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A GRAMMAR OF THE HURRIAN LANGUAGE

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Brandeis University

Department of Mediterranean Studies

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the Degree
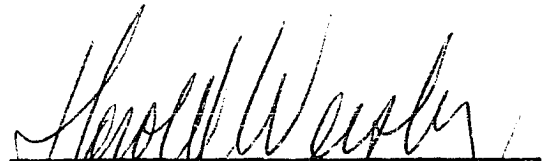Doctor of Philosophy
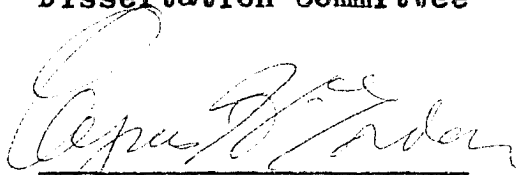
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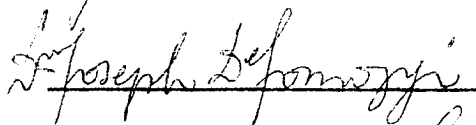of the requirements for the Degree of
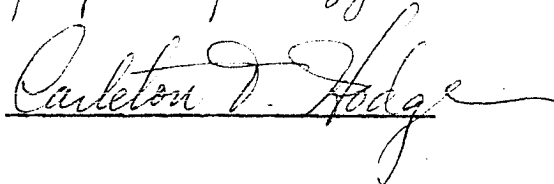
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Dean, Graduate School of
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plexities of Hurrian Grammar and without which this study would not have been possible.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR   The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental
               Research.

ABK   R. Labat, L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi.

ABoT   K. Balkan, Ankara arkeoloji müzesinde bulunan
               Boğazköy tabletleri, Istanbul, 1948.

AfO   Archiv für Orientforschung.

AHWB   W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handworterbuch.

AJA   American Journal of Archaeology.

AJSL   American Journal of Semitic Languages and
               Literatures.

ALM   A. Finet, L'Akkadien des Lettres de Mari.

An Or   Analecta Orientalia.

Arch Or   Archiv Orientální

AT   D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets.

BASOR   Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental
               Research.

BChG   J. Friedrich, "Kleine Beiträge zur Churritischen
               Grammatik," MVA(e)G 42/2, 1939.

BoTU   E. Forrer, Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift,
               [WVDOG 41-42 (1922-26)].

CAD   Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.

ChRT   C.-G. von Brandenstein, "Zum Churrischen aus

den Ras-Schamra-Texten," ZDMG 91(1937): 555-76.

CRAIBL	Comptes Rendus de L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
CTH	E. Laroche, "Catalogue des Textes Hittites, III," RHA 15 fasc. 60(1957): 30-89.
DNT	C. H. Gordon, "The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets," Or NS. 7(1938): 32-63, 215-232.
EA	Knudzton, Die El Amarna Tafeln.
EHS	H. Kronasser, Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963.
ESN	P. M. Purves, "The Early Scribes of Nuzi," AJSL 57(1940):162-187.
GAG	W. von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik.
GATU	G. Swaim, A Grammar of the Akkadian Tablets found at Ugarit, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Waltham: Brandeis University, 1962.
HCP	P. M. Purves, "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 378-404.
HHA	E. A. Draffkorn, Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1959.
HS	I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians.
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series.
HT	Hagia Triada.
HW	J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch.
HWE 1	Ibid., 1. Ergänzungsheft.

HWE 2	Ibid., 2. Ergänzungsheft.
IBoT	H. Bozkurt, M. Çiğ, H. G. Guterbock, Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletlerinden seçme metinler, 3 vols., Istanbul: 1944, 1947, 1954.
IH	E. A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian.
JAOS	The Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archeology.
JEN	Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi.
JPOS	The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
JWH	Journal of World History.
KASD	J. Friedrich, Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.
Kn I	The transliteration of ML by Knudtzon in Beiträge zur Assyriologie 4(1902): 134ff.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.
Lang	Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America.
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
ML	The Mittanni Letter from the Tell el-Amarna tablets.
MSL III	B. Landsberger and R. T. Hallock, "Das Vokabular Sᵃ," Materialen zum Sumerischen Lexikon III.
MSL V	B. Landsberger, Materialen zum Sumerischen Lexikon V. The Series ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu. Tablets I-IV.

MVA(e)G	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch (from 1922 Ägyptisch)en Gesellschaft.
NDA	Berkooz, The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian.
NPN	I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, A. A. MacRae, Nuzi Personal Names.
OAWG	I. J. Gelb, Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Or	Orientalia.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
PNCP	A. T. Clay, Personal Names from Cuneiform Documents of the Cassite Period.
PRU II	Ch. Virolleaud, Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit, II.
PRU III	J. Nougayrol, Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit, III.
PSVX	Peredneaziatskij Sbornik: Voprosy Xettolgii i Xurritologii, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, 1961.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique.
RNDH	E. Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites," RHA 7 fasc. 46(1946-47): 7-139.
SA	F. Thureau-Dangin, Le Syllabaire Accadien
Schr.	The cuneiform facsimile of the Mittanni Letter found in text No. 200 of O. Schroeder, Die Tontafeln von el-Amarna.
SL	A. Deimel, Sumerisches Lexikon.
Ug. A-H Bil.	The Akkado-Hurrian bilingual from Ugarit.
Ug. alph.	The alphabetic Hurrian texts from Ugarit.

Ug. Quad. Voc.   The quadrilingual vocabulary from Ugarit.

Ug. S-H Voc.   The Sumero-Hurrian vocabulary from Ugarit.

Ug. syll.   The syllabic Hurrian texts from Ugarit.

UM   C. H. Gordon, _Ugaritic Manual_.

VAS   _Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler_, Berlin:
Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung.

WVDOG   _Wissenschaftliche Veroffentlichungen der
Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft_.

WZKM   _Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenländes_.

ZA   _Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie und verwandte
Gebiete_.

ZDMG   _Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft_.

LIST OF SYMBOLS USED

<	comes from
>	becomes
~	separates allomorphs
-	separates suffix morphemes in phonemic transcription
+	separates associative morphemes in phonemic transcription
[ ]	indicates phonemes in the text
[. . .]	indicates broken or uncertain readings in the transliteration
< >	indicates scribal omissions in transliteration and in phonemic transcription.
{ }	indicates scribal plusses in transliteration and in phonemic transcription
!	indicates an unusual or noteworthy reading of the cuneiform text

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1   The purpose of this study is to set down, in as
concise, clear, and usable terms as is possible in the present
state of interpretation, what is known about Hurrian grammar.
Although it was the earliest of the three important cuneiform
languages of Near Eastern antiquity (i.e. Hurrian, Hittite
and Ugaritic) to be unearthed in recent decades, Hurrian has
been the slowest to yield results to the efforts of scholars
to interpret its grammar and lexicography. The reasons for
this have been simple enough. Hurrian belongs to no known
language group, as do Hittite and Ugaritic, and hence no ad-
vance insight into its structure and lexicography has been
possible.[1] Further, the accidents of discovery have yielded
but one very short bilingual, so that attempts at decipherment
have perforce been limited to the combinatory method. Never-
theless, considerable progress has been made, even to the
point where it has been possible to use the Hurrian text of
the bilingual mentioned above to shed light on an obscure
reading in the accompanying Akkadian text.[2] However, all
the studies to date, including E. A. Speiser's fundamental
Introduction to Hurrian,[3] have necessarily partaken more of
the nature of analyses aimed at, as Speiser puts it, "deter-
mining first the great majority of the facts . . . not with-

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out some speculation and argument,"[4] rather than succinct descriptions of grammatical features.[5] Further, since IH was published, several studies have appeared, notable among which is the treatment of the Akkado-Hurrian bilingual from Ugarit by E. Laroche. These have elucidated further grammatical forms, the most important of which has been the recognition of a negative in the morpheme =kk=. Consequently, it seems propitious to attempt a descriptive account of the facts of the language as they are now known (or can be firmly elucidated on the basis of the known facts), not only as a "compte rendu" of the present stage of understanding but also as a practical tool for the use of the student.

1.2 The sources available for the Hurrian language come from widely separated locations and dates, and they exhibit widely varied subject matter. Since Speiser's enumeration of the sources (IH §7) considerably more has been found, so that a brief catalogue will be presented here:

1.21 The Mittanni[6] Letter. This well-known letter was found among the Tell El Amarna tablets unearthed in 1887. Speiser's observation in 1941 that "it constitutes our principal source for the study of Hurrian"[7] is still true today.[8] The letter, from Tušratta, King of Mittanni, to Amenophis III, dates from the last years of the latter's long reign, ca. 1370 to 1356 B.C.,[9] and deals with the same problems of diplomacy as the Akkadian letters of the Tušratta dossier.

1.22 The material from Boghazköi. Several Hurrian

texts have been found among the Hittite texts recovered
from the excavations at Boghazköi from 1906 on, and Hurrian
passages have not infrequently been found scattered among
the Hittite texts themselves. They date from approximately
the same period as the Mittanni Letter. A list of all the
Hurrian texts and Hittite texts containing Hurrian passages
published up to 1957, classified according to subject matter,
has been drawn up by E. Laroche as part of his exceedingly
useful "Catalogue des textes hittites."[10] The vast majority
of these texts are of the nature of omens, conjurations and
rituals of various types; a very few are historico-myth-
ological in nature. Consequently, their interpretation is
exceedingly difficult and they are still virtually untrans-
latable.[11]

1.23 **The Mari texts.** Among the Old Babylonian texts
from Mari seven Hurrian texts have been found.[12] These date
from _ca._ the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C., and
thus are the oldest Hurrian texts we possess except for the
Foundation Lion Inscription from Urkiš, dating from the late
Akkad period. The contents of these short texts are of a
religious nature, except for the seventh, which is a frag-
ment of a letter apparently between two kings, one of whom
may have been Zimri-Lim himself.[13]

1.24 **The material from Ugarit.** This ancient city has
been singularly productive in the varied quality of the
Hurrian texts unearthed there. These have been the following:

1.241 **The alphabetic texts.** Among the Ugaritic

texts unearthed in the first campaigns were found a few Hurrian texts written in the same alphabetic cuneiform.[14] Only one is not short and fragmentary.[15] Due to the alphabetic cuneiform script in which they are written, these texts have been particularly helpful in the elucidation of Hurrian phonemics. However, since they are largely written without vowels, little could be done in the way of interpreting them. This is now no longer the case. In the twenty-fourth campaign in 1961 eight rather well preserved tablets in alphabetic Hurrian were found in the priest's house.[16] These are largely of the same religious genre as the earlier tablets. Two texts of a "mixed " character, consisting of Hurrian divine names in a Semitic text, were also found.[17] Thanks to the penetrating study of these texts by M. E. Laroche in "Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra, III. Textes hourrites en cunéiformes alphabetiques," Ugaritica V (not yet published but which I have been privileged to use in the form of unpaginated galley proofs through the generosity of M. Laroche), the older texts have been largely clarified. M. Laroche also includes a transliteration of the new texts. In this same volume will appear a collated transliteration of the older texts by A. Herdner (Nos. 166-185).

1.242 <u>The syllabic texts</u>. The archaeological campaigns at Ugarit previous to the Second World War and the two campaigns of 1950-51 produced six small fragments of Hurrian texts written in syllabic cuneiform.[18] The first is apparently a letter from a high official at Carchemish to

Ugarit. The rest are of a religious nature and include lists of enumerated objects. This body of material has also been considerably increased by recent excavations. During the nineteenth campaign in 1955, pieces of some thirty or more badly broken tablets were recovered. These have greatly illuminated the character of the tablets, including the names of several of those for whom they were written (Hurrians) and the names of the scribes who wrote them (Semites). These are published and studied by M. E. Laroche in "Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra, II. Textes hourrites en cunéiformes syllabiques," Ugaritica V (also made available to me through the courtesy of M. Laroche).

1.243 The Akkado-Hurrian bilingual. One of the most important Hurrian texts yet found at Ugarit has been this short bilingual of some nineteen lines, divided as follows: four Akkadian translated by five lines of Hurrian and then four more lines of Akkadian translated by six of Hurrian.[19] The genre is that of "ethico-religious maxims very close to 'wisdom sayings.'"[20] Although it has not greatly enriched our Hurrian vocabulary, it has made the meanings of several words considerably more precise and grammatically has yielded one very helpful morpheme--a negative which had not hitherto been recognized. Most important, it has conclusively proved the general accuracy of the grammatical structure thus far elucidated by the combinatory method.

1.244 The vocabularies. Ugarit has also yielded two vocabularies, one a bilingual, Sumerian and Hurrian,

and the second a quadrilingual, Sumerian, Hurrian, Akkadian and Ugaritic.

1.2441   The Sumero-Hurrian Vocabulary.[21]   This vocabulary includes part of the second tablet of the series Ḫar.ra=ḫubullu, running from ca. entry number 44 to entry number 256 of the definitive edition of Landsberger,[22] although with significant omissions, additions and differences of order. It is not as helpful as might at first glance appear, for the words contained do not for the most part occur either in the international diplomatic correspondence of Tušratta nor in the religious texts of Ugarit, Mari and Boghazköi. Further, there seems to be considerable dialectal difference between the Hurrian of Ugarit and that of Boghazköi and the Mittanni Letter.

1.2442   The Quadrilingual Vocabulary.   In the twentieth and twenty-first campaigns of 1956 and 1958, a large number of pieces of a polyglot vocabulary were discovered, from which have been reassembled parts of two tablets of a vocabulary in four languages, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian and Ugaritic.[23] The vocabulary follows the order of the vocabulary known as S^a,[24] and hence its order and contents are known to a large extent, and many of the incomplete lines in the first two columns could be restored.[25] The facsimiles are to be published by J. Nougayrol in Ugaritica V (nos. 130ff.). A most useful study of the Hurrian column is presented by M. E. Laroche in "Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra, I. Vocabulaire quadrilingue de Ras

Shamra: la colonne hourrite," in _Ugaritica_ V which I have also been able to use in unpaginated galley proofs through the kindness of M. Laroche. These texts have produced several very helpful new meanings and firmly established several old ones.

1.25 <u>The Foundation Lion Inscription from Urkiš</u>. In "Un document de fondation hurrite," _RA_ 42(1948): 1-20, A. Parrot and J. Nougayrol published a foundation deposit, acquired by the Louvre on the antiquities market, consisting of the upper torso of a fierce lion whose fore paws rest on a small rectangle holding a limestone tablet. On the tablet is engraved an inscription of some twenty-five lines, in Hurrian, written in characteristic cuneiform signs dated by Nougayrol to the early Akkad period _ca._ 2370-2300 B.C.,[26] but most likely belonging to late Akkad times _ca._ 2250-2150 B.C. or possibly Ur III, _ca._ 2100-1950 B.C. (see §2.113 below). The inscription records the dedication of a temple by Tišari (or perhaps Tišatal),[27] _enda-n_[28] of Urkiš. Thus this tablet represents the oldest Hurrian yet recovered, being from two hundred to seven hundred years older than the texts from Mari (depending on the date accepted) and approximately six hundred to a thousand years older than the material from the Amarna age. As a result of this important find, it appears that the Hurrians had already borrowed the cuneiform syllabary and adapted it for the purposes of their own language in Akkad times; hence, it seems that they were not, as once thought, barbarians who arrived late on the Mesopotamian

scene.[29] Although the evidence is yet very tenuous and in-
conclusive, it appears possible that the Hurrians not only
were firmly ensconced in Northern Mesopotamia, specifically
the Ḫabur triangle, since late Old Akkadian times, but had
also developed a high level of civilization and cultural
attainment.[30]

1.26 <u>The material from Nuzu</u>. Although no tablets
have been found written in the Hurrian language among the
voluminous finds unearthed at this ancient site near modern
Kirkuk, it has long been established by the personal names
that the great majority of the inhabitants were native
speakers of Hurrian. Consequently much light has been thrown
on the social and legal practices of the Hurrians (or at
least their eastern branch). Presumably many of these same
customs will be found at home in the Mittanni state itself
and, probably to a lesser degree, in the western Hurrian
states, when and if documents are found depicting life there
in similar detail. Not infrequently Hurrian terms appear in
the Akkadian texts,[31] and although most are technical terms,
there are a few instances where Hurrian vocabulary is used
in a context which greatly clarifies the meaning.[32] The
hybrid expression <u>x-umma epešu</u>, where the <u>x</u> stands for a
Hurrian and sometimes even an Akkadian word, is noteworthy
in this regard. There are also clear indications of Hurrian
substratum in the non-Akkadian constructions that are fre-
quently met. These have been helpful in presenting corollary
evidence of the passival character of the Hurrian verb.[33]

However, as with the vocabularies from Ugarit, the great majority of the words found do not occur in the religious vocabulary of the texts from Mari, Ugarit and Boghazköi, nor in the literary, diplomatic idiom of the Mittanni Letter.

1.27 <u>The personal names.</u>   The most important source outside of those already mentioned is the proper names which have appeared in widely separated areas and during an extensive period of time. The most productive source, of course, is that of Nuzu, the great majority of whose onomasticon is published in the exceedingly useful <u>Nuzi Personal Names.</u>[34] The most comprehensive survey of Hurrian names for both provenance and chronology is still <u>Hurrians and Subarians</u> by I. J. Gelb.[35]

A source of Hurrian personal names which are exceedingly important for the problem of Hurrian phonemics (see §3.332 and 3.513) is found in Akkadian texts from a number of sites.[36] These include Chagar Bazar in the Mari period,[37] Aššur in the Middle Assyrian period,[38] Nippur in the Middle Babylonian period,[39] and Dilbat in the Old Babylonian period.[40]

1.28 Hurrian names and material have appeared at a few other sites, relatively unimportant for grammatical purposes, such as Chagar Bazar,[41] Qatna,[42] Tell Ta'annak,[43] and a few glosses in the Amarna Letters.[44]

1.3 <u>The main source for the grammar.</u>   The principal source for the grammar of Hurrian is still today the Mittanni Letter from the Amarna correspondence. This is due to the fact that it is by far the longest connected text that we

possess, it is in a good state of preservation, and its
general subject matter is considerably illuminated by nine
other letters from Tušratta to the Egyptian court, (five to
Amenophis III, one to Amenophis' widow Teye, and three to
Amenophis IV), which are in Akkadian and which discuss the
same general topics.[45] Very helpful for specific and un-
ambiguous points of grammar and vocabulary are the Akkado-
Hurrian Bilingual and the Quadrilingual Vocabulary from
Ugarit; somewhat less useful is the Sumero-Hurrian Vocab-
ulary from the same site. Although some very helpful lexical
information has been forthcoming from the Boghazköi material,[46]
the texts themselves are largely unintelligible due to their
technical religious vocabulary and consequently can only
serve as ancillary sources for Hurrian grammar until such
time as we can better control the vocabulary problem. The
same is true of the religious texts from Mari and Ugarit.
Consequently, a primary rule must be that no forms from
these unintelligible contexts (or, for that matter, from un-
intelligible contexts from the Mittanni Letter itself) can be
used as primary evidence for the grammatical structure of the
language as it now stands. Thus our source, in the main, is
the Mittanni Letter supplemented by the Ug. A.-H. Bil., the
Ug. Quad. Voc. and the material from Boghazköi.

    1.4 <u>Transliteration and normalization</u>. The problem
of transliteration is a knotty one. The phonemes of Hurrian
differ (often radically) from the phonemes of Akkadian for
which the commonest values were assigned to the cuneiform

signs. To use the value which is correct for Hurrian would often obscure the orthographic evidence being cited or would be cumbersome, necessitating the use of large subscripts (e.g. ku_8 for GU). Consequently, the commonest values of the signs according to the system inaugurated by Thureau-Dangin will be used in transliteration. However, whenever the sign presents a free choice of primary values, the value that best fits the requirements of Hurrian phonemics will be chosen. E.g. the sign ID can represent, without diacritics or subscripts, id, it, ed and et (and of course it and et in Akkadian). For the ligature I plus A, ya will be used instead of ia. The sign PI which is used exclusively to represent wa, we, wi or wu, will be written as wǝ whenever the following vowel is not indicated orthographically, i.e. when the following sign is of the form CV or of the form VC with indeterminate vowel (e.g. the sign AḤ). The only apparent exception to this rule is in the frequent sequence -iw-wǝ-ú-, for here the evidence is strong that this orthography represents the doubled voiceless labial spirant -ff- followed by the semivowel [u̯] and the above writing with -wǝ- does not prejudge the case. The signs IB and UB will be transliterated as iw/ew and uw respectively whenever the sign wǝ (PI) follows contiguously. Presumably, this could also be stated for AB but no examples of this sign with immediately following wǝ are known to me. The point at which the use of the commonest values of the signs is most misleading for Hurrian phonemics is the representation of the stops. It will be seen

(§3.35 below) that voicing of the stops is non-phonemic in Hurrian, i.e the phones b̠ and p̠, d̠ and t̠, and g̱ and k̠ are simply variants of the same phoneme respectively, the conditions under which any particular phone will occur being rigorously determined by the phonetic environment [see §3.322]. Consequently the differentiation between voiced and voiceless stop of which the Akkado-Sumerian syllabary is capable[47] is superfluous for purposes of writing Hurrian. Indeed, since voicing of the stops is phonemic in English also, the same is true of the English alphabet, and whichever letter one chooses, whether the voiced or the voiceless, it implies a distinction which is not valid for Hurrian. Perforce, we shall use the symbols for the voiceless stops, i.e. p̠, k̠, and t̠, recognizing, however, that the Hurrian phoneme is voiced or voiceless according to the requirements of Hurrian phonetic law.

In the phonemic transcription of Hurrian a problem arises in the representation of the labial stop and the labial fricative. Very often the script is ambiguous and we simply do not know at this point which of the two is meant. When this occurs the symbol -w̠- will be used. When the semivowel is certain, the symbol -u̠= will be used.

In normalization the morphemes which function on the word level will be separated by dashes; while those enclitic elements, termed "associatives," which stand at the end of the word but function on the sentence level, will be separated by plus signs, e.g. tat-ukar-oθ-i+lla+an, "love-?-

past-transitive-verb+they+and" (ML 1:9).

1.5 <u>The alphabetic order</u>. The following alphabetic order will be used for the Hurrian phonemes in this study: a, e, f, ḫ, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, ϑ, u, ṳ, w, y, z. As noted above, the symbol w is not a phoneme but represents either the labial fricative f or the labial semivowel ṳ in those cases in which the orthography is ambiguous.

II. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ORTHOGRAPHIC SYSTEMS
USED FOR WRITING HURRIAN

Fortunately for the elucidation of its phonetics, Hurrian has come down to us written in two different orthographic systems: the cuneiform syllabary of the Mesopotamian sphere and the cuneiform alphabet of Ugarit.[1] The great strides that have been made in the understanding of Hurrian phonemics have been made possible by comparisons between these two orthographic systems. Because it is considerably more complex, we shall examine the syllabic orthography first.

2.1 <u>The syllabic orthographies used for Hurrian</u>. The orthography[2] of the syllabic Hurrian material is far from uniform. Aside from the short Foundation Lion Inscription which is written in the Old Akkadian syllabary, there are two syllabaries mainly employed to write the syllabic Hurrian material we possess. The bulk of it is written in the "Hurro-Hittite" syllabary best known from the Tell El-Amarna and Boghazköi tablets and the remainder in the "Babylonian" script such as is used at Mari.

In order to assess the implications and the significance of the evidence that these systems present for the phonemes of Hurrian, it is necessary first to determine what are the distinctive features of each system as it is

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used for Akkadian, where the phonemes represented are re-
latively certain; then the distinctive features of each
system as used for Hurrian must be elucidated. When this
has been done, the evidence of both can be assessed and com-
pared with each other and with that of the alphabetic mate-
rial to establish the phonemes of Hurrian. Consequently we
shall first determine the distinctive features of each
syllabary as used for Akkadian and then we shall ascertain
what orthographic practices can be discerned in its use for
Hurrian in the various texts we possess. When the charac-
teristics of the orthographic systems have been thus deter-
mined, we shall then be able to examine these orthographic
systems to ascertain the phonemes of the Hurrian language
and how they are orthographically represented.

2.11 The "Hurro-Hittite"[3] syllabary and the ortho-
graphies using it. The syllabaries in use at the geo-
graphic locations where Hurrian names, terms, and social
customs abound, namely Nuzu,[4] Alalaḫ,[5] and Ugarit,[6] plus
the syllabaries of Amarna,[7] and Boghazköi,[8] can be roughly
grouped as one system, even though each possesses its own
idiosyncracies. Because of its prevalent use in the Hurrian
and Hittite areas we shall call it the Hurro-Hittite sylla-
bary.

2.111 The distinctive features of the Hurro-Hittite
syllabary as used for Akkadian. These are the following:

(a) The lack of special signs for the emphatics.
The signs for the emphatics are either absent or only sparsely

used. This practice is far from uniform. At Nuzu and Alalaḫ the signs for the emphatics of all classes are completely absent, the sign QA being a conveniently short variant for ka and ga;[9] at Ugarit they occur infrequently in all classes,[10] and in the Amarna texts they are not infrequent.[11] It is significant to observe that the decreasing frequency of the use of these signs is in inverse ratio to the increasing influence of Hurrian culture and percentage of Hurrians in the population at the sites in question.[12]

(b) The value of the sign PI.[13] Almost invariably in all these sites, and with complete uniformity at the Hurrian sites, the sign PI has the value w plus a vowel, i.e. wa, we, wi, or wu.

(c) The use of the signs for the sibilants. The values of the signs for the sibilants pattern with those of the Old Akkadian syllabary rather than with those of the later Old Babylonian syllabary. Thus the set of signs which represent samekh plus vowel in Old Babylonian are most often simple variants for the set šin (representing etymological [š] and [ś]) plus vowel in the Hurro-Hittite syllabary. Concomitantly, the occurrences of the phoneme [š] which derive from proto-Semitic t̲ (Arabic ث) are invariably represented by the set of signs š plus vowel, never alternating with the set s plus vowel. Both these facts can be explained only if the Hurro-Hittite syllabary is ultimately traced back to the orthographic practices of the Old Akkadian syllabary, for it is here that the set of signs s plus vowel represented

the Akkadian descendent of proto-Semitic $š$ and $ś$.[14] Again
the completeness of this usage varies from source to source
in a manner analogous to that noted for the emphatics above.
It is virtually complete at Nuzu,[15] where the set s plus vowel
is almost invariably a variant of the set $š$ plus vowel, ety-
mological samekh being represented by the set z plus vowel.
At Alalaḫ, however, there are a small but significant number
of occurrences where etymological samekh is represented by
the set s plus vowel.[16] At Ugarit the set of signs s plus
vowel is used as a variant of the set $š$ plus vowel only in
the third feminine singular pronominal suffix, in certain
personal names, and in a few other very sporadic occurrences,
while the set s plus vowel occurs sporadically for etymo-
logical samekh.[17] In the Amarna texts, on the other hand,
the use of the set s plus vowel for the set $š$ plus vowel is
very exceptional,[18] and it is not found at all at Boghazköi.[19]
Note again the correlation between this phenomenon and the
presence of a large Hurrian population and influence.

(d) The indiscriminate use of the signs for the
voiced and voiceless stops. In the syllabaries in use at
all these sites this indiscriminate use is present to a marked
degree.[20] Even in the Amarna texts this phenomenon is wide-
spread and is present in texts of widely divergent origin.[21]
This practice is markedly different from that of contemporary
Middle Babylonian and indeed Old Babylonian as well, for there
the signs for the voiced and voiceless stops are carefully
distinguished. As Thureau-Dangin pointed out[22] and as others

have emphasized since,[23] this probably harks back to the
failure of the Old Akkadian syllabary to distinguish voiced
and voiceless stops rather than being due to linguistic
substratum. Now this is obviously very much to the point
where the linguistic substratum did phonemically distinguish
voiced and voiceless stops (e.g. West Semitic), but it is
also very probable that the influence of the Hurrian sub-
stratum in northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria, with
its single set of stop phonemes in which voicing is non-
phonemic, must have had a strong influence in inhibiting the
orthographic distinction which developed further south in
Assyria and Babylonia proper.[24] Evidence in favor of this
is the fact that this indiscriminate use is much more com-
plete and widespread in just those sites where Hurrian
penetration is strongest.

2.112 <u>The distinctive features of the Hurro-Hittite
syllabary as used for writing Hurrian</u>. Having determined
the features of this syllabary as used for Akkadian, we shall
now ascertain what orthographic practices can be discerned
in its use for Hurrian. For purposes of description the
Hurrian phonemes yet to be established in chapter three are
here assumed so that the orthographic characteristics may
be meaningfully described. What is thus lost in orderly
procedure will be more than made up for in clarity of pres-
entation.

2.1121 <u>The orthography of the Mittanni Letter</u>.
Although it uses the Hurro-Hittite syllabary, the ortho-

graphy of the Mittanni Letter is markedly different from
that of the Amarna corpus in general and indubitably has
been so modified for the express purpose of writing Hurrian.[25]
Because of its importance as the prime witness for Hurrian
grammar the syllabary of the Mittanni Letter is set forth
in the chart on the following pages. Only the CV and VC
signs have been presented. Examining this chart we can
note that several of its features are the same as those ob-
served for writing Akkadian above. Thus the signs for the
emphatics are completely absent,[26] and the sign PI is used
exclusively for w̲ plus a vowel. However, the most important
distinctive feature of the Hurro-Hittite syllabary as used
for writing Akkadian at all these sites, namely the indis-
criminate use of the signs for voiced and voiceless stops,
simply is not found in the Mittanni Letter. Rather, its
system of signs for the stops is rigorously consistent and
reveals only one set of signs in use to represent the stop
phonemes. There is not one instance of departure from the
consistent pattern in the whole letter of some five hundred
lines.[27] The system employed for the stops has been dia-
grammed in the chart. Note: for the phoneme [p/b] PA is
used exclusively, BA never occurring; BE, BI, and BU have
no variant possibilities.[28] For the phoneme [t/d] TA is
used exclusively, DA never occurring; TE has no variant
possibilities; TI is used exclusively, DI never occurring;
and DU is used exclusively, TU never occurring.[29] For the
phoneme [k/g] KA is used exclusively, GA never occurring;

THE SYLLABARY OF THE MITTANNI LETTER - CV SIGNS

	-a	-e	-i	-o	-u
-	A	E	I	U	Û
b		BE = pe	BI = pi	BU(-U) = po	BU(-Û) = pu
d				DU(-U) = to	DU(-Û) = tu
g		GI = ke			GU(-Û) = ku
h	ḪA	ḫé(KAN)	ḪI	ḪU(-U)	ḪU(-Û)
k	KA = ka		KI = ki	KU = ko	
l	LA	LI-E	LI	LŪ(-U)	LU(-Û)
m	MA	ME	MI	MU(-U)	MU(-Û)
n	NA	NI-E	NI	NU(-U)	NU(-Û)
p	PA = pa		PI = w		
r	RA	RI-E	RI	RU(-U)	RU(-Û)
s	SA	[SI-E]	[SI]	SU(-U)	SU(-Û)
š	ŠA = θa	ŠE = θe	ŠI = θi	ŠU(-U) = θo	ŠU(-Û) = θu
t	TA = ta	TE = te	TI = ti		
z	ZA	[ZI-E]	ZI	ZU(-U)	ZU(-Û)
w	PI =wa	PI = we	PI = wi	PI(-U)=wo	PI(-Û)=wu

THE SYLLABARY OF THE MITTANNI LETTER - VC SIGNS

	a-	e-	i-	o-	u-
b	AB = ap	(E-)IB = ep	IB = ip	(U-)UB = op	(Ú-)UB = up
d	AD = at	(E-)ID = it	ID = it	(U-)UD = ot	(Ú-)UD = ut
g	AG = ak	(E-)IG = ek	IG = ik	(U-)UG = ok	(Ú-)UG = uk
ḫ	AḪ	(E-)AḪ	AḪ	(U-)AḪ = oḫ	(Ú-)AḪ = uḫ
l	AL	EL	IL	(U-)UL = ol	(Ú-)UL = ul
m	AM	(E-)IM	IM	(U-)UM = om	(Ú-)UM = um
n	AN	EN	IN	(U-)UN = on	(Ú-)UN = un
r	AR	(E-)IR	IR	(U-)UR = or	(Ú-)UR = ur
s	[AZ]	[E-IS]	[IS]	[(U-)UZ]	[(Ú-)UZ]
š	AS = aθ	ES = eθ	IS = iθ	(U-)US = oθ	(Ú-)US = uθ
z	AZ	(E-)IS = iz	IS	(U-)UZ = oz	(Ú-)UZ = uz
w	[AB=aw]	IB = ew	IB = iw	(U-)UB = ow	(Ú-)UB = uw

Notes:

Parentheses, ( ), indicate optional elements.

Square brackets, [ ], indicate orthographies that do not occur, but would be expected from those that do occur.

The lines in the table of CV signs connect the series of signs used to represent the stops.

KI and GI are both used, but their use proves to represent a difference in vowel not consonant, GI representing k/ge and KI k/gi; KU and GU are both used for the same purpose, KU representing k/go and GU k/gu.[30] A prominent feature of the orthography of the Mittanni Letter is the phonemic contrast between double and single writing in the stops, the dental fricative, and the labial fricative. We shall see in chapter three that this proves to constitute consonantal length which is phonemic in Hurrian. These distinctive orthographic methods set the orthography of the Mittanni Letter apart from the other syllabic systems used for writing Hurrian.

2.1122 **The orthography of the Hurrian documents from Ugarit.** These texts use the same Hurro-Hittite syllabary as do the Akkadian documents from the same site. However, their orthographic practices differ in general from that of the Mittanni Letter in several details. First of all their orthography is not consistent.[31] This is not surprising since Hurrian was only a secondary language at Ugarit and the texts that have been found are of diverse origin and content. Further, it is highly probable that most of them were written by scribes for whom Hurrian was not their native language.[32]

2.11221 **The orthography of the Akkado-Hurrian bilingual.**

(1) Both the Akkadian and the Hurrian portions are inconsistent in the use of the signs for the voiced and the voiceless stops. Only one clear example is present in the

Hurrian portion of the bilingual (i.e. e-ni-ta- line 19 versus e-en-ni-da- line 5, e-la-me-ni-da line 6 etc.), but this is sufficient to preclude basing any phonemic conclusions on the use of the signs for the stops in the light of the indiscriminate use of them in the Akkadian of Ugarit in general,[33] in the Akkadian portion of the bilingual in particular,[34] and in the other Hurrian texts from Ugarit.[35] However, it can be noted that in the great majority of cases initial and doubled stops are represented by the signs for the voiceless stops and intervocalic stops are represented by the signs for the voiced stops.[36] These two tendencies can be very plausibly explained by the hypothesis that this text was written by a scribe whose language did phonemically distinguish the voiced and voiceless stops and who, consequently, would "hear" the positional variation of voicing in Hurrian and yet was using a syllabary with a strong tendency to use the signs for voiced and voiceless stops indiscriminately.

(2) Doubling is not consistently used.[37]

(3) The sign PI represents w plus a vowel.

(4) The phoneme represented in the syllabary by š appears doubled in the same grammatical element in which it is doubled in the Mittanni Letter.[38]

(5) The combination of the second person singular pronominal suffix and the dative suffix -w/pa is written -ib-ba- very similar to the manner in which it is represented in the Mittanni Letter.[39]

2.11222 **The orthography of the Sumero-Hurrian vocab-**
ulary.   This is often ambiguous and hence difficult to
assess because of the broken state of the text and the
difficulty of its interpretation.

(1) With but a few exceptions the S-H Voc. distin-
guishes voiced and voiceless stops according to the pattern
evident in the alphabetic texts, namely, voiceless in ini-
tial position or when doubled, voiced in intervocalic
position or when contiguous with 1, m, or n. The doubling
of stops is not orthographically indicated, but now that
the negative -kk- has been identified from the Akkadian
bilingual, the post vocalic -ki- must be construed as
representing a doubled sound and hence voiceless.[40] It
is indeed probable that each of the few examples of post-
vocalic voiceless stops should be taken as doubled.[41] Note
that the three examples of initial bi-[42] do not indicate
a voiced stop since the sign PI represents only w plus a
vowel. For the voicing of the stops after 1, note zu-bal-
gi, 2:33. This great regularity in the pattern of voicing
in the stops is very plausibly explained if the scribe spoke
a language which did phonemically distinguish the voiced
and voiceless stops and hence would "hear" and record the
non-phonemic positional pattern in the voicing of the Hurrian
stops.[43]

(2) Doubled consonants in general are not ortho-
graphically indicated. See the comments for the stops
above.[44]

(3) The sign PI represents w̲ plus a vowel.[45]

(4) Sibilants are indicated by s̲-signs, z̲-signs, and š̲-signs as in the Mittanni Letter.

2.11223 **The orthography of the Quadrilingual Vocabulary.** I have not had access to either the facsimilies nor a transliteration of the Quadrilingual Vocabulary. I can only note that if the normalizations of the study of M. Laroche in Ugaritica V represent the actual orthography of the text, then it also agrees with the positional voicing mentioned above.

2.11224 **The orthography of the rest of the syllabic material from Ugarit.** The rest of the syllabic Hurrian material from Ugarit displays two types of text. Text one is a letter from the prince or some other high functionary of Carchemish to Ugarit; the remaining texts (two through thirty-one) are a type of religious composition consisting of a connected text followed by an enumeration of objects. The orthographies of the two types of text are markedly different.

(1) **The letter.** Although the letter is very short and badly preserved, it seems to be written with the same orthography as the Mittanni Letter. Thus, it regularly distinguishes length in the dental fricative;[46] it uses both U and Û, being the only place outside the Mittanni Letter where this distinction is maintained;[47] it uses only one set of signs for the stops, namely the set with the voiceless consonant;[48] and it possibly distinguishes length in the

labial fricative.[49] These striking agreements in orthography between the Mittanni Letter and this letter from Carchemish suggest the existence of an official international diplomatic Hurrian orthography, probably instigated by the correspondence of the Mittanni empire.

(2) The religious texts. Apart from two peculiarities the orthography of these texts does not differ from that of the A-H Bil. First there is indiscriminate use of the signs for the voiced and voiceless stops.[50] Second one finds the sign ZU used for the normal double s in the name Te-zu-ub-be, 2:1, 11(?). Since these signs can represent both s and z in the Akkadian texts from Ugarit, it seems very probable that it represents s here and we have another example here of the use of s by Semitic scribes to represent the phoneme [θ] as at several Akkadian sites.[51]

The twenty-five new texts found in 1955 have largely restored the format of this genre of religious texts.[52] Particularly interesting is the last line, reconstructed by M. Laroche from the broken ends of the texts. It reads as follows: annu zammašša nitkabli (or natkibli) zaluzi ša DINGIR. MES TA x SU y, where x and y represent personal names. As Laroche notes, this final line defines the contents of the tablet. After annu "this" the next three Hurrian words are impossible to analyze, but the following phrase ša DINGER. MES reveals the religious nature of the contents of the tablets. Following this comes the name of the author and of the scribe, i.e. ištu X qât Y "for so and so, hand of so

and so." The four names preserved following _ištu_ are
Hurrian: _Tapšiḫumi_, _Puḫiya(na)_, _Urḫiya_, and _Ammiya_, whereas
the two names preserved following _qât_ are Semitic: _Ipšali_
and _Ammurapi_. Of the eight tablets preserving the scribe's
names, _Ipšali_ wrote five of them, _Ammurapi_ wrote two, and in
one only the final syllable of the name has been preserved.
This evidence shows beyond dispute that the scribes of these
texts were Semites who were able to write Hurrian for a
Hurrian clientele. However, it must be noted that these
texts do not reveal the pattern of positional voicing that
we have noted in other texts for which a Semitic nationality
was posited for the scribe. Rather, their orthographic fea-
tures follow, in general, those of the Akkadian texts from
Ugarit, at least in the indiscriminate use of the signs for
the voiced and voiceless stops.

2.1123 The orthography of the material from Nuzu,
Alalaḫ, and Boghazköi. Except for the material from
Boghazköi, where independent texts in Hurrian and passages
in Hurrian within the Hittite texts have been found, the
Hurrian from these sites occurs as proper names, technical
terms, and a very few glosses.[53] Consequently their ortho-
graphy differs little from that of the Akkadian or Hittite
contexts in which they are imbedded. The basic features are
those of the Hurro-Hittite syllabary set forth above (§2.111-
2.112). The dental fricative [θ] is written with _š_-signs
with irregular indication of consonantal length. Hurrian
[s] is indicated largely by _z_-signs, exclusively so at Nuzu.[54]

The labial fricative is indicated by an alternation of w and
p/b signs.

2.113 The origin of the Hurro-Hittite syllabary.

After having examined the orthographic systems which use this
syllabary to write both Hurrian and Akkadian, it will be help-
ful briefly to consider what can be ascertained about its
origin. It has been emphasized above, passim, that the dis-
tinctive features of the Hurro-Hittite syllabary are found
in Old Akkadian orthography, but not, in general, in either
the contemporary Middle Babylonian or Middle Assyrian sylla-
baries, nor even in the Old Babylonian syllabary.[55] These
features are: (a) the exclusive use of the sign PI as w
plus a vowel; (b) the use of the set of signs s plus a vowel
as a simple variant of the set š plus vowel at Nuzu and a
strong tendency in this regard at Alalaḫ, Amarna, and
Boghazköi goes back to the Old Akkadian use of these signs
to represent [š] and [ś]; (c) the use of the š-signs to re-
present the Hurrian dental fricative [θ] can plausibly be
connected with the Old Akkadian use of these signs to repre-
sent the Akkadian descendent of proto-Semitic t; (d) the in-
discriminate use of the signs for the voiced and voiceless
stops in the whole corpus of Hurro-Hittite Akkadian material
traces back to the Old Akkadian tendency toward the same prac-
tice; (e) yet the use in the Mittanni Letter of a single set
of signs for the stops also traces back to the regular use
in the Old Akkadian syllabary of only one set of signs to re-
present the stops; (f) the Hurro-Hittite syllabary largely

lacks separate signs for the emphatics as does the Old Akkad-
ian syllabary. These numerous agreements between the Hurro-
Hittite syllabary and the Old Akkadian syllabary, agreements
which are not found in the Old Babylonian and later sylla-
baries, can only be explained if the Hurro-Hittite syllabary
originated either in the Old Akkadian syllabary itself or in
one of its later derivatives which still retained these fea-
tures. The evidence we possess thus far permits only the
most general statement, but several independent indications
do point to the Late Akkad or Ur III period. First, we know
from the Foundation Lion Inscription that a Hurrian State in
Upper Mesopotamia, possibly of a high degree of cultural at-
tainment,[56] had already borrowed the cuneiform syllabary and
adapted it for the purposes of writing Hurrian in Old Ak-
kadian times. Although Nougayrol very positively dates the
inscription to "at least the beginning of the dynasty of
Akkad,"[57] both von Soden[58] and Gelb[59] have dated it to the
Late Akkad period and Gelb does so on epigraphic grounds.
Note also that Parrot very positively dates the figure of the
lion to the epoch of Ur III, Larsa, or Babylon I on the basis
of its style and the type of foundation deposit that it repre-
sents.[60] Further, two other items possibly point in this
same direction. First, the well-known Samarra tablet, which
records the dedication of a temple by Ari-Sen king of Urkis
and Nawar, was dated by Thureau-Dangin to this same general
period;[61] and second, there exists a cylinder seal, dating
to the same period, on which is inscribed the name [d]Tišari,

king of Karḫar.[62] Thus it would seem likely that Nougayrol's dates are too high and that the date of the first recorded borrowing of the cuneiform syllabary by the Hurrians must be dated to Late Akkad times at the eariest and possibly Ur III.[63] Secondly, the choice of certain ideograms in the Hittite syllabary has led to the dating of its borrowing to this same era.[64] On the widely-held assumption that the Hittites obtained their knowledge of the cuneiform syllabary from the Hurrians, this also suggests _circa_ Ur III as the date of borrowing.[65] Thirdly, the use of the set of signs _s_ plus a vowel to represent Hurrian [s] means that the syllabary of the Mittanni Letter must go back at the earliest to a period when these signs no longer exclusively represented Semitic š/ś as they do in the Akkad period proper but had begun to be used for Semitic _samekh_ as well.[66] The earliest period that this usage occurs with any frequency is Ur III.[67]

Finally it can be noted that the marked differences between the orthography of the Foundation Lion Inscription and that of the Mittanni Letter would seem to indicate that the latter is not a development of the former but stems from a separate Hurrian borrowing of the cuneiform syllabary.

2.12 The "Babylonian" syllabary and the orthographies using it. Alongside the large amount of material written in the Hurro-Hittite syllabary described above, a small amount of material has been discovered written in the syllabary in use at Mari and in Babylonia proper. The Mari material is found in the Hurrian texts described in §1.23

above, whereas the material from Babylonia proper occurs as personal names in texts of the Old Babylonian period from Dilbat, in texts of the Mari period from Chagar Bazar, in texts of the Middle Babylonian period from Nippur, and in texts from the Middle Assyrian period from Aššur.[68]

The orthography of all these texts is basically the same, at least in those features which affect the writing of Hurrian.

2.121 <u>The distinctive features of the "Babylonian" syllabary</u>. The most distinctive features of this syllabary, in contra-distinction to the orthographic practices of the Hurro-Hittite syllabary, are the following: (a) the signs for the voiced and voiceless stops are, in general, carefully distinguished, although there are exceptions;[69] (b) for the emphatics QA is in use, but not QI or QU and special signs for ṢI and ṢU are in sporadic use; (c) although the writing of the sibilants presents the most variations, the set of signs <u>s</u> plus a vowel is generally used for etymological <u>samekh</u>. Its occasional use for <u>š</u> has been ascribed to Amorrite influence.[70] As in the Hurro-Hittite syllabary the sign PI has the value <u>w</u> plus a vowel.

2.122 <u>The distinctive features of this syllabary as used for Hurrian</u>. The only strictly Hurrian texts using this syllabary are the seven short and broken texts from Mari. Since they are largely untranslatable, their phonemic evidence is very hard to assess, particularly for the Hurrian phonemes that are not present in Akkadian. The Hurrian per-

sonal names from Akkadian sites present several interesting and informative aberrations in the representation of these same phonemes. These will be briefly described here.

2.1221 _The Hurrian texts from Mari_. (a) The stops. The striking thing about the signs for the stops in the texts from Mari is their differentiation according to voice. With few exceptions one finds initial stops are voiceless, and inter-vocalic stops are voiced as they are after r, m, and n. No examples occur after l. Doubled stops are voiceless. The phonemic interpretation of these facts is given in §3.32-3.34 below. (b) It seems very probably that the dental fricative is represented by the š-signs, for the only lexical and grammatical elements involving this phoneme that can be identified with any confidence do so. Thus, te-šu-ba-am 1:34, ši-mi-gi-e-ni-iš 1:36, e-ni-iš 1:33, aš-ti-ni-iš 4:25, pa-pa na-šu-uš 5:8 etc.[71] (c) The labial fricative is rendered by the PI sign in the cases that can be identified with reasonable certainty, e.g. Ku-ma-ar-we- 5:4, Si-mi-gi-e-ni-we-na 5:10, and š[a]-a[t]-ti-la pa-ar-ḫi-wa-aš 6:13, which seems to represent the first person pronominal suffix which is spelled -iw-wə- in the Mittanni Letter (cf. IH §53).

2.1222 _The Hurrian names from "Babylonian" sites._[72] (a) The Stops. It is in the Hurrian names from these Akkadian sites, written by Semitic scribes, that the positional voicing of the stops in Hurrian is most abundantly and clearly attested. The evidence is set forth with abundant examples by Purves in the two articles cited in note seventy-two above. It is also

important to note that the doubled stops are written double with considerable regularity in these texts This has important repercussions for the problem of consonantal length, cf. §3.9 below. (b) The dental fricative. Another important aberrant orthography in these texts occurs in the representation of the dental fricative. With great regularity the voiced form of this phoneme is written with z-signs, and although the voiceless form is usually rendered with š-signs, there are a significant number of occurrences in which it is rendered by the s-signs which, it must be noted, are used to render Semitic samekh in the Akkadian texts from these sites. Cf. "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern" pp. 385-387. The phonemic importance of this is set forth in §3.513 below. (c) The labial fricative. In initial position p-signs are used to represent this phoneme, forming a significant witness to the voicelessness of this phoneme in initial position, cf. §3.621.

2.13 The orthography of the Foundation Lion Inscription from the Akkad period. This inscription is written in an orthography which, in general, agrees with that of the contemporary Akkadian documents. Its shortness, however, precludes any very general statement on the subject.

2.131 The distinctive features of the Old Akkadian syllabary.[73] These have been mentioned previously in connection with the Hurro-Hittite syllabary and its origin, §2.111 above. (a) The set of signs which later represents the emphatics is completely absent.[74] (b) The sign PI represents wa, we, wi or wu.[75] (c) The set of signs š plus a vowel re-

presents the Akkadian descendent of proto-Semitic t̲ (Arabic ث) very regularly, whereas the set of signs later used to designate s̲ (samekh) plus a vowel is used for the Akkadian descendent of proto-Semitic š̲ (Arabic س) and š̲ (Arabic ش).[76]

(d) When we come to the stops, it must be emphasized, in the light of its implications for Hurrian phonemics, that the Old Akkadian syllabary not only did not differentiate at any time between voiced and voiceless stops but also used regularly only one set of signs for syllables beginning with a stop. This is exactly the practice of the Foundation Lion Inscription and of the much later Mittanni Letter.[77] Thus, BA represents both ba and pa,[78] BI represents both bi and pi,[79] DA represents both da and ta,[80] TI is the only sign used for di and ti since DI is used only with the value SÁ.[81] As an exception to the general rule, TU occurs far more commonly than DU. GA is used for ga and ka to the complete exclusion of KA.[82] GI and KI are both in common use as are GU and KU.

2.132 <u>The orthographic features of the Hurrian inscription.</u> As noted above the inscription is too short to permit a full statement on the subject.

2.1321 <u>The stops.</u> The representation of the stops, although limited, agrees fully with the system set forth for Akkadian above. The same set of signs is used: BA, DA, and TI occur both initially and medially and GA is used medially.[83] BE occurs in the word written <u>in-u-be</u> and <u>i-na-u-be</u> (lines 23-24). It is used only very rarely in the Akkadian texts.

2.1322 <u>The use of the sign É.</u> This sign was trans-

literated by Nougayrol as ꜥa [on the basis of its interpre-
tation as ꜣa by Albright in a note in BASOR 77(Feb. 1940):
22],[84] and interpreted by him as representing the voiced
velar fricative later represented by single intervocalic ḫ
in the syllabary and by ǵ in the alphabetic material from
Ugarit. The voiceless velar fricative is represented by the
sign ḪA. However, in OAWG, p. 25, and sign number 174, p.
88f., Gelb has shown that, of all the values suggested for
this sign, only the value ꜣa can be established on the basis
of reasonably certain etymologies. This value expresses a
stronger onset than any of the other vowels due to its ori-
gin in Semitic ḫ (Arabic خ).[85] If this turns out to be
substantiated as the phonemics of Old Akkadian become more
certain, it will be difficult to interpret this "onset,"
descended from the proto-Semitic voiceless laryngeal frica-
tive, as representing the voiced velar fricative of Hurrian,[86]
while the sign for the velar fricative of Akkadian repre-
sents the voiceless velar fricative of Hurrian. The solution
awaits more evidence for both languages from the Old Akkadian
period.[87]

2.1323 **The problem of the representation of the sibi-
lants.** This is a difficult problem. The Akkadian usage
is not uniform and consistent[88] and the inscription is too
short to provide sufficient evidence. In Old Akkadian the
phonemes [s], [z], and [ṣ] are all represented by the set
of signs later used primarily to represent [z] (i.e. the
set z plus a vowel). Since the Hurrian phonemes [s] and

[z] are represented in the later Hurrian texts by the signs for the Akkadian phonemes [s] and [z] respectively, the absence of the set z plus vowel in the Foundation Lion inscription can be safely interpreted as meaning that no examples of the Hurrian phonemes [s] and [z] occur there. This leaves only the dental fricative [θ] represented by the following signs: ŠA, ÁŠ, IŠ, SU and SI. For the phonemic implications of this usage see §3.514.

2.1324 **The use of the vowel U.** The occurrence of the vowel U in our tablet is striking in view of Gelb's demonstration that it rarely ever interchanges with Ú or Û, which represent u and ʾu respectively in the Akkadian texts.[89] Thus it must have had a quality quite different from these two sounds. For Akkadian Gelb decides in favor of yu in view of its use to represent the prefix in the third person of D-stem verbs.[90] The use of U in the Mittanni Letter to represent a vowel different from Ú can now be clearly traced to the fact that it did not represent simple [u] in the Old Akkadian syllabary from which the Mittanni Letter syllabary is ultimately descended. Hence it was free to be adapted by the Hurrian scribes for their own purposes.

2.2 **The alphabetic orthography of Ugarit.** These texts are of prime importance for the problem of Hurrian phonemics because they are written in an alphabet that is capable of differentiating several phonemes which were written ambiguously in the syllabic material. This will become apparent as we discuss the phonemes of Hurrian.

2.21 <u>The alphabet</u>. The alphabet used for the Hurrian texts is the same as that of the Ugaritic texts except that certain signs do not appear, and the frequency of appearance of other signs is markedly different. The signs used for Ugaritic which do not appear in Hurrian are ẖ,[91] ḫ, ṭ, ẓ,[92] and ṡ, and those which are only very sporadically or uncertainly attested are ꜥ,[93] and q.[94] This, in the main, agrees with the phonetic evidence of the syllabic material which shows no evidence of the existence of these phonemes in Hurrian.

Due to the richness of the sounds distinguished in Ugaritic, the alphabet is capable of distinguishing several sounds which could not be distinguished in the syllabary. Thus ẖ and ġ are used to represent morphemes for which the syllabary had only ḫ available, and ṭ and ḍ are used to represent morphemes for which the syllabary could only use š. The significance of this will be noted in the discussion of the phonemes of Hurrian in chapter three.

Two features of the Hurrian alphabet are particularly noteworthy. First one finds a small but significant number of uses of the ṣ sign: qṣẖ (167 A 14,15), ṣṣr (167 A 13), bṣl (168:5), ṣrb(n) (285:3,5), ṣrtd (285:6). Unfortunately all are in obscure context (see §3.4). Second, the sign ḍ occurs with very low frequency in the Ugaritic texts and is used for the remnants of the proto-Semitic ḍ that for some reason did not shift to ḍ.[95] However, it is used with high frequency in the Hurrian texts as the voiced counterpart of

<u>t</u>. Here it alternates with <u>š</u> in the representation of this phone (see §3.512).

The three <u>aleph</u> signs, <u>ꜣa</u>, <u>ꜣi</u>, <u>ꜣu</u>, are used in the Hurrian texts. Since there is no evidence for such a glottal catch in Hurrian, they must represent vowel letters. Consequently they will be transcribed simply as <u>a</u>, <u>i</u>, and <u>u</u>.

The ambiguous sign used for both <u>ǵ</u> and <u>ẕ</u> in the Ugaritic texts[96] is used with the value <u>ǵ</u> in Hurrian.

2.22 <u>The orthographic practices</u>. First it must be noted that the orthography is basically consonantal. The vowel signs are used regularly only in initial position.[97] The few examples of medial and final vowels occur only in unidentified words for which no syllabic correspondences have been established. Consequently their use remains in doubt. Laroche suggests that they might represent diphthongs after the analogy of <u>Šauška=tutk</u>.[98] Consonantal doubling is not orthographically indicated, as in the practice in the Ugaritic texts, and in Semitic consonantal orthography in general. This means that it is not possible to conclude from syllabic-alphabetic correspondences that the double writing in the syllabary represents voicelessness in the phoneme involved, for the alphabetic sources are completely ambiguous as to consonantal length.

Finally, the positional voicing noted for the stops in the syllabic orthographies described previously, is found consistently in the alphabetic texts. Further, and most important, it is here seen to extend also to the dental and

velar fricatives [θ] and [ḫ].[99] The significance of this for the phonemic structure of Hurrian is noted in chapter three (§§3.512 and 3.71-3.72).

III. THE ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION
OF THE PHONEMES OF HURRIAN

Having described the orthographic systems in which
Hurrian has come down to us, we shall now examine these sys-
tems to determine what the phonemes of Hurrian are and how
they are represented in these orthographies.

3.1 **The representation of the vowels.** The ortho-
graphic systems used for Hurrian were limited in their capa-
bilities for the representation of the Hurrian vowels. The
alphabet of Ugarit is basically consonantal,[1] and the sylla-
bary could represent the vowels of Akkadian itself only im-
perfectly.

3.11 **The vowels [a], [e], and [i].** The Hurrian
texts employ the Akkadian vowel signs A, E, and I with such
regularity as to indicate that the Hurrian vowels fell gener-
ally into the same sound range as the Akkadian. This is es-
pecially true in the Mittanni Letter. Here the only incon-
sistency seems to be in the alternations -ma-/-me-, -lla-/
-lle-, and ya-/ye-. These variants seem to occur at random
with no observable semantic difference nor conditioning fac-
tor. This may be interpreted as an indication that certain
varieties of Hurrian [a] were close to Akkadian [e].[2]

3.111 **The ambiguity of the signs for the [a] and [e]
vowels.** Due to the inability of the inherited syllabary to

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render the vowel [e] (cf. §3.113 below), much ambiguity is present in the signs involving -i-. Consequently an etymological i-vowel can only be assumed when a significant number of readings with supplemental -i- occur, e.g. ti-i-ha-n- (ML 3:8,20,22,24,27; 4:49), and conversely even a single occurrence of a sign involving -e- or the use of a supplemental e-vowel must be taken as an indication of etymological -e-. In the Mittanni Letter a method was developed for distinguishing the two vowels in one instance where Akkadian orthography was incapable of so doing. Since Hurrian possessed only one set of stop phonemes, there were available two sets of signs to represent them, the voiced and the voiceless. In the case of the palatal stop [k] the sign GI was used to represent ke and the sign KI to represent ki.[3] This was not necessary for the labial stop [p] since BE was available[4] nor for the dental stop [t] since TE was available. Cf. IH §26. For some suggestions as to the quality of Hurrian [i] see IH §27.

3.112 **The vowels [u] and [o]**. Contrary to the basic correspondence of Hurrian [a], [e], and [i] with the corresponding vowels of Akkadian, the u-signs in Hurrian represented two variants or types as opposed to the single u-vowel of Akkadian. This is clearly seen from the Mittanni Letter where the two signs U and Ú, which are free variants in Akkadian, contrast sharply in usage. One is never a variant of the other in otherwise identical forms, but, on the contrary, one or the other is used consistently in a number of

stems and grammatical elements. Further, in the case of the stops, in a manner exactly analogous to the use of KI and GI to represent ki and ke (cf. §3.111 above), KU only takes Ú as a supplementary vowel, while GU only takes U as a supplementary vowel.[5] Since Ú can represent the semivowel [u̯], Speiser concludes (IH §31) that it must be a sound close to [u]. This would explain the nearly exclusive use of Ú in those Akkadian texts where Hurrian words appear as proper names or technical terms (i.e. Nuzu, Alalaḫ, Chagar Bazar) or where the writers spoke a Semitic language (i.e. Mari and Ugarit). Turning to U, the value [o] suggested by Bork[6] in 1909 and tentatively adopted by Speiser (IH §§27 and 30) can now be more firmly adopted due to the clear evidence of an o-vowel in Urartean, cf. I. M. Diakonoff, "A Comparative Survey of the Hurrian and Urartean Languages," PSVX, pp. 370-371.[7] For its use in the Foundation Lion Inscription and Old Akkadian see §2.1324.

3.113 **The use of pleonastic vowels.** In the syllabary, as mentioned above, the vowels a, i, and u can be fully differentiated, but the vowel e could only be imperfectly represented in the most advanced stage of the syllabary.[8] Since this vowel is phonemic in Hurrian (whereas it is not so in Akkadian),[9] the Hurrian scribes frequently sought to represent their e-vowel unambiguously. Consequently, with the signs LI, NI, RI, IB, ID, IG, AḪ, IM, IR, and IS, the Mittanni Letter frequently adds a pleonastic E or I to avoid ambiguity, e.g. ú-ni-e-it-ta, ML 3:21.[10]

Similarly the u-vowel and the o-vowel mentioned above (§3.112) could not be distinguished by the syllabary,[11] so the addition of pleonastic U and Ú vowels frequently occur in order to avoid ambiguity, e.g. [ta]-a-nu-u-ša-a-ú, ML 1: 70, versus ta-a-nu-ša-a-ú, ML 1:58.[12]

Certain words are invariably written with pleonastic vowels even though the preceding CV sign is unambiguous, e.g. the two very frequent words še-e-ni- "brother" and ta-a-n- "to do." This might possibly indicate length but this is most uncertain.[13]

Here also must be mentioned the inexplicable correlation between the elision of the pleonastic a-vowel of the connective associative -an and the single writing of a preceding normally doubled consonant.[14] This is particularly noticeable with the pronominal associatives -tilla "we" and -lla "they." Thus we get either -til-la-a-an or ti-la-an. This phenomenon occurs also with the agentive relational suffix[15] regularly written in the syllabary with -šš- in intervocalic position. Thus one gets še-e-ni-iw-we-ša-an (ML 4:14,57). With the morpheme which indicates plurality with the bound forms,[16] normally written -š- in intervocalic position, one gets u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wa-aš-ša-a-an, (ML 3:109) "for our lands" and i-i-ri-i-in ⟨-ni⟩-iw-wa-aš-ša-a[-an] (ML 3:123) "for our ?"[17] No satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested.[18] With all due reserve I suggest the following: perhaps the writings -a-an and -an represent the syllable an (written -a-an) and simple syllabic

n̲ (written -a̲n̲). It certainly seems plausible that con-
sonantal length would be lost before syllabic n̲. How-
ever, it does not explain why consonantal length would
secondarily arise before the syllable -a̲n̲. Further, I have
not been able to observe any morphological difference be-
tween the two forms nor any conditioning factor.

Finally, initial pleonastic vowels (i.e. V-VC) are en-
countered in the Boghazköi material. This is probably a
carry over from the frequent identical practice in Hittite
writing.[19]

3.12 <u>The representation of the vowels in the alpha-</u>
<u>betic material from Ugarit</u>.   Although the Ugaritic alphabet
was basically consonantal, it had developed three forms of
the consonant ʾaleph corresponding to ʾa, ʾi, and ʾu.[20]
Since there is no evidence of a glottal stop similar to
ʾaleph in Hurrian, these signs must be interpreted as vowel
letters. Unfortunately for our interpretation of the alpha-
betic Hurrian texts, the scribes could not break with their
consonantal principle and so used these signs in the vast
majority of cases to represent initial vowels only. The
sign i served to represent the e-vowel as well as the i-
vowel.[21] Presumably the u-sign would also represent the
o-vowel but no certain examples of this have been noted.
In IH §23, Speiser noted that a and u were used initially
only, with the single exception of tutk. This must now be
modified with the new texts found in 1961, published in
Ugaritica V. In these texts the majority of occurrences are

initial but there are a significant number of medial occur-
rences of a, i, and u, and even final occurrences of i. In
Ugaritica V, Part III C, §7, Laroche makes the very plausible
suggestion that these represent diphthongs.[22] He cites the
example of tutk, which occurs with the variant writing twtk
and represents syllabic ^d·Ša-uš-ka- (ML 3:98).[23] To this
should be added ḫurn (278:2) and ḫwrn (274:2,269+297:4),
which indubitably represents haur-ne.

3.2 **The representation of the semi-vowels [y] and
[w]**. Except for the sign PI, which was used for w plus any
vowel, and the ligature I plus A, which commonly represented
ya in Akkadian, the syllabary possessed no special signs for
these phonemes. Further, the sign PI was also used to repre-
sent the labial fricative, both voiced and voiceless, so
that considerable ambiguity and uncertainty often exists.

3.21 **The representation of [y]**. Alongside the liga-
ture for YA, initial y- can also be written i-i-, e.g. i-i-al-
(ML 1:96,98 etc.), i-i-e- (ML 1:54), and probably also i-i-im-
(ML 2:98) and i-i-um- (ML 2:99). A syllable closing -y is
also written -i-i- or -i-, e.g. al-la-i (ML 1:62), at-ta-i-
wu-uš (ML 3:67), and at-ta-i-i-we (ML 1:87). Cf. IH §§32-33.
The fairly frequent e-ti-i-e-e- (ML 4:19,22,25,28 etc.) pro-
bably represents etiye, cf. §4.51.

3.22 **The representation of the semivowel [u]**.[24] Here
the evidence is complicated by the fact that the PI sign can
be used not only for the semi-vowel [u] but also for the
labial fricative [f]. That this is so can be seen from variant

writings with p/b and w, cf. §3.6 below. A decision as to
which phoneme is present in any given word can only be made
after a significantly large number of occurrences have been
observed at more than one site. The latter provision is
necessary to ensure that the uniformity of testimony is not
simply due to consistent scribal practice.[25] Any reasonably
significant number of variant writings with p or b may be
taken as presumptive evidence that the phoneme involved was
the labial fricative [f] and not the semivowel [u̯]. The most
common words that involve [u̯] with reasonable certainty are
the following: θau̯θka (ML ᵈ·Ša-uš-ka- 3:98, Ug. tutk 61:6,
twtk 34:2, Bogh. ᵈ·Ša-wu_u-uš-ga- KUB XXVII 29 4:15); ewri
"lord" (ML ew-ri-iš 1:85 etc., Ug. iwrn 28 rev. 9), awaru
"field" (a-wǝ-ri-we Ug. S-H Voc. 4:25, awr- Ug. 4:4,30).

Complete ambiguity exists in the representation of a
final labial, whether semivowel, fricative, or stop, for the
syllabary possessed only the signs AB, IB, and UB for this
purpose. Reasonable certainty that [f] is intended can only
be attained in the Mittanni Letter with the double writings
-iw-wǝ- and -uw-wǝ, cf. §3.622 below.

Whether the forms -ú-e and ú-a of the genitive and
dative relational particles respectively, (used with the
nominals aku- and antu- and with any nominal after the first
person pronominal suffix -iw-wǝ-), represent the semivowel
[u̯] or the labial fricative [f] is a vexing problem. From
the comparative evidence for the genitive and dative re-
lational particles which these writings represent, the pho-

neme involved would appear to be [f], cf. §6.4441 (b) below.
Further, in most other cases the particles appear in the
form wè, (i.e. the sign PI). For a suggestion as to the
representation of [u] by the use of the sign ú, see §3.63.

3.3 <u>The representation of the stops</u>.   It is in the
representation of its stop phonemes that Hurrian practice de-
parts most noticeably from that of normal Akkadian usage and
at first glance, from the point of view of Akkadian ortho-
graphic practice, seems to present utter chaos. However,
there is a very systematic and consistent method in the
representation of the stops in purely Hurrian texts, and
the resulting phonemic picture adequately accounts for the
indiscriminate use in the Akkadian texts of the period.

3.31 <u>The inherent limitations of the syllabary</u>.   As
has been noted in detail above [§§2.111 (c), 2.111 (d), and
2.113], the Hurro-Hittite syllabary is derived from Old
Akkadian orthography and is independent of either Middle
Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, or Old Babylonian orthography.
One of the marked features of Old Akkadian orthography is
the indiscriminate use of the signs for the voiced and voice-
less stops, combined with the regular use of only one set of
signs to represent the labial, dental, and palatal stops re-
spectively. This origin helps to account for the fact that
in the Akkadian material from Nuzu, Alalaḫ, Boghazköi, and
Tell El-Amarna, there is a very marked indiscriminate use
of the signs for the voiced and voiceless stops.[26]

3.32 <u>The representation of the stops in the Hurrian</u>

texts. When one turns, however, to the Hurrian texts from this period, the situation is quite different. Two clear orthographic practices can be distinguished, one found in Hurrian texts written by Hurrian scribes, and the other found in Hurrian texts written by Semitic scribes.

3.321 Hurrian texts written by Hurrian scribes. In the Mittanni Letter from the Tell El-Amarna tablets there is no indiscriminate use of the signs for the stops, even though it is prevalent in the rest of the Amarna material. Rather, one finds that a single set of signs has been adopted to represent the stops (cf. §2.121 above) and this practice is followed with complete consistency. We also noted this same practice in the short letter from Carchemish to Ugarit (cf. §2.1224 (1) above)[27] and a strong tendency in this regard in the Akkado-Hurrian Bilingual from Ugarit [cf. §2.11221 above].[28]

3.322 Hurrian texts written by Semitic scribes. In the Hurrian texts from Mari,[29] in the Sumero-Hurrian Vocabulary from Ugarit,[30] and in the syllabic[31] and alphabetic[32] texts from Ugarit, a distinction is made between the voiced and voiceless stops. This distinction, furthermore, is not the random use of the contemporary Akkadian material. Rather, one finds the following distinct pattern: single stops are voiced in inter-vocalic position, when post vocalic in final position, and when contiguous with the liquids and nasals; doubled stops are invariably voiceless.[33] Cf. IH §§ 47-51 and 76-78.

3.33 The representation of the stops in personal names,

technical terms and loan words occurring in Akkadian texts.
This material, although of the most incidental value for
Hurrian morphology, contains some very significant evidence
for the phonemic character of the Hurrian stops and the
dental fricative.

