
The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian: Orthography and Phonology

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PREFACE

The Nuzi dialect of Akkadian is known from several thousand cuneiform tablets discovered in the ruins of ancient Nuzi, about 10 miles southwest of modern Kirkük, Iraq. These documents, dating from the middle of the second millennium B. C., were unearthed in the course of several campaigns sponsored by the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad, the Semitic Museum of Harvard University, and the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. Following the publication of a small number of these records which had found their way to the British Museum and the Louvre, Dr. Edward Chiera began systematic excavations at Nuzi in the spring of 1925; other campaigns were conducted from 1927 to 1931, and were directed successively by Chiera, Pfeiffer, and Starr.

The bearing of the Nuzi documents on the history of Mesopotamia has been recognized by all recent students of the subject. The material is of great interest, however, from a linguistic standpoint also. For although the texts are composed in a special form of Akkadian, their writers were for the most part members of the Hurrian group whose mother tongue was in no way related to Semitic. The local dialect is thus a product of a community which employed Akkadian for official purposes, while their native Hurrian was clearly the language of daily intercourse; consequently few of the writers show a complete mastery of Akkadian. The dialect as a whole is strongly influenced by the totally unrelated Hurrian, and this influence is apparent not only in vocabulary, morphology, and syntax, but especially in phonology. Finally, the Nuzi tablets follow a distinctly local orthography. It has been my object in the present study to collect and evaluate the material bearing particularly on the orthography and the phonology.

The study in the following pages is based on the Nuzi tablets hitherto published, with occasional reference to unpublished material from the Harvard Semitic Museum.

The system of transliteration employed here is that of Thureau-Dangin, *Le Syllabaire Accadien* (1926). However, in view of the fact that confusion between consonants was not only a matter of writing, but also of pronunciation, diacritical marks are employed only when the etymology of a word may be uncertain. Otherwise the signs are

transliterated in their simplest form. The first letter of proper nouns is always capitalised. Masculine names are given without the determinative, while feminine names and names of cities and countries are preceded by their respective raised determinatives. In lists and other occasional examples translation is added only to the first occurrence of a word. Square brackets indicate restorations.

On this occasion I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor E. A. Speiser, under whose direction this dissertation was conducted and to whom I am indebted for many valuable suggestions.

I also wish to express my appreciation to Professor R. G. Kent, whose assistance was invaluable in the final preparation of the manuscript.

Professor R. H. Pfeiffer, curator of the Harvard Semitic Museum, kindly authorized the use in this study of a number of quotations from material transliterated by himself and E. R. Lacheman, which is as yet unpublished. For this permission I am deeply indebted to him.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AASOR = The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
AB = R. Labat, *L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi*; Bordeaux, 1932.
AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung; Berlin.
BA = Beiträge zur Assyriologie; Leipzig.
BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
Bork = F. Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*. MVAG 14; Berlin, 1909.
CGHL = E. H. Sturtevant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*; Linguistic Society of America. Philadelphia, 1933.
Contenau = G. Contenau, *Les Tablettes de Kerkouk et les Origines de la Civilisation Assyrienne*. *Babyloniaca* 9. 69-151, 157-212; Paris, 1926.
CT = Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 2.21. London.
FL = E. A. Speiser, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws*; AASOR 10. 1-73 (1930).
Friedrich = J. Friedrich, *Zum Subaräischen und Urartäischen*; *Analecta Orientalia* 12. Rome, 1935.
G = C. J. Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk*; RA 23. Paris, 1926.
GVG = C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1. Berlin, 1909.
H I = E. Chiera, *Excavations at Nuzi I*; Harvard Semitic Series V. Cambridge, 1929.
H II = R. H. Pfeiffer, *Excavations at Nuzi II*; Harvard Semitic Series IX. Cambridge, 1932.
HS = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les Homophones Sumériens*; Paris, 1929.
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society; New Haven.
JENu = E. R. Lacheman, *New Nuzi Texts and a New Method of Copying Cuneiform Tablets*, JAOS 55.429-31, and plates (1935).
JPOS = The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society; Jerusalem.
Kramer = S. N. Kramer, *The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets*; AASOR 11.63-119. New Haven, 1931.
L = H. F. Lutz, *A Legal Document from Nuzi*; University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 9, no. 11.405-12, plate 12.
LSS = Leipziger Semitistische Studien; Leipzig.
Mesop. Orig. = E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*; Philadelphia, 1930.

- MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*; Leipzig.
- N = E. Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, Vols. I-III. Paris, 1927-31. Vols. IV, V. Philadelphia, 1934.
- NKRA = P. Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna Zeit*; Leipzig, 1928.
- NSPN = P. Purves, *The Non-Semitic Proper Names of Nuzi*; University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, to appear in the *Assyriological Studies of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*.
- RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*; Paris.
- RS = Ras-Shamra.
- SA = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Le Syllabaire Accadien*; Paris, 1926.
- SMN = Harvard Semitic Museum: Nuzi; the following numeral is the catalogue number of the tablet.
- Speiser = E. A. Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B. C.*; AASOR 13.13-54. Baltimore, 1933.
- SPN = A. MacRae, *The Semitic Proper Names of Nuzi*; University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, to appear in the *Assyriological Studies of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*.
- ST = E. A. Speiser, *New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Security Transactions*; JAOS 52.350-67 (1932), 53.24-46 (1933).
- TCL = G. Contenau, *Contracts et Lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie; Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre*. Paris, 1926.
- VR = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les Vocabulaires de Ras-Shamra*; Syria 12. 225-66. Paris, 1931.
- Ungnad = A. Ungnad, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik*; Munich, 1926.

CHAPTER I

ORTHOGRAPHY

1. THE SCRIPT¹

The script of the Nuzi tablets has been termed by Gadd² 'a script with well marked features of early Assyrian writing', and by Contenau³ 'the cursive script of Assyria' of the XIVth century. Koschaker⁴, on the other hand, identifies the Nuzian script as 'Babylonian'. The fact is, however, that neither view is correct. To be sure, the Nuzi script does contain many characters which are very close to those of the Babylonian script, but it includes also, though to a less degree, Assyrian signs. However, just as the Amarna and the Boghazköi scripts are neither Babylonian nor Assyrian but form a group by themselves, so also the Nuzi script is not to be classified as Babylonian or Assyrian but as a group by itself, or perhaps as an eastern branch of the Amarna-Boghazköi script, which Thureau-Dangin⁵ has termed the 'Akkado-Hittite syllabary'. For a glance at Contenau's comparative table of scripts⁶ makes it immediately clear that the two systems (the Nuzian and the Amarna-Boghazköi) have much in common.

In view of the fact, therefore, that the script is closely related to the Akkado-Hittite syllabary, and because a larger number of its characters are similar to those of the Babylonian script, it seems probable that it was borrowed from Babylonia at an earlier stage, but proceeded to develop independently, with Assyrian influence coming in here and there.⁷

¹ For discussion on this subject, cf. Contenau, *Les Tablettes de Kerkouk*, *Babyloniaca* 9.15-179; Gadd, *RA* 23.53, and Koschaker, *NKRA* 9-20.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Op. cit.* 158, 160.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 19.

⁵ *SA* IV-V.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 162-175.

⁷ In view of the fact that the Nuzi and the Akkado-Hittite scripts are so closely connected, and owing also to the wide expansion of the Hurrians at this period, it is altogether possible that the Hittites and the Mitannians learned their script from the Akkadian-speaking Hurrians. For the Hurrian expansion cf. Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.*, *AASOR* 13.13-54 (1933).

2. RARE SIGNS AND RARE VALUES

The sign BA₄ (= MAL) occurs only twice in these texts:

Ba₄-lu-še-ia, N 72.29 (cf. *Ba-lu-še-e-a*, H I 76.10; and *Pa-lu-še-ia*, N 279.18); *Li-it-pu-b[a₄]*, H II 38.27.

BÍ occurs only in epistles⁸ and only in the phrase *a-na mX ki-bi-ma* 'unto X say'.

The usual ideogram of the god Sin is EŠ; EN.ZU occurs only once, in the proper name ^aEN.ZU-*na-din-šum*, G 51.32.

The sign GI is mostly used in these texts to express a velar stop + *e*, while KI is generally employed to express velar stop + *i*. The evidence for this is as follows:

a. Certain words where *e* is not expected, are always written with KI and very seldom with GI. Thus we have:

e-ki-im 'he shall take away', G 2.33; *i-ik-ki-im*, G 3.22.

a-la-ki 'to go', H I 49.28; 348.36; N 369.40, and passim; *il-ki* 'feudal task', N 60.11-2; 214.17, and passim.

ark^{ki} 'after', H II 68.6; 69.8, and passim.

i-bá-ak-ki-šu-ma 'he shall mourn for him', N 59.22; *i-ba-ak-ki-iš*, N 8.11, and passim.

i-bá-ak-ki-in 'it shall be clipped', H I 9.11; *ba-ki-in*, G 26.12, and passim.

Ki-mi-la-ta, N 14.17; 50.19; *Ki-mi-il-li-te-šup*, H II 123.7; *Ki-mi-il-la-bi*, N 396.13; 537.7.

ki-la-li-ma 'both', N 236.16; *ki-la-li-im-ma*, N 239.18, and passim.

ki-ma 'as', N 1.4; 2.5, and passim.

*ki-in-na-at*⁹ 'depression', N 144.8, and passim.

mu-lu-ki 'dowry'¹⁰, H I 11.17; 76.5, and passim.

i-na-ak-ki-is 'he shall cut off', H I 55.21; 56.32, and passim.

*pa-ki-ra-na*¹¹ 'claimant', N 1.6; 12.12, and passim.¹²

b. GI is never followed by the vowel *i*; if it is followed by a vowel at all, that vowel is always *e*. Thus the name *Na-iš-gi-el-be*, N 1.25; 2.26, and passim, is written hundreds of times with the sign EL after GI.

⁸ For the same use of BÍ in the letters of the Hammurabi period and in Boghazköi, cf. Labat, AB 9.

⁹ With rare exceptions: *ki-en-na-at*, N 210.6; 263.4.

¹⁰ For discussion of this subject, cf. Speiser, FL AASOR 10.24.

¹¹ With rare exceptions: *pa-gi-ra-an-na*, G 2.24; *pa-gi-ra-na*, H I 62.14; *pa-gi-ra*, N 28.14.

¹² The list is by no means exhaustive.

Forms of the roots *garāru* 'to roll', *qabāru* 'to bury', and *leqū* 'to take', are nearly always written with the sign GI, undoubtedly because in the first two *i* became *e* in the spoken language under the influence of a neighboring *r*; in *leqū* *i* became *e* in compensation for the loss of the laryngal *h*.¹³

Indeed, *i* never follows after GI of this root, while writings with following *e* are not uncommon:

i[-*li-ig*]-*gi-e*, G 39.14; *i*-*liq-gi-e*, H II 14.21; *el-gi-e*, N 253.5,23; *el-gi-e-mi*, N 349.14¹⁴; *il-gi-e*, H II 89,12; *li-gi-e*, H II 29.15; N 198.18; 398.15; *li-gi-e-me*, N 350.12; *li-gi-e-mi*, N 362.17; *el-te-gi-e*, H II 47.4; 127 rev. 3; *el-te-e-gi-e*, H II 28.5; 92.7; *el-te-gi-e-mi*, N 399.23.

𒄩 has the value of *dug* in *A-kap-dug-gi*, N 328.35.

The sign LĀ occurs only as a phonetic complement, but never independently: cf. *ibbalakatu*¹⁵ *lā-tū*¹⁶ 'he shall break the agreement', N 83.31; 85.24, and passim; *umalla*¹⁷ 'he shall fulfill', N 468.34.

LĀ𒄩 occurs twice in *i-pal-lāh-šu* 'he shall serve him', H I 66.14,16.

RAP occurs once in *Ar-rap-ḥa-ri*, H II 17.18.

The sign RÛ (= AŠ) occurs only at the end of a word, with the exception of *iš-tap-[r]ù-šu-nu-ti* 'he sent them', N 332.37, and *Šu-rù-ia*¹⁸, N 428.19. It has developed, curiously enough, into ŠUP (on the analogy of the ordinary RU = ŠUP) in *Qa-i-te-šup* and *Ma-at-te-šup*, N 478.25: cf. *Ga-i-te-šup* 13 and *Ma-at-te-šup* 14 with the usual sign ŠUP; and in *Wu-ur-te-šup*, H I 8.15 with RÛ = ŠUP, but in 16 with the usual ŠUP.

The sign ŠI is found in only three tablets; twice in the word *ši-ri-ti*, N 19.5a; 194.6¹⁹; and once in the name *Ši-ma-an-ni* (= *Ši-ma-an-ni*?), H II 36.1,34.

The sign SU occurs very regularly as the ideogram for *šiqḷu*²⁰ 'shekel', and rather frequently in the word *su-ta-an* 'south', N 9.26; 29.7, etc.

¹³ Cf. the forms of *idū* 'to know', *pitū* 'to open', which have also always a final *e* in compensation for the lost laryngal.

¹⁴ Cf. also *el-ki-e*, N 253.5. To the hundreds of times in which *leqū* is written with GI, there are not over twelve tablets in which it is written with KI.

¹⁵ KI.BAL.

¹⁶ For this form of phonetic complement, see I.6.K.

¹⁷ DIRIG.

¹⁸ Cf. *Šu-ru-ia*, N 163.20. In both instances his father is *Tehišenni*.

¹⁹ Written erroneously *ši-ri-ri*.

²⁰ For the equation of *šiqḷu* with SU, cf. Lacheman, JAOS 55.431 note 6.

It occurs twice in the name *Par-ta-su-a*, N 329.31; 447.11; in *Za-ap-su*, H 83.43, in *Ar-ra-su*, H II 113.1,6,11, and in *Su-um-mi-ia* N 228.29 (for *Šu-um-mi-ia*).

The sign U is the usual ideogram for *Ištar*, and never stands for *Adda*²¹ in our texts. That this is so, contrary to the view of Koschaker²², is proved by the following examples:

- a. *Ma-ri-iš-tar* son of *A-ta-a-a*, N 265.36.
*Mār*²³-*iš-tar* son of *A-ta-a-a*, N 277.27.
Mār-iš-ta-ar son of *A-ta-a-a*, N 201.19.
*Mār-IŠ*₄.DAR son of *A-ta-a-a*, N 113.37.
Mār-^dU son of *A-ta-a-a*, N 208.15.
- b. *Mār-IŠ*₄.DAR father of *Pal-ta-a-a*, N 33.22.
Mār-^dU father of *Pal-ta-a-a*, N 7.18.
Mār-^dU father of *Pal-te-ia*, N 64.14.

IM is the only ideogram used for *Adda*:

- a. *Ki-mi-la-ta* son of *Zu-me*, N 95.14; 209.22.
Ki-me-la-ta son of *Zu-ú-mi*, N 50.19.
*Gimil*²⁴-^dIM son of *Zu-me*, N 97.21; 163.16.
- b. *Ki-mi-il-la-ta* father of *Tar-mi-ia*, H II 100.38.
Gimil-^dIM father of *Tar-mi-ia*, H I 31.

In phonetic writing U is used in only three of the tablets so far published: *u-ma-al-la-mi* 'I shall furnish', H I 6.16; *ú-ša-at-ta-nu-u-ti*^{MEŠ} 'they exacted', N 383.61; and in N 404, where the name *It-ḫi-ib*-^d*u-gur* is written with U throughout.

Ū is once used for the copula in N 287.21. The passage goes as follows: (19) *ša ma-an-nu-um-mi-e i-na bēri*²⁵-*šu-nu* (20) *eqlāti*²⁶*pl-šu* *ba-ki-ra-na* (21) *ir-ta-šu-ú ú at-ta-* (22) ²⁷-*ma-an-nu ú-za-aq-qa-ma*.

With the exception of the following words, Ū is used to express the copula only:

- Be-e-lí-ù-ú*, H II 109.27.
Be-e-lí-ù, H II 109.46.

²¹ For this reading of IM see the next paragraph.

²² NKRA 16 note 1.

²³ DUMU.

²⁴ ŠU.

²⁵ R.I.BA.NA.

²⁶ A.ŠAG.

²⁷ For dividing the word at the end of the line see I.7.

Ha-ni-ù, H I 7.42; 77.3; H II 103.2.

Ha-ni-ù-ia, H I 2.1,11.

Ki-ik-ki-ù, H I 2.18.

Ku-ù-li, H II 87.4.

Ta-a-a-ù-ki, H II 109.3.

ʽÛ-la-ma-aš-ši, H I 100.1,7,10.

ù-li-ma-gur 'he did not agree', N 127.16.

ù-li-ri-dú-uš, N 284.19 'he shall not drive him'.²⁸

It is easy to see that the sign Û in the above list is used purposely to indicate a sound which, as yet, had not had a counterpart in writing. This is especially clear in the case of the element *Ha-ni-ù*, and in crasis of *ul* + a word beginning with a vowel. The sound in question is undoubtedly the glottal stop ' , which had not won recognition in the Nuzi script, as will be seen below.²⁹

The sign ÚR is found only twice: *Nu-úr-ku-bi*, N 541.26, and *Ar-nu-úr-ḫi*, N 552.14.

The sign PI is used throughout these tablets in the value of *w* + a vowel, and never for *pi*. The view of Gadd³⁰ that 'PI = *pi* is certainly to be read in several cases' is wrong. Such examples as he cites from Mitanni and elsewhere (*Bi-ri-ia*, *Bi-ri-iz-zi* and *Benteshina*, which he correctly equates with PI-*anteššenni*; to be read *Wantiššenni*) do not indicate the same pronunciation, but rather two dialectal variations of the same sound.

wa may be expressed also by *u* + *a*, cf. *Wa-an-tar-ki-in-tar*, N 181.20, and *Ú-a-an-ta-ri-ki-in-tar*, N 186.13; *Ni-nu-a-ri* (= *ninuwari*), N 91.14; and *Ni-nu-ma-ri*, N 253.38 (with *w* > *m*).

In H I 8, the scribe (Bil-maš-še) often writes two parallel vertical wedges for the sign A: *Nu-ul-lu-a-i-ú*, 9; *A-ka-p-ta-e*, 11; *A-ku-še-en-ni*, 13.

The *a* of signs representing normally consonant + *a* + consonant may often be read as *e*. Thus we have *i-gar-ri-ib* 'he shall approach', H I 67.54, but when written out always *i-qí-ri-ib*, N 89.12; *i-qí-ir-ri-ib*, N 8.16; *mu-šal-mu* 'surveyor', N 102.46, and passim; when written out, however, always *mu-še-el-mu*, N 46.32, and passim; *Zi-wi-ir-gal-tum*, H II 111.2; but *Zi-wi-ir-gi-el-tum*, H I 13.2; *E-taš-še-en-ni*, G 2.40;

²⁸ Gordon's reading (JPOS 15.32-4) of *ù ba-nu*, H I 43.31, as *ù-ba-nu* is still uncertain.

²⁹ See under III.2.

³⁰ RA 23.63-4.

19.6; but *E-te-eš-še-en-ni*, N 307.6; *Gal-te-ia*, H II 118.2, but also *Gi-el-te-ia*, H I 21.14; H II 88.6, and passim; *Be-lam-mu-šal-lim*, N 13.14; *Be-la-mu-šal-li*, H II 93.9: *Be-^{la}lam-mu-še-el-li*, H I 44.1.5.

The numeral strokes indicating talents (*biltu*) are horizontal strokes (as in other cuneiform documents). Cf. ✎ *bilāt 20 manē erī*, N 28.11, '3 talents, 20 minas of bronze', etc. In two instances, however, this custom is not adhered to, and the numeral strokes for talents are vertical; † *bilat 50 manē erī^{MEŠ}*, N 28.11; †† *bilāt erī*, H II 93.1.

Finally it is interesting to note that the sign AN is three times written in its old form (a star), in *^mMa-an-nu-bá-la-^dAdda*, N 297.59; *a-an-ni-mi* 'yes', N 340.13; and on the seal of *Nabū-AN* (for *Nabū-ihu*) TCL 2 (on side).

3. IDEOGRAMS

Ideographic writing is very common in the Nuzi tablets. Some scribes are, naturally, inclined to use more ideograms than others, but the general usage may be summed up as follows:

a. Certain words are always, or nearly always, written ideographically; e.g., É (*bītu*) 'house', N 20.5; 𒀭.LA (*zīttu*) 'inheritance share', N 2.5; DUMU (*māru*) 'son', N 1.2; ANŠU.KUR.RA (*sisū*) 'horse', N 106.10; 𒀭.LAL.E³¹ 'he shall weigh', N 6.11; 33.18, and passim.

b. Certain words may be written either ideographically or phonetically; e.g., AN.NA^{MEŠ} 'lead', N 9.11: *an-na-ku*, N 85.16; EGIR 'after', N 27.22: *ar-ki*, N 546.29: *ur-ki*, N 482.7; TIL.LA, N 2.33: *bal-tú*, N 456.14; KIL.BAL, N 99.13; 452.5: *i-bal-qa-at*, N 14.8; DIRIG, N 59.27, *ú-ma-al-la*, N 2.14; etc.

c. Certain ideograms may be followed by one or more phonetic complements, while others are very seldom thus complemented. Thus we have such writings as *bīt*, G 5.25; 11.5; *bīt^u*, H II 8.27; *arki*, N 27.22; or *arki^{ki}*, N 29.24; *umalla*, N 59.27, and *umalla^a*, N 27.29; but always *zīttu*,³² N 2.5; *sisū*, N 106.10; *išaqal*, N 6.11; *eqlu*, N 1.3.5; *māru*³³, N 1.2; and passim.

