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## ACCENT AND INTONATION CONTOURS IN NEO-ASSYRIAN

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*To the memory of Jussi Aro and Karlheinz Deller*

### *Abstract*

A systematic examination of the phonological contexts of Neo-Assyrian intrusive vowels reveals that, contrary to widespread belief, such vowels are not to be ignored in linguistic analysis as orthographic anomalies but are real, albeit non-phonemic vowels making their appearance in clearly definable environments under the influence of primary stress or high/rising pitch. The latter observation, along with other evidence of stress- and pitch-related phonetic changes, affords an opportunity to gain insight into the Neo-Assyrian intonation system, which is tentatively reconstructed and interpreted in the light of the parallel evidence provided by present-day Semitic languages and linguistic universals. The results of the study necessitate a reconsideration of the phonetic relevance of the Neo-Assyrian orthography and open important new perspectives for the study of the prosodic phonology of Akkadian and other extinct forms of Semitic at large.

Keywords: Intonation contours — prosodic phonology — high/rising pitch — anaptyxis and paragogue — Neo-Assyrian grammar — reconstruction of prosodic systems of extinct languages

### *Foreword*

The central ideas of this paper were presented on June 9, 1975 at the Göttingen *Rencontre* (RAI XXII) in a communication entitled “Neo-Assyrian Prosodies”. I also spoke on the topic in a series of guest lectures at the University of Venice on May 4–9, 1981. The present article is essentially based on a manuscript entitled “Anaptyxis, paragogue, and intonation contours in Neo-Assyrian”, which I hoped to publish in the memorial volume of my teacher Jussi Aro (*Studia Orientalia* 55, 1984). Regrettably, it turned out to be too long for inclusion in the volume and remained partially unfinished. I made an effort to prepare it for publication in the Festschrift for Karlheinz Deller (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 220, 1987), but to my disappointment did not find time for it because of the heavy demands of the recently launched SAA project. Thus, the manuscript remained unpublished for many years, and returning to it became possible only in May, 2023, after the publication of SAA 22. The present version of it is essentially an update of the 1984 manuscript, although I have rewritten some sections of Part I and added substantially to the documentation in Part II.

*Terminology*

*Accent* Prominence given to a particular syllable of a word pronounced in contextual speech. Also called sentence stress.

*Stress* Prominence given to a particular syllable of a word pronounced in isolation. Also called lexical or inherent/innate stress.

The accented syllable is in principle identical with the stressed one. Functionally, however, there is a profound difference between accent and stress. The former serves to express the degrees of importance assigned to the different parts of an utterance, and can thus be said to have an *expressive* function, whereas the latter merely serves for identification of different lexemes; in other words, has only a *contrastive* function.

Accentual prominence is achieved by increasing the energy needed in production of speech sounds. In Semitic languages, this usually entails corresponding variation in loudness, pitch, and duration of the accented syllable. In other words, accented syllables are not only louder, but also in general longer and have a higher pitch than the unaccented ones. Increased accenting generally involves corresponding intensification of all three features.

*Intonation* Melodic pattern produced by the variation in pitch of the voice during speech. All intonation contours of a language are to be reduced into a number of *intonation morphemes* serving to distinguish between different types of utterance. As in the case of accent, the raising of the pitch generally also effects a simultaneous increase in the loudness and duration of the vowel in question.

By *reflexes of accent and intonation*, I mean whatever changes these prosodic features may bring about in the phonetic shape of a word. Concentration of energy in a particular syllable necessarily involves loss of energy in the neighbouring syllables, and hence losses of a feature as well as addition of a new feature may be in question. All such changes are conditional, i.e. may occur or not depending in the emphases of the speaker. Note that in this article we are not concerned with reflexes of *stress*, which are unconditional i.e. occur regularly in the language without regard to the speaker.

*Anaptyxis* Insertion of a non-phonemic vowel into a word between two or more consonants.

*Paragoge* Addition of a non-phonemic vowel at the end of a word.

*Prothesis* Addition of a non-phonemic vowel at the beginning of a word for easier pronunciation.

All these three kinds of non-phonemic vowels are in this article often referred to by the terms *intrusive*, *parasitic* or *optional vowels*.