3.331 <u>Hurrian material occurring as names, technical
terms, and glosses in the Akkadian texts which use the Hurro-
Hittite syllabary.</u> In this material, principally from Nuzu
and Alalaḫ, the same indiscriminate use of the signs for
voiced and voiceless stops is found in the Hurrian names and
words as occurs in the Akkadian material in which they are
imbedded. This is to be expected, for the two sets of stop
signs were free variants.

3.332 <u>Hurrian names in Akkadian texts written by
Semitic scribes.</u> In two very important articles,[34] P. M.
Purves has shown that the same positional variation of the
voiced and voiceless stops as was noted for the <u>Hurrian</u>
texts written by <u>Semitic</u> scribes (cf. §3.322 above)[35] is
found with great regularity in the Hurrian personal names
occurring in Akkadian texts written by Semitic scribes from
Chagar Bazar in the Mari period, from Dilbat in the Old Baby-
lonian period, from Aššur and Nippur in the Middle Assyrian
and Babylonian periods, and from the first generation of Ak-
kadian scribes at Nuzu.[36] Although there might be some equi-
vocation over the Semitic nationality of the scribes of some
of the Hurrian documents so interpreted above, there can be no
doubt whatsoever that these texts were written by native

speakers of Akkadian.

3.34 <u>The evidence for the Hurrian stop phonemes and</u> <u>their positional voicing</u>. In the light of the full documentation of the evidence in <u>IH</u> §47-51, only a summary will be presented here. Since the Ug. alph. texts, the Akkadian texts from Mari, the Ug. S-H Voc., and the Hurrian names from Babylonian sites are the only sources which are capable of orthographically indicating the positional variation of the Hurrian stops, evidence from these sources only will be cited.

3.341 <u>The labial stop [p]</u>. Due to the existence in Hurrian of a labial fricative for which no separate signs exist in the cuneiform syllabary or in the alphabetic system of Ugarit,[37] the signs for the labial stops had to do double duty;[38] consequently there is considerable ambiguity in establishing the existence of the stop in any given instance. Since the existence of the labial fricative is indicated by the alternation of the symbols for the stop and the semi-vowel,[39] the labial stop can only be considered certain when a significant number of occurrences can be observed without such alternates with w and preferably in more than one site. Cf. <u>IH</u> §48.

In the Ug. alphabetic texts, the Mari texts, and the Ug. S-H Voc. p is used initially (in the syllabic texts the only distinction possible is in the pair PA-BA), whereas b occurs medially.

When p occurs medially in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit, it can represent either the doubled stop,[40] (e.g.

ir<u>d</u>p 4:42 which represents alphabetic ^d<u>Iršappi</u> <u>KUB</u> 27 1 2:23) or it can represent the labial fricative [cf. §3.52 below and <u>IH</u> §49(d)].

3.342 <u>The dental stop [t]</u>. Here the syllabary has a separate sign for all CV possibilities except <u>de</u>, hence there is little ambiguity in establishing the pattern of voicing with this stop.

In the Ug. alphabetic texts, the Mari texts, and the Ug. S-H Voc., <u>t</u> is used initially; medially <u>d</u> occurs inter-vocalically and after the liquids <u>r</u> and <u>l</u> and the nasals <u>m</u> and <u>n</u>; in all other medial positions and when doubled, <u>t</u> occurs. Since there are considerably more examples possible with this stop than with the others, this positional variation will be established fully in the table on the following page.

3.343 <u>The palatal stop [k]</u>. In the Ug. alphabetic texts, the Mari texts, the Ug. S-H Voc., and the Hurrian names from Babylonian sites, only <u>k</u> is used initially.[49] Cf. <u>IH</u> §50a. Medially in inter-vocalic position and after the liquids and nasals <u>g</u> is found. In all other medial positions and when doubled, <u>k</u> occurs. Cf. <u>IH</u> §50b.

3.35 <u>Conclusion: Voicing of the stops is allophonic in Hurrian</u>. These facts can only be explained on the inference that voicing of the stops was not phonemic in Hurrian, but was caused by certain contiguous voiced sounds. Consequently this positional voicing was not apparent to native speakers of Hurrian; they were aware of only a

The Positional Voicing of the Dental Stop [t]

	Ug. alph.	Mari	Names[43]
(a)	trḫ- 166:55, 56,57 etc.	ta-di 3:2	Ta-gu-uḫ-li ESN: 172
(b)	kmrb-n-d 166: 4 etc.	Ku-ma-ar-wə-ni-da-al 5:4	Ta-di-ba-bu ESN: 172
(c)	ardnm 166: 4	ša-la-ar-di 5:11	Ḫa-bi-ir-di-il-la ESN: 173
(d)	kld-n 168: 10 etc.	----	Ki-il-di-ya ESN: 173
(e)	----	[k]u-[u]m-di 1:15	A-ri-lu-um-di ESN: 180
(f)	----[45]	a-wa-an-du- 3:22, 23,26	Pa-an-di-ya ESN: 174
(g)	atṯḫ- 166:55 etc.	aš-ti-ni-iš 4:25	Aš-tu-a-ta-na HCP: 401
(h)	atn[47] 166:1 etc.	a-ta-i-ta 5:5[48]	A-gi-it-te ESN: 176

(a) in initial position[41] (b) in inter-vocalic position[42] (c) when contiguous with -r-. (d) when contiguous with -l-. (e) when contiguous with -m-[44] (f) when contiguous with -n-. (g) when contiguous with other consonants than the liquids and nasals. (h) when doubled.[46]

single set of stop phonemes. When they wrote Akkadian they were not capable of recognizing consistently the phonemic difference between the voiced and voiceless stops, and this, combined with the inherent limitations of the syllabary itself, produced the completely indiscriminate use of the signs for the voiced and voiceless stops at those sites where

Hurrian penetration was most pronounced such as Nuzu and Alalaḫ. On the other hand, native speakers of Akkadian or West Semitic (Ugaritic or Amorite), to whom voicing of the stops was phonemic, could easily "hear" the pattern of voicing of the stops in Hurrian speech and consequently so wrote the sounds they heard, particularly when using the "Babylonian" syllabary of Mari or the alphabet of Ugaritic, which systems faithfully distinguished the voiced and voiceless stops.[50]

3.351 <u>The phonemic symbols for the Hurrian stops</u>. As a result of the fact that voicing is non-phonemic in the Hurrian stops, the distinction of voice is superfluous in phonemic transcription of the language; consequently we shall use the symbols [p], [t], and [k] to represent them.

3.36 <u>The problem of stop clusters</u>. On the basis of <u>ttb-d</u>, Ug. 4:56, and <u>nbdg-d</u>, Ug. 50 obv. 4, it is possible to conclude that the stops are voiced after other stops, as Speiser does in <u>IH</u> §77. However, note <u>lbtg̃</u>, Ug. 4:35, which equals syllabic ^{al}<u>Lu-ub-tu-ḫi</u>, <u>HSS X</u> 231 rev. 5, and <u>ak-tu-uk-ku</u>, Mari 6:9. These involve the identical pairs of consonants as the above examples. Further, Purves has noted several examples of voiceless stops after other stops in the Hurrian personal names written by Semitic scribes at several Babylonian sites.[51] (Cf. §3.332 above). Finally, there is a simple and readily apparent explanation for the voicing of the directive particle in the above example. Since the directive particle -<u>ta</u> prefixes a <u>u</u>-vowel when added to con-

sonants,[52] as Speiser himself notes (IH §153), the voicing is obviously to be explained as due to this vowel, i.e. Tettub-uda and Nubadig-uda. Hence, there is no evidence which contradicts the rule that homogeneous[53] consonant clusters are voiceless.

3.37 The doubling of the stops in Hurrian must be taken as etymological doubling. In IH, p. 41, n. 90, Speiser suggests that "the single writing of the stop in the Mari example (i.e. a-ta-i-ta 5:5) suggests that the sound was not double etymologically; the double writing in the main syllabary need express no more than lack of voice."[54] However, one also finds at Mari the form š[a]-a[t]-ti-la (6:13),[55] which shows that a t written double elsewhere could be so written at Mari. There are also several examples of the negative element -kk-, always written double in the Mittanni Letter, e.g. e(?)-?-du-uk-ku, (6:3), a-l[u?]-u[k]-ku (6:6), ša-al-hu-du-uk-ku (6:8), ak-tu-uk-ku (6:9), -k]u-ru-uk-ku (7:6), ar-du-uk-ku (7:17) and tu-ni-ik-ki (7:20), and only one possible example of it written singly, viz. pa-an-di-k[u (7:21). All these double writings appear in texts six and seven, whereas along with a-ta-i-ta in text five, note also pa-pa-na-šu-uš [5:8, cf. IH §49(3)], ši-ka-al (5:12), and ha-tu-di-en (5:19). All of these examples from text five can only be explained as doubled stops, hence voiceless. It would appear, then, that the single t of a-ta-i-ta must be attributed to a difference in scribal practice between text five and texts six and seven.[56] Now, although double writing in the main syl-

labary need express no more than lack of voice, this double writing at Mari can only mean etymological doubling, since lack of voice could be expressed by the syllabary. Further, note the voiceless double writing of stops resulting from the assimilation of the suffix -b to the first consonant of the second part of the name at Nippur, e.g. Arikkazu > Arib-kazu.[57]

Finally note the forms ttp and ttpn in Ug. alph. 644: 9,10. As is shown in §6.4441 (e) (cf. also §3.9, note 128 thereto), this represents the product of the assimilation of the labial fricative to the labial stop, i.e. TeθθoB-fe > *TeθθoB-be > Teθθop-pe. When this is compared with ᵈTe-e-eš-šu-u-up-pè (ML 2:77), it can be seen that the product of the assimilation is not only a doubled stop, but the doubled stop is voiceless.

3.38 **The phonetic nature of the stops.** In IH §77 Speiser presents some evidence that the stops in Hurrian are composite sounds. He uses as part of his evidence the voicing of the directive particle -ta after Ttb and Nbdg at Ugarit. However, this is atypical as is shown above (§3.36), and probably simply reflects a u-connecting vowel before the suffix. Further, Speiser's interpretation of the unique ᵈTe-eš-šu-ub-ʾa-dal from Dilbat as due to an attempt by the scribe to render some such composite sound has been given a far more plausible explanation by Purves in "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941); 381. Purves shows by several lines of evidence that the two elements of Hurrian names were not run together, but that a pause existed between them. This is frequently shown

when the first element ends in a consonant and the second
with a vowel, by using a VC sign at the end of the first
element and beginning the second either with a vowel or
another VC sign, e.g. ^{f}A-ga-ab-e-li, ^{m}Ku-zu-uḫ-a-ri,
^{f}Ki-lum-al-la-i etc. Since these names are all written
by Semitic scribes, it is very plausible to suppose that the
scribe who wrote Teššub'adal heard this pause as an 'aleph
and so wrote it.[58] Further, the fact that Hurrian did not
tolerate doubled voiced stops but only doubled voiceless
stops no longer can be taken to favor a composite nature of
the stops since this same pattern is evident with the fri-
catives also (see below).

Now, the fact that the three fricatives of Hurrian
(the labial, the dental and the velar) exhibit this exact
same pattern is suggestive. Perhaps spirantization was a non-
phonemic feature of the single voiced Hurrian stops, whereas,
in initial position, when doubled, and in homogeneous con-
sonant clusters, the stops were not only voiceless but also
non-spirantized. Although this is pure conjecture, it does
bring up another very suggestive possibility. This pattern
of non-phonemic, inter-vocalic spirantization which is lost
when the consonants are doubled immediately brings to mind
the very similar pattern of the Hebrew stops.[59] This is a
phonemenon which is unique among the Semitic languages, and
hence it seems likely that it is due to some exterior in-
fluence. Perhaps this development is due to the influence
of Hurrian during the formative period of the Aramaic and

Canaanite dialects during the latter half of the second mil-
lenium.[60] Phonetic shifts and developments such as this due
to the influence of another language which forms a substratum
or adstratum are not unknown, cf. the phonetic influence of
Sumerian upon Akkadian during the period between late Akkad
and early Old Babylonian times.[61] This remains, however, the
most tentative of suggestions.

3.4 The representation of the sibilants and affricates.
In JAOS 58(1938): 175-193 and in IH §40-46, Speiser presents
the evidence upon which he bases his conclusion that Hurrian
possessed four sibilant phonemes which he transcribes as [s],
[z], [s̄], and [z̄]. That two phonemes exist, which we shall
represent by [s] and [z], seems clear,[62] but we shall see be-
low that the evidence is heavily in favor of the existence of
a dental fricative with voiced and voiceless allophones, rather
than two separate phonemes. The alphabetic material used five
signs for these sounds, s̲, z̲, s̰, t̲, and d̲, but the syllabary
had to make do with only three sets of signs, namely the s̲-
signs, and the z̲-signs, and the s̲̄-signs.

3.41 The evidence of the alphabetic texts. In the
alphabetic texts from Ugarit both the s̲-sign and the z̲-sign
are used, as has been recognized since IH.[64] However, the
use of s̰, which was highly doubtful when IH was written,[65]
must now be recognized as established, for it occurs in the
new texts from Ugaritica V a small but significant number of
times. Note qṣḫ (167 A:14,15),[66] ṣṣr (167 A:13), bṣl (168:
15),[67] ṣrb(n) (285:35), and ṣrtd (285:6). All are in obscure

context and no possible syllabic equivalents have been noted. Nevertheless, it remains a good possibility that this indicates the existence in Hurrian of a phoneme other than the sibilant [s/z].

3.42 <u>The evidence of the syllabic material.</u> In the syllabic material using the Hurro-Hittite syllabary and that using the Babylonian syllabary, both <u>s</u>- and <u>z</u>-signs occur. Now the Hurro-Hittite syllabary did not in general have a separate set of signs for Akkadian [s], [z], and [ş], the <u>z</u>-set being used to represent all three. The set of signs <u>s</u> plus a vowel is frequently a simple variant of the set š plus a vowel [cf. 2.111 (c)], this usage being almost exclusive at Nuzu.[68] Consequently the evidence from these sites is ambiguous and gives little information about the Hurrian sibilant phonemes.[69] Fortunately the writing of Hurrian names by Akkadian scribes from Babylonian sites once again throws some light on the problem. Here one finds that words written with initial <u>z</u> or double <u>z</u> at Nuzu appear written with initial <u>s</u> and double <u>s</u> at Nippur. The evidence is documented by Purves in <u>HCP</u>, pp. 398-399.

The evidence of the Mittanni Letter is also significant. Here one finds <u>s</u>-signs used in initial position,[70] medial position,[71] but not doubled. The <u>z</u>-signs are used initially,[72] in medial position,[73] and doubled.[74] It must be emphasized here again that we must carefully distinguish between texts written by Semitic scribes and those written by native Hurrians. In the former <u>z</u>-signs very probably represent the

voiced allophone of the Hurrian sibilant, as well as the Hurrian affricate (see below).

3.43 <u>The phonemic interpretation of the evidence</u>. This evidence is quite ambiguous. It can be taken to indicate that two separate sibilant phonemes existed, differing by voice only. However, to establish this, the presence of s̲ at Ugarit must either be ignored or left unaccounted for. Further, note that, if the sibilants [s] and [z] existed as separate phonemes, then they form the only voiced-voiceless pair of phones in the language which are not allophones. The pattern of voiced-voiceless allophones established for the other fricatives is strongly against this. What then do these two sets of signs (i.e. the s̲ and the z̲) represent? Although the evidence is yet far from clear and unambiguous, it would appear that one represents a sibilant phoneme [s] while the other represents an affricate [ts], both phonemes exhibiting voiced and voiceless allophones according to the positional criterion established for the other fricatives. However, which is which is open to some doubt. Although [s] is regarded as the sibilant in this study, note that Hurrian <u>pis̲</u>- "rejoice" appears in Urartean as <u>pis̲uše</u> "joy," cf. Diakonoff, <u>PSVX</u>, p. 380.

3.431 <u>The sibilant phoneme [s]</u>. The existence of this phoneme can be seen by the use of signs that represent Semitic <u>samekh</u> and <u>zayin</u> at Mari (e.g. <u>i-si</u> 5:1,5; <u>i-su-di-iš</u> 5:6; <u>ma-ru-sa</u> 5:15; and <u>ḫi-in-zu-ru-uš</u> 6:7), the Babylonian sites (cf. Purves, <u>HCP</u>, pp. 397-400), and the Ugaritic

alphabetic texts (e.g. psm 4:53, usgr 106:3, and ḫzḫz 4:24).
At Nuzu Hurrian [s] is represented by the polyphonous z-signs
(cf. note 68). That this is so is seen by the writing of
Hurrian names by Akkadian scribes at Nippur. Thus the common
root written zi-il- in names at Nuzu and which occurs in the
common Hurrian term zilikuḫlu "witness" was in all probabil-
ity sil- because of the writing ᵐSi-il-te-šub at Nippur.[76]
The use of both s- and z-signs by the Semitic scribes of the
Mari texts[77] and the Ugaritic alphabetic texts establishes
the basic phonetic value as a sibilant.[78] Evidence for the
positional voicing of the phoneme can be seen in the combined
Nuzu-Nippur evidence noted above where s occurs initially at
Nippur for initial z at Nuzu, and in certain cases of double
z at Nuzu which invariably appear as double s at Nippur; and
by the fact that the s-sign appears in initial position in
the Ug. alph. texts but not the z-sign.[79] In the Mittanni
Letter only one symbol is used for the phoneme, i.e. the s-
signs. Since ML was written by Hurrian scribes, the allo-
phonic voiced-voiceless alternation was not noticeable to them.

3.432 The phoneme [z]. The evidence for this phoneme
is much harder to interpret because of the ambiguity of the
writing systems. Thus the Hurrian texts written by Semitic
scribes use z-signs for the voiced allophone of the sibilant
[s] (cf. §3.431 above), and the Hurrian names written by
Akkadian scribes from Babylonian sites use z-signs for the
voiced allophone of the dental fricative [θ] (cf. §3.5 below.

If the s-signs in the Mittanni Letter represent a sibi-

lant phoneme with voiced and voiceless allophones like the
other fricatives, as it was interpreted above, then what do
the z-signs in the Mittanni Letter represent? Although sur-
mises only are possible at this point, the use of s in the
Ug. alph. texts (see §3.41 above) suggests an affricate [ts].[80]
No alphabetic-syllabic correspondences have been established
yet, however. Further, note that no sign is used in the al-
phabetic texts that could be interpreted as a voiced variant
of s (say z); and note that, in the Hurrian names occurring
in Akkadian texts from Nippur and Aššur in the Middle Babyl-
onian and Middle Assyrian periods, written in a syllabary
that did have separate signs for s, there have been noted no
examples of the frequent names using z at Nuzu written with s.

3.44 **The ambiguity of the s- and z-signs in the per-**
sonal names from Chagar Bazar, Nippur and Aššur. At these
sites name elements written with šin at Nuzu occur with s-
signs in initial position and z-signs in intervocalic posi-
tion and after n and r. See HCP, p. 391 for examples. These
result from mispronunciation on the part of Semitic scribes
of the Hurrian dental fricative [θ]. See §3.51 below.

3.5 **The representation of the dental fricative [θ].**
In IH §§44-46 Speiser introduces two separate phonemes which
he gives the symbols [š] and [ẓ] and which he treats as sibi-
lants. However, the evidence is preponderantly in favor of
a single phoneme with voiced and voiceless allophones as with
the stops above and as was posited for the sibilant [s] and
the affricate [z] above. As will become evident, it seems

better to treat the phoneme now under consideration under the general heading of a fricative.

3.51 <u>The allophonic nature of the variation θ-ð</u>. In his article "Phonetic Method in Hurrian Orthography," <u>Lang</u> 16 (1940): 319-340, Prof. Speiser sets forth his arguments for interpreting double <u>š</u> in the Hurrian syllabic writing as representing a voiceless phoneme which corresponds to the <u>t</u> sign in the Ugaritic alphabetic texts, and single <u>š</u> in the syllabic material as representing a voiced phoneme which corresponds to the sign that is now recognized as <u>d</u> in the Ugaritic alphabetic texts.[81] These correspondences are based on several very clear examples:

A. Initial -<u>š</u>- and double -<u>š</u>- equals -<u>t</u>-.

Ugarit	Mittanni Letter
<u>tutk</u> or <u>twtk</u>, 34:2, 61:6, 106 rev. 8	ᵈ<u>Ša-uš-ka-a-wə</u> ML 3:98
<u>tmg</u> 4:38, 50:3	ᵈ<u>Ši-mi-gi</u> ML 4:122 etc.
<u>ttbt</u> 4:12,56; 106 rev. 10,11	ᵈ<u>Te-e-eš-šu-pa-aš</u> ML 1:76 etc.

Abundant examples occur in the Mittanni Letter where the agentive suffix (represented by the final <u>t</u> in <u>ttbt</u>) occurs as -<u>šš</u>- as soon as a following suffix places it in inter-vocalic position (cf. ᵐ<u>Gi-li-ya-aš-ša-a-an</u> ML 1:83 etc.).

B. Inter-vocalic single -<u>š</u>- equals -<u>d</u>-.

Ugarit	Mittanni Letter
<u>ard</u>- 4:16, 106 B: 7,15	<u>a-ru-u-u-ša</u> ML 1:16 etc.
<u>bdld</u> 4:1 etc.	<u>ḫa-a-šu-li-e-eš</u> at Boghazköi <u>ḫa-ši-</u> ML 1:113 etc.

Thus far the evidence is quite clear and unambiguous.

But not so what follows. These facts can be interpreted in
two different ways. The most obvious interpretation is that
which Speiser adopts. In the light of the fact that the
Ugaritic texts employ two signs, differing by voice, the
syllabic intervocalic doubling can be taken to indicate
voicelessness. Thus we have two separate phonemes differing
by voice. Speiser very plausibly suggests that the impulse
for the development of this orthographic method of indicating
voicelessness came from observation of the fact that the
stops are invariably voiceless when doubled. However, a
less obvious interpretation is also possible. It is important
to note that the Ugaritic alphabetic texts do not orthograph-
ically indicate doubled consonants. Keeping this in mind, it
is possible to conclude that the double writing of the syl-
labary represents length which cannot be orthographically
represented in the alphabetic texts. But what to do with the
two different signs used by the alphabetic texts? In "Hurrian
Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 378-404, P. M. Purves
attempts to establish a "pattern" in the whole consonantal
structure of Hurrian in which voicing is not phonemic, (in
just the same manner as we have already established for the
stops above), by examining the evidence contained in Hurrian
names written by Akkadian scribes at Nuzu, Nippur, Dilbat,
Aššur and Chagar Bazar. After discussing the situation with
the stops he turns to the phoneme represented by the š-signs
in the syllabary. Here he notes that the Akkadian scribes
frequently represent this phoneme by z-signs but only when

intervocalic or after the liquid r̲ or the nasal n̲.[82] Priority

must also be accorded Dr. Purves in noticing that the sign t̲

is exclusively used in initial position in the Ugaritic texts,

a fact which the writer had noticed before he had access to

Dr. Purves' article. Further, although the Akkadian scribes

usually write initial š̲ as š̲, there are a significant number

of examples where it is represented by s̲.[83] Consequently,

Purves concluded that the phoneme represented by š̲ had non-

phonemic voiced and voiceless variants whose distribution is

identical with the voiced and voiceless variants of the stops.

When all the evidence is examined, it is strongly in

favor of the second interpretation. Note the following con-

siderations.

3.511 It cannot be substantiated that double writing

of š̲ in the syllabary does n̲o̲t̲ represent length.   Speiser

concludes that the double writing of the syllabary did not

represent length on the basis of the writing t̲e̲-š̲u̲-b̲a̲-a̲m̲ at

Mari; for if it did, he concludes, Mari would have resorted

to double writing (I̲H̲ p. 33). But this is far from certain.

As has been shown in discussing the etymological doubling of

the stops in §3.37, doubling is inconsistently represented by

the Akkadian scribes of Mari. Further, note p̲í̲-i̲š̲-š̲i̲-l̲a̲

(5:14) versus p̲í̲-š̲i̲-d̲i̲-i̲n̲ (5:16) and p̲í̲-š̲i̲-i̲š̲-t̲i̲-d̲i̲-e̲n̲ (5:

17), and note p̲a̲-a̲š̲-š̲e̲ (6:20) and ṹš̲-š̲e̲ (3:15). It must be

emphasized that these are Akkadian scribes and that consonantal

doubling is inconsistently written so in the Akkadian texts

of Mari.[84] Further note that this name T̲e̲š̲š̲u̲b̲ is not in-

frequently written with double š̌in in Hurrian names from the other Akkadian sites that have been mentioned above,[85] (note e.g. Te-eš-šu-ub-'a-dal at Dilbat). And finally, as Purves notes, the final n of the first name element which occurs in some names (whatever its grammatical function), usually assimilated at Nuzu when the second element began with š̌in.[86] The product of this assimilation is regularly written with double š̌.

3.512 **The distribution of t and d at Ugarit.** Most instructive, however, is the positional variation of the signs t and d[87] in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit. Here the number of examples of initial t is striking. From the alphabetic Hurrian word list of Laroche in **Ugaritica** V there are some twenty-nine different words beginning with t that occur some eighty-six times in these texts. Statistically this fits in with the large number of words in ML and the large number of name elements at Nuzu that begin with š̌. However, it must be noted that there are a small but significant number of words in the Ugaritic texts that begin with š̌. Thus note š̌bn?[. . (644:8), š̌gr (285:13), š̌kl (168:10, 269+297:4, 278:5, 285:15), and š̌ktd[89] (167 A:5,7).[90] If these are all examples of initial š̌, it would appear that the š̌-sign is here used as a variant of t.[91]

This positional variation in t and d can be verified by several other details also. The name trttb (60:1) can be plausibly interpreted as Šar-teššub, well known from Nuzu, while the name iwrdr (54:1) can also be very plausibly inter-

preted as Ewi/ar-Šarri.[92] If these interpretations are correct, we have this same positional variation in the same name element Šarri "king." The second name probably represents Ewŗ̣Šarri with syllabic ŗ, and hence the voicing of the initial consonant in the second element. And finally, note the forms ḫdntṭ and ḫdlrṭ[t] in 50:9. Here the morpheme which forms the plural of the relational or "case" suffixes appears as -ṭ-. In the syllabary it is always written singly in intervocalic position and at Ugarit it always appears as -ḍ- in forms other than the directive suffix above, e.g. trḫ-n-ḍr . . . aṭtḫ-n-ḍr (UM 4:50ff.) In IH §74 Speiser attributes this to a process of partial assimilation. However, it is better explained as an example of the voicelessness of consonant clusters in Hurrian when the consonants involved belong to this class, as noted by Purves, HCP, p. 400f. Thus note -ṭk- in the divine name twṭk/ša-uš-ka, -ṭt- in aṭtḫ-/ aštuḫḫi- "female," -ṭḫ- in aṭḫlm from the new alphabetic texts, etc.

Another difficulty now introduced by the new alphabetic texts, is the alternation of the sign ḍ (Laroche's Ẓi,) and the sign š̠ (Laroche's Ẓ₂,) in the representation of the voiced variant of the dental fricative. Thus, note atš̠ (278:16), but atḍ (285:11), and even att (168:8, 169:13); and tlgld (643 A:15), but tlglš̠ (643 A:13). Since the difference between the two is simply the vertical wedge in the š̠-sign, and this sign is far more common in the Semitic texts than the ḍ-sign, this alternation can be ascribed to

the scribal habits of the Semitic scribe.

3.513 <u>The evidence of variant writings by Akkadian scribes</u>. As noted above, name elements written with š by the Hurrian scribes at Nuzu are written with z at certain Akkadian sites whenever the phoneme is intervocalic or occurs after n or r.[93] Further, although these same scribes usually use š-signs in initial position,[94] occasionally they use s-signs in this position,[95] e.g. <u>Sambiya</u> and <u>Kel-Samba</u> at Nuzu occurs at Nippur as <u>Sambi</u> and <u>Sambih-ari</u>; <u>Sellu</u> at Nuzu is <u>Sellum</u> or <u>Selli</u> at Nippur and most noteworthy is the form f·<u>Ha-zi-ib-si-mi-ga</u> at Chagar Bazar. Here the initial t at Ugarit appears as s in the well known divine name <u>Simiga</u>. Again, Nuzu <u>Summ-</u> as in <u>Summiya</u> and <u>Summi-šenni</u> appears as <u>su-um-še-en-ni</u> at Nippur and as <u>Sum-mi-te-šu-ub</u> at Aššur. Finally, as Speiser himself points out in <u>JAOS</u> 58(1938): 177, the word <u>tbl</u> appears in two contexts in the Ugaritic alphabetic texts (4:27,33) while once, in identical context, <u>sbl</u> occurs. This possibly exhibits this same phenomenon.

Finally, the anomalous form <u>Te-zu-ub-be</u> in Ug. H. 2:1,11(?), (cf. Laroche, <u>PRU III</u>, p. 330) most likely represents <u>Te-sú-ub-be</u>, and the form <u>Te-eš-su-ub</u> from an Assyrian text cited by Thureau-Dangin [<u>Syria</u> 12(1931): 253, n. 3] most certainly represents a misspelling due to Akkadian mispronunciation of the Hurrian fricative.

It must be emphasized that this variant writing of š with z in intervocalic position and after n and r and with s in initial position, exhibits exactly the same distribution

of the voiced and voiceless aspects of this phoneme as the use of t̲ and d̲ at Ugarit.

3.514 <u>The evidence of the Foundation Lion Inscription</u>. In §2.132 (c) it was mentioned that the signs ŠA, ÁŠ, IŠ, SU and SI must represent the dental fricative in this inscription. The signs ÁŠ and IŠ present no problem, being the only VC signs which existed to represent the Akkadian varieties of the <u>šin</u> phoneme. That they are used for the Hurrian dental fricative is clearly seen in the name element <u>Ti-iš-</u> (line 1) and in the agentive suffix particle on <u>Lu-ba-da-ga-aš</u> (lines 9 and 13). Now, as has been brought out in §2.131, there existed two types of Akkadian š̲, orthographically at least, one represented by the š̲-signs, coming from proto-Semitic t̲, and the other represented by the s̲-signs and coming from proto-Semitic š̲/ś̲. Both sets of signs occur in our inscription, but there is no observable pattern to them. ŠA occurs only in the word <u>ša-ak-ru-in</u> (line 10) which Nougayrol has suggested might be connected with the well-known name element <u>šukr-</u> at Nuzu. Since <u>šukr-</u> is joined almost entirely with divine names, a meaning "protect, bless" (which is certain from the context of the Foundation Lion Inscription) fits very well. Further, un-noticed as yet has been the phrase from Ugarit: <u>tgrẖn pddpẖ</u> (4:35). The word <u>tgrẖn</u> very plausibly represents <u>tugruẖẖi</u>-ne and the meaning "beneficent" fits very well as a divine epithet. The s̲-signs occur in <u>ẖa-su-in</u> (line 17) and <u>si-di-in</u> (line 25). Now <u>ẖa-su-in</u>, clearly meaning "hear" from context, immediately brings to mind the common root

ḫaš- which appears as ḫd- at Ugarit. Thus it would appear
that the Foundation Lion Inscription witnesses two dental
fricative phonemes, using the š-signs which represent the
Akkadian form of proto-Semitic ṯ in Old Akkadian for the
voiceless fricative which appears as ṯ at Ugarit, and the
s-signs which represent Akkadian š/ś in Old Akkadian for
the voiced fricative which appears as ḏ at Ugarit. But this
conclusion is not required by the evidence. First what dif-
ference there was in the pronunciation of the two sets of
signs in Akkadian is far from clear.[96] However, whatever
the differences were they were all voiceless and hence fit
poorly for distinguishing a voiceless and voiced dental
fricative. Note the second word si-di-in of our inscription.
To follow the above line of argument would require SI- to
represent a voiced sound while all the evidence we have
collected shows that, even if two phonemes existed, only the
voiceless variety was permitted in initial position. Finally
sid- "to curse" must be connected with šidar-ni "curse" from
the Ug. Quad. Voc.[97] which possibly occurs as tdr in the
alphabetic texts (4:30). Consequently it seems best to take
these two sets of signs as homophones as Nougayrol does.[98]

3.515 Conclusion. As a result of the above con-
siderations it seems best to provisionally conclude that
there is but one phoneme represented by the š-signs in the
syllabic material. This phoneme had positional voiced and
voiceless variants, voiceless in initial position and in
consonant clusters, but voiced in intervocalic position and

when contiguous with the liquids l and r and the nasals m and
n. However, when doubled, the phoneme was voiceless, as the
alphabetic and syllabic correspondences show. This pattern,
then, is identical to that established with the stops above.

3.52 The phonemic symbol for the dental fricative.
As with the stops we again face the problem of using a symbol
in phonemic transcription which does not introduce a voiced
or voiceless distinction which is not pertinent for this
phoneme in Hurrian. Not only is this disadvantage present
with the symbol t, but it also implies a similarity between
the Semitic and the Hurrian phonemes which is far from certain.
Speiser's symbols s and z have the same disadvantage, as well
as implying a sibilant. Consequently, we shall adopt the
symbol [θ] for the dental fricative in phonemic transcription
in this study.

3.53 The phonetic character of the phoneme [θ].
It is impossible, of course, to be precise about phonetic
values solely from orthographic evidence. Only general con-
clusions can be reached. The fact that the Hurrians chose
š-signs to represent this phoneme tells very little since they
were the only signs in this whole range available after the
s-signs and the z-signs were used for Hurrian [s] and [z]
respectively.[99] The signs used by Semitic scribes, however,
are of more help. That the phonetic value was not [š] is
shown by the fact that the Semitic scribes of Ugarit did not
represent it by their š-sign.[100] Their choice of the t- and
d-signs, the Ugaritic descendents of proto-Semitic [t] and

[d̲], a voiceless and voiced pair of dental fricatives,[101] suggests that the sound was in the dental fricative range. This is further confirmed when we note the variant writings of the Akkadian scribes. The sounds s̲ and z̲ are exactly the mispronunciations that would be expected from a speaker of a language which did not possess dental fricatives. Observe, for example, in the modern sphere, the use of s̲ and z̲ by native speakers of French in attempting to pronounce the English voiceless and voiced interdental fricatives.[102] Independent corollary evidence of this is given by the Egyptian rendering of Teššub as Tí-su-pi.[103] The fact that the Akkadian scribes at these sites used s̲ for the voiceless form of the Hurrian phoneme (usually using š̲) far less often than they used z̲ for its voiced counterpart is easily explained. Since the Akkadian š̲ is voiceless it was much closer to the Hurrian voiceless dental fricative than it was to the voiced. It would appear that the use of š̲-signs for Hurrian [θ] reflects the Akkadian scribes knowledge of Hurrian scribal tranditions. Note that all but two of the examples of the use of s̲-signs for [θ] come from Nippur in the Middle Babylonian era where the scribes would be least familiar with Hurrian orthographic methods. Finally, if it is established that the Hurrian phonemes [s] and [z] are sibilants which do not partake of this pattern of allophonic voiced and voiceless variants, (although this is very doubtful), then this also suggests that [θ] is in the fricative range. Consequently, we have not included it among the sibilants in our classification.

3.6 The representation of the labial fricative.

The labial fricative is the most difficult of the Hurrian phonemes to establish. Due to the nature of the evidence, ambiguity exists both as to its phonetic and phonemic character.

3.61 Evidence of its existence.   Alongside the semivowel [w̯] (§3.22) and the labial stop [p] (§3.341) there exists in Hurrian a third labial range (cf. §3.341). Since the labial stop and the labial resonant are already established, there remains only some type of labial fricative. For a clear presentation of the evidence establishing the existence of the labial fricative, see IH §52-53. Basically, its presence is indicated by alternate writings with w and p/b, vacillation existing even in the same source as to which of the extant labial symbols to use to represent the fricative. Its existence can be illustrated by the following examples:

(1) The divine name W/Pišašaphi:

Ug. alphabet: pddph[104] 4:35,37

Boghazköi: ᵈWi̱r-ša-(i-)ša-ap-ḫi and ᵈPí-ša-(i-)ša-ap-ḫi

(2) The word w/paḫr- "to be good"

Mari:	parḫ-	Bogh.:	paḫr-
Ug. S-H Voc.:	pa-ḫi-ri-e 2:22	M.L.:	waḫr-
Akk. sites:	pa-aḫ-ri Ch. B.	Nuzu:	waḫr- NPN, p. 274

(3) The word w/pant- "right (hand)"[105]

Akk. sites:	pa-an-di- Nippur
Boghazköi:	pa-an-ti-

Nuzu: <u>Wa-an-ti-</u>/<u>Pa-an-di-</u> <u>NPN</u>, p. 274.

(4) The divine name <u>Kumarb/wi</u>

Ug. alph.:   <u>kmrb</u> 4:6ff.   Bogh: <u>kumar-we</u>/<u>kumar-bi</u>

Mari: <u>ku-ma-ar-we</u> 5:4 Nuzu: <u>kumurwe</u>, cf. <u>AASOR</u> 16,
p. 99ff.

(5) The genitive suffix -<u>we</u>/<u>bi</u>

Ug. alph.:   <u>ḫmr-b-n pb-n</u> 4:60 Bogh.: <u>šarri-ne-bi</u>

Ug. S-H Voc.: <u>kade-ne-we</u> 2:10   ML: -<u>we</u> <u>passim</u>

Mari: <u>Si-mi-gi-ni-w</u> 5:10 Nuzu: -<u>we</u> <u>passim</u>

3.62 <u>The allophonic nature of voicing in the labial</u>
<u>fricative</u>.   Although the evidence is slight and somewhat difficult to interpret, it seems that the labial fricative also possessed allophonic voiced and voiceless forms as did the other fricatives and the stops. This conclusion is based on the following observations.

3.621 <u>The evidence of the alphabetic-syllabic cor-</u>
<u>respondences</u>.   In <u>IH</u> §§52-53 Speiser sets forth his evidence for concluding that there are two separate labial fricative phonemes which he writes [f] and [v] respectively. He bases his conclusion on the use of <u>p</u>- and <u>b</u>-signs for these phonemes in the Ugaritic alphabetic texts and upon variant writings with <u>p</u>-signs in the Chagar Bazar texts where voice is distinguished in the <u>p</u>/<u>b</u> signs. He also uses the principle that double writing in the syllabary of the Mittanni Letter represents voicelessness in the morpheme -<u>ww</u>- to which we shall turn in a moment. Now, although the evidence is far too tenuous and limited to be certain, it can be noted in the table above that the three certain examples of the labial fricative in

initial position are voiceless and the two certain examples of it medially, one in intervocalic position and the other after r, are voiced.[106] This is strikingly in line with the pattern of positional voicing established for the dental fricative and the stops above.

3.622 <u>The evidence of the Mittanni Letter</u>. In <u>IH</u> §53, Prof. Speiser notes the semantic difference between the pair <u>at-ta-i-i-wu-uš</u> "by thy father" and <u>at-ta-iw-wu-uš</u> "by my father," in which the difference in the pronominal suffixes is represented by the difference between -<u>ww</u>- and -<u>w</u>-. When the agentive suffix -<u>uš</u> is replaced by the dative suffix -<u>wa</u>, one obtains <u>at-ta-i-ip-pa</u> "for thy father" and <u>at-ta-iw-wa-ú-a</u> "for my father." Since -<u>ip-pa</u>- represents a doubled sound, he concludes that -<u>iw-wa-ú-a</u> also represents a doubled sound, namely the doubled form of the <u>single</u> sound written -<u>ww</u>-, since there is no reason to suppose that it is a triple labial. On this basis he sets up the pair -<u>ww</u>- = [f] and -<u>w</u>- = [v]. But in the light of the phonemic character of consonantal length with the stops and the dental fricative (cf. §§3.37 and 3.511 above) and the positional variation of the voicing of the labial fricative noted above, -<u>ww</u>- could be interpreted as -<u>ff</u>-, and -<u>w</u>- as -<u>v</u>-. From the pattern it would be voiceless when doubled, as with the stops and the dental fricative. What then do the writings -<u>ip-pa</u>- and -<u>iw-wa-ú-a</u> represent? The form -<u>ip-pa</u>- comes from the second person pronominal suffix -<u>f</u> (cf. §6.433) plus the dative suffix -<u>fa</u> (cf. §6.445) and would represent -<u>if-fa</u>.[107]

Now, -iw-wə-ú-a comes from the first person pronominal suffix -iff (cf. §6.432) plus the dative suffix -fa, and would represent the double labial fricative followed by the semivowel. That -ú-a can represent the semivowel is clearly seen from its use to represent the genitive and dative particles added to words ending in -u, e.g. an-du-ú-a (ML 3:89).[108] Perhaps the semivowel is conditioned in the case of -iw-wə-ú-a by an anaptyctic u-vowel inserted to avoid a triple labial.

3.623 **Conclusion.** Although all the evidence that is reasonably clear suggests that the labial fricative has voiced and voiceless allophones as do the stops and the dental fricative, the evidence is so slight and the orthographic representation of this sound is so ambiguous that the question remains undecided. However, the pattern of voiced and voiceless allophones with the other fricatives and the stops suggests by analogy, in the light of the slight corroborative evidence which exists, that such is the case here also. Consequently the labial fricative will be so treated in this work and the symbol [f] will be adopted to represent it.

3.63 **The ambiguity of the orthography.** Although the existence of the labial fricative [f] and the semivowel [u̯] can be ascertained by comparative evidence in a few cases, the majority of the occurrences remain quite ambiguous. Only the following can be noted. In the cases in which the labial fricative can be clearly established, the sign wə (PI) is used at Nuzu[109] and in the Mittanni Letter, the only sites

where we can feel certain that the texts were written by
Hurrians. In corroboration note that writings with p-signs
predominate in the texts written by Akkadian scribes from
Chagar Bazar, Nippur, and Mari, at least in initial position.
Consequently, it remains possible that words written with
w̲ in the Mittanni Letter represent the fricative. Further
evidence in this direction is the use of the sign ů̲ in the
Mittanni Letter and at Nuzu. We have mentioned above that
the genitive, normally written -we̲-, and the dative normally
written -wa̲- in the Mittanni Letter become -ů̲-e and -ů̲-a
respectively when added to words that end in a u̲-vowel.[110]
Apparently the fricative lost its spirantization and became
the semivowel after the vowel u̲. Now one also finds initial
ů̲-a- in ů̲-a-du-ra-an-na- (ML 1:65, 2:15, 3:68,69), ů̲-a-na[
. . . (ML 2:109); medially it occurs in a-ů̲-a-a-ar-ḫe-
(ML 4:8), a-ů̲-un-ni- (ML 3:121), and a-ů̲-ů̲-rat-ta- (ML 2:
90). Note that a-ů̲-un-ni- contrasts with a-we-en-ni- (ML
4:17 etc.). And finally note that certain words are written
regularly with initial ů̲-ů̲-. The word ů̲-ů̲-r- actually con-
trasts in meaning with -ú-r-, the first meaning "desire,
hold dear" while the second means "occur, be present." The
verb usually taken as un̲- "come, arrive" occurs six times
written ů̲-ů̲-n- and seven times written ů̲-n-. Note also
ů̲-ů̲-ul-ša (ML 4:68). Contrast these words with the word
un̲tu̲ "now then" which occurs some dozen times, and the root
ur̲ḫ- "to be true" which occurs seven times, both of which
never prefix a ů̲-vowel.[111] Further, several names at Nuzu

begin with -ú-a- (NPN, p. 270), note particularly the name
Ûantar-Kintar (NPN, p. 170). Now, since -ú- apparently
represents the semivowel in the variant forms of the genitive
and dative suffixes mentioned above, the suspicion is strong,
in view of the great regularity of Mittanni orthography, that
the semivowel is meant in the other occurrences of this
writing also. This would mean, then, that initial w- rep=
resents the labial fricative. However, the evidence is far
from certain.[112]

3.64 The phonetic quality of the labial fricative.

Such evidence as there is suggests that the Hurrian sound
is a bilabial fricative rather than labio-dental as our trans-
scription [f] suggests. First one finds not only w- and p/b-
signs used for this sound at Nuzu but also occasionally the
m-signs. Cf. Marḫi-Senni beside Warḫi-/Waḫri-Senni, and
ᶠWinnirke beside ᶠMinnirke (although this name is likely not
Hurrian). Although it is relatively scarce among the Hur-
rian names, the use of m-signs is not infrequent in spelling
Akkadian words containing w. Cf. mu-še-el-mu, alongside
mu-še-el-wu "surveyor" from the Semitic root lawû;[113] and
Ma-qar-bêli alongside Wa-qar-bêli (cf. NPN, p. 170). Second,
the change from fricative to semivowel after the vowel u
(cf. §4. 55) also strongly suggests a bilabial fricative.

3.7 The representation of the velar fricative.

Once again due to the paucity and the ambiguity of the evi-
dence, uncertainty exists as to the phonemic character of the
velar fricatives.

3.71 **The evidence for the phoneme.** The complex problem of the velar fricatives has been studied at length in <u>IH</u> §54-59. With all the complexities and anomalies in the details the basic facts are clear: Hurrian possessed two velar fricative sounds distinguished as voiced and voiceless respectively. This can be clearly seen from alphabetic and syllabic correspondences: when ḫ appears in the syllabic material in initial position or doubled, the Ugaritic alphabetic texts use ḫ; whereas, when the syllabic material shows a single intervocalic ḫ, or one next to l, the alphabetic texts use ġ. Representative examples are as follows:

(A) Initial position

Syllabic forms	Ug. alphabetic forms
ᵈḪebat <u>RNDH</u>,[114] p. 48f.	ḫbt 4:56f.
ᵈḪudena ᵈḪudellura <u>RNDH</u>, p. 49f.	ḫdn ḫdlr 4:32f.
ḫašarai ḫašuleš <u>ChRT</u>, p. 559	ḫdr ḫdld 4 passim

(B) Intervocalic position

ᵈTeššub Ḫalbaḫi <u>An Or</u> 12, p. 127	ttb ḫlbġ 4:10ff.
ᵃˡLubtuḫi cf. <u>IH</u>, p. 48	Pddpḫ lbtġ 4:35ff.

(C) Doubled

enna turuḫḫina enna aštuḫḫina   in trġn in attġn 4:55ff.
cf. <u>ChRT</u>, p. 567f.

(D) The root-complement -uḫli/uḫuli

-uḫli/uḫuli passim[115]   mdrġlm vs. <u>mdrn</u>, cf. C. H.
                        Gordon, <u>UM</u>, 5.8 and Glossary
                        numbers 1071a and 1071b.

Further, the full orthography of the Mittanni Letter writes certain stems and grammatical elements consistently

either with single or double ḫ, cf. IH §56.

3.72 <u>The allophonic nature of voicing in the velar</u>
<u>fricative.</u>   Whether these two sounds constitute two
separate phonemes or one phoneme with voiced and voiceless
allophones which occur according to the positional criterion
noted for the stops and the other fricatives above, cannot be
definitively decided as yet.   However, it can be noted again
that the voiceless sound occurs initially at Ugarit in some
thirty-two different words,[116] whereas ġ occurs but once in
the inexplicable form ġltlp, UM 4:36.[117]   Secondly, in clus-
ters of homogeneous consonants, ḫ is used, e.g. a<u>tḫ</u>- (278:3),
syllabic a<u>šḫu</u>-; k<u>tḫ</u>/g<u>tḫ</u> (278:8, 166:61), syllabic ke<u>šḫi</u>;
Pddp<u>ḫ</u> (166:35,37, etc.), syllabic ^dW/Piša<u>šaphi</u>; ḫbr<u>tḫ</u>nd
(274:15), syllabic <u>ḫubrušḫi</u>; and a<u>ġrtḫ</u>nd (274:14), syllabic
a<u>ḫrušḫi</u>-.[118]   However, when contiguous with the liquids and
nasals, ġ only occurs, e.g. <u>tlġ</u> (269+297: 13,15), syllabic
<u>šalḫ</u>-; a<u>ġrtḫ</u>nd (274:14), syllabic a<u>ḫrušḫi</u>-; and nr<u>ġp</u> (166:58),
syllabic nir<u>ḫippa</u>.   It also occurs in initial position only
in the Foundation Lion Inscription.

One difficulty that either phonemic construction
must face is the fact that the adjectival suffix appears as
both syllabic -<u>ḫ</u>-/alphabetic -ġ- and as syllabic -<u>ḫḫ</u>-/alpha-
betic -<u>ḫ</u>-, with no certain difference in meaning,[119] nor any
discernable phonological conditioning factor that could ac-
count for such an alternation.   It can only be noted that
the interpretation of -<u>ḫḫ</u>- as indicating length which is
voiceless does open the possibility that the doubling arises

from an assimilated element.[120]

3.73 <u>The evidence of the Foundation Lion Inscription</u>.
In §2.1322 the interpretation of Nougayrol that the sign ĝ
represented the voiced velar fricative was discussed. It
was noted that his interpretation that it represented ʿayin
in the Akkadian material has not been substantiated; rather
it can be traced with confidence only to ḫ, the voiceless
laryngeal fricative, in a few roots. This presents a diffi-
culty in interpreting it as the voiced form of the phoneme
represented by ḫ, the sign used for the Akkadian voiceless
velar fricative.

If Nougayrol's interpretation is substantiated by
future evidence from the Old Akkadian period, then it would
appear that there are or were two velar fricative phonemes
in the Hurrian of that period. However, the facts are too
few and their interpretation too uncertain to use this con-
struction with any confidence.

3.74 <u>Conclusion</u>. As the above discussion shows,
the question as to the existence of one or two velar fri-
cative phonemes remains undecided. However, as with the
labial fricative, all the evidence that is reasonably clear
suggests that the velar fricative has non-phonemic voiced
and voiceless positional variants as do the stops and the
dental fricative. Although much remains yet ambiguous or
uninterpreted, the analogy of the positional variation found
above for the other fricatives and the stops is strong. Con-
sequently we shall here so treat it and the symbol [ḫ] will

be adopted to represent it.

3.8 <u>The representation of the liquids and nasals</u>.
Here both the syllabary and the alphabet were adequately
equipped to represent both the liquids r̲ and l̲ and the nasals
m̲ and n̲.

3.81 <u>The resonant quality of the liquids and nasals</u>.
The fact that the liquids and nasals cause a contiguous stop
or fricative to become voiced (cf. §3.32ff. above) indicates
that they are considerably more resonant in quality than the
rest of the consonants.[121]

3.82 <u>The distribution of the liquids</u>.   The extreme
rarity of initial r̲ and l̲ has been observed by several writ-
ers,[122] but it has not yet been noted that this extends to
the medial positions as well. Both r̲ and l̲ rarely ever occur
after another consonant, but they are very frequent in post-
vocalic position. Thus, for example, the comitative nominal
suffix -r̲a̲ (cf. §6.447 below) forms its plural by adding the
vowel u̲ between it and the pluralizing morpheme θ̲, i.e. -θ̲ur̲a̲-,
whereas the other nominal relational particles do not (e.g.
genitive plural -θ̲f̲e̲->-θ̲e̲-, dative plural -θ̲f̲a̲->-θ̲a̲-,
directive plural -θ̲ta̲-).[123] This also explains the tendency
toward metathesis in certain words with post-consonantal r̲,
the best known example of which is Nuzu <u>erwi</u>- versus Mittanni
<u>ewri</u>-.[124]

3.83 Syllabic <u>l</u> and <u>r</u>.   Variant writings strongly
suggest that post-consonantal l̲ and r̲ were syllabic or vocalic
consonants. This is seen most often when a consonant imme-

diately follows, rather than a vowel, such as when the attributive particles -ne or -na are added. E.g. ew-ri- but e-wə-er-ni (ML 4:127, 128), e-we͜e-er-ne (KUB 27 38 4:10ff.), and even e-bar-ni (ChRT, p. 571, n. 1), cf. IH §21; ML waḫr, Bogh. paḫr but pa-ḫi-ri-e (Ug. S-H Voc. 2:22) < paḫr-re < paḫr-ne[125] and ᵃˡpaḫarraše (HSS 9 1:3 < Paḫr-na-še; še-eḫ-ra-al-la- (ML 3:60) but še-ḫar-na-al-la- (ML 1:103); taluḫlu but ta-lu-ḫul-la-a-ša < taluḫl-la-ša < taluḫl-na-ša. The agentive element -uḫlu[126] which occurs in the previous word frequently occurs as -uḫulu as well as -uḫlu. Examples of this phenomenon could be multiplied endlessly.[127]

3.9 **The phonemic character of consonantal length in Hurrian.** It will have been noted in the foregoing that the interpretation of the phonemic evidence here set forth differs from that of Prof. Speiser in IH and in his basic article "Phonetic Method in Hurrian Orthography," Lang 16(1940): 319-339, in one particular which results in very different constructions of the phonemes of the language. Prof. Speiser invokes his principle that double writing in the main syllabary expresses not quantity but a separate voiceless phoneme, the voiced counterpart of which is expressed in the syllabary by single writing of the consonant involved. We have been led, however, to interpret double writing as expressing consonantal length.[128] With the stops a difficulty arises with Prof. Speiser's interpretation, for one finds not only that the doubled stops are invariably voiceless, but one also finds that the single stops exhibit a pattern of voicing which shows

that the voiced and voiceless stops are, linguistically
speaking, in "complementary distribution," i.e. the stops
are voiceless when initial, when in homogeneous consonant
clusters, and when doubled, but voiced in inter-vocalic
position, in post-vocalic position when word final, and when
they are contiguous with the liquids and nasals. In his
article "Phonetic Method," p. 329f., and in IH, §§47, 77-79,
Prof. Speiser suggests that, since the stops cannot tolerate
voicing when doubled but are invariably voiceless, the single
voiced sounds must have been composite in nature.[129] It is
not clear in "Phonetic Method," p. 330, nor in IH, §47, whether
Speiser means to set up two sets of stop phonemes as he seems
to, for he never carries it out through the rest of the dis-
cussion, cf. §78 in particular. Assuming that he does not,
as in IH §78, then there is only one set of stop phonemes,
regardless of the fact that the voiced variety may have been
composite in nature. This being the case, it becomes im-
possible for the Hurrian scribes to have developed the ortho-
graphic principle whereby double writing represented voice-
lessness in the case of phonemes for which the syllabary had
no signs available from the fact that doubling of the stops
resulted in loss of voice, for the simple reason that, since
the voicing of the stops is non-phonemic, they would not have
been conscious of the fact that the doubled stops are voice-
less. Voicing simply has no meaning in the stops in Hurrian
exactly as aspiration of English stops, being non-phonemic,
is meaningless and not even noticeable to native speakers of

English unless trained to observe it.

Further, in the Hurrian written by Semites, this doubling of the consonants is most often orthographically indicated, although with exceptions, as is the case in the writing of Akkadian. This cannot possibly be taken to indicate a method of differentiating phonemes in the manner in which Speiser seeks to do for Hurrian scribes. The only other possibility is consonantal length, a phenomenon with which Akkadian scribes would be familiar from their own language.[130]

Finally, and most important, the result of assimilation is regularly written double. Note particularly -pp-<-pf- in note 128 above.

As a result of these considerations it must be concluded that consonantal length is strongly phonemic in Hurrian and that, wherever double writing occurs in the syllabary, it represents such consonantal length.

IV. PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

4.1   In the present state of decipherment only a preliminary statement of the phonological changes of Hurrian is possible. In many instances it is by no means certain that the changes are not morphemic rather than phonological. Further, the phonemes of Hurrian are by no means definitively determined, which further complicates the determination of sound changes.

4.2   **The elision and assimilation of the stem vowel of the nominal.**   The stem vowel of the Hurrian nominal undergoes frequent elision and assimilation. This raises some doubt that it is an essential part of the root, but it has been so treated here.

4.21   **The elision of the stem vowel -a before -ne.** Nominals which end in -a usually lose their stem vowel before the determining suffix -ne (and presumably -na), e.g. tiθa- but tiθ-ne (Ug. S-H Voc. 2:27), θena-, but θen-ne (common as a name element), etc. Although only a few a-stems occur with the suffix, this sets the a-stem nominals apart from those in -e/i and -u, which do not lose their stem vowel in like circumstances unless the stem ends in r, l, or n (see below).

4.22   **The elision of the stem vowel with stems that end**

in r, l, or n. Apparently due to the tendency of r, l, and n to assimilate to one another, the stem vowel usually elides when the stem ends in r, l, or n and the following morpheme begins with n or l[1] and presumably r. Examples of this are numerous, particularly with the anaphoric particles -ne, and -na used with their derivational determining or individualizing force (cf. §§6.4522 and 6.4532). Note the following examples.

4.221 With the stem vowel -a. θawala- "year" (Ug. S-H Voc.: 1:13) but θawal-la (ML 1:79) < θawal(a)-na "year-ones," θena- "brother" but θen-ne (passim in the onomasticon).

4.222 Stem vowel -e/i. ene- "god" but en-na "god-ones," awari "field" (Ug. S-H Voc. 4:25), but awar-re "field-one" (Ug. Quad. Voc 130 3:11), omini- "land" but omin-na "lands," niḫari "dowry" but niḫar-re- (ML 3:41) "dowry-one," etc.

4.23 The e/i-stem vowel changes to u/o before the adjectival suffixes -ḫe/-ḫḫe and -zzi. Examples of this are numerous, e.g. aθti- "woman," but aθt-oḫḫe "female," Ḫurri- but Ḫurroḫe. The same phenomenon occurs with -zzi, note aθti- but aθtu/ozzi (HSS 15 172:1). This does not happen with a-stems, e.g. Ḫalpa but Ḫalpahe, etc.

With other e-vowels the evidence is not so clear. Note, however, that a difference can be noted with the suffix -θθe between its use in the formation of abstract nominals and its use in nominalizing finite verbal forms. In the former use

there is no change of vowel before -ḫe, e.g. θarraθθe-ḫe-
and ewreθθe-ḫe (see §6.4522) at Boghazköi, and aθtuθθe-ḫe-na
at Alalaḫ (see Draffkorn, HHA, p. 159); whereas in the latter
use the vowel does change to u/o-, e.g. ur-impu-θθ-u/o-ḫḫa
(ML 3:95) nahull-impu-θθ-o/u-ḫ-a (ML 3:96).[2]

4.24 The e/i-stem vowel assimilates to the a-vowel of
the pronominal associatives. Only a few examples are to be
found, e.g. tiwe "word," ti-w[a-]al-la-a-an (ML 4:16) urḫe
"true," ur-ḫa-al-la-a-an (ML 4:29), ur-ḫal-la-a-an (ML 4:23).[3]
The form e-e-ni-il-la-a-an (ML 4:65) is not due to the need
of avoiding confusion with -na (Speiser IH, p. 188, n. 321)
but contains the 3rd person possessive suffix -i(y) "his,"
as the parallel en-iff+alla in line 64 shows. However, a
problem is posed by mariyannarti+la+an (ML 3:32), and by the
demonstrative an-til-la-a-an (ML 1:100,106; 3:56; 4:31) an-ti-
il-la-ma-an (ML 2:122). No pertinent examples occur with a-
stem nominals.

This assimilation does not take place with the i-stem
and u-stem particles, e.g. inu+tta (ML 1:74), anammi+tta
(ML 3:52,64,64) anammi+tilla (ML 2:67, 4:122), anammi+lla
(ML 2:56, 4:126). Nor does it occur with the e-vowel of the
suffix -ne, e.g. šuk-kán-ni-e-el-la-ma-an (ML 3:54,56).

4.3 Elision and assimilation of the verbal vocalic
class markers. For the definition and function of these
vowels see §7.43.

4.31 The assimilation of the class marker after the

negative -kk- to the a-vowel of the pronominal associatives.

The vowel following the subject-action negative -kk- (see §7.4512) is regularly the same as the vocalic class marker which precedes it--probably due to vowel harmony--whenever the element is word final, or is followed only by the copulative -n, e.g. kat-i-kki (ML 4:17), ḫan-aθt-i-kki (Ug. A-H Bil.: 9), ụur-i-kki (ML 2:73,74; 3:5,6), mann-o-kko (ML 2:91), irn-o-kko (ML 3:60), ur-o-kko (ML 2:95,99,101; 3:46, 123), tupp-o-kko (ML 3:45) etc. However, when the pronominal associatives are appended, the vowel after the negative suffix -kk- shifts to -a- in a process of vocalic assimilation, i.e. -kki -kka, -kko -kka, e.g. mann-o-kka+lla+an (ML 4:2), mann-o-kka+tila+an (ML 3:17), un-o-kka+la+an (ML 4:3), tan-oθ-i-kka+tta+man (ML 1:52).

That this is assimilation of this particular secondary vowel is shown by the fact that in the absence of the negative -kk- the class marker does not so assimilate, e.g. tat-ukar-i+tilla+n (ML 4:9).[4]

4.32 , The elision of the class marker before the associative -onni. Before the associative -onni, the i-vowel of the transitive class elides, e.g. fur-i-kk-onni (ML 3:9), ḫill-oθ-i-kk-onni (ML 4:11), kat-i-kk-onni (ML 4:2). No examples occur on intransitives.

4.33 The elision of the transitive class marker -i- before the voluntative suffix -l-. When the derivational base of the verbal ends in -l- or -r-, the i-vowel of the transitive class elides, and the -l- of the voluntative suf-

fix assimilates regressively to the -l- or -r- of the base.
Thus note the form ta-a-du-ka-a-ar-ri-e-wə (ML 3:65, 4:123).
In the context of ML 3:65 the parallel form urḫupt-oθ-i-l-ewa
in line 64 (see §7.46311) allows us to reconstruct tat-ukar-
-(i)-r-ewa<tat-ukar-i-l-ewa. For other examples note kul=
le (ML 3:12; 3:49,51; 4:1) kul-i-l-e [see §7.46311 and note
90 thereto], pal-la-in (ML 4:64) pal-i-l-ain, etc.

This phenomenon apparently does not occur with the in-
transitive class marker -o- under identical circumstances, if
we can judge from the single example ur-o-l-ewa (ML 3:115).

4.34 The elision of the intransitive class marker -o-
before the jussive suffix -e-/-en-. The intransitive class
marker -o- elides before the jussive suffix -e-/-en- when no
voluntative suffix is present, e.g. peteθt-e- (ML 2:24),
tupp-e (ML 2:88), ḫupl=ul-oθt-e- (ML 2:23), etc. Cf. §7.43
particularly the table therein) and notes 54 and 55 thereto.
The transitive class marker does not elide under like circum-
stances, e.g. ak-ukar-aθt-i-en (ML 2:58,86), ḫaθ-i-en- (ML
1:113; 2:13; 3:40,42), paθθ-i-en (ML 4:52,54,57), etc.

4.4 The elision of the agentive suffix -θ(θ)- before
the pronominal associatives. Before the pronominal assoc-
iatives -tta- "I, me," -tilla- "we, us," and -lla- "they, them,"
the agentive suffix -θ(θ)- elides. Examples are frequent;
for the allomorph -uθ(θ)-, added to consonants, note še-e-ni-
iw-wu-ú-ut-ta- (ML 2:50, 3:71, 4:41), i.e. θen-iff-u(θ)+tta-;
še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-ul-la- (ML 1:107,113; 3:61; 4:19,39,40,51,
110), i.e. θen-iff-u(θ)+lla; [d]A-ma-a-nu-ú-la- (ML 1:101, 2:65),

i.e. Aman-u(θ)+tilla- and for the allomorph -θ(θ), added
to vowels, note the parallel forms of Mane and Keliya in
ML 4:20 and 26: ᵐMa-ni-eš ᵐGi-li-ya-al-la-a-an, i.e. Mane-θ
Keliya-(θ)+lla+an "Mane-by Keliya-by+they+and" and ᵐGi-li-i-
aš[5] ᵐMa-ni-e-el-la-a-an, i.e. Keliya-θ Mane-(θ)+lla+an
"Keliya-by Mane-by+they+and."

In IH 75 Speiser treats the phenomenon as assimilation,
attributing the first -l- of -lla- and the first -t- of -tta-
to the assimilated -θ-.[6] But the phenomenon cannot be so
interpreted. First note that the associative -tilla- never
appears with double -tt- when the supposed assimilation of the
-θ- has taken place (see the examples above), and second, note
that both -tta- and -lla- are regularly written double[7] else-
where when the assumed assimilated element is not present.
Hence the phenomenon must be regarded as elision. The pro-
cess is apparently due to the tendency to avoid the collo-
cation of two double consonants. The same phenomenon with
-tilla- occurs by analogic levelling. This interpretation
is strongly favored by the fact that the associative -θ-
(see 9.9) does not elide when the pronominal associatives
immediately follow, e.g. orohh-i-θ+tilla+tan karhaθt-i-θ+
tila+an (ML 4:119-120).

4.5 The elision and assimilation of the labial fri-
cative [f]. This phoneme was particularly susceptible
to phonological changes. This would seem to favor the in-
terpretation that it was a bilabial spirant, see 3.64.

4.51 The elision of [f] after the 3rd person posses-

sive suffix -i(y). With the "prepositional" nominals eti- "person," ay- "presence" the labial fricative of the genitive suffix elides after the 3rd person possessive suffix -i(y). For the establishment of this suffix and the form of the genitive suffix with these nominals, see §6.4441 (c). What is involved here is very problematic. It is not apparently conditioned by the -y- of the possessive suffix for it does not elide (or shift to -y-?) in attay-fe (written at-ta-i-i-wə) (ML 1:87,106).[8] Further, note the form ^{KUR}u-u-mi-i-ni-i-wə-ni-e in ML 4:25. It is exactly parallel to ^{KUR}u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wə-ú-e-ni-e in ML 4:19, so that it can only be interpreted as ^{KUR}omini-i(y)-fe-ne "land-his-of-one." Yet, here the genitive suffix remains -fe. The solution is not at the moment clear.

4.52 The elision of the labial fricative [f] after the dental fricative [θ]. In the formation of the plural of the genitive suffix -fe [see §6.4441 (f)] and the dative suffix -fa [see §6.4451 (d)], the labial fricative elides after the dental fricative of the plural, forming -θe- and -θa-. That this is not a process of assimilation is indicated by the consistent single writing of the -θ-.[9]

4.53 The assimilation of the labial fricative of the genitive suffix -fe and the dative suffix -fa to the 2nd person possessive suffix -f. This is mentioned here because the combination is written ap-pè, e.g. še-e-na-a-ap-pè (ML 1:89), and ip-pa, e.g. at-ta-i-ip-pa (ML 3:52,58). The combination, obviously produces a double labial fricative -af+

fe/a > affe/a. That this, for some reason, becomes -appe/a
as the writing -ap-pè and -ip-pa taken at face value would
indicate is doubtful. However, note that the 1st person
possessive suffix -iff is written -iw-wə. For a suggestion
as to the reason for the above writing with -pp- see §6.4441
(d).

4.54 <u>The assimilation of the labial fricative to the
labial stop</u>. When the labial fricative follows the labial
stop contiguously, regressive assimilation takes place, i.e.
-p-f- > -pp-. This occurs thus far only with the divine name
Teϑϑop, for which see §6.4441 (e).

4.55 <u>The assimilation of the labial fricative to a
preceding u-vowel</u>. When the genitive suffix -fe or the
dative suffix -fa follows a u-vowel, it always is written
-ú-e. This indubitably is to be explained as a loss of
spirantization of a bilabial fricative after a u-vowel, so
that it becomes the semivowel. Note a-gu-ú-e (ML 4:123),
a-gu-ú-a (ML 1:81), and ᵈA-m[a-]a-nu-ú-e (ML 2:77). This
is further evidence in favor of the bilabial nature of the
labial fricative in Hurrian.

4.56 <u>The dissimilation of the labial fricative after
the double labial fricative</u>. The genitive suffix -fe and
the dative suffix -fa are always written -ú-e or -ú-a after
the 1st person possessive suffix -iff. In the light of the
interpretation of the writing -ú-e and -ú-a as representing
the semivowel in §4.55 above, this can only mean that -iff-fa
became -iff-ṷa by a process of dissimilation to avoid the

triple labial. See §6.4441 (b).

4.57 <u>The combination of the verbal negative -wa- and the indicative agentive suffix -au.</u> This combination is always written <u>-i-uw-wə</u> (see §7.45111 for examples). This represents <u>-i-uff</u>. What has happened phonologically is complicated by the ambiguity of the type of labial represented by the negative -<u>w(a)</u>- and the agentive suffix <u>-a-ú</u>. In the light of other uses of -<u>ú</u>-, the latter indubitably represents the diphthong <u>au</u>. Now from the correlation of the indicative agentive suffixes with the possessive suffixes of the nominal (see <u>IH</u> §84) it can be surmised that the agentive suffix was originally -<u>af</u>, but the spirantization was lost in final position.[10] However, when the negative suffix -<u>w(a)</u>- assimilated to the agentive suffix (or vice versa?), the resulting double fricative remains.

4.58 <u>The loss of spirantization of the labial fricative in word-final position.</u> Beside the example discussed above of this phenomenon, note the nominal <u>ke</u>- in Ug. A-H Bil.: 1 from the conjectured root <u>kef</u>-, cf. <u>keummi</u> in Ug. Quad. Voc. 130 3:10 (see Laroche, <u>Ugaritica</u> V, I, No. 29 and §6.472 and note 105 thereto).

4.6 <u>The assimilation of r, l, and n.</u> A strong tendency exists for the liquids <u>r</u>, <u>l</u>, and <u>n</u> to regressively assimilate to one another. This is seen by the fact that the stem vowels and the vocalic class markers will elide when the stem of the nominal or the derivational base of the verbal ends in <u>r</u>, <u>l</u>, or <u>n</u>, and the following suffix begins with <u>l</u> or <u>n</u> (and pre-

sumably r). The l or n of the suffix then regressively assimilates to the final consonant of the stem or base. For examples with nominals see §4.22 above, and with verbals see §4.33.