³¹ Sumerian verbal forms are not so common. Beside this verb, which is used rather frequently, cf. BA.UG₆ (*imtūt*) G 9.15; 51.8; I.BA (*izūz*), N 414.11; IN.-NA.AN.SUM (*iddin*), N 11.7; 28.9, 13; IN.SUM (*iddin*), N 230.14; MA.AN.SUM (*iddinam*), G 59.11; ŠU.BA.AN.TI (*ilteqē*), N 227.6; TIL.LA (*baltu*), N 2.23; 313.5, and passim.

³² Written phonetically only four times: *zi-di*, N 435.22; *zi-di-šu*, N 6.5; *zi-ta-šu*, H I 71.32; *zi-it-ta-šu*, N 404.6.

³³ Written phonetically only in: *ma-ra*, H I 60.14; *ma-ru-šu*, 303.11, 20; 531.1; *ma-ri-šu*, N 303.24; *ma-ar*, H I 65.12.

d. Ideographic writing is sometimes used to express a homophone of the word which the ideogram in question expresses. Thus the proper name *Annišu* is written phonetically *An-ni-šu*, N 123.25, but very often also *An-ni-TUK*, N 196.12, = *An-ni-išū*; also AN-TUK, N 138.8 and 196.3, = *An-išū*; also, AN-TUK^{su} = *An-išū^{su}*, N 214.30.

The name *Lu-na-an-na*³⁴ is written also *Lú-na-an-na*, N 303.29.

The proper name *Tankia* is written in H II 109.32, as *Ta-an-ki-ia*; in line 45, however, it is written SIG₅.GA-*ia*, = *Damqi-ia*.³⁵

Heršia is written *Hé-ir-ši-ia*, N 512.21; but also *He-TUK-ia* = *He-iršī-ia*, H I 91.39.

The names *Ahu-šinā^{na}* ‘their brother’, N 510.4; *Ilu-šinā^{na}* N 297.39, are written with the ideogram for the numeral 2 (= Akk. *šinā*).

The non-Semitic proper name *Šadikintar* is written with KUR, the ideogram for *šadū* ‘mountain’: *Šadī-ki-in-tar*, N 398.34; *Šadī-ki-tar* (*ki* miswritten *ku*), H I 43.41, alongside *Ša-ti-ki-in-tar*, H I 46.24; 48.4, and *passim*.

Most interesting, indeed, is the writing of the name *Sin-Qur(ā)du*³⁶:

Zi-ku-ur-ta, H I 81.31, 38.

Zi-ik-ku-ur-ta, N 436.5; H II 100.30, 46.

Zi-ik-ku-ra-ta, N 436.16.

DINGIR.EŠ-*qur-ta* = ^d*Sin-qur-ta*, H I 38.28, 32.

Zi-ik-ku-ur-DINGIR³⁷.IM = *Zi-ik-ku-ur*-^d*Adda*, H I 12.32.

Zi-ik-ku-<*ur*>-DINGIR³⁷.IM = *Zi-ik-ku-ur*-^d*Adda*, H I 12.27.

DINGIR.EŠ.GIŠ.SAG.KUL = ^d*Sin*-(*si*)*kurratu*, H II 98.36, 46.

That these forms are all spelling variations of the name of one person (except N 436.5, 16), is proved by the fact that all of them have the same father, *Takkia*.³⁸

The ideogram LUGAL is used in the phonetic value of *šarru*³⁹ in the Hurrian names containing that element (cf. *El-ḫi-ib-šarri*, *Te-ḫi-ib-šarri*, etc.), and it occurs once also as the second part of the ideogram for *tupšarru* (DUB.SAR) ‘scribe’, cf. DUB.LUGAL, N 452.22.

³⁴ For the interchange of *l* and *n* in this name, see III.7.

³⁵ For the change of *n* to *m*, see III.n.

³⁶ For the syncope, see II.1.

³⁷ Written erroneously ŠI.

³⁸ The name of the scribe *Ad-ri-zi*, N 117.26, is no doubt the same as ^d*Adda-ri-zi*, N 83.43; 85.36; 116.16. Here the sign AD probably has the ideographic value of ‘father’, which is *atta* in Hurrian. Thus the name is to be read *Atta-ri-šī*, unless it is a case of scribal omission, and is, therefore, to be transliterated as *Ad-<da>-ri-šī*.

³⁹ For discussion on this element, see III.8.

4. DETERMINATIVES

The use of determinatives is very irregular in these texts.

The vertical wedge (DIŠ) is always prefixed to the masculine personal names, with certain exceptions:

a. When the name follows the word *mār* 'son of'. Thus: *^mKu-ú-zu mār Ka-ar-mi-ú*, N 1.1-2; *^mTe-ḫi-ib-til-la mār Pu-ḫi-še-en-ni*, N 1.2-3, and passim.

b. It may or may not be omitted in lists of witnesses, following the ideogram IGI (= *maḫar*) 'before' or ^{ZÁ}DUB (= *aban^akunuk*) 'seal of'. Thus: *maḫar Ta-an-ti-ia*, N 1.12; *maḫar Še-qa-rum*, N 1.13, and passim; or *maḫar ^mBal-ta-a-a*, N 7.18; *maḫar ^mAr-ḫa-ma-an-na*, N 7.18, and passim; *aban^akunuk Eḫ-li-te-šup*, N 26.32, and passim; or *aban^akunuk ^mMu-uš-te-šup*, N 1.28; *aban^akunuk ^mPi-ru*, N 1.29, and passim.

The determinative SAL⁴⁰ is always prefixed to the feminine personal name.

The determinative DINGIR⁴¹ is nearly always prefixed to ideograms representing names of Semitic deities, such as *Adda* and *Ištar*, but is always⁴² omitted⁴³ before the names of the Hurrian deities such as *Tešup*, *Ugur*⁴⁴, *Samgan*, and others. Thus we have *Mār-^dIštar*⁴⁵, N 113.37; *Mār-^dIštar*⁴⁶, N 208.15; *Gimil*^{47-^dAdda⁴⁸, N 97.21; but *Ar-te-šup*⁴⁹, G 38.2; N 12.30; *Mu-uš-te-šup*, N 2.15; 11.16, and passim; *Mil-ki-te-šup*⁵⁰, N 24.15; 35.2, and passim; *Tar-mi-te-šup*, N 4.16; 12.25, and passim; *It-ḫi-bu-gur*⁵¹, G 35.8; 40.25; *Sa-am-qa-an-mu-šal-li*, H I 10.6, etc.}

Other determinatives may or may not be prefixed to the noun; a few examples will suffice to illustrate this point:

awšl a-bu-ul-ta-an-nu 'gate keeper', H I 99.29, but *a-bu-ul-ta-an-nu*, N 258.18.

⁴⁰ Transliterated here by a raised *f*.

⁴¹ Transliterated here by a raised *d*.

⁴² With very rare exceptions.

⁴³ Cf. also Gadd RA 23 note 6, and Friedrich AfO 10. 294.

⁴⁴ This name occurs only in non-Semitic proper names. Cf. Purves NSPN

⁴⁵ IŠ₄.DAR.

⁴⁶ U. Sometimes also *Mār-Ištar* without *d*, N 64.14.

⁴⁷ ŠU.

⁴⁸ IM.

⁴⁹ Once *Ar-^dTe-šup*, N 414.2.

⁵⁰ Once *Mil-ki-^dTe-šup*, N 414.23.

⁵¹ Except in N 404.1, 7, 10, 14, 16, 23, where it is written *It-ḫi-ib-^du-gur*.

*awāl**in-qa-ru* 'farmer', H I 66.32, but *in-qa-ru*, N 239.34.

*awāl**naggaru*⁵² 'carpenter', N 290.4, but *naggaru*, N 50.27.

*awāl**na-ki-ru* 'herald', H I 87.39, but *na-ki-ru*, H I 63.10.

*awāl**sukallu*⁵³ 'official', N 135.2, but *sukallu*, H II 11.37.

*awāl**rē'ū*⁵⁴, G 80.18, but *rē'ū*, H II 11.4.

^{is}*aweḥaru*⁵⁵, N 2.5; but *aweḥaru*, N 474.8, 10.

*āl**Ta-še-ni-we*, G 50.34; H II 16.7; but *Ta-še-ni-we*, H II 84.8.

^{IM}*pa-pa-aḥ-ḫi*, N 208.7, but *pa-pa-aḥ-ḫi*, N 23.6.

*mašak**zi-ia-na-du* 'headdress', N 68.13, but *zi-a-na-tu_a*, N 139.5.

ṭupšarru is mostly written without the determinative; in N 181.16; 556.20, and 484.24, however, the scribe prefixed LÚ to *ṭupšarru*. In N 472.33, and in H II 102.43, the sign DIŠ is prefixed to *ṭupšarru*. The same determinative occurs also before the word *nu-ḫa-ti-im-me* 'bakers', H II 100.5.

The determinative KI after place-names occurs only in the letter⁵⁶ of the king *Sa-uš-ša-tar*, cf. *ā**Pa-a'-ḫa-ar-ra-še*^{KI}, H II 1.3; *ā**A-ti-lu*^{KI}, H II 1.8; *ā**la*^{KI}, H II 1.6, 21.

KI prefixed⁵⁷ to the noun (instead of being suffixed) is found twice in *ā*^{KI}*Nu-zi*, N 157.6; 414.7.

Finally, in three tablets the determinative *ālu* is written at the end of the line, and the noun is written at the beginning of the following line; thus in N 125 *ālu* is written at the end of lines 2 and 9, and *Pu-ru-ul-li-we* is set in the following lines 3 and 10; in N 255, *ālu* is written at the end of line 41 and *Te-im-te-na-aš* at the beginning of 42; in G 45 *ālu* is written at the end of line 18, and *Pir-qa-la-am-bi* at the beginning of line 19.

In N 450.6, the determinative *mātu*⁵⁸ is written at the end of the line and *Ar-ra-ap-ḫi* in the following line.

5. PLURAL

There is no difference in significance between the plural sign MEŠ⁵⁹ and the original collective sign 𒄩A, both of which are used indis-

⁵² NAGAR.

⁵³ SUKAL.

⁵⁴ SIB.

⁵⁵ APIN.

⁵⁶ Cf. Speiser, A Letter of Saushshatar and the Date of the Kirkuk Tablets, JAOS 49.269-75 (1929).

⁵⁷ For the same use of KI in Boghazköi, cf. Labat AB 14.

⁵⁸ KUR.

⁵⁹ Also in its shortened form, ME N 119.5; 462.3, and passim.

criminally to express plurality. The signs AŠ.AŠ and the dual sign MIN are not found in these tablets. The plural types found in the tablets, are the following:

a. The plural form of the noun, written phonetically without any plural determinative: *ši-bu-tu₄* ‘witnesses’, N 214.37; *ú-nu-tu* ‘implements’, H I 70.7; *tup-pa-tu₄* ‘tablets’, G 66.5.

b. The ideogram without any plural determinative: 2 *aḫū⁶⁰*, N 29.26; *ilāni⁶¹* ‘gods’, H II 19.8; 3 *šanāti⁶²* ‘years’, H II 106.17.

c. The ideogram + a phonetic complement, but without any plural determinative: *eqlāti^{ti}* ‘fields’, N 65.4; H I 88.5; *šanāti^{ti}*, H II 98.14.

d. The plural form of the noun written phonetically, + MEŠ: *ši-bu-tu₄^{MEŠ}*, H II 108.18; *tup-pa-du^{MEŠ}*, N 513.10; G 7.2.

e. The ideogram + MEŠ: *aḫū^{MEŠ}*, N 217.11; *šibūti⁶³MEŠ*, N 117.2; *eqlāti^{MEŠ}*, N 116.2.

f. The ideogram + H.I.A. : *eqlāti^{H.I.A.}*, N 202.8; *bītāti^{H.I.A.}* ‘houses’, N 234.6; *šanāti^{H.I.A.}*, H I 90.7.8.

g. The ideogram + H.I.A. + MEŠ: *eqlāti^{H.I.A.MEŠ}*, N 237.8; *bītāti^{H.I.A.MEŠ}*, N 46.8; *immerē^{H.I.A.MEŠ}* ‘sheep’, H II 53.6.

h. The ideogram + MEŠ + phonetic complement: *šibūti^{MEŠ.ti}*, N 3.16; *ilāni^{MEŠ.ni}*, N 89.10; *šeāti^{MEŠ.ti}* ‘grain’, H II 67.3.

i. The ideogram + phonetic complement + MEŠ: *šanāti^{ti.MEŠ}*, N 299.5; 546.8; G 48.8.

j. Determinative + the noun in its plural form, written phonetically, without the ideogram for the plural: *awēlši-bu-ti*, N 119.3.

k. Determinative + MEŠ + the noun in its plural form, written phonetically: *awēlūti^{MEŠ}ši-bu-ti*, N 102.2; *awēlūtu^{MEŠ}ši-bu-tu₄*, N 186.2.

l. Determinative + MEŠ + ideogram: *awēlūti^{MEŠ}daiānī* ‘judges’, N 329.4.

m. Determinative + ideogram + MEŠ: *awēlšibūti^{MEŠ}*, N 121.4; 189.3; 190.2.

n. Determinative + MEŠ + ideogram + MEŠ: *awēlūti^{MEŠ}šibūti^{MEŠ}*, H II 25.23; *awēlūti^{MEŠ}daiānī^{MEŠ}*, N 170.4.

o. Determinative + ideogram + MEŠ + phonetic complement: *awēlšibūti^{MEŠ.ti}*, N 390.6, 8.

p. Determinative + MEŠ + ideogram + MEŠ + phonetic complement: *awēlūti^{MEŠ}šibūti^{MEŠ.ti}*, H I 22.2.

⁶⁰ ŠEŠ.

⁶¹ DINGIR.

⁶² MU.

⁶³ IGI.

Finally it may be noted that the sign MEŠ is often employed to indicate a final long vowel⁶⁴, for example:

- aḫū*^{MEŠ-ti} ‘brotherhood’, N 204.1, and passim.
erā^{MEŠ} ‘bronze’, N 17.15, and passim.
ardū^{MEŠ-ti} ‘slavery’, N 446.3; 459.5, and passim.
iskiri^{MEŠ} ‘orchard’, H I 28.7; N 141.11, and passim.
māru^{MEŠ-ti} ‘sonship’, N 324.24; 365.11, and passim.
mārtū^{MEŠ-ti} ‘daughtership’, N 50.1, 4.
umallā^{MEŠ}, H I 14.16; 18.31, and passim.
sisā^{MEŠ}, N 334.12.

MEŠ may sometimes follow a short vowel:

- ṽTa-a-bu-ú-ri-tum amta*^{MEŠ} ‘T., a slave girl’, N 119.9.
ina imitti^{MEŠ} *ù šumēli*^{MEŠ} ‘to the right and left’, N 339.4.
ina arki ebūri^{MEŠ} ‘after the harvest’, N 543.4;
dá-ma^{MEŠ} ‘blood’, H II 10.9.
il-ti-in-nu-ú alpu^{MEŠ} ‘1 ox’, N 381.16.
il-qa^{MEŠ} ‘feudal task’, N 13.19.
a-na 1 imēri^{MEŠ} ‘for 1 donkey’, H I 43.25.
1 šubātu^{MEŠ} *1 immeru*^{MEŠ} *1 šaḫū*^{MEŠ} ‘1 garment, 1 sheep, 1 pig’,
 H I 76.6, 7.

A final consonant is followed by MEŠ in the following examples:

- imtū*^{65 MEŠ} ‘he died’, N 337.8.
išaqqa^{MEŠ}, N 284.22.
būt^{MEŠ.u}, H I 40.7.

That this MEŠ is often inorganic and that it is only a result of caprice on the part of the scribe may be seen from the fact that there are many tablets where MEŠ is written in one line and is omitted, in the same context, in another line, not to speak of parallel contexts of different tablets:

uš-tu iskiri^{MEŠ} *ša mE.*, N 138.3: *i-na iskiri ša mE.*, in the same tablet, line 13.

95 SU *kaspu*^{MEŠ} *an-nu-ú*, N 492.30: 95 SU *kaspu an-nu-ú*, in the same tablet, line 14.

i-na muḫ-ḫi^{MEŠ} *mE.*, N 107.12: *i-na muḫ-ḫi ša mE.*, in the same tablet, line 16.

1^{nu-du} za-ri-am maški^{MEŠ}, N 533.4, 8; *1 za-ri-am maški*^{MEŠ}, N 533.2:
1^{nu-tu4} za-ri-am maški, in the same tablet, line 10.

⁶⁴ Cf. also Klauber, Politisch-religiöse Texte 11.7; G 84 note 10, and FL 14 note to line 46.

⁶⁵ BA.UG_a.

zu-ḥa-ar-du^{MEŠ} *ša-a-šu*, H I 37.10: *zu-ḥa-ar-du ša-a-šu*, in the same tablet, line 11.⁶⁶

6. PHONETIC COMPLEMENTS

The use of phonetic complements for insuring correct reading of ideograms, or other ambiguous signs, is very common in the Nuzi tablets. The following is a list of the various forms of the phonetic complements:⁶⁷

A. The final vowel alone is very seldom added to the ideogram:

i-na pa-ni [*daiānē*]^{pl.}⁶⁸, *ina arki ebūre*⁶⁹, N 541.4; *pī*ⁱ⁷⁰, N 33.19; *ušelwū*^{u71}, N 99.26; *iraššu*^{pl.}^u, N 229.15.

B. The final syllable is very frequently added to the ideogram:

a. Consonant + vowel:

umallā^{ia}, N 27.21; *māra*^a, H II 21.16; *awēla*^{a72}, N 299.12; *irtašv*^{ti}, N 2.9; *Wa-qar-bēli*ⁱ, N 486.32; *zitti*ⁱ⁷³, N 404.5; *iddinu*^{nu}, N 14.7; *ṭupšarru*^u, N 70.27.

b. Vowel + consonant:

ibbalkat^a, N 1.12; *bēl*^{pl}, H II 20.54; *būt*ⁱ, H II 2.27.

c. Consonant + vowel + consonant:

ibbalkat^{kat}, N 10.11; *Belam*^{am}-*mu-šal-lim*, H I 52.40.

C. The phonetic complement sometimes consists of the final syllable + the preceding vowel: *iddinu*^{in-nu}, N 82.9.

D. The last two syllables are also used as complements: *ibbal-katu*^{kat-tu}, N 98.18; *šumūli*^{mi-li} ⁷⁴*šu-nu*, N 135.5.

E. The complement may also consist of the final two syllables + the preceding vowel: *ibbalakatu*^{aq-qa-tū}, H I 15.46; *iltenutu*^{en-nu-tu}, N 108.8.

F. The complements consisting of the final three syllables are very rare: *ibbalaktu*^{bā-la-ak-tū}, N 201.15.

G. The whole word is repeated after the ideogram, in *il-te-en-nu-tū*, H I 6.10.

⁶⁶ 1 *zu-ḥa-ar-du*, in line 2.

⁶⁷ For phonetic complements with the plural, see I.5.

⁶⁸ Restored on the analogy of many other tablets of the same category. Cf. N 104.1-4; 106.1-4, and passim.

⁶⁹ EBUR.

⁷⁰ KA.

⁷¹ NIGIN.

⁷² LŪ. This word is very seldom complemented.

⁷³ This word is very seldom complemented.

⁷⁴ KAB.

H. Phonetic complements to the final syllable (not to the ideogram) are found in the following words: *iš-šá-ab-bat^{at}* 'he holds'⁷⁵, N 135.19; *i-dinⁱⁿ*, N 85.15, 17; H II 25.13, and passim.

I. Phonetic complements to a syllable, in the middle of the word, occur in *Ut-ḥab^{ab}-še-en-ni*, H II 118.25; *ú-tar^{ar}-ru* 'they will return', H II 76.7, 13; 128.25; 132.9⁷⁶; *Šum^{um}-me-ia*, N 63.24; *Tub^{ub}-ki-ia*, N 38.25.

