply took the word as being derived from a root *nzl*,
whose *z*, furthermore, they took as a real *z*, since they were quite

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ᵐku-ra-áš *⁴šàr* TIN-TIR^ki *šàr matâti* (= KUR-KUR) *pâni*(!) *ᵈbêltu*(GAŠAN)
ša uruk^ki *u* *ᵈna-na-a iz-zi-zu*

"The (following) occupants of offices, (namely) the 'enterers of the house,'
the ...., the brewers, the armed guardians, and the ...., who served on
the 9th day of Šebaṭ, 4th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands,
before(!) Beltu of Uruk and Nanâ."

Contenau, TC IX, No. 137, obv. : ⁸10(?) *ᵃᵐᵉˡᵘ*ERIM-MEŠ .... ¹¹*šá la man-
zal-la-ti-šu-nu* ¹²*it-ti-ka* ¹³*ab-ka* ¹⁴*ù kap-du* ¹⁵*al-ka*

· "Take with thee 10 men .... who are not on duty and hurriedly(?) come
here."

Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 117, obv.: .... ⁷*šá man-zal-la-tum ultu* MU-18-
KAM ⁸*a-di* MU-32-KAM ᵐ*da-ri-iá-a-muš šàr* K[UR-KUR], ".... for the office
periods from the 18th to the 32d year of Darius, king of the l[ands]."

unaware of any reason for considering it to be anything but that.[1]
Note, moreover, the additional change of the first radical of the
supposed root of *manzaltu* to ʋ in Syriac ﺁﺺ, which clearly
shows that the Syrians had not the faintest recollection of the
actual root of the Akkadian word. The fact that its *z* appears as *z*
even in Aramaic and Arabic may therefore be regarded as of no
value for the etymology of the root *zâzu*.[2]

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[1] In Arabic especially, *manâzilu* was combined with *nazala*, "to de-
scend," "to alight (from a horse or a conveyance for the purpose of staying
over night, etc.)." That this verb, as has been assumed, should not be a
genuine Arabic word but have developed from Babylonian *manzaltu*, is
difficult to imagine; it goes together, of course, with Hebrew *nâzal*, "to
flow (down)," Akkadian *nazâlu*, "to pour down," Syriac *neᵉzal*, "to sink
down," "to float down."

[2] It should be kept in mind, however, that in the Akkadian inscriptions
no instance is yet known where *manzaltu* and *manzalâti* clearly and un-
mistakably mean "star (planet)" or "constellation" or "the stars (planets)"
or "constellations of the zodiac"; thus an important link is still missing in
the chain by which *mazzâlôṭ* etc. can be connected with Akkadian *manzaltu*.
Possibly such an independent or absolute use of *manzaltu* may occur in the
phrase *ma-az-za-al-ti az-zu-ul* (Clay, MI, No. 44, col. 2_1), if this should mean
perhaps "I ascertained my constellation," i.e., "I ascertained (or caused
the astronomers to ascertain) a constellation of stars favorable to my
undertaking." *Nazâlu* would in this case be a denominative from *manzaltu*,
*"(observation of the) constellation of stars (planets) (among themselves
or with fixed stars or groups of fixed stars)." There is, however, at present
no conclusive proof for such a meaning of the phrase. As a matter of fact,
the phrase might quite as well be the logical equivalent of some adverbial
phrase with such a meaning as "constantly," "diligently," "with all my
power," etc. Moreover, it is not even certain whether *mazzalti* and the verb
from which *az-zu-ul* is derived do not perhaps come from quite a different
root than *z'z*. The verb *nazâlu* (of which only the present *ta-na-(az-)za-al*,
"thou shalt pour (something on something)," is known), hardly seems to
fit the context, unless the phrase should mean here something like "to
sink (a shaft, etc.) down (to a great depth)," an idea usually expressed in
similar context by *ušappil*. Clay's interpretation, "I located *its* position
(i.e., the position of the *temennu*)" is out of the question, since this would
require the suffix *-šu*, "its," after *mazzaltu*.