With syllabic l and r, elision takes place, but assimilation does not always follow. Thus note ew-ri and e-we-er-ni, i.e. ewr-ni (ML 4:127,128),[11] še-eḫ-ra- (ML 3:60) and še-ḫar-na, i.e. θeḫr-na (ML 1:103); but note paḫr- and alpa-ʾ-ḫa-ar-ra-še^{ki} (HSS 9 1:3), and taluḫlu but ta-lu-ḫul-la- (HSS 13 234:2). Note also θuḫur-ni "life," i.e. θuḫr-ni in Ug. Quad. Voc. 131:6, 137 1:20 but θuḫurri at Boghazköi (cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 21); another example from Ugarit is θitar-ni "curse" in Ug. Quad. Voc. 130 3:16, 137 2:46.

4.7 <u>The dissimilation of n > m after r and n.</u> In certain root complements some evidence exists for the dissimilation of n > m after n and r, cf. §7.41 (1) and Laroche, RA 54(1960): 201.

4.8 <u>The metathesis of the liquids r, l, and the nasal -n-.</u> The metathesis of the liquids and n occurs frequently when they are post-consonantal. This has been connected in §3.82 with the fact that they rarely occur in this position but are normally post-vocalic. Thus note faḫr- versus farḫ-, eḫli- versus elḫi-, and the well-known ewri- versus erwi-, etc.

4.9 <u>Connecting vowels.</u> In certain positions secondary connecting vowels arise. Although much remains uncertain, the following seem reasonably sure as examples of this phenomenon.

4.91 When the associative -man is added to a suffix or another associative which ends in -n- an a-connecting vowel is used, e.g. tiθθann-a+man (ML 2:95,3:50), eti+tann+a+man (ML 3:46,83), Mane+nn-a+man (ML 2:57,86,91,95; 4:54,57), arann-i-enn-a+man (ML 3:41). Note that the preceding n doubles secondarily under these conditions. Apparently related is the doubling of -n- in these same particles when the suffix -an written plene -a-an occurs after them, e.g. Mane+nn+àn (ML 1:114; 2:7,11; 4:52), haθ-i-enn+àn (ML 3:42), mann+àn (ML 1:84).

4.92 When the pronominal associatives or the partitive associative tan are added to a word, suffix, or another associative which ends in -n-, an i-connecting vowel is used and no secondary doubling of the -n- occurs, e.g. tiθθan-i+t⟨t⟩a+n (ML 3:87), eti+tan-i+lla+man (ML 3:47), arann-i-en-i+la+an (ML 3:39), haθ-i-en-i+lla+an (ML 3:40), supiyamaθt-i-en-i+tan (ML 3:88).

4.93 Connecting vowels arise after the 1st person singular possessive suffix -iff. When the copulative -n- is added to a nominal which ends in this suffix, it takes the form -en, e.g. θen-iff-en (ML 2:93, 3:50), tiθ-iff-en (ML 3:95). When the connective -an follows, the -n- doubles, e.g. θen-iff-enn+an (ML 3:45).

When the pronominal assoicatives are added to a nominal which ends in the 1st person possessive suffix, the connecting vowel is -a-, e.g. en-iff-a+lla+an (ML 4:64).[12]

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HURRIAN WORD FORMATION

Before turning to a discussion of the morphological features of the language, we shall summarize the basic features of Hurrian word formation. This summary is necessary for the simple reason that these features are markedly different from those that characterize the more familiar languages of the Semitic and Indo-European families.

5.1 <u>The basic divisions of the Hurrian word</u>. The Hurrian word[1] consists of a root and accompanying suffixed elements. It is to be noted at the outset that both derivational morphemes[2] and relational morphemes are exclusively suffixal. There is not one single example of a morpheme standing before the root in all the corpus of Hurrian texts. Further, those elements that function as suffixal morphemes almost never function as root elements nor do they ever stand alone.[3] Consequently the morphemes of Hurrian can be divided into the <u>roots</u>, which carry the basic semantic burden of the word, and the <u>bound suffixes</u>, which modify that meaning or relate it to the rest of the sentence.[4]

5.2 <u>The three classes of Hurrian words</u>. Three classes of words can be morphologically defined by the distinctive set of suffixes that each may take. These are the <u>nominal</u>, the <u>verbal</u> and the <u>particle</u>.

5.21 <u>The nominal class</u>.   First there can be distinguished a class of words whose functions combine those usually associated with the substantive, adjective, pronoun, numeral, adverb, and preposition of the European language sphere; and whose suffixes prove to be concerned with the functions of possession, abstraction, modification, and the relational functions associated with "case" in the inflecting languages. E.g. <u>še-e-ni-iw-wə-ú-e-ni-e-wə</u>   <u>aš-ti-i-wə</u> . . . <u>za-lam-ši</u> (ML 3:76), which equals <u>θen-iff-ɣe-ne-fe   aθti-fe</u> . . . <u>zalamθi</u>, "brother-my-of-one-of wife-of . . . statue," i.e. "(a) statue of my brother's wife." This class of words, consequently will be termed <u>nominals</u>.

5.22 <u>The verbal class</u>.   Secondly there can be distinguished a class of words whose functions cover those attributed to the verb in the European languages and whose suffixes prove to relate to tense, negation, aspect, mood, etc. E.g. <u>ha-ša-a-ši-wa-a-en</u> (ML 4:20,110) which equals <u>haθ-aθ-i-wa-en</u> "heard-fully (heed)-trans.-neg.-jussive" i.e. "Let (them) not be heeded." This class of words we shall deem <u>verbals</u>.

5.23 <u>The particle class</u>.   Thirdly there can be distinguished a class of words whose functions combine those of conjunction, interjection, etc. and which cannot take any of the suffixes of the first two classes but can only append one or more of a separate class of suffixes which we shall term associatives (see immediately following). E.g. <u>un-du-ma-a-an</u> (ML 2:107), which equals <u>unto+man</u> "now then+and." This

class of words will be termed _particles_. The Hurrian root
does not seem to have belonged inherently to any one of these
three classes but could fit into any one depending on the
suffixes it took on and the function it fulfilled.[5] Thus
even roots normally termed particles can take on the suffixes
of the nominal or verb (cf. IH, p. 71), but it must be em-
phasized that when they do so they no longer fulfull the role
of particle (i.e. conjunction or interjection) but now function
according to the class involved. This feature of the lan-
guage is particularly illustrated by the forms built with the
"nominalizing" particle -θθe-. Here the base of the word may
be a verbal root plus tense and agentive suffixes which is
"nominalized" by this particle, and may then take nominal
suffixes and function as a nominal. (Cf. §6.5 below). E.g.
wə-ru-u-ša-a-al-la-a-an . . . ti-we-e-e-na ta-a-nu-ša-a-uš-
še-na which equals fur-oθ-a-lla-an . . . tiwe-na tan-oθ-
aᵤ-θθe-na, "seen-past-by-him+they+and . . . thing(s)-ones
done-past-by-me-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "and the deeds done
in the past by me have been seen by him." Here the verbal
form tan-oθ-au "done-past-by-me" is nominalized by θθe- and
placed in apposition to tiwe-na "things" just like any other
nominal.

5.3 _The associative_. Alongside the three classes
of words outlines above, a fourth morphological category must
be distinguished. There are suffixes which never stand by
themselves but which can only be appended to the end of
any of the above three types of words,[6] but which do not

perform functions on the word level. They operate as sep-
arate syntactic elements on the sentence level. These ele-
ments will be termed <u>associatives</u>. E.g. <u>a-nam-mi-til-la-</u>
<u>a-an</u> [^dʈ]e-e-eš-šu-pa-aš ^dŠa-uš-gaš ^dA-ma-a-nu-ú-ti-la-an
^dŠi-mi-gi-e-ni-e-ti-la-an ^dE-a-a-šar-ri-ni-e-ti-la-an . . .
<u>ta-a-ta-aš-ti-te-en</u> (ML 1:76-78) which equals <u>anammi+tilla+</u>
<u>an</u> ^dTeθθup=aθ ^dθauθka=θ ^dAmanu-(θ)+til(1)a+an ^dθimike-
ne-(θ)+til(1)a+an ^dEaθarrine-(θ)+til(1)a+an . . . tat-aθt-
<u>iten</u>, "So+<u>us</u>+and Teššub-by Šauška-by Aman-(by)+<u>us</u>+and
Šimikene-(by)+<u>us</u>+and Eašarrine-(by)+<u>us</u>+and . . . loved-?-
plural-jussive," i.e. "In this manner let <u>us</u> be loved by
Teššub, by Šauška, and by Šimike, and by Eašarri."

The functions of the associatives cover a broad range
including predication, sentence connection, pronominal "sub-
ject" and various others.

5.4 <u>The positional connotation of the nominal and</u>
<u>verbal suffixes</u>. The verbal suffixes always occur in a
fixed order within the chain which is never altered. A
definite order likewise exists within the nominal chain,
but it is not so obvious because of the phenomenon of "suf-
fix duplication" whereby the relational suffixes of the
modified noun are repeated at the end of the suffix chain
of each of its modifiers. A difference in the function of
the nominal and verbal suffixes can be correlated with their
position in the suffix chain. In general the closer a suffix
stands to the root the more derivational[7] its function and
conversely, the further its position from the root, the more

relational its function. Thus, in both verb and noun there exists a set of suffixes, called "root complements" by Speiser, whose sole function is to modify the basic meaning of the root, e.g. ḫaθ- "hear," ḫaθ-aθ- "heed"; kep- "to put, place," kep-an- "to have something placed, to offer, present." The positional connotation is seen in the noun by the fact that the pronominal suffixes invariably stand before the relational or "case" suffixes. With the verb the tense suffixes stand before the negative particles which in turn come before the conditional and jussive elements. However, this general principle is not always obvious in details, for it is not always possible clearly to delineate this difference in the case of individual suffixes which stand next to each other, particularly with the verb. Finally it may be noted that this principle greatly helps to narrow down the sphere of meaning for those elements whose meaning and function is not yet clear.

5.5 The arrangement of the grammar. The clear morphological division of words into three classes plus the morphologically separate associatives provides the obvious divisions into which Hurrian morphology should be divided. Consequently in the succeeding chapters we shall discuss the nominal and its bound forms (chapter six), the verbal and its bound forms (chapter seven), the particles (chapter eight), and the associatives (chapter nine).

The normal division of grammar into "morphology" on on the one hand and "syntax" on the other is very poorly

suited to the description of Hurrian grammar (cf. IH §95).
Indeed, it is impossible precisely to define these terms
and keep them separate in traditional grammatical treatment,
for to establish a morpheme requires that something be said
about its function. Since Hurrian, as described above, is
fundamentally agglutinative in its construction, rather than
inflectional, it seems more logical to discuss the function
of the particles in the same place that their form is dis-
cussed. This we will do for the nominal, the verbal, the
particle, and the associative.

VI. THE NOMINALS: THEIR FORM AND FUNCTION

6.1 As defined above, the term <u>nominals</u> refers to that class of Hurrian words whose functions, in general, dove-tail with those usually associated with the noun and its congeners and modifiers in the Semitic and the Indo-European languages, and whose suffixes express possession, modification, abstraction, and the relational functions associated with "case" in the inflecting languages.

More specifically, the Hurrian nominal can express a variety of functions usually connected with parts of speech that are morphologically distinct in the "classical" languages of the Semitic and Indo-European sphere. Thus it combines the functions performed by the substantive, adjective, pronoun, numeral, and preposition. This is accomplished either by the semantic force of the root or the appendage of the requisite suffix. E.g. the "substantive" <u>θena-</u> "brother," the "pronoun" <u>fe-</u> "thou," and the "preposition" <u>eti-</u> "person,"[1] all belong to the same morphological category by virtue of the fact that they all take the identical set of suffixes, e.g. <u>še-e-ni-iw-wə-ú-a</u> (ML 3:20) "for my brother," <u>we-e-wa</u> (ML 3:55) "for thee," <u>e-ti-iw-wə-ú-e</u> (ML 4:18) "of my person." The "adjectival" function is obtained by the appendage of a suffix <u>-ḫe-/-ḫḫe-</u> in more than one position

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to obtain several nuances of modification, e.g. Ḫur-ru-u-ḫe KUR<u>u-u-mi-i-ni</u> (ML 3:6) "Hurrian land."

Although the Hurrian nominal forms a basically homogeneous morphological class, all of whose members take the same set of suffixes and perform similar functions, it seems advantageous for the purposes of description to discuss separately two sub-classes of nominal roots on the basis of meaning: first the pronominal roots and second the numerals.

Consequently we shall discuss first the nominal root in general, with its various types of stem, then the pronouns and the numerals, after which we shall turn to the nominal suffixes.

6.2 **The nominal root.** The root refers to that morpheme which carries the main semantic burden of the word. It always stands first. There do not seem to be separate nominal, verbal, and particle roots in Hurrian, but rather a root can function as one or the other, depending solely on the suffixes it appends and the use to which it is put, cf. § 5.23. This seems to follow from the few roots that do so.[2] However, it must be noted that quite a few roots appear as verbals or nominals only, while words with a related meaning in another class use a different root, e.g. <u>ar-</u> "to give" but <u>taθe-</u> "gift, present." Hence it does not yet seem valid to make this a general principle of the language.

6.21 **Nominal stems.** Nominal roots are usually characterized by final vowels which are characteristic of that root and always appear when the root possesses no suf-

fixes. They do not seem to be permanent parts of the root, however, for they are modified or elided according to the nature of the following suffix (cf. §4.2). It seems help-ful to indicate the root plus characteristic vowel as a <u>stem</u>. Nominal stems occur with <u>a</u>-vowels, <u>e/i</u>-vowels,[3] and possibly <u>u</u>-vowels. By far the most frequent are the <u>e/i</u>-stems. A few consonantal stems also exist. No semantic or morphologi-cal feature seems to be implied by a particular stem vowel, except to note that <u>u</u>-stems are infrequent with the nominals but are more numerous with the particle stems. As a result of this it seems best to regard these vowels as integral parts of the root that are subject to frequent elision or assim-ilation. Hence we shall not indicate these vowels in nor-malization by superscript letters, as did Speiser (<u>IH</u> §102) and von Brandenstein before him (<u>ChRT</u>, p. 571, n. 1).

6.211 <u>Stems in -a</u>. These include such words as <u>ela-</u> "sister," <u>θala-</u> "daughter," <u>θena-</u>[4] "brother," <u>tiθa-</u> "heart," <u>papa-</u> "mountain," <u>θeya-</u> "water, river," and the pronominal stem <u>iθa-</u> "I." For text references, cf. <u>IH</u> §103.

6.212 <u>Stems in -e/i</u>. These include such words as: <u>arte-</u>[5] "city," <u>aθte-</u> "woman," <u>awari</u>[6] "field," <u>ene-</u> "god," <u>eθe-</u> "heaven," <u>ewre-</u>[7] "lord," <u>tiwe-</u>[8] "word, thing, affair," <u>omini-</u> "land," <u>turi-</u> "low," <u>urḫe-</u> "true, faithful," <u>api-</u> "face, front,"[9] <u>eti-</u> "person, body,"[10] <u>iθte-</u> "I,"[11] <u>eki-</u> "inside, interior, heart,"[12] <u>fe-</u> "thou," <u>anti-</u> "this," <u>anni-</u> "that," <u>oli-</u> "other," <u>θue-</u> "all," and <u>tumni-</u> "four." For text references cf. <u>IH</u> §104. From the Ug. Quad. Voc. note,

purame- "slave"[13] (Laroche, No. 15), ḫalmi- "song" (Laroche, No. 16), teari- "spindle" (Laroche, No. 18), zuzuḫe- "cup, goblet" (Laroche, No. 19), maziri- "aid" (Laroche, No. 20), tali- "wood, tree" (Laroche, No. 25).

θidar-ni "curse" (Laroche, No. 17) and θuḫur-ni "life" (Laroche, No. 21) are indeterminate as to stem vowel since it elides before -ne- when the stem ends in r, l, or n (see § 4.222).

6.213 _Stems in -u_. These are few. From the Ug. S-H Voc. we get aθḫu- "high," uliweru- "extent," and utḫuru- "side." However, one of the prominent features of the Ugaritic Hurrian dialect is the use of u- and a-vowels where Mittanni and Boghazköi Hurrian uses a- and u-vowels respec-tively.[14] It remains to be seen if these would be a-stems at Boghazköi or Mittanni. Among the pronouns we get aku- "the other of two," and akku- "the one of two."

6.214 _Consonant stems_. Two stems end in the diph-thong -ay: attay- "father" and allay- "lady."[15] Apart from these a few others exist: note ḫawur- "earth,"[16] and muθ- "twin (or exalted?)."

6.22 _Pronominal stems_. Among the stems exhibiting pronominal functions, there have been identified personal, demonstrative, reciprocal, and indefinite pronouns. The relative pronominal relationship is not expressed in Hurrian by a nominal root but by the particle ya-/ye-.[17]

6.221 _The personal pronouns_. Only the pronouns of the first and second persons in the singular have thus far

been established, cf. IH §109.

6.2211 The first person independent pronoun. This pronoun exhibits three stems:

(1) The agentive form is iθa-,[18] e.g. i-ša-aš (ML 3:57), i-šal-la-a-an (ML 3:54, 4:63).[19]

(2) The subjective form is iθte-,[20] e.g. [i]š-te-e-en (ML 2:71). This is now fully confirmed by Ug. Quad. Voc. 130 3:12, where the form iθten is rendered by Akkadian and Ugaritic anaku.[21]

(3) The "oblique" form is θo/u-. The form θo- occurs with the genitive-dative suffix -wǝ, while θu- occurs with the directive and comitative suffixes -ta and -ra, e.g. šu-u-u-wǝ, (ML 3:115); šu-ú-ú-ta, (ML 3:113); šu-ú-ú-ra, (ML 2:93).

6.2212 The second person independent pronoun has so far only the single stem fe-. Although it always appears as we- in ML, the form bè-e-eš pa-li-u at Boghazköi (IBoT II 39 1:35, cf. Laroche, PRU III, p. 323) establishes the phoneme as the labial fricative rather than the semivowel. E.g. agentive: we-e-eš-ša-a-an, (ML 3:68); genitive, dative: we-e-wǝ (ML 3:55,58).

6.222 The demonstrative pronouns. Two pairs of deictic pronouns exist in Hurrian, one a general pair "this, that" and the other a particularizing pair, "this one of two, that one of two."

6.2221 The general demonstratives are anti- "this"[22] and anni- "that," e.g. ti-wǝ an-ti (ML 4:13,14) "this word."

The virtual plural of <u>anti</u>- is formed by adding the third person plural pronominal associative -<u>lla</u>, "they," e.g. <u>antil-la-a-an</u>, (ML 4:31), "this+they," equalling "these." No such plural has been noted yet for <u>anni</u>.

6.2222 The particularizing demonstratives are <u>akku</u>- "this one of two," and <u>aku</u>- "that one of two." E.g. <u>ú-ú-ra-uš-ša-a-aš-še-na-a-ma-a-an</u> <u>ti-we-e-e</u>^{MEŠ} <u>wə-əh-ru-un-ni-en</u> <u>iš-ta-ni-iw-w -ša</u> <u>ag-gu-uš</u> <u>a-gu-ú-a</u> <u>e-ti-i-i-ta</u> <u>ta-a-na-aš-ti-en</u> (ML 1:80-82), "let the good things which we desire be done mutually by the one for the other."

6.223 The reciprocal pronoun is <u>iθtani</u>- "mutualness, reciprocation." For an example see the preceding quotation. The form <u>iθtan-iffaθ-a</u> equals "in our mutuality," i.e. "we mutually."

6.224 The indefinite pronoun is <u>ole</u>- "other," e.g. <u>u-u-li ti-wə</u> (ML 2:79), "another word." The plural is formed by adding the particle -<u>na</u>, e.g. <u>u-u-ul-la-an</u> ^{KUR}<u>u-u-mi-i-in-na</u>, (ML 2:87-88), "the other lands." Note the elision of the stem vowel and the assimilation of the <u>n</u>, <u>ole-na</u> > <u>olla</u>, cf. §4.222.

6.225 The "inclusive" pronoun is <u>heyarunna</u> "every." It does not occur in the Mittanni Letter, but was elucidated from Boghazkoi Hurrian by Friedrich.[23]

6.226 The "extensive" pronoun is <u>θue</u>- "all." This was elucidated by Speiser in <u>IH</u> §114a. In combination with the pronominal associatives -<u>nna</u> "he, it" and -<u>lla</u> "they" it forms the common particles <u>θuannaman</u>, "all (of) it," and

θuallaman "all (of) them." It also forms the troublesome
mana θuene (ML 1:69,73; 2:55; 3:5,6) which seems to have
an adverbial force, perhaps "wholly, altogether."

6.24 **The numerals.** These have been listed in IH
§ 116, with the place where they were first recognized. The
situation remains the same today except that kik- "three"
has now been verified from the Alalaḫ texts. The numerals
which are reasonably certain are the following:

> θin- "two." E.g. ši-ni-a-še-na- "of their two" (ML
> 3:40).
>
> kika- "three." The tentative identification of this
> numeral by Speiser in AASOR 16, p. 133, has
> now been verified by a clear occurrence in the
> Alalaḫ tablets, cf. Friedrich, "Zu den churri-
> tischen Zahlwörten," AfO 17(1954-56): 368f.
>
> tumni- "four"
>
> θinta- (θitta-) "seven"
>
> eman- "ten." Note the verb emanam- "to make tenfold"
> in the Mittanni Letter (ML 3:54,57).
>
> nope- "ten thousand." Note the occurrence of this
> numeral in the Foundation Lion Inscription in
> the form inope-, [cf. Nougayrol, RA 42(1948):
> 1-20].

Less certain identifications are: niθi- possibly "nine"
and kiθi- possibly one of the other digits.

6.3 **The nominal root-complements.** The form and
general nature of these suffixes was first recognized by

Speiser in IH §§174-177. They do not have the general and widespread usage with the nominal that they do with the verbal (see §7.41), being most commonly found with the adjectival suffix -ḫe/-ḫḫe and with the adverbial suffix -ae. However, it seems proper to add here suffixes such as -uḫlu and uθḫi which modify the root meaning in a clearly derivational way. Nevertheless, since the nominal root-compliments are much more limited in their usage than their verbal counterparts, they are here discussed before the nominal suffixes proper.

The root-complements always stand immediately next to the root, for their function is to modify or add to the lexical content. With the adverbial forms in -ae several root-complements appended to the same root is not uncommon.

(1) The root-complement -ar-. This is known from the form tat-ar-aθk-ae in ML 3:51,107. Here it indubitably must be the same as the verbal root-complement -ar- for which a frequentative or durative force has been suggested [see §7.41 (3)]. Thus the form plausibly means "with continued affection."[24] However, there are a number of nominals from Alalaḫ which possibly contain this complement, e.g. ḫeθtar-uḫuli "a maker of ḫeθtaru- objects,"[25] ḫillari "a pot stand(?),"[26] ḫawar- "a quality of wool,"[27] makar- "of or pertaining to wool,"[28] papari- "a furnishing of some kind,"[29] papaθθari "a container,"[30] paḫantaru "a garment or kind of cloth,"[31] etc. Note also pur-ar-att-iff in ML 2:89.

(2) The root-complement -arti-. This has been inter-

preted as a separate nominal from ar- "give" meaning "gift"
and the forms in -arti- have been translated "father-gift,"
"sistership-gift," etc., (see IH §173, 240). This must now
be abandoned. Goetze's suggestion in Lang 16(1940): 135, n.
41, followed up by Laroche in RA 51(1957): 105, that it forms
abstracts is correct. In several instances in ML it clearly
forms collectives. Thus, note, besides the remarks of
Laroche, loc. cit., the phrase el-art-iff-ye-na-θe+mmaman
niḫari-yaθ-e tuppi-yaθ in ML 3:44-45, "sister-coll.-my-of-
ones-of+in-particular dowries-their-of tablet(s)-their,"
i.e. "the tablets of the dowries of my sister-relations." In
the previous paragraph Tušratta has discussed the dowry tab-
lets of his sister and of his father's sister, both of whom
went to be wives of the Pharaoh. He urges the Pharaoh to
procure their tablets and hear them. He also urges him to
procure his tablet, the one of the dowry which he sent (with
his daughter Taduḫeba) and to hear "whether the dowry is
large, excellent, and suitable for my brother." Thus, el-
arti- in the first line of the next paragraph can only refer,
collectively, to these women whose relationship is that of
sister. And note particularly the use of att-art-iff+tan
to mean "more than my forefathers" (see the discussion in
§9.8).

(3) The root-complement -arp-. This occurs at Nuzu
with numerical roots in connection with animals and ap-
parently means "x-year-old," e.g. θin-arpu "two-year-old,"
tummarpu "four-year-old." Cf. Speiser, AASOR 16, p. 131ff.

(4) The root-complement -k-. This occurs in combination with -θ- in tat-ar-aθk-ae (see above) and possibly in er-oθk-i-nna (ML 1:97,100). Note also tupp-ak-oθḫe-na^m (ML 2:21,29). The force is unknown.

(5) The root-complement -l-. This occurs in te-ol-ae, alongside te-on-ae and tea "much, great." Speiser suggests comparative and superlative grades, respectively [IH §175 (3)]. This seems less probable now, since this remains the only example.

(6) The root-complement -n-. For te-on-ae see above. Note also the form te-on-a in ML 3:74, modifying ḫiyaroḫḫa- "gold."

(7) The root-complement -p-. This occurs in conjunction with -t- in a number of forms, [note -pt- in urḫupt- see §7.41 (8)]. For nominals note -pat- in niru-pat-ae (ML 4:5,6), mannu-pat-ae (ML 4:59), and tuppu-pat-a-(ML 3:48).

In combination with -ḫ- or perhaps the adjectival -ḫe, note ^dPiθa(y)θapḫi, apparently derived from the mountain name Piθa(y)θa, and from Alalaḫ note šešatupḫe "characterized by six-spoked wheels,"[32] karapḫu "fallow,"[33] and sarapḫu descriptive of barley.[34]

In combination with -θ- it occurs in parapθe "cultivated(?),"[35] and in the forms in -paθḫi; note, besides those cited by Speiser, IH, p. 134, ḫaθannipaθḫa at Alalaḫ.[36]

Note also the root-complement -arp- in (3) above.

(8) The root-complement -t-. For forms in which this is compounded with -p- see (7) above. Note also -arti- in

(2) above. This forms abstract nouns in several clear instances. Thus note kelti- "well-being" from kel- "to be pleasing, satisfactory" (ML 4:43,44), emanti "decad" from eman- "ten," palt- "authenticity(?)" from pal- "to know" (ML 4:23,29). Note also paθθithe "envoy" from paθθ- "to send."

(9) The root-complement -θ-. This occurs in a large number of pertinent forms. Note nir-oθ-ae (ML 1:55,58,70,82; 4:38), nir-θ-ae (ML 4:66), and nir-i-θe (ML 4:43), as well as zal-oθ-ae (ML 4:14). By far the most common use of this is in the combination -uθhe which forms objects and particularly vessels at both Nuzu and Alalaḫ. In HHA, p. 217, Draffkorn lists some nine different words using this ending at Alalaḫ; note especially aḫruθḫi "censer" and ḫupruθḫi "brazier, vessel" and compare Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, text 2, notes to lines 14-15. Note also θilaḫuθḫa (ML 4:66).

For its combination with -p-, see (7) above, and with -k- see (4) above.

(10) The root-complement -uḫl-. This is known primarily from Nuzu and Alalaḫ where it forms primarily vocational terms on both Hurrian and non-Hurrian bases. Thus note ḫalzuḫlu "mayor" < Akk. ḫalṣu "fortress," maškuḫuli "leather-worker" < Akk. mašku "hide," purkulluḫuli "stone-cutter" < Akk. purqullu "precious stone," mardatuḫli "manufacturer of mardatu textile" < Akk. mardatu "a type of textile," etc.[37] For Hurrian bases note emantuḫli "leader of a ten" < emanti "decad" < eman- "ten," taluḫli "wood-cutter(?)"[38] < tali-

"wood, tree," zilikuḫli "witness" < zil- "?."

As von Schuler notes all the examples built upon roots whose meanings are known are based upon objects in the widest sense. Hence it cannot be said to form agent nouns in general but rather vocational or occupational terms.

Yet note wuruḫli "south."

In two instances -ḫuri seems to form a similar term, e.g. amumiḫḫuri (AASOR 16 62:27) "representative(?)," and peniḫuru (JEN 49:36) "overseer(?)." This may be simply a phonetic variant of -uḫl-.

6.4 The nominal suffixes. The nominals are morphologically identified not only by the syntactic functions they may perform but also by the characteristic set of suffixes that they take on. These suffixes prove to be concerned with the following: (1) possession, (2) relational functions on the sentence level, (3) determination and the anaphoric relating of suffix chains, (4) adjectival relationships, (5) adverbial relationships, and (6) infinitival functions.

6.41 General considerations. It must be emphasized here that the suffixes in Hurrian are basically agglutinative in character, that is, each suffix basically preserves its own individuality and meaning and, as such, can be added to or separated from the word complex.

The nominal suffixes are basically either derivational or relational in force and this can be correlated with their position in the nominal chain. In general the derivational elements stand closest to the root and the relational suffixes

further away. Thus the root complements, being exclusively derivational in force, always stand before any other suffixes, and the pronominal suffixes always precede the relational or "case" suffixes. This same positional connotation produces a difference in the meaning and function of certain particles. The particles -ne- "one" and -na- "ones," when added directly to the root, develop a force almost akin to the definite article, whereas when used further down in the suffix chain, they anaphorically represent another word or group of words.

6.42 The pluralizing suffix for the pronominal and relational suffixes. A marked indication of the agglutinative nature of Hurrian suffixation is the fact that the plural of the pronominal suffixes and the relational suffixes is indicated by the addition of a separate particle, -θ-, to the singular forms.[39] Let us begin with the pronominal suffixes.

6.421 The pluralization of the pronominal suffixes. The plural of the pronominal suffixes is formed by adding the suffix -aθ-. We shall illustrate this with the first person pronominal suffix -iff- "my." This becomes in the plural -iffaθ- "our," e.g. KUR u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wa, (ML 1:68, 2:17), i.e. omin-iff "my land" and KUR u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wa-aš-,[40] (ML 3:109), i.e. omin-iffaθ- "our land(s)."[41]

6.422 The pluralization of the relational suffixes. When the relational suffixes are added to a plural nominal without any pronominal suffix attached, they take on the

same particle. However, it is added _before_ the suffix, rather than after, as is the case with the pronominal suffixes. Thus the agentive -uθ- becomes in the plural -θuθ-, e.g ew-ri-iš, (ML 1:85), ewri-θ "by (the) lord" and in the plural ew-ri-en-na-šu-uš, (ML 3:48), ewre-(n)na-θuθ "by the lords."

However, when the relational suffixes are added to the already pluralized pronominal suffixes, e.g. iffaθ- "our," the pluralizing suffix, -θ-, already present, suffices to indicate the plural of the relational suffix also, viz. "by our-" is iffa-θ-uθ. E.g. ew-ri-iw-we-šu-uš, (ML 4:118), ewr-iffa-θ-uθ. Compare this latter form with še-e-ni-iw-wu-uš, (ML 1:74), θen-iff-uθ "by my brother."

We shall find that a very similar suffix -θa- is used to pluralize the pronominal agentive suffix of the verb, cf. §7.4525.

6.43 _The pronominal suffixes._ When present, the pronominal suffixes always stand next to the root in accordance with their basic derivational nature. The only element that may come between the pronominal suffix and the root is the particle -ne or -na when used with the derivational force of the article. This occurs very seldom as would be expected, since the pronominal suffix itself imparts a "definite" character to the word. Only a few examples occur in the Mittanni Letter. For example e-e-en-ni-ib-dan, (ML 4:116), "from thy gods," and e-en-ni-iw-wa-a-še-e-en, (ML 2:77), "of our gods."

6.431 _The possessive suffix paradigm._ The paradigm

of the possessive pronominal suffixes is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-iff (-iw-wə)	-iffaθ (-iw-wa-aš)
2nd Person	-f (-ib/-i-wə-)	[-faθ] unattested
3rd Person	-i(y)/-(iy)a	-iyaθ (-i-aš)

6.432 The first person. The stem vowel is lost before the i-vowel of this suffix, e.g. θena- "brother" but regularly θen-iff- "my brother." The orthography of the Mittanni Letter is regularly -iw-wə-, e.g. še-e-ni-iw-wə, (ML 1:65 etc.) "my brother," u-u-mi-ni-iw-wə, (ML 1:68), "my land." For the interpretation of this writing as the double labial fricative see §3.622.

The plural is formed by adding the pluralizing particle -θ- plus the connecting vowel -a- after the suffix (cf. §6.42) i.e. -iffaθ, e.g. at-ta-a-ar-ti-iw-wa-aš^MEŠ (ML 1:8), attart-iffaθ, "our forefathers."

6.433 The second person. The suffix is attached directly to the stem vowel, cf. θena- "brother," še-e-na-wə-ša-an, (ML 1:84), "and by thy brother." When the suffix is in intervocalic position the sign wə, (i.e. PI), is used regularly in Mittanni orthography, e.g. at-ta-i-wu-uš, (ML 3:67), "by thy father," and pa-aš-ši-i-it-ḫi-wu-uš, (ML 1:53,72,83), "by thy envoy." When it ends a syllable, however, the sign IB is used, e.g. pa-aš-ši-i-it-ḫi-ib, (ML 1:114, 2:95), "thy envoy" and e-e-en-ni-ib-dan, (ML 4:116), "from thy gods." In IH §145, Speiser would use the two forms

ša-a-la-pa-an, (ML 1:51, 4:93) and še-e-na-pa-an, (ML 1:91)
as evidence that the Mittanni Letter orthography is not uni-
form. Although he is probably correct, the evidence must be
used with caution. The form še-e-na-pa-an very possibly re-
presents a case of single writing of a doubled consonant be-
fore -an, (cf. §3.113), in view of the following e-ti-i-e-e-
im-ma-ma-an, i.e. θena-f-fe+an[42] "and of thy brother."[43] The
form ša-a-la-pa-an in 4:93 is in completely broken context.
The same form in 1:51 seems most clearly to represent "thy
daughter" but the context is broken immediately preceding
and a word belonging to this clause is missing.[44]

When the genitive suffix -fe or the dative suffix -fa
follow the second person pronominal suffix, assimilation takes
place and the resulting combination is written -pp-, e.g.
at-ta-i-ip-pa e-ti-i-i-ta, (ML 3:52-53), "father-thy-for
person-his-to" i.e. "for the sake of thy father," še-e-na-
ap-pè, (ML 1:89), "of thy brother." Note also i-ti-ib-ba-an
par?-ra-na, (Ug. A-H Bil.:7) which equals Akk pagar-ka šullim
"protect your body." The Hurrian apparently expresses some-
thing like "assure the well-being for your body" (cf. Laroche,
PRU III, p. 315f.).

No examples of the plural of this suffix have yet been
found.

6.434 The third person. For the establishment of
the third person as -i or -ya see IH §69 and 146. Its pre-
sence and form results from a comparison of the "preposition-
al" phrase šu-u-we-ni-e e-ti-iw-w ə-ú-e-e, (ML 4:22), "me-of-

one person-my-of" i.e. "with regard to me," with that of u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-we-ǵ-e-ni-e e-ti-i-e-e, (ML 4:19,28), "land-my-of-one person-its-of" i.e. "with regard to my land." The form e-ti-i-e-e must be eti-iy-(f)e. The presence of an original -y in this suffix can be assumed from the fact that the labial fricative of the genitive and dative suffixes elides after it [whereas it does not do so after an ordinary i-vowel, e.g. we-e-wa e-ti-i-wa, (ML 3:55), "for thee, for (the) person" i.e. "concerning thee"]; and from the writing of the plural as -i-aš (cf. below).

It is possible that the suffix was originally -iya (or at least was so when word final). That this may be the case is indicated by the form -a in the forms aθt-a (line 9) "his wife" and arn-a (line 14) "his sin" of the Ug. A-H Bil. (cf. Laroche, PRU III, p. 315). Possibly this is dialectal. At Mittanni the final a has apocopated whereas at Ugarit the intervocalic y and the preceding i-vowel have elided, i.e. aθt-iya > aθt-a. That the nominal suffix was originally iya is also favored by the form of the verbal agentive suffix, 3rd person singular, which is also -iya or -a, cf. §7.4524.

The plural is formed by adding the pluralizing suffix -aθ- to the singular, producing -iyaθ-, e.g. tup-pí-aš, (ML 3:39,45), "their tablets."

The variant form -di deduced by Speiser from forms in the Ug. S-H Voc. must be dispensed with in the light of the Ug.-Quad. Voc. It proves to be an enclitic form of the word eti- "person," translating the dative of the Sumerian forms

involved. Cf. Laroche RA 54(1960): 198.

6.44 The relational or "case" suffixes. A group
of suffixes, always added after the pronominal suffixes, have
the function of relating the nominal to which they are at-
tached to the other words of the sentence, clause or phrase.
Their position after the pronominal suffixes accords with
their relational function as opposed to the derivational
nature of the pronominal suffixes. In accordance with the
agglutinative nature of Hurrian construction, the term "case"
for these suffixes will be avoided for they have more the
nature of independent particles than inflectional endings.
Although the functions of many of these suffixes had been
known from early in Hurrian studies, it is to E. A. Speiser
in IH §§148-157 that we are indebted for their systematic
elucidation.

6.441 The relational suffix paradigm. The forms
of the relational suffixes when attached to singular and
plural nominals and to nominals with an intervening pro-
nominal suffix are set forth in the paradigm on the fol-
lowing page. These suffixes will now be discussed both
as to form and function.

6.442 The zero-suffix or stem form of the nominal.
This form of the nominal will be discussed here not only to
make the presentation complete and systematic but also be-
cause the absence of a suffix in this form is a "significant
nothing," so to speak. That is, the nominal without any
relational suffix has a definite and well defined function

The Possessive Suffix Paradigm

Suffix	word ending	nominal singular	nominal plural	person	Nominal with possessive suffix	
					singular	plural
zero-suffix	a	θala 3:35	papa-na Mari 5:8	1st	omin-iff 2:17	attart-iffaθ 1:8
	e/i	paθθithe 4:54	tiwe-na 2:80	2nd	paθθithe-f 1:114	- - -
	u	aθhu Ug S-H Voc 4:5	- - -	3rd	- - -	tupp-iyaθ 3:39, 45
agentive	vow.	Mane-θ 2:102	en-na-θuθ 4:117	1st	θen-iff-uθ 4:53	ewr-iffaθ-uθ 4:118
	cons	Teθθub-aθ 1:76	- - -	2nd	paθθithi-f-uθ 1:83	- - -
				3rd	- - -	- - -
genitive	vow.	omin-ne-fe 2:71	en-na-θe KBo 2 21:11	1st	θen-iff-ye 3:28	en-n-iffaθ-e 2:77
	u-vow.	aku-ye 4:123	- - -	2nd	θena-f-fe[a] 1:89	- - -
	cons	Teθθop-pe 2:77	- - -	3rd	omin-i-fe- 4:25	θin-iyaθ-e 3:40
dative	vow.	Tuθratta-fa 3:107	- - -	1st	θen-iff-ua 1:102	--- -
	u-vow.	aku-ya 1:81	omin-na-θa 3:73	2nd	attay-f-fa[a] 3:58	- - -
	cons	- - -		3rd	- - -	fur-iyaθ-a 3:73
directive	vow.	ene-ta Ug A-H Bil: 14	en-na-θta Bogh.	1st	θen-iff-uta 1:45	- - -
	cons	Kuθuh-uta Ug A-H Bil: 16	- - -	2nd	paθθith-f-uta 1:53	- - -
				3rd	et-i-ta 1:102	- - -
comitative	vow.	Mane-ra 2:116	tat-ay-θθe- na-θura 1:71	1st	θen-iff-ura 1:9	- - -
	cons	- - -		2nd	- - -	- - -
				3rd	- - -	- - -
locative	vow.	hayr-ne-ya Bogh.	- - -	1st	tiθ-iff-a 2:55	- - -
	cons	tiθ-iff-a 2:55	- - -	2nd	- - -	- - -
				3rd	- - -	- - -
stative	noun	urh-a 2:106	- - -	-θθa	nakk-a-θθa 3:106	- - -
	-ha	emanam-ha 4:32	- - -	-nna	aθti-nna 3:105	- - -

[a] Written -p-pe or -p-pa, see §6.4441 (a)

within the sentence. To play this role it must appear without any relational suffix, and to play any other role in the sentence it must add a suffix. To this extent we are justified in speaking of a "zero-suffix"[45] form of the nominal and including it among the relational suffixes.

6.4421 <u>The form of the zero-suffix form.</u> This form, then, is a nominal without any relational suffix. However, it can still carry pronominal suffixes and it can still append associatives. One of the most frequent associatives to be attached to the zero-suffix form is the predicative or copulative -<u>n</u> (cf. §9.2). In earlier stages of the interpretation of Hurrian grammar this -<u>n</u> was regarded as the suffix of the "case" involved.[46] That this cannot be so is evidenced by the fact that this -<u>n</u> appears on the zero-suffix form <u>only</u> when that form is the first word in the sentence or clause, or is preceded only by a particle. Whenever the zero-suffix form occupies some other position, the -<u>n</u> no longer appears on it, but is still attached to the first word of the sentence or clause (other than particles).[47] The only reason the two are frequently found together is that they both tend to stand first in the sentence or clause.[48]

6.4422 <u>The function of the zero-suffix form.</u> The zero-suffix form has two functions which, although appearing markedly different from the point of view of our grammatical concepts, belonged to the same morphological category to the Hurrian way of thinking. First, it functions as the "subject" of <u>nominal</u> sentences, both <u>intransitive</u>

and <u>transitive subject-action</u> sentences. However, with a transitive verbal sentence in which both the actor and the goal of the action are expressed, the zero-suffix form can function only as the "goal" of the action (i.e. the logical object). All these uses will now be illustrated. Let us begin with the "subjective" function since this is similar to more familiar grammatical constructions:[49]

A. Nominal subject - nominal predicate.

(1) <u>alaθe+me+nin niḥari tea</u> (ML 3:42), "whether+ ?+indeed(?) (the) dowry (is) great."

(2) <u>unto+n ^mMane+nn+man θen-iff-ɣe paθθitḥe</u> (ML 4:35), "now+cop. Mane+cop.+conn. brother-my-of envoy," i.e. "now Mane is my brother's envoy."

B. Nominal subject - intransitive verbal predicate.

(1) <u>unto+man inna+me+nin θen-iff-ɣe aθti un-ett-a</u> (ML 3:21), "now+and lo+?+indeed(?) brother-my-of wife come-will," i.e. "and now, lo, my brother's wife will come."

(2) <u>^mMane+n+an θen-iff-ɣe paθθitḥe un-a</u> (ML 2:13-14), "Mane+cop.+and brother-my-of envoy coming," i.e. "and Mane, (the) envoy of my brother, is coming."

(3) <u>ati+nin taθe+n itt-oθt-a</u> (ML 1:90), "thus+in-deed(?) gift+cop. gone-past," i.e. "so (the) gift has gone."

C. Nominal subject - transitive verbal predicate, no goal.

((1) <u>ḫ]enni θen-iff paθθ-oθ-i</u> (ML 1:65), "now bro-

ther-my sending-past-trans.," i.e. "at this time my brother was sending an embassy."

(2) alamu-fa+man aθt-a ḫan-aθt-i-kki (Ug. A-H Bil: 9), "last-dat.+and wife-his bear-emph.-trans.-not," i.e. "andffor everyhis wife (is) not giving birth."

(3) ya+an ụur-i-kki . . . Ḥurroẓe ^{KUR}omini ya+an ụur-i-kki . . . ^{KUR}Mašriyanni ^{KUR}omini (ML 3:5-7), "what+ and requires-trans.-neg. . . . Hurrian land, what+and requires-trans.-neg. ... . Egyptian land," i.e. "what the Hurrian land is not requiring (and) what the Egyptian land is not requiring."

These sentences all partake of a basic "equational" nature in which the predication can be expressed either by simple juxtaposition [A (1), B (1) etc.], or by the use of the predicative associative -n [A (2), B "2) etc.].

The second use of the zero-suffix form of the nominal, however, is quite different from more common and familiar grammatical constructions. Whenever the verb is transitive and both the actor and the recipient of the action[50] are expressed, the verb is passival in orientation.[51] In this construction the recipient of the action is placed in the zero-suffix form while the actor takes an "agentive" suffix, e.g.

θen-iff-uθθ+an aθti ar-oθ-a (ML 3:1), "brother-my-by+ and wife requested-past-by-him," i.e. "(a) wife was requested by my brother."[52]

Here the "goal" or "logical object" of the action, aθti,

is in the zero-suffix form, while the "actor" or "logical subject" appends the agentive suffix -uθ-. Now, since the grammatical terms subject and object are inevitably associated with the actor and the recipient of the action respectively, from their common use with verbs of active orientation (as in the Semitic and Indo-European languages), the use of these terms for the Hurrian passival construction can only introduce confusion. Hence the zero-suffix form in these constructions will be given the grammatical designation "goal," and the actor or logical subject will be grammatically termed the "agent."[53]

It must be emphasized that this construction is only found when two conditions are met: the verb must not only be a transitive verb but both goal and agent must be expressed.[54] For further examples see the next section on the agentive suffix.

Finally, the zero-suffix form functions as a vocative, cf. the remarks of Laroche, <u>Ugaritica</u> V, III, A. Textes, 5. Hymnes ou invocations à des divinités particulières, discussion; and <u>Idem</u>, III, C, §11.1. Compare also <u>θen-iff</u> (ML 4:12).

6.443   <u>The agentive suffix</u> -θθ- ∿ -θ ∿ -uθθ- ∿ uθ.[55] As mentioned above, the transitive verb in Hurrian is passival in force whenever both logical subject and logical object are present. Under these circumstances the logical object, grammatically termed the goal, is placed in the zero-suffix form (see above), and the logical subject, grammati-

cally termed the agent, takes on the agentive subject.

6.4431 <u>The form of the agentive suffix</u>.   The suffix is a doubled dental fricative and hence voiceless (see §3.5). It is represented by the š-signs in the syllabary and by the t̠-sign in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit. That it is double is revealed by the fact that it is always written -šš- in intervocalic position in the syllabary. When it is word final, however, it appears as -š. This may mean that the doubling was lost in final position,[56] but this is not necessarily the case.[57] However that may be, we will represent the suffix in final position in phonemic transcription by a single -θ. When added to a word ending in a vowel, it has the simple form -θ(θ), but when added to a word ending in a consonant, it becomes -uθ(θ).[58] The suffix elides before the pronominal associatives -lla "they," -tilla "we" and -tta "I" (cf. §4.4). Its presence can be observed when the preceding vowel is e/i or u because these vowels do not then shift to an a-vowel as they normally do before these pronominal associatives (cf. §4.24).

The plural is formed by adding the pluralizing suffix -θ- plus the connecting vowel u before the suffix, giving -θuθ(θ)-, cf. §6.422 above.

6.4432 <u>The function of the agentive suffix</u>.   This suffix is used to express the agent or logical subject of a transitive verb, which is passival in force in Hurrian. It never occurs under any other circumstances. The logical subject of <u>intransitive</u> verbs and of transitive verbs in

<u>subject-action construction</u> is expressed by the zero-suffix form, cf. §6.4422 above. Note the following examples:

(1) ^m<u>Immuriya-θθ+an zalamθi tan-oθ-a</u>, (ML 3:106), "Immuriya-by+and statue made-past-by-him," i.e. "and Immuriya has made (the) statue."

(2) <u>ye+ma+nin tiwe ^mMane-θ θen-iff-ta katill-et-a</u> (ML 2:101-2), "what+?+indeed(?) words Mane-by brother-my-to communicated-fut.-by-him," i.e. "what words Mane will communicate to my brother."

(3) <u>inu+me+min ḫenni θen-iff iθa-θ tat-au</u> (ML 1:75), "as+?+indeed(?) now brother-my me-by loved-by-me," i.e. "as I now indeed love my brother."

(4) <u>anammi+tilla+an . . .^{d.m}en-na-θuθ tiθ-iyaθ-a+n tiθθan tiθθan tat-aθt-iten</u> (ML 1:76-79), "so+us+and . . . god-ones-by hearts-their-in+cop. much much loved-?-jussive," i.e. "and so let the gods love us in their hearts very much."

6.444 <u>The genitive suffix -fe-∿-ɥe-∿-e-∿-pe-</u>. Since this suffix most often expresses a relationship of appurtenance between nominals, it has been given the name "genitive" from early in Hurrian studies.

6.4441 <u>The form of the genitive suffix</u>. (a) The variant orthographies point to -<u>fe</u>. It is regularly written -<u>wə</u> at Mittanni after <u>a</u>-, <u>e</u>-, and <u>i</u>-vowels, whereas at Boghazköi and in the alphabetic texts of Ugarit[59] both -<u>wə</u> and -<u>bi</u> occur, cf. §3.6.[60] When the suffix is represented by the PI sign, the vowel is ambiguous.[61] Its <u>e</u>-character is revealed

by its allomorphs and by the plural.

(b) When the particle follows a u-vowel, the spirantization is lost, and it is written -ú-e, i.e. the semivowel -ye, e.g. a-gu-ú-e (ML 4:123) from aku- "other." This same writing -ú-e occurs after the first person singular possessive suffix -iw-wə (-iff), e.g. še-e-ni-iw-wə-ú-e (ML 3:21 etc.), "of my brother." This can be interpreted two ways. Either the labial fricative in -fe became the semivowel after the double labial fricative of the pronominal suffix, i.e. iff-fe > iff-ye by a process of dissimilation, cf. §4.56, or an anaptyctic u-vowel was inserted between the two to avoid a triple labial spirant and this u-vowel conditions the shift to -ye, i.e. -iff-fe > -iff-u-fe > -iffu-ye. Whatever the mechanism involved, it is certain that the suffix has the form -ye after the first person singular possessive suffix -iff.

(c) When the suffix follows the third person possessive suffix -i(y) appended to the "prepositional" nominals eti- "person" and ay- "presence(?)," the labial fricative elides, and the suffix becomes simply -e. This can be established by a comparison of the following forms:

(1) šu-u-wə-ni-e e-ti-iw-wə-ú-e (ML 4:18), i.e. θo-fe-ne et-iff-ye "the one of me, of my person."

(2) ^{KUR}u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wə-ú-e-ni-e e-ti-i-e-e (ML 4: 19), i.e. ^{KUR}omin-iff-ye-ne eti-iy-(f)e "the one of my land, of its person."

The parallelism between these two examples strongly

suggests that the form e-ti-i-e-e contains the third person singular pronominal suffix, just as the form e-ti-iw-wə-ú-e contains the first person singular pronominal suffix. That it originally contained a final -y is required by the plural -iyaθ.[62]

Now, in each case where the form -iye occurs, a genitive is required by the context. Hence we can but conclude that the labial fricative has elided in these forms after the -y of the pronominal suffix. However, it does not do so in similar circumstances on other nominals, see §4.51.

(d) The combination of the second person singular pronominal suffix -f and the labial of the genitive or dative suffix is always written -pp- in the Mittanni Letter, e.g. θenappe (ML 1:89) "of thy brother." What this orthography indicated is problematic.[63] By the phonetic rule that doubled fricatives are voiceless we would expect that the combination -vf- > -ff-.[64] However, the doubled labial fricative of the first person singular pronominal suffix -iff is always written -iw-wə. It may well be that the writing -pp- was chosen specifically to avoid orthographic confusion with that very common suffix. Provisionally, then, we shall assume that the writing -ap-pe-, when it comes from this combination, represents -affe.

(e) A different phonetic result appears certain when the genitive and dative suffixes are added to a consonant stem ending in the labial stop [p]. The only word this occurs with thus far is the common divine name Teššub. Here

the writing -up-pe (e.g. ^{d}Te-e-eš-šu-up-pè, ML 2:77) shows that the labial fricative has assimilated to the labial stop. The resulting double stop is, of necessity, voiceless. This is now seen from the writing ttp in prdwn ttpn, (Ug. alph. 644:9, 10),[65] which represents prθ[66]-fe-ne teθθup-pe-ne. The phonetic development would be as follows: teθθub-fe > teθθub-be > teθθup-pe.

(f) The plural form is -θe. Here the labial fricative has elided after the dental fricative, i.e. -θ-fe > -θe. At Nuzu this is still frequently written -aš-wè.[67] Whether this is dialectal or represents "etymological spelling" is hard to say. That this is elision and not assimilation is shown by the fact that this form is never written -šš-.[68]

6.4442 The functions of the genitive suffix.

(a) As the name implies, this suffix is most frequently used in a manner very similar to the function of the "genitive" case of the inflecting languages or the "construct" relationship of the Semitic sphere, i.e. it forms modifiers in a nominal phrase expressing possession or appurtenance. Compare the following examples:

(1) attay-iff-ųe-n θala el-iff (ML 3:35-36), "father-my-of+cop. daughter sister-my," i.e. "the daughter of my father, my sister."

(2) ^{KUR}Maθriyanne-fe [^{KUR}o]min-ne-fe e[wre-nn]e (ML 2:71), "Egyptian-one-of land-one-of lord-one," i.e. "king[69] of the Egyptian land."

(3) taθe-ne-fe ittummi (ML 1:92f.), "gift-one-of

going-out," i.e. "the going-out of the gift."

(4) en-na-θuθ θaraθθe-ḫe-ne-fe-na-θuθ ewreθθe-ḫe-ne-fe-na-θuθ (KUB 27 42 rev. 15), "god-ones-by kingship-qual.-adj.-one-of-one-by lordship-qual.-adj.-one-of-one-by," i.e. "by the gods, by the ones possessing (of) the quality of kingship, by the ones possessing (of) the quality of lordship."

(b) In one usage the force of the genitive is difficult to grasp. This occurs in what we shall deem the "genitive-genitive prepositional" phrase. Here the "prepositional" nominal and the nominal it governs are both in the genitive rather than the usual dative-directive construction [cf. §6.4462 (c) below], and the governed nominal has the particle -ne. The pertinent passages are:

1. Three occurrences with ay- "presence(?)" and the verb peteθt- "to be satisfactory."

(1) tiḫan-itenn+an θen-iff-ta niḫari+n θen-iff-ye-ne ay-(f)e peteθt-iten θuannaman (ML 3:27-28), "shown-jussive+and brother-my-to dowry+cop. brother-my-of-one presence(?)-his-of satisfactory-jussive all-of-it," i.e. "let (the) dowry be shown to my brother, let all of it be satisfactory in the presence of my brother."

(2) inna+ma+nin θen-iff-ye-ne ay-(f)e peteθt-ett-a (ML 3:29), "lo+7+indeed(?) brother-my-of-one presence(?)-his-of satisfactory-future-intr.," i.e. "lo, indeed (?) it will (be) satisfactory in the presence of my brother."

(3) <u>fur-et-a+an θen-iff-uθθ-a+man θen-iff-ye-ne-fe</u>

<u>aθti-fe niḫari ar-oθ-ay-θθe</u> . . . <u>um-a+an θen-iff-</u>

<u>⟨y⟩e-ne ay-(f)e peteθt-ai+θ</u> (ML 4:47-49), "seen-fut.-
by-him+and brother-my-by+? brother-my-of-one-of wife-
his-of dowry given-past-by-me-nom.-part. . . . coming-
intr.+and brother-my-of-one presence-his-of satis-
factory-adverb+very(?)," i.e. "and the dowry of my
brother's wife (which) I gave will be seen by my bro-
ther . . .[70] for (it) is coming very satisfactorily in
the presence of my brother."

    2. The construction also occurs eight times in the
long passage ML 4:18-28 with <u>et-</u> "person." They occur in
four parallel pairs so only the first two need be quoted:

<u>θen-iff-ta+man awe-ne+nin tiwe θurwe ya+mmaman kat-</u>

<u>i-ll-ewa θo-fe-ne eti-iff-ye </u>^{KUR}<u>omin-iff-ye-ne et-iy-</u>

<u>(f)e θen-iff-u(θ)+lla+an tiwe ane-na+mmaman ḫaθaθ-</u>

<u>i-wa-en</u> (ML 4:17-20), "brother-my-to+but any(?)+in-
deed(?) word evil(?)[71] what+particular(?) communi-
cated-trans.-vol.-conditional me-of-one person-my-of
land-my-of-one person-its-of brother-my-by+them+then
word(s) these+particular heeded-trans.-not-jussive,"
i.e. "but should indeed any malicious gossip whatever
concerning me (or) my land be communicated to my brotheer,
then let not my brother heed these words!"

    3. It also occurs once in a broken context in ML,
cf. §6.4452 (d) below.

    That the particle <u>-ne</u> is used in its anaphoric re-

lational force is clearly seen from group 2. Here it clearly stands for or resumes _tiwe θurwe_ "malicious gossip."[72] So also in the broken context in group 3 above where it resumes the previous relative clause, [cf. §6.4452 (d)]. Hence in group 1 it must have this same force and the phrase _θen-iff-ye-ne ay-(f)e_ is connected with the preceding _niḫari_ "dowry" which occurs in each of the three contexts. The problem then is the meaning of _ay-_. Speiser suggested "face, front" for _ay-_ and "before, in the presence of" for _x-fa ayi-ta_.[73] However, Laroche has demonstrated that "face, front" is expressed by _api-_ and "before" by _api-ta_ from clear passages at Boghazköi.[74] Thus, since it seems very difficult to avoid "in the presence of" for _ayi-ta_ in the Mittanni Letter, apparently _api-_ and _ay-_ are very close in meaning. "To be satisfactory in someone's presence" is apparently the Hurrian method of saying "to be satisfactory to someone."

(c) Finally, in only one clear instance does a verb govern the genitive in the Mittanni Letter:[75]

akku-θθ+an aku-ye iθtan-iffaθ-a+n . . . θar-ill-et-a, "(the)-other-by+and (the)-one-of mutuality-our-in+cop. . . . requested-?-fut.-by-him," i.e. "And . . . will be requested of the one by the other in our mutuality."

6.445 **The dative suffix -fa-~-ya-.** Since this suffix proves to express a relationship of advantage or benefit, it has been termed a dative.

6.4451 **The form of the dative suffix.** (a) As with the genitive suffix the initial consonant is indicated as the

labial fricative by variant writings with p/b at Boghazkoi, cf. IH §152. The suffix is regularly written -wǝ- in the Mittanni Letter after the vowels a-, e-, and i-. When a consonant follows or when the suffix is word final no indication of the vowel is given and the suffix is then homographic with the genitive suffix which is also simply written -wǝ- under the same conditions. In this case only the context can decide which suffix is meant and in certain cases ambiguity yet remains as to which should be read.

(b) As with the labial of the genitive suffix, when the dative suffix follows a u-vowel, the spirantization is lost and it becomes the semivowel -ụa, e.g. a-gu-ú-a (ML 1:81) from aku- "other." Similar also to the labial fricative of the genitive suffix is the shift to the semivowel after the first person pronominal suffix -iff, e.g. še-e-ni-iw-wǝ-ú-a (ML 3:20 etc.). The same remarks apply here as for the genitive suffix above.

(c) When the dative suffix is added to the second person pronominal suffix, the combination of the two labial fricatives is written -pp- exactly as with the genitive suffix. For identical reasons this will be interpreted as representing -v-fa>ffa.

(d) The plural form is -θa. Here the labial fricative has elided after the dental fricative, exactly as with the genitive suffix above, see also §4.52.

6.4452 The function of the dative suffix. (a) This suffix most frequently forms adverbial phrasal words expres-

sing for whose benefit or advantage an action has occurred
or been done. Compare the following:

(1) un-a+lla+an θen-iff-ya (ML 3:19-20), "coming+they+
and brother-my-for," i.e. "they are coming for my brother."

(2) Immuriya-θθ+an zalamθi tan-oθ-a ḫiyaroḫḫ-a
nakkaθθ-a ᵐTuθratta-fa+man kepan-oθ-a tat-ar-aθk-ae
(ML 3:106-107), i.e. "Immuriya-by+and statue made-past-
by-him gold-stative cast-stative Tušratta-for+and
granted-past-by-him love-?-?-adverb," i.e. "Immuriya
has made a golden cast statue and has granted (it) for
Tušratta with affection."

(3) Note especially the phrase eti-f-fa+an parr(?)-
an-a in Ug. A-H Bil.: 7, which is the equivalent of
Akkadian pagar-ka šullim "save your body." Although
the Hurrian verb is problematic, it apparently contains
the "factitive-causative" complement -an-,[76] and must
mean something like "assure well-being for your body."

(b) Another use of the dative suffix occurs in the
phrase alamu-fa+man aθt-a ḫanaθt-i-kk-i Ug. A-H Bil,: 9,
which is the Hurrian equivalent of Akkadian dūriš marḫêta-
šu mâr ûl išu "forever his wife will not have a son."
The Hurrian alamu-fa clearly renders Akkadian dūriš "for
ever." In RA 54(1960): 187-189 Laroche has ascertained from
comparisons between parallel Hittite and Hurrian passages that
the root meaning of alam-/alumm- is "end, last, final." This
very nicely fits the requirements of the context of the bi-
lingual.

(c) The very frequent use of the dative in the "prepositional" construction with the governing word having the directive suffix will be discussed below, §6.446.

(d) In one case the dative is governed by the verb more directly than in the adverbial construction above. This occurs with the verb pis- or pisant- "rejoice, rejoice over." In IH §234 Prof. Speiser concludes that this usage concerns the genitive rather than the dative. This cannot be substantiated. The pertinent passages are as follows:

(1) ye+me+nin θen-iff-uθ kepan-et-a+mmaman antu-ụe-ne[. . .]an [e]t-iy-(f)e teonae tiθθan [. . .] -x-x (ML 2:62-64), "what my brother will grant, concerning this [I will rejoice] very much."

(2) kepθe+man GUŠKIN θen-if[f-uθ] makann-iff-umn-a kepan-et-a antu-ụa+tta+[an] teonae tiθθan tiθθan pis-oθt-ewa (ML 2:53-55), "?? my brother will grant gold as my gift then I would rejoice over this very much."

(3) pisant-iθt-enn+an tiθθan θen-iff-ụe-ne-fe kelti-i-fe (ML 4:44), "and so let (me) rejoice much over the well-being of my brother."

On the basis of passage (1) Speiser concludes that the ambiguous cases of passages (2)[77] and (3) are genitives. Although the missing verb in passage (1) is probably some form of the verb pis- due to the parallelism of this passage with passage (2) as Speiser concludes,[78] there is one very significant difference between the two. Passage (1) contains the genitival nominal [e]ti-iy-(f)e after the form antu-ụe-ne.[79]

After the analogy of the "genitive-genitive prepositional" constructions discussed above, it is immediately obvious that this is the reason for the genitive suffix on antu-. Consequently this form cannot be used to suggest that nis- governs the genitive, and the ambiguous forms in passages two and three are best taken as datives.

6.446 **The directive suffix -ta-~-uta-.** This suffix expresses motion towards either actually or logically, hence it has been termed the directive.

6.4461 **The form of the directive suffix.** When added to a vowel, the form is simply -ta. The forms pa[-aš-š]i-i-it-ḫi-wu-ú-ta (ML 1:53), and ku-šu-ḫu-da (Ug. A-H Bil.: 16)[80] show that a u-connecting vowel was used when the suffix was added to a form ending in a consonant.[81] The dental stop will be either voiced or voiceless according to the nature of the preceding sound. After vowels, liquids, and nasals it is voiced, in all other cases it is voiceless.[82]

The plural form is -θta. This is the combination of the pluralizing particle -θ- (cf. §6.422) and the suffix. Since both consonants exhibit voiced and voiceless non-phonemic variants, their combination is voiceless.[83]

6.4462 **The uses of the directive suffix.** (a) The basic function of the directive suffix is to express motion towards, either actually with verbs of motion, or logically indicating reference or belonging. For the first note the following:

(1) [ᵐK]eliya+an [paθ]θith-iff ᵐ[Man]e+nn+an paθθithi-

f [na]kk-oθ-au̯ um-a+lla+an θen-iff-uta (ML 1:114-115),
"Keliya+and envoy-my Mane+cop.+and envoy-thy dis-
missed-past-by me coming-intr.+they+and brother-my-to,"
i.e. "I have dismissed Keliya, my envoy, and Mane, thy
envoy, and they are coming to my brother."

(2) umto+man θen-iff-ye+n aθti ar-oθ-au̯ itt-oθt-a+man
θen-iff-uta (ML 3:11-12), "now+and brother-my-of+cop.
wife given-past-by me gone-past-intr.+and brother-
my-to," i.e. "Now then I have given my brother's wife
and she has gone to my brother."

In the logical sense it occurs with verbs of speaking,
giving, granting, etc.:

(1) umto+man inna+me+nin θen-iff-ye aθti um-ett-a
inna+ma+nin θen-iff-uta tiḫan-oll-ett-a (ML 3:21-22),
"now then+and when(?)+?+indeed(?) brother-my-of wife
coming-future-intr. when(?)+?+indeed(?) brother-my-to
presented -?-future-intr.," i.e. "now then when my bro-
ther's wife will come and when (she) will be presented to
my brother."

(2) hill-oθ-i+tta+an Mane-ta (ML 2:18f.), "related-
past-trans.+I+and Mane-to," i.e. "And I related to Mane."

(3) ye+ma+nin tiwe ᵐMane-θ θen-iff-uta kat-ill-et-a-
[m]maman faḫro+[nna] urḫi+màn (ML 2:101-103), "what+?+
indeed(?) word Mane-by brother-my-to declared-?-
future-by-him+specifically reliable+it true+and,"
i.e. "whatever word Mane will declare to my brother, it
is reliable and true."

(4) tiwe+man θukko θen-iff-uta kul-(i)-l-e (ML 4: 1), "word+and further brother-my-to spoken-trans.- vol.-jussive," i.e. "And let a word further be spoken to my brother."

Finally, this sense is fully corroborated in the Ug. A-H Bil., lines 14 and 19, where eni-ta aruθθulamma renders Akkadian ana ili-šu ḫemut "he hastens to his god."

(b) The directive suffix is also used with a logical force of "belonging to." This is most clearly seen in Ug. alph. text 261 (cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, Part III, Sec. A, Text 1) where the Ugaritic construct phrase dbḥ ᶜṯtrt, "sacrifice of Aštarte" (line 1) is rendered by the Hurrian aṯhlm ṯuṯkd which is aθḫulumme[84] θauθka-ta "sacrifice(s) to Sauška." Note the several similar uses in the succeeding lines.

In Ugaritica V, Part III, Section C, "Le hourrite de Ras Shamra," §11.4, Laroche notes this use of the directive. He says " . . . les très nombreux exemples de nom divin -da répondent, à Ras Shamra, à la construction ougaritique l- 'à, pour', de telle sorte que le 'directif' est tres proche d'un datif d'attribution, au sens latin du terme." However, in text 261, the directive translates the Ugaritic construct relationship, not the preposition l-. (I have only had access to the texts transliterated by Prof. Laroche in Ugaritica V; there may well be examples of Ug. l- equalling Hurrian -ta in the "mixed" texts). On this basis Hurrian -ta is the equivalent of the Ugaritic construct phrase expressing "sac-

rifice of-." It remains possible that Ugaritic dbḥ l-, "sacrifice for," would be rendered by the Hurrian dative -fa. The question is largely a matter of terminology for the Ugaritic construct phrase and the construction with l- are virtually synonymous in this case, and hence the Hurrian constructions would probably be so also.

A similar use is possible in the form e-la-me-ni-da-ni-ma-an ú(?)-ku-la in Ug. A-H Bil.: 6, which renders Akkadian māmîta pilaḫe-ma "fear the oath." Laroche, (PRU III, p. 315), suggests that this equals elame-ne-ta-ne+man, "oath-one-to-one+conn.," i.e. "the one who belongs to the oath," or "the one who presides at the oath." However, it is also possible that this represents elame-ne+tan+iman "oath-one+from+conn.," i.e. "(fear) from the oath," with the partitive force of -tan (cf. §9.8). The latter construction is preferable in the light of the use of -tan as a partitive.

(c) The dative-directive "prepositional" phrase. A specialized use of the dative and the directive suffixes was developed with certain nominals to express a relationship that is usually accomplished by prepositions in the Semitic and Indo-European languages. The nominal to be governed takes the directive suffix, e.g. ya+lla+nin θen-iff-uθ taθe-ne-fa eti-i-ta tiwe-na^MES tan-oθ-a-θθe-na (ML 1: 104-105), "what+they+indeed(?) brother-my-by gift-one-for person-its-to thing(s)-ones done-past-by-him-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "what things were done by my brother for the sake of the gift."

Although this construction is found most often with certain nominals to express this "prepositional" concept, it cannot formally be separated from the sporadic identical construction with other nominals which yield a meaning not in the least "prepositional." Compare the above example with the following:[85]

(1) ay+ma+nin θukko+mmaman turupe θen-iff-ya KUR omin-i-ta waθ-ewa (ML 3:111-112), "if+?+indeed(?) further-more+in-particular need brother-my-for land-his-to enter-in-conditional i.e. "if, furthermore,a need should enter in for my brother with reference to his land."