J. Phonetic complements may sometimes precede the complemented syllable: *A-qa-wa-^{ti}tíl*, H I 74.13; *Be-^{la}lam-mu-še-el-li*, H I 44.1, 5, 13, 21.

K. The use of two phonetic complements to complement two syllables separated by another syllable is very rare: *ibbalaktu^{la-ti}*, N 83.31; 85.24; *ibbalakat^{la-at}*, N 219.15.

7. DIVISION OF WORDS

A word may be divided at the end of a line and continued at the beginning of the following line:

N 49.17: *il-ku-ú ša eqli ù ^mHu-ta-bi-a-šu-*

18: *ma na-a-ši*

N 287.21: *ir-t[a-š]u-ú ú at-ta-*

22: *ma-an-nu ú-za-aq-qa-ma*

In most instances, however, the end of the word is set at the end of the next line, where it is preceded by two diagonal strokes:

N 148.18: *aban ^mTar-mi-ia mār Eḫ-li-*

[‡]*te-šup*

N 186.26: *ina ^{ai}Šu-ri-ni-we a-šar a-bu-ul-*

[‡]*li ša-ti-ir*

N 350.12: *li-gi-e-ma ù lib-bi-šu ša]-zi la te-pe-*

[‡]*it-te-me*

The same arrangement may be used when the clause is continued in the following indented line although there is no division of a word between the lines:

N 183.17: *qāt ^mBalṭu-kāšid mār*

[‡]*A-pil-Sin ṭupšarru*

N 257.21a: *ṭup-pu an-nu-ú ki-ma ^mKu-uš-ši-ḥar-be ḥa-za-an-nu*

[‡]*ina ^{ai}Nu-zi*

⁷⁵ For the meaning, see note 78.

⁷⁶ Restored.

The end of a word or of a line may be added to the end of the following line with the use of the diagonal strokes:

- N 206.43: *maḥar A-qa-la-a mār Gi-en-ni maḥar Tub-ki-iz-za*
 44: *maḥar Ilu-ma-aḥi mār Ḥa-na-an-na-a ḫmār Ar-zi[. . . .]*
 N 246.16: *maḥar Zi-li-ia mār Te-en-te-ia ša ḫkirā*
 17: *maḥar A-ri-gi-el-be mār Tub-ki-ia ḫú-še-el-wu*
 JENu 921.23: *ša ta-aq-bu. tū-ut-te-*
 24: *am-mi-ni eglu ma-a-a-ru ḫir*

8. CRASIS

Contraction, in writing, of final and initial vowels of the same quality occurs in a number of instances; cf. the following:

- i-na-ma-at-ti*, N 403.7, 8 for *i-na am-ma-ti* 'by the cubit'.
la-ša-as-si, N 482.8 for *la a-ša-as-si* 'I shall not claim'.
ù-li-ri-dú-uš, N 284.19 for *ul i-ri-du-uš* 'he shall not drive him'.
ul-li-im-g[ur], N 372.17 for *ul im-gur* 'he was unwilling'.
ú-li-ma-gur, H I 29.15; 46.22 for *ul i-ma-gur* 'he is not willing'.
ù-li-ma-gur, N 127.16.
ú-li-na-ak-ki-is, N 87.20 for *ul i-na-ak-ki-is* 'he shall not cut off'.
ù-li-ša-as-si, N 218.9 for *ul i-ša-as-si*.

9. ERRORS

Scribal errors of all sorts abound in these tablets. It will be futile to list them all here. A number of types, however, deserve special notice:

Transposition of two signs occurs in *^mA-kip-la-til*, for *^mA-kip-til-la*, N 478.3; *bītāti^{A.ḫI.pl}* for *bītāti^{ḫI.A.pl}*, N 478.7; KA.UD.BAR^{MEŠ} for UD.KA.BAR^{MEŠ} 'copper', N 402.12.

The sign GIŠ in N 28.4 belongs to line 5, before *ta-a-a-[ri]*. *an-din*, in TCL 6.20, belongs to the end of line 19, i.e., *i-[na]-an-din*. *ù* at the end of H II 99.21 should be read at the end of line 22.

Contraction of two signs occurs in *Zi-li-ib-šarri*, N 335.29, where ZI and LI share the ŠE for the second part of ZI and for the first part of LI; in *erū^{MEŠ}*, N 295.4, the vertical stroke of URUDU serves also as the first vertical stroke of MEŠ; the same mistake occurs in *bītāti^{MEŠ}*, N 295.7, where the last stroke of É serves also as the beginning of MEŠ. Contraction and corruption of the signs LI + I occur in *^{al}Tar-ku-ul-li-i-te-lu-ma*, N 344.3.

Wrong division between two signs occurs in H I 56.51, where AN + NA of the name *Ĥé-ri-ik-an-na* appears to be written as TI + QA; i.e., the first stroke of NA is joined to the sign AN. Cf., however, *Ĥé-ri-qa-an-ni*, in line 51 of the same tablet.

The most common errors are those which are due to omission of one or more wedges of a sign; a few examples will suffice to illustrate this point:

- AM for QAR, in *ma-qar-ri-e* 'wheel', H I 1.2, 10, 18.
- BI for AM, in *it-ta-am-qa-ru* 'they agreed', N 470.8.
- DI for KI, in *ki-na-at* 'depression', N 199.9.
- DIN for ŠI, in *na-ši* 'bears', N 4.11.
- ĤAL for TAR, in *Tu-ri-ki-tar*, N 79.18.
- IR for SA, in *Pu-ra-sa*, H II 36.32.
- IS for AB, in *bá-ab* 'gate', H I 69.14.
- LA for AD, in *ú-ur-ra-ad* 'he shall go down', N 490.11.
- NA for DU, in *^mŠa-ar-ra-ša-du-ni-ma*, N 101.1.
- ŠE for LI, in *i-li-ig-gi*, H II 96.13.
- ŠI for WI, in *a-wi-ḥa-ri*, N 207.4.
- UD for WA, in *Wa-an-ti-ia*, N 8.28.
- ZA for ĤA, in *Ar-ḥa-ma-an-na*, N 7.29.

Errors are due also to addition of one or more strokes to a sign. For instance:

- MUL for NAP, in *Ū-^unap-ta-e*, N 122.28.
- TE for ŠE, in *Še-en-ni*, N 201.14.
- URU for NA, in *na-aḥ-li* 'stream' N 91.6.

Errors are due to the wrong direction of one or more wedges, cf.:

- GAL for PU, in *pu-ḥi-za-ar-ru* 'exchange', N 120.22.
- GI for ZI, in *Zi-ki-ia*, N 139.13.
- PU for TE, in *Te-ḥu-ub-bi*, N 192.32.
- ŠA for i-na, in N 181.13.
- ŠE for ĤI, in *^{mat}Ar-ra-ap-ḥi*, N 179.3.

Other errors are:

- DIŠ for SAL, in *^{SAL}Ḥa-na-te*, N 333.55.
- GAL for ŠA, N 435.39.
- NA for ŠAR, in *a-šar* 'place', N 491.5.
- RU for SAR, in *DUB.SAR^{ru}*, N 66.24.
- ŠUK for ŠUR, in *Šur-ki-til-la*, N 215.19.
- Ū for i-na, in N 18.5.

Omission of whole signs is frequent:

- <ba>-aq-nu 'plucked', N 541.18.
 Du--du-ug-qa, H II 97.32.
 <DUMU>.NITAH-Sin, N 75.22.
 It-ḫa-bi-<ḫi>, N 459.1.
 Tabu^{77bu}-<gu>⁷⁸-ur, N 135.18.
 Te-ḫi-ip-til-<la>, N 205.4.

Omission of a whole word is also frequent:

- <awēlūti>, N 67.33.
 <iddin>, N 42.9.
 <inakkis>, N 85.23.
 <īpuš>, H II 20.4.
 <pāni>, N 343.3.

A whole phrase, *naddīnanu ša kaspi*, is omitted in N 486.21.

Extra signs are common:

- a-na [DIŠ] šī-i-mi, N 159.21.
 IGI [DIŠ] ^mWa-gar-bēli, N 237.19.
 Te-ḫi-ip-til-la [LA], N 366.12.
 A-[DIŠ]-kip-ta-še-en-ni, H II 27.2.

Repetitions are also common; the following are repeated in the tablets:

- ḫarraniⁿⁱ ⁷⁹, N 524.2.
 a-na, N 28.12.
 ú-ma-al-la, H I 70.17.
 i-ra-aš-ši, H I 56.29.
 ù ^mA-qa-ap-še-en-ni, H II 119.7.
 i-na e-li-en-na, N 204.10.

⁷⁷ DUG.GA.

⁷⁸ Supplied from lines 19 (*Ta-bu-gur*) and 20 (*Ta-bu-gur-ma*). Gordon's transliteration of this name (cf. RA 1936 p. 4) as ^mḫi-kà-pu-ur is inadmissible. The following may also be added to Gordon's discussion of N 135: *i-te-* is no doubt a verbal form of the root *idū*. Cf. *la ni-te-mi*, N 321.37a. *iš-šá-ab-bat^{at}* is not to be translated 'was taken' but rather 'holds' or 'retains'. Cf. N 321.17, where the same phrase occurs with the verb *ú-qa-al-lu* instead of *iš-šá-ab-bat^{at}*. Finally it may be said, that the tablet in question has nothing to do with community responsibility, as Gordon thinks, but has to do with settling the dispute with regard to the authority over the district in question.

⁷⁹ KASKAL.

CHAPTER II

THE VOWELS¹

The vowels in the Akkadian portions² of the Nuzi tablets are treated as a rule according to the Akkadian phonetic laws. As may be seen, however, from the following lists, these laws are occasionally ignored, and the result is a state of instability. This instability increases when we examine the non-Semitic elements of the Nuzi dialect, since our ignorance of the etymology in individual cases prevents a clear view of the situation. Thus interchange and apparent confusion of vowels in the proper names are very common, and although at times certain conclusions or, at least, hypotheses may seem warranted the results remain uncertain. In the matter of vowels external sources do not offer much help, because there the fluctuation of vowels within what are apparently the same words, is likewise very common.³

The various changes of the vowels are treated under the following heads:

1. *a*

Short accented *a* in a closed syllable becomes *e* under the influence of a following *i* or *e*:⁴

*te-ze-ri-ib*⁵ 'you shall press', G 28.22.

*i-qè-ib-be-ir*⁶ 'he shall bury', G 9.16, *i-qè-ib-ir-šu*, H II 22.15.

*i-ger-ri-ib-šu*⁷ 'he shall approach it', H I 67.54; *i-qè-ir-ri-ib*, N 8.16;

¹ For a full discussion of this subject, as betraying the Babylonian origin of the Nuzi dialect, cf. Kramer, *The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets*, AASOR 11.62-119.

² I. e., excluding the non-Semitic words and proper names.

³ Cf. especially Thureau-Dangin's treatment of the Ras-Shamra vocabulary in Syria (1931) 260-4, and Friedrich, *Zum Subaräischen und Urartäischen*; *Analecta Orientalia* 12.122 note 2, and 125 note 6.

⁴ And perhaps at the same time, also, under the influence of the neighbouring liquid or nasal. The only contrary example is *uk-te-ši-du-ma*, G 29.29.

⁵ For the reading of the sign ZI as *ze*, cf. SA no. 51. For *ta* > *te* see the following paragraph.

⁶ For the reading of the sign GI as *ge* or *qe*, see I.2.

⁷ For the reading of the sign QAR as *ger*, see I.2. The fact that this word is written with the aid of QAR and the following with KI (never *qa-ar*) indicates that the following examples are to be transliterated as *i-qè-ir-ri-ib*, etc.

i-qé-ri-ib, N 89.12; 216.16; *i-qé-ri-bu*, H I 71.14.

Si-ni-be-el-li-üt, N 295.2.

ú-ḥe-im-mi-iš 'he robbed', H I 47.27.

ú-qé-ri-bu, N 221.17.

*tù-še-bi-rù*⁸, N 341.14; *ú-še-bi-ir*, N 341.5, 7; *ú-še-ib-bi-ir* N 349.6, 13; *ú-še-bi-ru*, N 341.11.

uq-te-bi-ir-šu, N 59.23.

uḥ-te-im-mi-iš, H I 47.7.

uk-te-ši-du-ma 'he seized', G 29.29.

um-te-eš-ši-ir 'he has released', G 1.8⁹; 55.8; H II 110.20; 141. rev.6; *um-te-ši-ir*, N 191.11; *um-te-eš-ši-ir-mi*, H I 14.16; *um-te-eš-ir-mi*, N 120.23; *um-te-eš-še-ir*, N 113.4, 7; 116.7; *um-te-eš-ši-ru-šu-nu-ti*, G 10.18.

un-te-eš-ši-ir, N 140.13; 161.7; N 327.18; *un-te-eš-ši-ir-mi*, H I 29.5; *un-te-eš-ši-ir-šu-nu-ti*, N 78.16; *un-te-eš-ši-ir*, N 474.15; *nu-un-te-eš-ši-ir*, G 50.15; *un-te-eš-ši-ru*, N 474.19.

*un-teš-ši-ir*¹⁰, G 33.23; H II 145 rev.1.¹¹

This formulation does not apply to the following two instances:

te-ze-ri-ib, G 28.22; here an unaccented short *a* in an open initial syllable becomes *e* under the influence of the following *e*.

*Ši-ni-ki-še*¹², N 347.29, for *Sin-iqīša*.

The following instances show a curious development of *a* to *ai*:

i-ša-is-si, TCL 15.8, < *i-ša-as-si* 'he shall claim'.

ka-is-pa, N 442.6, for *kaspa* 'silver'.

Ḥa-na-iq-qa, N 465.20, alongside the more common *Ḥa-na-aq-qa*, N 93.19; 465.20.¹³

pa-iq-ra-na, N 10.13, alongside *pa-ki-ra-na*, N 1.6; 3.12, and passim.

In the non-Semitic proper names, interchange of *a* and *e* is very common.

Interchange of *a* and *e* in a medial syllable:

E-kam-a-šu, N 234.39; alongside the more common *E-kam-me-šu*, N 220.20¹⁴, and passim.

⁸ Root *šabāru*. For discussion of this root, cf. Speiser, JAOS 55.440.

⁹ Kramer's restoration of this word (AASOR 11.93) as [*un-te*]-*eš-ši-ir* is wrong. The beginning of UM is very clear. Cf. also Gadd's transliteration.

¹⁰ For the reading of TAŠ as *teš*, see I.2.

¹¹ Is the *e*-vowel in *Šin-ir-ra-me-mi* the result of the same change?

¹² Treated, perhaps, as a non-Semitic proper name.

¹³ In both instances his father is *Šeqaru*.

¹⁴ In both instances he has a son *Artešše*.

Na-iš-ge-el-be, N 14.11, and passim, alongside *Na-iš-ka-al-be*, N 217.17.¹⁵

Ša-wi-ir-na-a-a, H II 119.3, 8, and in the same tablet *Še-wi-ir-na-a-a*, line 10.

Še-eš-te-bi-a-šu, N 514.22, alongside *Še-eš-ti-e-šu*, N 83.38.¹⁶

Zi-wi-ir-ge-el-tum, H I 13.2; *Zi-wi-ir-GAL-tum*¹⁷, H I 111.2, alongside *Zi-wi-ir-qa-tum*, H I 79.2.¹⁸

Interchange of *a* and *e* at the end of a word:

A-ri-ḫar-bá, N 4.14, and passim; *A-ri-ḫar-me*, N 100.31, and passim.¹⁹

Ḫu-pí-ta, H II 18.1, 15, 29, 54; and in the same tablet *Ḫu-pí-te*, line 26.

Ki-iz-zi-ḫa-ar-ba, N 13.27, and passim; *Ki-iz-zi-ḫar-be*, N 2.18, and passim.²⁰

a changes to *i* in the following:

i-ši-sí, H I 15.41, instead of the common *i-ša-as-sí*.

ni-im-ší-tu₄, H II 29.5, alongside *nam-ší-tu₄*, H II 147 rev. 5; *na-an-ší-tu₄*, TCL 1.14, 15.

ḫu-ri-zi-ti, G 2.11, alongside *ḫu-ri-za-ti*, N 105.8.

Interchange of *a* and *i* in non-Semitic proper names is also common:

Interchange of *a* and *i* in a medial syllable:

A-ri-iq-qa-na-ri, N 63.24, and passim; *A-ri-ig-gi-na-ri*, N 62.19; 230.21.²¹

Ḫa-na-ni-ia, N 22.29; 409.26; *Ḫa-na-an-na-a-a*, N 206.49, and passim.²²

Ki-an-ni-pu, N 66.24, and passim, alongside *Ki-an-na-pu*, N 160.24.

Nam-ḫi-na-ri, N 226.41, 43; *Na-am-ḫi-na-ri*, N 209.36, alongside *Na-am-ḫa-na-ri*, H I 77.8.

*Ni-ra-aš-ši*²³, N 13.6; 467.9; *Ni-ra-aš-še*, N 55.6; 154.6, alongside *Ni-ri-iš-ši*, N 134.6; 237.6.

Pi-ra-az-za-na, H I 6.3, 11, 15, alongside *Pi-ra-az-zi-na*, in the same tablet, lines 8, 13.

¹⁵ In both instances he has a son *Piru*.

¹⁶ In both instances he has a son *Eḫluti*. For the loss of *bi*, see III.I.c.

¹⁷ For the reading of GAL as *gel*, see I.2.

¹⁸ In all instances he has a son *Artešup*.

¹⁹ In both instances his father is *Enmamilki*.

²⁰ In both instances he has a son *Alippiya*.

²¹ In both instances he has a son *Šummiya*.

²² In all instances he has a son *Ilu-ma-aḫi*.

²³ Name of a canal.

Pi-si-it-ta, N 97.7, alongside *Pi-sa-at-ta*, N 376.10.²⁴

Ta-an-ti-ia, N 1.12, alongside the more common *Ti-in-ti-ia*, N 5.32, and *passim*.²⁵

Ut-ti-za-na, N 83.9, 35; 186.17: *Ut-ti-zi-na*, N 342.19.²⁶

Interchange of final *a* and *i* in the non-Semitic proper names is also common:

El-la, H I 28.7, alongside the common *El-li*, H I 8.3, and *passim*.²⁷

Ĥé-ri-iq-an-na, H I 56.51, alongside *Ĥé-ir-qa-an-ni*, in the same tablet, line 40; and *Ĥé-ir-ri-qa-an-ni*, H I 91.36.²⁸

Ĥu-ra-az-za, H I 25.5, 9, 16, alongside *Ĥu-ra-az-zi*, in the same tablet, line 17.

It-ĥi-iš-ta, N 11.22, and *passim*, but also *It-ĥi-iš-ti*, N 410.22.

ʿQa-pu-la-an-za, H I 80.25, and *passim*, alongside *ʿQa-pu-la-an-zi*, in the same tablet, line 39.

Ṭab²⁹-ar-ra-ap-ĥa, N 378.24, alongside the more common *Ṭab-ar-ra-ap-ĥi*, N 360.18, and *passim*.

Ta-ú-ka, N 210.15; *Ta-ú-ga*, N 249.20; *Ta-ú-qa*, N 422.30, alongside *Ta-ú-ki*, N 82.19.³⁰

a changes to *u* in the following:

aš-šu-ti, H 70.3 < *aššati* 'wife'.

ur-ki 'after', G 3.32; H I 7.7; 482.7; 546.34; alongside *ar-ki*, N 546.29; *ar-ki-i*, 546.18.20.

mu-ru-uk-šú³¹, H II 114.4; 115.4; N 19.6, alongside the more common *mu-ra-ak-šú*.

Interchange of *a* and *u* in the non-Semitic proper names occurs in the following:

Pa-i-ta-e, G 8.16; 15.9; 76.14; TCL 12.16; *Pu-i-ta-e*, N 465.3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 15.

Ku-la-ĥu-bi, N 154.16, and *passim*: *Ku-lu-ĥu-bi*, N 442.11.

Wi-ir-ri-qa, N 53.3, and *passim*: *Wi-ir-ri-ku*, N 317.28, and *passim*.

a, *i*, and *u* interchange in the name *Pu-ra-sa*, H I 28.17; H II 36.32; *Pu-ru-sa*, H I 26.22³²; and *Pu-ri-sa*, H I 40.27.

²⁴ Name of a district.

²⁵ In both instances his father is *Akaya*.

²⁶ Cf. also *Ut-ta-zi-na*, N 59.3. In all instances his father is *Puitae*.

²⁷ In both instances he has a son *Akawatil*.

²⁸ In all instances his father is *Ĥupita*.

²⁹ DUG.GA.

³⁰ In all instances his father is *Ariburašše*.

³¹ On the analogy of *ru-pu-us-sú*.

³² In both instances he has a son *Ĥutipapu*.