V. *Uzuzzu* WITH THE ACCUSATIVE

Since *uzuzzu*, "to stand," is an intransitive verb with dimensional connotations, it is, of course, not surprising to find it so frequently connected with adverbial expressions introduced by *ina*, (*ina*) *maḫar*, *ina muḫḫi*, etc., i.e., with expressions answering the question "where does something stand?" Quite understandable, too, are such other dimensional combinations as, e.g., "to stand with (= *itti*) someone" or "to stand aside (*ina* and *ana aḫâti*)" or even the connection of the verb *uzuzzu* with the dative of a person, literally meaning "to stand to or for someone," i.e., "to take one's stand at the side or in the interest of someone," "to assist him," "to guarantee for someone," or merely "to step up to someone," etc. Nor, finally, does it surprise us to find *uzuzzu* connected with an accusative expressing a so-called "inner object," as e.g. in the phrase *maṣṣartam uzuzzu*, "to stand watch," the German "Wache stehen," etc. The frequently quoted Crozer tablet which contains the paradigm for g u b = *uzuzzu*, "to stand," however, reveals the fact that the intransitive *uzuzzu* can be connected with the personal accusative, a fact which at first must appear quite puzzling. Note, in the tablet just mentioned, the following groups of intransitive and causative forms of **zâzu* enumerated by the Old Babylonian author in the fixed sequence: simple forms (= *a*), forms with accusative suffix (= *b*), and forms with dative suffix (= *c*):

A. Imperatives of the Simple Formations

1. (*a*) *i-zi-iz*	*šu-zi-iz*		col. $1_{1f.}$, $2_{10f.}$
(*b*) *qí-i-šu*	*šu-zi-iz-zu*		col. $1_{3f.}$, $2_{12f.}$
(*c*) *i-zi-iz-zum*	*šu-zi-iz-zum*		col. $1_{5f.}$, $2_{14f.}$
2. (*a*) *i-zi-iz-za-am*	*šu-zi-iz-za-am*		col. $1_{7f.}$
(*b*) *qí-ʾa₄¹-aš-šu*	*šu-zi-iz-za-aš-šu*		col. $1_{9f.}$
(*c*) *i-zi-iz-za-aš-šum*	*šu-zi-iz-za-aš-šum*		col. $1_{11f.}$

B. Permansives of the Simple Formations

(*a*) *na-zu-uz*	*šu-zu!-uz!*		col. $1_{20f.}$
(*b*)	*šu-zu-uz-zu*		col. 1_{22}
(*c*) *na-zu-uz-zum*	*šu-zu-uz-zum*		col. $1_{23f.}$

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¹ Sign *ia* = *ʾa₄*.

C. Preterits of the Simple Formations

1. (a) *iz-zi-iz*   *uš-zi-iz*   col. 2_{2-5}
   (b) *iz-zi-iz-zu*   *uš-zi-iz-zu*   col. $2_{6f.}$
   (c) *iz-zi-iz-zum*   *uš-zi-iz-zum*   col. $2_{8f.}$
2. (a) *iz-zi-za-am*   *uš-zi-za-am*   col. $3_{4f.}$
   (b) *iz-zi-za-aš-šu*   *uš-zi-za-aš-šu*   col. $3_{6f.}$
   (c) *iz-zi-za-aš-šum*   *uš-zi-za-aš-šum*   col. $3_{8f.}$

D. Preterits of the *t*-Formations

1. (a) *it-ta-zi-iz*   *uš-ta-zi-iz*   col. $2_{16f.}$
   (b) *it-ta-zi-iz-zu*   *uš-ta-zi-iz-zu*   col. $2_{18f.}$
   (c) *it-ta-zi-iz-zum*   *uš-ta-zi-iz-zum*   col. $2_{20f.}$
2. (a) *it-ta-zi-iz-za-am*   *uš-ta-zi-iz-za-am*   col. $2_{22f.}$
   (b) *it-ta-⟨zi-⟩iz-za-aš-šu*   *uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šu*   col. 2_{24}, col. 3_1
   (c) *it-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum*   *uš-ta-zi-iz-za-aš-šum*   col. $3_{2f.}$

E. Presents of the Simple Formations

(a) *iz-za-a-az*   *uš-za-a-az*   col. $3_{18f.}$
(b) *iz-za-a-az-zu*   *uš-za-a-az-zu*   col. $3_{20 \text{ and } 22}$
(c) *iz-za-a-az-zum*   *uš-za-a-az-zum*   col. $3_{23f.}$

From these examples it follows that such verbal forms as *i-zu-uz-zi-im-ma* and *li-iz-zi-iz* in Thureau-Dangin, LC, No. $4_{9 \text{ and } 26}$, which are connected with the accusatives GANAM-UDU-ḪI-A, "the sheep" (l. 6), and GANAM-UDU-ḪI-A *ši-na-ti*, "these sheep" (l. 22), are actually forms of *uzuzzu* (= IV 1 of *zâzu*) and not pi'el forms of a verb *ezêzu*, "to be strong," II 1 *uzzuzu*, "to make strong," "to raise (cattle)," as Ungnad, doubtlessly influenced by the seemingly strange fact that they govern the accusative, suggested.[1]