(2) θen-iff-ya+ma[n] kuro KUR omin-i-ta hiyarohhe pal-ay ay+n . . . tea (ML 3:92-94), "brother-my-for+and again land-his-to gold known-by me that(?)+cop. . . . great," i.e. "and again I know that, for my brother with reference to his land, gold . . . is great."[86]

These examples show that the construction is not restricted to certain "prepositions," but occurred widely in the language.[87] Its use is more frequent with certain nominals because of the need in the language to express a "prepositional" relationship. The four nominals thus far encountered that exhibit these use are: (1) eti- "person, body," (2) ay- "presence(?),"[88] (3) furi- "view, sight," and api- "front, face." As nearly as they can be ascertained in the incomplete state of the interpretation of the language, the meanings expressed by these phrases are as follows:

A. _x-fa eti-i-ta_: the force of the expression "for _x_, with reference to his person," seems to be "for the sake of." Note the following:

(1) ұur-aұθa-θθe-na+man tiwe^{MES} faḫru-nn-en iθtan-iffaθ-a akku-θ aku-ұa eti-i-ta tan-aθt-en (ML 1:79-82), "desired-by-us-nom.-part.-ones+and things good-?-jussive mutuality-our-in (the)-one-by (the)-other-_for_ person-his-_to_ done-?-jussive," i.e. "and let the things which we desire to be good (and) let (them) be done mutually by the one for the sake of the other."

(2) ya+lle+nin ^mArtatama-θ amat-iff-uθ attay-f-fa eti-i-ta tiwe-na^{MES} tan-oθ-a-θθe-na (ML 3:52-53), "what+they+indeed(?) Artatama-by grandfather-my-by father-thy-_for_ person-his-_to_ things-ones done-past-by-him-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "what things were done by my grandfather, by Artatama, _for thy father's sake_."

B. _x-fa ay-i-ta_: the force of the expression "for _x_, with reference to his presence(?)," seems to be "in the presence of _x_." Only one use occurs in a relatively clear context:

inu+me+nin ^{URU}Ninua-fe⁸⁹ ^dθauθka-fa ^den-iff-ұa ay-i-ta kat-et-aұ (ML 3:97-99), "so+?+indeed(?) Nineveh-of Šauška-for god-my-_for_ presence(?)-his-_to_ declared-fut.-by-me," i.e. "so I will declare (it) _in the presence of_ Šauška of Nineveh, my god."

For the use of this particle in the genitive-genitive "prepositional" phrase, see §6.4442 (b).

C. x-fa furi-i-ta: the force of the expression "for x, with reference to its viewing," seems to be "in the sight of, in the view of." The sense seems to be literal not logical in the passages that are at all clear. Note:

θen-iff-uθ attart-iff+tan tiθθani+t[t]a+n ti[θ]θ[an..] supiyamaθt-en-i+tan θen-iff-uθ KURomin-iff-ɥa fur[-i-] ta (ML 3:87-88), "Brother-my-by forefathers-my+more-(than) much+me+cop. much enriched(?)-jussive+more brother-my-by land-my-for view-its-to," i.e. "let my brother enrich(?) me much more than my forefathers in the view of my (whole) land."

D. x-fa api-ta: this phrase does not occur in the Mittanni Letter but has been clearly established as meaning "before, in front of" from Hittite parallels by Laroche in RA 54(1960): 189-192.

What difference in meaning exists between this dative-directive "prepositional" construction and the genitive-genitive "prepositional" construction discussed in §6.442 (b), if any, eludes me.

6.447 The comitative suffix -ra-∿-ura-. This suffix expresses a relationship of accompaniment, hence the term "comitative."

6.4471 The form of the comitative suffix. When added to vowels it takes the simple form -ra, e.g. mMa-ni-e-ra- (ML 2:116), "with Mane." From the plural form -θura- and from the form še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-r[a-a-an] (ML 1:9),[90] the connecting vowel after consonants is seen to be -u-.

The plural form is -ϑura- with a connecting vowel between the pluralizing suffix -ϑ- and the comitative suffix in contradistinction to the other relational suffixes of the form CV (cf. §3.82), e.g. tat-ay-ϑϑe-na-ϑura (ML 1:71), "with the ones (which) are loved by me."

6.4472 <u>The function of the comitative suffix.</u> It has been known since the work of Bork in 1909,[91] that this suffix expressed a "with" or "accompanying" relationship:

(1) ^mMane+nn+an ϑen-iff-uϑ ϑuka paϑϑ-en itt-ai+nna+ an paϑϑitḫ-iff-ura (ML 4:52-53), "Mane+cop.+and brother-my-by also(?) sent-jussive go-conditional+he+so – that envoy-my-with," i.e. "Let my brother send Mane also so that he may go with my envoy."

(2) [ϑ]en-iff-ura+man ti[ϑ]-iff-a+n [t]eonae tiϑϑan faḫr-umme [tat]-ukar-umme yu[r]-ay (ML 4:111-112), "brother-my-with+conn. heart-my-in+cop. much very good-inf. loved-recipiocal(?)-inf. desired-by-me," i.e. "I desire very much in my heart to be on good (terms) and to be on mutually friendly (terms) with my brother."

For an instance from Boghazköi where the suffix seems to be used to join nominals with a force akin to "and," cf. IH § 154(c).[92]

6.448 <u>The locative suffix -ya- ∼ -a-.</u> The separation of this form from the dative is due to Speiser in IH §155. He is right. Both the form and the function have been clarified by the new alphabetic texts published in transliteration and studied by Laroche in <u>Ugaritica</u> V.

6.4481 <u>The form of the locative suffix</u>.   In <u>IH</u> §155
Speiser posited a form -<u>ya</u>- based on the occurrence of the
form <u>e-bar-ni ḫa!-ur-ni-ya</u>, "lord on earth," at Boghazköi.[93]
The basic form -<u>ya</u> is now made certain by the new alphabetic
texts (cf. Laroche, <u>Ugaritica</u> V, Part III, text 1, notes to
lines 4-5). Here the Ugaritic introduction ends in <u>bgrn</u>, "in
the court." This is paralleled in the first two Hurrian lines
by <u>agndym tdnty enmty enḫzzy</u>. From Boghazköi Hurrian these
can be vocalized <u>agandiyama tadandiya enumattiya eniḫaziziya</u>,
and are sacred locations, (as is also seen from parallels at
Boghazköi). Consequently, the Hurrian suffix -<u>ya</u> is the equi-
valent of Ugaritic <u>b</u>- "in." The form -<u>ya</u> is also seen to be
that used after vowels.[94] After consonants the -<u>y</u>- elides
and the form is simply -<u>a</u>, e.g. <u>ti-ši-iw-wa-an</u> (ML 2:55,105[95]
and 4:111). These cannot be dative, for the dative after the
first personal singular pronominal suffix is always -<u>ú-a</u>.[96]
Hence they clearly show that the locative form is simply -<u>a</u>,
(i.e. <u>tiθ-iff-a+n</u>) after consonants.

In the plural the locative takes the form -<u>θa</u>- which
is identical with the plural of the dative.

6.4482 <u>The function of the locative suffix</u>.   This
suffix forms adverbial phrasal words answering the question
"place where?"[97] This is clearly seen in the examples from
the new alphabetic texts from Ugarit cited above, where -<u>ya</u>
is the equivalent of Ug. <u>b</u>- "in." Note the following from
the Mittanni Letter:

(1)   <u>anammi+tilla+an</u> . . . <u>d.men-na[θ]uθ tiθ-iyaθ-a+n</u>

tiθθan tiθθan tat-aθt-iten (ML 1:76-78), "so+us+and
. . . gods-ones-by heart(s)-their-in much much
loved-?-jussive," i.e. "and so let the gods love us in
their hearts very much."

(2) iθtan-iffaθ-a+tilla+an θen-n(a)-oḫḫ-a (ML 4:120-
121), "mutuality-our-in+we+conn. brother(s)-ones-qual.-
adj.-stative," i.e. "in our mutuality we are like bro-
thers."

The locative occurs most frequently with the nominal
iθtan- "mutuality" plus the third person plural or first per-
son plural pronominal suffix. Note:

θat+tilla+an annu+tan θue-ne+tan iθtan-ffaθ-a θukku-
tt-oḫ-a tat-ukar-i+tilla+n teonae tiθθan tiθθan (ML
3:108-109), "together+we+conn. this+because all-one+be-
cause mutuality-our-in distant-?-qual.-adj.-stative
love-reciprocal(?)-trans.+we+cop. much very very," i.e.
"we together, in our mutuality, because of all this (will)
be on friendly terms with one another forever."

6.449 The "stative" suffix -a. The recognition of
this suffix and its function is also due to Speiser in IH §
156.

6.4491 The form of the stative suffix.[98] When ad-
ded directly to the stem, the stem vowel elides, e.g. urḫ-a
(ML 2:106)<urḫe; and when added to the adjectival suffix -ḫe/
-ḫḫe and the nominalizing suffix -θθe, the e-vowel elides, e.g.
emanam-ḫ-a (ML 4:32) and nakka-θθ-a (ML 3:106).

The stative differs from the singular locative in that

the vowel elides and the stative -a̱ is added directly to the root, whereas the locative form is -y̱a̱ when added to vowels.

6.4492 <u>The function of the stative suffix</u>. As Speiser notes, the stative suffix is used to express the fact that something is or has been placed in a given state. Note the following:

(1) <u>ye+na+ma+nin ^mMane-θ ^mKe⟨li⟩ya-(θ)+lla+an kat-</u> <u>ill-et-a θo-fe-ne et-iff-u̯e ^{KUR}omin-iff-u̯e-ne et-iy-</u> <u>(f)e ur̮h-a+lla+an palt-a+lla+an</u> (ML 4:21-23), "what-ones(?)+?+indeed(?) Mane-by Keliya-by+they+and declared-?-fut.-by-him me-of-one person-my-of land-my-of-one person-its-of true-stative+they+and authentic(?)[99]- stative+they+and," i.e. "whatever (words) (cf. line 19) Mane and Keliya will state about me and my lnad, they are true and they are authentic."

(2) <u>^mImmuriya-θθ+an zalamθi tan-oθ-a ḫiyarohh-a</u>[100] <u>nakk-a-θθ-a</u>, (ML 3:106), "Immuriya-by+and statue made-past-by him gold[100]-stative poured[101] nom.-part.- stative," i.e. "And (the) statue was made by Immuriya, of gold (and) poured."

However, by far the most frequent use of the stative is in two compound forms, one with the adjectival suffix -ḫe/ -ḫḫe, yeilding -ḫa/-ḫḫa; and the other with the ubiquitous suffix -nn- yielding -nna.

(a) <u>The use of the compound forms -ḫa/-ḫḫa</u>. These forms seem to produce adverbial phrasal words expressing a state characterized by such and such a condition. This fol-

lows naturally from the force of the two suffixes, -a̱ expressing a state and -ḫ-/-ḫḫ- expressing a qualitative adjectival force. Unfortunately in most of the occurrences either the context is obscure or the root of the word is unknown. Note:[102]

(1) anti+lla+an emanam-ḫ-a tan-oθ-aᶇ (ML 4:31-32), "this+they+conn. make-ten-qual.-adj.-stative done-past-by-me," i.e. "These I have done in a tenfold measure."

(2) niḫari+man kuro θen-iff-uθ fur-et-a ar-oθ-impu-θ-ḫ-a (ML 3:15-16), "dowry+conn. also brother-my-by-seen-fut.-by-him given-past-?-?-qual.-adj.-stative," i.e "The dowry also will be seen by my brother with what measure it has been given."[103]

(3) mann-o-kk-a+tilla-an afatt-uḫḫ-a (ML 3:17), "are-intr.-neg.+we+conn. ?-qual.-adj.-stative," i.e. "and we are not in a state characterized by ?."

(b). The use of the compound form -nna. This compound suffix, which seems to consist of the copula -(n)n- plus the stative,[104] bears a meaning quite similar to that above but there is not the emphasis on a quality or condition:

(1) un-a+an θen-iff-ᶙa θir-a+an θen-iff-ᶙe-ne-nn-a tiθa-nn-a (ML 3:13-14), "coming-intr.+conn. brother-my-for conformable-to[105]-intr.+conn. brother-my-of-one-cop.(?)-stative heart-cop.(?)-stative," i.e. "(She) is coming for my brother and (she) is conformable to the state of my brother's heart."[106]

(2) SALTatuḫepa+an manni mTuθratta-fe ... . θala

^{m}Immuriya-fa[107] ^{KUR}Mizir-ne-fe-ne-fa ewre-fa aθti-nn-a
ar-oθ-a-θθe (ML 3:103-105), "Tatuḫepa+conn. is Tuθratta-
of . . . (the)-daughter Immuriya-for Egypt-one-of-one-
for lord-for wife-cop.(?)-stative given-past-by-him-
nom.part.," i.e. "Taduḫeba is (the) daughter of Tušratta
. . . which he gave as wife for Immuriya, the lord of
Egypt."

6.45 The anaphoric suffixes -ne and -na. These ubi-
quitous suffixes have been the subject of several apparently
diverse interpretations. In Syria 12(1931): 254-256, Thureau-
Dangin interpreted them as a definite article singular and
plural respectively. In this he was followed by Goetze in
RHA 5 fasc. 39(1940): 200ff., where he noted that this suf-
fix interchanged in identical position with the pronominal
suffixes. In An Or 12(1935): 127-128, Friedrich noted the
parallel between the suffix -ne- of Hurrian,[108] and the suf-
fix -ni- of Urartean, which he termed a "suffix-joining"
particle.[109] The most detailed treatment, however, is that
of Speiser in IH §§136-141. Speiser departs from all his
predecessors by seeing the suffix -ne primarily as a re-
lational suffix in attributive constructions whose function
is to mark the relation of the "attribute" or "descriptive
adjective" (using his terms) to the head noun. Although
Speiser's interpretation of the use of these suffixes is
incorrect (as we shall presently show) he has rendered sig-
nal service by elucidating the fundamental meaning of the
particles from the context of ML 3:35ff. (IH §125).

6.451   The basic meaning of the particles: -ne "one,"
-na "ones."   In IH §125 Speiser examines the use of the
word ma-a-ni-e-im-ma-ma-an in ML 3:35, 35 and 38 (twice).
As he clearly shows, this passage makes admirable sense if
this word is interpreted as follows ma-ne+mmaman, "this-one+
in particular."   Since it can be shown (§6.453 below) that
-na is the plural counterpart of -ne it follows that its
basic meaning is "ones."[110] These meanings will be further
substantiated by the general good sense they make throughout
all the varied uses of these suffixes.

6.452   The uses of the suffix -ne "one."   The uses
of this suffix can be basically divided into those that are
"derivational" and those that are "relational." Let us begin
with the relational uses.

6.4521   The relational or anaphoric uses of -ne.
This suffix functions as an anaphoric particle on the word
level in the connecting of suffix chains, and on the sentence
level in the representation or resumption of previous sen-
tence elements.

A.   Its use as an anaphoric suffix-connective in nom-
inal phrases.[111]   Friedrich's comparison of this suffix with
the "suffix-joining" particle of Urartean comes close to the
correct identification,[112] for its main use proves to be that
of an anaphoric particle in the annexation of the relational
suffixes which the head noun of a nominal phrase carries to
the modifying genitive or adjectival members of the phrase.
This needs some clarification. Nominal phrases in Hurrian

are characterized by a feature known as "suffix-duplication," This refers to the fact that the relational or "case" suffixes of the head noun of the phrase are also added (somewhat pleonastically from the point of view of our grammatical construction) to the modifying members of the phrase. Thus, compare še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-e aš-ti (ML 3:21), θen-iff-ує aθti "brother-my-of wife," with še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-e-ni-e-we aš-tii-we (ML 3:76, 4:48), θen-iff-ує-ne-fe aθti-fe "brothermy-of-one-of wife-of." Note that when the head noun ("wife") of the nominal phrase carries the relational suffix -fe, this suffix is repeated with the genitive modifier ("of my brother"). Now, one of the main functions of the suffix -ne is to anaphorically represent the modified or head noun in joining these "phrasal" relational suffixes to the genitive or adjectival members of the phrase. Note in the example above that there is no -ne suffix on either word of the phrase when the nominal phrase bears no relational suffix,[113] but, when it takes on the genitive suffix -fe, the modifier, θen-iff-ує[114] "of my brother," adds the genitive relational suffix -fe by the use of the anaphoric suffix -ne-, becoming θen-iff-уєne-fe, "of-the-one-of-my-brother." To establish this more fully, compare the following pairs of examples in which the first bears no relational suffix while the second does:

1. The modifier is a nominal with the adjectival suffix -ḫe.

(a) [m]Tuθrat[ta+an] Ḫurwoḫe ewerne (ML 4:127), "Tušratta, the[115] Hurrian king."

(b) "θen-iff-enn+an Ḫurwoḫe-ne-fe ^{KUR}o⟨mi⟩n-ne-fe ew[re-n]ne (ML 2:72), "brother-my-is+and Hurrian-one-of land-one-of lord-the, (i.e. king)."

2. The modifier is a nominal with the genitive suffix -fe.

a. head noun with agentive suffix -θ:

(a) θen-iff-ye aθti (ML 3:21), "brother-my-of wife."

(b) θen-iff-ye-ne-θ aθti-θ (ML 3:7), "brother-my-of-one-by wife-by."

b. head noun with genitive suffix -fe.

(a) θena-f-fe ^{KUR}omini (ML 1:89f.), "brother-thy-of land."

(b) θen-iff-ye-ne-fe ^{KUR}omini-fe (ML 1:97), "brother-my-of-one-of land-of."

c. head noun with dative suffix -fa.

(a) θen-iff-ye+man kelti (ML 4:43), "brother-my-of-and well-being."

(b) θen-iff-ye-ne-fa kelti-fa (ML 4:44), "brother-of-my-one-for well-being-for."

d. head noun with directive suffix -ta. No examples with -ne occur, but one has been observed with -na: aθ̮oθikkonne-ne-fe-na-θta (KUB 12 44 2:6), "sacrificer[116] -one[117] -of-ones-to."

e. head noun with comitative suffix -ra. No examples are known to me.

f. head noun with the compound stative suffix -nna.

(a) tiθa+man θen-iff-ye (ML 4:42), "heart+and brother-my-of."

(b) θen-iff-ye-ne-nna   tiθa-nna (ML 3:14), "bro-

ther-my-of-stative   heart-stative."

3. The modifier is a nominalized verb.

a. head noun with genitive suffix -fe.

(a) niḫari   ar-oθ-ay-θθe (ML 4:48), "dowry given-

past-by-me-nom.-part."

(b) tuppe   niḫar-ne-fe   ar-oθ-ay-θθe-ne-fe (ML

3:40f.), "tablet   dowry-one[118]-of   given-past-

by-me-nom.-part.-one-of."

b. head noun with comitative suffix -ra.

tʃat-[uk]ar-impu-θθe-ne-ra+an (ML 4:96), "loved-

reciprocal(?)-?-nom-part.-one-with+and."

In the above pairs of examples the first example ex-
hibits a phrase in which the head noun is in the zero-suffix
form, while the second example exhibits a phrase in which the
head noun carries the indicated relational suffix. As much as
possible examples were found in which this was the only dif-
ference between the two forms. It is the first form of each
of these pairs, namely the forms without any relational suf-
fix on the head noun, that demonstrate that this suffix cannot
have the force of marking the relation of the attribute to its
head that is attributed to it by Speiser, for each of these
forms is just as much an attributive construction as is its
parallel with one of the relational suffixes. To the extent
that the anaphoric sense of -ne "one" and -na "ones" refers to
or represents the nominal head whose place it takes in the
suffix chain, it does connect the two. However, that this is

neither its primary force nor that such a particle is necessary to connect the modifier to its head, is shown by the fact that it regularly does not occur unless the nominal phrase carries a relational suffix. Thus its main function is the anaphoric representation of the head-noun in the connecting of the "phrasal" relational suffixes to the modifying nominals in the process of suffix-duplication.

Further, note that the forms with the adjectival suffix -ḫe, which Speiser sought to contrast with the forms using -ne,[119] pattern equally with the genitival modifiers in the employment of -ne when the nominal they modify bears a relational suffix (cf. the examples under number 1, above).

B. **The use of -ne as an anaphoric particle on the sentence level.** The suffix -ne also functions anaphorically in a few instances on the sentence level. One of these occurrences is in the genitive-genitive "prepositional" phrase discussed in 6.4442 (b) above. Referring to the examples quoted there, note that in each case the particle stands as a grammatical substitute for a preceding word or group of words, (this is most evident in group 2). In group 1 the antecedent is niḫari "dowry"; in group 2 it is the nominal phrase tiwe θurwe "malicious gossip," and in the broken context in group 3 it stands for the previous relative clause [cf. the remarks in §6.4442 (b)].

The recognition of this use of -ne helps to clarify an otherwise obscure passage in ML 3:67-71:

. . .[120]GUŠKIN attay-f-uθ ammat-iff-ŋa ŋaturanna kepan-

oθ-a-θθe fe-θθ+an attay-iff-ụa ụaturanna kepan-oθ-o-
θθe tea attay-f-fe-ne+tan tiθθannaman θo-fa+man θen-
iff-uθ irnoḫ-oθ-iya-ma attay-iff-ụa-ne-nna kepan-oθ-a-
θθe, "? (is) gold father-thy-by grandfather-my-for in-
former-times[121] presented-past-by-him-nom.-part. you-by+
and father-my-for in-former-times presented-past-by-
you-nom.-part. much father-thy-of-one+more[122] much me-
for+conn. brother-my-by decreased(?)-past-by-him-? fa-
ther-my-for-one-stative presented-past-by-him-nom.-part."
i.e. "? (is) the gold which in former times thy father
presented for my grandfather, and that which you in former
times presented for my father (is) great, very much more
than that-of thy father, but (màn) in relation to (stative)
that which was given for my father, my brother has decreased
(it) for me."

Note how the -ne stands for or resumes previous clauses
in the sentence. This is clearly anaphora and fits well with
the other uses of the particle.

6.4522 The derivational uses of -ne. From the fact
that the basic meaning of this suffix is "one," "single," or
"individual," it can be used with a "derivational" force when-
ever it is desired to lay emphasis on the "singleness," "u-
niqueness," or "individuality" of a nominal, i.e. "one in
particular." This is most obvious in the passage ML 4:32ff:

anti+lla+an emanam-ḫa tan-oθ-aụ tiθa+man θen-iff-ụe
θukka-(n)ne+n pati tiwe-ne+n ḫisuḫ-oθ-iuff, "these
tenfold I have performed, and (the) heart of my brother

as much as a _single_ distant word I have not vexed."

Its use with this same meaning in ML 3:35ff. has already
been stressed in §6.451. Apparently from this same force it
developed a usage comparable to our definite article, an
"individualizing" or "determining" force. It is this nuance
which was noticed by Thureau-Dangin and Goetze and led to their
interpretation of it as a definite article. This appears quite
frequently with words in apposition to proper names and with
the names of countries etc. This usage is clearly shown now
by the Ug. Quad. Voc. where the following forms appear:[123]

ewri = Akk. bêlu = Ug. ba^clu "lord" (130 3:13-14).

ewir-ne = Akk. šarru = Ug. malku "king" (137 2:32-33).[124]

Here the force of the particle is not strictly equi-
valent to the "particularizing" force of the "definite arti-
cle"; it rather emphasizes an "individuality" or "uniqueness,"
so much so that Akkadian and Ugaritic are forced to use dif-
ferent words to render the contrast.[125] Note the following
from ML:

^{m}Tuθrat[ta+an] ^{KUR}Ḫurwoḫe ewer-ne [. . .] ^{m}Immuriya+
an ^{KUR}Maθri[yan]ne ewer-ne (ML 4:127-128) "Tušratta,
the Hurrian king [. . .] ^{m}Immuriya, the Egyptian king."[126]
^{KUR}Mizir-ne-fe-ne-θ ewre-θ (ML 1:85), "by the lord of
Egypt."

Note also how this "determining" force appears in
passages subsequent to those in which the word taθe "gift,
oblation" is first introduced, i.e. taθe apli (ML 1:85), but
taθe-ne-fa furi-ta "in view of the gift" (ML 1:91), taθe-ne-

fa eti-ta "on account of the gift" (ML 1:99,104), etc. Note this same phenomenon in niḫar-ne-fe (ML 3:41). In ML 3:15 and 3:27 Tušratta introduces the subject of the dowry of his daughter Taduḫeba. In 3:35ff. he mentions the dowry tablet of his sister, Keluḫeba[127] and that of his father's sister. When in 4:40ff. he brings up again the dowry which he has given, he calls it tuppe niḫar-ne-fe ar-oθ-aụ-θθe-ne-fe, "the tablet of the dowry which I gave."

Finally the recognition of this "derivational" force of -ne clarifies a difficult phrase from Boghazköi in which it is used to "determine" a qualitative adjective in -ḫe. Compare the following:

(1) DINGER^{MEŠ}-na-θuθ atta-nne-fe-na[128]-θuθ θarraθθe-ḫe[129]-ne[-f]e-n[a]-θ[uθ] (KUB 27 42 rev. 9), "gods-ones-by father-one-of-ones-by kingship-qual.-adj.-one-of-ones-by," i.e. "by (the) gods, by (the) ones of the father, by the ones of (possessing) the quality of kingship."

(2) DIN[GER^{ME}]^Š-[n]a-θuθ θara[θθ]e-ḫe-ne-fe-na-θuθ ewreθθe-ḫe⟨-ne⟩[130]-fe-na-θuθ (KUB 27, 42 rev. 18f.), "gods-ones-by kingship-qual.-adj.-one-of-ones-by lordship-qual.-adj.-one-of-ones-by," i.e. "by (the) gods, by (the) ones of (possessing) the quality of kingship, by (the) ones of (possessing) the quality of lordship."

(3) ^dTeθθụp-aθ θarraθθe-ḫe-ne-fe-ne-θ ewreθθe-ḫe-ne-fe-ne-θ (KUB 27 42 rev. 15), "Teššub-by kingship-qual.-

adj.-one-of-one-by lordship-qual.-adj.-one-of-one-by,"
i.e. "by Teššub, by the one of (possessing) the qual-
ity of kingship, by the one of (possessing) the qual-
ity of lordship."

Note how the forms in -ḫe are in exactly parallel posi-
tion to atta(y) "father," in example (1). They must also
express, then, some similar modification of the head noun.
The interpretation that makes the most sense is to see in the
form in -ḫe a qualifying adjectival force "characterized by
kingship" or the like. This then is "determined" by -ne
and expresses something like "the quality or character of
kingship or lordship."[131] This interpretation is a logical
extension of the derivational force of -ne and re-inforces
the basic correctness of the interpretation.

6.453 **The uses of the suffix -na.** It was Thureau-
Dangin who first observed that this suffix was not so much
the plural suffix (as it was interpreted, for instance, by
Friedrich, BChG, pp. 2-7) as it was the plural counterpart
of -ne [cf. RA 36(1939): 19 and IH §139]. This is obviously
correct for it evidences exactly the same duality in usage
that we observed for the suffix -ne: it can function as a
relational suffix and a derivational one.

6.4531 **The relational uses of -na.** Exactly analogous
to the usage of -ne, its singular counterpart which we illus-
trated at some length above, -na is used in the process of
suffix-duplication to connect the "phrasal" relational suf-
fixes to the modifiers of the head noun of the nominal phrase
when the head noun is plural.[132] This usage with -na is not

nearly so well documented as for the suffix -ne, since most of our examples come from the Mittanni Letter, and this document simply yields very few plural nominal phrases with the requisite relational suffixes. In fact, I have only observed three, two of which are in broken context:

(a) the head noun has the plural genitive suffix θe.

    (1) elart-iff-ye-na-θe+mmaman   nihar-iyaθ-e tupp-iyaθ (ML 3:44-45), "sister-relations[133]-my-of-ones-of+in-particular dowries-their-of tablets-their," i.e. "the tablets of the dowries of my sister-relations."

    (2) . . .] θen-iff-ye-na-θe[. . . (ML 1:54), "brother-my-of-ones-of," i.e. "of the ones of my brother."

(b) the head noun has the comitative plural suffix -θura.

[. . .]t-iff-ura tat-ay-θθe-na-θura (ML 1:71), ". . .[134]-my-with loved-by-me-nom.-part.-ones-with," i.e. "with my . . ., with the ones loved by me (i.e. with the ones which I love."

A few examples with other relational suffixes come from Boghazköi:

(a) the head noun has the plural agentive suffix -θuθ. For an example of this construction see the end of the preceding section (§6.4522), examples (1) and (2).

(b) the head noun has the plural dative suffix -θa.
dTeθθop-fe-na-θa talḫi-na-θa (KUB 27 42 obv. 36), "Teššub-of-ones-for ?-ones-for," i.e. "for the ?'s, for the ones of Teššub."

(c) the head noun has the plural directive suffix -θta.

. . .] aθhoθikkonne-ne-fe-na-θta (KUB 27 44 2:6),
"sacrificer[135]-one-of-ones-to," i.e. "to the ones of
the sacrificer."

One finds that most plural nominal phrases without
any relational suffixes (the so-called "zero-case") do bear
the -na suffix, contrary to the case with the singular nominal
phrase without relational suffixes, which, in general, does
not carry the singular suffix -ne. This is simply due to
the fact that the suffix -na is usually used to indicate a
plural nominal when the plurality is not indicated otherwise
(cf. §6.4532 below), whereas the singular nominal needs no
such indication except when it is desired to emphasize it.

6.4532 The derivational use of -na. The suffix -na
finds its most common usage in the designation of the "plu-
rality" of a nominal. This is a logical extension of its
basic meaning of "ones." Thus tiwe (ML 2:12, 3:49) is sim-
ply "(a) word" whereas tiwe-na (ML 1:73, 99, 108 etc.) "word-
ones" represents "words." The question immediately arises
whether this also implies a "determination," "the words,"
similar to the usage established in §6.4522 for the sin-
gular suffix -ne. This question is a vexing one. Certain
usages seem to imply a definite "determining" force while
others are equally indeterminate. The context alone is the
deciding factor.

First, note that -ne or -na is rarely ever added to the
root when the root possesses the pronominal suffixes.[136] In

only four instances in the Mittanni Letter does a word appear with -ne or -na before the pronominal suffixes, and in each instance the emphasis is that of number.[137] Further, a definite "determining" force seems evident in those contexts in which the suffix alternates with the possessive suffixes. Note the following:

(1) θen-iff-u(θ)+tta+an suŋiyam-aθt-en ewre-nna-θa irinnart-iff-ŋa ol-na-θa ^{KUR}omin-na-θa fur-iyaθ-a (ML 3:71-73), "brother-my-by+me+and gladdened(?)-?-jussive lord(s)-ones-for ?-my-for other-ones-for land-ones-for viewing-their-for," i.e. "and let me be gladdened(?) by my brother for the lords, for my ?, for the other countries to see."

In view of the pronominal suffix -iyaθ "their" on fur- "seeing, view," and -iff- "my" on irinnarti-, a "determining" force is hard to escape in the -na suffixes on the other nominals. Note that irinnarti- is a collective, and hence needs no suffix to indicate its plurality.[138]

(2) [θ]a[t]+tilla+an θine+tilla+man ^{[d]·m}en-na-θuθ nakk-iten ^dTeθθop-aθ ^dAmanu-(θ)+tilla+an ewr-iffaθ-uθ attay-iffaθ-uθ (ML 4:117-118), "together+us+and two+us+? gods-ones-by guided-jussive-plural Teššub-by Amun-by+us+and lords-our-by fathers-our-by," i.e. "and let both of us together be guided by the gods, by Teššub and Amun, by our lords (and) by our fathers."

Note two facts here: the word ene- "god(s)" takes the

suffix -na, but the words in apposition ewre- "lord(s)" and
attay- "father(s)" both having the possessive suffix -iffaθ-
"our," do not. Now, there is nothing about the possessive
suffix "our" that requires that the word that it is placed on
be plural. Hence, if -na indicated plurality only, then its
absence in cases like these is inexplicable. However, if it
not only indicates plurality but also indicates an individual-
izing or determining force, then its absence when the posses-
sive suffix is present is quite understandable. Hurrian ap-
parently felt no absolute need for a plural marker when the
fact of plurality was obvious from the context,[139] or from
the nature of the word (e.g. a collective). However, when such
is not the case, the suffix -na is found with great regularity.

This is particularly noticeable with the nominalized
verb when the word governing it is plural. Examples are
numerous; only two will be cited here:

(1) pukl-oθ-aḫ+nna+an ^{KUR}omin-iff [θu]annaman wiratart-
iff+alla+an tupp-a-θθe-na (ML 2:17-18), "assembled(?)-
past-by-me+it+and land-my all-it nobility-my+they+
and numerous(?)-intr.-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "and I
assembled all my land and my numerous nobility."

Note here that the word wiratarti- which tupp-a-θθe-na
qualifies is a collective, and hence the nominalized verbal
form must carry the plural suffix -na.

(2) unto+man ya+lle+nin tiwe-na^{MES} θuallaman θen-iff-
uθ kat-oθ-a-θθe-na ḫur-iya-θθe-na (ML 4:30-31),
"now+and what+they+indeed(?) things-ones all+they

brother-my-by communicated-past-by-him-nom.-part.-
ones desired-by-him-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "now then,
the things which my brother has communicated and
desires."

This example illustrates a particularly common occurrence
of the nominalized verb plus the relative particle ya- to
form a nominal phrase which can only be rendered by an Eng-
lish relative clause. The great majority of these are in the
plural and the nominalized verb regularly adds the -na plural
suffix agreeing with its goal (here tiwe-na^{MEŠ}).

In other instances the contexts seems to demand solely
a plural force with all "determining" connotation subjugated.
Thus note the enumeration of objects in ML 2:59f.:

tumni iθiḫḫe-na θin θiniperuḫḫe-na [. . . , "four ?-
ones, two ivory-ones."

This is the first time these objects are introduced
into the letter so that the -na suffix emphasizes number only.

Again note the following sentence:

iθtan-iffaθ-a+tilla+an θen-n(a)-uḫḫ-a (ML 4:120f.),
"mutuality-our-in+we+and brother-ones-qual.-adj.-stative,"
i.e. "in our mutuality we are like brothers (specifically
inaa state of the character of brothers)."[140]

Here the emphasis of the -na is only that of number.

In conclusion, the suffix -na, from its basic meaning
of "ones," serves to bring out both "plurality" and "deter-
mination" or "individualization." Whichever nuance predomi-
nates is brought out by the exigencies of the context.

6.46 <u>The adjectival suffixes</u>. The suffixes -ḫe/-ḫḫe and -zzi impart to the root an "adjectival" force.

6.461 <u>The "adjectival" suffixes -ḫe and -ḫḫe.</u>[141] It has already been established that these two very closely related suffixes differ in consonantal length. The single intervocalic ḫ of the syllabary is always written ġ in the alphabetic texts of Ugarit, while the double ḫḫ of the syllabary is always written ḫ in the Ugaritic alphabetic texts, showing that the doubled velar fricative is voiceless.[142]

6.4611 <u>The form of the suffix</u>. The suffix -ḫe is usually added to vowels, e.g. Ḫurroḫe, "Hurrian"; Ḫalbaḫe, "Ḫalbian"; Lubtoḫe,[143] "Lubtian"; Alaθiyaḫe (Ug. aldyġ-274:6), "Alašiyan";[144] Udaḫe, "Uda-ite"; etc.[145] However, when added to a word ending in a consonant, no secondary vowel is used, e.g. ^{URU}Tukriθḫe ewr-ne, "the Tukrišite king."[146] The writing system does not permit the possibility of identifying possible examples of the long suffix in post consonantal position.

When added to stems ending in e/i, a vocalic change takes place: the e/i-vowel becomes o (or perhaps u in some cases), e.g. Ḫurri > Ḫurroḫe, aθti > aθtoḫḫe, cf.§4.23.

When the stative suffix is added to either -ḫe or -ḫḫe, the e-vowel is lost, forming -ḫa or -ḫḫa, cf.§6.4492(a).

6.4612 <u>The function of the suffixes -ḫe and -ḫḫe.</u> The difference between these two suffixes has not been clearly settled yet. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases -ḫe is used for ethnic and geographic terms, while the form -ḫḫe is

used to form qualitative adjectives from other roots.[147]

A. For the form -ḫe the following examples have been noted: ML: Ḫurroḫe; Boghazköi: Ḫalpaḫe, Ḫattoḫe, Udaḫe, Θamuḫaḫe, Kizzuwatnaḫe, etc.;[148] Nuzu: Nuzaḫe, Nulaḫe, Lubtoḫe, etc.; at Alalaḫ, however, one finds the form Amurruḫḫe (AT 277:12).[149] The form -ḫe is also used with abstract nouns to form a compound expressing something like "the quality of _____ship." For the forms Θarraθθeḫe- and ewreθθeḫe- from Boghazköi, see §6.4522 above. Compare also the form aš-du-uš-ši-ḫé-na from Alalaḫ (AT 423:36).[150]

B. The form -ḫḫe seems to form qualitative adjectives. The best known examples are turoḫḫe, "male," and aθtoḫḫe, "female," both common at Boghazköi.[151] Compare also, now, from Ugarit: pbnḫ (which is probably papannaḫḫe or papnaḫḫe) "mountainous";[152] from Alalaḫ: ḫaniyaḫḫe, "Ḫanean";[153] and from Nuzu: tiθnoḫḫe, "heart-shaped."[154]

C. In combination with the stative suffix -a the adjectival suffixes -ḫe and -ḫḫe form compound suffixes which have the force of "in a state characterized by" or "in a state of the quality of." The clearest example of this use in ML is found in the sentence:

iθtan-iffaθ-a+tilla+an θen-n(a)-oḫḫ[155]-a (ML 4:120-121),

"reciprocation-our-in+we+and brother-ones-qual.-adj.-stative," i.e. "And in our mutuality we are like (lit. in a state of the quality of) brothers."

The most frequent use of this construction in ML is in the formation of adverbial phrases. For other examples see

§6.4492 (a) above.

D. Finally, the very frequent forms in -θḫe, which mostly form vessels and containers, probably belong here also in the light of the two forms aḫruθḫe and ḫupruθḫe. The form aḫruθḫe has been shown by Laroche to be from aḫr- "incense."[156] The many vessels named by this formation may be based in part, then, on the use to which they were put or the material they were intended to hold. The form ḫupruθḫe has been explained by von Brandenstein as from ḫaw/bur "earth,"[157] and hence seems to be named from the material out of which it is usually or originally constructed.[158] For a list of these terms occurring at Alalaḫ, see Draffkorn, HHA, p. 217, and for a partial list of forms from Nuzu, see Lacheman in Nuzi, Vol. I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 539, and Speiser, IH, §175 (6).

E. Other suffixes possibly contain this qualitative suffix -ḫe also, notable among which is the common term paθθitḫe "envoy, ambassador," from the root paθθ- "to send," [for other possible examples see IH §175 (7), and compare the unknown form saitḫe at Alalaḫ, cf. Draffkorn, HHA, p. 196]. An ending -pḫi also occurs in the divine name W/Piθa(y)-θapḫi, apparently derived from the mountain name Piθa(y)θa;[159] in the forms šešatupḫe "characterized by six-spoked wheels,"[160] built from the Akkadian šešatu "six"; karapḫu "fallow,"[161] and the unknown sarapḫu, descriptive of barley.[162]

The form paθθiḫ-iff in ML 3:54, 57 appears to have no adjectival force at all. From the context it appears to mean

something like "shipment."

All of these suffixes form words whose meaning fits very well with the basic force of "characterized by" or "of the quality of" for -ḫe.

6.462 The adjectival suffix -zzi.[163]   This suffix seems to impart a force of "suitable to, fitting, worthy of." Two clear examples have been identified which admirably give the connotation:

(1) ar-ann-enn-a+man θen-iff-uθ haθ-enn+an alaθe+me+nin niḫari tea alaθe+me+nin niri alaθe+me+nin θen-iff-uzzi (ML 3:41-43), "given-causative-jussive+and brother-my-by heard-jussive+so-that whether+?+indeed(?) dowry great whether+?+indeed(?) excellent whether+?+indeed(?) brother-my-adj.," i.e. "Let my brother cause (the tablet) to be given and so let (him) hear whether the dowry (is) great, whether (it is) excellent, whether (it is) suitable for my brother."

(2) At Nuzu a garment is called aθtuzzi [SMN 2671, now published as text 172, HSS 15(1955)]. The meaning "feminine" fits very well here. The difference in connotation between -uzzi and -ḫḫe is nicely brought out by the difference in connotation between aθtoḫḫe "female" and aθtuzzi "feminine."

6.463 The "adverbial" suffix -ae.   Since this suffix forms modifiers which function as adjectives (at least in the vocabularies) as well as adverbs, it seems proper to list it here. The suffix has been the subject of much debate and a definitive statement cannot yet be written due to the

uncertainty of the state of interpretation. Both its form and its function remain, to a certain extent, uncertain. In IH §§165-167 Speiser classed the suffix as among those "employed with verbal nouns" and suggested a basic "gerundive" value for it. This now seems very unlikely.[164] It rather forms adverbs or adjectives, forms which modify verbals or other nominals, and hence it is provisionally classified here among the "adjectival" suffixes. It may also have a relational force and could properly belong with the relational or "case" suffixes.

6.4631 _The form of the suffix_. The uncertainty as to the form of the suffix hinges on whether or not forms ending in -ai and -e represent variant forms of this same suffix which have undergone phonetic changes. Speiser, IH §68, notes that forms in -ai, -ae, and ÷i,[165] appear in parallel passages at Boghazköi. The forms in -ai at Boghazköi and in the Ug. S-H Voc. could very easily be taken as simple orthographic variants,[166] particularly as it does not seem likely that these texts were written by native speakers of Hurrian.[167] The possibility of an allophonic or allographic variant -e is also problematic. There are no examples in exactly parallel, wholly clear contexts.[168] However, the forms telam-ae and nir-ae in Ug. S-H Voc. 2:18 and 20, alongside the forms in -e in the same list of adjectives modifying maḫiri "rate of exchange, market" strongly suggest that this is the case. The matter remains, however, uncertain.

6.4632 <u>The function of the suffix</u>. The interpretation of the function or functions of this suffix is still problematical. Certain uses are well established, however. In the Mittanni Letter and at Alalaḫ it clearly forms adverbs and in the vocabularies it seems to form adjectives.

A. <u>The Mittanni Letter</u>. All of the examples in ML which occur in reasonably clear contexts have a clear and decided adverbial force.[169] Thus:

(1) θen-iff-ta+lla+an nir-oθ-ae tiθθan paθθ-oθ-aɥ

(ML 4:38-39), "brother-my-to+them+and good[170]-emph.-adv. very sent-past-by-me," i.e. "And I have sent them[171] to my brother in excellent condition."

(2) [m]Immuriya-θθ+an zalamθi tan-oθ-a ḫiyaroḫḫ-a nakka-θθ-a [m]Tuθratta-fa+man kepan-oθ-a tat-ar-aθk-ae

(ML 3:106-107), "Immuriya-by+and statue made-past-by-him gold-stative poured-nom.-part-stative Tušratta-for+and presented-past-by-him love-?-?-adverbial," i.e. "Immuriya has made a cast golden statue and presented (it) for Tušratta with affection."

Note also how the forms <u>teonae</u> and <u>teona</u> contrast in usage in ML. The phrase <u>teonae tiθθan</u> "very much" is used adverbially with such verbs as <u>tat-</u> "love" and <u>pis-</u> "rejoice" (e.g. ML 2:55,62; 3:92,109; 4:111,113). This contrasts with the use of <u>teona</u> in ML 3:73-74:

<u>ḫiyaroḫḫa+tta+an teona θen-iff-uθ kepan-u-en</u>, "gold+me+and much brother-my-by presented-?-jussive," i.e. "and let my brother bestow upon me much gold."

Here the form _teona_ is adjectival, modifying _ḫiyaroḫḫe_ "gold."

B. Alalaḫ. A numerical distributive, exactly parallel to Akkadian -_tân_ has been identified in _AT_ 417 in the suffix -_tae_.[172] As Laroche points out,[173] this argues heavily in favor of an adverbial interpretation of the suffix.[174]

C. _The vocabularies_. In both the Ug. S-H Voc. and the Ug. Quad. Voc. forms in -_ae_ are used to translate Akkadian and Sumerian adjectives, e.g. in the S-H Voc.: Sum. GU.LA equals _telam-ae_ (2:18), Sum. SIG$_5$.GA equals _nir-ae_;[175] and in the Ug. Quad. Voc.[176] _ḫišlae_ equals Akk. qannumu "spiral," _ḫiltae_ equals Akk. šatqû "elevated," and _šiḫalae_ equals Ug. _tuḫru_ "purity."[177] All of these are adjectives except the last.

D. Certain forms strongly suggest the possibility that this suffix might also be used as a relational suffix analogous to those analyzed in §6.44 above. Laroche in _Ugaritica_ V, I, No. 28, suggests that "we probably are dealing with an instrumental case." Goetze, in "The Genitive of the Hurrian Noun," _RHA_ 5 fasc. 39(1940): 196 and 202, lists several combinations under a tentative heading "adverbialis." However, this has its problems. If the -_ae_ of these forms is a "case" or relational suffix and these examples are genitive constructions (i.e. nominal phrases, as Goetze takes them to be), then this "case" acts very much differently than all the others. As we noted in §6.4521 A, above, whenever a relational suffix is added to a nominal phrase, it is joined to the genitive

suffix of the modifiers by the anaphoric suffix -ne, e.g.
itkalzi-ne-fe-na-θuθ θiye-na-θuθ "by the waters of purifi-
cation." No such construction can be observed in the "ad-
verbialis" examples cited by Goetze, e.g. tatukar-ae DINGIR.
MEŠ-na š ae tarŠuwanna-šae (p. 202). In fact, several of his
examples contain obvious verbal forms ending in -ae,[178] bring-
ing to mind several other clear verbal forms from Boghazköi
and Mittanni which end in -aen or -aeš.[179]

In the light of these problems it does not seem possible
yet to speak of an -ae "case" or relational use. We can but
note that there are many examples, particularly at Boghazköi,
which are not yet capable of satisfactory interpretation.
We can only wait until advances in Hurrian lexicography en-
able us to interpret them. We will indubitably then have to
modify the present understanding of this suffix.

6.47 The "infinitival" suffix -umme. This suffix
serves to form a nominal which names the verbal action of the
root. This obviously forms an abstract noun of a different
type than the forms in θθe. The forms in -θθe are abstracts
based on a nominal concept, e.g. attay- "father" : attaθθe
"fatherhood," ewre- "lord" : ewreθθe- "lordship"; whereas
the forms in -umme are abstracts based on verbal concepts,
e.g. tat-ukar- "love one another" : tat-ukar-umme "to love
one another, having mutual affection"," fahr- "be good" : fahr-
umme "to be good, being good."[180]

6.471 The form of the suffix. In most clear instances
the form is -umme, although -ummi often appears, due to the

ambiguity of writing i- and e-vowels.[181] Note especially

now the clear forms in the Ug. Quad. Voc. where forms in

-umme are rendered by Ug. and Akkadian infinitives (see

below). At Boghazköi the writing -um very likely is an

apocopated form of -umme.[182] Whether or not other forms,

such as -im, represent the same suffix is problematical.

Laroche in RA 54(1960): 194 very plausibly interprets the

form fur-im-ai-n (ML 4:122) as an example of this suffix.

However, not only is the form -im unattested elsewhere, but

the following -ai is difficult. Consequently this had bet-

ter be regarded as uncertain until further evidence is found.

6.472 The function of the suffix. That the suffix

forms the nominal which names the verbal action is now cer-

tain from the Ug. Quad. Voc. where it is used to render the

Akkadian infinitive, e.g. aru[mme] = Akk. nadânu = Sum. SÈ,

"to give,"[183] eḫlumme = Ug. ḫuwau = Sum. KAR, "to deliver,

save, preserve,"[184] kiummi = Akk. šakânu "to put, set, es-

tablish,"[185] tapθuḫumme = Akk. nabalkatum = Sum. BAL, "to

reverse, invert,"[186] zapuθkume = Akk. šûzubu, "to save,

cause to leave,"[187] and finally zulutumme = Akk. paṭâru =

Sum. GAB, "to release, set free."[188] The abstract force

of naming the verbal action is also evident from the x-umma

epêšu forms from Nuzu where the x is usually a Hurrian

word[189] (although Akkadian words can also be used).[190]

This force is parallel to the Akkadian idiom in -ûta epêšu

(which has the force of "to do an action, perform something");

and even more closely parallel to the less common Akkadian

idiom with the infinitive plus epêšu, e.g. alâku epêšu "to travel" (lit. "make a going"), palâḫu epêšu "to show respect" (lit. "to make a fearing"), qarâbu epêšu "to give battle" (lit. "make an approaching"), etc. The Hurro-Akkadian idiom is obviously patterned after the native Akkadian idiomatic expression.

The use of the suffix in the Mittanni Letter is perfectly in accord with the force ascribed to it. Note:

[θ]en-iff-ura+man tiθ-iff-a+n [t]eonae tiθθan faḫr-umme [tat]-ukar-umme ṳu[r]-aṳ, (ML 4:111-112), "bro-ther-my-with+and heart-my-in+cop. much very good-inf. love-reciprocal(?)-inf. desired-by-me," i.e. "I desire in my heart very much being good (and) being mutually friendly with my brother."

6.5 **The nominalizing suffix -θθe.** This suffix ex-hibits two different uses, both of which can be connected with the concept of forming abstracts. With nominals it has a clear derivational force which forms abstract nouns and with full verbal forms it transforms them into nominals, which then take on nominal suffixes and functions.

6.51 **The form of the suffix.** When added to a word in a vowel, it takes the form -θθe (written -š-še/ši in the syllabary and -t at Ugarit).[191] After a consonant, however, it is simply -θe (written -še/ši, and possibly d at Ugarit).[192] The final -e can be lost before the stative -a and changes to o before the adjectival -ḫe/ḫḫe, cf.§4.23.

6.52 **The function of the suffix.** As noted above,

the suffix has two distinct uses, one with nominals and one with full verbal forms.

6.521 Its function with nominals. In several clear instances the suffix is added to nominal stems producing an abstract substantive, e.g. ewreΘΘe- "lordship,"[193] ΘarraΘΘe- "kingship,"[194] attaΘΘe- "fatherhood,"[195] uΘtaΘΘe- "young-man-hood,"[196] nakkιrΘΘe "?,"[197] tamkaraΘΘe "commerce." Possibly alt-d (Ug. alph. 285:7) equals allaΘΘe- "queenship,"[198] and tdrt-d (Ug. alph. 285:8) equals ΘituraΘΘe "girl-hood,"[199] SANGA-še occurs at Alalaḫ for "priesthood."[200] From the Ug. S-H Voc. comes urataΘΘe "the rear portion,"[201] At Nuzu there occurs artamaΘΘe "purchase" (i.e. the act not the object),[202] and nuwaΘΘe "personal possessions."[203]

6.522 Its function in nominalizing verbal forms. By far the most common use of this suffix, however, is to transform full verbal forms into nominal stems. In a sense this also partakes of an "abstracting," and fits the force of the suffix. The result is a verbal nominal, and so we shall name the form. It then can perform typical nominal functions. If the verb is transitive, then both agent and goal are also expressed, resulting in a nominal clause which frequently can only be rendered in English by a full relative clause.

The verbal nominal nature of the form can be seen from the Ug. A-H Bil., lines 7-8, where ku-šu-ḫu-da-an e-la-mu-lu-up-pa-aš-še-ni, in transcription KuΘuḫ-uta+an elam-ul-uppa-ΘΘe-ne, renders Akk. tâmê ana nâri "he who swears by

the river." The Hurrian -θθe form, individualized by the suffix -ne, is equivalent to the Akkadian participle, and must have the force "the one who perjures himself."[204]

The functions of the verbal nominal embrace most of the functions of the nominal itself. Thus it can function as:

a. A modifier of another nominal, e.g.

(1) fur-et-a+an θen-iff-uθθ-a+man θen-iff-ye-ne-fe aθti-fe niḫari ar-oθ-ay-θθe (ML 4:47-48), "seen-fut.-by-him+and brother-my-by+conn. brother-my-of-one-of wife-of dowry given-past.-by-me-nom.-part." i.e. "And my brother will see (the) dowry of my brothers wife (which) I have given."

(2) θo-fe+man tuppe niḫar-ne-fe ar-oθ-ay-θθe-ne-fe ar-ann-enn-a+man θen-iff-uθ (ML 3:39-41), "me-of+and tablet dowry-one-of given-past-by-me-nom.-part.-one-of give-causative-jussive+conn. brother-my-by," i.e. "Let my brother cause my tablet to be given, (the one) of the dowry (which) I gave."

In both of these examples the form in -θθe modifies the goal of the sentence.

b. It can also function as the subject of the sentence:[205]

(1) θen-iff-u(θ)+lla+an tiθa-nn-a yur-iya-θθe-na tiwe-na θuallaman tan-ill-et-a+lla+an (ML 1:107-109), "brother-my-(by)+they+and heart-cop?-in desired-by-him-nom.-part.-ones things-ones all+they done-?-fut.-intr.+they+conn.," i.e. And all the things desired by my brother in (the) heart

will be done."

c. In combination with the relative particle ya-/ye-,
the verbal nominal frequently functions as a compound goal:

(1) unto+man ya+lle+nin tiwe-na θuallaman θen-iff-
uθ kat-oθ-a-θθe-na ̮uur-iya-θθe-na anti+lla+an
eman-am-ẖ-a tan-oθ-a̮u (ML 4:30-32), "now-then+
and what+they+indeed(?) thing(s)-ones all+they
brother-my-by declared-past-by-him-nom.-part-ones
desired-by-him-nom.-part.-ones this+they+conn.
ten-causative-qual.-adj.-stative done-past-by-
me," i.e. "And now then what (ever) things have
been declared by my brother (and) are desired by
him, these I have done tenfold."

(2) ᵐMane-(θ)+lla+man paθθithe-f-uθ fur-oθ-a+lla+n
mana θuene tiwe-na tan-oθ-a̮u-θθe-na (ML 1:71-
73), "Mane-by+they+and envoy-thy-by seen-past-
by-him+they+cop. wholly thing(s)-ones done-
past-by-me-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "Mane, thy
envoy, has seen in toto the things which I have
done."

d. The verbal nominal can also take the regular nominal
suffixes:[206]

(1) the stative

zalamθi ẖiyaroẖẖ-a nakka-θθa (ML 3:106), "(a)
statue, of gold, poured."

ᵐKeliya+n ᵐMane+nn+an ẖaθ-oθ-a̮u itt-aθθ-a
(ML 2:7), "Keliya+cop. Mane+cop.+and heard-past-

by-me   gone-intr.-nom.-part.-stative," i.e. "I
have heard of Keliya and Mane's having gone."

(2) the stative plus the adjectival suffix -ẖe forming
adverbial phrases:[207]

ar-enn+an   θen-iff-uθ   θar-oθ-impu-θθ-oẖẖ-a   tiθ-
iff-umn-oẖẖ-a   θir-a-θθe. (ML 3:85-86), "given-
jussive+and   brother-my-by   demanded-past-?-nom.-
part.-qual.-adj.-stative   heart-my-cop.?-qual.-
adj.-stative   conform-intr.-nom.-part." i.e. "let
(it) be given by my brother suiting my state of
heart and the state with which it was requested."

(3) the comitative:

tat-aɣ-θθe-na-θura (ML 1:71), "with the ones
loved by me."

VII. THE VERBALS: THEIR FORM AND FUNCTION

7.1 <u>General considerations.</u>   As defined in §5.22 the term verbal refers to that class of Hurrian words whose functions cover those attributed to the verb in the European languages and whose suffixes prove to relate to tense, negation, mood, aspect, etc.

7.2 <u>The verbal root.</u>   As noted in §6.2 the root is that morpheme which carries the main semantic burden of the word. The question of specific "verbal" or "nominal" roots remains open. From the few roots that do form both verbals and nominals, it can tentatively be suggested that roots in Hurrian are not inherently either verbal or nominal, but function as the one or the other depending on both their position in the sentence and the suffixes they append. The verbal is not characterized by any fixed vowel which could be taken as part of the root, as the nominals are (cf. §6.21).

7.3 <u>The verbal classes.</u>   The Hurrian verbal is morphologically divided into two basic <u>classes</u> by the vocalic <u>class markers</u> (see §7.43). These two classes are transitive and intransitive respectively and their morphological separation runs through the whole verbal system. Other morphological divisions are also prominent in the Hurrian verb. Thus the transitive verb is found in two

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basic _types_. When the transitive verb has both logical sub-
ject (grammatically termed the agent) and logical object
(grammatically termed the goal) it is passival in orienta-
tion. The agent carries the agentive suffix and the goal is
in the zero-suffix form. This construction is found in both
indicative and non-indicative moods. However, when a tran-
sitive verb has no goal it is active in orientation and its
subject is in the zero-suffix form. Finally it must be noted
that two morphologically separate _series_ of suffixes exist for
the expression of negation and person in the indicative and
non-indicative moods (see §7.46).

    7.4 _The verbal suffixes_. The verbal suffixes do not
have the same freedom to occupy different positions in the
verbal chain that the nominal suffixes have. Rather, they
have a rigidly fixed order. This important aspect of Hurrian
verbal structure was first brought out clearly by Speiser in
IH §176. The verbal suffixes are added in a chain whose
order is fixed and invariable. Further, as with the nominal,
a derivational-relational connotation can be correlated with
verbal position: the closer to the root the more derivational
the force, the further from the root the more relational.
Thus the verbal root-complements stand first. These elements,
like the nominal root-complements, complete the lexical con-
tent of the root and virtually form compound roots. Their
function is in several instances equivalent to the different
verbal stems of the Semitic languages. Farthest from the root
stand the agentive-suffixes whose force is almost purely re-

lational. Note also that the suffixes of mood and aspect stand after those of tense and negation in keeping with their more relational character.

The order of the verbal suffixes is as follows:

A. The Derivational Base

0   The Root (§7.2)

1   The Root Complements (§7.41)

2   The Tense Suffixes (§7.42)

3   The Vocalic Class Markers (§7.43)

B. The Relational Suffixes

Indicative Mood	Non-indicative Mood
4 Negative suffixes (§7.451)	4 Negative suffix (§7.462)
5 Agentive suffixes (§7.452)	5 "Voluntative" suffixes (§7.4631)
	6 "Modal" suffixes (§7.4632)

7.41 **The root-complements.** The form and general nature of these suffixes was first recognized by Speiser in IH §§174-177. They always stand immediately next to the verbal root, in keeping with their completely derivational nature, for their function is to modify or add to the lexical content of the root. Some of their functions are similar to the derived stems of the Semitic sphere. A given root may take on more than one root-complement, in fact three is not uncommon. The force of many of the root-complements remains yet quite uncertain.[1]

(1) **The root-complement -an- ∼ -am-.** These two are tentatively grouped together here since their force seems to

be the same. Laroche, in RA 54(1960): 199-201, has plausibly suggested that this element has a factitive force. This seems a little strained and a causative force seems just as satis-factory. Note the following:

tiḫ-an- "show, make known" (?)[2]

kep-an-[3] "cause to be placed, offer, present, bestow." This can be very satisfactorily interpreted as a causative of the root kef-[4] which is the equivalent of šakânu "to place."[5]

eman-am- "to make tenfold." The form -am- is very likely a dissimilation due to the preceding -n-.[6] The word is built upon the numerical nominal eman- "ten."[7]

θin-am- "to double, to duplicate."[8]

These are all fairly clear. The following are more doubtful.

θur-am-"to hasten, speed." In the light of the forms with -am- above this very possibly contains the same root-complement, the shift to -m- being conditioned by the -r-, cf. also the following.

irk-am- meaning unknown. Possibly same n>m shift as above due to the r in the root.

kat-upp-an- very likely contains this same causative, but the context is obscure and the force of -upp- is un-known.

(1a) In RA 54(1960): 199f. Laroche suggests ar-ann- (ML 3:41) as an example of the above "causative" root-comple-ment. Although a force of "cause to give" fits the context well, its connection with -an- in (1) is difficult due to

the double n in this form, and the possible shift n to m after r in ḫur-am- and irk-am-. This may be a related suffix, note the variants -ul-/-ull- in (11) below. The forms anzann- (ML 2:66) and anzann-oḫ- (ML 1:18, 3:50,51,87; 4:90, 129) are possibly examples of this same suffix.

(2) The root-complement -ant-. This suffix, found only in pis-ant- (ML 4:9,44) has very plausibly been connected with the deictic pronoun anti- "this."[9] It converts the intransitive verb pis- "rejoice" to a transitive verb meaning "rejoice about, over."

(3) The root-complement -ar-. This suffix has now plausibly been given an iterative, frequentative, or durative force by E. von Schuler in "Hurritische Nomina Actoris," RHA 19 fasc. 68(1961): 21-22. Note the following:

paθθ-ar- (ML 4:54). This form, with the negative suffix -wa- and the jussive suffix -en-, fits the general connotation of iterative-durative reasonably well. Tušratta has been urging the Pharaoh to dismiss and speed his envoys on their way and to send Mane with them. Then he says "let not my brother paθθ-ar- another envoy, but let him send Mane." Some such force as "send ever" seems to fit here. Note also paθθari in Ug. Syll. 1:9.

urp-ar-i-nni "butcher." This word occurs at Nuzu as does the related term urpumma epêšu "to flay, butcher."[10]

(4) The root-complement -aθ-. This suffix is known thus far only from the form ḫaθ-aθ- in ML. From context it clearly means "to heed" from ḫaθ- "to hear." It can very

plausibly be connected with the pluralizing element -ǝ-[11] and be interpreted as giving an intensifying force to the root, "to hear fully" equalling "to heed."

The remaining root-complements will be listed in alphabetic order. Their meanings remain thus far quite uncertain.

(5) The root-complements -aḫ-, -oḫ-, -uḫ- and -u/oḫḫ-. These may all be related in meaning, or they may be quite separate. Their force is wholly uncertain. The form -oḫ- is the most common:

(a) anzann-oḫ-oθ (ML 3:50,51 etc.) alongside anzann-i (ML 2:66).

(b) irn-oḫ-oθ- (ML 3:67) alongside irn-o-kko (ML 3:60).

(c) oll-oḫ-o-kko (ML 2:104) alongside oll-i-wa-en (ML 3:95).

Note also ol-oḫ- (ML 2:11, 3:16 and 4:60). The form tat-uḫḫ-ul- (ML 3:4) is probably related. In terms of the change of verbal class the above evidence is startling. In each of the above pairs the only difference between the two is the presence of the suffix -oḫ-, yet in (a) there is no change of verbal class, in (b) the presence of -oḫ- results in a change from intransitive to transitive, and in (c) the presence of -oḫ- results in a change from transitive to intransitive!

One can also note -uḫ- in θapuḫ- (ML 1:95) and ḫisuḫ- (ML 3:76 etc.) "vex, grieve."

The form -aḫ- is found in θil-aḫ-uθ-ḫa (ML 4:66), θil-aḫ-uθ-oθt- (ML 4:41), and possibly mazz-aḫ- (ML 2:8).

Finally, the form ar-om-aθθ-oḫ-i-ḫa (ML 3:13) possibly contains this same element.

(6) **The root-complement -ill-, -ul(l)-.** Although occurring in a large number of significant contexts, the force of this suffix remains obscure. Note the following: kat-ill-et-a (ML 2:50, 102; 4:21), θar-ill-ett-a (ML 2:116), θar-ill-et-a (ML 4:124).

Whether the form -o/ull- is related or is a separate complement is uncertain. It occurs in the forms naḫ-ull-impu-θθ-oḫ-a (ML 3:96) and tiḫ-an-oll-ett-a (ML33:22). From the latter form it would appear that the suffix has the form -oll- rather than -ull-. From Ugarit can be cited elam-u/ol-upp-a-θθe-ne (Ug. A-H Bil.: 8), and ar-uθθ-u/ol-am-ma (Ug. A-H Bil.: 14, 19).

(7) **The root-complement -om-.** While the meaning is unknown, this element occurs in a significant number of forms. For the suffix -am-, see under -an- in (1) above. Note the forms ur-om-u (ML 4:47), ur-om-oθt-ewa (ML 2:9), tiḫan-ul-om- (ML 3:8), and ar-om-aθθ-oḫ-i-ḫa (ML 3:13).

(8) **The root-complement -p-.** This suffix, better known form nominal root-complements [cf. §6.3 (7)], occurs in the forms urḫu-p-t- (ML 3:48), and mannu-pat-ae (ML 4:59). Its force is unknown.

(9) **The root-complement -t-.** This occurs in a few forms. In most occurrences it is added without a vowel, note: urḫ-u-p-t-oθ-i-l-ewa (ML 3:64), urḫ-u-p-t-en (ML 4:112). In both contexts the meaning "keep faith" from urḫ- "true"

fits well. In tupp-u-pat-a- (ML 3:48) and mannu-pat-ae
(ML 4:59) the same two elements are separated by a vowel.
Other pertinent forms are: ur-t-ul-ewa (ML 2:53), wur-t-en-i-
(ML 3:74),[12] hiθim-tu- (ML 2:115)[13] and hupp-ut-a-θθ- (ML
2:22). From Nuzu comes the phrase ilim-t-umma epêšu (AASOR
16 42:18) which can now clearly be connected with the root
elm- "oath, to swear an oath."[14] I would suggest connecting
this element with the -t- which forms the intransitive tense
suffixes -oθt- and -ett- from -oθ- and -et-. As such it
would have a force of state or condition. This fits the force
of urhupt- "to be faithful" from urh- "true" and also ilimtumma
epêšu "to enter into a covenant, make an oath" from the root
elm- "oath."[15]

(10) The root-complement -əθt-. In IH §183, Speiser
established an element -θt-, of unknown meaning, as belonging
in verbal slot three, after the tense markers, on the basis of
the form ši-la-a-hu-šu-uš-ti-wa-a-en (ML 4:41), of which he
says "the analysis of this form cannot but isolate -oẑ + u/oŝt-,
the first of these suffixes being necessarily the perfect ele-
ment, however uncertain the meaning."[16] Nevertheless, he felt
that "in function it seems to be close to the root complements."[17]
In the light of the discussion of the tense suffix -oθt- in
§7.422 below, it seems far better to class this as a root-
complement. It is very hazardous to insist on a verbal posi-
tion after the tense suffixes on the basis of the above form
for several reasons. First the context is strongly against
a past tense form;[18] secondly, the form θil-ah-uθ-ha

(ML 4:66) contains this same element -u/oθ- before the stative + qualitative-adjective suffix -ḫa (cf. §6.4492 A). Comparison of this form with that of ar-oθ-imp-uθ-ḫa (ML 3:16) makes it very doubtful that the element in question is the tense suffix. Finally, the whole question is settled by the form pet-eθt-ett-a (ML 3:29), apparently overlooked by Speiser but listed as an example of his -st- element.[19] In this form the -əθt- element occurs before the clear future tense suffix -ett- (cf. §7.423). As a result of these considerations -əθt- indubitably must be taken as a root complement.

The vowel that goes with the element is almost certainly determined by vowel harmony with the preceding vowel of the verbal, whether this is the root vowel or that of another root complement. Thus, for the form -aθt-, note ak-ukar-aθt-, supiy-am-aθt-, θur-am-aθt-, tan-aθt-, tat-aθt-, etc.[20] For the form -e/iθt-, note pet-eθt-, piθ-iθt-. Spieser also notes from Boghazköi the forms θul-il-iθt- and kir-iθt-. The only form opposed is pis-ant-iθt- from ML which might represent assimilation to the root vowel. For the form -o/uθt-,[21] note koz-oθt-, ḫupl-u/ol-u/oθt-, [. . .]nak-u/ol-u/oθt-, pu/okl-u/oθt-, θil-ah-u/oθ-u/oθt-, θu/orw-u/oθt, ur-om-oθt. The only form opposed is pis-u/oθt.[22]

The meaning of the element is uncertain. Tentatively I would suggest interpretating it as a compound formed from the suffix -θ- [also found in -aθ- (see root-complement [4]) and connected there with the pluralizing suffix] and -t-, which forms the intransitive tense suffixes -oθt- and -ett-

from the transitive forms -oθ- and -et-. Thus it would
tend to impart to the root both emphasis and a stative force;
however, this does not fit the majority of occurrences.

(11) The root-complement -ukar-. This suffix also is
of uncertain meaning. On the basis of tat-ukar- (ML 1:9;
2:67,79,85,93; 3:65,108; 4:96,112,113,121,123,130) and ak-ukar-
(ML 2:58,86 and at Nuzu) Speiser has suggested the meaning
"back, in return" (IH, p. 136, n. 205). This fits several
contexts in ML well but others only awkwardly. The forms
pitt-ukar-a (ML 1:21, 3:110) and aθt-ukar-iffaθ-a (ML 2:76)
also occur (the latter apparently built on the nominal root
aθti- "wife, woman").

(12) The root-complement -u/ol-. The force of this
suffix is uncertain. Considerable ambiguity exists in a
given case as to whether we have the root-complement or the
voluntative suffix (see §7.4631) which, in the absence of
tense and negative suffixes, is added directly to the root
and cannot then be separated, in form at least, from the root-
complement. Due to the frequent collocation of both -il-
and -u/ol- with the suffix of contingency -ewa-, it is here
arbitrarily assumed that each example of this collocation ex-
hibits the voluntative suffix rather than the root-complement.
In PRU III, pp. 317 and 320, Laroche suggests a reflexive
force on the basis of the forms ar-uθθ-ul- and elam-ul-unn-
of the Ug. A-H Bil. However, this cannot be applied to most
of the forms of ML that are in clear contexts. The forms
ti-i-ḫa-nu-u-lu-ma-a-aš-še-ni (ML 3:8) and ti-i-ḫa-nu-u-ul-

li-e-et-ta (ML 3:22) suggest that the suffix is -ol- rather than -ul-, but the possibility of both -ul- and -ol- existing cannot be eliminated. Other examples are alθ-ul-i (ML 2:90), ar-u/ol-ay (ML 4:95), kepan-ol-oθt-a-θθe-na (ML 3:59), kepan-u/ol{-ul}-(i)-l-ewa (ML 3:63), ḫupl-u/ol-u/oθt-e- (ML 2:23), ..]nak-u/ol-u/oθt- (ML 2:24), tat-uḫḫ-u/ol-i-kki- (ML 3:4), uk-u/ol-a (Ug. A-H Bil.: 6).