Syncope of short unaccented medial *a* is very common in our texts. Thus, for example,³³ addition of a pronominal suffix, beginning with a vowel, to the first, second, and third persons of the present I₂ stem will cause the syncope of the preceding *a*-vowel: *al-ta-par-mi*, H I 41.21, but *iš-tap-ra-an-ni*, H I 4.6; H I 47.15; etc., while the final *u*-vowel of the plural will always cause syncope of *a*: *iš-ta-ap-ru-uš*, H I 49.8, 12, and passim (never *iš-ta-pa-ru-uš*).

Syncope of an *a*-vowel in Semitic proper names occurs in the following: *A-ta-an-ḫi-li*, N 91.21, and passim; *A-ta-an-ḫi-ili*, N 238.27, and passim, alongside *A-ta-na-aḫ-ili*, N 38.26, and passim.³⁴ *Ša-an-ša-bu*, H II 13.22; *Šá-an-ša-bu*, H II 13.31 (for *Šamaš-abu*). *Wa-ar-te-eš-tar*, H I 63.18 (for *Warad-Ištar*).

Syncope of *a* in non-Semitic proper names occurs in:

En-šuk-rum, N 5.24, and passim: *En-na-šuk-rum*, N 71.28.³⁵

Ku-uš-ša-ak-ni, H II 87.13, alongside *Ku-uš-ša-ka-ni*, in the same tablet, line 15.

*Zi-ik-ku-ur-ta*³⁶, N 436.5, alongside *Zi-ik-ku-ra-ta*, in the same tablet, line 16.

Final *a* of *tertiaef-infirmas* verbs may be dropped on the analogy of *mediaef-infirmas*; thus we have:

ú-za-ak, H I 12.25; 18.25; N 8.10; 55.13; 402.17.

ú-ma-al, H I 96.19; N 342.43.

ú-ra-ad, N 87.21.

Final *a* is lost also in *pa-ki-ra-an*, TCL 44.10, and in the non-Semitic proper name *Ši-mi-til*, H II 101.51, alongside *Ši-mi-til-la* in the same tablet, line 41.³⁷

2. *e*

The signs E, EL, EN, EŠ, BE, ME, ŠE, and TE are, as a rule, carefully distinguished from I, IL, IN, IŠ, BI, MI, ŠI, and TI. Thus whenever the preformative *i* of the third person is written separately, it is always expressed with the aid of the sign I and not with E.³⁸

³³ Because of the very frequent occurrence of syncope, no attempt at listing will be made, except for unusual instances and proper nouns.

³⁴ In all instances his father is *Nantešup*.

³⁵ In both instances his father is *Taya*.

³⁶ For the various spellings of this name, see I.3.d.

³⁷ Unless it is a case of scribal omission, which is probable.

³⁸ For interchange of E and I, as indicating a phonetic process, see the next paragraph.

Accordingly we have always *i-di-nu*, N 3.7, and passim (never *e-di-nu*); *i-ša-az-zi*, N 101.17, and passim (never *e-ša-az-zi*). The first *e* of *elēnu* is always written with E, *e-li-nu*, G 26.5, and passim (never *i-li-nu*). The third person singular preterite I₂ stem of *le'ū* 'to prevail' is always written *il-te-e*, G 35.31, and passim (never *el-te-e*).³⁹ The preposition *ištu* is invariably written *iš-tu* (never *eš-tu*). *bēl* 'master', when written phonetically, is always *be-el* (never *bi-el*). The proper name *Tehiptilla* is written thousands of times *Te-ḫi-ip-til-la*. On the other hand, *tiden-nuti* is always written *ti-de-en-nu-ti* (never *te-de-en-nu-ti*). *iltasi* appears always with the sign IL (never with EL); *eš-šu* is always written with EŠ (never with IŠ), etc.

It is evident, therefore, from the examples mentioned above, that the Nuzians were careful not to confuse the signs containing *e* with those containing *i*; it is indeed impossible to escape the conclusion that these vowels were distinct in speech. However, although *e* and *i* are in most cases distinguished from each other, the interchange of these two vowels is by no means rare. The following are some examples of interchange of *e* and *i* vowels:

a. The vowel accompanying or replacing an 'sound may be either *e* or *i*, thus:

Primaē-' roots:

e-zi-ib, H I 82.29, alongside *i-iz-zi-ib*, H I 57.14; *i-zi-ib*, N 305.8.

These forms are third persons singular of the present of *ezēbu* 'to leave'.

e-ki-im, G 2.33, alongside *i-ik-ki-im*, G 3.22. Both are third persons singular of the present of *ekēmu* 'to take away'.

i-il-li, N 266.12, alongside *i-il-li*, N 82.6; *i-li-i*, N 161.21; *i-li*, N 236.23. These forms are third persons singular of the present of *elū* 'to go up'.

e-pu-uš, G 6.13; H I 67.15; 92.16; *e-pu-šu-uš*, G 29.44; *e-ip-pu-uš*, G 51.9, but *i-pu-uš*, H I 92.16, and passim; *i-ip-pu-uš*, H I 103.8. All these forms are third persons singular of the present of *epēšu* 'to make'.

³⁹ One must be very careful not to consider the occasional interchange of *elqē* and *ilqē* (cf. *el-ki*, N 260.5, for *il-gi*), *elteqē* and *ilteqē* (cf. *el-te-gi*, G 6.6 for *il-te-gi*; *il-te-gi-mi*, N 107.20; 342.17 for *el-te-gi-mi*) a phonetic process (cf. Kramer, The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets, AASOR 11. 116, line 4), because here the interchange is not of *e* and *i*-vowels, but rather of the grammatical forms of the first and the third persons singular, which is very common in the Nuzi tablets. Cf. for example: *i-bal-qa-tu*, N 174.2 (for *a-bal-qa-tu*); *i-din*, N 106.9; 119.11 (for *a-din*); *il-ta-din*, H II 108.5 (for *at-ta-din*); *a-na-din*, N 432.8, 9 (for *i-na-din*); *i-ša-az-zi*, N 479.18 (for *a-ša-az-zi*); *il-ta-zi*, N 174.4 (for *al-ta-zi*), etc.

e-pu-ša-an-ni-ma, G 29.4; *e-pu-us-sú-ma*, N 32.4, alongside *i-pu-šu*, H I 65.2. These forms are third persons singular of the pret-erite of *epēšu*.

e-zi-id, N 550.8,10; 558.7,14⁴⁰, but *i-zi-id*, CT II 21.11, 14. Both forms are third persons singular of the present of *ešēdu* 'to harvest'.

el-ki, N 284.18, alongside the common *il-ki*, N 60.11 'feudal task'.

Mediae-' roots:

iš-pè-lu-ú, N 230.6, alongside *iš-pè-i-lu*, N 261.5;

uš-pè-i-il, N 256.4, *uš-pè-i-lu*, N 361.7; and passim; alongside *uš-pí-i-lu*, N 159.30, and passim; *uš-pí-e-lu*, N 227.4; *nu-uš-pè-il-mi*, N 152.6.

uš-te-pè-i-il, N 144.7; *uš-te-pè-il-mi*, N 165.6; *nu-uš-te-pè-i-il*, N 199.5; *uš-pè-i-lu*, N 224.5, and passim, alongside *uš-te-pè-i-el*, N 276.5; *uš-te-pí-il*, N 104.4; 114.7; *uš-te-pí-i-lu*, N 223.4, and passim; *nu-uš-te-pí-il*, N 137.6; 480.6.⁴¹

šu-pè-ul-ti, N 223.1, and passim: *šu-pí-ul-ti*, N 110.2, and passim.

šu-pè-lu-ti, N 469.6, alongside *šu-pí-el-ú-tu*, H II 53.11.

Tertiae-' roots:

il-te-e-ma, H I 47.30, and passim: *il-te-i-ma*, H I 45.6; 50.6; N 336.26; 370.43; 382.23; 392.18.

na-ši-e, N 332.38, participle of *našū*, alongside the common *na-ši-i*, N 93.15, and passim.

b. Other instances of interchange of *e* and *i* in the verb⁴² are:

i-te-pu-uš, H I 7.17, and passim, alongside *i-ti-pu-uš*, N 216.4.

ni-il-te-gi, G 50.18; *ni-il-te-gi-mi*, H I 16.14; N 3.17: *ni-el-te-gi-mi*, G 10.43; *ni-el-te-ku-ú-ni*, H I 28.8.

id-di-en, N 72.6; *i-di-en*, B 284.5; SUM^{en}, N 24.10a, alongside *id-di-in*, G II.6, 8, and passim.

at-ta-te-in, N 110.4, alongside *at-ta-din*, H I 25.6, and passim.

it-ta-di-en, N 6.6; 89.7, alongside the common *it-ta-ti-in*, H I 57.8, and passim.

The common asseverative enclitic particle indicating direct dis-course,⁴³ viz. *mi*, occurs as *me*, in the following examples:

⁴⁰ Singular form of verb with plural subject.

⁴¹ Cf. however the following irregular forms, with those listed above: *uš-ta-pa-i-lu*, N 251.4; *uš-ta-pa-i-lu*, N 282.4; and *ul-ta-pa-i-lu*, N 225.4.

⁴² The following lists are arranged in the order of verbs, nouns, and proper names, because there does not seem to exist any common phonetic law to which these changes may be ascribed (for changes of *i* to *e*, see II.2.).

⁴³ Appended to the first person, and occasionally to other persons also.

a-lik-me 'go', N 326.13.

*ik-ta-lu-û-me*⁴⁴ 'I do retain', N 345.16.

*el-te-gi-me*⁴⁵, N 110.7; *il-te-gi-me*, H II 14.8.

i-din-nam-mi-e, N 116.5; *a-na-an-ti-in-me*, N 377.17; *at-ta-din-šu-me*, H I 18.10.

i-ša-aš-šu-nu-ti-me 'make them take the oath', N 326.15.

ša-ti-ir-me, N 338.36.

*a-ša-zi-me*⁴⁶, N 110.10.

c. Interchange of *e* and *i* in the noun:

a-me-ḫa-ri, N 273.11, alongside *a-mi-ḫa-ri*, H II 116.5; N 15.6; 99.5.

*il-te-nu-tu*₄ 'one', H I 76.6: *il-ti-nu-tu*₄, N 554.3.

*il-te-il-tu*₄ 'one', H I 99.9: *il-ti-il-tù*, G 77.4.

di-te-en-nu-ti, N 294.1; 295.1, and passim: *ti-di-nu-ut-ti*, N 318.4.

taḫ-zi-el-ti 'memorandum', N 191.13: *taḫ-zi-il-ti*, N 138.23, and passim.

ki-en-na-at, N 210.6; 263.4, alongside *ki-in-na-at*, N 144.8.

ma-ru-te-i-ma, N 33.1, 4, alongside the common *ma-ru-ti*, N 1.1, and passim.

mi-e-iṣ 'large', G 48.7, alongside the usual *mi-i-zu*, G 43.13; *mi-i-za*, N 256.11; *mi-iṣ* N 259.14.

me-iṣ-ri 'boundary', N 48.6, alongside the more common *mi-iṣ-ri*, N 87.10, and passim.

ši-me 'sale', H II 74.18; *ši-i-me*, N 451.4, but *ši-mi*, G 52.12; H I 24.8, and passim.

te-ḫi 'adjoining', N 292.7, alongside *ti-ḫi*, N 28.6; 33.7.

te-li 'mound', N 28.7, alongside *ti-li*, N 223.9, and passim.⁴⁷

d. Interchange of *e* and *i* in proper names:

Semitic proper names:

¹*Be-el-ta-ak-ka-du-um-mi*, H I 25.11; ¹*Be-el-ta-aq-qa-du-um-mi*, H I 69.3; *Be-el-ta-ak-ka-ti-um-mi*, H I 25.4; ¹NIN.A.GA.DE^{KI}.AMA^{mi}, H I 25.8, but also *Be-el-ta-aq-qa-du-um-me*, H I 80.5.

⁴⁴ Third person singular for first person singular.

⁴⁵ Cf. also *ap-la-ku-mi*, alongside *a-ša-zi-me* in the same tablet, lines 8 and 10.

⁴⁶ Cf. also *ad-du-ia-me*, N 359.9.

⁴⁷ Cf. also the demonstrative pronoun *an-ni-te*, N 33.19, alongside the common *an-ni-ti*. Mention may also be made here of the Hurrian genitive-locative element *-we* which interchanges with *-wi*, as may be seen from such forms as ^{a1}*Ar-ša-li-be*, N 403.30, and ^{a1}*Ar-ša-li-bi*, N 550.7.

Ki-mi-la-ta, N 14.17, and passim: *Ki-me-la-ta*, N 50.19, and passim, and *Ki-me-il-Adda*, N 457.29.

Ki-mi-il-la-bi, N 537.7: *Ki-me-la-bi*, N 396.13.

Šu-um-mi-ia, N 5.19, and passim, alongside *Šu-um-me-ia*, N 428.25.

Non-Semitic proper names:

El-ḫi-ib-šarri, N 13.31, and passim: *Il-ḫi-ib-šarri*, N 75.18, and passim.

El-la-a-a, H I 48.9; *E-il-la-a-a*, H I 49.1, alongside *Il-la-a-a*, H I 96.3.⁴⁸

E-en-na-pa-li, N 63.1; *En-na-pa-li* N 120.3, alongside *I-en-na-pa-li*, N 203.10.⁴⁹

E-ru-ú-ia, N 201.18, alongside *I-ru-ia*, N 287.38.⁵⁰

E-eš-qa-ar-ba, N 11.17: *Iš-qar-pa*, N 71.4; 73.30.

Ḫi-iš-me-te-šup, N 213.16, alongside the more common *Ḫi-iš-mi-te-šup*.

Na-i-še-ri, G 54.4, and passim, alongside *Na-i-ši-ri*, G 54.9.

Na-iš-gi-el-be, N 72.15, and passim: *Na-iš-gi-el-bi*, N 84.13, and passim.⁵¹

Ni-iḫ-ri-te-šup, N 47.23; 276.1, alongside *Ni-iḫ-ri-ti-šup*, N 47.23.

Pu-ra-me-zi, N 89.31, alongside *Pu-ra-mi-zu*, N 301.17.⁵²

Ša-te-en-šu-nu, H II 68.3, alongside *Ša-ti-in-šu-an-nu* in the same tablet, line 10.

Še-en-na-be, N 58.28, and passim, but *Še-en-na-bi* in the same tablet, line 38.

Še-eš-te-bi-a-šu, N 514.22, alongside *Še-eš-ti-e-šu*, N 83.38.⁵³

Ši-me-qa-ri, H II 62.10, 14: *Ši-mi-qa-ri*, G 47.37, and passim.

Šu-ru-be-e-a, N 362.27, alongside *Šu-ru-bi-ia*, N 345.23.

Te-ḫi-pa-pu, H II 12.43, and passim, alongside *Ti-ḫi-pa-pu*, H I 64.14.⁵⁴

Final *e* is dropped in *Ša-at-na-ap*, G 51.30, alongside *Ša-at-na-am-pè*, TCL 8.21.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ In all instances he has a son *Šuriḫil*.

⁴⁹ In the last two instances his father is *Ḫutiya*.

⁵⁰ In both instances his father is *Zikaya*.

⁵¹ In both instances he has a son *Piru*.

⁵² In both instances he has a son *Taya*.

⁵³ In both instances he has a son *Eḫluti*.

⁵⁴ In both instances his father is *Niḫriya*.

⁵⁵ In both instances he has a son *Akkulenni*.

3. *i*

i may become *e* under the influence of a following *r*:

i-qè-ib-be-ir, G 9.16;

um-te-eš-še-ir, N 113.4, 7; 116.7; 117.7; alongside *um-te-eš-ši-ir*, G 1.8, and passim.

ša-te-ir, H I 59.26; *sa-te-ir*, N 102.42; 116.15; 117.14, alongside *ša-ti-ir*, H I 17.31, and passim.

be-ri-šu-nu, N 78.26; 98.17, and passim, but *bi-ri-šu-nu*, N 8.17; 39.7, and passim.

be-ir-me-šu-nu, N 314.4, alongside *bi-ir-mu-šu-nu*, H I 6.16.

la-be-ri 'old', H I 4.16; 18.19; *la-be-ri-i*, N 383.46, alongside *la-bi-ri*, N 361.38, and passim.

i changes to *u* in the word *li-wu-uz-zu-nu* 'their circumference', H II 41.2 (cf. *li-wi-iz-zu-nu*, N 265.8), probably on the analogy of the common *-utu* forms of the abstract nouns.

The change of *e* to *u* in the Semitic proper name *Mār-uš-ri* (for *eš-ri*) 'son of (the) 20(th day)', N 222.30, (cf. *Mār-iš-ri*, N 238.25, and passim; both sons of Ḥamanna) is probably to be explained on the analogy of 'uššuru 'ten', which was used in Nuzi for the cardinal numeral.

Interchange of *i* and *u* in the non-Semitic proper names is very common. The most probable assumption therefore would be that Hurrian had an intermediate sound *ü*, which could be expressed in cuneiform writing either by signs containing *i* or by those containing *u*.⁵⁶

i/u in the beginning of the word:

In-ku-ra, H II 83.4, alongside *Un-ku-ra*, H II 16.3.⁵⁷

It-ḫa-pu, N 47.3, 11, 12, alongside *Ut-ḫa-pu*, N 89.3, 6, 7, 12, 15.⁵⁸

It-ḫi-ip-til-la, N 4.15, and passim, alongside *Ut-ḫi-ip-til-la*, N 22.19, and passim.⁵⁹

i/u in the middle of the word:

Ḫi-ta-ar-ra-ap-ḫi, N 40.1, alongside the more common *Ḫu-tar-ra-ap-ḫi*, N 78.4, and passim.

⁵⁶ Interchange of *u* and *i* occurs also in the Hurrian of Ras-Shamra. Cf. *sa-r[i]-ti*, RS II 5: *šu-ru-ti*, RS II 4; *ka-r[i]-we*, RS II 8: *ka-ru-we*, RS II 9; *tu-bu-e*, RS II 23: *ti-bu-šu*, RS I 21.

⁵⁷ In both instances his father is *Ḫadue*.

⁵⁸ In both instances his father is *Ḫašiya*.

⁵⁹ In both instances his father is *Dubkiya*.

*Ki-ri-il-li*⁶⁰, H I 95.7, alongside the more common *Ku-ri-il-li*, H I 20.13; 82.10; 95.14; H II 95.5.

I-ri-ia, N 65.29, alongside the more common *I-ru-ia*, N 287.38, and passim.⁶¹

ʾMu-ti-p[a-al-ti], N 431.2, alongside *ʾMu-du-pa-al-ti* in the same tablet, line 13, and *Mu-tu-pa-aš-ti*, N 501.25.

Ū-šir-me RA 28.1.49, alongside the more common *Ū-zu-ur-me/i*, N 13.34, and passim.⁶²

i/u at the end of the word:

A-kap-tug-gi, N 35.6, and passim, alongside *A-kap-tuk-ku*, N 57.30.

E-na-bi, N 118.25, alongside *E-na-bu*, in the same tablet, line 31.

E-ra-ti, N 92.30, and passim, alongside *E-ra-tu*, H II 113.22.⁶³

Pu-un-ni, N 48.33, alongside [*Pu-un*]-*nu* in the same tablet, line 26.

Pu-ra-me-zi, N 89.31, alongside *Pu-ra-mi-zu*, N 301.17.⁶⁴

Qa-ri-ri, H I 67.51, alongside the more common *Qa-ri-ru*, H I 46.5, and passim.

Ta-a-a-ni-(we), H II 70.6, alongside *Ta-a-a-nu* in the same tablet, line 21.

Ur-ku-ti, N 342.21, alongside *Ur-ku-tu₄*, N 186.15.21.⁶⁵

Zi-en-ni, H I 22.20, and passim, alongside *Zi-en-nu*, H I 79.39, and passim.⁶⁶

Syncope of short unaccented medial *i* is very common in these texts, as for example in the permansive I₁ stem, *ḥa-ši-iḥ-šu-nu*, H I 80.29, but *ḥa-aš-ḥu*, H I 79.20; preterite I₁ third person singular of *nadānu* is mostly *i-ti-na-aš-šu*, H I 84.9, but also *id-na-aš-šu*, H I 80.27; I₂ *it-ta-din*, H I 33.13, and passim, but always *it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu*⁶⁷, N 5.10, and passim, etc.

⁶⁰ Name of a month. For the names of the months of the Nuzi Calendar, see Gordon, in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 15.253-7.

⁶¹ In both instances his father is *Zikaya*.

⁶² In all instances he has a son *Urḫiya*.

⁶³ In both instances his father is *Aḫiya*.

⁶⁴ In all instances he has a son *Taya*.

⁶⁵ In all instances he has a son *Ḫuparša*.

⁶⁶ In all instances he has a son *Mutta*.

⁶⁷ Kramer (AASOR 11.95, 193) is wrong in taking *id-da-na-aš-šu*, N 11.9, and *id-da-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*, N 31.12, as forms of I₁ stem. There is no doubt that these forms are of I₂ with assimilation of *d* to the following *n*.