*Notation*

< >	graphemic items	4	extra high pitch
//	phonemic items	3	high pitch
[ ]	phonetic items	2	mid pitch
<i>italics</i>	examples in conventional transcription	1	low pitch
â	ultra-long vowel (consistently plene written)	'	primary stress
ā	long vowel	`	secondary stress
a	short vowel	á	stressed vowel
<u>a</u>	optional vowel		sustained (incomplete utterance)
a:	morphological length (if different from ā)		rising (question or implication)
		#	falling juncture (complete utterance)

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PART I  
PROSODIC ANALYSIS

*1. Introduction*

The manner of writing words with morphologically irrelevant vowels is a known characteristic of Neo-Assyrian and belongs to the features clearly distinguishing it from its predecessors, Old and Middle Assyrian. Such seemingly superfluous vowels can occur both inside and at the end of a word, for example:

	<i>Regular forms</i>		<i>Forms with parasitic vowels</i>	
/mazrûti/	<i>ma-az-ru-te</i>	SAA 6 226, 3	<i>ma-zar-u-te</i>	SAA 14 205, 4'
	<i>ma-az-ru-ti</i>	SAA 14 463, 4	<i>ma-za-ru-te</i>	SAA 6 278, 3
			<i>ma-az-za-ru-ti</i>	SAA 6 19, 5
/idbubûni/	<i>id-bu-bu-u-ni</i>	SAA 14 107, 5'	<i>i-di-bu-bu-u-ni</i>	VAT 16554, 5
	<i>id-bu-ub-u-ni</i>	SAA 10 316, 9	<i>id-di-bu-ub-u-ni</i>	SAA 5 91, 6
/tûb libbi/	<i>tu-ub šà-bi</i>	SAA 10 329, 10	<i>tu-bu šà-bi</i>	SAA 10 329, r.9(!)
/aptiqid/	<i>ap-ti-qi-id</i>	SAA 10 212, r.11	<i>ap-ti-qid-di</i>	SAA 13 18, r.9
	<i>ap-ti-qid</i>	SAA 10 282, 14	<i>ap-ti-qid-di</i>	SAA 15 166, 23

Even a glance at these selected examples will make some basic characteristics of the phenomenon readily apparent. First, forms with added vowels occur side by side with (morphologically and lexically) regular forms, and appear to alternate *freely* with the latter. Secondly, the colour of an added vowel always is that of the preceding vowel. Thirdly, the phenomenon is not limited to any particular type of word, but both word-medial and word-final parasitic vowels occur not only in nouns and verbs (as in the above examples), but even in pronouns, particles, adverbs and proper names. In the fourth place, the appearance of a parasitic vowel is not infrequently accompanied by a gemination of the preceding consonant.

It can be estimated that about one percent of all words in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus at hand contain parasitic vowels.<sup>1</sup> This means that the total number of forms with such vowels runs well into thousands. Word-medial and word-final parasitic vowels (henceforth *anaptyptic* and *paragogic* vowels) are roughly equally common, and neither of them is limited to any particular text genre or period. They occur in literary, religious, and royal texts as well as in letters, administrative documents, and legal texts, from the earliest (9th cent.) texts down to the latest.

1. A systematic scrutiny of about 20,000 lines of text (mainly letters) containing about 90,000 words resulted in the isolation of altogether 943 unquestionable cases of vowel anaptyxis and paragogue. The examples cited in the present article mainly derive from this thoroughly analyzed sample, which constitutes about 1/6 of all presently known texts in Neo-Assyrian. The rest of the corpus has been thoroughly sifted for control purposes but inclusive collection of examples from the whole corpus was considered unnecessary.

## 2. Suggested explanations of parasitic vowels

Added vowels are thus beyond question an important and prominent feature of Neo-Assyrian. But, how are they to be explained? Curiously enough, despite the scale of the phenomenon, no satisfactory solution has been presented to date,<sup>2</sup> and as of now there is no unanimity even as regards their basic nature: are they *real* (i.e., do they represent concrete phonological items) or are they just (*ortho*)graphic and hence never actually existed in the spoken language?

In Sigurd Ylvisaker's pioneering analysis of Neo-Assyrian (1912), anaptyctic vowels were explained phonetically as a means to ease the pronunciation of difficult consonant clusters (§ 8, "Eingeschobene Hilfsvokale"), whereas paragogic *-i* and *-u* are treated under progressive assimilation (§ 7b) and somewhat hesitatingly interpreted as alloforms of the [ventive] suffix *-a*. The former suggestion is plausible and has in fact never been disproved, but the latter does not work at all. It will be remembered that paragogic vowels are by no means limited to verbs only but occur in other types of words as well; moreover, as pointed out by Wolfram von Soden (1952, § 82e) and in more detail by Karlheinz Deller (1962b, 195f.), 50% of the verbal forms with paragogic vowels cannot be ventives since the verbs concerned are not attested with the ventive markers *-a* or *-ūni*. These observations practically removed the basis for a purely phonetic interpretation of the phenomenon. The dilemma is: in the vast majority of cases, paragogic (like anaptyctic) vowels can be shown to be entirely irrelevant morphologically; on the other hand they cannot, like anaptyctic vowels, be conveniently explained away on the ease-of-pronunciation principle.