(13) The root-complement -uθθ-. This is now clearly seen to be a root complement in the light of the form ar-uθθ-ul-amma in Ug. A-H Bil.: 14 and 19, where it occurs before the clear root complement -ul-.[23] This brings to mind the nominal root complement -uθḫe- which primarily forms names of vessels or containers. It also raises a question about the forms in -uθθ- from the Mittanni Letter which have been considered as examples of the nominalizing suffix, -θθe. Consider the forms θar-oθ-impu-[θθ]-uḫḫa (ML 3:86), ar-oθ-impu-θ-ḫa (ML 3:16), ur-impu-θθ-oḫḫa, naḫ-ull-impu-θθ-oḫa (ML 3:96), and others. These cannot be root-complements, however, since the first two examples clearly show the tense element -oθ- preceding them.[24] Further the u-vowel before the θθe which usually takes an a-vowel can be explained as belonging to the preceding element -impu- (cf. §7.425).

(14) The root-complement -upp-. This suffix, meaning obscure, is now known from the form elam-ul-upp-a-θθe-ni (Ug. A-H Bil.: 8) as well as from ML, e.g. kat-upp-an-i- (ML 4:14) and tan-upp-ae[.. (ML 2:114).

7.42 The tense suffixes. In position 2, immediately

after the root-complements, come the suffixes that indicate tense. These suffixes evidence two separate series of forms in the past and the future.

7.421 <u>The indication of present tense</u>. That the action is going on in the present is indicated by the <u>absence</u> of any suffix in position two. This is not only assured by a clear present force in forms with no tense suffix, but also by the fact that the two series of forms which do appear in this position are clearly connected with the past and the future. Thus note the forms <u>tat-(i)-aɤ</u> "loved-(trans.)-by-me" and <u>tat-i-ya</u> "loved-trans.-by-him" in the clearly present context of ML 1:74-75:

<u>inu+tta+nin ḫenni θen-iff-uθ tat-i-ya inu+me+nin</u>

<u>ḫenni θen-iff iθa-θ tat-aɤ</u>, "as+I+indeed(?) now brother-my-by loved-by-him so+?+indeed(?) now brother-my me-by loved-by-me," i.e. "As my brother indeed now loves me, so indeed I now love my brother."

7.422 <u>The indication of past tense</u>. Past tense is indicated in Hurrian by two suffixes which differ, as do the future suffixes, by the addition of a -<u>t</u>-, namely -<u>oθ</u>- and -<u>oθt</u>-. That both of these refer to past time is clear.[25] The problem that remains to be solved is the difference between the two. As Speiser has noted, the vast majority of the occurrences of -<u>oθ</u>- are with transitive verbs.[26] But it can also appear wth intransitive verbs. Only two examples are known from ML: <u>faḫr-oθ-a</u> (ML 1:60) in broken context and <u>un-oθ-a</u> (ML 1:86). Neither context is clear enough to say

anything definite about these forms beyond the fact that -oθ- can on rare occasions be used with verbs that are clearly intransitive in other occurrences.[27] A similar situation exists with -oθt-. This particle is used with intransitive verbs in all but two of its occurrences.[28] In these two occurrences it appears to be used with transitive verbs in clear agentive construction.[29] Besides the rather broken en-iffaθ-uθ u[θ]t-[a]n-o[θ]t-a (ML 2:76),[30] note the following occurrence:

ya+lla+nin ammat-iff-uθ attay-iff-uθ attay-if-fa[31] fe-fa makanna kepan-ol-oθt-a-θθe-na (ML 3:57-59) "what+they+indeed(?) grandfather-my-by father-my-by father-your-for you-for gifts[32] granted-?-past-by-him-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "what gifts were granted by my grandfather (and) by my father for your father (and) for you."

This occurrence, however, is not absolutely unequivocal either, for it is indeed possible that the -oθt- is an example of the root complement -əθt- [see §7.41 (10)].[33] The o-vowel would be due to vowel harmony with the preceding -ol- (see the remarks under the root-complement cited above). The passage is clearly past and the verb could gain a past reference from context.[34]

These facts can be interpreted in two ways. If the Hurrian verb is inherently transitive or intransitive and cannot change from one to the other, then the clear use of -oθ- with intransitives--as well as its normal use with transitives--and the probable use of oθt- with transitives in

agentive construction--as well as its normal use with in-
transitives--would mean that -oθ- and -oθt- cannot be used
as markers of the past tense with transitive and intransitive
verbs respectively but must have some other force.[35] However,
if the Hurrian verb, or certain Hurrian verbs, can change
their class from transitive to intransitive,[36] and if the
-oθt- elements of kepan-ol-oθt- and the doubtful u[θ]t[a]n-
o[θ]t- cited above are taken as root-complements rather than
the tense element -oθt-, then the forms -oθ- and oθt- can be
 taken to indicate the past tense with transitive and in-
transitive verbs respectively. The latter interpretation
appears preferable for several reasons. First, other evidence
exists which clearly indicates that certain Hurrian verbs
can be transitive or intransitive as the context demands (see
the discussion under the future tense suffixes below). Se-
condly, the marked morphological bifurcation of the Hurrian
verb on the basis of transitiveness strongly suggests that
this is what is involved here also. Thirdly, the parallel
between the forms -oθ- and -oθt- of the past tense and -et-
and -ett- of the future tense, where a connection with verbal
class is clear, also strongly suggests that verbal class is
involved. Consequently, we shall conclude, with reservations,
that -oθ- is the past tense suffix with transitive verbs and
-oθt- marks the past tense with intransitive verbs.

7.423 The indication of the future tense. The future
tense is also indicated by two suffixes which differ by the
addition of a t-, namely -et- and -ett-. That both of these

refer to future time is clear. As with the past tense suffixes -oθ- and oθt- the problem that remains to be solved is the difference between the two forms. The form -et- with one exception occurs in ML in agentive construction only.[37] The exception is paθθ-et-i+tan (ML 3:116) which, unfortunately, is in an obscure context. The use of -ett- is not so uniform. It occurs three times with known intransitives: un-ett-a (ML 3:12,21) and peteθt-ett-a (ML 3:29), four times with known transitives: kat-ill-ett-a- (ML 4:109), kul-ett-a (ML 4:60), tiḫan-ull-ett-a (ML 3:22),[38] and θar-ill-ett-a, all in subject-action construction,[39] and once an unknown verb oloḫ-ett-a parallel with kul-ett-a in ML 4:60. First it must be noted that the number of occurrences of these suffixes in clear context is so small as to preclude a definitive statement at this time. Of the eight occurrences of the element -ett- only four are in reasonably clear context. The problem of interpreting an element under such circumstances is obvious.

From the occurrences that we do have, the following facts must be noted: the suffix -et- occurs not only in agentive construction but also in subject-action construction with a transitive verb, and the suffix -ett appears not only with intransitive verbs, but also in subject-action construction with normally transitive verbs. The use of -et- and -ett- in subject-action construction with transitive verbs is not strictly parallel, however, for the single form with -et- takes an i-vowel while the four forms with -ett- take an a-

vowel. We shall discuss the significance of these vowels in §7.43. There we shall see that the i-vowel is the characteristic class marker of transitive verbs, the a-vowel is the characteristic class marker of intransitive verbs in the affirmative, while intransitive verbs in the negative are characterized by an o-vowel. This suggests that the normally transitive verbs kat- "to report, declare," kul- "to speak," tiḫan- "to show, make known(?)," and θar- "to ask, demand," which appeared above with -ett- plus an a-vowel, have intransitive meanings in these contexts. Now kul-ett-a (ML 4:60) and kat-ill-ett-a- (ML 4:109) are in obscure and broken context[40] respectively, but the other two are in reasonably clear context, although the meaning of tiḫan- is uncertain:

(1) unto+man inna+me+nin θen-iff-ụe aθti un-ett-a inna+ma+nin θen-iff-ta tiḫan-ull-ett-a (ML 3:21-22), "now-then+and when(?)+?+indeed(?) brother-my-of wife come-future- intr. when(?)+?+indeed(?) brother-my-to ?-?-future-intr.," i.e. "now then, when my brother's wife will have come, (and) when (she) will have ??[41] to my brother."

(2) inu+me+nin θer-ne+tan [d]en-ne-f+tan θeḫr-n(a)-iffaθ ḫuta-nn(a)-iffaθ θar-ill-ett-a (ML 4:115-116), "as+?+indeed(?) . . .[42]-one-from god-thy-from fate(?)-one-our destiny-one-our inquired-?-future-intr.," i.e. "Since our fate and our destiny will have been inquired from the . . . (and) from thy god."

These forms contrast with both na$\theta\theta$-et-i- (ML 3:116) in sub-
ject-action construction and θar-ill-et-a (ML 4:124) which is
in agentive construction.

It is also possible, since both of the verbs that are
in clear context seem to be passive, that the intransitive
class marker could be used on a transitive verb to mark the
verb as passive in force. However, other evidence is against
this interpretation, namely the fact that the Hurrian verb is
neutral as to voice, see §7.48.

In the light of these considerations it seems best to
take -et- as the mark of the future with transitive verbs
and -ett- as the mark of the future with intransitive verbs.

7.424 The nature of the "tense" involved. It is
legitimate to question whether these tense markers refer to
"tense" in the sense in which this is used in many modern
languages, i.e. time of the action. They may indeed indicate
complete and incomplete action rather than "past" and "future."
However, in the present stage of interpretation this cannot be
decided, so we shall continue to use the general terms past
and future, although it must be emphasized that this must not
be taken to refer to time rather than verbal action.

7.425 The element -impu-. This element is listed
here solely because it seems to occupy a position in the
verbal chain immediately after the tense suffixes. Its
meaning and function are unknown, however. The suffix oc-
curs only in forms in -$\theta\theta$e, -$\theta\theta$-o$\d{h}$/$\d{h}\d{h}$a, or -u$\theta$$\d{h}$a, e.g.
[θar-o]θ-impu-$\theta\theta$e (ML 4:108), [t]at-[uk]ar-impu-$\theta\theta$e-ne-ra+an

(ML 4:96), al-umpu-θθe (ML 2:91), ur-impu-θθ-oḫḫ-a+man naḫull-impu-θθ-oḫ-a (ML 3:95-96), θar-oθ-impu-[θθ]-oḫḫ-a (ML 3:86), and ar-oθ-impu-θḫ-a (ML 3:16). For the position note the last two forms. The context of these forms requires a past tense, e.g. note the force of ar-oθ-impu-θḫ-a in ML 3:15-16: "And my brother will see the dowry also in the manner in which it has been given." The i-vowel cannot be taken as the transitive class marker because of the intransitive ur-impu-. Apparently the suffix has a force that is apropos to nominalized verbs, particularly with the stative + qualitative adjective suffix -ḫ/ḫḫa-. A verbal use is almost required by the fact that it comes before the nominalizing suffix -θθ(e).

7.43 **The indicators of the transitive and intransitive verbal classes.** The combination of root + root-complements + tense suffixes (which we have just discussed) forms a verbal "base" that is common to all verbal forms. Since these suffixes are primarily derivational, we shall refer to this for purposes of identification as the "derivational base" of the verbal. To this derivational base are added the relational verbal suffixes which have to do with negation, mood, etc. However, before turning to these relational verbal suffixes, it is necessary to note that two verbal classes are morphologically distinguished in Hurrian by the vowels that characterize them in a number of forms. These vowels are added after the tense suffixes and will be termed class markers. Their existence and function were first recognized by Speiser in IH §119-120, in connection with the agentive

negative suffix -w(a)-[43] and the non-agentive negative suffix -kk-.[44] Before these suffixes transitives are characterized by an i-vowel and intransitives by a u/o-vowel. This much is reasonably clear and certain.[45] However, alongside this formal division exists another set of vowels whose interpretation yet remains in doubt, but which also morphologically categorize, in the main, the two classes of verbs. Before discussing these it is necessary to bring out the three types of verbal construction that exist in the language. First there is the "agentive" construction. This construction arises when and only when, both logical subject (grammatically the agent) and logical object (grammatically the goal) are expressed, either as nominals, associative pronouns or agentive suffixes on the verb itself.[46] Of necessity this construction can only occur with transitive verbs. When it does, the logical subject carries the agentive suffix, and the logical object is in the zero-suffix form.[47] Second there is the "transitive subject-action" construction. This construction arises whenever either the logical subject or the logical object of a transitive verb is not expressed. This has been termed "subject-action construction rather than the "actor-action" construction used by Speiser, since the grammatical subject is not necessarily limited to the actor who performs the verbal action but can also be the goal i.e. the one affected by the verbal action. Under these conditions the subject is in the zero-suffix form. Thirdly there is the "intransitive sub-

ject-action" construction. This occurs with intransitive
verbs. Their subject is also in the zero-suffix form. It
will be noted that this construction is grammatically iden-
tical with the second type. It is necessary to keep them
separate, however, for they are characterized by different
class markers. On the basis of these three types of verbal
construction the following paradigm can be constructed for the
affirmative verb:[48]

    (1) Intransitive verb: un-a (ML 2:14)

    (2) Trans. subject-action constr.:   tatukar-i[49] (ML 4:130)

    (3) Agentive construction: tat-i-ya (ML 1:74)[50]

Types (1) and (2) are impersonal, i.e. they have this same
form regardless of the person of the subject. Type (3) adds
agentive suffixes which change with the person.

    As the above paradigm shows, the transitive verbs are
characterized by an i-vowel, while intransitive verbs are
characterized by an a-vowel. Now the vexing question is,
just what is the morphological role of these vowels? Do they
only indicate verbal class or do they have some other function?
The three separate constructions have led Goetze to posit
three verbal types, corresponding to the three constructions
of the paradigm.[51] Construction (2), which he calls the i-
form of the verb, he interprets as indicating "the effect of
an action of undefined origin upon a person or thing."[52] In
IH §170a Speiser has shown that Goetze's construction is not
satisfactory. This is further indicated by the recognition
that the i-vowel is characteristic of both types (2) and (3)

(cf. note 50 above).

Speiser, in IH §168-171, treats these vowels as primarily "morphologic," i.e. they have, according to him, the function of distinguishing voice in the verbal forms in question, which he defines as "participles." The i-vowel he interprets as "active" and the a-vowel as "middle." From an examination of onomastic compounds in which transitive verbs appear with a u-vowel, he concludes that a "passive" is formed by the u-vowel.

This interpretation is now highly problematic. First, Speiser's i-vowel form, which he construes as "active," is seen to be characteristic of the verb in agentive construction also, in which the verb is passival in orientation. This can also be seen from the jussive forms in -en:[53]

Trans. verb, jussive: ta-a-na-aš-ti-en (ML 1:82, 3:75, 78)[54]

Intr. verb, jussive: pè-te-eš-te- (ML 2:24)[55]

Here the jussive suffix -en is added to the i-vowel class marker in the transitive verb, while it is added directly to the derivational base with intransitives. It can be surmised that the intransitive class vowel has elided. All of the transitive verbs are in agentive construction and hence passival in orientation. Finally, the recognition of the fact that the negative of the verb in subject-action construction is formed by the suffix -kk- brings in insurmountable obstacles to this interpretation. To establish this note the following paradigm:

(1) Intransitive verb: $\underline{\text{mann-u/o}}^{56}\underline{\text{-kko}}$
                                                        (ML 4: 3)
(2) Trans. verb subject-action constr.: $\underline{\text{tan-oθ-i-kk(i)}}$ [57]
                                                        (ML 2: 5)
(3) Trans. verb agentive construction: $\underline{\text{tan-oθ-i-wa-}}$ [58]
                                                        (ML 4: 10)

Here again the transitive verb exhibits an i-vowel in contra-
distinction to the intransitive verb, which here takes an o-
vowel. It is now impossible to interpret the u/o-vowel as a
passive, for it is hardly likely that the expression of the
negative would produce a change in voice. Rather, we again
have a distinction made by these vowels between two verbal
classes, transitive and intransitive respectively. Con-
sequently, although problems remain, we shall regard the
function of these vowels as that of indicating the particular
verbal class,[59] and not primarily voice.

Thus two verbal classes are morphologically distinct
in Hurrian, the transitive class, characterized by an i-vowel
attached to the derivational base, and the intransitive class,
characterized by an a-vowel attached to the derivational base
in affirmative forms and a u/o-vowel in negative forms.

7.44 The morphological division of the Hurrian verb
in the expression of mood. At this point another morpho-
logical division of the Hurrian verb must be brought out.
This division arises in the expression of mood.[60] The suf-
fixes which express negation and person (in agentive con-
struction) in the indicative mood, and those which express
negation and the moods themselves (and possibly person) in
the non-indicative moods are added to the derivational base

of the verb, right after the class markers. However, these suffixes form morphologically distinct categories due to the difference in the expression of person and negation in the two series. The indicative mood expresses person in agentive construction by suffixes that are clearly related to the possessive suffixes of the nominal, whereas the non-indicative moods are either impersonal or express person in a limited number of forms by suffixes that are unrelated to those of the indicative mood. The negatives of the two categories do not wholly agree either. Hence it no longer seems judicious simply to arrange all the suffixes in a single undifferentiated list as Speiser, perforce, has done in IH. It is now necessary to distinguish two series of modal suffixes--the indicative and the non-indicative--and to discuss the suffixes applicable to the two series separately.

7.45 <u>The relational suffixes of the indicative mood.</u> The indicative mood is indicated by the derivational base itself in the affirmative form and by the derivational base plus the requisite negative suffix in the negative form of the verbal. In agentive construction an agentive suffix is also added after the negative position.

7.451 <u>The negative of the indicative mood.</u> The negative of the indicative mood is formed by the addition of a suffix in verbal position four. This suffix has two unrelated forms, one for the negation of verbs in agentive construction and the other for the negation of verbs in subject-action construction whether transitive or intransitive.

7.4511 <u>The negative of the agentive construction</u>

-<u>w(a)</u>-. It has been recognized since early in Hurrian studies that this was a negative suffix,[61] but it has been interpreted as the negative of "optative" forms.[62] It does form the negative of the non-indicative moods (see §7.462), but it also forms the negative of the indicative mood in agentive construction.

7.45111 <u>The form of the suffix.</u> It would appear that the form of the suffix, at least in the indicative mood, is simply -<u>w</u>-.[63] The phoneme represented by this writing is uncertain. It is either the semivowel [w̩] or the labial fricative [f]. The form -<u>uff</u>, which represents the negative suffix plus the first person agentive suffix, is in favor of the semivowel. Apparently the first person agentive suffix, written -<u>a-ú</u> and interpreted here as representing the diphthong -<u>aw̩</u>, was originally -<u>af</u> but the spirantization of the single labial was lost in final position.[64] This is strongly suggested by the connection between the agentive suffixes and the possessive suffixes of which the first person form is <u>iff</u>.[65] It would appear that the negative suffix -<u>w</u>- assimilated to the labial fricative of the agentive suffix and the consequent double labial fricative did not lose its spirantization (cf. -<u>iff</u>). The connection of the writing -<u>i-uw-wə</u> with the negative -<u>w(a)</u>- and the first person agentive suffix -<u>a-ú</u> was first elucidated by Speiser in <u>IH</u> §84.

The suffix -<u>w(a)</u>- also indicated the negative of the non-indicative moods, see §7.462.

7.45112 <u>The use of the suffix</u>. The fact that the negative suffix -w(a)- negates not only "optative" forms but also agentive forms in the indicative mood has not hitherto been recognized, but the following examples establish the fact:

(1) <u>θen-iff-enn+an hill-o-1-ewa et-a+la+n paθθith-iff koz-oθ-o oya+man koz-oθ-i-uff-a+lla+n</u> (ML 4:45-46), "brother-my+cop.+and say=vol.=cond. person(s)+they+cop.(?) envoy(s)-my detained-past-by-you no+conn. detained-past-neg.-by-me+they+cop.," i.e. "my brother might say 'you have detained my envoys,' No! I have not detained them."[66]

(2) <u>ay+ma+nin θen-iff-uθ anam tan-oθ-i-w(a)-a+lla+nni</u> (ML 4:9-10), "if+?+indeed(?) brother-my-by in-this-manner done-past-trans.-neg.-by-him+they+?" i.e. "if in this manner my brother has not done them."

The four examples of the negated first person (see note 66 for the other three) and the one example of the third person are all in clear indicative context. Hence the -w(a)- negative proves to negate the agentive construction in the indicative mood as well as negating the non-indicative moods.

7.4512 <u>The negative of subject-action construction</u>, <u>both transitive and intransitive, -kk-</u>. The meaning of this suffix has only recently been firmly established. Most of its occurrences in the Mittanni Letter are in obscure or broken context which made its interpretation very difficult (cf. <u>IH</u> §186). However, with the discovery of the Ug. A-H

Bil., it became clear that it was a verbal negative, for here the Akkadian phrase la idû is rendered by pal-i-kki+n, "he does not know (it)." Due to the appearance of this same element (or a non-homonymic homograph) in certain words that are clearly nominals (e.g. aθhoθ-i-kk-onni "sacrificer"[67]) some doubt could have remained. This is now firmly dispelled by the occurrence of two forms in the Ug. Quad. Voc.[68] Here manni- renders Ugaritic hawa[69] "to be," whereas man(n)-u-k(k)u renders Ugaritic and Akkadian lâ and Sumerian NU, "not." That -kk- is a negative can no longer be doubted; what remains to be established is its use. As Speiser noted, it falls in the exact same verbal slot as -w(a)-, immediately after the class-markers. Further, the two forms are never used in the same construction. The negative -w(a)- is used with agentive construction and with the non-indicative moods, whereas -kk- occurs only in subject-action construction with both transitive and intransitive verbs.[70] Thus we have another indication of the strong morphological bifurcation between agentive and non-agentive construction in Hurrian (cf. the remarks of Speiser in IH §246).

7.45121 **The form of the suffix.** The vowel preceding the negative -kk- is determined by the class of the verbal. With intransitive verbs the vowel is -o-,[71] with transitive verbs the vowel is -i-, cf. §7.43. This usage is extremely regular in the Mittanni Letter.[72] In the great majority of instances the vowel after the -kk- element is the same as that preceding it and can be attributed to vowel harmony since the

function of these vowels is to indicate verbal class. Thus note <u>ụur-i-kki</u> (ML 2:73,84; 3:5,6) "desire-neg.," <u>kat-i-kki-</u> (ML 4:17) "declare-neg.," <u>tat-ukar-oθ-i-kki</u> (ML 2:79) "love-?-past-trans.-neg.," <u>pal-i-kki-</u> (Ug. A-H Bil.: 18) "know-trans.-neg.," etc.[73] For the intransitives note: <u>mann-o-kko</u>,[74] (ML 2:91) "is-intr.-neg.," <u>ur-o-kko</u> (ML 2:95,99,101; 3:46,123,124) "occur-intr.-neg.," <u>tupp-o-kk-o</u> (ML 3:45) "?-intr.-neg.," <u>turupinn-o-kko</u> (ML 1:17) "?[75]-intr.-neg.," etc. However, the contrast in the vowel following the -<u>kk</u>- between the forms <u>u-u[-ul]-lu-ḫi-duk-ku-u-un</u> (ML 3:84) and <u>ul-lu-ḫu-ug-gu-ú-un</u> (ML 2:104) raises the possibility of a difference in use.[76] Finally, the forms <u>kap-a-kka</u> (Ug. A-H Bil.: 17) and <u>taḫ-a-kka</u> (Ug. A-H Bil.: 14,18) are thus far unique. This may be an example of Ugaritic -<u>a</u>- equalling Boghazköi and Mittanni -<u>o</u>-; however, the interpretation of Laroche posits transitive meanings for the underlying roots.[77] Since these are nominals, one can also adduce the anomalous nominal(?) forms <u>putt-u-kki-</u> and <u>men-a-kki</u> at ML (see note 72).

7.45122 <u>The use of the suffix</u>. As noted above, most of the occurrences in ML are in obscure or broken context. However, note the following:

(1) <u>tiwa+lla+an θurwe θen-iff-ta kat-i-kki</u> (ML 4:16-17), "word(s)+they+and evil brother-my-to declared[78]-trans.-not," i.e. "and evil reports are not being declared to my brother."

(2) <u>ya+an ụur-i-kki mana θue-ne Ḫurroḫe ᴷᵁᴿomini</u> <u>ya+an ụur-i-kki mana θue-ne ᴷᵁᴿomini</u> (ML 3:5-7),

"what+and desire-trans.-not altogether(?) Hurrian land
what+and desire-trans.-not altogether(?) Egyptian land,"
i.e. "what the Hurrian land does not wholly desire and
what the Egyptian land does not wholly desire."

(3) tiwe+man θukko θen-iff-ta kul-(i)-l-e θen-iff-
ụa+n ay-i-ta tiwe θurwe tea kat-i-kk-onni mann-o-
kka+lla+an anti un-o-kka+lla+an talame-ne-fa ay-i-ta
(ML 4:1-3), "word+and further brother-my-to speak-vol.-
juss. brother-my-for presence-his-to word(s) evil
great speak-trans.-not-? to-be-intr.-not+they+conn.
this come-intr.-not+they+conn. chief(?)-one-for pre-
sence-his-to," i.e. "and let a further word be spoken to
my brother: in my brother's presence many evil reports
are not being declared. These do not come into the
presence of the chief(?)."

Finally the forms ending in -ikkonne must be mentioned.
In several contexts these are clearly negative action nominals.
Note Laroche's plausible interpretation of ḫaθ-i-kk-onne, fur-
i-kk-onne and kat-i-kk-onne as "he who is deaf," "he who is
blind," and "he who is dumb" respectively, from a Boghazköi
context.[79] Note also in ML 4:11 ḫenni+man ḫill-oθ-i-kk-onne
ḫill-oθ-i which can be translated "and now he who was not
speaking is speaking." However, to take kat-i-kk-onne in
example (3) above as "he who is declaring" makes poor sense
in that context. The connection of -nni with the anaphoric
-ne is problematical. Thus note the form tan-oθ-i-wa-a+lla+
nni (ML 4:9) which has to be analyzed as "done-past-trans.-

not-ˌ/-him+they+?."[80] The verbal construes with the agentive

θen-iff-uθ and consequently the final -nni can have nothing

to do with the particle -ne "one." See §9.10.

7.4513 The negative suffix -ma. In several contexts

in ML this suffix added to 3rd person agentive forms clearly

requires a negative interpretation. Note especially the

following:

ay+ma+nin ᵐMane+n θen-iff-uθ paθθ-i-ya-ma oli+man

paθθ-et-a ḫur-i-uff-u+nna+an (ML 4:55-57), "if+?+in-

deed(?) Mane+cop. brother-my-by sent-trans.-by-him-

neg. other+but sent-fut.-by-him want-trans.-neg.-

by-me+him+then," i.e. "If my brother does not send Mane

but will send another, then I do not want him."

A negative force is also clear in the two occurrences

after ay+la+an in ML 4:20-21 and 26-27. Here Tušratta has

said that evil reports concerning himself or his land should

not be heeded by the Pharaoh and vice versa. The phrase in

question which follows immediately can only mean "if Mane and

Keliya do not speak them." So also with the form irn-oḫ-

oθ-i-ya-ma in ML 3:70. Tušratta has brought to the Pharaoh's

attention in the preceding lines the great generosity of the

Pharaoh's father to his grandfather and of the Pharaoh him-

self to his father. It is very characteristic, in the light

of numerous passages in the Akkadian letters to the same ef-

fect, if the next phrase means something like "but my bro-

ther has not increased it (or done the same ?) for me." This

last example also precludes the interpretation of the suffix

as referring to the future adopted by Friedrich in BChG, p. 3 38ff., for the -oθ- shows that this form is past. Other examples in broken or obscure context are kul-i-ya-ma (ML 2:105,106,106), pal-i-ya-ma-θθe+man (ML 3:40).

7.452 The agentive suffixes in the indicative mood. It has already been stressed that the Hurrian verb must be viewed as passival in orientation when, and only when, both agent and goal are expressed (or understood from a previous clause).[81] When this construction occurs, the verb is obliged to append agentive suffixes which are etymologically related to the possessive suffixes of the nominal. These suffixes are placed after the negative suffix and before any associative elements.

7.4521 The agentive suffix paradigm. The agentive suffixes are as follows:

	singular	plural
1st person	-aₓ	-aₓθa
2nd person	-o	--
3rd person	-ya ~ -a	--

7.4522 The first person. The form is always written -a-ú, except when negated, when it is written -uw-wθ. It is to be noted that the i-vowel of the transitive class elides before this suffix whereas it is preserved before the second and third person suffixes (at least in present tense). The form is the same in the present, past, and future tenses, e.g. present tense: ta-a-na-ú (ML 2:92) "I do," ta-a-ta-ú (ML 1:75) "I love," past tense: ta-a-nu-ša-ú (ML 1:58; 4:32) "I did,"

a-ru-u-ša-ú (ML 3:11; 4:34) "I gave," future tense: ka-te-e-ta-ú (ML 3:99) "I will declare."

When negated, the labial of the negative suffix -w(a)- assimilated to the agentive suffix, forming a double labial fricative written -uw-wə (-uff). Note, present tense: ú-ú-ri-uw-wu-un-na-an (ML 4:56) "then I do not want him," past tense: ḫi-su-ú-ḫu-ši-uw-wə (ML 4:33) "I did not vex," ku-zu-u-ši-uw-wə-la-an (ML 4:46) "I did not detain them."

In the light of the regularity and consistency of Mittanni orthography and the fact that good evidence exists elsewhere that -ú- can represent the semivowel [u̯],[82] the writing -a-ú is best interpreted as representing the diphthong [au̯]. Hypothetically it would appear that the agentive suffix was originally -af on the presumed relationship between it and the first person possessive suffix of the nominal -iff, but the spirantization was lost (presumably due to the fact that it was single in final position?). When the negative suffix -w(a)-, which could be either the semivowel or the fricative, assimilates to the agentive suffix, the resulting double fricative remains.

7.4523 The second person. Two occurrences in ML clearly demand a second person, viz. gi-pa-a-nu-u-šu-u-uš-še (ML 3:69), i.e. kepan-oθ-o-θθe "granted-past-by-thee-nom.-part.," and ku-zu-u-šu (ML 4:45), i.e. koz-oθ-o/u "detained-past-by-thee." The first form indicates that the suffix was -o- rather than -u-. From Boghazköi come the phrases bé-e-eš pa-li-u which is clearly fe-θ pal-i-o "thee-by known-trans.-

by-thee," and <u>inu-tta pa-a-li-uš-še-ne-w[ə]</u>, probably <u>pal-i-o-θθe-ne-f[ə]</u> "known-trans.-by-thee-nom.-part.-one-of/for(?).[83]

7.4524 <u>The third person.</u> In the present tense the suffix is -<u>ya</u>, (identical with the reconstructed form of the third person possessive suffix of the nominal), e.g. <u>ta-a-ni-a</u> (ML 3:81) "he does," <u>ta-a-ti-a</u> (ML 1:74) "he loves," The form <u>ka-a-ti-ya</u> (<u>KUB</u> 8 61 rev. 7) establishes the form as -<u>ya</u> and not <u>ˀa</u>. However, in the past and the future the <u>i</u>-vowel transitive class-marker and the -<u>y</u>- of the suffix elide, leaving simply -<u>a</u>, e.g. for the past: <u>pa-aš-šu-u-u-ša</u> (ML 2:108,109) "sent-past-by-him," <u>a-ku-u-ša</u> (ML 1:87) "directed-past-by-him"; for the future: <u>wə-ri-e-e-ta</u> (ML 4:39) "seen-future-by-him," <u>pa-aš-ši-e-e-ta</u> (ML 4:56) "sent-future-by-him," <u>a-ri-e-ta</u> (ML 1:106) "given-future-by-him."

7.4525 <u>The plural of the agentive suffix.</u> On the basis of the single form <u>ú-ú-ra-ú-ša-aš-še-na-a-ma-a-an ti-we-e-e</u>^{MEŠ} (ML 1:80) it is possible to establish a plural form of the first person agentive-<u>au</u>- with the form -<u>auθa</u>- formed by the addition of a pluralizing suffix -<u>θ(a)</u>-. This suffix can immediately be connected with the pluralizing suffix -<u>(a)θ</u>- used on the possessive and relational suffixes of the nominals, (see §6.42). No analogous verbal forms exist for the other persons. However, there are several agentive plural subjects in ML in the third person. Several of them govern jussive verbs and will be dealt with later; one is in completely obscure context, viz. <u>ew-ri-en-na-šu-uš</u> (ML 3:48); and the other governs a form which is problematic for other

reasons: ^{d.m}e-e-ni-iw-wə-šu-uš u[š-]t[a-a-]nu-u[-u]š-ta (ML 2:76). The last form, however uncertain the tense suffix, seems to be the requisite verbal form in the context,[84] and it is singular, not plural. Note that several verbal forms have compound subjects but a singular verb.[85] These facts seem to imply that the agentive verb, like the nominal,[86] did not have to be expressly marked as plural when the plurality of the subject was clear from the context. Note that, in the form ḫur-aχθa-θθe-na--above, the plurality is not expressed in the context, but only by the agentive suffix -aχθa-.

7.46 The relational suffixes of the non-indicative

moods. The non-indicative moods are formed by the addition of combinations of several groups of suffixes to form a variety of mood nuances. It will be our task first to ascertain the basic force of each suffix and second to distinguish the various "moods" expressed by the combinations of these suffixes. But first some general characteristics: of the non-indicative moods need to be set forth.

7.461 The vocalic class-markers, -i- transitive and

-o- intransitive. The same vocalic class markers distinguish transitive and intransitive verbal classes in the non-indicative moods as those which characterize transitive and intransitive verbals in the indicative mood. Thus note the use of -i- with transitives before the negative -wa- and the "voluntative" suffixes -l(l)- and nn- (see §§7.462 and 7.4631), and the use of -o- with intransitives before these same elements. To establish this note the following

table:

The Vocalic Class Markers of the Non-Indicative Moods

A. Transitive verb: vowel -i-

Before -wa-	Before -l(l)-/-nn-
ḫisuḫ-i-wa-en (ML 3:76 etc.)	ḫaθ-i-l-e (ML 4:43)
ḫaθaθ-i-wa- (ML 4:20 etc.)	kat-i-l-ewa (ML 4:18)
kozoθt-i-wa-en (ML 4:40)	urḫuptoθ-i-l-ewa (ML 3:64)
karḫaθt-i-wa-en (ML 4:40)	ḫaθaθ-i-ll- (ML 4:29)
θilaḫoθoθt-i-wa-en (ML 4:41)	a[r-oθ]-i-nn- (KUB 27 42 rev.13)
paθθar-i-wa-en (ML 4:54)	aroθ-i-ll- (KUB 29 8 3:34)

B. Intransitive verb: vowel -o-

Before -wa-	Before -l(l)-/-nn-
ur-o-w-en (ML 3:11,116)	pis-o-nn-en (ML 1:79)
	faḫr-o-nn-en (ML 1:81)
	tupp-o-l- (ML 3:26,100)
	mann-o-l- (ML 2:122)
	ḫill-o-l- (ML 4:24,45)
	ur-o-l- (ML 3:115)

Before the plural jussive suffix -iten the o-vowel of the intransitive class elides, e.g. peteθt-iten (ML 3:28), itt-iten (ML 3:23). Before the singular jussive suffix -en the o-vowel of the intransitive class also elides, but the i-vowel does not, as was demonstrated above in §7.43.

However, there is not the morphological bifurcation in the non-indicative moods between the agentive and non-agentive

construction that there is in the indicative mood. In the indicative mood agentive forms take a different negative than subject-action forms, and they are personal, while subject-action forms are impersonal. However, in the jussive mood both constructions take the same negative and both are impersonal. Compare the following:

(1) uθθ-iff-u+nna+man θo-fe-ne+nna itt-iten (ML 3:23)

(2) uθθ-iff-u+nna+an tiḫan-iten (ML 3:23-24)

(3) θat+tilla+an θine+tilla+man [d.]m en-na-θuθ nakk-iten (ML 4:117)

The verbal construction is identical in intransitive subject-action construction, (1), in transitive subject-action construction, (2), and in agentive construction,(3).

7.462 The expression of the negative in the non-indicative moods. The negative suffix -w(a)- is the only suffix used to negate non-indicative verbal forms and it is actually found only with the jussive suffixes -en- (sing.) and -it . . . en- (plural). Logically there does not seem to be any reason why the conditional and voluntative moods could not also be negated, hence it can be attributed only to the paucity of source material that such negated constructions have not yet been found. All but one of the negated jussives are transitive verbs. In these forms the negative suffix occurs immediately following the i-vowel transitive class marker, and has the form -wa e.g.

(1) t[iθ]-iff-e+nna+an θen-iff-uθ ḫisuḫ-i-wa-en (ML 3:89) "heart-my+it+and brother-my-by vexed-trans.-neg.-

juss.," i.e. "and let not my brother vex my heart."

(2) θen-iff-u(θ)+lla+an paθθith-iff koz(!)-oθt-i-wa-en karḫ-aθt[87]-i-wa-en (ML 4:40), "brother-my-by+they+and envoys-my detained-?-trans.-neg.-juss. hindered(?)-?-trans.-neg.-juss.," i.e. "and let not my brother detain nor hinder my envoys."

If a single form in a context that is not completely clear can be trusted, then the negative of the jussive with intransitives is -w- or -we- and comes after the intransitive class marker -o-, e.g.

inna+mmaman θen-iff-ẉe t[o]rupi ur-o-w(e)-en (ML 3: 110-111), "Lo(?)+in-particular brother-my-of danger(?) arise-intr.-neg.-jussive," i.e. "Lo, let no danger arise for (lit. of) my brother."

When the jussive is plural and has the plural suffix -it(o)-, the negative occurs between the plural suffix and the jussive suffix, and has the form -w- or -we-. Only one form occurs:

. . .] [d.m]en-na-θuθ nakk-ito-w(e)-en (ML 2:52) " . . . . gods-ones-by guided-pl.-juss.-neg.-juss.," i.e. "let not the gods guide . . ."

The phonetic quality of the labial involved is uncertain. In view of the regularity of ML orthography (see §3.63) in which the writing with -w- represents [f] in all cases in which the character of the phoneme can be established with certainty, it can be regarded as representing [f]. However, we shall use the ambiguous symbol -w- (see §3.22) in order

not to pre-judge the case.

7.463 **The non-indicative mood suffixes, their form and meaning.**   As mentioned above, the non-indicative moods are formed by adding combinations of "mood-suffixes" to form a number of nuances of meaning in the sphere of mood. Two groups of suffixes can be discerned, differing by verbal position and by the fact that the members form mutually exclusive sets. In verbal position five are to be found a set of suffixes termed "aspect" suffixes by Speiser in IH §§188-191. As far as can be ascertained, these suffixes have to do with a "voluntative" or "purposive" force, i.e. they express the desire or intent of the speaker. In verbal position six occurs a set of suffixes which relate to mood proper. These will be seen to have the force of various shades of command and contingency. By combining suffixes from positions five and six further nuances are obtained.

7.4631 **The voluntative or purposive suffixes.**   This force is associated, as far as can be ascertained, with the pair -l(l)- and -nn-. These suffixes occupy verbal position five in the non-indicative verbal, coming after the negative suffix -wa-, e.g. ḫaθaθ-i-wa-ll- (ML 4:26). It must be noted at the outset that, when there are no suffixes of tense or negation (verbal positions two and four), it becomes very difficult to tell whether a given occurrence of -i- or -ll- represents this modal suffix or the root-complements -ill- and -oll- [see §7.41 (6)]. This ambiguity will have an important bearing on the question of the interpretation of the

vowels which precede these suffixes (see below).

7.46311 **The form of the suffixes.** For examples of
this morpheme with transitive and intransitive verbs see the
table in §7.46. When the derivational base of the verbal
ended in -l or -r, the i-vowel transitive class marker elided
and the -l- of the suffix assimilated to the -l- or -r- of the
base, producing -ll- and -rr-.[88] This can plainly be seen
from the following example:

anamm-i+tta+man θen-iff-ura urḫupt-oθ-i-l-ewa anamm-
i+tta+man tat-ukar-r-ewa ati+nin manna+t⟨t⟩a+man (ML
3:64-65), "as+I+and brother-my-with faithful[89]-past-
trans.-volunt.-cond. as+I+and love-?-volunt.-cond.
so+indeed(?) be+I+and," i.e. "as I ought to have been
faithful with my brother and as I ought to be on friendly
terms, so indeed I am."

The parallelism between urḫupt-oθ-i-l-ewa and tatukar-r-
ewa allows us to reconstruct the latter as tatukar-(i)-l-
ewa.[90] The o-vowel of the intransitive class marker did not
elide under identical circumstances, e.g. ur-o-l-ewa (ML 3:
115).

In most cases the morpheme has a single -i-. However,
in three occurrences in ML -ll- appears: ḫaθaθ-i-ll-i+lla+an
(ML 4:29), ḫaθaθ-i-ll-ai-n-i+lla+an (ML 4:23), and ḫaθaθ-i-wa-
ll-i+lla+an (ML 4:26);[91] it also appears so at Boghazköi (see
IH §189). What difference, if any, exists between -l- and
-ll- is unknown.

Due the alternation between -i-ll- and -i-nn- in other-

wise identical forms and in parallel passages at Boghazköi
(see Speiser, IH §190), and the existence of the two forms
pis-o-nn-en (ML 1:79) and faḫr-o-nn-en (ML 1:81) in ML, a
related suffix -nn- can be posited (cf. IH §190). What dif-
ference in meaning existed between -ll- and -nn- is unknown.

In IH §189 Speiser interprets these suffixes as being
-i/el-, -i/enn- or -u/ol-, -u/onn- and decides in favor of
the vowels as representing voice[92] rather than verbal class
on the basis of the form ḫaθ-ol-e-θ found at Boghazköi.[93]
He says:

> We expect therefore to see in -ol- an element character-
> istic of intransitives. This is refuted, however, by
> haẓ-ol-eẓ which contains the common and plainly tran-
> sitive root haẓ- "hear"; the form cannot mean "let X
> hear" and has to be interpreted as "let X be heard."
> The contrast between -i/el- and -ol- was thus not one
> of verbal class (position 5) but rather of voice. The
> forms with -ol prove to be medio-passive.

However, we have already seen that it is impossible to in-
terpret the vowels attached to what I have termed the "deri-
vational base" (i.e. root + root-complements + tense suffixes)
as indicating voice (see §7.43).[94] Further, as brought out
in §7.46 above, the i- and o-vowels before the "voluntative"
-l- occupy the same verbal positon (i.e right after the deri-
vational base) and pattern identically with the other class-
markers.

Hence the consistency of the whole pattern of the
structure demands that these vowels be interpreted as class
markers. What then can be done with ḫaθ-ol-eθ? The -ol-
element can only be interpreted as a root-complement. Com-

pare the forms cited in §7.41 (12), and note especially kepan-ol{-ol}-(i)-1-ewa+tta+an (ML 3:63) and ḫisuḫ-ol-(i)-1-e+tta+an (ML 4:10).[95]

7.46312 **The use of the suffix.** The recognition of this as an "optative" or "voluntative" suffix is due to Friedrich, BChG, p. 36f. Speiser agrees in IH §189, terming it "cohortative" in light of his interpretation of the forms in -ili/e as including a first person suffix. This is problematical, see §7.46321 1 (b) below. In all of its occurrences the suffix is very satisfactorily interpreted as carrying a "purposive" or "voluntative" force, indicating strong intention on the part of the speaker. As such it combines with the jussive suffixes -e-, -ae-, and -ai-, producing the strongest possible command, and combines with the suffix of contingency -ewa- to produce an "obligative" mood, (see §7.4732 below).

7.4632 **The "modal" suffixes.** In verbal position six is found the series of suffixes which have a "modal" force proper. Of these, two different forces can thus far be recognized: suffixes of command, or jussive suffixes, and a suffix of contingency or condition.

7.46321 **The "jussive" suffixes.** Three orthographically separate suffixes belong in this category -e-/-en-, -ae-/-aen-, and -ai-/-ain-. What difference of meaning exists between them is not altogether clear.

A. **The suffix -e-/-en-.** This is the most frequently used suffix in ML for the expression of command. Its jussive

force is clear from many contexts, e.g. tat-aθt-it-en (ML
3:28), itt-it-en (ML 3:23), peteθt-it-en (ML 3:28), nakk-
ito-w-en (ML 2:52), peteθt-e+lla+an (ML 2:24), tan-aθt-i-en
(ML 1:82, 3:75,78), nakk-i-en (ML 4:42,51), ar-i-en (ML
2:88, 3:85,96,97), haθ-i-en (ML 1:113, 2:13, 3:40,42,49) etc.

1. The form of the suffix. In the great majority
of instances the particle occurs with transitive verbs in
agentive construction with a third person agent. It also
occurs with intransitive verbs without the -n-, e.g. peteθt-
e+lla+an (ML 2:24). In a significant number of forms in
contexts which require a first person subject, ambiguous
writings occur with signs which could be read -i or -e,
e.g. kul-li (ML 2:12, 3:49, 4:1) i.e. kul-(i)-l-e/i, ha-ši-
i-i-li (ML 4:43) i.e. haθ-i-l-e/i. The combined evidence
is in favor of the e-vowel (see below under 2). The dif-
ference in form then is apparently due to the person in-
volved. It is possible that this final -n- is to be con-
nected with the copulative n associative (see §9.2) or the
pronominal associative -nna (see §9.324). Note that the
-n- doubles before the a-connecting vowel of the connectives
-an- and -man-, e.g. ar-i-enn+an (ML 3:85), haθ-i-enn+an
(ML 3:42) arann-i-enn-a+man (ML 3:41). However, it does
not double before the i-connecting vowel of the pronominal
associatives and -tan, e.g. haθ-i-en-i+lla+an (ML 3:40),
arann-i-en-i+lla+an (ML 3:39), wurt-en-i+tta+an (ML 3:34)
supiyamaθt-i-en-i+tan (ML 3:88), hay-en-i+lla+an (ML 3:30).

2. The problem of the representation of the plural.

The question of the interpretation of the particle it(o) as the plural of the jussive is still problematical. However, Speiser's objections in IH §184, based upon verbal position, are not valid. Since the jussive suffix in agentive construction, -en-, is clearly impersonal (see below), the comparison to the position of the pluralizing particle on the personal agentive suffixes of the indicative mood proves nothing. The element -it- always comes immediately before -en-, e.g. tat-aθt-it-en (ML 3:28), itt-it-en (ML 3:23), nakk-it-en (ML 4:117), etc; except for the single negated example where the negative -w- comes between the two suffixes, viz. nakk-ito-w-en (ML 2:52). The "non-optative" forms cited by Speiser from Boghazköi also prove nothing for the present, for they cannot be interpreted (as Speiser notes).

Now the three occurrences of -iten with agentives are clearly plural, viz. [d.m]en-na-θuθ . . . tat-aθt-iten (ML 1:78), [d.m]en-na-θuθ nakk-iten (ML 4:117), and [d.m]en-na-θuθ nakk-ito-w-en (ML 2:52). Further, every other occurrence of -en- in agentive construction has a singular agent.[96] With intransitives, however, the evidence is not consistent. The forms utt-aθt-iten (ML 3:80), itt-iten (ML 3:23),[97] and tiḫan-iten (ML 3:24) have plural subjects with reasonable certainty, while peteθt-iten (ML 3:28), tiḫan-iten- (ML 3:24), and tar-iten- (ML 3:30) most likely construe with singular subjects. Further, note the intransitives ḫupl-ol-oθt-e+lla-, . .]nak-ol-oθt-e+lla, and peteθt-e+lla- in ML 2:23-24, which contain the jussive suffix -e-, and

construe with plurals (+_lla_), yet do not contain -_it_-.

Thus it is obviously difficult to interpret -_it_- as indicating plurality with intransitives, but it may do so with transitives (the distribution may be accidental since only three transitive jussive plurals exist in ML).

The comparison of -_it(o)_- with the Urartean suffix -_itu_- which marks the 3rd p. pl. of the transitive verb (see the remarks of Speiser, _IH_ p. 148, n. 231) gains greater weight from the full comparative study of Diakonoff, "A Comparative Study of the Hurrian and Urartean Languages," _PSVX_, pp. 401ff. However, note that -_itu_- is a suffix of the indicative mood in Urartean.

Finally, it can be noted that -_it(o)_- _could_ be interpreted as a root-complement in the light of the present evidence and the ambiguity of its interpretation. It comes right after the verbal root in six of its occurrences and after the root-complement -_ət_- in three others. Note also the forms _i-i-uk-ku-un-na-ma-an_ (ML 3:94) versus _i-i-duk-[ku-]un-na-ma-an_ (ML 3:84), and _ul-lu-ḫu-ug-gu-ú-un_ (ML 2:104) versus _u-u-[ul-]lu-ḫi-duk-ku-u-un_ (ML 3:84) cited by Speiser.

3. _The use of the suffix._ That these various forms of the suffix express a jussive or command force admits of no doubt. Beyond this there remains, for the present, considerable ambiguity. Is the person of the subject expressed in these suffixes as, for instance, it is clearly expressed in the agentive suffixes of the indicative mood (see §7.452)? Speiser decides in the affirmative (IH §§193 and 196), basing

his view on several contexts where a first person seems re-
quired by the context but is not otherwise indicated. But
this has its problems.

Let us begin with the third person. Here we have
numerous examples in agentive construction, where the agent
is clearly third person. The goal may be both third person
and first person, e.g.[98]

(a) Affirmative verb, 3rd person goal:

(1) oya+man θen-i^f-uθθ+an ^mMane+nn+man paθθ-i-en

(ML 4:57), "no+and brother-my-by Mane-cop.+? sent-
trans.-juss." i.e. "on the contrary, let Mane be sent by
my brother."

(b) Affirmative verb, 1st person goal:

(2) θen-iff-u(θ)+tta+an supiyam-aθt-i-en (ML 3:71-72),
"brother-my-by+me+and enriched(?)-?-trans.-jussive,"
i.e. "And let my brother enrich me."

(c) Negative verb, 3rd person goal:

(3) tiθ-iff-e+nn+an θen-iff-uθ ḥisuḥ-i-wa-en (ML 3:89),
"heart-my+cop.+an brother-my-by vexed-trans.-neg.-juss.,"
i.e. "and let not my brother grieve my heart."

(d) Negative verb, 1st person goal:

(4) anammi+tilla+an ^dTeθθop-aθ ^dθauθka-θ ^dAmanu-(θ)+
tilla+an ^dθimikene-(θ)+tilla+ann ^dEaθarrine-(θ)+tilla+
an . . . ^d.men-na-θuθ tiθ-iyaθ-a+n tiθθan tiθθan tat-
aθt-iten, (ML 1:76-78) "thus+us+and Teθθob-by θauθka-by
Aman-by+us+and θimikene-by+us+and Eaθarrine-by+us+and
. . . god-ones-by heart(s)-their-in+cop. very very

loved-?-pl-jussive," i.e. "thus let the gods, let Teššub, Sanška, Amon, Šimike, and Eašarri love us in their hearts very very much."

Now the jussive suffix -en-, plural -iten-, cannot be regarded as being or containing an agentive suffix "by him, her, it" or "by them," since the identical suffix occurs with known intransitive verbs for which an agentive is impossible, e.g.

(5) niḫari+n θen-iff-ye-ne ay-iy-e peteθt-iten (ML 3:27-28), "dowry+cop. brother-my-of-one presence-his-of satisfactory-pl.-jussive," i.e. "let the dowry be satisfactory to[99] my brother."

(6) inna+mmaman θen-iff-ye torupi uro-w-en (ML 3:115-117), "lo+in-particular brother-my-of danger(?) arise-intr.-neg.-jussive," i.e. "lo, let no danger arise for[100] my brother."

Further, although the jussive suffix with 3rd person agent is most frequently -en- it can be simply -e-. For this compare the forms (7) . . .]nak-ol-oθt-e+lla+an, ḫupl-ol-oθt-e+lla+an, and peteθt-e+lla+an all in ML 2:23-24. Although the context is broken, the passage forms the concluding sentence to a paragraph which deals with gifts and other objects sent by the Pharaoh to Tušratta.[101] Another excellent example comes from Boghazköi:[102]

(8) inu+me uθḫu-ne θeḫala ḫiθma taki-ma kiraθi-ma anammi aθḫoθ-ikk-onni . . .[103] DINGER^MEŠ-na-θa tarθuyanna-θa api-ta tak-o-l-ae-θ θeḫal-o-l-e-θ kaθl-o-l-ae-θ

<u>kiraθ-o-l-ae-θ</u> (<u>KUB</u> 29 8 4:27ff.), "As+? silver-one pure massive(?) stable(?) durable(?) so sacrificer . . .[103] god(s)-ones-for mankind-ones-for front-to stable(?)-vol.-juss.[104]-emph.[105] pure-vol.-juss.+emph. ?-vol.-juss.-emph. durable-vol.-juss.-emph." i.e. "as the silver is pure, massive(?),[106] stable(?),[106] durable(?),[107] so let the sacrificer[108] . . . in front of[109] the gods and mankind be stable(?), pure, ?,[110] (and) durable."

Now these examples are both occurrences in which the jussive suffix is non-final. Has the -<u>n</u>- elided before or assimilated to the following associative? Apparently not, for -<u>en</u>- can appear in non-final position, e.g.

(9) <u>supiyam-aθt-i-en-i+tan</u> <u>θen-iff-uθ</u> (ML 3:88), "enriched-?-trans.-juss.-conn.-vowel+from(?) brother-my-by" i.e. "let (me) be enriched more(?) by my brother."

(10) <u>ar-ann-i-en-i+lla+an</u> <u>θen-iff-uθ</u> . . . <u>haθ-i-en-i+ lla+an</u> (ML 3:39-40) "given-?-trans.-juss.-conn.-vowel+ they+and brother-my-by . . . heard-trans.-juss.-conn.- vowel+they+and," i.e. "let them be caused(?) to be given by my brother . . . and let them be heard."

(11) <u>ar-ann-i-enn-a+man</u> <u>θen-iff-uθ</u> <u>haθ-i-enn+an</u> (ML 3:41- 42).

As these examples show (and others could be cited), when the jussive suffix is in non-final position but in clear agentive construction in the 3rd person, the suffix is still written -<u>en</u>-. The last example shows that when the final

associative is -an- or -man-, the connecting vowel is -a- and secondary doubling of the -nn- occurs.[111] However, when the final suffix is one of the pronominal associatives or -tan-, the connecting vowel is -i- and no doubling occurs.

It would appear, then, that the form -en- is required with transitive verbs in agentive construction in the third person [examples (1), (2), (3),(4),(9),(10), and (11)]. However it can be used with intransitive verbs [examples (5) and (6)], but is not required [examples (7) and (8)].

The same distribution can be observed in the use of a suffixed -n- with the jussive suffixes -ae- and -ai- to be discussed below.[112] In each case where a transitive verb occurs in agentive construction in the third person, a suffixed -n- is used on the form, e.g. θen-iff-uθθ+an pal-(i)-l-ae-n (ML 4:45,59,108), haθ-aθ-ill-ai-n-i+lla+an θen-iff-uθ (ML 4:23). Where the verb is intransitive, the -n- may or may not occur (see note 111 for an example).

In the light of these facts, what interpretation can we give to this suffixed -n-? As noted above, it cannot be agentive for it occurs with intransitives. It is required with transitives in the third person in agentive construction but is optional with intransitives. It may be used with -ae- and -ai- with the same distribution. All of these facts can be explained if we view the -n- as the copulative or predicative associative identified by Speiser. Its obligatory use with transitives in agentive construction but optional use with intransitives is simply explained by the nature of

intransitives. Since they express a state, condition or activity of the subject ("to be satisfactory" etc.) no expression of the copula is necessary, but it can be used (perhaps for emphasis?). However, with transitives, which express an action performed by the subject upon the goal, the expression of the copula with the jussive is necessary (something like our "let be"?).

This leaves the -e-, present in all these forms, as the suffix which expresses the jussive.[113] It is significant to note that this leaves no agentive suffix expressed on the verb in jussive forms in the third person, where alone we have a sufficient number of forms in clear context to be reasonably certain. This is in marked contrast to the indicative where such a suffix is necessary.

Turning to the forms which involve a subject other than third person, the evidence is not so clear, mostly because of its paucity. There is only one form in ML which has been viewed as an "imperative" i.e. command with a second person subject, but it is in broken context, and there are only seven forms in ML which can be plausibly interpreted from the context as being first person, and unfortunately, several of these are in broken or obscure context.[114] The pertinent passages bear citing here:

(a) Possible 2nd person:

(12) . . .]-an θala-f-a+n aθt-iff-unna ar-e/i[115] (ML 1:51).

(b) Possible 1st person:

(13) θen-iff-ta+man tiwe θukko kul-(i)-l-e/i[116] (ML
2:12, 3:49, 4:1-2).

(14) tiwa+lla+an kuru-fe/a θen-iff-ꭓe+man kelti
niriθe ḫaθ-il-e/i[117] pisant-iθt-enn+an tiθθan θen-iff-
ꭓe-ne-fa kelti-fa (ML 4:42-44).

(15) ya+l(l)a+an ta[n-i]-n [o]l-na KURomin-na
θual[l]a-man θen-iff-u[. . .]an θukkan-ne-fa+n tiwi-
fa+n eti-i-tan θen-iff[. . .t]a+man tat-ukar-(i)-l-e
ati-nin manna+tta+man (ML 2:82-85).

(16) awenna+nin kuro θu-ta ya+mmaman ḫill-o-l-ewa
θen-iff-ꭓe-ne eti-iy-e KURomin-i-fe-ne eti-iy-e ḫaθ-
aθ-i-wa-ll-i+lla+an (ML 4:24-26).

(17) ye+ma+nin mKeliya-θ[118] mMane-(θ)+lla+an kul-et-a
θen-if⟨f⟩-ue-ne eti-iy-e KURomin-i-fe-ne eti-iy-e
urḫa+lla+an palta+l(l)a+an ḫaθ-aθ-i-ll-i+lla+an (ML
4:27-29).

First it can be noted that, unfortunately, there is
not one occurrence in ML of a jussive verbal where the first
person agentive is independently expressed in the form iθa-θ
"by me,"[119] as there are for the third person. Such a form
would clearly help to settle the problem of the existence of
personal agentive suffixes on jussive verbals. Now the im-
personal form of the 3rd person jussives strongly suggests
that such should be the case with the 2nd and 1st person forms
also. Note that all the examples except the two forms in ex-
amples (16) and (17) can be interpreted as evidencing the final
-e- jussive suffix isolated for the third person above. In

this light example (12) could very plausibly be translated "daughter-thy+cop. wife-my+cop.+stative given-juss.," i.e. "let thy daughter be given as my wife." The person involved is obvious from the context. The forms in example (13) are also preferably treated in this manner: "brother-my-to+conn. word further spoken-vol.-juss.," i.e. "Let a further word be spoken to my brother" or, preferably, "Speak a further word to my brother."[120] Example (14) is a problem passage which yet defies satisfactory interpretation (cf. the discussion of Speiser _IH_ §214, p. 183). The final -_li_ could be read as -_le_- with the -_e_- the jussive suffix. However, this makes the interpretation even more difficult. Ignoring the problems of the interpretation of the first two words, the second phrase makes sense if the final -_e_- be interpreted as an agentive: "brother-my-of+and good-health excellent heard-vol.-by-me" i.e. "And may the excellent good health of my brother be heard by me." Under this interpretation the "jussive" force could only be introduced by the "voluntative" suffix -_l_-. The final phrase then must exhibit the jussive suffix -_en(n)_- with a first person subject understood from the context. However, the whole passage is obscure and little can be based upon it.

Example (15), also interpreted by Speiser as a 1st person form, is in too broken a context to give any indication either way except to definitely establish the vowel as -_e_- and not -_i_-, due to the supplementary final -_e_- (_ri-e_).

Examples (16) and (17) introduce a further complication,

for here the vowel is clearly -i- and the forms are parallel to clear 3rd person agentives in the parallel passages in which the subject is the Pharaoh (referred to as Өen-iff- "my brother"). Thus ḫaӨaӨ-i-wa-ll-i+lla+an is parallel to Өen-iff-u(Ө)+lla+an tiwe ane-na+mmaman ḫaӨaӨ-i-wa-en (ML 4:19-20), "brother-my-by+they+and words these+in-particular heeded-trans.-neg.-juss.," i.e. "Let my brother not heed these words." In example (17) ḫaӨaӨ-ill-i+lla+an is parallel to ḫaӨaӨ-ill-ai-n-i+lla+an Өen-iff-uӨ (ML 4:23), heeded-voluntative-juss.-cop.+they+and brother-my-by," i.e. "Let not my brother heed them." Now the i-vowel can be regarded as the first person suffix, but this is not absolutely necessary. In "jussive" and "voluntative" forms we have seen that the connecting vowel before the pronominal associatives is -i- [see the discussion above following example (11)]. The i-vowel in examples (5) and (6) can just as plausibly be interpreted as this connecting vowel. The forms then can simply be translated "they will not be heeded" and "they will be heeded" respectively.[121] This seems the preferable interpretation. Note that the whole subject (tiwe Өurwe, "evil reports") is understood from the context in example (16).

Finally, an overlooked example of a first person jussive with an e-vowel that cannot be agentive occurs in the following passage:

(18) ay+ma+nin Өen-iff-uӨ anam tan-oӨ-i-wa-a+lla+nni ḫisuḫ-ol-(i)-l[122]-e+tta+an tiӨӨan (ML 4:9-11), "if+?+ indeed(?) brother-my-by thus done-past-trans.-neg.-

by-him+they+? vexed-?-voluntative-jussive+I+then," i.e.
"If my brother has not done them thus then I will be
very grieved."[123]

Here it is quite impossible for the -e- to be agentive.
This example would seem decisive in interpreting the forms
in obscure and broken passages in examples (14) and (15)
above. This same conclusion is reached by an examination
of the form θeḫal-o-1-e-θ in example (8) above. Here -o-1-e-
occurs with a third person subject, parallel to forms in -o-
1-ae-.

As a result of these considerations we shall conclude,
tentatively, that the jussive forms of the verb are impersonal,
the subject being stated elsewhere in the sentence. Under
this interpretation, the jussive force is produced by the -e-
vowel in all these forms.

B. The suffix -ae-/-aen. In several pertinent forms
a very definite jussive force seems to inhere in the suffix
-ae-.[124] From ML can be cited the three forms of pal- "know":

(19) θen-iff-uθθ+an pal-(i)-1+ae+n (ML 4:56, 59, 108).

In each context a jussive force is clear. The suffix
also occurs quite frequently at Boghazköi. Note how it alter-
nates with the form in -e- in the passage cited in example (8)
above. Examples such as this make it very difficult to as-
sess what difference, if any, existed between -ae- and -e-.
In IH §193 Speiser treats it as a variant of the jussive
suffix -e-, which may well be the case.

C. The suffix -ai-/-ain. This suffix also occurs in

a pertinent number of forms in ML and at Boghazköi. It is treated by Speiser in IH §193 as an orthographic variant of -ae-. This may yet prove to be the case. However, the occurrences in ML seem to suggest a more polite, less blunt jussive force than that of -e- and -ae- or a force of result or possibility, consequent upon a jussive. For the former note the parallel forms with pal- "know" in ML 4:64-65:

(20) d·men-iff-a+lla+an pal-(i)-l-ai+n d·men-i-lla+an θen-iff-ye-na pal-(i)-l-ai+θa+lla+man "God(s)-my+they+and know(trans.)-voluntative-jussive+cop. god(s)-his+they+ and brother-my-of-ones know(trans.)-voluntative-jussive+ emphasis(?)+they+conn.," i.e. "May my gods know and may the gods of my brother know."

For the interpretation of the form haθaθ-ill-ai+ni+lla+ an θen-iff-uθ in ML 4:23 (see above) as another example of this "polite" jussive see §7.4723 below.

For the result or purpose force contingent upon a jussive note the forms with itt- "go" in ML 4:51-53:

(21) θen-iff-u(θ)+lla+an paθθitḫ-iff θuram-aθt-i-en nakk-i-en itt-ai+θa+lla+an mMane+nn+an θen-iff-uθ θuka paθθ-i-en itt-ai-nna+an paθθitḫ-iff-ura, "Let my brother hasten(?) and dismiss my envoys so that they may go; and let my brother send Mane also(?) so that he may go with my envoys."

7.46322 The suffix of contingency -ewa-. In the same verbal position as the jussive suffixes, i.e. immediately after the voluntative suffixes, occurs the suffix -ewa- whose

function is to introduce an element of contingency.

A. <u>The form of the suffix</u>. The suffix has the form -<u>ewa</u>- in all cases, but the second vowel is ambiguous when word final due to the use of the indeterminate sign -<u>wə</u>, e.g. <u>ka-ti-li-e-wə</u> (ML 4:18). The final -<u>a</u> is assured by several full spellings, e.g. <u>u-u-lu-u-ḫé-e-wa-a-ti-la-an</u> (ML 2:11) and <u>ú-ru-u-muš-te-e-wa-a-tan</u> (ML 2:9).

B. <u>The use of the suffix</u>. The suffix is impersonal, and is used with both singular and plural subjects. Its contingent force was recognized by Speiser in <u>JAOS</u> 59(1939): 315ff. independently by Goetze in <u>Lang</u> 16(1940): 129, n. 15 and spelled out more fully by Speiser in <u>IH</u> §192. Its use will be illustrated below in the discussion of the "moods" of Hurrian.

7.47 <u>The non-indicative moods of Hurrian</u>. The suffixes described above are used independently and in combinations of suffixes from positions five and six (one from each position only, the suffixes forming a verbal position being mutually exclusive) to form different nuances of meaning that we shall term the "moods" of Hurrian. Since there is still much ambiguity and uncertainty about the interpretation of the individual suffixes, there must be even more so in assessing their combinations; hence only the most preliminary of statements can be made.[125]

7.471 <u>The "voluntative" mood</u>. A distinct possibility exists that the forms in -<u>l</u>-/-<u>ll</u>- can be used independently to form a mood expressing the intent or purpose in the mind of

the speaker. Compare the discussion of the forms ḫaθaθ-i-wa-ll-i+lla+an (ML 4:26) and ḫaθaθ-i-ll-i+lla+an in examples (16) and (17) above and note 120. The possible 1st person forms discussed in examples (12) to (15) above would be examples of this same construction if the final -i/e̱-vowel should turn out to be a first person suffix instead of the jussive suffix -e̱- as interpreted here.

Whether the parallel "voluntative" suffix -nn- could also function independently cannot at present be decided.

7.472 The "jussive" moods. Moods in the semantic area of the "jussive" can be formed by the independent use of the suffixes and by their combination with the "voluntative" suffixes.

7.4721 The simple jussive mood. The use of the jussive suffix -e̱- without any accompanying voluntative suffix [-l(l)- or -nn-] produces simple command. For the 3rd person note examples (1) to (6) above; for the 2nd person(?) note example (12). No examples have been noted with the 1st person.

7.4722 The "heightened" jussive mood. The combination of the voluntative suffix -l(l)- and the jussives -e̱- and -ae- produce the strongest possible form of command. Note examples (8),(13),(18),(19), and possibly (14) and (15) above.

Note also -nn-en in the forms faḫr (ML 1:81) and nis-o-nn-en (ML 1:79). How this differs from the above is uncertain.

7.4723 The "polite" jussive mood. This mood is formed by the use of the voluntative -l(l)- with the suffix of possibility -ai-. Note the example cited under (20) above. The form ḫaθaθ-i-ll-ai-n- in ML 4:23 can be plausibly so interpreted also. When Tušratta discusses the "evil reports" which may have reached the Phar⌐ ⌐.'s ears (lines 17-20) he concludes with a negated simple jussive ḫaθaθ-i-wa-en (line 20) "let not (my brother) heed (these words)." When, however, he turns to the positive side, stating "whatever Mane and Keliya will declare" he uses the polite jussive (-ll-ai-) "may they be heeded."[126]

Without the voluntative -l(l)- a similar force seems to be found in the clause waθ-ai-nn-an θen-iff (ML 3:33). However, the context is too uncertain to be sure.

When the -ai- form follows immediately upon a simple jussive, and is not augmented by the -l(l)- voluntative suffix, it seems to express a force of possibility (or perhaps result). See example (21). It is not improbable that these two nuances of thought should inhere in the same particle.

7.473 The contingent moods. This mood is formed by the suffix -ewa- and by the combination of this suffix with the voluntative suffix -l-. On the pattern suggested above, one might expect to see simple contingency in -ewa- and a force of "duty" or "obligation," i.e. "should"[127] in -l-ewa. There are a number of contexts where the force of "should" fits forms in -l-ewa- admirably. However, there are also several contexts where identical forms seem to express simple con-

tingency rather than obligation.

7.4731 <u>Simple contingency</u>.   As Speiser notes, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., these forms occur in passages introduced by the particle <u>ay</u>- "if, is it that-," e.g.