Syncope of *i* in proper names occurs in the following:

Ad-ma-ti-il H I 10.2; *A-ad-ma-ti-ili*, N 214.2, for *adi-mati-ili*.

¹*Be-el-ta-ak-ka-ti-um-mi*, H I 25.4, and passim, for *Bēlit-akkadi-ummi*.

Ni-ra-ar-til-la, N 435.45, alongside *Ni-ra-ri-til-la*⁶⁸, N 83.36.

*Si-ir-ra-me-ni*⁶⁹, N 467.50; *Si-ir-ra-mi-ni*, N 192.22 alongside ^d*Sin-ir-ra-me-ni*, H I 57.20.

*Si-ir-ri*⁷⁰, N 457.17, alongside ^d*Sin-ir-ri*, in the same tablet, line 31.⁷¹

*Du-uš-ma-na*⁷², N 79.18; 447.29, alongside *Du-um-ši-ma-na*⁷³, N 85.34.

^a*Šu-ur-ni-we*, N 181.13, alongside ^a*Šu-ri-ni-we*, N 116.3; 186.26; 219.18.

Final *i* of the *tertiaefirmarum* verbs is dropped only in one instance, on the analogy of *mediaefirmarum*:

i-sa-aš, H II 119.15; *i-sa-as*, N 155.15; for *išassi*.

4. *u*

Long accented *u* becomes *i* or *e* in the following:

ma-ar-ti-ti, N 465.8, for the common *ma-ar-tu-ti*, H I 17.4, and passim.

ri-ḫi-ti 'remainder', H I 6.15; *ri-ḫé-ti*, N 404.12, for the common *ri-ḫu-ti*.

Short accented *u* in a closed syllable becomes *i* in the following:

e-pi-iš-mi, H I 1.16; *e-pi-iš-ma*, N 361.12.

⁶⁸ In both instances his father is *Ḫupita*.

⁶⁹ The phonetic process was probably *Sinirameni* > *Sinrameni* > *Sirrameni*.

⁷⁰ The phonetic process was probably *Siniri* > *Sinri* > *Sirri*.

⁷¹ One must not assume at present that the apparent loss of *i* after the verbal element of the Hurrian proper names is the result of syncope: (1) we as yet know nothing about the word-accent in the Hurrian language; (2) it seems very probable that the desiderative element *ib/p* (with frequent loss, or assimilation, of its labial component to the following consonant) may or may not have been added to the one and the same proper name. Thus we have three forms of the following names: *A-ri-ib-ku-šu-uḫ*, N 260.17; *A-ri-ku-šu-uḫ*, N 242.19; and *Ar-ku-šu-uḫ*, N 76.26; *A-ri-ib-lu-ub-ti*, N 75.20; *A-ri-il-lu-um-ti*, H I 12.1; and *A-ru-um-ti*, H I 13.23; etc. For the phonetic changes involved in this name see under III.5.A.g, B.b, 6.m, 7.A.b, B.

⁷² For *Dubšimana* > *Du(š)šimana* > *Dušmana*. For the assimilation of *b*, see III.5.A.h.

⁷³ In the second and third instances he is the son of *Tehitešup*.

Short unaccented medial *u* changes to *i* in the following:⁷⁴

Ši-ni-be-el-li-it, N 295.2, for *Šin-uballit*.⁷⁵

ḫi-ra-pu ‘young sheep’, H II 49.4; 138.4, N 536.6, for the more common *ḫu-ra-pu*, H I 38.4; 82.10, and passim.

ki-ni-šu ‘a sort of grain’, N 84.8, for the more common *ku-ni-šu*, H II 124.5.

Syncope of unaccented short medial *u* occurs in the following proper names:

Tu-uk-li-lu, H II 38.9; 102.7, alongside *Tu-ku-ul-ilu*, N 66.19; 273.22.

Šú-up-ra-^dAdda, N 270.22; 460.13, alongside *Šú-pur-^dAdda*, N 72.11.

Šu-ul-ma-at-ta, N 75.18; *Šu-ul-ma-ta*, N 76.24.⁷⁶

5. ANAPTYCTIC VOWELS

An anaptyctic vowel is inserted at times between two consonants.

a. *a*-vowel:

^dNer-ra-gal, G 39.7, for *Nergal*.

qa-sa-qa, H I 91.25, for the common *qa-aš-qa*.⁷⁷

^{ai}Tar-pa-z[a]-ḫ[é]-na, RA 28.5.1, alongside *^{ai}Tar-ba-az-ḫé-na*, RA 28.5.9, and *Tar-pa-áz-ḫi*, RA 28.4.2.

b. *i*-vowel:

mu-še-li-mu, N 426.22, for the common *mu-še-el-mu*, N 46.32, and passim.

šu-pí-i-li-ti, N 253.1; 273.1, alongside *šu-pè-el-ti*, N 230.1, and passim.

c. *u*-vowel:

Du-ru-šarri, N 559.27, for the common *Du-ur-šarri*, N 75.15, 24, and passim.

šu-pí-i-lu-ti, N 28.1; alongside the common *šu-pí-il-ti*, N 110.2, and passim.

⁷⁴ For the same change in the Hurrian of Ras-Shamra, cf. the borrowed Akkadian noun *suluppu* ‘dates’: RS *zi-lu-um-pa-ni-we*, RS II 12 (Syria 1931).

⁷⁵ For the change *a* to *e* see II.1.

⁷⁶ Is the apparent loss of *u* in *Ḫa-al-še-en-ni*, N 410.2 (cf. *Ḫa-lu-še-en-ni* in the same tablet, line 9) the result of a process of syncope, or is it parallel to what we discussed in note 71 above? (Cf. *Te-ḫu-ub-še-en-ni*, N 38.39, and passim.)

⁷⁷ For discussion of this subject, cf. Speiser, ST I, JAOS 52.362-6.

6. CONTRACTION OF VOWELS

Although contraction of two heterogeneous vowels is in many instances accomplished, uncontracted forms, both of the noun and of the verb, are by no means rare:⁷⁸

i-te-li-aš-šum-ma, N 195.7, but *uš-te-la-an-ni-mi*, N 333.11.

il-gi-ú, H II 70.10; 76.4; 78.9; 85.9; 88.12; 91.10, alongside *il-ku-ú*, G 56.22; H I 90.14, and passim.

il-te-gi-ú, H II 69.7; 72.6; 73.5; 83.7, alongside *il-te-ku-ú*, G 15.9; H I 20.14, and passim.

ú-ma-al-la-ú, N 255.39, alongside *ú-ma-al-lu*, N 38.24; 40.23, and passim.

iq-ta-bi-ú 'they spoke', H II 18.30, alongside *iq-ta-bu-ú*, H I 15.7; N 3.17, and passim.

1 *la-li-ú*, H II 52.2.

Šu-ul-mu-ad-da, N 215.21, alongside *Šu-ul-ma-at-ta*, N 75.18; 76.24, and passim.

⁷⁸ However, cf. Kramer, AASOR 11.83 note 122.

CHAPTER III

THE CONSONANTS

A close connection between the script of the Nuzi tablets on one hand and that of the Tushratta letters from Tel el-Amarna and of the documents of Boghazköi, on the other, has already been noticed in the chapter on Orthography. This relationship becomes still closer, however, and indeed extends beyond the mere form of script, when we examine the manner in which the writers of these documents chose to express consonantal variations within their respective dialects.

1. CONFUSION OF STOPS

The most characteristic common phenomenon, which occurs frequently in Amarna, Boghazköi, and Nuzi, is the constant graphic confusion between the voiced and the voiceless stops, so that a word containing either stop may be written with signs representing only voiced or only voiceless stops. Thus, to give one example of each type, we have:

Confusion of velar stops: the word *gamar* 'end' is written *ga-ma-ar*, H I 96.7; *gamir* (of the same root) is written *ka-mi-ir*, H I 76.31, while *uzakka* 'he shall clear' is written either *ú-za-ak-ka*, N 167.8; 323.17, and *passim*, or *ú-za-ag-ga*, N 109.9; 122.13, and *passim*.

Confusion of dental stops: the word *iddinu* is written *i-di-nu*, N 3.7; 206.47, and *passim*, but also *it-ti-nu*, H I 64.5; N 202.10, and *passim*; while *irtašī* is written either *ir-ta-ši*, H I 55.18; N 367.13, and *passim*, or *ir-da-ši*, H I 68.17.

Confusion of labial stops: the word *ibbalakatu* is written *i-ba-la-ka₄-tu₄*, H I 58.14; N 217.3, and *passim*, but also *ip-pa-la-ka₄-tu*, H I 30.27, 30, and *passim*; while *uštapaišu* is written either *uš-ta-pa-i-lu*, N 282.4; *ul-ta-pa-i-lu*, N 225.4, or *uš-ta-ba-i-lu*, N 251.4.

The same confusion is found also in the expression of the Hurrian proper names; one example of each interchange will suffice for purposes of illustration:

Ga-ti-ri, H I 64.3, but also *Ka-ti-ri*¹, H I 62.4.

Du-ra-ri, N 217.23, but also *Tu-ra-ri*, H I 7.36.

Ba-i-te-šup, H II 20.3, alongside *Pa-i-te-sup*², H II 19.3.

The same confusion of voiced and voiceless stops, and indeed with the same general preference as in Nuzi for signs representing voiceless stops, occurs also in the Hurrian letter of Tushratta and in the Hittite documents from Boghazköi. In the case of the Tushratta letter Bork³ assumed that the Hurrians of Mitanni had only one set of stops, and on the basis of the writing he concluded that these stops were voiceless. Weidner⁴ came to the same conclusion with regard to Hittite, except that he suspected the stops of being voiceless lenes.

On the other hand, the Akkadian texts of Cappadocia reveal exactly the opposite tendency, in that they reflect a preference for voiced stops. It was assumed, then, that⁵ the confusion between the voiced and the voiceless stops was due to the same linguistic substratum both in Cappadocia and in Boghazköi.

However, if it is true that the preference for the signs containing the voiceless stops is due to the existence of only one set of stops (voiceless) both in Cappadocia and in Boghazköi, why is it that the Cappadocians preferred the signs representing the voiced stops instead of those which represent the voiceless, which is more natural?

It seems to me that no true picture of the pronunciation of the stops could be established on the basis of script alone. Indeed, there is some evidence in the Nuzi tablets to the effect that both voiced and voiceless stops existed side by side, at least in the case of the labials. This may be gathered from the fact that the Akkadian labial stop *b* and some labial stops of Hurrian interchange⁶ not only with the voiced labial spirant *w*, but also with the voiced labial nasal *m*, thus indicating beyond any doubt that the (aspirated?) labial stop must have been voiced. To this may be added the fact that the Akkadian⁷ voiceless labial stop *p* never interchanges with either *w* or *m*.

¹ In both instances he has a son *Akuya*.

² In both instances he is the slave of *Šilwitešup*.

³ Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*, MVAG 14.14-9.

⁴ *Studien zur Hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipziger Semitistische Studien 7.25.

⁵ Cf. Sturtevant, CGHL 67.

⁶ For examples see under III.5.D-G.

⁷ Nothing can be deduced, in this connection, from the Hurrian words and proper names, because at present it is impossible to determine (except in cases where *b* and *m* interchange) whether a given labial was originally voiced or voiceless.

New evidence in favor of this suggestion may now be drawn from the Hurrian texts of Ras-Shamra that are written in an alphabetic script. In these texts there are certain known Hurrian words containing a stop, which are consistently written with a sign representing a voiced stop, while others are consistently written with a sign representing a voiceless stop.⁸ It is therefore probable that the Hurrians of Mitanni, Boghazköi, Nuzi, and Kanesh also had two sets of stops which were, nevertheless, different from those of Akkadian. When the cuneiform script was taken over by these groups, they were unable to differentiate among the Akkadian voiced, voiceless, and emphatic stops respectively. This probably led them to favor certain signs and to discard others, so that eventually only one set of signs came to enjoy the greatest vogue in one locality, while another set became the rule elsewhere.⁹

The emphatic sounds *g*, *t*, and *ṣ* were not separately indicated in Nuzi; the Nuzians did not perceive the difference between them and *k*, *t*, *s*. This is proved not only by the fact that words containing these sounds are mostly written with signs representing the simple sounds, but also by the absence¹⁰ of the signs which, in correct Akkadian, represent the emphatic sounds only.

2. THE GLOTTAL STOP

The sign for the glottal stop occurs very seldom in the Nuzi tablets. When it does occur, however, it does not necessarily represent the glottal stop, but is, more often, the variant of the sign having the values $A\bar{H}$, $I\bar{H}$, $U\bar{H}$.¹¹

Thus we have:

pu-u'-ṣu 'his substitute', N 313.8, 11, alongside of and for *pu-uh-ṣu*.

A-ri-ku-ṣu-u', N 313.19, and *Ar-ku-ṣu-u'*, N 76.26, alongside *A-ri-ku-ṣu-uh*, N 242.19, and *passim*.

E'-li-te-ṣup, N 474.15, 25, alongside *Eh-li-te-ṣup*, in the same tablet, lines 13 and 20.

⁸ For the latest discussion of this subject, cf. Friedrich, *Zum Subaräischen und Urartäischen*, *Analecta Orientalia* 12.128-31.

⁹ The fact that in Hittite voiceless stops were written double, and originally voiced stops single (Sturtevant, CGHL 73-86), does not invalidate this suggestion, because it is altogether possible that single and double consonants were meant to express voiced and voiceless stops respectively. Cf. the Hebrew Masoretic system where the presence or absence of a dot in a letter shows whether the consonant is a stop or a spirant.

¹⁰ With the exception of QA which represents any velar stop in these texts. For ŠI, cf. under I.2.

¹¹ Cf. SA n. 204.

Hi-il-pi-iš-šu-u', N 471.3, 8, alongside *Hi-li-pi-iš-šu-uh*.

Ni-i'-ri-ia, N 250.3; 313.14, alongside the more common *Ni-iḫ-ri-ia*, N 250.8, 13, and passim.

Ta-i-in-šu-u', N 226.38, alongside the more common *Ta-i-in-šu-uh*.

The following words only are written with 'sign with etymological justification:

'*A-ḫi-ia*¹², N 79.19.

'*a-ḫu-ú*, N 406.4.

'*a-ḫu-ti*¹³, N 99.1.

i-li'-e, N 497.12.

il-te'-e-ma, H I 17.16.

However, in spite of the fact that the 'sign is not common in the tablets from Nuzi, there are some indications that in many instances the glottal stop was actually pronounced. This is especially true in the case of the double-weak (mediae-' and tertiae-w/y) verbs. All forms of these verbs are thus written with an additional vowel-sign which often represents a heterogeneous vowel. Thus of the root *ba'ū* 'to search' we have the following forms:

ú-ba-a-mi, N 397.8; *ú-ba-a-aš*, N 8.12; *mu-be-ú*, N 397.12; and *bu-ú-i*, N 397.9.

In the form *ú-ba-aḫ-ḫa-ma*, SMN 7.20, the ' is expressed in the same way as in the Code of Hammurabi, proving conclusively that it was actually pronounced.¹⁴

The most common form of the root *le'ū* 'to prevail' is *il-te-e*, G 35.31, and passim, the final *e* of which does not indicate that the preceding vowel is long, but that it is to be read independently, as in *ilte'e*. That this is so, is proved by the fact that this form is also written with an *i*-vowel, as in *il-te-i-(ma)*, H I 45.6; 50.6; N 336.26; 370.43₄; 382.23¹⁵, and twice with the 'sign, as seen above.

The following are the forms of the root *re'ū* 'tend, pasture': *e-ri-ú-šu-nu-ti*, TCL 12.17; *i-ri-ú-ma*, N 124.16; *i-ri-ú-šu-nu-ti*, TCL 12.12; *ri-i-e*, H II 31.3.

Of the mediae-infirmæ verbs the derivatives of the root *p'l* seem to preserve the glottal stop consistently. The following are forms that occur in our tablets:

¹² A proper name.

¹³ In *[tu]p-pi 'a-ḫu-ti*. Cf., however, *aḫ-ḫu-ti* in line 4.

¹⁴ For *ḫ*-signs as used to express ' , in Amarna, cf. BA (1910).42.

¹⁵ The loss of the *e/i* vowel in *il-te-(ma)*, G 37.6; H I 43.23; 48.33; N 348.36, must be due to analogy with the tertiae-infirmæ verbs like *išmē*, etc.

iš-pè-i-lu, N 261.5; *iš-te-pi-i-il*, N 222.24, and passim; *uš-pè-i-il*, N 256.4; *uš-pi-i-lu*, N 159.30, and passim; *uš-pè-i-lu*, N 361.7, and passim; *uš-pi-e-lu*, N 227.4; *nu-uš-pè-il-mi*¹⁶, N 152.6; *uš-pè-ul*¹⁶, N 255.7; *uš-pè-ú-lu*, N 486.4; *uš-te-pè-il-mi*¹⁶, N 165.6; *uš-te-pi-i-lu*, N 223.4, and passim; *uš-te-pè-i-el*, N 276.5; *nu-uš-te-pi-i-il*, N 199.5; *uš-pè-i-lu*, N 224.5, and passim; *uš-ta-pa-i-lu*, N 251.4, and passim; *ul-ta-pa-i-lu*, N 225.4.¹⁷

The noun of this root behaves in the same manner, thus:

šu-pi-ul-ti, N 110.2, and passim; *šu-pi-el-ú-tu*, H II 53.11; *šu-pi-ú-lu-ti*, N 282.1; *šu-pi-i-li-ti*, N 253.1; 273.1; *šu-pè-ú-ul-ti*, N 284.5, and passim; *šu-pè-ul-ti*, N 223.1, and passim.¹⁸

3. VELARS

The velar stops were strongly aspirated by the Nuzians. This may be proved by the frequent interchange of *k* and *ḫ* in our tablets:¹⁹

'Ka-al-lu-ti, N 471.1, alongside *'Ḫa-lu-ti*, G 82.26; *'Ḫa-lu-ú-ti*, N 505.10.

Qa-na-ag-ga, N 236.24; 467.48, alongside *Ḫa-na-ag-ga*²⁰, in the same tablets, lines 40 and 57 respectively.

Ki-iš-me-ia, N 415.36, alongside *Ḫi-iš-me-ia*²¹, in the same tablet, line 41 and N 68.1, 10, and passim.

Ku-du-ia, SMN 214.20, alongside *Ḫu-du-ia*, SMN 397.7.

Ku-pa-ar-ša, N 342.21, alongside *Ḫu-pa-ar-ša*²², N 186.15, 21.

¹⁶ The fact that a change in vowel occurs after the vowel accompanying the *p*, indicates that a glottal stop was pronounced between the two vowels.

¹⁷ Of all these forms which have a vowel sign, or a sign beginning with a different vowel, after the vowel accompanying the *p*, only the following exceptions may be quoted: *iš-pè-lu-ú*, N 230.6; *uš-te-pi-il*, N 104.4; 114.7; *nu-uš-te-pi-il*, N 137.6; 480.6. The fact that after the *pi*-syllable a new syllable begins with a vowel, may indicate a glottal stop.

¹⁸ Exceptions are only *šu-pè-lu-ti*, N 469.6; *šu-pè-el-ti*, N 230.1, and passim. Cf. end of preceding note.

¹⁹ For interchange of *k* and *ḫ* in the Highland Zone, cf. Speiser, *Mesop. Orig.* 142-3. For the same interchange in Hittite, cf. Sturtevant, *CGHL* 72. The writing of ^{aiš}ḪUL for ^{aiš}KUL in the Sumero-Hurrian vocabulary from Ras-Shamra (cf. Syria 12. 237, 247. 23-5) is probably due to the same aspirated pronunciation of *k*. For the same interchange in the Akkadian texts of Boghazköi, cf. Labat, *AB* 32-3 and footnote 33.

²⁰ In both instances his father is *Šekaru*.

²¹ In all instances his father is *Ithišta*.

²² In both instances his father is *Urkutu*.

Gu-ši-ḥar-be, N 46.23; *Ku-uš-ši-ḥar-be*, N 13.22; 31.37, alongside *Hu-uš-ši-ḥar-be*²³, SMN 13.7, 9, 15, 16.

ʼ*Al-la-i-wa-ak-ri*, SMN 1227.1, alongside ʼ*Al-la-i-wa-aḥ-ri*, SMN 113.7, and passim; ʼ*Al-la-i-wa-a'-ri*²⁴, SMN 209.5.

The final *k* of the name *Wu-ur-du-ru-uk*, N 18.27, is dropped in *Wu-ur-du-ru*²⁵, N 405.26.