From the latter passage, moreover, it follows that the meaning of *uzuzzu* with accusative is "to watch" or "to tend (a flock, etc.)." For what the writer of the letter says is that he wants the two men about whom he is writing to "tend the sheep in the desert (or steppe) (= *ina šadîm*), where there is pasture for them (*ema rêtum ibaššû*)." This meaning is completely corroborated by the following observation: In the above list of verbal forms of *uzuzzu*, "to stand," taken from the Crozer tablet, exactly at the place

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[1] Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie, p. 61, No. 67, n. *d*, and p. 246 under '*zz*.

where Sections C (preterit of IV 1), D (preterit of IV 2), and E (present of IV 1) have the *uzuzzu* forms + accusative suffix *-šu*: *izzîzzu* (= *izzīz* + *-šu*), *izzîzaššu* (= *izzîzam* + *-šu*), *ittazîzzu* (= *ittazîz* + *-šu*), *ittazizzaššu* (= *ittazizzam* + *-šu*), and *izzâzzu* (= *izzâz* + *-šu*), Section A, which deals with the imperative, gives the form *qi-i-šu*, i.e., *qîšu* (= *qî* + *-šu*), "watch him," instead of the expected form *izîzzu* (= *izīz* + *-šu*) and, instead of *izizzaššu* (= *izizzam* + *-šu*), *qi-ʾa₄-aš-šu*, i.e., (*qiʾaššu* [< *qiʾam* + *-šu*] or) *qîʾaššu* (< *qiʾam* + *-šu*), "watch him (for me)." *Qî* (< *(u)qiį*) originally was the imperative of the verb *primae* and *tertiae infirmae* *yaqûm* (< *yaqâįum*), "to watch," "to tend" (present *ú(q)qā* like *uššab*, preterit *ûqī* like *ûšib*), which secondarily, however, was conceived as *qú(ʾ)ʾu* (< *qúįįu* < *qûįum* < *qú(ʾ)ʾuįum* < *qúįuuuįum* < *qáįuuįum*), i.e., II 1 of the verb *mediae* and *tertiae infirmae* קוי (pres. *uqâ*, pret. *uqî*, imperative *qî*),[1] with the meanings (1) "to watch," "to guard," "to protect"; (2) "to wait for something," "to wait on someone"; (3) "to fear."[2]

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[1] Note especially the Old Akkadian preterit *u-qá-e* (= *uqá(ʾ)ʾi* [or *uqai*?]), "he awaited (a battle)," in HGT, No. 36, col. 4′₁₄′. Note also that in the extant inscriptions the present is written with one *q* (*u-qa-a*), never with two *q*'s (*uqqâ*), though the latter might be expected at least occasionally for a form of *yaqû*. The present form *u-qa-a-a* quoted by Delitzsch in AHwb (p. 582) from a London fragment, however, must evidently be emended to *u-qa-a-ka*, since the context requires the accusative suffix *-ka*; note the *u-qa-a-ki* in the following line, which, apart from the fact that it is addressed not to a god but to a goddess, is completely parallel to that containing the suspect *u-qa-a-a*.

Unfortunately we do not have as yet the infinitive forms *yaqû* = I 1 of the root וקי, or *quʾʾu* = II 1 of the secondary root קוי, which would definitively clear up the question as to whether the transition of the I 1 formation to II 1 was a general one in historical Akkadian. The piʿel forms *uqqî* (preterit II 1) and *utaqqû* (infinitive II 2) are clearly forms of the root וקי.

[2] For the last meaning cf. the well known refrain in col. 1 of the bilingual address to Hammurabi in King, LIH, No. 60, col. 1, e.g. ll. 11–14:

¹¹[ᵈ]nin-urta ¹²[ᵍⁱˢ]tukul-maḫ ¹³[ma]-ra-an-sì
¹⁴[za-e] a-ba-a ¹⁵[bí-g]ub-bè-en
¹¹ᵈnin-urta ¹²ᵍⁱˢkakkam ṣi-ra-am ¹³id-di-ik-kum
¹⁴at-ta ma-an-nam ¹⁵tu-qá-a

"Ninurta has given thee a sublime weapon!
Whom shouldst thou (then) fear?"