<u>ay+n urt-o-1-ewa ki-θe+man GUŠKIN θen-if[f-uθ] makann-</u> <u>iff-umna kepan-et-a antu-ṇa+tta+an teon-ae tiθθan</u> <u>tiθθan pis-oθt-ewa tiθ-iff-a+n mana θuene</u> (ML 2:53-56), "if+and . . .[128] ?+conn. gold brother-my-by gift-my-as granted-fut.-by-him this-for+I+and much very very rejoice-?-cond. heart-my-in+cop. altogether," i.e. "If . . .[128] and my brother will present gold as my gift, then I would rejoice over this in my heart wholly."

The forms with the voluntative suffix -<u>1</u>- which cannot be obligatory from the context, but must express contingency, can be interpreted as expressing a high degree of probability. Thus note:

<u>θen-iff-enn+an ḫill-o-1-ewa eta+lla+an paθθitḫ-iff</u> <u>kaz-oθ-o</u> (ML 4:45), "brother-my+cop.+conn. say-intr.-vol.-cond. person(s) they+conn. envoys-my detained-past-by-you," i.e. "my brother might say 'you have detained my envoys.'"

Here the form <u>ḫill-o-1-ewa</u> rather than just <u>ḫill-ewa</u> suggests a high degree of probability in the condition. The condition is formal only; Tušratta feels that this is exactly what the Pharaoh is saying. This same interpretation nicely fits <u>ur-o-1-ewa</u> in ML 3:115 and the forms <u>kat-i-1-ewa</u> and <u>ḫill-o-1-ewa</u> in the context dealing with evil reports (<u>tiwe</u>

θurwe) in ML 4:17-29.

7.4732 <u>The mood of obligation or duty.</u> The combination of the voluntative -l(l)- and the conditional -ewa- produces several clear examples of an obligatory mood, e.g.

(1) <u>anammi+tta+man θen-iff-ya kepan-ol[ol]-(i)-l-ewa+</u>
<u>tta+an ati+nin mann-a+tta+man anammi+tta+man θen-iff-</u>
<u>ura urhupt-oθ-i-l-ewa anammi+tta+man tat-ukar-(i)-l-</u>
<u>ewa ati+nin mann-a+tta+man</u> (ML 3:62-65), "as+I+and brother-my-for bestow-?-vol.-cond.+I+conn. so+indeed(?) be+I+conn. as+I+conn. brother-my-with faithful[129] -past-vol.-cond. as+I_conn. love-?-vol.-cond. so+indeed(?) be+I+conn.," i.e. "As I should bestow (gifts) upon my brother so indeed I do,[130] and as I should have been faithful with my brother and as I should be on friendly terms, so indeed I am."

(2) <u>inu+me+nin ^dθimike tarθuganni-θ fur-im-ai+n tat-</u>
<u>i-ya anammi+tilla+an iθtan-iffaθ-a tat-ukar-i-l-ewa</u>
(ML 4:121-123), "as+?+indeed(?) Sun mankind-by seen-?-adverb(?)+cop. loved-trans.-by-him so+we+and mutuality-our-in love-?-vol.-cond.," i.e. "as mankind manifestly(?)[131] loves the sun, so we mutally should love one another."

Note also <u>tupp-o-l-ewa</u> (ML 3:100).

7.48 <u>The question of voice in Hurrian.</u> The only conclusion that can be reached from an examination of all the evidence is that the Hurrian verb is neutral as regards voice. It is neither active nor passive but can express relations

with the logical subject or logical object that have to be rendered by active or passive forms in other languages, yet there is no observable change in the Hurrian verbal structure. Thus, consider the agentive construction. Since the logical subject takes an agentive suffix and the logical object is in the zero-suffix form, the verb in this construction can be regarded as passival in orientation. But, apart from the addition of personal agentive suffixes (which are not found on non-indicative forms), the verb is morphologically identical with the subject-action form with no goal expressed, in which case it is active in orientation. Thus, compare the agentive and the subject-action forms of the verb paθθ- "to send" and kat- "to report, declare" in the following examples:

(1) Agentive construction, indicative mood:

[ᵐMa]ne+nn+an θ[e]n-i[ff-u]θ paθθ-oθ-a (ML 2:107-108), "Mane+cop.+and brother-my-by sent-past-by-him," i.e. "And my brother sent Mane."

(2) Agentive construction, jussive mood:

θen-iff-uθ(θ)+an ᵐMane+nn+man paθθ-i-en (ML 4:57), "brother-my-by+and Mane+cop.+conn. sent-trans.-jussive," i.e. "Let my brother send Mane."

(3) Subject-action construction, goal unexpressed:

paθθ-i+nn+an θen-iff θu-ta (ML 3:112-113), "send-trans.+cop.+so brother-my me-to," i.e. "So that my brother sends to me."

(4) Subject-action construction, agent unexpressed:

tiwa+lla+an θurwe θen-iff-ta kat-i-kki (ML 4:16-17),

"word(s)+they+and evil brother-my-to reported-trans.-neg." i.e. "evil reports are not being reported to my brother."

In examples (1) and (2), when the verb is used in agentive construction, both indicative and jussive, the verb must be viewed, from our understanding, as passival. However, in (3), when no goal is expressed, the verb must be active in orientation. Note particularly in (2) and (3) that the underlying verbal base is identical in form. The form in the indicative mood in agentive construction but present tense [example (1) is in the past tense] would also be identical in structure. Such a form does not exist for the verb paθθ- in ML in clear context,[132] but numerous examples of other verbs can be cited, e.g. tat-i-ya (ML 1:74) "loved-trans.-by-him," kat-i-ya- (ML44:12) "reported-trans.-by-him," etc.

Comparison of examples (3) and (4) shows the same contrast in voice in subject-action construction. When the logical object is not expressed, as in example (3), the verb must be viewed as active, and the grammatical subject (in this case the actor) is in the zero-suffix form. However, when the logical subject is not expressed, as in example (4), the verb must be viewed as passive. The grammatical subject (in this case the goal) is still in the zero-suffix form. It is interesting to note the difference in construction that must take place in example (3) when the logical object is expressed, that is, if it is desired to express "my brother

sends a word to me" rather than "my brother sends to me."
Under these circumstances the logical subject "θen-iff" in
example (3)] must then take on the agentive suffix, becoming
grammatically the agent; the logical object is in the zero-
suffix form, being grammatically the goal, and the verb must
be viewed, from our understanding, as passive, i.e. the sen-
tence becomes [preserving the abnormal word order of example
(3)]:[133]

> paθθ-i-ya+nn+an   tiwe   θen-iff-uθ   θu-ta, "sent-trans.-
> by-him+cop.+so   word   brother-my-by   me-to," i.e. "So
> that word is sent to me by my brother."[134]

In conclusion, it must be noted that, in a given sub-
ject-action construction, whether the grammatical subject is
the logical subject (i.e. the one who performs the action, the
actor) or whether it is the logical object (i.e. the one upon
whom the action is performed, the goal) is not indicated mor-
phologically in Hurrian.[135] It is indicated solely by the
requirements of context. This follows naturally and without
strain if the nature of the Hurrian verb is neutral with res-
pect to voice. The verbal form in Hurrian does not inherently
express whether the goal of the action is the same as or other
than the subject expressed. Thus it is not really correct,
from the point of view of Hurrian verbal concepts, to say that
the verb is active or passive in orientation, this only de-
scribes the manner in which it must be viewed according to
our linguistic concepts.

VIII. THE PARTICLES: THEIR FORM AND FUNCTION

8.1   As defined in §5.23, the term "particle" refers to
that class of Hurrian words whose functions combine those
of conjunction, interjection and adverb, and which cannot
append any of the nominal or verbal suffixes, but can only
append one or more associatives.[1]

8.2   <u>The particle root.</u>   As noted in §6.2 there do
not seem to be inherent "particle," "nominal" or "verbal"
roots in Hurrian. A given root can function as any one
depending on its suffixes and its position in the sentence.[2]
This can be surmised from the few examples we have of roots
that do function as both particles and nominals,[3] or par-
ticles and verbals.[4] However, it must be admitted that most
particle roots have not yet appeared in any other function.
It may turn out that only a limited number could partake of
such a double function.[5]

8.3   <u>The particle classes.</u>   From what is thus far
known about them, the primary force of the particle was that
of conjunction or interjection. However, it is not yet pos-
sible to separate them into classes along such lines for
the simple reason that the exact function of so many of
them remains uncertain. The force of the conjunction or
interjection in a language is often such that exact trans-
lation is difficult if not impossible.[6] In the present

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state of Hurrian interpretation, in which many of the grosser facts of the language await definitive treatment, it is not to be expected that the delicate nuances of meaning of such particles can be even approached. Consequently, we shall list them in the same manner as Speiser has done in IH, according to their final vowel, and alphabetically in those groups.[7]

8.4 <u>Particles exhibiting -u/-o stems</u>. Inasmuch as the character of the final vowel is uncertain in several instances, -<u>u</u> and -<u>o</u> stems are here listed together.

(1) <u>inu-</u> conjunction, "as." Cf. IH §127 for examples. In combination with the particle <u>anamm-</u> it forms comparison clauses: <u>inu</u> . . . <u>anamm</u> . . . "<u>as</u> this <u>in like manner</u> that," e.g. <u>inu+tta+nin</u> . . . <u>inu+me+nin</u> . . . <u>anammi+tilla+an</u> . . . (ML 1:74-78) which reads "<u>As</u> my brother now loves me and <u>as</u> I now love my brother, <u>in like manner</u> let Teššub, Sauška, Amon, Šimiǧe, and Eašarrine, let these gods love us in their hearts very very much." Compare also <u>inu+me+nin</u> . . . <u>anammi+tilla+an</u> . . . (ML 4:121-123) which reads "<u>As</u> mankind manifestly(?) loves the sun, <u>in like manner</u> we mutually should be on friendly terms."

In combination with the phrase <u>ati+nin manna+</u>pronominal-associative+<u>man</u> . . . it forms statements of result, e.g. <u>inu+lle+nin</u> . . . <u>ati+nin manna+lla+man</u> (ML 3:101-102) which reads "<u>As</u> they should speak <u>so</u> indeed they do."[8]

(2) <u>kuru/o</u>. Since the form is always simply written <u>gu-ru</u>, the final vowel is indeterminate. The particle means

"again, on the other hand." In each instance in which the context is clear it is used when a new or opposite subject is introduced. Thus in ML 3:15 Tušratta leaves the discussion of the wife whom he has sent and whom the Pharaoh will see and introduces the subject of her dowry with kuro. In ML 3:55 he turns from "what things my grandfather did for your father" (which he has made tenfold) to "what things my father did for you," by the use of kuro. In ML 3:115 he leaves the discussion of the emergency which might arise in the Pharaoh's land and introduces a similar discussion of a possible emergency in his own land by using kuro, and finally in ML 4:24 he turns from the evil reports which might have reached the Pharaoh's ears concerning himself or his land to the discussion of evil reports that he might hear concerning the Pharaoh or his land by the use of kuro. The force, then, is that of an interjection "on the other hand, again," not an adverbial "again" indicating repetition of the verbal action. In 3:39 it seems to have the force of a "second" tablet or "another" tablet.

(3) panu-. This occurs only in the phrase panu+lle+nin iθḫ-ewa (ML 4:16). The force is unknown, but note the parallelism with inu+lle+nin ḫill-o-l-ewa (ML 3:101-102).

(4) θukko-. The particle means "furthermore, moreover, in addition," based upon a root θukk- meaning "far, distant, future," see Speiser, IH p. 91. θukko+mmaman in ML 3:111, bears the meaning "nevertheless."

(5) unto-. The force of an interjection meaning "now

then" fits the uses of this particle far better than the "when" of Goetze (see Speiser IH, p. 89f.).

(6) unu-. This particle occurs only in broken context in ML 2:66 as unu+me+nin . . . followed up by anammi+tilla+an. For this reason Speiser in IH, p. 89, treats it as a variant form of inu-.[9]

8.5 Particles exhibiting -i/e stems. Again due to orthographic ambiguity both will be listed here.

(1) alaθe-. The meaning "whether" nicely fits the only occurrences of this particle in the ML passage:

θo-fe+man tuppe niḫar-ne-fe ar-oθ-aᵤ-θθe-ne-fe arann-enn-a+man θen-iff-uθ ḫaθ-enn+an alaθe+me+nin niḫari tea alaθe+me+nin niri alaθe+me+min θen-iff-uzzi (ML 3:40-43), "Let my brother procure[10] my tablet, the one of the dowry which I gave, and let (him) hear whether the dowry is large, whether (it is) excellent, whether (it is) suitable for my brother."

Cf. the remarks of Speiser in IH, p. 93.

(2) ati-. The particle means "thus, so (result)." It occurs only with the associative -nin-. Its most frequent use is in conjunction with the verb mann- "to be," forming a phrase of asseveration,[11] e.g. ati+nin manna+tilla+man (ML 4:119), "so indeed we are," ati+nin manna+tta+man (ML 3:63,65), "so indeed I am," and ati+nin manna+lla+man (ML 1:109), "so indeed they (will) be."[12]

From this meaning it can be surmised that, when it occurs independently, it introduces a result clause, e.g.

<u>ati+nin taθe+n itt-oθt-a</u> (ML 1:90) "So the gift has gone."
In ML 2:13 it introduces the opening sentence of a para-
graph, where it is followed by <u>inna+ma+nin</u>. Since in the
previous paragraph Tušratta speaks of hearing of the departure
of Keliya and Mane (ML 2:6-7), it fits quite well to begin the
next section "So Mane, my brother's envoy, is coming."

(3) <u>awe-</u>. This root is provisionally listed here al-
though it may belong with the nominals. It is listed as a
particle since it occurs thus far only with associatives ex-
cept for the form <u>aweθθe-</u> which seems to form a different
word [see (4) below].[13] Note particularly the contrastive
alternation in ML 4:17 and 4:24: <u>awe+nne+nin</u> and <u>awe+nna+nin</u>.
That -<u>nne</u>- and -<u>nna</u>- are not examples of the anaphoric nomi-
nal suffixes -<u>ne</u> and -<u>na</u> is seen by the fact that there is no
difference in number in the two contexts. Provisionally I
would connect -<u>nne</u>-/-<u>nna</u>- with the -<u>nni</u> associative dis-
cussed in §9.10. Note also <u>awe+nna+man</u> in obscure context
in ML 2:78, and the forms <u>a-we-en</u> and <u>a-wi-in</u> in Ug. Syll.
5:5 and 5:6.

In IH §115 Speiser suggests that the form is a pro-
noun meaning "anyone." This general force is now confirmed
by the Ug. Quad. Voc.[14] where <u>awi</u> equals Ug. <u>dû</u> "which, that,
of" in 137 2:29.[15] Now it is significant that the relative
particle <u>ya</u>-/<u>ye</u>- occurs in ML with impersonal antecedents
only. Thus I would see in <u>awe</u>- the Hurrian relative particle
with personal antecedents, "who, whoever."[16]

(4) <u>aweθθe-</u>. This appears to be an expansion of the

above particle by the addition of the "abstract" suffix -θθe. It is here listed as a particle because it only appends associatives, e.g. aweθθe+nin (ML 3:3) and aweθθi+lla+man (ML 2:92).

In IH §115 Speiser suggests "when, where?" on the basis of its use in personal names. This is now strongly supported by the Urartean form aiše "somewhere."[17] This makes reasonable sense in ML 2:92:

> ya+la+an tan-aₓ ol-na aweθθi+lla+man "what+they+and done-by-me other-ones where+they+?," i.e. "The other things which I do, where are they?"

(5) ḫenne-. The particle means "now, at this time," used both in present tense (ML 1:74) and past tense (ML 4:11). For its use at Nuzu, see C. H. Gordon, DNT, §4.17 (113). That it is a particle rather than a nominal adverb (as it is taken by Speiser, IH, p. 93, n. 77) is perhaps indicated by the form ḫé-en-ni-e[-im]-ma-a-ni-i-in (ML 4:101), unfortunately in broken context.

(6) ollui- (or olluy-?) "besides, moreover, on the other hand (?)." The meaning "on the other hand" would seem to fit ML 3:44 where Tušratta introduces a negative condition: "If ollui the[18] tablets of the dowrys of my sister-relations[19] are not sufficient(?)."[20] I would connect the root with -oll- "change(?), alter(?)." "Besides, moreover" fits the other occurrence in ML 3:75.

(7) pati-. The meaning of the particle is uncertain. It occurs in ML 4:33,67,68 and 72. Speiser suggests "up to,

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as much as" in <u>IH</u> §128, on the basis of the passage in ML 4:33. In the other three passages it occurs in the phrase <u>zukan pati</u>. If <u>zukan</u> equals "small" [see below §8.7 (6)], then this phrase very plausibly could mean "even a little, as much as a little" but the contexts are all too obscure to tell whether this meaning fits.

(8) <u>yaturanni-</u>. This particle possibly means "formerly, in former times." This meaning is a suggestion based solely on the contexts in which the word occurs. In 1:65 it seems to contrast with <u>henni-</u> "now at this time," and it fits the occurrences in ML 2:15, 3:68 and 3:69 quite well, particularly the latter two.

(9) In <u>IH</u> §128, Speiser cites the form <u>e-ta-la-an</u> in ML 4:45 as an example of the "prepositional" root <u>eti-</u> used as a particle meaning "why." This must now be abandoned in the light of the recognition of the nominal force of <u>eti-</u> as "person, body." <u>eta+lla+an</u>　<u>paθθith-iff</u>　<u>kuz-oθ-o</u> probably means "you have physically detained my envoys."

8.6　<u>Particles exhibiting -a stems</u>.

(1) <u>inna-</u>. The meaning of this particle is yet uncertain. In IH §129 Speiser decided on an interjection "behold," rather than a conjunction, since the particle is not restricted to any particular type of sentence. But is a conjunction necessarily restricted to any particular type of sentence? Several contexts rather clearly suggest a temporal conjunction "when." Thus <u>inna+ma+nin</u> . . . in ML 2:6 could be rendered: "when I heard (that) Keliya and Mane

had gone, I . . ."[21] The two occurrences in ML 2:14 and 16 are in somewhat broken context, but the general sense is clear and the force "when" makes sense: "So (see above under ati-) Mane, my brothers envoy, is coming. When (inna+ ma+nin) the dowry was . . .,[22] and when[23] my gift, which was formerly bestowed by my brother, was . . . by Mane, I assembled all my land . . ." So also "when" fits ML 3:11-13 well: "Now then, I have given my brother's wife and she has gone on her way to my brother. When she will have arrived, then my brother will see the manner in which she has been given." Again ML 3:21-23 "Now then, when my brother's wife will have come, and when she will have been made known to my brother, then let my uθi,[24] the one for me, go on its way." Finally "when" also fits ML 3:29: "When it (the dowry) will be satisfactory in my brother's presence, then let the distant heavens . . ."[25]

The use of inna- plus the restrictive particle -mmaman (see §9.7) in the sense of "at any time" fits the context of ML 3:110 and 116: "Let no emergency of my brother arise at any time."

(2) oya-. A particle of negative or adversative force, "no" or "on the contrary," in ML 4:46,57. See IH, p. 94 and Friedrich, BChG, p. 28 and n. 3.

(3) θuka-. Perhaps "along, with" or "also, too." It occurs in broken and unintelligible context in ML 2:70, and in the very clear passage in ML 4:52 and 53. In the latter passage either of the above meanings fits the context.

8.7 Particles exhibiting consonant stems.

(1) anamm-. This particle is an adverb or conjunction meaning "thus, in this manner, in the manner that." The particle means "thus" in the sense of manner rather than result which is expressed by ati-. Note particularly ML 2:56: "In this manner, then, I have spoken then to my brother (and) he knows," and ML 3:51 "In this manner I promised, saying . . ." For its use after inu- "as" in comparisons see §3.4 (1) above. It is used before the asseverative phrase ati+nin manna+ . . . [see §8.5 (2) above] as a conjunction, e.g. ML 3:62-65: "In the manner that I should bestow (gifts) upon my brother, so indeed I do; and in the manner that I should have been faithful with my brother and in the manner that I should be on friendly terms (with him), so indeed I am."

When the particle begins a sentence, and consequently appends associatives, it has the form anamm- with an i-connecting vowel before the pronominal associatives. However, when used adverbially further on in the sentence, it is written simply a-nam, e.g. ML 4:10,13.

(2) au-. This particle is used as an interjection in Boghazköi Hurrian, see Speiser, IH, p. 90.

(3) ay-. Although the particle may have been ayi-, the evidence is predominantly in favor of an unaugmented ay-diphthong. It clearly means "if." As Speiser notes, the root is probably related to the nominal ay- used prepositionally with the force of "presence." The semantic relation is

not clear. Note ay + cop. -n in ML 2:53,86,90; 3:44,93;
4:65,66,67. Unfortunately, almost all of these are in ob-
scure context, but note ML 3:44. In the previous paragraph
Tušratta has brought up the dowry tablets of his sister, his
father's sister and the tablet of his own dowry given with
his daughter, and urges the Pharaoh to procure them and "hear
whether the dowry is large, whether it is excellent, whether
it is suitable for my brother." The opening sentence of the
next paragraph then says: "If, moreover, their tablets, of
their dowries, specifically the ones of my sister-relations,[26]
are not large,[27] then my brother . . . ."[28]

With the associatives -ma+nin it occurs in ML 3:111,
4:9,54,59. Three of these clearly require the meaning "if."
Note especially 4:53-56: "Let not my brother send another
envoy, but let Mane be sent. If my brother does not[29]
send Mane, but will send another, then I do not want him."

a-i-la-an occurs in ML 2:58,75; 4:20,26,128. Only
4:20 and 26 are in clear context and "if" is required, note
ML 4:17-21: "Should any evil reports whatever be communicated
to my brother concerning me or my land, let not my brother
heed these words if they are not spoken by Mane and by Keliya."
In view of the consistent spelling with a single -l- it is
not clear whether this is the pronominal associative -lla-
"they," see the discussion in §9.325.

(4) nekan, meaning unknown. The particle occurs only
in ML 1:112, 4:107.

(5) tiθθan, "very much." The meaning of this particle

has been known since early in Hurrian studies, see the references in IH, p. 94.

(6) zukan. The meaning of this particle is uncertain. Tentatively it can be connected with zuke in Ug. S-H Voc. 2:19, which translates Sumerian [TUR].RA (Akkadian ṣa-aḫ-ri) "small, little."[30] In form it is exactly analogous to tiθθan "very much," and hence could mean "very little." Unfortunately all its occurrences (ML 2:11; 3:16; 4:67,68,72) are obscure. For its use with pati- see §8.5 (7) above. Compare also zu-ku-u-u-un (ML 4:69).

8.8 The relative particle ye-/ya-. This particle introduces relative clauses, functioning both as a relative adjective and as a relative pronoun, with an impersonal antecedent. It always stands first in the sentence when functioning as a relative. In two instances it functions adverbially (see below) in which case it does not stand first.

Functionally we can distinguish a relative adjective function and a relative pronoun function. When the particle functions as a relative pronoun it acts independently as the goal or subject of the clause; whereas when it functions as a relative adjective it introduces a clause which contains its own goal or subject. Note the following illustrations.[31]

A. Relative adjective function:

1. Singular:

(1) ye+ma+nin tiwe [m]Mane-θ θen-iff-ta kat-ill-et-a+m[ma]man (ML 2:101-102), "What+?+indeed(?) word Mane-by brother-my-to declare-future-by-him+in-partic-

ular," i.e. "What word Mane will specifically declare
to my brother."

Compare also ML 2:79.

2. Plural:

(2) ya+lle+nin ^mArtatama-θ ammat-iff-uθθ attay-f-
fa eti-i-ta tiwe-na^{MES} tan-oθ-a-θθe-na (ML 3:52-53),
"What+they+indeed(?) Artatama-by grandfather-my-by
father-thy-for person-his-to things-ones done-past-
by-him-nom.-part.-ones," i.e. "what things Artatama, my
grandfather, did for your father's sake."

(3) unto+man ya+lle+nin tiwe-na^{MES} θuallaman
θen-iff-uθ kat-oθ-a-θθe-na ụur-i-ya-θθe-na anti+lla+
an emanam-ḫ-a tan-oθ-aụ (ML 4:30-32), "Now-then+conn.
what+they+indeed(?) word(s)-ones all-of-them brother-
my-by declared-past-by-him-nom.-part-ones desired-trans.-
by-him-nom.-part.-ones this+they+and tenfold-qual.-adj.-
stative done-past-by-me," i.e. "Now then, all the words
which my brother has declared (and) desires, these I have
performed tenfold."

Compare also ML 1:96-98, 98-100, 104-105; 2:19-22;
3:55-56, 57-59.

B. Relative pronoun function:

1. Singular:

(4) ya+an ụur-i-kki mana θuene Ḫurroḫe ^{KUR}omini
ya+an ụur-i-kki mana θuene ^{KUR}Maθriyanni ^{KUR}omini
(ML 3:5-6), "What+and desire-trans.-neg. at-all[32]
Hurrian land what+and desire-trans.-neg. at-all

Egyptian land," i.e. "What the Hurrian land does not at all desire, and what the Egyptian land does not at all desire."

(5) ye+me+nin θen-iff-uθ kepan-et-a-mmaman (ML 2:62-63), "What+?+indeed(?) brother-my-by grant-future-by-him+in-particular," i.e. "What my brother specifically will grant."

Compare also ML 3:91-92.

2. Plural:

(6) ye+ma+nin ᵐKeliya-θ ᵐMane-θθ+an kul-et-a θen-if⟨f⟩-ye-ne eti-iy-e ᴷᵁᴿomin-i-fe-ne eti-iy-e urḫ-a+lla+an palt-a+lla+an ḫaθaθ-i-ll-i+lla+an (ML 4: 27-29), "What+?+indeed(?) Keliya-by Mane-by+and spoken-future-by-him brother-my-of-one person-his-of land-his-of-one person-its-of true-intr.+they+and authentic-intr.+they+conn. heeded-trans.-vol.-conn.+they+and," i.e. "What Keliya and Mane will declare concerning my brother (or) his land, they are true and authentic, and they will be heeded!"

(7) ya+la+an ḫur-i-kki ᴷᵁᴿomin-[na] anni θine-[. . .]na-n(?) ḫur-i-kki θat+ti[la- . . .] (ML 2:73-74), "What+they+and desire-trans.-neg. land-[ones] those two-[. . .] what+we+and desire-trans.-neg. together+w[e . . .]," i.e. "What those two . . . lands do not desire and what we together do not desire . . ."

Compare also ML 2:82-83, 92.

In the above examples two things need to be noted.

First, the particle ya-/ye- does not need to take a nominalized verb to form a relative clause. This is seen by a comparison of examples (2) and (3) with (1) and (6). Both (2) and (3) are plural, and it can be noted that every other example of the relative adjective used with a plural goal uses a nominalized verb. However, example (1) shows that the relative adjective use does not require a nominalized verb. What conditions the occurrence of the nominalized verb in the relative clause and what difference in meaning exists, if any, between the construction with the nominalized verb and that without is not clear. It may simply be stylistic. Secondly, the pronominal associative -lla- is not necessary when the antecedent is plural, as can be seen from example (6). This is indubitably another example of the fact that Hurrian feels no absolute need for the expression of the plural when the plurality is clear from the context. See the remarks concerning the expression of plurality in the nominal (§6.4532 and note 112 thereto), and in the agentive suffixes on the indicative verb (§7.4525). Example (6) also makes it very difficult to treat the associative -ma-/-me- as the third person singular pronominal associative (see §9.324).

Finally, with the restrictive associative -mmaman, ya- occurs adverbially with the force "whatever" in ML 4:18,24.

IX. THE ASSOCIATIVES: THEIR FORM AND FUNCTION

9.1 __General considerations__: As noted in §5.3, the associative is a suffix which can be appended to either nominals, verbals, or particles--being the only appendage possible with the particle--but which does not perform functions on the word level. It functions, rather, on the sentence level. The functions performed include those of predication, sentence connection, pronominal subject and goal, and others.

9.2 __The associative predicative and copulative particle__ -n-.   This ubiquitous particle has been interpreted mainly in two ways, either as the mark of the subject or zero-suffix form of the nominal,[1] or as the indicator of the verbal copula. The former has mainly been espoused by Goetze in "The n-form of the Hurrian Noun," __JAOS__ 60(1940): 217-223 and in "Enclitic Pronouns in Hurrian," __JCS__ 2(1948): 255-269; the latter by Speiser in a thorough study in __IH__, §§203-209.

The details of the two views need not be presented here. Suffice it to say that the evidence seems preponderantly in favor of Speiser's interpretation. As Goetze has shown, the particle does not always stand on the subject or goal of the sentence, but only when it stands first in its clause. This formal difference between the suffix -n and the other case suffixes, which never leave the noun they govern, presents

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the gravest of difficulties to Goetze's view. However, it harmonizes nicely with Speiser's view. In normal word order Hurrian introduces the subject in the intransitive sentence and the goal in the transitive sentence[2] as early as possible in the sentence. The verb in the intransitive sentence and the agent plus the verb in the transitive sentence normally follow. Thus a position coincident with that of the subject or goal or as close as possible, is just what would be exaected for the predicative particle which links the subject or goal to the predicate. Note also our interpretation of the -n- which appears on the jussive forms of the verb in §7.46321 A. 3.

However, a definitive demonstration is not yet possible due to the many morphemes whose functions are not yet well understood. In many sentences we cannot even be sure of the presence or absence of the n-suffix.

9.3 _The pronominal associatives._ These associatives, termed "subjective" by Speiser in IH §213, function in a very similar manner to the zero-suffix form of the noun, i.e. they are used as the subject of intransitive verbs and of transitive subject-action constructions, and as the goal of transitive verbs.

9.31 _The pronominal associative paradigm._ The pronominal associatives are summarized in the paradigm on the following page.

9.32 _The form of the suffixes._ Only the 1st person singular and plural and the third person singular and plural

The Pronominal Associative Paradigm

	Sing.	Plural
1st person	-tta-	-til(l)a-
2nd person	- - -[3]	- - - - -
3rd person	-nna-	-l(l)a-

are reasonably certain.

9.321 **The form of the first person singular -tta-.**
This is the only one of the suffixes which is invariable in form, always appearing as -tta-.

9.322 **The form of the first person plural -til(l)a-.**
This suffix is one of the several suffixes which show a correlation between the doubling of the consonant and the plēnē writing of the a-vowel in the connective -an.[4] Thus one finds either -til-la-a-an or ti-la-an. No conditioning factor nor difference can be noted. For example, consider the passage in ML 1:76-78. Here -til(l)a- "us" forms the goal of the transitive plural jussive verb tat-aϑt-iten "let be loved." It is repeated emphatically five times in the sentence before the verb. On the introductory particle anamm- "in like manner" it is written -til-la-a-an; however, on three of the five divine names which form the compound agent of the sentence it appears as -ti-la-an; whereas on the resumptive manϑo(ϑ)- "by these" it appears again as -til-la-a-an. This alternation in -tilla is exactly parallel to that found in -l(l)a- "they, them" to be discussed below, which fact is of the utmost importance for the interpretation

of the phenomenon.

9.323 _The 2nd person._ In the article "Enclitic Pronouns in Hurrian," _JCS_ 2(1948): 255-269, Goetze sugests that the missing second person suffix is to be found in the form -_mma-_. This is very unlikely. Note first that -_mma-_ never occurs in ML without a following -_ma-an_, whereas the other pronominal associatives rarely append this particle. Second, many of his translations seem rather forced, and several do not seem to follow acknowledged principles of Hurrian grammar.[5] It is simply not possible to take the -_mma_ on _kepan-et-a+mmaman_ in ML 2:63 as an appositive subject of the sentence, "thou, my brother," for, in order for it to form an appositive agent to _θen-iff-uθ_, "by my brother," it would also have to be agentive, and then would have the form _we-e-eš_, i.e. _fe-θ_ "thee-by." Note that not one of Goetze's examples shows the -_mma_ functioning either as the subject of an intransitive verbal or the goal of a transitive verbal as the other pronominal associatives do almost exclusively. Consequently, this suffix must still be regarded as part of the "restrictive" suffix -_mmaman_ as it was regarded by Speiser, (see §9.7 below).

9.324 _The third person singular._ In _III_ §217 Speiser takes the suffix -_me-_/-_ma-_ as the third person singular pronominal associative. As Goetze has noted ["Enclitic Pronouns," _JCS_ 2(1948): 257-259] this has been based upon the supposed parallelism between _inu+tta+nin_ and _inu+me+nin_ in ML 1:74 and 1:75. As Goetze shows, the parallel is between the -_tta-_

"me" in the first sentence and the θen-iff "my brother" in the second sentence. Thus -me-/-ma- must be viewed as a particle of indefiniteness as it was taken by Messerschmidt.[6] Another indication in this same direction is the fact that -me-/-ma- never appears on the verb,[7] nor does it ever appear added to nominals as the other pronominal associatives do e.g. ^{d}Amanu-(θ)+tila+an (ML 1:76), ḫiyaroḫḫa+tta+an (ML 3:73), tiwa+lla+an (ML 4:16), etc. In fact it almost always appears attached to particles, e.g. inu+me+nin, unu+me+nin, ay+ma+nin; inna+me+nin, inna+ma+nin, ye+ma+nin, ye+me+nin, ya+me+nin, etc. Note also the very frequent presence of -nin. Hence it seems almost certain that it must be an associative which adds some force to the particles involved.[8]

In "Enclitic Pronouns," JCS 2(1948): 259-261, Goetze suggests that this 3rd person pronoun is to be found in the -n which appears on certain verbal forms. He suggests further that this becomes -nna when another suffix follows. Note also that Speiser earlier in IH §208 had suggested that the copulative particle -n(n)- had an original pronominal origin.[9] This interpretation is favored by the Urartean 3rd person singular verbal object suffix -na, cf. Diakonoff, PSVK, p. 601 and table p. 602. Some examples clearly and strongly argue for a pronominal force, e.g.

(1) pal-i-kki+n (Ug. A-H Bil.: 18), "knows-trans.-neg.+ he," i.e. "he does not know."

(2) ye+ma+nin tiwe ^{m}Mane-θ θen-iff-ta kat-ill-et-a+ "m]maman faḫr-o-n[n]a urḫi+man (ML 2:101-103), "what+

?+indeed(?) word Mane-by brother-my-to declared-?-fut.- by-him+in-particular good-intr.+it true+and," i.e. "what word Mane will declare to my brother it is good and true."

(3) θen-iff-u(θ)+lla+an paθθitḫ-iff θuram-aθt-i-en nakk-i-en itt-ai-θa+lla+an ᵐMane+nn+an θen-iff-uθ θuka paθθ-i-en itt-ai+nna+an paθθitḫ-iff-ura θuka (ML 4: 51-53), "brother-my-by+them+and envoy(s)-my hasten(?)-?-trans.-jussive dismiss-trans.-jussive go-jussive-emph.+they+so-that Mane+cop.+and brother-my-by also(?) send-trans.-jussive go-juss.+he+so-that envoy(s)-my-with also(?)," i.e. "Let my brother hasten (and) dismiss my envoys so that they may go. And let my brother send Mane also so that he may go with my envoys also."

(4) ay+ma+nin Mane+n θen-iff-uθ paθθ-i-ya-ma oli+man paθθ-et-a ɥur-i-uff-u+nna+an (ML 4: 54-57), "if+?+indeed(?) Mane+cop. brother-my-by sent-trans.-by-him-? another+conn. sent-fut.-by-him desire-trans.-neg.-by-me+him+then," i.e. "If my brother does not send Mane, but sends another, then I do not want him."

Example three is particularly instructive in view of the parallism between the form itt-ai-θa+lla+an and itt-ai+nna+an. However, this could very well be the n-copula suffix which frequently goes on jussive forms, and which doubles before the suffixes -àn and -màn, see §7.46321 A. 1. This is clearly the case with those jussive forms that append -an or -man after the -n [contrary to the view of Goetze, JCS 2(1948):

260].

It is possible, however, that there is no 3rd person singular pronominal associative and that these elements must bear some other interpretation. This may be indicated by the fact that the frequency of occurrence of -lla, -tta and -tilla in initial position in the sentence is much greater than that of -nna.[10]

Suffice it to say that no definitive conclusion will be possible until many more contexts become clear lexicographically and grammatically.

9.325 The form of the 3rd person plural -l(l)a-. This suffix appears as both -l-la-a-an and -la-an, exactly analogous to the forms of -til(l)a- noted above. In "Enclitic Pronouns," JCS 2(1948): 261-263 Goetze interprets the forms in -lan as the plural form of his "accusative" suffix -n-, formed by the addition of the plural suffix -š- which shifts to -l- in this position. If we are correct in interpreting the singular suffix -n- differently, then this interpretation must also be incorrect. However, there are problems with Goetze's interpretation quite apart from any relation to the singular form. The most serious blow is given by the parallelism of these forms with those of the 1st person plural suffix -til(l)a-, noted above. In Goetze's view the suffix forms the mark of the "accusative" (in our view the form is the "goal" of transitive verbs) which belongs to a noun that may either immediately precede or follow later in the sentence. Now in the sentences with -tilla-,

this associative itself forms the goal (or "accusative") and hence there is no noun to which the variation in the final -l- can be ascribed. Compare the exactly parallel forms in ya+la+an ŋur-i-kki ^{KUR}omin-na anni θine[. . .]na-an ya+tila+an ŋur-i-kki θat+ti[la] . . . in ML 2:73-74. Here ya+la exactly parallels ya+tila and both anticipate the subjects, omin-na in the first and θat+tila in the second. Secondly, note that there is not the bifurcation in usage claimed by Goetze. He says: "the observation is fundamental that the pronoun -lla is found only when the sentence contains no nominal object, the element -la(n) on the other hand always belongs to a noun that may either immediately precede or follow later in the sentence." This is contradicted by the following examples:

(4) θen-iff-ŋa+lla+an[11] kepan-oθ-aŋ-θθe-na kepan-oθ-ay+lla+man fur-et-a+lla+an θen-iff-uθ un-a+la+an θen-iff-ŋa (ML 3:17-19), "the things which I have presented for my brother I have presented, and my brother will see them, for they are coming for my brother."

(5) [^mKe]liya+an [paθ]θith-iff ^m[Man]e+nn+an paθθithi-f [n]akk-oθ-aŋ un-a+lla+an θen-iff-ta (ML 1:114-115), "I have released Keliya, my envoy, and Mane, thy envoy, and they are coming to my brother."

(6) θen-iff-ŋa+an ay-i-ta tiwe θurwe tea kat-i-kk-onni mann-o-kka+lla+an anti un-o-kka+la+an talamene-fa ay-i-ta (ML 4:1-3), "many evil reports are not being declared in my brother's presence, these do not

come into the presence of the chief."

Examples (4) and (5) show the verb -un- "come" in parallel passages. Note that example (4) uses -la- while example (5) uses -lla- as the subject of un-. Example (6) exhibits the same fact. The verb mann- "to be" functions here in its role as an asseverative--reinforcing the statement.[12] Note that its subject has the form -lla- whereas the syntactically parallel un-o-kk has the form -la- as its subject. Other examples could be cited. These examples show that -lla- and -la- are free variants.

Finally, Goetze questions the interpretation of -lla- and -la- as associative pronouns by questioning the theory of pronominal anticipation advanced by Friedrich.[13] But this has several factors in its favor. First note that -tta- "I, me" and -tilla- "we, us" invariably stand on the first word of the clause (or the second if the first is a particle which has two associatives already), even though it is repeated later in the sentence. Second note that normal Hurrian word order gives great prominence to the subject of the intransitive sentence or the subject-action sentence and to the goal of the agentive sentence by placing them first in the sentence order after the introductory particles, if any (cf. IH §244). Thus, when the subject or goal is placed later in the sentence, it is natural to expect an anticipatory pronoun in the first part of the sentence. A good number of the occurrences of -lla- in ML can be attributed to this fact, particularly those in the ya- relative clauses which most

often place the goal further on in the sentence close to the nominalized verb. Finally those sentences which place both associative -lla- and goal together, either with the associative appended to the goal or the associative appended to the introductory particle with the goal following immediately, may be emphatic or, more likely, this may be an alternative method of expressing the plurality of the goal. This may explain why the plural -lla- appears far more regularly than the singular -nna-. It can be noted that in the majority of these cases the goal does not carry the plural suffix -na (except for examples with ya- plus the nominalized verb, in which case -na is regular, but here the force of the -lla- has been seen to be anticipatory).

As a result of these considerations we must reject the views of Goetze and treat -lla- and -la- as free variants of the 3rd person plural pronominal associative.

9.33 _The uses of the pronominal associatives_.
These suffixes function in exactly the same manner as the zero-suffix form of the nominal, i.e. as the subject of the intransitive verb and of the transitive subject-action construction. These uses have been discussed in considerable detail in III §214-218; they will be only briefly reviewed here.

9.331 _Their function as subject_. For the function of these associatives as the subject of intransitive verbs note the forms un-a+lla- and un-o-kka+lla in examples (4), (5) and (6) above. For the third person singular note the

jussive forms of -itt- "go" cited in example (3) above and
the indicative form of faḫr- "to be good" in example (2).
For the first person singular and plural note the following:

(7) antu-x̱a+tta+a[n] teonae tiⵟⵟan tiⵟⵟan pisoⵟt-
ewa (ML 2:54-55), "over this I would rejoice very very
much."

(8) mann-o-kka+tila+an awatt-oḫḫ-a (ML 3:117), "we are
not in a state of . . ."

9.332 _Their function as goal._ These associatives
have appeared as the goal of transitives on numerous oc-
casions in citations of passages from ML in this study and
hence will not be further illustrated here. Such use is
common. However, in one case they function as an indirect
goal and this has not hitherto been stressed. Note the
following passage:

(9) ḫiyaroḫḫa+tta+an teona ⵟen-iff-uⵟ kepan-u-en
(ML 3:73-74), "gold+me+and much brother-my-by granted-
?-jussive," i.e. "Let my brother grant me much gold."

In _IḤ_ §214, p. 182, Speiser cites this as an example
of -tta- used as the goal of the sentence. But if the goal
be defined as that sentence element directly affected by the
verbal action performed by the agent, then the goal of this
sentence is ḫiyaroḫḫa "gold." This is what is sent. The
associative -tta- "me" must here represent the indirect
goal.

9.4 _The connectives -àn/-an and -màn._ These have also
been discussed at considerable length by Speiser in _IḤ_ §210-

212a, and by Friedrich in BChG, pp. 14-21.

9.41 The connective -àn/-an. The form of the suffix is subject to the alternation -a-an versus -an. No factor can be observed which occasions the one or the other, nor is there any difference in usage observable as there is for the variant forms of -man discussed in §9.42 below. For the concomitant double writing of the preceding consonant see §3.113 above. Following Speiser we indicate the plēnē form by -àn.

As Friedrich and Speiser note, this is the main connective in ML. It can be used to connect words, e.g. ^mKeliya-θ ^mMane-θθ+an (ML 4:27), "by Keliya and by Mane"; verbal forms, e.g. peteθt-en+an niḫari θir-enn+an (ML 3:34), "let the dowry be satisfactory and let it be fitting"; and whole sentences, e.g. note the -àn in example (3) and §7.324 above which joins the two sentences "Let my brother hasten (and) dismiss my envoys so that they may go. And let my brother send Mane also so that he may also go with my envoys."

Friedrich also noted that this connective could be used to introduce subordinate result clauses. For this use note again example (3) referred to above; specifically itt-ai+nna+an "so that he may go," etc. This force is frequent and does not seem limited to the cases of contiguous verbal forms noted by Speiser in IH §250. Thus in the long passage dealing with tiwe θurwe, "evil reports," in ML 4:17-29, note how the apodosis in each case is introduced by -àn: "Should any evil reports whatever by declared to my brother concerning me or my land, then let my brother [θen-iff-u(θ)+lla+an] not

heed these words."

9.42 **The connective -mān.** This refers to the particle written -ma-a-an rather than -ma-an, following the convention of Speiser in IH. These two writings have been interpreted by Speiser and Goetze as composite; formed of ma+an or ma+n, cf. IH §212. This seems all the more probable now that the interpretation of -me-/-ma- as the 3rd person singular pronominal associative is no longer valid (see §9.324). However, that -ma- by itself, in ML at least, is "and" [so Goetze RHA 5 fasc. 35(1939): 106, n. 17, and Speiser, IH, §212] is very unlikely, as we shall show.

It is of primary importance to note that the spellings -ma-a-an and -ma-an represent two different associatives whose function is markedly different. The associative written -ma-a-an is the connective, probably composed of ma+an as per Speiser. The form -ma-an functions differently, however, and can only represent the word-final form of -ma-/-me- to be discussed below. This has not hitherto been observed so it will be established here in full.

First it must be observed that every clear occurrence of the use of -man as a sentence connective exhibits the plēnē spelling -ma-a-an. Note the following examples:

(1) arann-en-i+la+an θen-iff-uθ tuppe-yaθ θine-yaθ-e-na+mmaman ḫaθ-en-i+lla+an θo-fe+mān tuppe niḫar-ne-fe ar-oθ-aу-θθe-ne-fe arann-enn-a+man[14] θen-iff-uθ (ML 3:39-41), "Let my brother procure their two tablets and let (hi) hear them. And my tablet, the one of the dowry

which I gave, let my brother procure (it)."

(2) ᵐImmuriya-θθ+an zalamθi tan-oθ-a ḫiyaroḫḫ-a

nakk-a-θθ-a ᵐTuθratta-fa+mán kepan-oθ-a tat-ar-aθk-ae,

(ML 3:106-107), "Immuriya has made a golden cast statue

and he has bestowed it upon Tušratta with affection."

(3) unto+mán ya+lle+nin tiwe-naᴹᴱˢ θuallaman θen-

iff-oθ kat-oθ-a-θθe-na u̯ur-i-ya-θθe-na anti+lla+an

emanam-ḫ-a tan-oθ-au̯ tiθa+mán θen-iff-u̯e θukkanne+n

pati tiwe-ne+n ḫisuḫ-oθ-i-uff (ML 4:30-33), "Now then,

all the things which my brother has declared as his

desire, these I have performed tenfold and I have not

vexed my brother's heart by as much as a single distant

(?) word."

(4) unto+man θen-iff-u̯e+n aθti ar-oθ-au̯ itt-oθt-

a+mán θen-iff-ta inna+ma+nin un!-ett-a θen-iff-uθθ+

an fur-et-a ar-om-aθθ-oḫ-i-ḫa un-a+an θen-iff-u̯a

θira+an θen-iff-u̯e-ne-nna tiθa-nna niḫari+mán kuro

θen-iff-uθ fur-et-a ar-oθ-i-mpu-θḫa, (ML 3:11-16),

"Now then, I have given my brother's wife and she has

gone on her way to my brother. When she will have

arrived, then my brother will see the manner in which

she has been given, for she is coming for my brother

conformable to the state of my brother's heart. And

my brother will also see in what manner the dowry has

been given."

Note that each example of unto-mán introducing a new

paragraph [examples (3) and (4) and ML 2:57,107; 3:21,35]

has the plēnē spelling. In example (4) -ma-a-an occurs in conjunction with kuro "again, on the other hand" which always introduces another subject [see §8.4 (2)]. Note also ḫenni+mằn kuro (ML 4:11). The adversative oya- "but, on the contrary" [§8.6 (2)] appends -ma-a-an in each of its two occurrences. Other examples in clear context of -ma-a-an as a sentence connective or word connective are: unto+mằn . . . itt-oθt-a+mằn (ML 3:2), uθi-iff-u+nna+mằn (ML 3:23), θen-iff-ura+mằn (ML 4:111, starts new paragraph), pal-i+mằn (ML 2:106), antu-ye+mằn (ML 2:100), urḫi+mằn (ML 2:103), ɥur-aɥθa-θθe-na+mằn (ML 1:180), θen-iff-ta+mằn (ML 4:17), and ɥaturanni+mằn (ML 1:65, 2:15).

Now the spelling -ma-an functions very differently. This is most strikingly seen in those fairly frequent occurrences in which it appears on the second word of a sentence or on the verb of a sentence whose first word carries the connective -an. For the form on a verb note example (1) above and note 14 thereto. Note also the following:

(1) fur-et-a+an; θen-iff-uθθ-a+man θen-iff-ye-ne-fe aθti-i-fe niḫari ar-oθ-aɥ-θθe (ML 4:47-48), "so that my brother will see the dowry of my brother's wife which I have given."

(2) θen-iff-uθθ+an ᵐ\Mane-nn-a+mằn paθθ-i-en (ML 4:57) "Let my brother send Mane."

(3) ᵈ·ᵐen-i+lla+an θen-iff-ye-na pal-(i)-l-ai+θa-lla+man (ML 4:65), "May my brother's gods know."

Other examples of the same phenomenon are: iθa-(θ)+lla+

an θukkanne+lla+man (ML 3:54), anti+lla+an θukkanne+lla+man (ML 3:56), fur-et-a+lla+an unto θen-iff-u(θ)+lla+man (ML 3:61), [θ]a[t]+tilla+an θine+tilla+man (ML 4:117), iθa-(θ)+ lla+an aps-oθ-au+lla+man (ML 4:62-63), pal-i-ya+lla+an eti+ tan-i+lla+man (ML 3:47), θen-iff-ua+lla+an . . . kepan-oθ-au+ lla+man (ML 3:17-18), and irinn-iffaθ(θ)+an ur-o-kko+nna+man (ML 3:123-124).

In only one context does the associative -ma-an appear to be a sentence connective. This is in the passage anammi+ tta+man . . . ati+nin manna+tta+man anammi+tta+man . . . anammi+tta+man . . . ati+nin manna+t⟨t⟩a+man in ML 3:62-65, which reads "As I should bestow (gifts) upon my brother, so indeed I do; as I should have been faithful with my brother (and) as I should be on friendly terms, so indeed I am." However, this is deceptive. The sentences are "connected" by the alternation of the comparative particles anamm- . . . ati-. Note that there are several of these particles which either function independently or append -nin, -ma+nin, or -me+nin and introduce new sentences without either of the connectives -màn or -an, e.g. inu-, ay- inna-, and ya-/ye-. Thus the -ma-an in the phrase anammi+pronominal-associative+ man must be an example of the word-final form of the particle -ma-/-me-. In this connection the form inna+lla+man in ML 4:129 is exactly parallel; unfortunately the context is broken.

In these cases it cannot function as a sentence connective for this function is patently performed by the -an.

With this use must also be connected the frequent ati+nin manna+pronominal-associative+man which functions with an asseverative force [see §8.5 (2)] in some seven places in ML. And finally this same particle appears in the words θualla+man and θuanna+man.

In all of these occurrences the suffix can only be interpreted as the word-final form of the associative -me-/ -ma- to be discussed below.

From these examples the connective function can only be associated with the particle -ma-a-an. This can now very plausibly be taken as the associative -ma- + connective -an-. How this differs in use from simple -an- is not clear.

9.5 The associative -ma-/-me- ∿ -man. For the interpretation of this particle as the 3rd person singular pronominal associative and the evidence against it see §9.324 above. When word final, the particle appears as -man written -ma-an, for which see §9.42 immediately preceding.

It always comes after the pronominal associatives, e.g. anammi+tta+man (ML 3:62,64,64), anammi+tilla+man (ML 2:67, 4:122), inna+lla+man (ML 4:129); but before the associative -nin, e.g. inu+me+nin (ML 1:13,75; 2:123,125; 3:97; 4:115, 121), inu+ma+nin (ML44:108), inna+ma+nin (ML 2:6,14,16; 3:12, 22,29) inna+me+nin (ML 3:21), ay+ma+nin (ML 3:111, 4:9,54,59), and alaθe+me+nin (ML 3:42,43,43).

Although the associative in the majority of its occurrences appears attached to the initial particle of the sentence or to the second word if the sentence begins with a

nominal plus the connective -an (see §9.42 above), it can appear on the verb, e.g. §9.42 above and note: ur-o-1-ewa+ma+nin (ML 3:115).

The meaning is uncertain. Long ago Messerschmidt suggested an indefinite force for -me-/-ma-.[15] This is also suggested by Goetze, JCS 2(1948): 258-259. Although this fits several passages very nicely (e.g. note ay+ma+nin in ML 4:55 and 3:111 where a force "if ever" suits the context very well), there are other occurrences where this is not at all apropos. Any greater precision is obviated by the fact that the meaning of so many of the particles to which it is attached is quite uncertain.

9.6 The associative -nin. This particle is always word final,[16] and is always spelled -ni-i-in. It occurs primarily on the particles, e.g. ati+nin [cf. §8.5 (2)] which always carries this suffix. Most frequently it occurs with the associative -me-/-ma- (see above), and often with the pronominal associatives e.g. ya+lla+nin, inu+tta+nin, etc. Several times it occurs on verbal forms, e.g. mann-i+nin . . . un-a+nin (ML 4:13), kat-upp-a+nin (ML 4:14), pis-o-nin (ML 3:4), and ur-o-1-ewa+ma+nin (ML 3:115).

As suggested by Speiser in JAOS 59(1939): 303, a force of "indeed, verily" plausibly fits most occurrences. This is particularly apropos for the asseverative phrase ati+nin manna+pronominal-associative+man [cf. §8.5 (2)].

9.7 The associative -mmaman. For the interpretation of this form as containing a second person pronominal assoc-

iative of the form -mma, and the factors against it see §9.323
above. From the isolated form mann-i-mmama (ML 3:5) and the
similarity of the range of meanings, the particle can be as-
sumed to contain the particle -man (cf. §9.5 above). The
suffix can be appended to all three classes of words. For
nominals note θimiki-ne-fe-ne+mmaman (ML 1:94), eti-iy-e+
mmaman (ML 1:91), ane-na+mmaman (ML 4:20), θin-i-yaθ-e-na+
mmaman (ML 3:40), elart-iff-ụe-na-θe+mmaman (ML 3:44); mane+
mmaman (ML 3:35,35,38,38). For verbals note kepan-et-a+
mmaman (ML 2:63), kat-ill-ett-a+mmaman (ML 4:109), mann-i+
mmaman (ML 1:15; 3:5,10,100). For the particles note θukko+
mmaman (ML 3:111), inna+mmaman (ML 3:110,116), ya+mmaman
(ML 4:18,24); possibly also i-i-im-ma-ma-an (ML 2:98,101)
and i-i-um-mi-i-im-ma-ma-an (ML 2:99).

The "restrictive" force which Speiser attributes to the
particle in IH §220 seems closer to the meaning of the suffix
than the indefinite connotation of Friedrich and Messerschmidt.

9.8   The associative -tan.   As Speiser notes the
suffix is regularly written with the DAN sign in ML with
the single exception of e-ti-i-ta-ni-il-la-ma-an in ML 3:47.
In the Ug. A-H Bil. it is written -da-an.

The interpretation of the suffix is complicated by the
fact that so many of its occurrences are in broken or obscure
contexts. Speiser suggested "for, about" on the basis of its
use in sentences with the verbs anzannoḫ-, pal-, and θar-,
whose meanings he took as "request," "ask," and "demand,"
respectively. However, pal- is now known to mean "know,"[17]

and anzannoḫ- cannot mean "request." I suggest "promise."[18]
All the clear occurrences of the form can be satisfactorily
explained by the basic meaning "from," indicating both source
and a partitive force.

This can now clearly be seen from the Ug. A-H Bil.
where the opening line in Akkadian šukun kaspi[MES] ša mâmîti
itti ili[MES] teleqqi, "(if) you take (back) the deposition of
money of the oath from god," is rendered by the Hurrian ke+n
KASPI elami-ne en-ne+tan na-x-ḫa-wə-ša (line 5). Although
the verb is impossible to restore, it is clear that ke+n KASPI
elami-ne renders šukun kaspi ša mâmîti and en-ne+tan renders
itti ili[MES] "from god."[19]

The basic force of "from" is seen also in those occur-
rences in ML with the verb θar- "demand," e.g.

antu-ya+n+an [..]kan θen-iff+tan zalamθi [f]θal-iff-ye
ḫiyaroḫḫ-a na[kk]-a-θθ-a θar-oθ-ay (ML 3:89-91), "For
this I requested from my brother a golden case statue of
my daughter."

The suffix can also be used in a derived sense indicating
the source from which an action originates or the cause that
produced it, i.e. "because, due to," e.g.

θat+tila+an annu+tan θue-ne+tan iθtan-iffaθ-a θukkutt-
oḫ-a tat-ukar-i+tilla+an teonae tiθθan tiθθan (ML
3:108-109), "Because of all this we together mutually
are forever on very friendly terms."

So apparently also in ML 3:91-92 with the verb pis-
"rejoice." With the "preposition" eti "person, body" it

forms a prepositional phrase of the form x-fa eti+tan which apparently means "because of, due to." Note Өudxan-ne-fa+n tiwi-fa+n eti-i+tan "because of the Ө.word." Note the preceding dative exactly as with the "prepositional" eti plus directive -ta.

In several occurrences the particle is used in its partitive force. One of these occurs in the Ug. A-H Bil. where the Hurrian phrase elame-ne+tan-i+man ukula (line 6) renders the Akkadian mamîta pilaḫe-ma "fear the oath." Although the Hurrian verb is not clear, the phrase very plausibly means "be afraid of the oath," literally "fear from the oath."[20]

In the Mittanni Letter this recognition of a partitive force to the associative -tan helps to clarify several contexts where -tan in combination with tiӨӨan "much" develops a comparative force "much more (than)."[21] This interpretation is made very much more plausible when we note the frequent occurrence in the Akkadian letters of Tušratta of the phrase aḫi-ya el abi-ya 10-šu lû ûtetteranni "May my brother increase to me ten times more than my father," or aḫi-ya el abi-ya mâdiš lišêbilanni "May my brother send me much more than my father."[22]

(1) Өen-iff-en attart-iff+tan tiӨӨanna+man anzannoḫ-oӨ-aṛ tat-ar-aӨk-ae (ML 3:50-51), "Brother+cop. forefather(s)-my-from much+? promised-past-by-me love-durative-?-adverbial," i.e. "I affectionately promised my brother much more than my forefathers."

(2) GUŠKIN . . . fe-θθ+an attay-ff-ẏa ẏaturanna kepan-oθ-o-θθe tea attay-f-fe-ne+tan tiθθanna+man (ML 3:67-70) "gold . . . thee-by+conn. father-my-for formerly granted-past-by-you-nom.-part. great father-thy-of-one-from much+?," i.e. "the gold . . . which you formerly granted for my father was great, much more than that of thy father."[23]

(3) attart-iff+tan tiθθan-i-t[t]a+n tiθθan[..] supiyamaθt-i-en-i+tan θen-iff-uθ KURomin-iff-ẏa fur-i-ta (ML 3:87-88), "forefather(s)-my+from much+me+cop. much enrich(?)-trans.-juss.+from brother-my-by land-my-for view-its-to." i.e. "Let my brother enrich(?) me much more than my forefathers in view of my land."

Example (1) in particular makes excellent sense in the context, for Tušratta goes on to state that he made his shipments tenfold over the above what his grandfather had done for the Pharaoh's father or what his father had done for the Pharaoh himself.

9.9 The associative suffix -θ. This suffix, indubitably to be connected with the plural suffix -(a)θ- of the nominal (see §6.42) and -θ(a)- of the indicative verbal agentive suffix (see §7.4525) as Speiser notes in IH §223, has the force of "fully, completely" or the like. Thus it is particularly suitable to the jussive forms, in which it has the force of strong emphasis. Note the form ḥaθ-ol-e-θ cited by Speiser from Boghazköi and Ugarit. In ML one can note pal-(i)-l-ai-θ-a+lla+man (ML 4:65) "May

they know fully," and itt-ai-θ-a+lla+an (ML 4:52) "so that they may indeed go."[24] Frequently it functions adverbially, e.g. un-a+an θen-iff-⟨u⟩e-ne ay-iy-e peteθt-ae-θ (ML 4: 49-50), "It (the dowry) is coming into my brothers presence most satisfactorily."

In several cases it is appended to subject-action forms of the verb, e.g. ati+nin θen-iff-en tat-ukar-i-θ θu-ra (ML 2:92-93), "so my brother is on completely friendly terms with me." Compare also 4:121, and kat-i-θ (ML 4:4), hill-oθ-i-θ (ML 4:14), orobh-i-θ- (ML 4:119), and karhaθt-i-θ- (ML 4:120).

9.10 The associative -nni. A complex problem arises with the interpretation of this suffix. In the first place there is a suffix which clearly is appended to verbal forms, e.g. tan-oθ-i-wa-a+lla+nni (ML 4:10), kat-i-kk-onni (ML 4:2), ak-oθ-a+nni (ML 2:60). On the other hand one finds nominal forms that end in -nni. These have been viewed in the past as a variant form of the anaphoric -ne "one" used as a virtual definite article (cf. §6.45), however, note the alternate forms e-wə-ir-ni (ML 4:127,128), and ew[-ri-en]-ni (ML 2:72). Now these could still be orthographic or phonetic variants. However, E. von Schuler has subjected the frequent forms in -nni to a preliminary study in "Hurritische Nomina Actoris," RIA 19 fasc. 68(1961): 19-23. He notes its use in Hurrianizing foreign words, e.g. entanni "priestess" from Akk êntu- "priest-ess," mariyanni "chariot warrior" from Vedic marya "youth," etc. In certain cases it can be added to negative subject-

action verbal forms forming classes of men with a permanent disability, e.g. ḫaθikkonni "deaf person," katikkonni "mute person," and _furikkonni_ "blind person."[25] Other forms are not clear from this interpretation. Note particularly the form _kat-i-kk-onni_ (ML 4:2) cited above. Here a clear verbal force is required by the context, i.e. "great evil reports are not being declared in the presence of my brother." Yet compare _ḫilloθ-i-kkonni_ in ML 4:4 in a context which can be translated "evil reports are being reported (for) he who was not speaking (_ḫill-oθ-i-kk-onni_) has spoken." It is possible that there are two homographs which are confused here or that the form is capable of a verbal or nominal use depending on the context. The latter seems preferable at this point. Von Schuler also notes the formation of genuine _nomine actoris_ by the use of -_nni_ in the well-known form _urpar-i-nni_ "butcher," from _urp-_ "to flay," used at Nuzu,[25] and adduces from Boghazköi _itt-ar-a-nni_ "runner, courier," from the known root _itt-_ "to go."

However, much more needs to be clarified before we can delineate the relationship, if any, between this -_nni_, and the -_nni_ on agentive verbals note above, which was plausibly interpreted by Speiser as an asseverative particle.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1]Urartean is now established beyond cavil as a related
language; certainly not a linear descendent [cf. the remarks
of W. C. Benedict, "Urartians and Hurrians," _JAOS_ 80(1960):
100-104] but a member of the same family [cf. the important
article of I. M. Diakonoff, "A Comparative Study of the
Hurrian and Urartean Languages," _Peredneaziatskij Sbornik:_
Voprosy Xettologii i Xurritologii. (Akademija Nauk Gruzinskoj
SSR, Institut Jazykoznanija.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj
Literatury, 1961. (This volume will be cited hereafter as
PSVX)]. However, both languages have been elucidated in
large part contemporaneously, so it has only been in the
later stages of their independent elucidation that they have
thrown light on one another.

[2]Cf. E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Documents from Ras Shamra,"
JAOS 75(1955): 165.

[3]Volume XX, 1940-41, of _The Annual of the American_
Schools of Oriental Research, hereafter cited as _IH_.

[4]_IH_, p. 14.

[5]In fact the only attempt at a comprehensive study of
the language is Speiser's _Introduction to Hurrian_.

[6]The spelling of this word with double -_tt_-, although

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contrary to the custom which has prevailed for decades, is required by two facts: first the phonemic nature of consonantal length in Hurrian (see §3.9 below) and second the spelling M[i]-i-it-ta-a-an-ni-e-wa in ML 3:104. It should be noted that Mittanni orthography is extremely consistent, particularly in the representation of consonantal length.

[7]IH, p. 5.

[8]The best edition of the cuneiform text is the facsimile of Otto Schroeder, found in text number 200 of his Die Tontafeln von el-Amarna (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler XII; Leipzig, 1915), cited hereafter as Schr. The best transliteration is that of J. Friedrich, based on a collation of the original tablet, found on pp. 8-32 of his Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, hsgbn. von Hans Lietzmann, No. 163; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1932), abbreviated hereafter as KASD.

[9]These dates are taken from the most recent attempt at a chronological synthesis: K. A. Kitchen, Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs. A Study in Relative Chronology (Liverpool: University Press, 1962), p. 24 and notes 1 and 2. A hieratic docket on EA 23, a 'copy' of a letter from Tušratta to Amenophis III, gives the date as the thirty-sixth year of Amenophis' reign. This letter specifically refers to Taduheba as 'wife' of Amenophis III. Since the Mittanni Letter also refers to the negotiations between the two kings over the marriage and the dowry, it must be dated from this same period.

[10]In four parts: I RHA 14 fasc. 58(1956): 33-38, II RHA 14 fasc. 59(1956): 69-116, III RHA 15 fasc. 60(1957): 30-89, and IV RHA 16 fasc. 62(1958): 18-64. The Hurrian texts are to be found in part III, Nos. 380-405, pp. 46-51. Cited hereafter as CTH.

[11]Hurrian passages and/or texts have appeared in all the series of Hittite texts that have been published. These are enumerated in CTH part IV, p. 26, and in the Bibliography, part A.

[12]Six of these are published by F. Thureau-Dangin in "Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mari," RA 36(1939): 1-28. The seventh was published by E. Laroche in "Fragment hourrite provenant de Mari," RA 51(1957): 104-106.

[13]Apropos of a letter to Zimri-Lim in Hurrian, cf. the interpretation of Laessøe that Šamsi-Adad and his son Išme-Dagan are specifically connected with the Hurrian area around Semšara on the Lower Zab river (The Shemshara Tablets. A Preliminary Report. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959), passim but especially pp. 29 ff. and pp. 72-75.

[14]Facsimiles have been published in Syria 10(1929), plates 64, 67, 73, 74, 75; Syria 12(1931): p. 389; Syria 15(1934), pp. 147-154; Syria 20(1939): p. 126. A transliteration appears in C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, An Or 35, (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955), texts 4, 7, 31, 34+45, 35(?), 50, 60, 61, 106.

[15]RS 10.4. This is published as text number four in UM, and is analyzed by C. -G. von Brandenstein in "Zum

Churrischen aus den Ras-Schamra-Texten," <u>ZDMG</u> 91(1937):
555-576. This study is cited hereafter under the abbreviation
<u>ChRT</u>.

[16]Facsimile by J. Nougayrol, <u>Ugaritica</u> V. (Not yet
published as of this writing.)

[17]Facsimile by J. Nougayrol, transliteration by A.
Herdner in <u>Ugaritica</u> V.

[18]Text by Nougayrol, analysis by Laroche in <u>Le Palais
Royal d'Ugarit</u> III. <u>Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives
est, ouest et centrales</u> (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955),
pp. 327-335. Hereafter cited as <u>PRU</u> III.

[19]E. Laroche, <u>PRU</u> III, pp. 311-324. Hereafter referred
to as <u>Ug. A-H Bil</u>.

[20]Nougayrol, <u>PRU</u> III, p. 311.

[21]Published and analyzed by Thureau-Dangin in <u>Syria</u> 12
(1931): 225-266. A transliteration by J. Friedrich appears
in <u>KASD</u>, pp. 149-155. Hereafter referred to as <u>Ug. S-H Voc</u>.

[22]<u>Materialen zum Sumerischen Lexikon</u> V. <u>The Series
Har-ra = hubullu, Tablets I-IV</u>. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical
Institute, 1957). Cited hereafter as <u>MSL</u> V.

[23]See the remarks of J. Nougayrol in <u>CRAIBL</u>, 1960, p.
168.

[24]See the publication by B. Landsberger and R. T.
Hallock, "Das Vokabular S^a," <u>Materialen zum Sumerischen
Lexikon</u> III (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955),
pp. 47-87.

[25]I am dependent upon the remarks of Nougayrol in

CRAIBL, 1960, p. 168, for this description. Only the study of selected entries by M. Laroche has been available to me; I have not seen the publication of the full text to appear in Ugaritica V.

[26]Nougayrol dates the text "incontestably" to "at least the beginning of the dynasty of Akkad, according to the chronology generally admitted today to the 24th or 23rd century B.C." The dates used in the text follow the so-called "low chronology" [see, e.g., E. F. Campbell, "The Ancient Near East: Chronological Bibliography and Charts," The Bible and the Ancient Near East (Essays in honor of William Foxwell Allbright; ed. by G. E. Wright; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 214-225; and especially see the latest resumé of the subject found in fascicle four of the revised edition of volumes I and II of The Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge: University Press, 1962) by M. B. Rowton, pp. 32-50.] For the preferable dating in late Akkad times or Ur III, see §2.113 below.

[27]So Speiser insists on reading it in "the Hurrian Participation in the Civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine," JWH 1(1953-54): 313 n. 10, and also Goetze in "An Old Babylonian Itinerary, JCS 7(1953): 62. However, as Laroche has shown in his discussion of the epithet 'enda-n' on pp. 192-193 of his article in RA 54(1960), (cf. the following note), the person in this tablet is a priestess, and since feminine Hurrian names are not known to end in -atal, the reading Tišari is preferable until more conclusive

evidence comes to light.