In the following names the consonant represented by *ḥ*-signs was in all probability a mere aspirated *h* and not a fricative *ḥ*. This is suggested by the fact that in them *ḥ* may interchange with a vowel; it is often lost at the end of the word and when followed by another consonant:

Ta-mar-ta-ḥi, N 417.1, alongside the very common *Ta-mar-ta-e*, N 51.20; 58.21.

A-ri-ku-šu-uḥ, N 242.19; 270.25, alongside *A-ri-ku-šu*²⁶, H I 64.15; N 220.21; *A-ri-ku-šup*²⁷-*we-e*, N 550.2.

Gu-ur-pa-za-aḥ, N 124.6; 204.3, alongside *Gu-ur-pa-za*, N 255.27.

Interchange of *ḥ* and *r*²⁸ occurs in the names *Wi-ir-ra-ri* son of *Na-al-du-ia*, G 28.23, and *Wi-ra-aḥ-ḥé* son of *Na-al-du-ia*, N 73.2, 13, 16; ʼ*Hi-in-zu-ri*, 78.3; 163.8, and *Hi-in-zu-ḥi*, N 320.24.

Dissimilation of double velar stops to nasal + stop occurs in the following:

i-ma-an-gur, H I 29.15, 37; 46.22; N 198.17; 348.35a; alongside *i-ma-gur* (= *imaggur*), N 375.11; 379.15, 21, 29. *i-ma-an-gur-ru*, N 360.45, alongside *i-ma-gu₆-ru-uš*²⁹ (= *imagguruš*), H I 49.28.³⁰

²³ In all instances he is the *ḥazannu* of Nuzi.

²⁴ For the sign A' as representing AḤ, see III.2.

²⁵ In both instances he has a son *Kudugga*.

²⁶ In both instances he has a son *Taya*.

²⁷ No doubt pronounced as *šuw*, before the following *we*.

²⁸ Is *Taḥ-mi-ia* the same as *Tar-mi-ia*? Was this a voiced velar spirant? For this sound in Hurrian, cf. Ginsberg and Maisler, JPOS 14.244-5.

²⁹ This is no doubt a present form. Kramer's translation ('he was willing', The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets AASOR 11.87) and classification of this form as preterite singular, lacks foundation.

³⁰ The break in]-*un-ki-ma*, N 363.31, is probably to be restored as [zu]-*un-ki-ma* for *zukkima* with a dissimilation of *kk* to *nk*.

4. DENTALS

With the exception of the confusion of voiced and voiceless stops³¹, the treatment of dentals is the same as in all other Akkadian dialects. The main changes of the dentals are as follows:

a. Assimilation of *t* to the preceding *s*, *š*, *z*³² occurs in the following *t*-infixd verbal forms of initial *s/š/z* roots:

az-za-kar-šu-mi, N 333.20.

iz-za-ak-ra-an-ni-ma, N 333.10; *iz-za-ak-ra-an-na-ši*, N 324.14a;
iz-za-ka₄-ar-šu-nu-ti-mi, N 324.49.

aš-šá-ba-sú, N 389.8; *aš-šá-ba-as-sú-mi*, N 138.5.

iš-šá-bat, N 397.16; *iš-šá-ba-at*, H I 5.27; *iš-ša-ab-bat^{at}*, N 135.19;
iš-ša-bat-mi, N 331.15; *iš-šá-ba-sú*, N 343.8; *iš-šá-bat-sú-nu-ti*, H I 47.11.

iš-šá-ab-du, N 397.11; *iš-šá-ab-du-šu-nu-ti³³*, N 391.11.

us-si-im-mi-iḫ-šu-mi, N 348.8.

us-si-im-mi-ḫu-un-ni-ma, G 29.10.

b. Assimilation of *d* to the following *m*:

ma-di-im-mi, N 365.29, for *madidmi* 'it is measured'.

c. Assimilation of *d* to the following *n*:

it-ta-n[a-a]m-mi, N 333.37; *it-ta-na-aš-šu* 'he gave to him', N 11.9, for *ittadnaššu*; *it-ta-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*, N 31.12.

d. Dissimilation of *dd* to *nd*:

ni-ma-an-da-ad-mi, N 365.44; *i-ma-an-da-du-ma*, N 386.40.

ta-na-an-da-šu-mi 'you shall drive him', N 355.43; *i-na-an-du-ka₄*, N 344.24.

a-na-an-din, H I 1.9; 2.8, and passim.

i-na-an-din, H I 69.11; 73.40, and passim.

ni-na-an-din, TCL 46.29.

i-na-an-din-nu, H I 15.38; 16.19, and passim.

in-di-in, G 4.7; H I 90.7; N 95.8.

in-di-nu, N 295.21.

*ma-an-du₄*³⁴ 'large', N 11.4.

mi-in-dá-ti 'measure', H II 19.16; 20.22; N 4.4a; 45.5; 60.6; 287.12; 328.18; 383.7; 486.14. *mi-in-dá-ti₄*, N 30.6; 34.5; 54.6; 409.4; 415.5; *mi-in-dá-a-ti*, N 425.5.

³¹ Cf. above, under III.1.

³² See also the discussion under III.8, and Kramer, AASOR 11.73.

³³ Plural suffix for the singular. Cf. Speiser, FL AASOR 10.35, note 30.

³⁴ *ma'du* > *mādu* > *maddu* > *mandu*.

mi-in-dá-at, H II 18.19; N 286.12.

mi-in-dá-as-sú, N 9.19, alongside *mi-dá-sú*, H I 81.8.

mi-in-dá-sú-nu, H II 21.7.

na-an-di-na-nu, N 29.36, alongside the common *na-di-na-nu*, N 4.25, and passim.

Be-li-in-dì-na, H II 93.1.

^d*Sin-in-dì-na*, H I 37.21.

e. Final *d* is dropped in the name *Balṭukāšid*:

Bal-tu-qa-ši, N 123.18; *Bal-du-ka-ši*, N 525.36; *Bal-du-uq-qa-ši*, N 63.34, alongside [*Bal*]-*du-qa-ši-id*, N 258.19; *Bal-tu_a-ga-ši-id*, N 260.22; [*Ba*]-*tu-qa-ši-id*, N 406.29.³⁵

Finally it may be said that the final dental stop of verbs or nouns before the *s* of the pronominal suffix of the third person singular or plural, may either remain or change to *s*. Thus we have such forms as:

aš-šá-ba-as-sú-mi, N 138.5, but also *i-šá-bat-sú-ma*, TCL 10.22, and *iš-šá-bat-sú-nu-ti*, H I 47.11, and passim; *aššat-šu*, H II 25.4, but also *a-ša-as-sú*, H I 7.13; 27.8, and passim.³⁶

The dento-liquid sound *tl*³⁷ which is found throughout the Zagros range, and in Hatti, is found here in the Hurrian month-name:

im-bu-ur-tal-an-ni, H I 89.39, alongside *im-bu-ur-ta-an-ni*, H I 2.11; H II 99.16; 106.15.

5. LABIALS

The problem of the voiced and voiceless labial stops has been discussed above.³⁸ The possibility that these were also³⁹ aspirated⁴⁰, or perhaps even spirantized, may be indicated by the fact that the labial stop *b* in the word *baqnu* may be represented⁴¹ by *w*, while the labial spirant *w* in proper names (Akkadian and Hurrian) and in the Hurrian genitive particle *-we*, may be represented by *b*.

³⁵ The last three forms (with the *d*) must be learned forms, as may be seen from the fact that they are all written by the scribe *Balṭukāšid* himself.

³⁶ For the change of *š* to *s*, see above, under III.8.

³⁷ For discussion of this subject, cf. Speiser, ST JAOS 53.26, note 39, and Mesop. Orig. 28, 100, 123.

³⁸ Cf. above, under III.1.

³⁹ As in the case of the velars, for which see III.3.

⁴⁰ For the same phonetic process in the Hurrian of Ras-Shamra, cf. Thureau-Dangin, VR 251 ff.

⁴¹ For reference, cf. the lists which follow in text.

Of all consonants the labials show the greatest variety of changes, as may be seen from the following:

A. Total assimilation of *b* to the following consonant:

a. Before *g/k*:

A-ri-ku-šu-uh, N 222.18; 439.19; *A-ri-ik-ku-šub-we-e*, N 550.2, alongside *A-ri-ib-ku-šu-uh*, N 260.17.⁴²

Duk-ki-til-la, H II 86.14; 540.4; 549.7, alongside *Dub-ki-til-la*⁴³, H II 89.3, 13; 98.5, and passim.

Duk-ku-ra-aš-še, SMN 2229.18, alongside *Dub-ku-ra-aš-še*, H II 28.26; 41.4.

Ši-ir-wi-ki-a-še, H I 59.11, alongside *Ši-ir-wi-ib-ki-a-še*, SMN 352.88.

b. Before *h*:

A-ri-ḥar-bá, N 4.14; 30.16, and passim, alongside *A-ri-ib-ḥar-be*, SMN 2582.4.

c. Before *d*:

A-ri-il-lu-dì, H II 98.2, alongside *A-ri-ib-lu-ub-dì*⁴⁴, N 75.20.

d. Before *t*:

Te-ḥi-it-te-šup, N 477.29, 31.

It-ḥi-til-la, N 4.29; alongside the common *It-ḥi-ib-til-la*⁴⁵, in the same tablet, line 15; 12.20, and passim.

e. Before *m*:

e-ir-ru-um-mi, H II 1.15, 18.

tù-še-ri-im-mi, N 397.24.

ú-še-ri-im-mi, N 397.19.

a-ši-im-mi, N 498.5.

*ú-ga_s-al-la-ma*⁴⁶, G 43.15.

it-ta-al-im-ma, H I 43.15.

f. Before *n*:

El-ḥi-in-na-mar, H I 26.16.

*Hu-ti-in-na-wa-ar*⁴⁷, H I 40.24; *Hu-ti-na-mar*, H I 79.35.

⁴² In the first and last instances he is the son of *Akabtae*.

⁴³ In the first reference of each instance he is the father of *Hutiya*. In the others it is a name of a district.

⁴⁴ *Lubdi* is a name of a city. That it is also a name of a deity may be seen from this name, which means 'May Lubdi give'. For the phonetic changes involved in this name, see I, end of note 71.

⁴⁵ In all instances his father is *Tubkiya*.

⁴⁶ For discussion of this verb, cf. Kosehaker, NKRA 132.

⁴⁷ For interchange of *m* and *w*, cf. III.5.L.

It-ḥi-in-na-mar, N 103.15; 304.2, and passim; *It-ḥi-in-na-wa-ar*, N 323.23; 364.42, and passim.

g. Before *l*:

A-ri-il-lu-um-dì, H I 12.1, 12, 18; 13.17; *A-ri-lu-um-dì*, H II 98.2; *A-ri-il-lu-dì*, H I 12.24.30, alongside *A-ri-ib-lu-ub-dì*, N 75.20.

h. Before *š*:

*Du-uš-ma-na*⁴⁸, N 79.18; 447.29, alongside *Du-um-ši-ma-na*⁴⁹, N 85.34.

Ḥu-ti-iš-ši-mi-qa, TCL 4.5; N 370.50; *Ḥu-ti-ši-mi-qa*, G 66.7; H I 83.6, alongside *Ḥu-ti-ib-ši-mi-qa*, G 75.7.

Še-lu-še-en-ni, TCL 8.4, alongside *Še-lu-ub-še-en-ni*, TCL 7.30.34.

B. Change of *b* to *m* occurs in the following:

a. Before *k*:

Du-um-ki-ti-ir-we, G 16.4.

b. Before *d*:

A-ri-il-lu-um-dì, H I 12.1, 12, 18; 13.17; *A-ri-lu-um-dì*, H I 12.24, 30; *Ar-ru-um-dì*⁵⁰, H I 13.23, alongside *A-ri-ib-lu-ub-dì*, N 75.20.

A-ri-im-du-ri, H I 11.1, for **Arib-duri*.

^a*Lu-um-dì*, N 204.5; 255.20, ^a*Nu-um-dì*, JENu 939.8⁵¹ alongside ^a*Lu-ub-dì*, H I 14.2; N 25.6.

c. Before *n* (a partial assimilation):

^l*El-ḥi-im-ni-nu*, SMN 429.4, alongside ^l*El-ḥi-ib-ni-nu*, N 505.5.

^l*El-ḥi-im-nu-zu*, SMN 184.7; 535.7, alongside ^l*El-ḥi-ib-nu-zu*, SMN 1273.3.

^l*Ḥa-ši-im-nu-zu*, SMN 347.37; 625.11, alongside ^l*Ḥa-ši-ib-nu-zu*, SMN 1273.1.

Ut-ḥa-am-ni-ra-ri, TCL 6.38, alongside *Ut-ḥa-ab-ni-ra-ri*, H I 59.33.

d. Before *š*:

Du-um-ši-ma-na, N 85.34; 514.18, alongside *Du-uš-ma-na*, N 79.18; N 447.29 (cf. ft. 48).

^l*Šur-qum-ša-i-ú*, SMN 665.6, alongside ^l*Šur-ku-ub-ša-a-ú*, SMN 133.70.

Te-ḥu-um-še-en-ni, H I 58.19, alongside *Te-ḥu-ub-še-en-ni*, N 38.39; N 112.12, and passim.

⁴⁸ For *Dubšimana* > *Du(š)šimana* > *Dušmana*. For the loss of *i*, see II.3.

⁴⁹ In the second and third instances he is the son of *Tehitešup*. For the partial assimilation of *b*, see III.5.B.d.

⁵⁰ For the change of *l* to *r*, see below, under III.7.A. This is no doubt **Ar-lubdi* (without the desiderative element *ib*).

⁵¹ For the change of *l* to *n*, see III.7.D.

C. Dissimilation of *bb* to *mb* occurs in the following:

in-na-am-bi-it, N 192.18.

im-ba-al-kit-ma, SMN 2495.6.

hu-um-b[u]-la-ku-mi, N 119.7.⁵²

Dissimilation of labials (*bb* or *pp*) occurs also in the following non-Semitic proper names;

Ar-ru-um-pa, H I 27.11; N 461.9, 18, and passim, alongside *Ar-ru-pa*, N 419.31, 32.⁵³

Hu-um-pa-til, G 44.2; H II 31.13; 36.25, alongside *Hu-up-pa-til*, H I 28.19; *Hu-pa-til*, H I 81.34.

Qa-am-pa-tu₄, N 257.28; 270.23, and passim; *Qa-am-pa-du*⁵⁴, N 556.20, alongside *Qa-ba-tu₄*, H I 68.4.⁵⁵

Ša-at-na-am-be, TCL 8.21, alongside *Ša-at-na-ab*, G 51.30.

D. *b* becomes *w* in:

wa-aq-nu, N 128.9; *w[a]-aq-nu*, N 128.14, alongside the common *ba-aq-nu*, H I 18.14; 24.18, and passim.

E. *b* interchanges with *m* in the following:

Ba-at-ti-ia, N 256.38, alongside the common *Ma-at-te-ia*, G 43.1; *Ma-ti-ia*, G 4.17, and passim.

A-ri-ba-at-qa, N 552.5, alongside the common *A-ri-ma-at-qa*, N 214.28; 227.3, and passim.

A-ri-ḫar-bá, N 4.14; 30.16, alongside *A-ri-ḫar-me*, N 100.31⁵⁶; G 24.3; *A-ri-ḫar-me-e*, N 40.27; *A-ri-ḫar-mi*, G 42.17.

F. *w* becomes *b*⁵⁷ in the following:

mu-še-el-bu-ú, N 13.30; alongside the common *mu-še-el-wu-ú*, N 11.19; 112.24, and passim; *mu-še-el-mu-ú*, N 74.36; 97.25.

Bá-qar-bēli, SMN 2179.2, 3, alongside *Wá-qar-bēli* N 125.17; H I 56.8; H II 115.28, 29.

Ir-bi-šarri, SMN 2212.27, 32, alongside the common *Ir-wi-šarri*, G 4.6; 36.14, and passim.

Hu-i-[ib]-ir-bi, N 265.3, alongside *Hu-i-ib-ir-wi*, N 72.10; *Hu-ib-ir-wi*⁵⁸, N 242.18; 422.31.

⁵² Dissimilation of *pp* in the Sumeru-Hurrian vocabulary from Ras-Shamra occurs in *Zi-lu-um-pa-ni-we* < Akk. *suluppu*, RS II 12.

⁵³ In the last two instances he has a son *Urḫiya*.

⁵⁴ Written BU.

⁵⁵ In all instances he has a son *Tayauki*.

⁵⁶ In all instances above his father is *Ennamilki*.

⁵⁷ For the same change in other Akkadian dialects, cf. HS 51.

⁵⁸ In all instances he is the father of *Tauka*.

¹*Ni-ši-ir-bi*, N 435.5, 11, 14, 16; *Ni-si-ir-bi*, N 44.3, 5, 7, 9.

The Hurrian genitive-locative element *-we* may sometimes become *-be*:

²*Ar-ša-li-be*, N 403.30; ²*Ar-ša-li-bi*, N 550.7.

Ki-ib-te-šup-be, N 310.8 (but *A-ri-ik-ku-šup-we-e*, N 550.2).

Ku-[du]-uq-qa-be, N 367.5.

G. *w* interchanges with *b* in the following:

a. At the beginning of the word:

bu-ru-uḫ-li, N 13.9, for the more common *wu-ru-uḫ-li*; N 167.8; 261.8, and passim.

Bal-la-qa-a-a, N 281.31, 39 alongside *Wa-al-la-ka-a-a*, N 212.36.

Be-ra-aḫ-ḫi, N 216.41, alongside *Wi-ir-ra-aḫ-ḫé*, N 73.2, 13, 16, and passim.

b. In the middle of the word:

Qa-bi-en-ni, H I 63.13; *Qa-bi-in-ni*, H I 57.21, alongside *Qa-we-en-ni*, N 79.19; *Qa-wi-in-ni*, N 60.20, and *Qa-i-in-ni*, N 56.2, 10, 12, 14, 30.

c. At the end of the word:

Na-iš-gi-el-be, N 1.25; 80.12, and passim, alongside *Na-iš-gi-el-we*, N 44.34; 70.40.

Na-aš-bi, N 47.18, alongside *Na-aš-wi*, N 89.30; 301.15.

H. *w* becomes *m* in the following:

il-mu-ú, N 44.32; 51.34; alongside *il-wu-ú*, H I 61.14.

ú-še-el-mu-ú, N 74.36; 97.25, and passim, alongside *ú-se-el-wu-ú*, N 11.19; 112.24, and passim.

mu-še-el-mu-ú, H I 90.16; N 17.30, and passim, alongside *mu-še-el-wu-ú*, N 48.30; 68.31, and passim.

li-me-iz-zu-nu, G 31.6, alongside *li-wi-iz-zu-nu*, N 265.8.

Aḫ-ma-qar, N 88.18, 26, alongside *Aḫu-wa-qar*, N 342.49.

Ma-qar-bēli, N 118.22, alongside *Wa-qar-bēli*, N 125.17; H I 56.8; H II 115.28, 29.

Ilu-na-mi-ir, N 407.29 (for *Ilu-nāwir*).

A-ri-ki-ir-me, H I 37.27; *A-ri-ki-im-ri*⁵⁹, H I 37.23 (for **Arik-irwi/iwri*).

Ar-ša-mu-uš-[qa], N 412.7; *Ar-ša-m[u-u]š-qa*, N 76.25, alongside *Ar-ša-wu-uš-qa*⁶⁰, N 242.20; 267.26.

⁵⁹ For this name, cf. Speiser, FL 72, note a. For the transposition of *r* and *m*, see III.9.c.

⁶⁰ In all instances he is the father of *Ninuari*.

Ni-nu-ma-ri, N 253.38; 412.7, alongside *Ni-nu-a-ri*, N 76.25; 97.14.⁶¹

^{māt}*Nu-ul-lu-ma-a-a-i*, L 33.38; ^{māt}*Nu-ul-lu-ma-i*, L 34, alongside ^{māt}*Nu-ul-lu-a-i*, TCL 46.27; ^{māt}*Nu-ul-lu-a-i-ú*, H I 8.9; ^{māt}*Nu-ul-lu-a-ú*, N 297.37.

I. *w* occasionally drops in the following positions:

a. At the beginning of a word:

ar-ka₄-nu, H I 32.6; H II 108.15, and passim, alongside *wa-ar-ka₄-nu*, N 324.31.

^ʾ*Iš-ta-an-zu*, G 62.5, alongside of ^ʾ*Wi-iš-ta-an-zu*, G 61.1.

b. Between a consonant and a vowel:

*mu-šel*⁶²-ú, H II 102.37, alongside *mu-še-el-wu-ú*, N 48.30; 68.31, and passim.

*šu-ú-li-i*⁶³, H II 1.9.

c. Between two vowels:

im-ma-ti-e, H I 85.11; 86.11, alongside the common *im-ma-ti-me-e*⁶⁴.

li-it, N 3.6; 4.4, and passim, for *liwit*.