For the forms and meanings of this doubly weak verb compare
Arabic وَقَى, present يَقِي, imperative قِ, (1) "to watch," "to guard";
(2) "to beware of someone," "to fear someone"; Phoenician קַן,
"beware of me," "fear me" (inscription on the coffin of Eshmuna-
zar, l. 4).[1] In Hebrew the verb וקי has completely changed to a
pi'el of קוי, i.e., קִוָּה, (1) "to wait for something," "to hope in
someone"; (2) "to watch for someone," "to lie in wait for someone,"
with only the participle (constr. pl. masc.) קֹוֵי, "those who wait
for (someone)," of the qal formation.[2] The basic meaning in all
these cases is "to look," "to be on the lookout (for something),"
"to watch"; if the watching is done in the interest of that which
is watched, the meaning is "to watch," "to guard," "to tend
(e.g. a flock)"; if done in one's own interest, "to wait for some-
thing, someone," "to hope for something," but if with fear for
oneself, "to fear something," "to beware of something." The
meaning of *qî* with accusative in the Crozer text, which replaces
the form *izīz* with accusative, is, in conformity with that of *uzuzzu*
with accusative in LC, No. 4, "to tend (a flock)."

Furthermore, this meaning is also suggested by the Sumerian
equivalents of *qîšu* and *izzizzu* (< *izzīz* + *-šu*) etc. in the Crozer
grammatical tablet, which, moreover, helps to clarify the use
of *uzuzzu,* "to stand," in the sense of "to watch," "to guard," "to
tend." Thus we find

Imperative	gub-an-da	*qi-i-šu*
	gub-ma-da-ab	*qi-'a₄-aš-šu*
Preterit	in-da-gub	*iz-zi-iz-zu*
	mu-un-da-gub	*iz-zi-iz-zu*
	ba-da-an-gub	*it-ta-zi-iz-zu*
	im-ma-da-an-gub	*it-ta-(zi-)iz-za-aš-šu*
	ma-da-an-gub	*iz-zi-za-aš-šu*
Present	in-da-gub-bi	*iz-za-a-az-zu.*

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[1] See Poebel, Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing.
in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament, pp. 18 ff.

[2] The metaplastic character of the root is clearly indicated by the fact
that, apart from the participle, only pi'el forms of the verb are extant.
For the genuine root קוי (with strong *u*), "to gather," cf. Hebrew נִקְוָה,
"to gather (intr.)," and מִקְוֶה and מִקְוָה, "gathering"; Arabic قَوِيَ, "to be
strong."

Gub-an-da (< gub-a-n-da), "watch or guard him," means literally "stand (= gub-a) with (= -da) him (= -n-)"; in-da-gub, "he watched or guarded him," means literally "he stood (= i-gub) with (= -da-) him (= -n-)"; in-da-gub-bi, "he watches or guards or tends him," means literally "he stands (= i-gub-b-e) with (= -da-) him (= -n-)." The phrase "to stand with (or at the side of or by) someone (for the good or the safety of the latter)" quite naturally yields the idea "to watch over someone," "to guard him (against evil etc.)," "to tend one"; the idea, e.g., "to tend or watch a flock of sheep" would be "to stand with the sheep" in Sumerian. If "to watch," on the other hand, is used in a hostile sense, i.e., in the sense of "to watch him with a view to guarding against possible evil," "to guard oneself against someone," "to be afraid of someone," "to fear someone," the Sumerian construes the verb gub, "to stand," with the postposition -a, "at," "against," not with the postposition -da, "with" (which expresses the interest of the watcher in the watched), as is shown by a-ba-a [bí-g]ub-bè-en = *ma-an-nam tu-qá-a*, "whom dost (= needest) thou fear ?," literally: "against or at (= -a) whom (= aba) dost thou stand (=b-e(-i)-gubb-en[1]) ?"

As is shown by its Sumerian equivalent x-da gub, "to stand with someone or something" = "to watch (to guard or to tend) someone or something," the Akkadian x *uzuzzu* is the equivalent of, and of course originated from, **itti* x *uzuzzu*, "to stand with someone or something." The strange change of the construction of the verb, namely with accusative instead of with *itti*, was obviously caused by the fact that **itti* x *uzuzzu* was the equivalent of the transitive verbs **uaqû, utáqqû, re'û*, "to tend," "to pasture," etc. Under their influence *uzuzzu* too, although originally of course only in vernacular language, came to be treated as a transitive verb and consequently construed with the accusative.

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[1] Literally, with pronominal repetition of the dimensional complex aba-a, "against whom ?": "thou standest (= i-gubb-en) against him (= b-e)."