[28] Parrot and Nougayrol take this word to be "man, lord" [RA 42(1948): 11] purely from context. However, see recently E. Laroche, "Études hourrites,"RA 54(1960): 192-193, where he very plausibly takes the word as a borrowing from Sumero-Akkadian ^{SAL}êntu "chief priestess," basing his identification upon clear usage in the Boghazköi texts. Thus, perhaps, the dedicator of this temple is a priestess of high rank. Against this, however, as Laroche points out, is the fact that -a-ri/tal is not so far known as an element in feminine names, although tiš- does occasionally so occur.

[29] Cf., for example, I. J. Gelb in Hurrians and Subarians (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, No. 22. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 65-67 and R. T. O'Callaghan in Aram Naharaim (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1948), pp. 44-49, who interpret the dearth of historical documents from Assyria for the period from 1700-1500 B.C. as due to a "great catastrophe caused by invasions of illiterate barbarians."

[30] The evidence is as follows: the Foundation Lion Inscription immediately brings to mind the so-called Samarra tablet published by Thureau-Dangin in "Tablette de Samarra," RA 9(1912): 1-4. This tablet, acquired from an antiquities dealer in Samarra on the Tigris River between the Lower Zab and the Diyala, commemorates the dedication of a temple to the god Nergal of Hawilum by Arišen, son of Sadarmat, king

of Urkiš and Nawar. The name of the scribe is Šaum-šen. Before the discovery of the Foundation Lion Inscription these were almost the only clearly Hurrian names from <u>circa</u> the Akkad period which occur in contemporary documents of the period. Since the tablet was purchased in Samarra, Urkiš and Nawar were placed in this region. However, by the time the Foundation Lion came to light, Urkiš had appeared in the Mari letters and the texts from Chagar Bazar in con- nection with localities that suggested the general area of the Habur triangle as the region where it might be located. Then, in "An Old Babylonian Itinerary," <u>JCS</u> 7(1953): 57-72, A. Goetze published the itinerary of a journey from southern Babylonia up the Tigris past Aššur, across northern Meso- potamia to somewhere in Anatolia and return. In crossing the headwaters of the Habur, between Harran and Šubat-Enlil, Urkiš is mentioned as lying between stations such that it must be placed near the Habur river, north of the main tribu- tary, the Jâg-Jâg. Now this is the heart of the territory which later formed the kingdom of Mittanni.

Recently, another very suggestive detail has come to light. In "Documents du Habur. . . . 2. Le sceau de Daguna," <u>Syria</u> 37(1960): 209-214, Nougayrol has published a cylinder seal, executed in lapis lazuli, so inordinately fine in its workmanship that certain details appear better than in re- presentations on a much larger scale. The scene represented is a classic "presentation" scene in which a seated goddess, welcomes with a gesture a cortege which approaches from the

right, led by another diety who announced the female suppli-
cant by the words of the appended inscription. The accompany-
ing inscription reads "Daguna, the wet-nurse, daughter of
Tiša-dimmuzi, the royal stewardess." The name Daguna cannot
be connected with certainty to any known ethnic or linguistic
group [however, it is suggestive that da-gu-na occurs im-
mediately before the likely Hurrian name da-ku-se-né (i.e.
Takku-Šenni)in a list of personal names from the Linear A
tablets from Hagia Triada on Crete (text No. 103).] However
the mother of Daguna is transparently Hurrian, formed from
the well attested root tiš- and a variant form of the god
Tammuz. That Tammuz had been adopted into the Hurrian
pantheon is now seen from the Ug. Quad. Voc. 137 3:33, 4:18
where [D]u-mu-z[i] = ^{d}DUMU.[ZI], see Laroche Ugaritica V,
I § 27a. Laroche also refers to the form dumuzzi at Boghaz-
köi. Regarding the significance of the presentation of a
wet nurse to a goddess, Nougayrol concludes very plausibly
that the goddess, seated on a mountain peak, is not just any
mountain goddess, but is the mountain goddess par excellence,
the eminent Ninhursag, mother of the gods and the one who
nurses royalty with the milk of legitimacy. Thus we have
here a seal executed for a royal wet nurse, possibly in
commemoration of her appointment to office. Now according
to the dealer from whom the seal was obtained, it comes from
the same site as the Foundation Lion Inscription discussed
above. Further, the lion is also a very fine piece of work-
manship. From these two pieces it is possible to conclude

that there had developed in this Hurrian state on the upper
Ḫabur an art which equalled in its quality the most beautiful
products of the contemporaneous Sumero-Akkadian sphere. This
advanced state of Hurrian culture as early as the Akkad period
possibly has the greatest of implications for the impact that
the Hurrians must have had in their later migrations into
Syria and Palestine. If Urkiš did not succumb to the cata-
clysmic events which produced the fall of the Akkad dynasty,
and the high level of Hurrian culture continued in northern
Mesopotamia (which yet waits to be proved), then, rather than
being the illiterate barbarians who were responsible for the
abrupt cessation of all historical inscriptions in Assyria
after the death of Šamši-Adad I ca. 1716, the Hurrians must
have had much to do with the transmission of culture from
Mesopotamia to Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Crete.

How extensive the Hurrian political control was in
this period remains to be seen, although the expression of
the Samarra tablet "King of Urkiš and Nawar" perhaps suggests
greater control than that of a single city state. Further,
the importance of this early center can be further grasped,
but again only hazily, by the fact that it is the seat of the
god Kumarbi, the head of the Hurrian pantheon, who figures
so largely in the cycle of myths of Hurrian origin found in
Hittite recensions at Boghazköi. Cf. H. G. Guterbock, "The
Song of Ullikummi," JCS 5(1951): 135-161, specifically p.
146, line 15.

[31]See C. H. Gordon, "Evidence for the Horite Language

from Nuzi," BASOR 64(Dec. 1936): 23-28, Ibid., "The Dialect
of the Nuzu Tablets," Or. N.S. 7(1938): 32-63, 215-232, esp.
pp. 51-63 and 232; for the month names see C. H. Gordon and
E. R. Lacheman, "The Nuzu Menology," Arch. Or. 10(1938): 51-
64; for the directions see F. R. Steele, "The Points of the
Compass in Hurrian," JAOS 61(1941): 286-87.

[32]Cf. for example, the use of wašula to render šurib-
šumuti in exactly parallel construction in HSS 14 620:29.

[33]Indeed chronologically they triggered the realization
that such was the case. See Leo Oppenheim, "Zur Landes-
sprache von Arrapha-Nuzi," AfO 11(1936-7): 56-65, and E. A.
Speiser AASOR 16(1936): 136-42.

[34]I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. MacRae, Nuzi
Personal Names (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute
Publications, Volume LVII; Chicago: The University of Chicago
Press, 1943), hereafter cited as NPN. For a list of the names
appearing in Excavations at Nuzi, Volume VII, Economic and
Social Documents, Selected and Transcribed by Ernest R.
Lacheman (Harvard Semitic Series Volume XVI), that do not
appear in NPN, see the review of this volume by D. A. Kennedy
in RHA 17 fasc. 65(1959): 173-177. A list of the names
occurring in the Nuzu texts published by N. B. Jankowska,
"Legal Documents from Arrapha in the Collections of the
USSR," PSVX, is found on pp. 498-522 of that work.

[35]See further by the same author "New Light on Hurrians
and Subarians," in Studia Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio
Levi della Vida (Pubblicazioni dell'instituto per l'Oriente,

No. 52; Roma: Instituto per l'Oriente, 1956), Vol. 1, pp. 378-393, and "Hurrians at Nippur in the Sargonic Period," in Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65 Geburtstag (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsverlag, 1959), pp. 183-184.

[36]These have been studied in this regard by P. M. Purves in "The Early Scribes of Nuzi," AJSL 57(1940): 162-187, and "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 378-404.

[37]Listed and studied by C. J. Gadd, Iraq 7(1940): 35ff.

[38]Published by E. Ebeling "Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts," WVDOG 50(1927). Collected by Ebeling in "Die Eigennaman der mittelassyrischen Rechts- und Geschafts-urkunden," MAOG 13(1939).

[39]Listed by A. T. Clay, Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period (Yale Oriental Series: Researches; Vol. 1; New Have, 1912); discussed by F. Bork, "Mitanni-Namen aus Nippur," OLZ 9(1906): 588-591.

[40]Published in Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler VII (1909) and discussed by Ungnad in "Untersuchungen zu den . . . Urkunden aus Dilbat . . . ," Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft VI 5(1908): 8-21 (apud Gelb HS, 57(1940): 172ff.

[41]C. J. Gadd, Iraq 7(1940): 35ff. Cf. IH 7c.

[42]See C. Virolleaud, "Les tablettes de Mishrifé-Qatna," Syria 11(1930): 311-42, and J. Bottéro, "Les Inventaires de Qatna," RA 43(1949): 1-40, 137-218, "Autres textes de Qatna," RA 44(1950): 1-5-118, "Vocabulaire de

Qaṭna," RA 44(1950): 119-122.

[43]See Gustavs, "Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'annek," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 50(1927): 1-18, 51(1928): 169-218.

[44]See L. Messerschmidt, "Mitanni-Studien," MVA(e)G 4/4 (1899): 119ff., and J. Friedrich, "Kleine Beiträge zur Churritischen Grammatik," MVA(e)G 42/2 (1939): 31ff., hereafter cited as BChG.

[45]The five letters to Amenophis III are EA 17, 19-21, and 23. The letter to Teye is EA 26 and the three letters to Amenophis IV are EA 27-29. EA 22 and EA 25 are not letters but lists of the dowry gifts sent by Tušratta to the Pharaoh.

[46]E.g. E. Laroche, "Études hourrites," RA 54(1960): 187-201, N. Van Brock, "Substitution rituelle," RHA 17 fasc. 65(1959): 117-146 and E. von Schuler, "Hurritische Nomina Actoris," RHA 19 fasc. 68(1961): 19-23.

[47]Note that the syllabary is not capable of fully differentiating the stops for the purposes of Akkadian. There is no differentiation possible at all for VC signs, the sign AB also representing ap, the sign AD also representing at and aṭ and the sign AG also representing ak and aq.

CHAPTER II

[1]It seems very probable that it will not be long before sufficient onomastic material is available in the Minoan syllabary to enable this evidence also to be included here.

Provisionally note <u>da-ku-se-né</u> (<u>HT</u> 103:2-3, 4-5), i.e. <u>Takku-</u>
<u>Senni</u>, and <u>su-ki-ri-te-se-ya</u> [<u>HT</u> II 7a (Plate XXIII)], i.e.
<u>Sukri-Tešseya</u>. For the name <u>da-ku-se-né</u> and the use of the
Minoan signs <u>s</u> plus a vowel for Ugaritic <u>š</u> and <u>t</u>, see C. H.
Gordon, "Toward a Grammar of Minoan," <u>Or</u> NS 32(1963): 292-297.
Possibly <u>da-gu-na</u> (HT 103:4) could be included here, see
§1.25, note 26. It might be significant that it occurs in
the line immediately preceding <u>da-ku-se-né</u>.

[2]For the purposes of this description "orthography"
means not only the syllabary (i.e. what signs are used and
what phonetic values they may take on) but also the ortho-
graphic methods by which this syllabary is used to represent
the phonemes involved.

[3]This term now seems a better one than the "Akkado-
Hittite" of Thureau-Dangin in <u>Le Syllabaire Accadien</u> (Paris:
Paul Geuthner, 1926), pp. IV ff., (hereafter cited as <u>SA</u>),
since even if we cannot conclude with certainty that it was
Hurrian substratum which influenced its formation, it most
certainly was used most consistently in just those areas
and sites where Hurrian penetration and influence was felt
most strongly. For a very helpful chronological survey of
the origin and development of this syllabary see R. Labat,
"Le rayonnement de la langue et de l'écriture akkadiennes au
deuxième millénaire avant notre ère," <u>Syria</u> 39(1962): 1-27,
and especially pp. 13-15.

[4]For the Nuzu syllabary see M. Berkooz, <u>The Nuzi Dia-</u>
<u>lect of Akkadian: Orthography and Phonology</u> (Language Disser-

tations No. 23; Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1937), pp. 9ff.; C. H. Gordon, "The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets," Or NS. 7(1938): §§1.1-1.6; A. Goetze, "Some Observations on Nuzu Akkadian," Lang 14(1938): 134-137, and E. A. Speiser, "Notes on Hurrian Phonology," JAOS 58(1938): 173-201, passim.

[5]For the orthography of the Alalaḫ texts see the remarks of D. J. Wiseman, The Alalah Tablets (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953), pp. 18-19, and S. Smith, The Statue of Idri-mi (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1949), pp. 27-29. For examples see J. Aro, "Remarks on the Language of the Alalakh Texts," AfO 17(1954-56): 361; Th. V. Gamkrelidze, "The Akkado-Hittite Syllabary and the Problem of the Origin of the Hittite Script," Arch Or 29(1961): 406-418, esp. pp. 415-417; and G. Giacumakis, A Grammar of the Akkadian Documents from Alalaḫ (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., 1963).

[6]For the orthography of the Akkadian documents from Ugarit see the general remarks by Nougayrol in PRU III, p. xxxv, and the detailed discussion of G. Swaim, A Grammar of the Akkadian Tablets Found at Ugarit (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., 1962), §§1.1-1.18, hereafter GATU.

[7]For the Amarna syllabary see the discussion of F. M. Böhl, Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanismen, (Leipzig: Druck von August Pries, 1909),

pp. 1-26. This voluminous body of texts of such varied pro-
venance cannot be uniform in its orthography. A detailed
study of its orthographies would be most helpful and yet waits
to be done.

[8]For the orthographic practices of the Hittite texts
from Boghazköi see J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch
I (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsverlag, 1940), 1-30;
and for those of the Akkadian documents from Boghazköi see
R. Labat, L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi (Bordeaux: Librarie Delmas,
1932, pp. 7-37, hereafter ABK.

[9]For Nuzu see Goetze "Nuzu Akkadian," Lang. 14(1938):
135-137; and Berkooz Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian, p. 41, n. 10.
For the Alalaḫ texts see Wiseman, AT, pp. 19-20; Aro, "Lan-
guage of the Alalakh Texts" AfO 17(1954-56): 365.

[10]Cf. Swaim, GATU, §§1.13, 1.14 and 1.16.

[11]Cf. Böhl, Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe, §10.

[12]A similar difference can be seen in the use of the
sibilants in the Boghazköi texts of Hittite provenance. See
Labat, ABK, pp. 36-37, and esp. n. 38. It is also worth
noting here that the two towns of Ugarit and Alalaḫ moved in
different political spheres, Ugarit being under Hittite dom-
ination and Alalaḫ that of Mittanni.

[13]Although PI had the value w plus a vowel throughout
the whole course of Assyrian cuneiform and in Old Babylonian
and Neo-Babylonian, it does not regularly have this value in
the contemporary Middle-Babylonian syllabary. This is what
makes its use with this value in the Hurro-Hittite syllabary

significant. Cf. von Soden, <u>Das Akkadische Syllabar</u> (<u>An Or</u>
27; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1948), p. 69, sign
no. 223.

[14]Cf. <u>IH</u> §14 and the remarks by Goetze, <u>Lang</u>. 14(1938):
136-137 and Speiser <u>JAOS</u> 58(1938): 188-193.

[15]That this practice is not completely uniform at Nuzu
as it is taken to be by Goetze [Lang 14(1938): 136] is perhaps
indicated by the form <u>i[-n]a-as-sa-aq-ma</u>, <u>HSS XIX</u> 7:46. This
is the only example of etymological <u>samekh</u> represented by the
set <u>s</u> plus vowel rather than the set <u>z</u> plus vowel that I have
noted in a far from exhaustive study of the Nuzu texts. It
may indicate a sporadic use of these signs for etymological
<u>samekh</u> as at Alalaḫ (cf. the next note).

[16]See the remarks and conclusions of Gamkrelidze, <u>Arch</u>
<u>Or</u> 29(1961): 416.

[17]See Swaim, <u>GATU</u>,§§1.16-1.17.

[18]Cf. Böhl, <u>Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe</u>, §10b.

[19]Cf. Labat, <u>ABK</u>, p. 35, n. 35. Here the reverse (š-
signs for etymological <u>samekh</u>) is not infrequent (cf. p. 35).
This is obviously due to the orthographic practices current
in writing Hittite where the Hittite phoneme [s] is repre-
sented by the š-signs.

[20]For the evidence see the citations above for each site.

[21]Cf. the remarks of von Soden, <u>Das Akkadische Syllabar</u>
(<u>An Or</u> 27; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1948), p. 21,
§9d.

[22]<u>SA</u>, p. 5.

[23]Cf. Goetze, _Lang_ 14(1938): 135-6; _IH_ §14.

[24]Note, however, that this same indiscriminate use of the signs for the voiced and voiceless stops is found in Elamite, not only in the Middle Babylonian period but also in the two small fragmentary inscriptions honoring Siwepalar-huppak, a contemporary of Hammurapi. Cf. Labat, "Le rayonnement de la langue," _Syria_, 39(1962): pp. 6 and 14.

[25]This fact, inexplicably, does not yet seem to have been fully recognized, for the orthography of the Mittanni Letter has been indiscriminately grouped with that of Nuzu, Amarna, and Boghazköi. For example compare the remarks of Th. V. Gamkrelidze, "The Akkado-Hittite Syllabary and the Problem of the Origin of the Hittite Script," _Arch Or_ 29 (1961): 408. He can state "Hittite cuneiform, like Hurrian [i.e. the Mittanni Letter] and Nuzi, fails to distinguish between the signs for corresponding voiced and voiceless plosives," (bracketed comment mine). Speiser, in _IH_ §13, groups "the remaining larger subdivisions of the main Hurrian syllabary" as a "single system which comprises the rest of the material from Nuzi, Amarna, and Boghazköi." He does this on the basis of the manifest correspondences which set the system apart from the orthography of Mari and of Classical Old Babylonian. Among these manifest correspondences he cites "indiscriminate use of the signs for stops in respect to voice." This simply is not so for the Mittanni Letter.

[26]It was noted above that the signs for the emphatics are not infrequent in the Tell-El-Amarna tablets. It is more

significant, however, to note that they are not infrequently employed in the Akkadian documents of the Tušratta dossier. It is this which makes their absence in the Mittanni Letter significant for Hurrian phonemics. The only signs that could be interpreted as representing emphatics are the ṢUM/ZUM sign in ú-ú-ṢUM/ZUM-ki (ML 2:73,74; 3:5,6) and the MUŠ/ṢIR sign in broken context in ML 3:1. The first is clearly to be read ú-ú-rík-ki (cf. IH p. 12, n. 1), and the second must either be read as muš or perhaps as zir/zer (because of the following -ri-e-).

[27]Cf. Ferdinand Bork, Die Mitannisprache, MVA(e)G 14(1909): 15. Notice the close similarity of this system to that of the representation of the stops in the Old Akkadian syllabary. Cf. § 2.131 (d).

[28]I.e. there is no distinctive sign available for the voiceless stop. This is true for BI because PI is used exclusively for w plus a vowel.

[29]Contrary to the scheme of Purves, NPN, p. 184.

[30]I have no suggestion as to why this method of indicating the vowel was never extended to DU and TU.

[31]This is most evident in the single writing of consonants that must be geminated and in the representation of the stops.

[32]Whereas the Mittanni Letter, for example, is a sample of formal diplomatic correspondence between two powerful empires and probably was executed in the state chancellery of Mittanni. For clear evidence of the Semitic nationality

of the scribes of the syllabic texts see §2.11224 (2).

[33]Cf. §2.111 (d) above.

[34]Cf. ma-mi-da, line 2, and ša-qa-da, line 12, versus mar-ḫé-ta, line 4; i-te-ma (for îdêma), line 13, and ḫa-am-ti-iš (for ḫa-am-ṭi-iš), line 11.

[35]Cf. §2.1124 (2) below.

[36]There are twenty four signs in agreement with this principle, and five in violation. The two instances of the verbal element -ašt- contain a voiceless t, cf. the forms from the alphabetic texts of Ugarit cited by C.-G. von Brandenstein in "Zum Churrischen aus den Ras-Schamra-Texten," ZDMG 91(1937): 569-573.

[37]Cf. e-en-ni-da-an, line 5, versus e-ni-da, lines 14 and 19; a-ru-šu-la-am-ma, line 14, versus a-ru-uš-šu-la-am-ma, line 19; and ta-aḫ-a-ka, line 15, versus ta-aḫ-a-ak-ka-an, line 18. This is fully in accord with the normal rule for doubled consonants in Akkadian, i.e. double consonants are written either double or single.

[38]Namely, e-la-mu-lu-up-pa-aš-še-ni, line 8, which contains the nominalizing particle -šš-.

[39]i-ti-ib-ba-an, line 7.

[40]Examples are: pa-šu-ku, 1:2, possibly represents this morpheme but the Sumerian is not preserved; (ḫi-li-)šu-ki, line 2:16, equals Sum. [nu]-an-tug. In lines 2:27ff. the entries run: Sum. [i]n-an-sum equals Hurrian e-di-ni, then Sum. ba-an-sum is given as Hurrian (e-di-)ki-ni. Now, in his full edition of the ḪAR-ra: ḫubullu tablets Landsberger lists

nu-in-na-an-sum, the negative of in-an-sum, as immediately following in-an-sum, rather than the ba-an-sum of our text. Since e-di-ki-ni seems exactly correct for the negative of e-di-ni, it is highly probable that the scribe skipped an entry in the Sumerian text at this point.

[41]The forms are: bi-ti-ḫi 1:25, šu-ru-ti-ḫi 2:4 and ša-r[i]-ti-ḫi 2:5. In the forms ka-te-ni-wə 2:10, pa-šu-ši-te 3:7, bi-ša-ša-te 3:16, and bi-šu-šu-te 3:22, it is not clear whether the sign TE represents a doubled consonant and hence voiceless or whether it should be read DE.

[42]See the preceding note for the pertinent forms.

[43]Cf. §§3.32-3.34 below. This interpretation is favored by the form zi-lu-um-pa-ni-wə, line 2:12, which is a loan word from Akkadian suluppu "date" and does not follow the positional voicing of the p after m as would be expected for a Hurrian word written by a Semitic scribe. Rather, it is voiceless as is correct for the Akkadian word.

[44]The only doubled consonant in the whole document is i[m]-mu-r[i-]wə, line 2:13, which is probably a loan word. In the light of this lack of indicating doubled consonants it must not be overlooked when in interpreting the vocabulary that some of the occurrences of final -la could represent the associative -lla "they".

[45]That is orthographically. Phonemically this sign is also used to represent the labial fricative.

[46]Cf. pa-aš-ši-it-ḫi, line 4, but wa-šu-um-mi, line 8.

[47]Cf.]U-ga-ri-it, line 1, and e-ta-ni-u-un, line 7.

[48]The GA in U-ga-ri-it and Kar-ga-miš are regular in these non-Hurrian names.

[49]šu-iw-wa-an, line 18. However, the grammar is diffi-cult. Two datives precede, suggesting a dative (as Laroche takes it in PRU III, p. 329), but the combination of the second person suffix -ib/w plus the w of the dative or geni-tive particle always appears as -ip-pa- in the Mittanni Letter and it appears as -ib-ba- in Ug. A-H Bil., line 7.

[50]Cf. DI-ši-ia, 6 obv. 3, versus TI-ši-ia, 6 rev. 2 in identical context.

[51]Cf. §3.513 below.

[52]See the study by Laroche in Ugaritica V.

[53]A few glosses have also been known for a long time in certain of the Amarna letters, cf. L. Messerschmidt, "Mitanni Studien," MVA(e)G 4(1899), pp. 119ff., and Goetze, "An Un-recognized Hurrian Verbal Form," RHA 4 fasc. 35(1939): 103-108.

[54]Cf. NPN, p. 184, and §3.4 below. There are no sure examples of Hurrian [s] at Boghazköi. However, since Hittite [s] was written with š-signs, it is logical to assume that Hurrian [s] would likewise be so written. Cf. IH §42 and note 30 above.

[55]Cf. IH §14.

[56]Cf. §1.25 above, and especially note 5 thereto.

[57]Nougayrol, "Un document de fondation hurrite," RA 42(1948): 3.

[58]ZA 50(1952): 180, n. 2.

[59]"New Light on the Hurrians and Subarians," in _Studia Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida_ (Pubblicazioni dell'istituto per l'Oriente, No. 52; Roma: Instituto per l'Oriente, 1956), Vol. 1, pp. 378-393.

[60]A. Parrot, "Acquisitions et inedits du Musée du Louvre. Lion de fondation," _Syria_ 31(1954): 11-13.

[61]Cf. _RA_ 9(1912): 1. He says: "L'inscription est gravée profondément dans le metal, en beaux caractères archaiques qui appartiennent, semble-t-il, à une époque intermédiaire entre l'époque d'Agadé et l'époque d'Ur."

[62]Cf. Gelb, _HS_, p. 47, and "New Light on the Hurrians and Subarians," pp. 380ff.

[63]The archaizing tendencies of peripheral areas are well known. For a similar situation from this same era, note the case of Susa cited by Labat in "Le rayonnement de la langue," _Syria_ 39(1962): 3. At Susa Sulgi drew up some Sumerian votive inscriptions in honor of the god of the city. Although the language does not differ from that of the analogous documents which the same king drew up at Nippur, Lagaš, or Ur, the form of the signs is clearly more archaic than these and is related more to the earlier tradition of the time of Akkad. Labat concludes that they were written by indigenous scribes who were faithful to more ancient traditions still extant in their own scribal schools.

[64]B. Landsberger and H. G. Güterbock, _AfO_ 12(1937-1939): 55-57.

[65]However, serious questions have recently been raised

regarding this widely-held view that the Hittites learned
their cuneiform from the Hurrians. Cf. Gamkrelidze, "The
Akkado-Hittite Syllabary,"Arch Or 29(1961): 406-418. For
the fullest statement on the positive side see R. Labat, "Le
rayonnement de la langue," Syria 39(1962): 13-16.

[66]Cf. Gamkrelidze, "The Akkado-Hittite Syllabary,"
Arch Or 29(1961): 417. It cannot be completely ruled out,
however, that the set of signs s plus vowel was pronounced
šin, at least in part, in Old Akkadian times and consequently
could have been used by the Hurrians to represent their [s].
This is the pronunciation adopted by Goetze in "The Sibilants
of Old Babylonian," RA 52(1958), p. 148. Gelb, however, who
holds that they were pronounced šin, has recently set forth
a very convincing correlation of the sound shifts that took
place in Akkadian with those that took place in Sumerian,
cf. OAWG, pp. 39ff.

[67]It is interesting in this connection to note Goetze's
observation that this use of the set of signs s plus a vowel
to represent etymological samekh in the Old Babylonian period
occurs only in a part of the Babylonian territory, namely the
northwest, ["The Sibilants of Old Babylonian," RA 52(1958):
140]. This, of course, is exactly the region in which the
Hurrians came into contact with the Akkadians.

[68]For references as to where these names have been
published and studied see §1.27 above.

[69]Cf. A. Finet, L'Accadien des Lettres de Mari (Académie
Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales

et Politiques, Memoires, Tome LI; Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1956), 12 b-d and 13 a-c, (hereafter cited as ALM).

[70]Finet, ALM, §11 b.

[71]This renders unacceptable the view of Purves, "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 388, that all the examples of z in these texts render the voiced form of the dental fricative in the same manner as it is represented by z-signs in the personal names at Babylonian sites. However, some of the forms with z-signs might be examples of the voiced form of the dental fricative rendered phonetically as Semitic hearers would pronounce them, rather than by the orthographic methods current in the scribal schools. All of Purves' examples occur in contexts that are wholly untranslatable and hence cannot be controlled. The word pa-za-la, 6:12, recalls a good root with Hurrian [z], namely pazi- (ML 2:98,101; Mari 7:10), and none of the words reveal variants with š and z which would be expected by this interpretation, except wa-zu-um, 3:23, and wa-šu-me, 3:26. The only reasonably clear example of this is e-e[n!-n]a-zu-uš, 6:14, alongside ši-we-na-šu-uš, 5:9.

[72]For these names and a phonemic interpretation of them see the two important articles of P. M. Purves: "The Early Scribes at Nuzi," AJSL 57(1940): 162-185 and "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 378-385.

[73]See I. J. Gelb, Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar (Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary No. 2, 2nd ed. rev.

and enl.; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961).

[74]The sign later used for AQ is used only with the value SAL/ŠAL, cf. OAWG, sign no. 36, p. 57.

[75]It is used with the value *pi* only in southern Babylonia, cf. OAWG, p. 29.

[76]OAWG, pp. 35-38.

[77]OAWG, pp. 28-30. The following is worth quoting here: "From the earliest historical times down to and including the Ur III and Old Assyrian Periods, normally only one sign is used for a syllable beginning with a stop or sibilant, without any attempt being made to distinguish between voiced, voiceless, and (in Akkadian) emphatic consonants. Thus DA stands for *da*, *tá*, or *ṭa*, DAM for *dam*, *tám*, or *ṭam*, ZA for *za*, *sà*, or *ṣa*. The existence of such pairs of signs as BU and PÚ, GI and KI, TU and DU does not mean that the signs BU, GI, and DU are used to indicate voiced consonants and the signs PÚ, KI, TU are used for voiceless consonants. . . . Both rows of signs are used equally for voiced and voiceless consonants."

[78]According to Gelb PA occurs only in the word A-pa-al^{KI}.

[79]PI is used for *pi* only in South Babylonia.

[80]TA is used only in the word Ṭa-ta.

[81]OAWG, sign no. 266, p. 105.

[82]OAWG, sign no. 15, p. 50.

[83]BU occurs both initially and medially, and BI occurs medially, but there are no variant possibilities for these

signs. BU represented b̠u̠ and p̠u̠ through the history of the cuneiform syllabary.

[84]R̠A̠ 42(1948): 8-9.

[85]He also notes in the Additions and Corrections, p. 210 f. that É has the value ʾa in Sumerian.

[86]That the Hurrian sound is a velar fricative rather than a laryngeal is shown by the choice of the sign for ḫ and not h̠ in the alphabetic texts of Ugarit.

[87]It might be considered possible to turn Nougayrol's interpretation around and let É represent the voiceless velar fricative in Hurrian while ḫ represents the voiced velar fricative. However, in the Foundation Lion Inscription ḫ occurs in initial position only and É in medial position only, and the later evidence reveals thus far only the voiceless velar fricative (written ḫ) occurring in initial position, cf. § 3.7 below.

[88]Cf. the remarks by Nougayrol, R̠A̠ 42(1948): 10. Note the attempt by Gelb to establish a third set of š̠-signs representing the remains of a period in which Akkadian recognized a phoneme ẓ́ < ḍ, alongside the sets representing š̠ < ṯ, and š̠ < š/ś̠, cf. O̠A̠W̠G̠, pp. 35-40. Note also the comments on the Old Akkadian sibilants by Goetze in "The Sibilants of Old Babylonian," R̠A̠ 52(1958): 147-148.

[89]O̠A̠W̠G̠, p. 26.

[90]O̠A̠W̠G̠, p. 164ff.

[91]The sign h̠ is used in the older texts only in i̠l̠h̠n̠, 4:12. With von Brandenstein, C̠h̠R̠T̠, p. 558, n. 16, it is

best taken as a mistake for i. In his discussion of the orthography of the alphabetic texts (Ugaritica V, III, C. Le hourrite de Ras Shamra, 1. Écriture, §1), Laroche does not mention this occurrence. Hence it may be that the collation of Mlle Herdner, to be published in Ugaritica V, has changed the reading. Besides this, it occurs once in broken context in 261:25 (see Laroche, loc. cit.).

[92] This refers to the regular z̠-sign (⟨⟩) not the ǵ-sign which occasionally represents z̠.

[93] In the Hurrian texts the scribe was not always careful to write t̠ in such a manner as to distinguish it from ᶜ. In such cases it must be read as t̠. Cf. C. H. Gordon, UM §4.18, and the sign list of Laroche, Ugaritica V, Part III, signs 17 and 22. Apart from these occurrences it appears in the Ugarit names ᶜAnat and ᶜAmmistamra, and in the obscure word t̠ᶜn from the "mutilated and obscure" Hurrian passage in text 643 (line A 16).

[94] The sign q̠ appears only in the non-Hurrian cultic term Dq̠t, and in the obscure words nq̠d and q̠sḫ. These may not be Hurrian.

[95] Cf. C. H. Gordon, UM, §§5.2-5.5.

[96] Cf. C. H. Gordon, UM, § 5.8.

[97] Cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, C. §7.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Cf. the remarks of Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, C, §4.

CHAPTER III

[1]The three ʾ<u>aleph</u> signs are used in the Hurrian texts but consistently only in initial position (cf. §3.12). This, combined with the fact that doubling of consonants is also not orthographically indicated, is a strong indication that these texts were written by scribes who were deeply ingrained in the principles of consonantal orthography. It seems inconceivable that native Hurrians would not have used the vowel signs more fully.

[2]Cf. <u>IH</u> §24.

[3]The same practice is found at Nuzu, cf. Berkooz, <u>NDA</u>, p. 10f.

[4]Further, there was no sign for PI available since the sign later used for <u>pi</u> had only the value <u>w</u> plus a vowel.

[5]First noted by Bork, "Die Mitannisprache," p. 14..

[6]"Die Mitannisprache," p. 14.

[7]The evidence is based upon Greek and Armenian transcriptions of Urartean geographical names, e.g. Urartean <u>Tušpa</u> is Greek Θωσπῖτις and Armenian <u>Tosp</u>, Urartean <u>Supa</u> is Greek Σοφηνη and Armenian Čop^h-k^h (from Čop^ha-), and Urartean <u>Qumaḫa</u> is Greek Κομμαγηνη

[8]Thus, of the eighteen consonants orthographically distinguished by the classical syllabary, only seven of them have a special sign for the CV syllable involving -<u>e</u>- and only three have a special sign for the VC syllable involving -<u>e</u>-.

[9]Cf. von Soden, <u>Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik</u>

(_An Or_ 33; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1952), § 8b.

[10]Cf. the chart of the syllabary of the Mittanni Letter, § 2.1121 above.   For examples see _IH_ § 20.

[11]Apart from the convention adopted whereby KU represented _ko_ and GU represented _ku_.

[12]Sometimes double pleonastic vowels are found, e.g. _gu-lu-u-u-ša_ ML 1:83.   There does not seem to be any morphological significance to such writings.   Cf. _IH_, § 22, p. 18.

[13]Cf. _IH_ § 22.   The fact that _plēnē_ writing is simply an orthographic phenomenon in Urartean (cf. the remarks of Diakonoff, _PSVX_, p. 369f.) is a further indication in the same direction.

[14]Cf. _IH_ § 22,88.

[15]Cf. § 6.443 below。

[16]Cf. § 6. 2 below.

[17]It is this correlation between the doubling of several particles and the presence or elision of the extra _a_-vowel which prohibits interpreting the alternation -_lla_-/-_la_- in the pronominal associative in the manner that Goetze does in "Enclitic Pronouns in Hurrian," _JCS_ 2(1948): 261-263.   Cf. § 9.325.

[18]Speiser's suggestion (IH §88) that accentual conditions were the determining factors is quite plausible as an explanation of the presence or lack of the _a_-vowel, but it can hardly account for the doubling or loss of doubling of the consonant.

[19]Cf. E. H. Sturtevant, _A Comparative Grammar of the_

Hittite Language (Special Publications of the Linguistic
Society of America, William Dwight Whitney Linguistic se-
ries; Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1933),
p. 46.

[20]Cf. C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, §4.4.

[21]Cf. in for en[e] "god." See C.-G. von Brandenstein,
"Zum Churrischen aus den Ras-Schamra-Texten," ZDMG 91(1937):
559.

[22]This does not explain the occurrence of tam (166:52).

[23]One must note the spellings [d.]Sa-wu[u]-uš-ga and
IŠTAR-bu-uš-ga at Boghazköi (cf. IH §34).

[24]This symbol is used to represent the labial semivowel
in order to leave w free to represent, in phonemic tran-
scription, ambiguous orthographies which could be either the
fricative or the semivowel.

[25]Thus the word faḫr- is consistently spelled wə-əḫ-ru
in the Mittanni Letter (1:60, 1:81, 2:102, 4:111, and 4:113)
and at Nuzu (NPN, pp. 169-170), but appears both as waḫr-
and paḫr- at Boghazköi [cf. von Brandenstein, Or 8(1939):
83f.], as pa-ḫi-ri-e rendering Sumerian DUG.G[A] in Ug. S-H
Voc. 2:22, and as parḫ- at Mari (with the same metathesis
involving r as Nuzu erwi- versus ML ewri-).

[26]It does not wholly account for it, however, for
there is a regularity in the orthographic practice of the
Akkad period. One set of signs is regularly used for the
stops, whereas in the later texts the usage is best de-
scribed as "indiscriminate," no one set is in regular use

but rather both sets are freely used.

[27]As mentioned in § 2.1234 (a) the orthography of this letter is markedly similar to that of the Mittanni Letter in other respects also. Carchemish is well within the influence of the Mittanni empire and it is distinctly possible that we have here a sample of official diplomatic practice.

[28]It does not seem likely that this was written by a Hurrian in the light of the evidence noted above (§ 2.11224) for the Semitic authorship of the syllabic religious texts.

[29]At which site the signs for voiced and voiceless stops in the Akkadian texts are carefully distinguished. The fact that the orthography of the Hurrian texts is identical with that of the Akkadian texts and that there are very few Hurrian personal names in the Mari texts (those that do occur being princes of out-lying city states) argues strongly for the view that these were written by a Semitic scribe.

[30]The Semitic origin of the scribe is far from demonstrable. But it does seem more probable that this was written for the purposes of learning Hurrian (the Akkadian forms of the Ḫar.ra = ḫubuḷḷu texts are well represented at Ugarit) rather than Sumerian or Akkadian (by a Hurrian). Cf. the following note.

[31]There can no longer be any doubt of the Semitic nationality of the scribes of these texts after the work of Laroche in Ugaritica V where he has pieced together, from the broken tablets, the full last line which gives the name of the person for whom the tablet was written and the name

of the scribe. The line runs as follows: <u>annu   zammašša</u>
<u>nitkabli   zaluzi   ša</u>   DINGER^{MEŠ}   <u>TA</u> x <u>ŠU</u>   x, where x re-
presents a personal name. The Hurrian half of the sentence
is unintelligible except for the first word <u>annu</u> "this,"
but the last half, in Akkadian obviously means: "of the
gods, for so and so, written by (lit. hand of) so and so."
Four names are preserved of those for whom the tablets were
written, all clearly Hurrian: <u>Tapθiḫumi</u>, <u>Puḫiyana</u>, <u>Urḫiya</u>,
and <u>Ammiya</u>. Two of the scribes names have been preserved,
both clearly Semitic: <u>Ammurapi</u> and <u>Ipšali</u> (cf. <u>Iptl</u>, <u>UM</u>,
No. 220). This makes the proposed Semitic nationality of
the scribes of the alphabetic texts and the Ug. S-H Voc. much
more probable. Cf. § 2.11224.

[32]If these were written by a native speaker of Hurrian,
the very consistent "pattern" of the representation of the
stops would be inexplicable. The argument is admittedly
circular. Another indication that the scribe was Semitic
is the basic consonantal nature of the orthography. It seems
inexplicable that a Hurrian would have made such limited use
of the vowel signs, cf. § 3.12 above.

[33]This "pattern" was first noted for the alphabetic
material from Ugarit by Friedrich, <u>An Or</u> 12(1935): 130ff. and
von Brandenstein, <u>ZDMG</u> 91(1937): 574. For comments on the Ug.
S-H Voc. see Thureau-Dangin, <u>Syria</u> 12(1931): 251ff., and for
the Mari texts, <u>Ibid</u>, RA 36(1939): 28, although Thureau-
Dangin attempts to show from these texts that voicing was
phonemic.

[34]The Early Scribes of Nuzi," AJSL 57(1940): 162-187 and "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 378-404.

[35]Namely, single stops are voiceless in initial position, voiced in intervocalic position, when post-vocalic in final position, and when contiguous with the liquids and nasals; whereas doubled stops are invariably voiceless.

[36]For references to publications of the texts involved and studies of the names, see the notes to § 1.27 above.

[37]Cf. § 3.6 below.

[38]Indeed it is valid to ask whether the labial stop exists at all. However, the existence of the same pattern of voicing in the distribution of p and b argues strongly on the positive side. Cf. IH § 48.

[39]Cf. § 3.22 above.

[40]This failure to indicate doubled consonants orthographically, prevails throughout the alphabetic material, and is also a feature of the Ugaritic texts, as is the case with Semitic consonantal orthography in general.

[41]Cf. also ti-iš-ni, Ug. S-H Voc. 2:27.

[42]Cf. also (ut-ḫu)-ri-di, Ug. S-H Voc. 4:16.

[43]This refers to the Hurrian names written by Akkadian scribes from Babylonian sites, cf. § 3.332 above. ESN and HCP refer to the articles "Early Scribes of Nuzi," AJSL 57(1940): 162-187, and "Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 378-404 by Purves.

[44]The form zi-lu-um-pa-ni-wə, Ug. S-H Voc. 2:12, is an Akkadian loan-word. This, in fact, demonstrates the correct

writing of the stops which is used in this vocabulary. (BA is used, cf. 1:31).

[45]von Brandenstein, ChRT, pp. 564-565, argues that tnt 4:44ff. equals d·Santa(š). This is to be read as ᶜnt, cf. C. H. Gordon UM, p. 130. The final t̪, which, after n̪ or in final position, would violate the well-established Hurrian stop pattern, is simply another indication of the correctness of these texts.

[46]In the light of (ḫi-li)-šu-ki, Ug. S-H Voc. 1:16, which most contain the negative -kk-, it seems that doubling is not orthographically indicated in this text. Hence the repeated šu-ru-ti-ḫi 2:4 and ša-r[i]-ti-ḫi 2:5 can only indicate a double t̪.

[47]From attay "father." This appears invariably as at-ta- in ML (1:87 etc.), at Nuzu (cf. NPN, p. 207), and at Boghazköi [cf. Goetze, Lang 16(1940): 168].

[48]For the single writing see §3.37 below.

[49]For the anomalous g/k/ḫešḫ/ki "throne," see IH §50 (d). Note that Diakonoff, PSVX, p. 379, now connects this with the parent phoneme which appears in Urartean as q. Note again that the signs GI and GU in ML are not used to differentiate the consonant, but the vowel.

[50]For evidence in this same direction, cf. the discussion of Diakonoff, PSVX, pp. 374-379, and especially the table on pp. 378-379, where he compares the Hurrian and Urartean stops.

[51]"Hurrian Consonantal Pattern," AJSL 58(1941): 402.

[52]Cf. §6.4461 below. Note particularly the form Kušuḫu-da, Ug. A-H Bil.: 16.

[53]I.e. consonants that exhibit the pattern of voiced and voiceless allophones.

[54]He seems, however, to say the opposite in §§77 and 79.

[55]Speiser (IH §39, n. 61), countering Thureau-Dangin (who would analyze the form as ša-a-at-ti plus the pronoun -la of the third person plural), prefers to see in it the first person plural pronominal associative -ti(l)la- with haplogic loss of -ti-, "in view of the fact that 'they together' is expressed by ša-⟨at-⟩ta-a-al-la-(an), Mit. 4:62." However, this hypothetical elision of the -ti- in the first example and the emendation in the second is un-necessary. The basic word is šat-. When the enclitic element -lla- is added, beginning with a double consonant, an anaptyctic a-vowel is inserted to avoid the conjunction of three consonants. However, when the enclitic element -tilla- is added, no such anaptyctic vowel is needed and the resulting doubled dental stop becomes voiceless. This is strong evidence in favor of true etymological doubling of the stops in Hurrian, cf. §3.9 below.

[56]For a similar tendency with doubled consonants in the Akkadian texts from Mari see A. Finet, L'Accadien des lettres de Mari (Académie Royale de Belgique; Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques; Memoires, Tome LI; Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1956), §8 a-d.

[57]Cf. Purves, ESN, p. 176.

[58]This does not preclude the possibility that the final stops are glottalized as Speiser suggests, but only makes it much less likely that this is what the Dilbat scribe was attempting to represent.

[59]The so-called begadkephat letters. This is a feature of Aramaic as well. Here it occurs in post-vocalic position also.

[60]It must be noted that the Hebrews and the Arameans originated in just those areas of North Syrian and North-west Mesopotamia where Hurrian penetration was particularly strong. Although direct evidence is lacking, the close association of the Hurrians with other Semitic groups as at Nuzu and Alalaḫ renders a similar relationship between the Hurrians and the ancestors of the Arameans and Canaanites entirely within the realm of possibility.

[61]Cf. OAWG, pp. 39ff.

[62]What they represent phonetically is another matter, see below.

[63]The set of signs which later represented the Akkadian emphatic ṣ had not yet come into use, at least not in those areas that used the Hurro-Hittite syllabary.

[64]See §§ 40-43.

[65]See Speiser's remarks in IH §40.

[66]This word also includes one of the three occurrences of the sign q in these texts, see §2.21 and note 94 thereto.

[67]Note that this word also violates the phonetic rule that initial stops are voiceless. It is very possible that

it is not Hurrian.

[68]To conclude that Semitic [s] at Nuzu must have been a voiced sibilant or an affricate from the fact that it is written with z-signs, as Speiser does in IH §42, completely overlooks the Old Akkadian origin of the syllabary, for this is exactly the practice in Akkad times, and hence the z-signs were polyphonous. The fact that this is an orthographic phenomenon is shown by Purves' demonstration that the first generation of scribes at Nuzu who were Akkadians used exactly the same practice. This can only mean that the scribes were still using OAkk orthographic practices in this peripheral area. Note also the variant spellings at Nippur of names which are spelled with z-signs at Nuzu, cf. HCP, p. 397f.

[69]Note the remarks of Purves to the same effect in HCP, pp. 397-400.

[70]su-pí-a(-a)-maš- (ML 3:72,88).

[71]In pi-su- (ML 1:79, etc.) and pi-sa- (ML 4:9, etc.) from pis- "rejoice," and ḫi-su-ú-ḫ- (ML 3:85, etc.) from ḫisuḫ- "vex."

[72]Note za-a-lu-ša-e (ML 4:14), za-ru-a-ma-a-la-an (ML 4:105), za-ar-ra-ma-a-an (ML 1:89), zu-gán (ML 2:11, 3:16, etc.).

[73]ku-zu- (ML 4:40,45,46), pa-zi-i-ma-an (ML 2:98, 101), etc.

[74]In še-e-ni-iw-wu-ú-uz-zi (ML 3:43). This same suffix is also known from Nuzu.

[75]See also the Lexique hourrite of Laroche in Ugaritica V, III, C, under s.

[76]HCP, p. 399. The name Si-ge also occurs at Nippur. This suggests that the common name Zige at Nuzu was Sike. But Zige does not occur at Nuzu with any other name elements that are demonstrably Hurrian. Cf. NPN, p. 277.

[77]Individual instances at Mari must be used with caution for they all occur in tablet five which is atypical in other respects also. It is possible that a given instance might represent Semitic hearing of the voiced and voiceless allophones of the Hurrian dental fricative, cf. §3.513 below.

[78]Cf. the remarks of Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, C, §3.

[79]Note, however, the reservations expressed in §3.43.

[80]This is not suggested by the phonetic quality of ṣ, for all the evidence of comparative Semitics points to the fact that the so-called "emphatic" consonants in the Semitic languages are velarized or "backed" consonants.

[81]The Ugaritic value of this latter sign had not been recognized when III was written. See C. H. Gordon, UM, §5.2, and §5.3; and E. A. Speiser, "A Note on Alphabetic Origins," BASOR 121 (Feb. 1951): 17-21.

[82]The evidence is based on comparisons between distinctive Hurrian name elements written with š at Nuzu and the same elements written with z in identical names at the Akkadian sites. Purves also includes the examples with z at Mari, but this is problematical. It is difficult to say, without some control, that these are not examples of the voiced allophone of the Hurrian [s] phoneme.

[83]HCP, p. 391.

[84]Cf. Finet, <u>L'Accadien des lettres de Mari</u>, §8 a-d.

[85]Cf. the list in Clay, <u>PNCP</u>, p. 34f.

[86]<u>HCP</u>, p. 383ff. and <u>NPN</u>, p. 236.

[87]The sign <u>d</u> alternates with the sign <u>š</u> in the representation of the voiced form of this phoneme, see below.

[88]In <u>Ugaritica</u> V Laroche uses <u>Ž</u> in his transliteration for both <u>d</u> and <u>š</u>. In Part III, C, §2, he notes that the sign <u>š</u> is constant in initial position, citing "<u>Žkl</u>, <u>Žgr</u>, etc." However, the old text, <u>UM</u> 106 (Herdner's No. 167) clearly gives <u>dktd</u> in A: 5,7. I have not seen the collated facsimiles of M[lle] Herdner to be published in <u>Ugaritica</u> V. It would appear that her collation now shows this to be a <u>š</u>-sign and not a <u>d</u>-sign.

[89]Or is it <u>dktd</u>? See the preceding note.

[90]Laroche also cites <u>Žren</u> (278:6) and <u>Žrle</u> (278:4). These, however, very probably should go with the preceding <u>en</u> in each case, in spite of the word divider. This would give a form <u>enŽr-</u>, i.e. <u>en-na-θura-</u> "with the gods" to go with the preceding forms <u>atḫnŽr-m</u>, i.e. <u>aθḫu-na-θura-ma</u> "with the ones on high," and <u>trnŽr-m</u>, i.e. <u>turi-na-θura-ma</u> "with the ones (who are) low." Note that these forms are written <u>atḫ . nŽrm</u> and <u>t nŽ . rm</u>, showing that the word dividers in this passage are placed incorrectly, (so Laroche). The passage then reads, following the parallelism noted by Laroche: El eŽn -- Elḫl ḫurn

<u>atḫnŽr-m ḫldp enŽr-le</u> -- <u>trnŽr-m ḫldp enŽr</u>

<u>en unṯ -- El unṯ</u>

[91]The only other example of š used for ḏ cited by

Laroche is the divine name Ušḫr which equals ^dU/Išḫara,

which appears in <u>UM</u> 50:7 (Herdner's 172:11). Note, however,

that the name is not Hurrian. Laroche mentions in "Recherches

sur les noms des dieux hittites," <u>RHA</u> 7 fasc. 46(1946-47): 51

that the Hurrians borrowed this member of their pantheon

from the Sumerians. Perhaps this origin is reflected in the

scribe's choice of š in this name. Note that the name also

occurs in Ugaritic texts.

[92]Cf. H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler, "Semitized Hurrians

in Syria and Palestine," <u>JPOS</u> 14(1934): 243-267, esp. p. 250.

[93]Cf. ^f<u>Ḫa-zi-ib-ku-zu-uḫ</u> at Chagar Bazar, (cf. <u>IH</u>, p.

34), with the common name elements <u>Ḫašib-</u> and <u>Kušuḫ</u> at Nuzu.

Cf. ^f<u>A-we-eš-mu-zi</u> at Chagar Bazar, (<u>HCP</u>, p. 386, n. 44),

with the common elements <u>muš-</u> at Nuzu, (<u>NPN</u>, p. 235f.); after

r cf. <u>Še-er-zi-ya</u> at Nippur, (<u>PNCP</u>, p. 1131 and <u>HCP</u>, p. 287),

with <u>Seršiya</u> at Nuzu, (<u>NPN</u>, p. 256); after n cf. ^f<u>Su-un-zu-</u>

<u>na-ya</u> at Chagar Bazar, (<u>HCP</u>, p. 387), with ^f<u>Šunšunaya</u> at

Nuzu, (<u>NPN</u>, p. 259); and <u>En-zu-ug-ri</u> at Nuzu, (<u>NPN</u>, p. 259).

[94]For a suggestion as to the cause of this see 3.53.

[95]<u>HCP</u>, p. 391.

[96]Gelb argues that the s-signs were pronounced <u>šin</u> (cf.

<u>OAWG</u>, p. 34), and argues for a pronunciation of the š-signs

"in the direction of Arabic ṯ, perhaps not in Mesopotamia

proper but an outlying region," (<u>OAWG</u>, p. 37). He very

plausibly explains the change in the use of the signs in the

Old Babylonian period not only by the phonetic shifts in Akkadian but also by those that took place in Sumerian (OAWG, pp. 39ff.). Goetze, along with the majority of scholars, argues for an s-sound, probably š, for the s-signs in Old Babylonian, [cf. "The Sibilants of Old Babylonian," RA 52 (1958): 148].

[97]Laroche, Ugaritica V, I. No. 17.

[98]"Document de fondation hurrite," p. 10.

[99]The emphatic set ṢI and ṢU had not yet come into use.

[100]However, the fact that they "heard" a voiced and voiceless variation might have led them to choose t and d even if the sound was close to š. Note the occasional use of š for d.

[101]Can we be sure, as Speiser states, that proto-Semitic [t] was an inter-dental spirant?

[102]I cannot agree with Prof. Speiser that the Egyptian rendition of Teššub as Tí-su-pi makes it unlikely that Hurrian š (using his transcription) was an interdental spirant, (IH § 46). What other sound would they have used since they possessed no t sound? Purves similarly mis-construes the evidence in suggesting that t had more of a sibilant than dental character because of the variant writings of the voiceless variant of the Hurrian phoneme by Nippur scribes as s, HCP. p. 389, n. 61.

[103]Cf. W. F. Albright, The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography (American Oriental Series, Vol. 5: New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934), XIV D No. 6, p. 56.

For occurrences in Egyptian texts see S. Saumeron, "La forme égyptienne du nom Tešub," <u>Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archaeologie Orientale du Caire</u> 51(1952): 57-59.

[104]It cannot be concluded that the second p̱ also represents the labial fricative as does Speiser [<u>IH</u> §44 (d)] since it cannot be established for certain that post-vocalic stops are voiced. On the contrary all the evidence points to the fact that homogeneous consonant clusters are voiceless. In this case the alphabet would have used p̱ for either the fricative or the stop.

[105]It seems precarious to adduce ML <u>be-en-ti</u> (1:103, 2:5, 2:87) as a variant writing of this word, since both <u>pent-</u> and <u>want-</u>/<u>pant-</u> occur at Nuzu and at Boghazköi. As Purves notes (<u>NPN</u>, p. 144), it hardly seems possible that they could be variants in the same dialect. Further, although the alternation <u>want-</u>/<u>pant-</u> is well attested, no variant spelling of <u>pent-</u> with <u>w</u> is known to me. The ML form <u>be-en-ti</u> is evidence in the same direction, for every certain example of the labial fricative in initial position in ML is written with <u>we</u>, cf. §3.63 below. However, on the other side of the ledger, the name of the well-known king of Amurru, <u>Bente-Sina</u> is written ^mZAG.ŠEŠ [cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, "Zum Churrischen Lexikon," <u>ZA</u> NF. 12(1940): 99-103, and E. Weidner, <u>Boghazköi-Studien</u> 9 (hrsg. von Otto Weber; Leipzig, 1923), p. 126, n. 3]. Now ZAG as a Sumerogram can be <u>imittu</u> "right" (cf. Deimel, <u>SL</u>, No. 332.14). This would seem to argue strongly for the equation of <u>pent-</u> and <u>pant-</u>/<u>want-</u>,

particularly since Laroche has demonstrated that want- at
Boghazköi means "right hand" [RA 54(1960): 192]. However,
pent- in the Mittanni Letter clearly means something like
"to be well, good" (ML 1:103). Can there be some connection
in Hurrian between "to be right, well, good" and "right hand"?

[106]In IH §53,pp. 44, Speiser says: "They were independ-
ent phonemes, and not positional variants as is the case with
the stops, because both are attested initially as well as
medially." I cannot find a single instance where [v] can be
established initially. Cf. also Purves, HCP, p. 395.

[107]Perhaps written differently than the first person
pronominal suffix because length is secondary? Cf. §6.432.
Speiser's conclusion here that -if plus fa- becomes the
doubled voiceless stop seems inexplicable to me. Cf. IH,
p. 43 and 82.

[108]Cf. §§4.55 and 6.4451 below.

[109]The form Panti- for fant- listed in the table comes
from one of the Akkadian scribes in the first generation at
Nuzu. Occasionally variant writings with p occur at Nuzu,
but they are rare.

[110]See note 107 above.

[111]It remains possible, of course, that these are
initial o-vowels.

[112]Note that the root written we-r-."to see" in the
Mittanni Letter occurs not only as wur at Boghazköi [cf.
Laroche, RA 54(1960): 193ff.] but also as bur in the form
bu-u-ri-ip-pa-aš KUB 32 19 1:37, 2:9 [apud Laroche, RA

54(1960): 195, n. 4]. One also finds it in such names as
Wur-Šenni, Wur-Teya, Wur-Teššub at Nuzu. Now the name Pur-
Tirwi also occurs. Since Tirwi is a divine name it remains
possible that this is a variant writing of a root fur-.
Note Pand- at Nuzu beside the usual Wand-. Perhaps wuruḫli/
puruḫli "south, southern" fits here. Note also we- "thou" in
ML but bè-eš at Boghazkoi.

[113]Cf. C. H. Gordon, DNT, § 1.14, and "The New Amarna
Tablets," Or 16(1947): 6. The forms mu-še-el-bu-ú and even
mu-še-el-ú also occur.

[114]This refers to Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des
dieux hittites," RHA 7, fasc. 46(1946-47): 7-139.

[115]Cf. E. von Schuler, "Hurritische Nomina Actoris,"
RHA 19 fasc. 68(1961): 20f., and p. 23, n. 17.

[116]See the word list of Laroche in Ugaritica V.

[117]The form gšḫp (UM 4:61) is problematical for it
also appears as kšḫ and even as ḫešḫ- at Boghazköi.

[118]The divine name ušḫrd, (50:7), which is syllabic
d·U/Išḫara cannot be cited as evidence because of its Semitic
origin (cf. Laroche RNDH, p. 51). Note that it appears in
this same form in a Ugaritic text (1:13).

[119]Cf. §6.46 below and IH §58.

[120]Purves, HCP, p. 397, suggests the form aš-tù-uš-ḫe-na
(KUB 27 3 1:12). However, the combination -šḫ- appears
elsewhere with fair frequency without assimilating.

[121]That this should be the case with just these conso-
nants fits very well with their highly resonant nature, and

provides presumptive evidence in favor of the correctness of
the positional voicing of the stops and fricatives set forth
above.

[122]Cf. IH §38, and Berkooz NDA, p. 57ff.

[123]Except for the agentive -ọọ, which forms its plural
like -ra, e.g. -ọuọọ. However, this is due to the fact that
in form it is a doubled consonant and not consonant plus
vowel as are the other relational particles.

[124]Cf. §4.8 below.

[125]The circle below the liquid indicates that it is
vocalic or syllabic.

[126]For examples see E. von Schuler, "Hurritische Nomina
Actoris," RHA 19 fasc. 68(1961); 20f.

[127]This construction would perhaps weigh against the
hypothesis of C. H. Gordon and E. R. Lacheman in "The Nuzu
Menology," Arch Or 10(1938): 59, that the month Šeḫalu at Nuzu
is an inclusive term embracing both Šeḫalu ša ^{d}IM and Šeḫalu
ša ^{d}Nergal. It would rather suggest that it is a variant of
the month Šeḫlu. However, note that neither Šeḫalu ša ^{d}IM
nor Šeḫalu ša ^{d}Nergal exhibits a variant writing with Šeḫlu,
and this would involve three month names based on the same
element šeḫ(a)lu "pure, purity."

[128]Another striking confirmation of this now comes from
the new alphabetic texts from Ugarit. In 644:9,10 occurs the
forms ttp and ttpn. Laroche notes in his discussion of the
text in Ugaritica V that the divine name Teššub is required
by a parallel passage, 643 A:17. Now ttp violates the pattern

of voicing with the stops, witnessed by the form _ttb_ which
occurs some twenty-two times in these texts. The form can
only represent the assimilated labial fricative of the
genitive suffix -_fe_, i.e. _TeΘΘob-fe_ > _TeΘΘob-be_ > _TeΘΘoppe_.
The doubled stop resulting from the assimilation of the
labial fricative becomes voiceless. Note the form [d]·_Te-e-
eš-šu-u-up-pè_ in ML 2:77, which represents exactly the same
form, but preserves the doubled consonant. This is the
strongest possible evidence for the interpretation of these
double writings as representing consonantal length.

[129]Cf. § 3.38 above.

[130]It remains an outside possibility that the double
writing represents a stop phoneme that differs from the un-
doubled variety by some other phonetic quality than con-
sonantal length, such as aspiration (as is suggested, e.g.
by I. M. Diakonoff, _PSVX_, p. 598), however, two factors weigh
heavily against this. First it does not explain how Akkadian
scribes would also represent these same phonemes by double
writing, nor why the product of assimilation is written double,
both by Hurrian scribes and by Semitic scribes. Secondly,
the three fricatives of Hurrian, labial, dental and velar,
all exhibit this same phenomenon of the doubled consonant
being voiceless. It is hard to see what phonetic quality
could be common to both stops and fricatives. Hence it must
be concluded that the double writing represents consonantal
length.

CHAPTER IV.

[1]This can be assumed for the nominal from the fact that this assimilation is found with the verb, see below.

[2]The form Ḫur-ru-u-ḫe-ni-e-ḫe-wə in ML 1:14, cited by Speiser in IH 61, must certainly be a misprint in KASD for -ni-e-wə. Friedrich's note "mit Kn. I nach Koll." must refer to the change of ŠI in Schroeder's copy to PI (i.e. wə).

[3]The form antu-ya+tta cited by Speiser is an example of the dative not the genitive, cf. §6.4452.

[4]There is no possibility of this condition existing with the intransitive verb, for the vocalic class marker in affirmative forms of intransitive verbs is already -a-, see §7.43.

[5]Schr. reads AN instead of AŠ. Friedrich, KASD, p. 27, n. 4, notes that the sign is "etwas verwischt," but Kn. I has AŠ. The context demands that the sign be AŠ. If it is AN on the tablet it is a scribal error.

[6]Followed by Goetze, JCS 2(1948): 256, n. 12.

[7]With -lla- single writing occurs when the following -an is written with single -a-, i.e. -an rather than -a-an (see §3.113), but this has nothing to do with the presence of the agentive suffix preceding.

[8]The -fe- genitive suffix is added directly to the final consonant of consonant stems, without any secondary vowel, for note how it assimilates to the labial stop in Teᶿᶿop, see §4.54 below.

[9]For a criticism of Goetze's inclusion of place names in uš-še as examples of this phenomenon, see §6.4441 (f) and note 67 thereto.

[10]For another possible example of this same phenomenon, see §4.58 below.

[11]For other examples see §3.83.

[12]The form ^{KUR}[u-]u-mi-i-ni-iw-wə-dil-la-a-an (ML 4: 114) is not necessarily opposed.

CHAPTER V.

[1]The identification of separate Hurrian words is, in general, no problem since the scribe usually left a pronounced space between the words. Compare the Mittanni Letter for instance with the Ug. A-H Bil. where lack of spacing creates difficulties in the interpretation.

[2]That is those morphemes whose primary function is to modify the meaning of the root rather than express its relation to the other words of the clause or sentence.

[3]It is a possibility, however, that roots can be used as root complements. Note the -ant- element of pis-ant- "rejoice about" and the deictic nominal root anti- "this"; and the verbal root complement -ar- which has been interpreted as a "factitive" or "causative" element and the verbal root ar- "give."

[4]Cf. III §§93-97. I have dispensed with the term "free" roots since they never stand alone.

[5]The fact that many verbal roots do not appear as

nominals and vice versa need only be due to the limited amount
of Hurrian we possess.

[6]Being, in fact, the only appendage possible with the
particles.

[7]Cf. note 2.

CHAPTER VI.

[1]The limitations of applying "conventional" grammatical
categories to Hurrian are most evident here. Hurrian expresses
the prepositional relationship by relating two morphologically
identical nominals with the proper "relational" or "case" suf-
fixes to bring out the nuance of thought desired, e.g. at-ta-
i-i-wa e-ti-i-ta (ML 1:106), i.e. attay-i-fa eti-i-ta, "fa-
ther-his-for person-his-to," i.e. "for the sake of his father."

[2]Cf. IH §99. E.g. kuro "again, in return," functions
as a particle; in gu-ru-ú-we (ML 4:42) it appears as a nominal;
and in gu-ru-u-u-[ša] (ML 1:45) it appears as a verbal; simi-
larly θukko "furthermore, moreover" is a particle, while
θukkanne is a nominal; and finally note paθθ- "to send, dis-
patch," paθθithi- "envoy" and paθθihi- "shipment."

[3]Speiser, IH §104, has noted that stems which only show
a writing with -i, all include ambiguous signs (cf. §3.113).
Hence it seems simplest to regard these as e-stems until
clear proof of an i-stem is attested. However, when such
proof is lacking an i-vowel will be used.

[4]Laroche notes the form šeni = Akk. aḫu = ŠEŠ in Ug.
Quad. Voc. 135 obv. 19 (cf. Ugaritica V, Part I, No. 2), and

suggests"". ... l'onomastique en šen(n)i suggère plutôt, comme le présent vocabulaire, un thème šeni." However, the forms on which šena- is based are not capable of being explained in any other way. The second person pronominal suffix is added to the stem vowel (cf. §6.433) and hence the form θena-f-uθ (ML 1:84) versus paθθithe-f-uθ (ML 1:72 etc.) argues strongly for an a-stem vowel, θen^{a-}. Note also θala "daughter" (ML 1:47, 3:35,37,104) vs. θala-f-an (ML 1:51, 4:93) "and thy daughter" and θal-iff- "my daughter" (ML 3:76,90). The form -šenni of the onomasticon is best regarded as θen+ne (for the elision of the a-stem vowel, see §4.221), cf. NPN, p. 255. Hence the form in the Ug. Quad. Voc. must be regarded as unusual.

[5]See Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 7, where it equals Ug. qaritum (Quad. Voc. 130 3:18).

[6]Ibid., No. 5, where it equals Akk. eq[lu] and Ug. šad[u]. [Quad. Voc. 130 3:11).

[7]That the stem vowel is definitely -e can be seen from the form ew-ri-en-na-šu-uš, (ML 3:48). Note the equations ewri = Akk. bêlu = Ug. ba'lu, (130 3:13-14), but ewir-ni = Akk. šarrum = Ug. malku (137 2:32-33) in Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 6.

[8]Compare Urartean ti- "to speak," tiya- "word," see Diakonoff, PSVX, p. 381.

[9]Cf. Laroche, "Études hourrites," RA 54(1960): 189-192.

[10]Speiser, IH §§105 and 128, lists this as a "nominalized preposition." The morphology of Hurrian is strictly against

such a division for "prepositions" have no morphologically
separate existence in Hurrian, Cf. §6.4462. Rather, as the
occurrence of the word in its root meaning in the Ug. A-H
Bil. has shown (cf. Laroche, PRU III, p. 315), it is a
"prepositionalized nominal" or better a nominal whose most
common function is to express the relationship usually re-
served to prepositions in other languages. See now eti-ta =
Akk. ana = Ug. le, Ug. Quad. Voc. apud Laroche, Ugaritica V,
I, No. 24.

[11]See Ibid., No. 10, where išten = Akk. and Ug. anaku
(Quad. Voc. 130 3:12).

[12]See iki-ta = Ug. bi (Ug. Quad. Voc. 130 3:5-6). For
this word as it occurs in the Ug. S-H Voc. 2:127-128 where it
equals Sum. ŠÀ, and 1:3-11, 2:30 where it equals Sum. ŠÈ "to,"
see Laroche, Ibid., No. 24.

[13]Note Urartean b/pura "slave," cf. Diakonoff, PSVX,
p. 373.

[14]Thus Ug. alam- "end" equals Bogh. alummi- "last";
Ug. Kušaḫ equals Bogh. Kušuḫ, Ug. S-H Voc. 1:31 ki-ba-šu
would equal Bogh. and Mit. ki-bu-ša; Ug. (and Nuzu) Kumurwe
equals Bogh. Kumarbi, etc., cf. Laroche, RA 54(1960); 189
n. 3.

[15]It is possible that uθtanni = Akk. eṭlu = DUN in Ug.
Quad. Voc. 137 2:24 is a diphthong stem due to the form
uštae at Bogh., cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, Part I, No. 14.
It is also possible that ay- is correct rather than ayi for
the "prepositional" nominal which means "presence," see

§6.4442 (b).

[16]Note now the form ḫa-ú-ru-ši-ḫi "earthen" at Alalaḫ, cf. Draffkorn, HHA, p. 166.

[17]See §8.8.

[18]See Friedrich; "Zum Subaräischen und Urartäischen, Part 3, Das subaräische Wort fur 'ich'," An Or 12(1935): 131-135.

[19]For the elision of the agentive -ǝǝ before -lla, -tilla, and -tta, cf. §4.4.

[20]See Speiser, "A New Hurrian Pronominal Form," JAOS 60(1940): 264-367.

[21]Cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 10.

[22]A full treatment of ant- has been given by Friedrich, "Zwei churritische Pronomina," RHA 5 fasc. 35(1939): 98-102.

[23]"Zwei churritische Pronomina," RHA 5 fasc. 35(1939): 93-98.

[24]The forms in -ar-ae cited by Speiser are best taken as examples of the jussive suffix -ae, see §7.46321 B.

[25]HHA, p. 167.   [26]Ibid., p. 169.   [27]Ibid., p. 165.

[28]Ibid., p. 132.   [29]Ibid., p. 189.   [30]Ibid., p. 189

[31]Ibid., p. 190.   [32]Ibid., p. 203.   [33]Ibid., p. 176.