^Ḫ*u-i-te*, N 524.3, alongside ^Ḫ*u-bi-te*⁶⁵, G 6.14.⁶⁶

^{ai}*Pu-ḫi-še-en-ni-e*, G 53.30, alongside ^{ai}*Pu-ḫi-še-en-ni-we*, N 320.19.

Qa-i-in-ni, N 56.2, 10, 12, 14, 30, alongside *Qa-wi-in-ni*⁶⁷, N 60.20.

^Š*arrur^u-li*, H II 106.39, alongside ^Š*arru-mu-li*⁶⁸, H I 12.28; 79.34.

Še-eš-ti-e-šu, N 83.38, alongside *Se-eš-te-bi-a-šu*, N 514.22.

J. *m*⁶⁹ becomes *b* in:

a-bu-ur-ri 'west', G 34.5.

⁶¹ In the first and fourth citations he has a son *Muššenni*; in the second and third he is the son of *Aršawušqa*.

⁶² For the reading of SAL as *šel*, see I.2.

⁶³ Cf. Speiser, JAOS 49.272, note 9.

⁶⁴ The phonetic process was *ime* > *iwe* > *ie* (= *e?*).

⁶⁵ The phonetic process was probably *ubi* > *uwi* > *ui*, or *ubi* = *uwi* > *ui*.

⁶⁶ In both instances he is the son of *Giliya*.

⁶⁷ In all cases he is the son of *Ḫulukka*.

⁶⁸ The phonetic process was *umu* > *uwu* > *ū* or *umu* = *uwu* > *ū*. In all instances he is the father of *Gelšu*.

⁶⁹ Only the phonetic changes of *m* in connection with other labials, are discussed here. For other changes of *m*, see under III.6.

K. *m* becomes *w* in:

a-wa-tu₄, G 1.18; 62.13; *a-wa-ti*, N 204.22; 255.37; 366.43, alongside *a-ma-te-šu-nu*, N 321.13.

L. Interchange of *m* and *w* occurs in the following:

In the word *a-me-ḫa-ri*, N 273.11; *a-mi-ḫa-ru*, N 15.6; *a-mi-ḫa-ri*, H II 116.5; N 99.5; alongside *a-we-ḫa-ri*, N 84.4; 201.4, and passim.

In Hurrian proper names, both at the beginning of the word, as in *ʾMi-ni-ir-ki*, N 552.10, alongside of *ʾWi-ni-ir-gi*, N 82.1, 3, 8, 10; and in the middle of the word:

A-ga-ma-di-il, N 552.16, alongside *A-qa-wa-til*, G 6.1; 15.15, and passim.

A-ri-ma-a-al-te, N 133.16, alongside *A-ri-wa-al-ti*, N 503.7; *A-ri-wa-al-ti-ú⁷⁰*, H II 21.21.

Ar-na-ma-ar, H I 65.16; *Ar-na-mar*, H I 29.23, alongside *Ar-na-wa-ar*, H I 2.18.

E-kam-a-šu, N 234.39; *E-kam-me-šu*, N 220.20; *E-kam-mi-šu*, N 225.19, alongside *E-ka-wa-šu*, H II 114.21.

Ḫa-ši-gi-ma-ar, N 72.7; *Ḫa-ši-gi-wa-ar*, N 386.48.

Ḫu-ti-na-mar, H I 79.35; alongside *Ḫu-ti-in-na-wa-ar*, H I 40.24.

It-ḫi-in-na-mar, G 32.33; N 103.15; 304.2, alongside *It-ḫi-in-na-wa-ar*, G 32.9; N 323.23; 364.42.

Ša-du-gi-mar, N 484.28, alongside *Ša-du-gi-wa-ar*, N 443.1.

Ša-du-[gi]-mi, N 173.2, alongside [Š]*a-du-gi-wi*, N 177.1; 293.3.

6. NASALS

*m*⁷¹

The *m* of *mūšābu* becomes *n* by regressive dissimilation, in spite of the fact that it remains in all the other Akkadian dialects⁷²: *nu-ša-bi-šu*, TCL 1.5.

The word *nēmēlu* has both forms: *ni-me-li*, H II 154.6, and *me-me-li*, in the same tablet, line 3.

Total assimilation of *m* to the following consonant takes place:

Before *q*: *i-ku-ut-mi*⁷³, N 350.8 for *im-qu-ut-mi* 'it fell'.

Before *d*: *ad-da-ad-mi*⁷⁴, N 365.45, for *am-da-ad-mi* 'I have measured'.

⁷⁰ *ti-ú* = *tiw* < *tiwe*?

⁷¹ For changes of *m* in connection with labials, see under III.5.

⁷² Cf. Ungnad, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik* (1925) §27 III β, and note 1.

⁷³ Probably through *inqutmi*. That this word is derived from *maqātu* is proved by *in-ta-ku-ut*, in the same tablet, line 19.

⁷⁴ Through *andadmi*?

Before *t*: in the non-Semitic proper name, *Ar-te-tum*, N 255.5, alongside *Ar-te-im-tum*⁷⁵, in the same tablet, lines 14, 25, 35.

Assimilation of *m* to the position of a following *t*, *s*, *š*, occurs in the following:⁷⁶

Before *t*:

in-ta-lu, G 48.17, alongside the more common *im-ta-lu-ú*, H I 81.6; 82.14, and passim.

un-te-el-li-ma, N 185.14; 254.14; *ú-un-te-el-li-ma*, N 299.7.

in-ta-ku-ut, N 350.19, alongside *im-ta-ku-ut-ma*, N 335.19.

un-te-eš-ši-ir(mi), H I 29.5; N 474.15; *un-teš*⁷⁷-*ši-ir*, G 33.23; H II 145 rev. 1; *un-te-eš-ši-ir-šu-nu-ti*, N 78.16; *nu-un-te-eš-ši-ir*, G 50.15; *un-te-eš-si-ru*, N 474.19, alongside *um-te-eš-si-ir*, G 1.8; H II 110.20, and passim; *um-te-ši-ir*, N 191.11; *um-te-eš-ir-mi*, N 120.23; *um-te-eš-še-ir*, N 113.4, 7; 116.7; 117.7.

The change of *m* to *n* before *t* occurs in a Semitic proper name:

^d*Šamas*⁷⁸-*ma-ši-in-ti*, N 503.6 for ^d*Šamas*-*ma-šimti*,

and in the following non-Semitic proper names:

^ʿ*A-ri-in-tu-ri*, H II 76.4, alongside ^ʿ*A-ri-im*⁷⁹-*du-ri*, H I 11.1.

*Ar-nu-un-dì*⁸⁰, N 321.68, alongside *Ar-nu-um-dì*, N 134.13; *Ar-ru-um-dì*, H I 13.23; 56.2; and passim. *A-ri-il-lu-um-dì*, H I 12.1, 12, 18; 13.17.

^{ai}*Te-in-te-wa*, N 212.5; ^{ai}*Te-en-te-wa*, N 415.13, alongside ^{ai}*Te-im-te-na-aš*⁸¹, N 2.6; 255.42; 478.12; ^{ai}*Te-im-te-na*, H I 69.15; N 29.5, and passim.

⁷⁵ *Temtu/e* is a name of a city (cf. ^{ai}*Te-im-te-na-aš*, *Te-in-te-we*, etc.) as well as of a deity, as may be seen from this name which means 'Temtu gives'.

⁷⁶ Such writings of the name *Ta-an-ki-ia* (H II 109.32) as SIG₅.GA-*ia* (in the same tablet line 45) show that the adjective *damqu* was pronounced *danqu*, with partial assimilation of *mq* to *nq*.

⁷⁷ For the reading of TAŠ as *teš*, see above, under I.2.

⁷⁸ UTU.

⁷⁹ From *ib*.

⁸⁰ From *Ar-nu-um-dì* < *Arlubdi*. For the change of *l* to *n*, see under III.7.B. The original of this name is undoubtedly *A-ri-ib-lu-ub-dì* (cf. N 75.20), as may be seen from the fact that *A-ri-il-lu-um-dì* is written in the same tablet as *Ar-ru-um-dì* (H I 13.17, 23), while another *Ar-ru-um-dì* is the same person as *Ar-nu-um-dì*. Thus we have the following phonetic changes: *Ariblubdi* > *Arillubdi* > *Arillumdi* > *Arnumdi* > *Arrumdi*.

⁸¹ The form of the name is *Te-im-te* + the genitive-locative element *-we*. For the particles *na* and *aš* in place names, cf. Speiser, *Mesop. Orig.* 140 and 146 respectively.

Before *š*:

šu-un-šu, G 12.16; H I 37.5a, and passim, alongside *šu-um-šu*, N 546.21; *šum-šu*, H I 67.6.

mi-im-mu-šu-un-šu, H I 72.22, alongside *mi-im-ma-šu-um-šu*, G 5.10; N 118.15.

in the proper name *Ša-an-ša-bu*⁸², H II 13.22; *Šá-an-ša-bu*, H II 13.31.

Before *ṣ*:

na-an-ṣí-tu₄, TCL 1.14, 15, alongside *nam-ṣí-tu₄*, H II 147 rev. 5; *ni-im-ṣi-tu₄*, H II 29.5.

Final *m* is dropped in the name *Be-^lam-mu-še-el-li*, H I 44.1; *Be-la-mu-šel*⁸³*li*, N 2.93.9, alongside *Be-lam-mu-šel-lim*, N 13.14.

Interchange of *m* and *n* occurs in the proper name *Mu-ša-bu*, N 35.18; 427.24, 28; 464.14; *Nu-ša-bu*, N 257.29; 428.25.

n

A. *n* becomes *l* in *māiḪa-lì-gal-bat*⁸⁴, H II 17.2; *māiḪa-lì-gal-bat*, SMN 2491.12; *Ḫa-lì*, H II 34.3, alongside *Ḫa-ni-gal-bat*, H I 35.5; *Ḫa-ni-kal-bat*, H I 63.3.

B. *n* becomes *r* in the non-Semitic proper name *Nu-pa-na-ri*, H I 7.35, alongside the common *Nu-pa-na-ni*, H I 48.2; N 354.40⁸⁵, and passim.

C. Complete assimilation of *n* to the following consonants occurs:

a. Before *g*: *i-ga₅-am-ma-ru*⁸⁶, N 182.8; *i-ga₅-am-ru*⁸⁷, N 469.9, alongside *i-na ga₅-ma-ar*, H I 10.14; 96.7; N 128.7.

b. Before *k*, in all preterite forms of primae-*n* verbs followed by *k*:⁸⁸ *ik-ka₄-a-ru-ti*, N 318.5, alongside *in-ka₄-ru*, H I 54.2; N 239.34, and passim.

c. Before *q*: *St-iq-qu-ra-dá*⁸⁹, N 436.16; *St-iq-qu-ur-dá*⁹⁰, N 436.5;

⁸² For *Šamaš-abu*, with syncope of the *a*-vowel.

⁸³ For reading of SAL as *šel*, see under I.2. For the change of *a* to *e*, see II.1.

⁸⁴ For a full discussion of this name, and the interchange of *n* and *l*, cf. Speiser, Mesop. Orig. 95, 111, 123 note 13, 135, 144.

⁸⁵ In both instances he is the father of *Eḫlipapu*.

⁸⁶ For *in(a) gamar*.

⁸⁷ With syncope of medial *a*.

⁸⁸ Forms of *ikkis*, *ikkir*, etc., are numerous. Therefore no listing will be attempted here.

⁸⁹ I.e., *Sin-qurādu*. Cf. *Šamaš-qa-ra-ad-da*, H I 47.44.

⁹⁰ For the syncope of *a*, see II.1.

H II 100.30, 46; *Sí-qu-ur-dá*, H I 81.31, 38; *Sí-iq-qu-ur-^dAdda*⁹¹, H I 12.32; *Sí-iq-qu-^{<ur>}-^dAdda*, H I 12.27, alongside *^dSin-qur-ta*, H I 38.28, 32, and *^dSin-([!]sik)kurratu*.^{91, 92, 93}

d. Before *p*: *ip-pa-na*⁹⁴, N 160.11; *ip-pa-na-ma*, N 176.4; 196.4; *ip-pa-na-an-nu-um-ma*, H I 12.2; 18.3; *ip-pa-na-tum*, N 206.8, alongside *i-na pa-na-nu*, H I 21.4; *i-na pa-na-nu-um-ma*, N 105.10.

e. Before *d*, in preterite forms of the verb *nadānu*, with very few exceptions, as: *in-di-in*⁹⁵, H I 90.7; *in-di-nu*, H I 33.8.

f. Before *t*, in all *t* infixes primae-*n* verbs:⁹⁶

*at-ti-ḫi*⁹⁷, N 321.37, alongside *a-na ti-ḫi*, N 28.6; 33.7, and passim.

g. Before *m*:

ad-di-mi, H II 31.4; alongside *ad-din-mi*, H I 84.12.

id-di-mi, H I 53.26; *id-di-mi*, N 373.9; *li-id-di-ma*, H I 106.15, alongside *i-din-mi*, N 383.18, 34, and passim.

n[i-d]i-im-mi, N 3.19, alongside *ni-id-din-ma*, N 200.10.

a-na-an-di-ma, H II 36.21, alongside *a-na-an-din-mi*, G 29.18; 52.18, and passim.

i-na-di-im-ma, N 298.8, alongside *i-na-an-di-in-ma*, H I 80.30; N 289.15.

at-ta-di-mi, N 373.7, alongside *at-ta-din-mi*, H I 10.9; 17.13, and passim.

ta-at-ta-di-mi, H I 53.30, alongside *ta-at-ta-din-mi*, N 105.23.

it-ta-di-mi, N 388.28; alongside *it-ta-din-mi*, N 137.13; 149.10, and passim.

am-mi-ni, N 329.9.

i-muḫ-ḫi, H I 288.10, alongside *i-na muḫ-ḫi*, N 224.17; 245.5, and passim.

h. Before *r*:

*ir-ra-ma-ni-ia*⁹⁸, N 78.23.

*Sí-ir-ra-me-ni*⁹⁹, N 199.22; 467.50, alongside *^dSin-ir-ra-me-ni*, H I 57.20.

Sí-ir-ri, N 457.15, alongside *^dSin-ir-ri*, in the same tablet, line 31.

⁹¹ IM. For the use of ideograms in their phonetic value, see I.3.

⁹² GIŠ.SAG.KUL.

⁹³ In all instances (except N 436.5,16) he is the son of *Takkia*.

⁹⁴ For *ina pana*, with syncope of *a*.

⁹⁵ Which, however, may be a back-formation: *indin* > *iddin* > *indin*.

⁹⁶ Forms like *ittadin*, etc., are numerous, and no listing will be attempted here.

⁹⁷ For *ana ṭiḫi*, with syncope of *a*.

⁹⁸ For *ina rāmānia* with syncope of *a*.

⁹⁹ For this name cf. also II. 1, and note 11.

i. Before *š*:

at-ta-di-šu-ma, H I 26.5, alongside *at-ta-din-šu-me*, H I 19.10.

it-ta-di-iš-šu, H I 35.6.

it-ta-di-iš-ši, G 35.17; *it-ta-di-iš*, H I 47.17; *it-ta-di-šu-nu-ti*, N 120.8; alongside *it-ta-din-šu-nu-ti*, N 252.17.

ra-ma-aš-šu, N 295.12; 301.8, *ra-ma-aš-ša*, N 434.20, and passim, alongside *ra-ma-an-šu*, N 304.6; 316.13, and passim.

Also in the non-Semitic proper name *E-ša-ku*, N 518.16, alongside the more common *En-ša-ku*¹⁰⁰, N 272.36; 278.8.

D. Assimilation of *n* to *m* before a following *b* is found in the name *Im-bi-ili-šu*, N 208.6; *Im-bi-ili*, N 341.23; 343.24, alongside *In-bi-ili-šu*, N 552.19; *In-bi-^dAdda*, N 367.18; 375.37.

E. Final *n* is dropped in the following:

li-id-dì, H I 104.16¹⁰¹; 106.14.

ni-id-dì, H I 27.5.

i-na-an-di, G 1.13; N 40.12, 15; 49.13; 404.27; *i-na-an-dì*, H I 92.4, 7, 13, 15; N 403.25.

it-ta-ad-di, N 403.21.

Šarru-Sí, H I 99.36, alongside *Šarru-^dSin*¹⁰², N 324.43; *Šarru-^dSin*, H I 43.9; N 448.21.¹⁰³

F. In the following words and proper names it is, as yet, impossible to determine whether the nasal is original or a resultant of dissimilation:

^{ai}Du-ur-za-an-zi, N 339.3, alongside *^{ai}Dūr-za-zi*¹⁰⁴, N 330.7.

e-ma-an-duḥ-li-e, N 494.1, alongside *e-ma-du-uḥ-lu*, H I 92.9.

ma-an-za-at-tu-uḥ-lu, H I 27.4.14; *ma-an-za-d[u-uḥ-l]u*, TCL 26.5; *ma-an-za-at-tu-uḥ-[lu]*, G 35.36, alongside *ma-za-tu-uḥ-lu* H I 39.13, 16; H II 12.12, 28, and passim.

Qa-an-ki, H I 48.37, alongside *Qa-ak-ki*, H I 48.8¹⁰⁵, and passim.

Ša-te-ki-in-tar, H I 48.4; N 90.11; 232.24, alongside *Ša-te-ki-tar*, H I 47.41.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ In both instances his father is *Šellapai*.

¹⁰¹ Undoubtedly to be read thus. Gordon's reading (*Analecta Orientalia* 12.169) of H I 104.16 as *^{aw}ru-li-il-ti* is wrong. The correct reading is *^{aw}zišangu li-id-di*.

¹⁰² For this name, cf. Götze, *Muršilis*, MVAG 38.226 (1933).

¹⁰³ For the possibility that the final *n* of *ba-di-in*, N 465.10, may reflect the changed pitch in a conditional sentence, cf. Speiser, *JAOS* 55.441, note 33 (1935).

¹⁰⁴ For discussion of this name, cf. Albright, *BASOR* 59.9, and Speiser, *JAOS* 55.440,

¹⁰⁵ In both instances he has a son *Akabtuggi*.

¹⁰⁶ In all instances his father is *Durikintar*.

Ta-i-in-šu-uh, N 338.15, alongside *Ta-i-šu-uh*, in the same tablet, line 41.

Ta-an-ki-ia, H I 18.40; 33.29, alongside *Ta-ki-ia*, H I 15.55; 20.2; 81.32.¹⁰⁷

Ta-an-ta-ú-a, N 202.31, alongside *Ta-ta-ú-a*, N 5.27¹⁰⁸, and passim.

Tu-ri-ki-in-tar, H I 48.4; N 90.11, alongside *Tu-ri-ki-tar*, H I 47.41.¹⁰⁹

Un-te-šup, N 428.18, alongside *Ú-te-šup*, N 508.20.¹¹⁰

Wa-an-tar-ki-in-tar, N 186.13, and passim, alongside *Wa-an-tar-ki-tar*, N 85.7, and passim.

7. LIQUIDS

A distinctive feature of the Nuzian phonetics, which is also common throughout the Zagros range and the Hatti lands¹¹¹, is the frequent confusion¹¹² and interchange between *l* and *n* or *r*. Nuzian liquids are particularly weak at the beginning of the word.¹¹³ To be sure, initial liquids of Akkadian words remain; but, on the other hand, the number of proper names (both Akkadian and non-Semitic) beginning with *l* and *r*, is very limited. In fact, of the few proper names beginning with a liquid there is not even one which may be assigned with any degree of certainty to Hurrian. It is also interesting to note that among the Hurrian documents so far published, there are no words with initial liquids¹¹⁴, and it is therefore altogether likely that the Hurrian language did not have any initial liquids at all.

The changes that take place among the liquids are as follows:

A. Complete assimilation of *l* to the preceding consonant:

a. After *h*:

na-h[a]-ap-tu, N 216.11; *na-ah-ap-tu*, H I 95.16; alongside *na-ah-la-ap-tu*, G 50.16; H I 36.14; H II 28.7; 152.7.

¹⁰⁷ In all instances he has a son *Taena*.

¹⁰⁸ In both instances he has a son *Šakaraya*.

¹⁰⁹ In all instances he has a son *Šatekintar*.

¹¹⁰ In both instances he has a son *Giliya*.

¹¹¹ For discussion of this subject, cf. Speiser, *Mesop. Orig.* 92, 95, 123, 139, 145.

¹¹² For examples, see the lists below.

¹¹³ For the absence of initial *r* in Hittite (which is probably due to the underlying non-Indo-European population), cf. Sturtevant, *CGHL* 138.

¹¹⁴ Bork's reading of *ašti* as *ruti* (*Die Mitannisprache*, MVAG 1909) has no basis whatsoever. The word *rapšu* in the Ras-Shamra vocabulary (RS IV 14) is, of course, borrowed from Akkadian.

b. After *r*:

Ar-ru-um-dì, H I 13.23; H I 56.2; 83.2; 91.2; H II 20.2 (< **Ar-lubdi* = *Ar-ib-lubdi*) alongside *A-ri-il-lu-um-dì*, H I 12.1, 12, 18; 13.17; *A-ri-lu-um-dì*, H II 98.2; *A-ri-ib-lu-ub-dì*, N 75.20.¹¹⁵

B. Change of *l* to *n* after *r*:

Ar-nu-um-dì, N 134.13; *Ar-nu-un-dì*, N 321.68, alongside *A-ri-il-lu-um-dì*, *A-ri-lu-um-dì* and *A-ri-ib-lu-ub-dì*.¹¹⁶

C. Complete assimilation of *l* to the following consonant:a. Before *g*:

Ni-ri-ka-ka-mi-el, N 284.8, for *Nergal-gāmil*.

b. Before *t*:¹¹⁷

it-ti-il-tu₄, H I 71.7, alongside *il-te-il-tu₄*, N 166.10; 315.15, and passim.

it-te-ib-bi-ir, N 335.19, for *iltebir* < *ištebir*.¹¹⁸

it-tap-ru-uš, H I 43.29, for *iltapruš* < *ištapruš*.

Zi-wi-ir-qa-tum, H I 79.2, alongside *Zi-wi-ir-gi-el-tum*, H I 13.2; *Zi-wi-ir-gal-tum*, H I 111.2.¹¹⁹

c. Before *š*:

ša-aš-ši, N 437.10, 11, for *šalši*¹²⁰; *ša-aš-ši-a-na*, H I 49.10.

D. *l* becomes *n*¹²¹ in the following:

*i-na-ak*¹²², N 331.12, alongside *i-la-ak*, N 125.24, and passim.

*im-ta-nu-ú*¹²³, N 296.10, alongside *im-ta-lu-ú*, N 290.21; 297.31, and passim.

¹¹⁵ In tablets H I 12,13, and H II 98, he is the son of *Ḫašinna*.

¹¹⁶ For reference, cf. above, under b.

¹¹⁷ The same change of *lt* to (*t*)*t* occurs also in the Akk. of Boghazköi; cf. Labat, AB 38.

¹¹⁸ For the meaning of this verb, cf. Speiser, JAOS 55.440.

¹¹⁹ The following may be due to scribal omissions: *il-ti-tu₄*, N 368.7, for *iltilltu*; *taḫ-si-ti*, G 61.16, for *taḫsilti*; *lu-bu-ti-šu*, H I 82.26, for *lubultišu* < *lubuštišu*.

¹²⁰ For numerals, cf. Gordon, The Numeral in the Nuzi Tablets, RA 31.53-60.

¹²¹ The statement of Ginsberg and Maisler (JPOS 14.245, note 4) to the effect that 'interchange of *l* and *n* is . . . rather common in Semitic' is by no means correct, as may be seen from the fact that the majority of cases cited by Brockelmann (GVG 222-9), either are taken from the various dialects of (comparatively) modern Arabic, which are heavily influenced by the racial and linguistic substrata of their respective localities, or are non-Semitic words borrowed by the Semites. This interchange is common, however, in Hurrian (cf. note 1, and the reference cited by Ginsberg and Maisler), and it is undoubtedly to this element that the interchange of *l* and *n* in Nuzi is to be ascribed.

¹²² It could also be due to a scribal irregularity; cf. Speiser, JAOS 55.440.

¹²³ 5 *šanāti*^{pl} *im-ta-nu-ú*.

na-aḥ-na-ap-tu, H I 17.9, alongside *na-aḥ-la-ap-tu*, H I 36.14; H II 52.7, and passim.

l becomes *n* in the following proper names:

*Na-gi-pu*¹²⁴, N 124.3, alongside *La-ki-pu*, N 453.3; *La-g[i-p]u*, N 82.24.

*Šumu-ni-ibšī*¹²⁵, SMN 2397.3, alongside *Šu-mu-li-ib-ši* N 118.27; 503.12.

Ta-ak-na-ki-ilu, SMN 2167.19, 20, for *Taklak-ilu*.

Ú-na-ma-še, H II 124.1, alongside *ʾÚ-la-ma-aš-ši*, H I 37.5; 100.1.

l becomes *n* also in:

*ā*¹²⁶*Nu-un-dì* JENu 939.8, alongside *ā*¹²⁶*Lu-ub-dì*, H I 14.2; N 25.6; *ā*¹²⁶*Lu-um-dì*, N 204.5; 255.20.

*mā*¹²⁷*Nu-ul-lu-a-i-ú*, N 115.16; 195.5, 15, and passim, alongside *mā*¹²⁷*Lu-lu*. . . . TCL 7.24; *mā*¹²⁷*Lu-lu-ú-e*, N 466.8.

and in the name of the district: *dimit Nu-ul-lu-e*¹²⁵, RA 28.1.13, alongside *dimit Lu-ul-lu-e*, N 7.6; *dimit Lu-ul-lu-a-e*, N 32.6; *dimit L[u-u]l-lu-a-a*, N 53.5.

E. Initial *l* is lost in the name *I-la-ab-ri*, N 14.14; 62.22, and passim, alongside *Li-la-ab-[ri]*, N 230.25.¹²⁸

F. Interchange of *l* and *n* occurs in the following:

a. At the beginning of the word:

Lu-la-an-na, N 253.31; 273.27, alongside *Nu-la-an-na*, N 232.22.¹²⁷

Lú-na-an-na, N 303.29, alongside *Nu-la-an-na*, N 56.18; 313.22; 530.17.¹²⁸

b. In the middle of the word:

Ha-lì-ú, N 264.25, alongside *Ha-ni-ú*, in the same tablet, line 31.

Ku-na-ḥu-bi, N 231.28, alongside *Ku-la-ḥu-bi*, N 154.16; 190.14, and passim.

Nu-la-an-na, N 56.18; 313.21; 530.17, alongside *Lú-na-an-na*, N 303.29 (see ftn. 128).

G. Interchange of *l* and *r* occurs in the following:

A-al-te-šup, N 348.29; 375.18, and passim, alongside *Ar-te-šup*, G 38.2; 43.25; 64.11.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ For the meaning of this name, cf. SPN.

¹²⁵ Written erroneously SI.

¹²⁶ In all instances he has a son *Kipaya*.

¹²⁷ In all instances he has a son *Intiya*.

¹²⁸ In all instances he has a son *Naniya*.

¹²⁹ In all instances his father is *Ennamati*.

Gi-el-šu, H I 79.34; 89.34; alongside *Gi-ir-šu*, H I 79.42.¹³⁰

Ĥa-tal-te, N 64.20, 24, alongside *Ĥa-da-ar-te*, N 7.19; 32.26; 33.32.¹³¹

Ĥa-i-la-al-la, N 51.29, alongside *Ĥa-i-ra-al-la*, N 58.28; 70.30.¹³²

Ki-li-ib-še-ri, N 208.17, alongside *Ki-ri-ib-[še]-ri*, H I 27.10.

Ki-li-ib-til-la, H II 96.30, 34, alongside *Ki-i-ri-ib-til-la*, N 119.24.

Na-iš-gi-el-be, N 44.14; 57.28, and passim, alongside *Na-iš-gi-ir-be*, N 80.12.¹³³

Ni-iḫ-li-ia, N 205.16, alongside *Ni-iḫ-ri-ia*, N 38.3; 76.32, and passim.

Tul-pu-na-ia, H I 65.6; *Tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a*, H II 116.2, 7, alongside *Du-ur-pu-un-na*, H I 11.3, 8.

ʾWu-lu-ia, H I 41.1, 17, alongside *ʾWu-ru-ia*, in the same tablet, lines 28 and 37.

Zi-li-ku-šu, N 278.1, alongside *Zi-rik-ku-šu*, N 369.33.

Zi-il-te-šup, N 42.17; 131.21, and passim, alongside *Zi-ir-te-šup*, H I 21.3, 9.

dimit mZi-il-li, H II 101.3, alongside *dimit mZi-ir-ri*, H I 89.6.

H. Assimilation of *r* to a following *ḫ* occurs in *Aḫ-ḫar-pa*, N 146.2, for *Ar-ḫar-pa*.

The following are the remaining proper names with initial *l* or *r* occurring in the published texts:

La-a-ri, H II 115.21, 32.

ʾLi-ba-še-ru, N 531.16.

Ra-ab-še-ia, N 221.30; *Ra-bu-uz-zi*, N 90.17; *RI-lu-ša*, N 470.3; *Ru-ur-til-la*, N 17.26.

8. SIBILANTS

The identification of the various types of sibilants in the Nuzi tablets presents a very difficult task. This difficulty is due not only to the ambiguity of the cuneiform script, but also, and especially, to the phonetic difference between Hurrian and Akkadian sibilants. Thureau-Dangin¹³⁴ and Friedrich¹³⁵, basing their view on the Hurrian alphabetic

¹³⁰ In all instances his father is *Šarra/umuli*.

¹³¹ In all instances he has a son *Arḫamanna*.

¹³² In all instances his father is *Šennatil*.

¹³³ In all instances he has a son *Piru*.

¹³⁴ *Les Vocabulaires de Ras-Shamra, Syria* 1931.253.

¹³⁵ *Zum Subaräischen und Urartäischen, Analecta Orientalia* 12.129-30.

script of Ras-Shamra, have already sounded the warning against the theory that the Hurrians had only one sibilant for the Akkadian *s* and *š*. And now the Nuzi documents offer new evidence to show that the Hurrian inhabitants of Nuzi could distinguish clearly between two¹³⁶ types of sibilants, although, in all probability, they were not the same as those of Akkadian. The evidence mentioned is as follows:

a. Akkadian *s*, *š*, *z* are in Nuzi in most instances clearly distinguished from *š*. Thus all forms of the roots *erēšu*, *ašābu*, *bašū*, *ḥašāḥu*, *kašādu*, *mašāru*, *našū*, *rašū*, *ša'ālu*, *šapāru*, etc., are always written with signs containing unambiguous *š*, while all forms of the roots *ezēbu*, *ašū*, *ešēdu*, *zāzu*, *zakū*, *zakāru*, *maḥāšu*, *nakāsu*, *šabātu*, *rakāsu*, *qašāšu*, etc., are always written with signs which contain only *s* or *š* or *z*, and never *š*. Moreover, *š* followed by *t* very often, and in certain words always, becomes¹³⁷ *l*, while *s*, *š*, *z* + *t* become only *ss*¹³⁸, *šš*, and *zz*, never *lt*.

b. Certain non-Semitic proper names are written only with signs containing *š*, while others are written with signs containing *s* or *š* or *z*, not *š*. Thus names containing the elements *ḥaš*, *kušši*, *naiš*, *šawuška*, *šelwi*, *šenni*, *šimiqa*, *tešup*, etc., are written with *š* only, while the elements *kizzi*, *zigi*, *zili*, *zizza*, etc., are written with *z* only.

When in spite of all this we find that *s*¹³⁹ and *š* of certain proper names interchange, we do not have to assume that *s* and *š* were always pronounced alike, but rather that this interchange indicates that the Hurrians must have had another sibilant, which because of its being foreign to Akkadian could be expressed either by signs containing *s* or by those containing *š*.

As for those Akkadian roots containing *š* which are often written with *s*, it is worth while to note that in most such cases the *s* is followed by a vowel.¹⁴⁰

It is therefore clear that, in spite of the fact that *š* becomes *s* under certain conditions, the Nuzians did have at least two types of sibilants, and probably more.

Two types of evidence may help us towards identifying the character

¹³⁶ And probably more.

¹³⁷ For reference see the lists below.

¹³⁸ *st* becomes *lt* only in the word *taššiltu*. This is undoubtedly due first to progressive dissimilation of the second *s* to *š*.

¹³⁹ *si* is mostly expressed in these tablets by *SÍ*.

¹⁴⁰ The instance of *i-sa-aš* is unusual both because of the loss of the final vowel and the transposition of *š* and *s*.

of at least one Hurrian sibilant: the Ras-Shamra alphabetic script; and the interchange of certain sibilants in the Nuzi tablets themselves.

The sibilant in question is that in the frequent Hurrian element *šarri* which is expressed in the Ras-Shamra alphabet with the sign ∇ .¹⁴¹ That this sound is intermediate between *š* and *z* was already recognized by Ginsberg and Maisler¹⁴², who transcribed it as *ž*. Now, although the element *šarri* is written in Nuzi only with *š*-containing signs, there are nevertheless other words which probably contain the same sound. These must be the words in which *š* and *s/z* interchange. Thus we have the name of a district *Bi-ir-ša-an-ni*, N 27.6, and passim, which is also written *Bi-ir-za-an-ni*, N 17.6 and 217.6; the proper name *Ha-šu-a-ar*, H II 18.60, written also *Ha-zu-a-ar* in the same tablet, line 46; *I-ši-ip-ša-lu*, N 557.6 and TCL 35.38, found alongside *I-zi-ip-ša-lu*, N 455.21; *Par-ta-šu-a*, N 177.15, written also *Pa-ar-ta-zu-a* in the same tablet, line 17, and in N 126.32 and 278.9, and *Par-ta-su-a*, N 329.31; 409.23, 33; 447.11. The most interesting case, however, which justifies the *ž* transcription, is the writing of *z* for *r* in the name *Ku-uz-za-ri*, H II 113.17: *Ku-uz-za-zi*, N 26.19¹⁴³, which undoubtedly represents *Kuzzaži*.¹⁴⁴

As has been indicated above, the change of *št* to *lt* is not complete. In the following cases, however, *št* always becomes *lt*:

- a. The word *iltēnu* 'one'¹⁴⁵ in all its forms:
il-te-in, N 65.4; *il-ti-in-nu-ú*, H I 96.1, and passim.
il-te-en-nu-tu, H I 17.10; *il-te-nu-tu*, H I 76.6, and passim.
- b. The word *iltānu* 'north'.¹⁴⁶
il-ta-an-nu, N 82.1?; *il-ta-an*, H II 35.4, and passim.
- c. The *t*-infix forms of the verb *šaṭāru*.¹⁴⁷
il-ta-tar, N 321.14; L 13; *il-ta-at-ru*, N 330.13.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine, JPOS 14.243-4. Cf. also Harris, JAOS 55.95-100.

¹⁴² Loc. cit.

¹⁴³ In both instances he is the son of *Hamanna*.

¹⁴⁴ In the following Hurrian words the sibilants interchange with *t*: *dimit ša ša-ak-ru-uš-še*, N 401.7: *dimit ša ta-ak-ru-uš-še*, N 411.6; *za-za-ru-uš-še*, G 40.7: *za-ta-ru-uš-še*, G 29.22; 38.8. Could they be normalized to some affricate sound such as *ts* or *tš*?

¹⁴⁵ For the numerals in the Nuzi tablets, cf. Gordon, RA 31.53-60.

¹⁴⁶ But not *ištānānu*, the *š* of which may or may not change to *l*. For the points of the compass in these tablets, cf. Gordon, RA 31.101-8.

¹⁴⁷ While *št* of the *I*₁ stem may or may not change to *lt*; cf. *iš-tu-ur*, N 383.9: *il-tu-ur*, H II 27.28.

d. All *t*-infix forms of the root *šasū*.¹⁴⁸

al-ta-sí-(ma), N 365.49; 467.18.

il-ta-sí, N 121.15; 363.11, and passim.

il-ta-sú-ú, N 385.19; 399.26; *il-ta-as-sú-šu-nu-ti*, N 390.11

il-ta-na-as-sí(-mi), N 322.7; 354.18.

ni-il-ta-na-sí-šu(-mi), H I 49.27.

š becomes *l* before *s* in:

al-sí-mi, N 338.32.

li-il-sí, H II 6.7; *li-il-sí-mi*, N 348.16.

š becomes *s* in the following words:

i-sa-at-ta-ar, H I 43.38.

sa-ti-ir, H I 2.26; 40.21, and passim.

i-sa-ka-an 'he shall place', H I 95.20.

a-sa-as-sí-mi, N 101.14; *a-sa-sí-mi*, N 164.9, and passim.

i-sa-as-sí, G 7.11; H I 99.17, and passim.

i-sa-as, N 155.15; *i-sa-aš*, H II 119.15.

Ši-ma-an-ni, N 115.25, and passim, is once written with the very rare sign ŠI: *Ši-ma-an-ni*, H II 36.1.

šaḫirru 'a measure of straw' is once written *sa-ḫi-ir-ri*, N 355.37.

s becomes *š* in:

i-sa-aš, H II 119.15 (for *išassi*).

Ši-ni-ki-še, N 347.29 (for *Sin-iqīša*).

st becomes *lt*¹⁴⁹ in:

taḫ-si-il-ti, N 138.23; *taḫ-si-el-ti*, N 191.13, and passim.

9. METATHESIS

Metathesis of consonants occurs in these tablets, mostly when a nasal or a liquid is involved. A list of all known cases of metathesis follows:

a. *nt* and *tn*:

Ar-ša-an-ta, N 243.21, alongside *Ar-ša-at-na*, N 289.29.¹⁵⁰

b. *ḫj* and *ḫl*:

El-ḫi-ib-šarri, N 13.31¹⁵¹; *Il-ḫi-ib-šarri*, N 217.23¹⁵², 240.23¹⁵¹, alongside *Eḫ-li*¹⁵³-*ib-šarri*, N 232.26¹⁵¹; N 279.26.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ With the exception of *ni-iš-ta-sí-mi*, N 369.17.

¹⁴⁹ After changing of *s* to *š*.

¹⁵⁰ In both instances he is the son of *Šambiya*.

¹⁵¹ Father of *Ziqaya*.

¹⁵² Father of *Turari*.

¹⁵³ The elements *eḫli*, *šeḫli*, and *šaḫlu* are very common in the Nuzi proper

Ša-ah-lu-te-šup, H II 80.3; 129.3, and passim, alongside *Ša-al-ḥu-ub-šarri*, N 454.15.

c. *rm*, *rḥ*, *rq* and *mr*, *ḥr*, *qr*:

*A-ri-ki-ir-me*¹⁵⁴, H I 37.27, alongside *A-ri-ki-im-ri*, H I 37.23.

Ni-ir-ḥi-te-šup, N 401.23, alongside *Ni-iḥ-ri-te-šup*, N 47.23.

Wa-ar-ḥi-še-en-ni, N 26.22; 201.21, and passim, alongside *Wa-ah-ri-še-en-ni*, N 60.23, 24; 93.21, and passim.

pa-ki-ra-na, N 1.6; 3.12, and passim, alongside *pa-ri-ka-na*, N 227.9, and *pi-ir-qa*, N 8.9; 9.13, and passim.

d. *ḥs* and *šḥ*, *zd* and *dz*:

ta-ah-si-il-ti, N 138.23; 191.13, and passim, alongside *ta-as-ḥi-il-ti*, 338.83; [*ta*]-*as-ḥi-il-ti*, N 510.34.

¹*Šarra*^a-*az-da-lu-li*, SMN 722.40, alongside ¹*Šar-ra-ad-za-lu-li*, SMN 320.6.

e. *dk* and *kd*:

Ša-qa-ra-ad-ki, H II 126.9 rev. 2, alongside *Ša-qa-ra-ak-di*, N 6.12, 13, and passim.¹⁵⁵

Transposition of non-adjacent vowels occurs in:

ša-pu-ul-lim, N 388.9, alongside the common *šu-pa-al*, N 2.7; 63.6, and passim.

Bi-ra-az-zi-na, H I 6.8, 13, alongside *Bi-ri-a-za-na*, H II 21.2.

Ut-ta-zi-na, N 59.39; 342.19, alongside *Ut-ti-za-na*, N 83.9, 35; 186.17.

names. That these elements were originally *ehḷ*, *šehḷ*, *šahl*, with a vocalic *l*, is indicated by such writings of the name of the same person as *E-ḥé-el-te-šup* and *Eḥ-li-te-šup*, *Še-ḥi-el-te-šup* and *Še-eh-li-te-šup*; *Še-ḥé-el-til-la* and *Še-eh-li-til-la*; *Ša-ḥu-ul-te-šup* and *Ša-al-ḥu-ub-šarri*.

¹⁵⁴ For this name, cf. under III, footnote 21, with reference.

¹⁵⁵ It is worth while to note the dialectal differences between East Hurrian and West Hurrian, as reflected in the process of Metathesis. Thus in Nuzi (East Hurrian) we have always the element *irwi*, while in West Hurrian it is always *iuri* (cf. Virolleaud, *Antiquity* 3. 315; Syria 11. 313; and especially Gustavs, *Pal. Jahrb.* 26.10 note 4; these dialectal distinctions are brought out by Speiser, *Mesop. Orig.* 145 n.90, and *JAOS* 55.438); *gurbizu* in Nuzi H I 106.6 and passim, but *gursipu* in Amarna.