[34]Ibid., p. 198f. Besides the form sarae cited by Draffkorn from Nuzu, it now appears frequently in the Linear A texts from Hagia Triada, followed by both the wheat and barley determinatives. Thus, note: sa-ra[wheat] HT 18:2, 28 A:2, 90:1, 101:3 102:1, 114 A:1-2, 120:1-2; sa-ra[barley] HT 28 B:3, 94 A:3, 99 A:1, 100:4, [from G. Caratelli, Le Epigrafi di Haghia Triada

in Lineare A, (Universidad de Salamanca: Seminario di Filologia clasica, 1963)].

[35]Ibid., p. 192.   [36]Ibid., p. 166.

[37]Note the discussion of these terms in E. von Schuler, "Hurritische Nomina Actoris," RHA 19 fasc. 68(1961): 19-23, and cf. the list of such terms that occur in the Alalaḫ texts in Draffkorn, HHA, p. 217.

[38]For taluḫli equals "eunuch" see H. Lewy, "Miscellanea Nuziana," Or NS. 28(1959): 124. However, note now that tali- equals iṣṣu "wood" in Ug. Quad. Voc. 130 3:8 (Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 25).

[39]Cf. IH §142. The function of this element for the cases was first noted by Goetze, "The Genitive of the Hurrian Noun," RHA 5 fasc. 39(1940): 203f.

[40]The form in context is written u-u-mi-i-ni-iw-wa-aš-ša-a-an. The doubling of the -š- is an orthographic phenemenon connected with the following particle -an, cf. §3.113.

[41]The third person is not so easy to demonstrate because its singular form is not immediately apparent, cf. §6.434 below. However, note the following plurals: tupp-iyaθ "their tablets" (ML 3:39,45), zukittart-iyaθ "their ?" (ML 4:100), θitur-iyaθ "their curses(?)" (KUB 27 42 obv. 23) [apud Goetze, RHA 5 fasc. 39(1940): 198, n. 32].

[42]The genitive -fe becomes -fa before -an.

[43]For the "genitive-genitive" prepositional phrase see §6.4442 (b).

[44]Perhaps this form is written with -pa because the

an represents syllabic n rather than the syllable -an. This
is not the connective an because of the preceding . . .]a-an.

[45]The term "zero-suffix" is a better designation than
"stem-form" because it frequently appears with a pronominal
suffix and is then, strictly speaking, no longer the "stem-
form" of the nominal.

[46]Cf. Messerschmidt, "Mitanni-Studien," pp. 3-8; Bork,
"Die Mittannisprache," p. 46; and see Friedrich, BChG, p. 7,
n. 1.

[47]This was first noticed by Goetze in "The n-form of
the Hurrian Noun," JAOS 60(1940): 217-223. However, Goetze,
nonetheless, still regards this -n as the suffix of the
"accusative."

[48]For a more complete discussion of the associative
predicative particle -n, including reasons why it cannot be
taken as a relational suffix, see §9.2.

[49]In phonemic normalization the associatives will be
separated from the words to which they are attached by plus
signs (+), while suffixes will be indicated by dashes (-).

[50]The grammatical terms "subject" and "object" are
avoided here intentionally for reasons that will become
obvious as we proceed.

[51]This is discussed in detail in IH, §194.

[52]This has been translated with an English passive
construction to bring out the character of the Hurrian con-
struction. Since this is the only way Hurrian can express
the construction with a transitive verb and both logical sub-

ject and object, it is the equivalent of the English active
construction and ought to be translated so, i.e. "my brother
requested a wife."

[53]These terms were first applied to Hurrian by Speiser,
who established beyond cavil the passival force and nature
of the transitive verb, cf. IH §246.

[54]For full discussion see §§7.43 and 7.48.

[55]The allomorphic forms of the suffix are listed and
separated by the sign ~.

[56]Although voicelessness, however, was retained. This
is seen from the invariable use of $\underline{t}$ in final position at
Ugarit.

[57]The double labial fricative -$\underline{ff}$- is always written
double in final position and hence did not lose its gemina-
tion. However, in the writing -$\underline{iw-wə}$ used for this fricative,
the final vowel is non-distinctive where such would not be
the case in attempting to write a double $\underline{θ}$, i.e. $\underline{ša}$, $\underline{še}$, $\underline{ši}$
or $\underline{šu}$ would have indicated a superfluous vowel. For this
reason it remains possible that the final -$\underline{š}$ represents a
double sound.

[58]Teθθub-aθ, (ML 1:76, 2:65, 4:118), is irregular.

[59]For the Ugaritic writings see now Laroche in Ugaritica
V, Part III. Note the following: No. 2 offering to El, (text
274), en al$\underline{dy}$ğ e[n]amrw en ugrtw ᶜmštmrw, which is in
transcription ene Alaθiyaḫe ene Amurri-fe ene Ugarit-fe
ᶜAmistamru-fe, i.e. "the Alašiyan god, the god of the west
(or Amurru), the god of Ugarit, of ᶜAmmistamru," and compare

kmrb(nd), (Ug. Alph. 261:14, 274:4) with kmrw(nd), (Ug. Alph. 254:5, 172:1 ?).

[60]Speiser, in IH §151, hesitates to posit [f] since the Mittanni Letter regularly uses -w-. However, the great regularity of Mittanni orthography and the fact that, in almost every case in which we can be certain, writings with -w- correspond to [f], argue strongly for the labial fricative.

[61]And hence it is homographic with the dative suffix -fa. In most cases the context clearly indicates which is meant. However, there are few cases where ambiguity exists.

[62]For the establishment of the third sing. pronominal suffix in greater detail, cf. §6.434.

[63]Speiser's assumption that it represents the doubled stop (IH §82) seems inexplicable, for there is no reason for the fricative to shift to the stop. This is a different thing than [d]Te-e-eš-šu-up-pè (ML 2:77) for here the fricative has assimilated to the final stop of the name.

[64]The second person singular pronominal suffix, written -ib in final position, would be voiced since it is a "pattern" consonant and is in word-final position. Cf. the labial stop in word-final position in Teššub.

[65]Cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, A, No. 6.

[66]The word is unknown.

[67]For this suffix in place names see A. Goetze, "Hurrian Place Names in -š(š)e," in Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65 Geburtstag (Hsgbn. von R. von Kienle, A. Moortgat, H. Otten, E. von Schuler, und W. Zaumseil; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959),

pp. 195-206.

[68] In the article cited in the previous note, p. 196, Goetze includes several forms in uš-še as examples of genitive forms without the plural "article." However, the fact that these are written with double -šš- and that they do not carry the suffix -na, whereas the forms are always written with single -š- when the -na occurs, shows that these must be taken as abstracts formed with the suffix -ŏŏe, see §6.5.

[69] For ewir-ne and presumably also ewre-nne as "king" see Ug. Quad. Voc. 137 2 32-33 where ewir-ne equals Akk. šarru and Ug. malku, whereas ewri in 130 3:13-14 equals Akk. bêlu and Ug. baᶜlu (cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 6).

[70] The exact force of these words is hard to assess, but they do not affect the general sense of the passage.

[71] This phrase is most likely the Hurrian equivalent of the Hittite idalus memiyas "malicious gossip," a common topic of Hittite treaties, cf. Goetze, JCS 2(1948): 264.

[72] Speiser's interpretation of the -ne of these forms [IH, §137(3)] is tied up with his view of this suffix as an "attributive" suffix which relates the modifier to the head noun, cf. §6.4521 below.

[73] Cf. IH §69 and 128.

[74] Cf. "Études hourrites," RA 54(1960): 189ff.

[75] In IH §234, Speiser sets up a special use of the genitive with the verb pis- "rejoice" on the basis of the form an-du-ú-e- (ML 2:63). This cannot be substantiated, cf. §6.4452(d) below.

[76]Cf. §7.41 (1) below, and Laroche, RA 54(1960): 199-201. Laroche very plausibly suggests the root faḫr > farr.

[77]In passage (2) Speiser concludes that the form antu-ya+tta- could be either genitive or dative since the vowel e frequently becomes a before the pronominal associative -tta. However, this vowel change seems to take place only with the stem vowel, cf. §4.24. Note that it does not happen with the e-vowel of the suffix -ne.

[78]IH, p. 200, n. 5.

[79]The lacuna between antu-ye-ne and eti-iy-(f)e indubitably contains the pronominal associative -tta as Friedrich supplies in KASD, p. 17.

[80]In PRU III, p. 316, n. 4 Laroche explains kušuḫ-u on the analogy of the forms -uḫli versus uḫuli. However, the u-vowel in the latter form is due to the syllabic l which follows, cf. §3.83 above. The u-vowel of kušuḫu is simply the connecting vowel between the consonant and the directive suffix.

[81]However, the form še-e-ni-iw-wa-ta occurs some nine times never with any vowel expressed.

[82]Even after the semivowel y, cf. a-ta-i-ta (5:5) at Mari. .

[83]This is clearly shown by the forms ḫdntt ḫdlrt[t] in Ug. Alph. 50 obv. 9.

[84]I do not see why Prof. Laroche vocalizes this with an a-vowel. Cf. his remarks under Part III, C, §13. A stative does not seem to fit the context at all. The forms

in umma epēšu at Nuzu are either examples of the Akkadian
accusative after epēšu or the Hurrian stative, cf. IH,
§ 172.

[85]Besides the following two, an example occurs in ML
4:46-47, but the verb is too obscure for analysis.

[86]Cf. EA 19:61-64; 20:52,55, 26:42, 27:28 etc.

[87]This is further evidence that these are specialized
uses of ordinary nominals rather than being "nominalized
prepositions" as per Speiser, IH §128. Cf. the remarks of
Laroche to the same effect in PRU III, p. 315. This also
makes the agglutinative structure of Hurrian manifestly
evident.

[88]Cf. the remarks in §6.4442 above.

[89]If this means Sauška of Nineveh, as the context
almost demands, one would expect Ninua-fe-ne-fa.

[90]For this reading rather than the -ša of Friedrich,
KASD, p. 9, see Speiser, "Phonetic Method in Hurrian Ortho-
graphy," Lang. 16(1940): 325, n. 26.

[91]Die Mitannisprache, p. 48.

[92]Speiser's interpretation in IH §154(b) that the -ra
in the forms eθe-ne-ra ḫawuru-nne-ra (ML 3:100f.) is used
im the derived sense of "like" may well be correct, but the
interpretation of the immediate phrase is too problematical
and uncertain to be sure. Speiser states that "it is plain
from the context that the wealth of the Egyptian ruler is
said here to be as extensive as heaven and earth." This is
not plain to me at all for the subject under discussion is

a golden statue of or for Tušratta (_šu-u-wə_, line 99) which, it is said, should be large (_tupp-o-l-ewa_, line 100).

[93]Cf. von Brandenstein, _ChRT_, p. 571, n. 1. Speiser does not point out that this form is parallel to _al-la-ni_ _[e]-še-na-ša_ which is _alla-ni eθe-na-θa_, "queen in (the) heavens." Now the latter form is identical with the plural of the dative and could suggest a "dative of location." However, the singular form in -_ya_ precludes such a treatment. Further, note that clear dative singular forms never carry this meaning.

[94]Speiser's interpretation of the form ^{KUR}Ma-a-áš-ri-a-a-an-ni ^{KUR}u-u-mi-i-ni, (ML 3:7), as being an example of the locative, i.e. Mašri-_ya_-(n)ne "land _in_ (=of) Egypt" [_IH_ §137 1(c)] is extremely forced. We need also to account for the form Mašr- beside the homonym Mizir-. The clue is given by the fact that in each unbroken context where Mašriyanni occurs it parallels Ḫurwoḫe "Hurrian," viz. ML 2:69,71; 3:7,117; 4:128. (In two occurrences, ML 4:97 and 105, the context is broken). Obviously, then Mašriyanni is best interpreted as an adjective like Ḫurwoḫe. As to its form, the answer has been suggested by E. von Schuler in "Hurritische Nomina Actoris," _RHA_ 19 fasc. 68(1961): 22, n. 7, where he says "Darf man deshalb ein barbarisch (?)-akkad. Gentiliz Miṣriaju ansetzen?" In the light of the above parallel in usage between Mašriyanni and Ḫurwoḫe he is right. That it is built on a gentilic is fully verified by contrasting the usage of the variant form Mizir- "Egypt." Compare the following:

(1) Ḫurwoḫe-ne-fe ^{KUR}o⟨mi⟩n-ne-fe ew[re-n]ne (ML 2:72) "Hurrian-one-of land-one-of lord-one(?)" i.e. "the king of the land, the Hurrian one."

(2) ^{KUR}Mašriya-nne-fe [^{KUR}o]min-ne-fe e[wre-nn]e (ML 2:71), "Egyptian-one(?)-of land-one-of lord-one(?)," i.e. "the king of the land, the Egyptian one."

(3) ^mTuθrat[ta+an] ^{KUR}Ḫurwoḫe ewir-ne (ML 4:127), Tušratta (is) the Hurrian king."

(4) ^mImmuriya+an ^{KUR}Mašri[ya-n]ne ewir-ne (ML 4:128), "Immuriya (is) the Egyptian lord."

with:

^mNimmuriya-θ ^{KUR}Mizir-ne-fe-ne-θ ewri-θ (ML 1:84-85), "Nimmuriya-by Egypt-one-of-one-by lord-by," i.e. "by Nimmuriya, by the lord of Egypt."

Note that when Mizir- is used, it must be placed in the genitive case and the "phrasal" relational suffixes are attached to it by means of the anaphoric suffix -ne, as with any other nominal. However, the form Mašriyanni parallels the adjectival form Ḫurroḫe completely.

I would only question von Schuler's basic form Miṣriāju. Mašriyanni is rather a Hurrianized Akkadian gentilic in îyu (cf. von Soden, GAG, §56q, and for Old Akkadian, Gelb, OAWG, p. 156), i.e. Miṣrîyu [cf. Jensen, "Grundlagen fur eine Entzifferung der (hatischen oder) cilicischen(?) Inschriften," ZDMG 48(1894): 439]. To this Akkadian gentilic the Hurrian ending -nne is added, by means of the connecting vowel a. I cannot explain the a-vowel in the first syllable.

[95]In IH §207 and 235 Speiser treats this form and the form t[i-w]i[-i-y]a-[an] in line 104, (which he himself established as the correct supplementation, see IH, p. 173, n. 280) as datives. In form neither one can be. Speiser also interprets e-ti-iw-wə, ML 3:91, as a dative (IH §235) and even reconstructs ML 3:118 as du-ru-bi-iw-wa eti-ta! These forms cannot be dative either.

[96]If only one such form occurred, we might assume scribal omission of the ú-sign, but this cannot be done for three separate cases, two of which clearly require a locative force.

[97]The forms in -ya in purely Hittite contexts at Boghazkoi [cf. Laroche, RA 54(1960): 197] are inexplicable to me.

[98]The form -e posited by Speiser from the writing -di-e in the Ug. S-H Voc. is to be deleted; -di-e is the contraction of eti- "person" with the preceding word, cf. Laroche, RA 54(1960): 198, and especially now Ugaritica V, I, No. 24.

[99]The word palt- is a nominal built by adding the root complement -t to the root pal- "know" (cf. kelt- "well-being, health" kel- "please, satisfy"). In this context the meaning appears to be something like "authentic."

[100]This is not an example of the compound -ḫḫa form to be discussed below. The -ḫḫ- is part of the stem of this word, cf. ḫiyaroḫḫe (ML 3:93), which is not adjectival. This has been explained as a borrowing from Akk. ḫurâṣu [cf. Albert Cuny, "Mitannian ḫiaroḫḫe «or» ," RHA I (1930): 185-188)],

but as the Greek χ/ουνς and Hebrew γιלי show the word was international, hence its origin is uncertain.

[101]For this meaning see N. Van Brock, RHA 17 fasc. 65 (1959): 117-146.

[102]Note also θilaḫuθḫa (ML 4:66), ḫeθellaḫḫa+tilla+an (ML 4:121), ur-impuθθuḫḫa (ML 3:95), and naḫull-impuθθuḫḫa (ML 3:96).

[103]How this form differs in meaning from those ending in -impu-θθ-uḫḫ-a remains totally obscure. Note also the nominals ending in -θḫ-, cf. §6.4614.

[104]Cf. IH, §156. This, however, is not absolutely certain for the function of the ubiquitous -(n)n- in ML is still far from clear.

[105]For this meaning of θir- see EA 19:24 "ᵈIštar ù ᵈAmanum kî libbi-šu ša aḫiya limeššelši "may Ištar and Aman make her like the heart of my brother."

[106]Cf. also ML 4:33-34.

[107]This cannot be genitive for if it were the ending -nna of the "head" noun would have to be repeated on the modifiers. Cf. §6.4521 A, and note example (1) above.

[108]At this date Friedrich was using the term "Subaräische" for the language. Shortly after he adopted the term "Churritische."

[109]"ein suffixanreihendes -ne," An Or 12(1935): 127.

[110]The connotation meant here is that of "single, individual." It is not yet clear whether this suffix also bore the meaning of the number "one" in Hurrian. A priori the ex-

pectation would be in the negative since the other numbers
in Hurrian are separate nominal roots rather than suffixes
or particles, cf. §6.24.

[111]By "nominal phrase" is meant a nominal plus its geni-
tival or adjectival modifiers.

[112]See note 109 above.

[113]It is this which precludes their being "attributional"
suffixes as per Speiser, cf. below.

[114]For the allomorph -ụe of the genitive suffix -fe
see §6.4441 (b).

[115]For this derivational use of -ne see §6.4522 below.

[116]For this meaning see now Laroche, Ugaritica V, Part
III, Section A, Text 1, notes to line 3.

[117]See note 115.

[118]See note 115.

[119]Cf. IH §137, 1(c).

[120]I can do nothing with the words immediately preceding
GUŠKIN'

[121]All the contexts in which this word appears fit some
such meaning as this.

[122]For the comparative use of the associative tan, see
§9.8 below.

[123]Laroche, Ugaritica V, Part I, No. 6.

[124]This makes it very plausible that the person called
הונאה in II Sam. 24:16 (הנוא elsewhere) is actually
the king of Jerusalem and not merely the governor or mayor. Note
the definite article on the name. For another instance in which

this same word was misunderstood as a personal name by the Assyrians, see A. L. Oppenheim, "Une glose hurrite dans les Annales de Tiglath-Phalasar I," RHA 5(1939-1940): 111-112.

[125]Note the examples cited by Speiser in IH §137 (4) which this now clarifies. Speiser, however, uses these in support of his "attributive" interpretation of the suffix.

[126]It is significant to observe that the word šarru is not found in ML. The recognition that ewir-ne is the Hurrian equivalent of šarru "king" shows that šarru is an Akkadian loan word in Hurrian.

[127]She is not mentioned by name.

[128]For this relational use of the plural -na see §6.4531 below.

[129]In IH §133 Speiser transliterates this as šar-ra-aš-ši-ḫi-bi-na-š[u-uš]. However, the sign after ši is certainly not ḫi. If the small horizontal wedge in the upper left corner, shown by the encircling dotted lines to lie in a broken surface, is ignored, it is a perfectly good ni for this tablet. The scribe of this tablet was exceptionally careless. Note, in the line immediately above: šar-ra-aš-ši<-ḫi-ni>-bi-na-šu-uš e-eb-ri-iš <-ši>-ḫi-ni-bi-na-šu-uš,

[130]Cf. the preceding note.

[131]For similar uses of the suffix -ḫe in the Mittanni letter, cf. §6.4612 A below.

[132]For a more detailed explanation of this see §6.4521 above.

[133]For this translation see the remarks under the root

complement -art-, §6.3 (2).

[134]Due to the final -t preserved in this word, and the lack of any -na plural, I would suggest some word ending in collective -arti- here.

[135]See note 116 above.

[136]Goetze makes this the central fact of his interpretation that these suffixes are definite articles, cf. RHA 5 fasc. 39(1940): 200.

[137]Viz. ᵈe-en-ni-iw-wa-a-še-e-en ᵈTe-e-eš-šu-up-pè ᵈA-m[a-]a-nu-ú-e[. . . which is in transcription en-n(a)-iffaθ-(f)e+n ᵈTeθθup-pe ᵈAmanu-ẉe, i.e. "of our gods, of Teššub (and) of Amon," (ML 2:77). Note that two words previous to this passage occurs DINGER.MEŠe-e-ni-iw-wə-šu-uš without the -na suffix. It could be considered as significant that when the -na is present as in line 77, the scribe writes the determinative simply DINGER, but when the -na is not used, as in line 76, the scribe feels it necessary to write DINGER.MEŠ as the determinative; however, DINGER.MEŠ en-na-θuθ in ML 1:78 and 4:117 makes this doubtful.

The other occurrences are found in ML 4:115f.: inu+me+nin . . . [DINGER.MEŠ]e-e-en-ni-ip-tan še-ḫar-ni-i[w-w]a-aš ḫu-tan-ni-iw-wa-aš ša-a-ri-il-li-it-ta, "from thy gods our fortunes(?) (and) our fate will be requested." In en-n(a)-if-tan the -na obviously must refer to number. So also in θeḫar-n(a)-iffaθ and possibly in ḫuta-nn(a)-iffaθ, but this is uncertain due to the ambiguity about the forms in -nni.

The forms ma-ka-a-an-ni-iw-wə[. . .] (ML 2:15) and ma-ka-a-an-ni-iw-wu-ú-um-na (ML 2:54) are problematical. The word appears as makanna in the plural in ML 3:58, but it has been very plausibly interpreted as a borrowing from Vedic magha- "wealth, gift," [cf. H. Kronasser, Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), p. 145], and hence take the suffix -nni, plural -nna, as is common with foreign words borrowed by the Hurrians, e.g. Mašriyanne, cf. the remarks of von Schuler, "Hurritische Nomina Actoris," RHA 19 fasc. 68(1961): 19-23.

[138]For the collective force of -arti- see §6.3 (2).

[139]The great regularity of the overt expression of the plural in most European languages must not lead us astray here. Other languages do not share such a feature. Thus the singular form of the Hebrew noun is frequently used with numbers above one, the plural form apparently being deemed superfluous in such a context, e.g.   וַיְהִי בִּימֵי אֲחַשְׁוֵרֹושׁ הוּא אֲחַשְׁוֵרֹושׁ, Esther 1:1.

[140]Any translation can only be periphrastic since we have no way in English to make a qualitative adjective out of the noun "brothers."

[141]See III §158, and Friedrich, An Or 12(1935): 122-128.

[142]Cf. §3.7 above.

[143]The voiced labial stop b before the t is unusual and probably reflects a non-Hurrian origin for the word.

[144]Cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, A. Textes, 2., notes to lines 6-7.

[145]For other examples see Friedrich, _An Or_ 12(1935):
122ff.

[146]Cf. Friedrich, _An Or_ 12(1935): 124.

[147]Cf. the remarks of Speiser in _IH_ §56, p. 47, and more
recently Laroche, _Ugaritica_ V, III, C, §9.

[148]Cf. Friedrich, _An Or_, 12(1935): 121ff.

[149]See Draffkorn, _HHA_, p. 156.

[150]Draffkorn, _HHA_, p. 159.

[151]Cf. Speiser, IH §57, and Friedrich, _An Or_, 12(1935):
123ff.

[152]See Laroche, _Ugaritica_ V, III, C, §9. It cannot be
vocalized paban̮e, however, for that spelling would have been
written pbnǵ, due to the voicing of the fricative after the
nasal n. The form papnab̮b̮e is preferable in the light of
pap-ni, cf. IH §63, and §4.21.

[153]See Draffkorn, _HHA_, p. 165. Note the interesting
1[en] LÚ ša KUR Mi-ta-an-ni b̮a-ni-a-ab̮-b̮é (_AT_ 135:11), "One
Ḫanean man from (or of) Mittanni."

[154]_HSS_ 14 589:13. Note also the use of _tiš-nu_ as a
heart-shaped vessel, cf. Draffkorn, _HHA_, p. 208f.

[155]There is no observable difference here between -b̮a
and -b̮b̮a. In fact, note the two forms ur-impu-ͦͦ-obb̮-a and
nab̮-ull-impu-ͦͦ-ob̮a alongside one another in ML 3:95-96 (un-
less this is scribal error?).

[156]_Ugaritica_ V, III, A. Textes, 2., notes to lines 14-
15.

[157]"Zum Churrischen Lexikon," _ZA_ 46:89.

[158]The fact that it is regularly followed by UD.KA.BAR
"bronze" [once by GIŠ, "wood," cf. von Brandenstein, ZA 46:
89, n. 1] need only prove that it had become a general term
for some type of container. Compare also the words ḫuburnu
"flask," ḫuburtu "beer vat(?)," and ḫubûru "large vat for
beer" in Akkadian from the OAkk period on, which may be
Hurrian loan words, cf. CAD 6, pp. 219-220. This suggests
that ḫubruθḫe might be the general Hurrian term for "vessel,
jug," or "container," but this is problematical in the light
of its specialized use in the ritual texts.

[159]Cf. von Brandenstein, ChRT, p. 563, n. 1, and Laroche,
RNDH, p. 57.

[160]See Draffkorn, HHA, p. 203.

[161]Ibid., p. 176. For the identification of the word
in NA, see Opitz, ZA 37(1931): 104ff.

[162]Ibid., p. 198f.

[163]Cf. Speiser, IH §160 and Friedrich, "Churritische
adjektiva auf -uzzi," Or NS 11(1942): 350-352.

[164]Cf. the remarks of Laroche in RA 54(1960): 188, n.
5, and in Ugaritica V, I, No. 28.

[165]This, however, is doubtful. The example involves
the sign RI, which could just as well be read re and be an
example of ae>e.

[166]Note, however, the difference between the verbal
elements -ai and -ae- in the Mittanni Letter, cf. §7.46321
B and C.

[167]For the justification for this see §3.322 above.

[168]The comparison of mannu-pat-ae (ML 4:59) and niru-pat-ae (ML 4:5,6) with paltu-pat-e (ML 3:48) proves nothing for the latter is in wholly uncertain context.

[169]This was postulated in the beginning of Hurrian studies, cf. Messerschmidt, "Mitanni-Studien," MVA(e)G 4 (1899): 11, and Jensen, ZA 14(1899): 177.

[170]The force here is a little hard to assess. In Ug. S-H Voc. 2:20 nir-ae is given as the equivalent of Sumerian SIG$_5$ which is Akkadian damqu "qualified, able, fit" when referring to men, and "fine, unblemished, in good condition" when referring to animals. Perhaps the force here then is not so much the manner of sending as the condition of the sending, i.e. with many gifts and well cared for.

[171]The reference is to the envoys of both kings.

[172]Cf. Speiser, JAOS 74(1954): 25, and Friedrich, "Zu den churritischen Zahlwörten," AfO 17(1954-56): 368.

[173]Ugaritica V, I, No. 28.

[174]Note also the form ḫeltae at Alalaḫ, descriptive of chairs, AT 435:9, cf. Draffkorn, HHA, p. 166.

[175]The form ušae in Ug. S-H Voc. 2:25 is too obscure to base upon it the conclusions which Speiser does in IH §166. The equation ušae equals ibašû is very problematic since there also exists a reading allakû (cf. Landsberger, MSL V, p. 62, notes). However, the fact that both these forms are subjunctive suggests (as Laroche notes, op. cit.) that ušae is "adverbial" here.

[176]Cf. Ugaritica V, I, No. 28.

[177]The form is written tu-ú-ru, but the ú-sign is given as the equivalent of alphabetic ḫ in the tablet of alphabetic-syllabic correspondences published in PRU II, No. 189, p. 201-203. The form ṭuhru can only be a noun, cf. Heb. ד ַ גׄוֹ, הָדְָדׂטׄ < ṭuhr-.

[178]E.g. ḫaθar-ae, tatukar-ae.

[179]E.g. pall-aen (ML 4:56,59,108), takulaeθ [IH, §193 (c)].

[180]The difficulty of translation is due to the fact that we have no English noun that corresponds to this form. The closest form is the gerund "loving one another, being good," as used with its nominal force. A close parallel is the Semitic infinitive, which is really a verbal noun of this same type.

[181]Cf. §3.111.

[182]See the remarks of Speiser, IH §172, and Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 12. There are also a few occurrences of the writing x-um epêšu at Nuzu in place of the more common x-umma epêšu.

[183]Cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, Part I, No. 1.

[184]Ibid., No. 21. For the force of "preserve, keep alive" for the D-stem of ḫwy see C. H. Gordon, UM, §9.50.

[185]Ibid., No. 29.

[186]Ibid., No. 23.

[187]Ibid., No. 33.

[188]Ibid., No. 22.

[189]For these forms see C. H. Gordon, DNT, §4.13, and

the lists in CAD 6, pp. 201-225, and von Soden, AHWB, p. 225.

[190]E.g. tidukamma epêšu "to fight," from the Akkadian word tidûku "fight, battle."

[191]E.g. šar-ra-aš-ši (KUB 27 1 2:3), "kingship"; ši-ra-aš-še (ML 4:34), "conform"; inmty (Ug. alph. 261:6) which equals syllabic enumašše-ya (cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, Text 1, notes to lines 4-5).

[192]E.g. dam-qar-ši at Nuzu (cf. Speiser, AASOR 16, p. 122f.). This might be better taken, however, as an ideogram plus phonetic complement in the light of dam-qar-ra-aš-ši (KUB 27 1 2:23) and dam-ki-ra-a-ši (KUB 34 102 2:13) at Boghazköi, i.e. DAM.QAR^{ši} = damkarrašši. The form pgrdnt at Ugarit (644:1?, 11; cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, III, Text 6 notes to line 1) may reflect faḫr0e-ne-0, with the fricative voiced due to syllabic r. Compare also zalam0i (ML 3: 77ff.), and ku-uk-še, following SANGA-še at Alalaḫ (AT 15: 11), cf. Draffkorn, HHA, p. 180.

[193]At Nuzu the form erwi00e- occurs with the force of "rights pertaining to the king," cf. Koschaker, ZA 48(1950): 209, n. 80, and Speiser, AASOR 10, p. 14, n. 28.

[194]See §6.4531 above for the use of these two terms.

[195]Found at Nuzu in attaššiḫu (JEN 641:29 and 256:7).

[196]See Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 14.

[197]The exact force of this term is difficult to set down due to a variety of uses at Boghazköi, Nuzu, and Alalaḫ. For a detailed study see N. Van Brock, "Substitition retuelle,"

RHA 17 fasc. 65(1959): 117-146. See also Draffkorn, HHA, p. 186f.

[198]For references see HWE 2, p. 35.

[199]For šiduri "maiden" see Goetze, RHA 5 fasc. 39 (1940): 199, n. 46, and Friedrich, HW, p. 325.

[200]AT 15:11, cf. Draffkorn, HHA, p. 180. In the light of the borrowing of both šangu "priest" and entu "priestess" by the Hurrians, this can probably be read šankaθθe, cf. Laroche, Études hourrites," RA 54(1960): 192f.

[201]From Ug. S-II Voc. 4:23 where ú-ra-da-ši pur!-li-ni-we translates Sumerian EGIR.É. For the root ur- "rear," cf. Laroche, RA 54(1960): 189-192.

[202]Cf. H. Lewy, "Miscellenae Nuziana," Or NS 28(1959): 127-129.

[203]See Speiser, "Nuzi Marginalia," Or NS 25(1956); 1-4.

[204]This, apparently, is what has led Laroche and others to call this a "participle." Being a nominalized verb, or verbal nominal, many of its uses do overlap those of the Semitic or Indo-European participle, but it is also significantly different. It can carry agentive suffixes and hence be "inflected" for person, something which is foreign to the nature of the participle. Hence it seems best to call it simply a "verbal nominal," or "denominalized verb" rather than using specific terminology from another language group.

[205]These can be interpreted in two ways: the noun tiwe-na could be regarded as the subject and the rest of the clause

as its modifier. However, _tiwe-na_ is also the goal of the

nominalized verb ḫur-iya-ΘΘe-na, and hence the whole clause,

agentive, goal, and nominalized verb, can be taken as the

subject. The latter seems preferable for Tušratta is not

saying "something will be done," but specifically "those

things desired by my brother." The situation is analogous

to essential and non-essential clauses in English. The same

comment holds true for the forms that function as the goal in

the examples to follow.

     [206]Cf. example (2) under a. above.

     [207]Cf. §6.4492 (a) above.

CHAPTER VII.

[1]Exactly the same type of root-complement exists in

Urartean. In fact, almost every one of the root-complements

thus far identified in Hurrian occur also in Urartean (see

the list in I. M. Diakonoff, "A Comparative Survey of the

Hurrian and Urartean Languages," PSVX, p. 397f., n. 60).

The problem of their meaning is just as uncertain in Urartean

as in Hurrian, unfortunately. Thus, note qabq-ar-ul-, qabq-ar-

(a)š-ul-, and qabq-aš-, all of which are simply translated

"to lay seige to, to beleaguer."

[2]Laroche suggests [RA 54(1960): 200] that this might

be connected with the verbal root _teḫ-_ in ML 2:100 and _taḫ-_

in Ug. A-H Bil.: 15, 18. Although _teḫ-_ and _taḫ-_ are very

possibly variant writings of the same root, it is very haz-

ardous to connect them with the root in question in view of

the consistent writing <u>ti-i-</u> in ML.

[3]As the consistent writing <u>gi-</u> in ML (which requires an <u>e</u>-vowel, see §3.12) and the writing gi-e- in Ug. A-H Bil.: 1 show, the vowel is <u>e</u> and not <u>i</u>.

[4]Laroche notes the variation between <u>ki-ummi</u> of the Ug. Quad. Voc. (130 3:10, cf. <u>Ugaritica</u> V, I, No. 29) and <u>ki-ba-šu</u> = Sum. [IN].GAR which is Akkadian <u>iškun</u> "he placed." The nominal <u>ke</u> occurs in Ug. A-H Bil.: 1. Laroche suggests "le radical, en réalité <u>kiv-</u> donnerait, par reduction, <u>kiv-ummi</u> > <u>kiummi</u>." This is strengthened by the change of the genitive -<u>fe</u> to -<u>ye</u> after a <u>u</u>-vowel (cf. §6.4441) and the elision of the labial fricative after the dental fricative in the genitive and dative plurals (cf. §§ 6.4441 and 6.4451). It would appear that <u>ki-ummi</u> represents <u>keyummi</u> and that the labial fricative could elide when word final (cf. the nominal <u>ke-</u>).

[5]Cf. Laroche, <u>PRU</u> III, p. 314, and <u>Ugaritica</u> V, I, No. 29.

[6]Cf. Laroche, <u>RA</u> 54(1960): 201.

[7]Cf. Speiser, <u>JAOS</u> 59(1939): 320ff.

[8]Cf. C. H. Gordon, <u>DNT</u>, §4.17, No. 175.

[9]Cf. Friedrich, <u>RHA</u> 5 fasc. 35(1939): 101 and Speiser, <u>IH</u>, §176 (2).

[10]Cf. von Schuler, <u>RHA</u> 19 fasc. 68(1961): 21 and C. H. Gordon, <u>DNT</u>, §4.17, No. 47.

[11]Cf. <u>IH</u>. §223.

[12]Unless, perhaps, this represents the element -<u>it(o)</u> (cf. §7.46321 A. 2.) in which the -<u>i</u>- has elided for some

reason.

[13]Possibly from the root ḫiθm- known from Boghazköi
(cf. Goetze, RHA 5 fasc. 35(1939): 104, and Laroche, JCS
2(1948): 121, Ugaritica III, p. 118ff.). The writing ḫi-ši-
im-tu probably represents ḫiθmt- with syllabic or vocalic m.

[14]For the form ilmi- at Boghazköi, see Laroche, JCS
2(1948): 119. Laroche connects this with el(a)m- in PRU
III, p. 297, n. 3.

[15]CAD, Vol. 7, under ilimtumma is to be corrected
in the light of this.

[16]IH, p. 144.

[17]IH, p. 146.

[18]Note that the form is a negated jussive. While a
past tense is not impossible on a jussive form, it is highly
unlikely. To this effect, note on page 183 of IH, that
Speiser translates this very form as "may I not be refused(?)."

[19]IH, §183 (b).

[20]The only form opposed is utt-aθt-it-en (ML 3:80).
Speiser also lists several possible examples from Boghazköi
and Mari, e.g. arp-aθt-, aθḫ-aθt-, ḫaθ-aθt-, and ḫaz-aθt-
[IH §183 (a)].

[21]The vowel quality cannot be assumed to be -o- on
the basis of the word kepan-ol-oθt-a-θθe-na (ML 3:59), as
does Speiser in IH, p. 145, n. 227. In view of the principle
of vowel harmony here established, it is likely that both
o- and u-vowels are represented by the ambiguous cuneiform
signs.

[22] The same root-complement exists in Urartean where it exhibits the same vocalic harmony, note: am-ašt- "burn away," ašḫ-ašt- "arrange, bring in order (ritual sense), nul-ušt- "take possession, grasp, seige," sul-ušt- "prostrate," šid-išt- "build," ul-ušt- "precede," etc., see Diakonoff, "A Comparative Survey of the Hurrian and Urartean Languages," PSVX, p. 398, n. 60 .

[23] The form ar-om-aθθ-uḫ-i-ḫa (ML 4:13) also suggests a root-complement -aθθ- since it here precedes the known root-complement -uḫ-.

[24] In both these forms a past tense is required by the context.

[25] That -oθ- was a past-tense suffix has been recognized since the early studies of Hurrian, cf. the remarks of Speiser in IH §181, and n. 220. The recognition of -oθt- as a past tense indicator is due to Speiser in IH §181.

[26] As he notes, this is true of all the instances of agent suffixes of 1st and 2nd person.

[27] The context is not clear enough to say whether or not un-oθ-a is parallel with tan-oθ-a, (a clear transitive verb "done-past.-by-him"), and hence is governed by the agentive phrase "by thy brother, Nimmuriya, the lord of Egypt." If it is parallel, then un- must here have a transitive meaning (cf. IH, p. 143). However, if the -man on URUθimikene-fe-ne+ man must be taken as a sentence connective then it cannot be governed by the agentive construction. This is the preferable construction but it remains uncertain, for good sense cannot

yet be made of the passage. The same interpretation sug-
gests itself for faḫr-oθ-a in ML 1:60 in the light of the
. . .]-et-a at the beginning of line 61.

[28]For examples cf. IH, p. 143.

[29]The form ši-du-ri-ya-aš ḫu-uš-ta, cited by Speiser
in IH, p. 143, is certainly not a case in point. The ending
-i-ya-aš is clearly an example of the 3rd person plural pos-
sessive suffix -iyaθ. The agentive suffix is regularly ad-
ded to a word ending in a consonant by the use of a u-con-
necting vowel (cf. §6.4431). This is greatly strengthened
by the possible interpretation of θituri- as a nominal
meaning "girl" by Goetze [RHA 5 fasc. 39(1940): 199, n. 46],
although a better interpretation might be to connect Boghazköi
šiduri- with Ugarit šidar-ni "curse" (cf. Laroche, Ugaritica
V, I, No. 17) under the well known equivalence of Ugarit -a-
with Boghazköi -u-.

[30]From the new Ug. Quad. Voc., where uθtanni equals
Akk. eṭlu "youth," uθt-an- can now be plausibly explained
as a causative [-an-, cf. §7.42 (1)] meaning "make youthful"
or the like. This accords well with the form aθt-ukar-iffaθ-a
"for our ?," built on the root aθte- "wife."

[31]For the spelling -ip-pa = if-fa, see §6.4451.

[32]For this meaning, as a loan word from Vedic magha
"riches, gift," see Kronasser, EHS, p. 145.

[33]So it was taken by Speiser, IH, §183 (c).

[34]This is particularly possible if the force of -oθ-/
-oθt- vs. -et-/-ett- is perfective vs. imperfective rather

than past vs. future.

[35]Due to their usage -oθ- would have to express some force which is most suitable to transitive verbs in both subject-action and agentive construction but can also be used on occasion with intransitive verbs, and -oθt- would have to express a force which is most suitable to intransitive verbs but which can be used on occasion with transitive verbs in agentive construction. If this should be necessitated by further evidence, it is most difficult to assess what this force is. I have tried to reconcile some type of verbal action, say punctiliar versus continuing or stative, etc., with the occurrences of these tense suffixes without success.

[36]As, for example, several verbs can do in English, e.g. "return."

[37]E.g. kepan-et-a- (ML 2:54,63; 3:117), kat-et-aṳ (ML 3:99), kat-ill-et-a (ML 2:50,102; 4:21), θar-ill-et-a (ML 4:124), fur-et-a- (ML 3:13,15,18,61; 4:39,47), ar-et-a- (ML 1:106), paθθ-et-a (ML 4:56), etc.

[38]Speiser, IH §182, lists this as an example of an intransitive. However, it contains the causative root-complement -an-, construes with the agentive in ML 3:8, and has plausibly been interpreted by Laroche as meaning "make known, show" [cf. RA 54(1960): 200].

[39]The term "subject-action construction" has been coined instead of Speiser's "actor-action construction" since the grammatical subject of this form of the verbal is not limited to the actor or logical subject, but may also be the

goal or logical object, see the remarks under §7.48.

[40]What remains is illustrative, however. The immediately preceding context states: "this is the word which was requested, so let it be known by my brother." The text then goes on: "Since . . . will be specifically communicated (kat-ill-ett-a+mmaman), . . . is not, so let it not be heeded by my brother."

[41]If the meaning thus far determined for this verb and for θar- in the next example are correct, it would seem that passive translations are required by the context. This makes it difficult to regard them as having intransitive meanings when appearing with a final a-vowel.

[42]Although the meaning "bull of the weather-god" established by Schroeder [Archiv fur Keilschriftforschung 2(1924): 70] and Ebeling [Or NS. 23(1954): 126] could plausibly fit this context, it fits the context very poorly in ML 3:67, where the identical form še-e-ir-ri-e- occurs.

[43]For discussion see §7.4511.

[44]For discussion see §7.4512. The function of this suffix could not be seen clearly when Speiser wrote and he tentatively identified it as a "state" suffix.

[45]At least in the Mittanni Letter. However, the two forms kapakka and taḫakka from Ug. A-H Bil. raise the question of an a-vowel before -kk-. The forms function as nominals in this document, however, and hence cannot overthrow the uniform practice of ML without clearer evidence as to their nature.

[46]For purposes of identification we shall call this "agentive construction."

[47]cf. §§6.442 and 6.443.

[48]This term is used in order to differentiate these forms from the negative verbs in which different vowels characterize the intransitive class.

[49]The root-complement -ukar- does not affect the construction.

[50]The existence of this i-vowel on the verbal in agentive construction has not heretofore been recognized. It appears in the third person present forms not only in ML [e.g. ta-a-ni-a (ML 3:81)], but also at Boghazköi in the form ka-ti-ya (KUB 8 61 rev. 7), which shows that it cannot be analyzed as tan-ya or kat-ya [as does Goetze in Lang. 16 (1940): 125-140, particularly p. 129] but represents tan-i-ya and kat-i-ya. The same conclusion is clearly seen from the phrase bé-e-eš- pa-li-u (IBoT II 39 1:35, cf. Laroche, PRU III, p. 323) which shows the same vowel with the second person agentive suffix, i.e. fe-θ pal-i-o, "thee-by known-by-thee." The vowel elides, however, before the first person agentive suffix -au, as numerous writings in ML show, e.g. ta-a-ta-ú, (ML 1:75). The existence of this characteristic i-vowel in both the transitive constructions counts heavily against Goetze's interpretation of the i-form of type (2) of the paradigm (cf. below) as an independent form of the verb.

[51]"The Hurrian Verbal System," Lang. 16(1940): 125-

140.

[52]Ibid., p. 140.

[53]See §7.46321.

[54]This writing is very regular with the transitive verbs. Note the following occurrences: ak-ukar-aθt-i-en (ML 2:58,86), ḫaθ-i-en- (ML 1:113; 2:13; 3:40,42), nakk-i-en (ML 4:42,51), paθθ-i-en (ML 4:52,54,57), pent-i-en (ML 1: 103), pukl-oθt-i-en (ML 3:25), supiyam-aθt-i-en (ML 3:72,88), ans θur-am-aθt-i-en (ML 4:42,51). Forms such as a-ri-en are inconclusive since RI represents both -ri- and -re-. The above list represents 20 occurrences without a single example opposed.

[55]Note also . . .]-nak-ul-uθt-e- (ML 2:24) and ḫupl-ul-uθt-e- (ML 2:23), both parallel to peteθt-e; tupp-e (ML 2:88), and furt-en (ML 3:74). One must also note the form pè-te-eš-ti-e-na-an (ML 3:34), which does not necessarily count against the interpretation since the intransitive vowel should be -a- or -u-.

[56]This vowel probably should be taken to be -o- due to the vowel harmony in the forms which take -i- and -a-, e.g. pal-i-kki (Ug. A-H Bil.: 18) and taḫ-a-kka (Ug. A-H Bil.: 18).

[57]This form has been chosen so as to contrast with form (3). For a form without the perfect tense element -oθ- cf. kat-i-kki (ML 4:17) and pal-i-kki (Ug. A-H Bil.: 18) which equals Akk. lâ idê-ma, from which the negative force of -kk- was first recognized.

[58]This form is chosen because it is the only form which is clearly not jussive or cohortative. The negative element -wa- is that used with agentive construction, as well as "jussive" or "prohibitive," cf. §7.4511.

[59]This is further corroborated by the comparative study of I. M. Diakonoff, "A Comparative Survey of the Hurrian and Urartean Languages," PSVX, in which he notes, anent the verbal similarities: "3) indicators of transitiveness and intransitiveness (Hurr. -i- and -o- or -u- respectively; Ur. -u- and -a- or -o- respectively)," (English summary, p. 601).

[60]"Mood" is used here in its broadest sense. It includes all those nuances of meaning other than simple assertion of fact, i.e. the indicative mood.

[61]See III, §186, for references.

[62]Cf. III §186.

[63]This is suggested by the fact that the a-vowel of example (2) below can be taken as the 3rd person agentive suffix and by the form -uff of the negated first person.

[64]It must be remembered that the labial fricative is a bilabial phone and not a labio-dental phone as our symbol [f] suggests.

[65]See §6.43 for the possessive suffixes.

[66]Compare also tan-oθ-i-uff (ML 2:113) "I did not do," ḫisuḫ-oθ-i-uff (ML 4:33) "I did not vex," ḡuᴣ-i-uff-u-nna+an "then I do not want him."

[67] For this meaning see now Laroche, _Ugaritica_ V, III, Text 1, notes to line 3.

[68] See Laroche, _Ugaritica_ V, I, No. 11.

[69] The written form is ú-wè, (or perhaps ú-wə-ú, I have only had access to M. Laroche's normalization in _Ugaritica_ V, I, §11, in which he gives the form as uwu). Since ú equals alphabetic ḫ (i.e. ⊱, see _PRU_ II, No. 189, pp. 201-203), the form represents ḫə-wə which obviously must be read _hawa_.

[70] The suggestion of M. Laroche in _PRU_ III, p. 321, that -wa- is the negative of "prohibition" while -kk- is the negative of "asertion" cannot be followed through due to the recognition that -wa- negates indicative (or "assertive") forms in agentive construction (cf. §7.4511 above).

[71] In most cases the writing is ambiguous. The value -o- is assumed due to the clear vowel harmony observed in other forms, see below. Speiser's attribution of a u-vowel rather than -o- on the basis of pu-ut-tu-ú-uk-ki- (ML 3:60) proves nothing for the form is totally obscure both grammatically and semantically. Cf. _IH_, p. 83, n. 43.

[72] The only forms opposed are very obscure. One finds the form pu-ut-tù-ú-uk-ki-a-šu-u-un-na-a-al-la-a-an (ML 3:60). This is probably a nominal (although this is not certain since the form is so anomalous) and hence may act quite differently. Note the unusual -u-kk-i-. The form men-a-kki is also a nominal (note mena-, ML 4:61,63 and cf. _IH_, p. 84, n. 49).

[73]The forms -i-kka- preceding the pronominal associatives -lla-, -tilla-, and -tta- are not violations but represent the shift of i- to a- before the pronominal associatives, cf. note 74 and §4.31. The forms in -i-kk-onni represent a special case, see below.

[74]The form mann-o-kka+til(1)a- (ML 3:17) and mann-o-kka+lla- (ML 4:2) are not opposed, but examples of the change of -o- to -a- before the pronominal associatives. Cf. manni (ML 4:78,107) but mann-a+lla- (ML 1:8,109; 2:81,121), mann-a+tta (ML 2:85; 3:63,65), and mann-a+tilla (ML 4:119), cf. §4.31.

[75]As far as can be ascertained, the base of this word is a pure nominal form composed of the root torupi- "need, emergency" plus the suffix -nn(i)-. This is the opposite situation to the forms in -i-kk-onne and raises the possibility that -kk- could be used to negate nominal forms or that nominal forms could become intransitive verbal bases without the addition of any suffix (torupinn-o-kk-o meaning "there is no danger"?).

[76]However, the writing ul-lu- in ML 2:104, along with ul-li-wa-a-en in ML 3:95, which contrasts with u-u[-ul]-lu- in ML 3:84, strongly suggest that these are two different roots (possibly oll- and ull- ?). Note the contrast between ú-ú-r- "to desire" and ú-r- "to occur, be present."

[77]Laroche in PRU III, p. 321, equates kap-a-kka with Nougayrol's doubtful reading lâ adirtu, and draws from this equation the force "non fermée," i.e. "découverte." How-

ever, Speiser's reading ma-a'-du rather than la-dir₄-tu on the basis of his preferable interpretation of the equivalent Hurrian form te-a-la-an as tea + 1(1)a + an "great+they+and," would appear to be correct [see JAOS 75(1955): 165]. Thus the Hurrian phrase ka-ba-ak-ka pa-lu-uš-x must render the rest of the Akkadian line: al pí-ka ša-qa-tá-ma. How it does this remains for the present uncertain.

[78]For the problem of voice in the Hurrian verb, see §7.48.

[79]RA 54(1960): 194.

[80]Speiser is certainly wrong in analyzing the form as tan + oẑ + a + i + wa + "done-past-by-him-class-marker-not-" (IH, p. 191). The agentive -a always comes after the negative as the forms -i-uff<-i-w(a)-aŋ (correctly analyzed by Speiser!) show.

[81]Cf. the remarks in IH §194.

[82]See §3.63.

[83]Cf. Laroche, PRU III, p. 323. The form is found in IBoT 2 39 1:35. The second is cited by Speiser, IH §195(a).

[84]It is just barely possible that th_ requisite verbal form is to be found in the broken š[a- . . .]ša two words previous. This, at least, ends in the requisite plural suffix (or, preferably, the past tense suffix -oθ- + agentive suffix -a), but the order is wrong.

[85]E.g. ᵈTeθθop-aθ ᵈAman-u(θ)+1[la+an] ta[n]-oθ-a-θθe-na (ML 2:65-66), ᵐMane-θ ᵐKe⟨li⟩ya-(θ)+11a+an kat-ill-et-a (ML 4:21), ᵐKeliya-θ ᵐMane-θθ+an kul-et-a (ML 4:27),

àmmat-iff-uθ   attay-iff-uθ . . . kepan-ol-oθt-a (ML 3: 58-
59), etc.

[86]Cf. §6.4532 and note 32 thereto.

[87]Friedrich in KASD reads kar-kut- both here and in
ML 4:120. The reading kar-ḫaš- is required not only by the
more probable reading produced (i.e. the known root-comple-
ment -aθt- rather than the unattested -utt-) but also by
the form kar-ḫu-ša[. . . (ML 1:112) in a broken context
which also refers to the releasing of the envoys of the
two rulers (ML 1:114-115).

[88]First deduced by Friedrich, BChG, p. 36f.

[89]The root-urḫ- plus the root-complements -up-t yeild
the meaning "faithful" both here and in ML 4:112.

[90]So also kul-li (ML 2:12; 3:49,51; 4:1) represents
kul-(i)-l-e; pal-la(-a)-en (ML 4: 56,59,108), pal-la-in
(ML 4:64), and pal-la-i-šal-la-ma-an (ML 4:65) represent
pal-(i)-l-; gi-pa-a-nu-ul {-ul}-li-e-wa-a-at-ta-a-an (ML 3:
63), represents kepan-ol-(i)-l-ewa+tta+an, and ḫi-su-ú-ḫul-
li-e-it-ta-a-an (ML 4:10) represents ḫisuḫ-ol-(i)-l-e+tta+an

[91]The fact that all three occur in parallel construction
in the same context, combined with the fact that the -ll-
comes after the -wa- negative in the third example, pre-
clude their being taken as the root-complement -ill- as
Speiser does in IH §176 (9) (a), where he interprets ḫa-ša-a-
ši-il-li-i-il-la-a-an (ML 4:29) as from ḫaz + az + ill +
ili + lla + an.

[92]In keeping with his views of the so-called "partici-

pial" vowels, cf. IH §§168-171 and see our remarks in §7.43.

[93]Cf. von Brandenstein, ChRT, p. 559, n. 3.

[94]The whole subject of voice in the Hurrian verb is discussed in §7.48.

[95]The form ḫi-su-ú-ḫul-li-e-it-ta-a-an could be interpreted as ḫisuḫ-oll-ett-a+an (cf. tiḫan-oll-ett-a ML 3:22), but the context demands a jussive and a subject, which can only be found in the -tta "I."

[96]The form pent-i-en in ML 1:103 has the compound agent: ^{d}Θimike[ne-Θ] ^{d}Amanu-(Θ)+lla+an ^{d}Eaθarrine-(Θ)+lla+an. However, in indicative forms compound subjects are treated as singular, cf. §7.4525.

[97]Contrary to the view of Speiser, IH §184, who takes aθti- in line 21 as the subject. The subject is probably uθ-iff-u-(n)na-, but the context is somewhat obscure.

[98]The examples cited in this discussion have been numbered consecutively for purposes of easy reference in the later discussion.

[99]Literally "in the presence of."

[100]Literally "of."

[101]Cf. makann-iff-[. . .] "my gifts," (line 15); "whatever tupe-na have been granted by my brother, whatever tuppa-koθe-na have been granted by my brother," (lines 19-22). "Let them be satisfactory," (peteθt-e+lla+an), forms a fitting conclusion to this subject. The forms are intransitives, so the -lla- associative, "they," must form the subject.

[102]Discussed by Goetze, "An unrecognized Hurrian ver-

bal form," <u>RHA</u> 5 fasc. 35(1939): 103-108, and Laroche "Études hourrites," <u>RA</u> 54(1960): 189.

[103]Here occurs a comment in Hittite: <u>nu-kan EN.SISKUR.</u> <u>SISKUR SUM-an ḫalzai</u>, "and he calls the offeror by his name."

[104]For the jussive suffix -<u>ae</u>- see §7.46321 (2) below.

[105]See §9.9.

[106]Goetze in <u>RHA</u> 5 35(1939): 104ff., Laroche <u>JCS</u> 2 (1948): 120f. and <u>RA</u> 54(1960): 189 suggest "stable," or "massive" or "brilliant" for these terms on the basis of Hittite parallels.

[107]Possibly related to <u>kir</u>- "long," see Goetze <u>RHA</u> 5 fasc. 35(1939): 106, n. 19.

[108]For this meaning of the word, long suspected, see Laroche, <u>Ugaritica</u> V, III, A, Text 1, notes to line 3.

[109]For <u>x-fa api-ta</u> "in front of" see Laroche <u>RA</u> 54 (1960): 189f.

[110]The root <u>kaθl</u>- is probably close in meaning to <u>θeḫl</u>- "pure," since it is always found in the same context, cf. Goetze, <u>RHA</u> 5 fasc. 35(1939): 106, n. 16.

[111]With secondary doubling of the -<u>n</u>- before -<u>an</u>- and -<u>man</u>- ambiguity occurs, for this becomes a homograph of the 3rd person singular pronominal associative -<u>nna</u> (see §9.324). Only the context can determine which is present and then ambiguity still sometimes remains. A clear example of the latter construction with the suffix -<u>ai</u>- is the following:

^mMane+nn+an   θen-iff-uθ   θuka   paθθ-i-en   itt-ai+nna+an

<u>paθθitḫ-iff-ura</u> (ML 4:52-53), "Mane+cop.+and   brother-my-

by also(?) sent-trans.-jussive go-may+he+so envoy(s)-my-with," i.e. "and let my brother send Mane also so (that) he may go with my envoys."

[112]Only a word of caution must be noted in view of the fact that our evidence for these suffixes is so limited. In ML we have only three examples of -ae-, and only eight with -ai-.

[113]See the conclusion by Speiser in IH §193 in favor of -ae/i-. In IH §196, in discussing the existence of third person agentive suffixes with jussive forms, Speiser notes: "Moreover, forms which appear to be jussive and construe with 3 p. are found with -m, andi, and -andin [189-90] as distinct from -en." However, when one examines the forms in question, one finds that the form in -m ends in -ai-m. The -ai- is a clear "jussive" suffix, so cited by Speiser [§193 (g), and especially p. 159f.]. The forms in -andi and -andin, although spelled an-ti and an-ti-in, could very easily contain our -e- jussive suffix in view of the ambiguity inherent in the i-vowel of the syllabary (see §3.111). What the -ant- would be I do not know.

[114]In IH §196, Speiser interprets kat-i-kki (ML 4:17) as containing the -i/e jussive suffix and states that "1 p. is beyond doubt." The opposite is the case. The sentence in question runs:

tiwa+lla+an θurwe θeniff-ta kat-i-kki

and then continues: "Should anyone communicate evil reports whatever concerning me or my land to my brother, then let

not my brother heed these words." Obviously the sentence in question must say: "Evil reports are not being communicated to my brother."

In the same paragraph he cites an analogous form from Boghazköi: a-ru-ú-ši-ik-ki (VBoT 59 2:12). This, like kat-i-kki, can no longer bear such an interpretation.

[115]Written a-ri which could represent either ar-i or ar-e. Besides this form there occurs zu-zi-la-ma-an in EA 170:11 which is a gloss to ú pa-ni-šu-nu ṣa-bat. The form zu-zi- has plausibly been interpreted as a Hurrian impera-tive due to the Akk. imperative ṣabat [see IH §193 (i), Bork, OLZ (1932): 377, and Friedrich, BChG, p. 22]. Note that it could just as well be read as zu-ze.

[116]Written kul-li which could represent either kul-(i)-l-e or kul-(i)-l-i.

[117]Written ḫa-ši-i-i-li which could represent ḫaθ-i-l-e or ḫaθ-i-l-i.

[118]So it must be read, contrary to the -an- of Schr and Friedrich, KASD, p. 27.

[119]There are four occurrences of iθa-θ with indicative verbals: ML 1:75; 3:54,57, and 4:63.

[120]The very common introductory epistolary formula of Akkadian ana X qibi-ma umma Y strongly suggests a simple command here rather than a first person form.

[121]Note how the -ll- imparts the "purposive" or "in-tentional" force to the form in this interpretation, equiva-lent to our "I will do it."

[122]The morpheme -_oll_- must be so interpreted. It cannot be an example of the voluntative -_ll_- because the preceding vowel would have to be -_i_- with transitive verbs, compare the forms in examples (5) and (6) above. Hence -_oll_- can only be the root-complement -_ol_- plus -_i-l_- which becomes -_oll_- upon elision of the -_i_- class marker.

[123]The form (out of context) could be interpreted as ḫisuḫ-oll-ett-a+an (cf. tiḫan-oll-ett-a ML 3:22), but this leaves no subject that makes sense.

[124]This must not be confused with the apparent -_ae_ produced by the negated form in -_en_- above, i.e. -_i-wa-en_.

[125]A considerably different interpretation of these combinations is presented by Diakonoff, _PSVX_, p. 404f. Since he cites no corroborating evidence apart from Urartean parallels, his results are difficult to assess.

[126]The form _tupp-o-l-ai+n_ (ML 3:26) is too obscure in meaning to assess. The form _pè-te-eš-ta-iš_ is an orthographic variant of the adverbial -_ae_- (cf. §6.363) rather than the verbal suffix under discussion.

[127]Suggested by Speiser, _IH_, p. 157.

[128]The meaning of the first condition expressed is unknown.

[129]This seems to be the force of urḫ- "true" plus the root-complement -_up-t_-.

[130]For this corroboratory or re-inforcing use of "_mann_- "to be" see now Laroche, _Ugaritica_ V, I, §11 c.

[131]This interpretation is not certain. The root of the

word is clearly fur- "to see." Interpreting the -ai- as an orthographic variant of the adverbial suffix -ae- suggests "manifestly, in sight." In RA 54(1960): 194, Laroche, who here establishes the root meaning as "to see," interprets this form as an infinitive, or verbal substantive, and views Šimige as its object, obtaining "as men love to see the sun." This makes less sense in view of the conclusion to the comparison: "so we ought to love one another" and leaves the ending -ai+n unaccounted for.

[132]The form pa-aš-ši-a-a-ma (ML 4:55) in the sentence [m]Mane+n θen-iff-uθ paθθ-i-ya-ma could be cited here but the context demands a negative. This may be found in the final -ma of the form, but this is problematical, see §7.4513.

[133]This abnormal word order is due to the fact that the sentence is subordinated to the preceding sentence, expressing a result clause.

[134]The passival character of the expression is preserved in the translation in order to bring out the difference in construction.

[135]It is for this reason that the form and the construction must be labelled the "subject-action" form and construction rather than the "actor-action" of Speiser. The subject expressed is not necessarily the "actor" of the action, it may also be the goal of the action.

CHAPTER VIII.

[1]For the meaning of this term see §5.3, and for their form and function see chapter nine.

[2]Cf. IH §99.

[3]E.g. kuro "again" versus ku-ru-u-u-[ša] (ML 1:45).

[4]E.g. θukko "further, furthermore," but θukkanni- "future(?)."

[5]If such be the case, it probably means that the nominal and verbal uses of roots that function only as particles have fallen into disuse.

[6]Note, for example, the Greek particles ἐ and καὶ and the Hebrew ן or ן. The force of particles such as these is often such that they can only be grasped after becoming thoroughly familiar with the language.

[7]For the alphabetic order see §1.5.

[8]For this asseverative force of ati- see §8.5 (2).

[9]Does this reflect a phonetic quality in Hurrian (i) in the direction of [ü]? See the remarks of Speiser, IH, p. 22.

[10]The force "procure" nicely fits the two occurrences of arann-.

[11]See Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, §11c, for the general asseverative use of the verb mann- "to be."

[12]The future force comes from the previous verb.

[13]The form a-we_e-ya-ša cited by Speiser in IH §115, may yet prove pertinent in proving it a nominal as Speiser asserts.

However, it cannot be interpreted and the writing -we- can represent both the fricative and the semivowel, so that it may be a different root. Note the nominal api-/awi- "front" used prepositionally elucidated by Laroche, cf. RA 54(1960): 189-192. However that may be, we have listed it here as a particle on the basis of our suggested interpretation of it as the "personal" relative counterpart to the impersonal ya-/ye- (see §8.8).

[14]See Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, No. 35.

[15]See UM, Glossary No. 449.

[16]Note that dū is personal in Ugaritic, the impersonal form being dt (see UM, Glossary No. 449)..

[17]See Diakonoff, PSVX, p. 380. Note that intervocalic w in Hurrian often has elided in the Urartean form, cf. the remarks of Diakonoff, loc. cit.

[18]The text actually reads "their" tablets, but the possessive suffix in Hurrian is often used pleonastically with a modifier, i.e. the Hurrian phrase reads literally "their tablets of their dowries, of the ones of my sister-relations."

[19]So el-arti- must be rendered here. For the abstract or collective force of -arti- see Laroche, RA 51(1957): 105. Tušratta has just been urging the Pharaoh to procure and read the tablets of the dowries of his sister and his father's sister, both of whom went to be wives of the Pharaoh.

[20]Or perhaps "large"?

[21]The roots mazzaḫ- and ḫar- are obscure.

[22]Perhaps a-k[u?]-u-u-[ša] from ak- "direct, guide(?)"
Hence, perhaps here "convoyed, escorted?"

[23]Here the clause which forms the goal (or object)
stands first, with inna+ma+nin coming before the agent (or
subject) and the verb. This brings to mind the analogous
use of ki- "when" in the Akkadian letters of Tušratta, e.g.
ū Mane mār šipra-šu aḫi-ya ki išpuru (EA 19:17), "And
when my brother sent Mane his messenger." Is this unusual
order due to Hurrian substratum?

[24]Perhaps "bride-price?"

[25]The meaning of tar- is unknown.

[26]For this translation of elarti see note 13 above.

[27]For this force of tupp- see Speiser, JAOS 59(1939):
299.

[28]The rest is obscure.

[29]See §7.4513 for the negative force of -ma.

[30]See Landsberger, MSL V, p. 61, entry 131, for the
reading.

[31]The illustrations are numbered consecutively for
ease of reference in the discussion.

[32]For mana θue-ne = "altogether, at all" see Speiser,
IH, p. 80.

CHAPTER IX.

[1]The term actually used was the "accusative" or "ob-
ject" case, working from the viewpoint of an active verb.

[2]These two are grammatically identical in Hurrian. Our

linguistic terminology lacks a name for such a form. We have previously called it the zero-suffix form, but this term has been avoided here since this is the very point at issue: is it a zero-suffix form or is it a n-suffix form?

[3]For the -mma- suggested by Goetze, see the discussion in §9.323 below.

[4]Note the remarks to this effect in §3.113.

[5]Thus, the passage he begins his discussion with, and which he considers "most significant," ML 4:18-29, simply does not contain such references to the second person. The 2nd person suffixes "thy" which Goetze asserts (p. 264, n. 36) are in the Hurrian original are actually genitive suffixes. The possessive suffixes expressed on each of the two occurrences of omini "country" are found in the -i(y) "his," which goes with "my brother," i.e. the whole sentence is in the third person which eliminates Goetze's supposed second person.

[6]"Mitanni-Studien," p. 55.

[7]Noted by Friedrich, BChG, p. 25, and Speiser, IH, §246 (4).

[8]See §§ 9.42 and 9.5 below.

[9]The agreement between these two approaches is striking and argues strongly against Goetze's view of the -n- suffix.

[10]However, for -lla- this can very plausibly be attributed to the need in Hurrian to express the plurality of the subject or goal, see §6.4532 and note 112 thereto.

[11]This form is very difficult to explain by Goetze's

view. According to him the form -llan results either from
the assimilation of an agentive suffix or from -na+la+an
with elision of the -a- and assimilation of the -n- to the
-l- producing -ll-. Note that the assimilation of the li-
quids and nasals is regularly regressive, cf. §4.6. Now
neither of the above interpretations is possible here, for
the associative is added to the dative suffix -ya.

[12]Cf. Laroche, Ugaritica V, I, §11c.

[13]JCS 2(1948): 258.

[14]This is an example of the word final form of -ma-
to be discussed below. Note that it cannot be a connective,
for the agent of the verb follows immediately after.

[15]"Mitanni-Studien," p. 55.

[16]This observation precludes the possibility that the
form nu-be-ni-na-an (ML 1:93), cited by Speiser, contains
this particle.

[17]See Ug. A-H Bil.: 18.

[18]The fact that anzannoḫ- cannot mean "request" and the
alternate rendering "promise" comes from ML 3:49-65. Here
Tušratta opens with the statement "I anzannoḫ-'ed my bro-
ther much more than my forefathers saying: . . ." "Request"
is eliminated not only by the meaning of this sentence (for
which see the partitive force of -tan below), but also be-
cause the following epexigetical description sets forth the
fact that he performed tenfold what Artatama his grandfather
did for the Pharaoh's father and what his father did for the
Pharaoh. So his opening statement must be "promised" or the

like.

[19]The phrase _itti_ _ili_[MES] as "from god" is unusual but note the interpretation of Nougayrol, PRU III, p. 312, that this money represents the bail or security put up by the parties to the ordeal. It is better to leave the security money if there is the slightest doubt as to one's innocence rather than expose oneself to the terrible judgement of the god. The Hurrian -_tan_ "from" strongly supports this interpretation.

[20]For a similar use of the partitive with a verb "to fear" note Arabic ـخَافَ مِنْ "to be afraid of."

[21]For a similar development note the Hebrew יוֹתֵר מִן e.g. יוֹתֵר מִמֶּנִּי (Esther 6:6) "more than me."

[22]Note particularly EA 19: 32-43, where Tušratta uses the phrase "increase," or "send," or "make great more than my father" some four times in the space of ten lines. Cf. also EA 19: 60; 26:46,56; 27:12,108.

[23]Compare the Akkadian letters of Tušratta to Amenophis IV where he reminds the Pharaoh _ad nauseam_ how generous his father, Amenophis III, had been, cf. EA 27:13-34; 29:12-54, 138-147.

[24]It is also possible that the jussive suffix -_ai_- is pluralized by the -_θa_- (cf. the plural forms of the indicative agentive suffixes, §7.4525) but this is precluded by the form _haθaθ-ill-ai-n-i+lla+an_ (ML 4:23) "They _will_ be heeded."

[25]See E. Laroche RA 54(1960): 193ff.

[26]Cf. C. H. Gordon, <u>DNT</u>, §4.17 (47).

INDEX OF FORMS CITED

All forms are cited as found in the text, whether in transliteration or in phonemic transcription. The alphabetic order is that listed in 1.5, namely a̱, e̱, f, ḫ, i̱, k̲, l̲, m, n̲, o̲, p̲, r̲, s̲, t̲, θ̲, u̱, ṳ, w̲, y̲, z̲. Doubling is considered significant for alphabetic order. Those words that begin with [f] or [u] are listed under w̲ whenever the writing is ambiguous. Forms in transliteration that begin with š̲ or t̲ are listed under θ̲, s̲ is listed with s̲, and q with k̲.

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