As a way out, Arno Poebel (1939, 61f.) suggested that the problematic vowels might after all be merely orthographic and thus have no grammatical relevance at all. While von Soden in his *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (1952, §§ 18d–e and 82e, cf. also 1969, 3\*) leaves the issue undecided, Poebel's thesis was adopted and developed further by Deller in his dissertation (1959) and in two articles (1962a and 1962b).

According to Karlheinz Deller, Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script was under the influence of the Aramaic alphabet developing towards a system in which the *position* of the vowels in syllabic signs was no longer a matter of great significance, and CV and VC signs containing the same vowel could be used interchangeably as *Umkehrschreibungen* ("inverse spellings"). For example, one could have written /im/ *not only* with the sign <im> but *also with* <mi>, and /mi/ with either <mi> or <im> (1962b, 195). Similarly, CVC-signs would also have stood for VCC, CCV and CVCV; combinations of signs like V+CV and VC+CV would also have been used for spoken V+C (as in <a-qa-ba-kan-ni> and <aq-qa-ba-kan-ni>, both for *aqbakkanni*), and so on. Of course, such an orthographic licence would have far-reaching consequences for grammatical analyses of Neo-Assyrian. As Deller puts it,

Wenn wir lernen, damit zu rechnen, ersparen wir nicht nur die Mühe, in den neuassyrischen Formenlehre Rechenschaft über oft recht merkwürdige Formen

2. See however Streck 2001.

ablegen zu müssen, sondern haben zugleich auch ein wichtiges Interpretationsprinzip zur Hand, das sich bei der Bewältigung der ständig auftauchenden *cruces* als sehr nützlich erweisen wird.

Deller's theory accords with facts insofar as words with intrusive vowels can indeed be conclusively shown to be but variants — although not necessarily *free* variants — of regular word forms. However, it is beset by a number of serious difficulties.

First, it is difficult to see how such a radical change of writing system could have taken place in practice. The phonetic values of cuneiform signs were precisely defined in ancient syllabaries and vocabularies, and we know from the many copies of such lists found in Nineveh, Assur and other Assyrian cities that these texts were intensively studied and used in the Neo-Assyrian period. They were copied as school exercises; the phonetic values given in them were firmly implanted in the minds of the apprentice scribes who had to write down a vast number of all kinds of texts from the teacher's dictation; and there cannot be any doubt that before the scribal curriculum was over and it was the time for the scribe to enter public service, they infallibly and quite automatically employed in writing the correspondences between graphic signs and spoken syllables established in the lists. Thus, confusion of phonetic values could perhaps be expected in the case of inexperienced or ignorant provincial scribes, but not in the case of learned scholars or scribes in the service of the palace. Yet parasitic vowels and other "orthographic anomalies" quite frequently occur in texts belonging to the latter category as well. It may be noted that in writing Babylonian texts (in Assyrian characters), Assyrian expert scribes employed their syllabary blamelessly; why should they have reverted to the application of different orthographic principles as soon as they were to write in Assyrian?

Secondly, one may wonder *why* a development in the said direction would have been permitted at all; the fact that Assyrian scribes knew and used Aramaic script does not suffice for an explanation. It is unthinkable that scribes all over Assyria would have annulled established rules of orthography just because they were acquainted with an alphabetic writing system. If there was any change in the cuneiform system, it should have been brought about deliberately, and since it is unthinkable that a writing system could be *impaired on purpose*, the change should have brought concrete advantages in its train. However, the evidence in this regard is negative. For instance, the script was not made easier to learn by leaving out a large number of signs rendered superfluous by the principle of "inverse spellings", to wit syllabic signs of the type VC and CVC. By contrast, all signs that had been used before remained in active use; only the number of theoretically possible readings of signs had been multiplied, putting the reader in a much more awkward position than before.

Thirdly, there was definitely no development towards a licentious use of syllabic signs in the Neo-Assyrian period. Texts from the 7th century B.C. do not exhibit more "orthographic anomalies" than those from the 8th or 9th centuries; rather the reverse is the case.

A change in the writing system is rendered unlikely also by the fact that the sign-occurrences allegedly needing "adjustment" constitute only about *four per mille* of the

total number<sup>3</sup> of sign-occurrences in the Neo-Assyrian corpus, while elsewhere the sign values defined in cuneiform syllabaries can be applied without difficulty. The very principle of “inverse spellings” (CV for VC, etc.) is dangerous in giving a sort of licence to manipulate textual evidence to suit one’s own grammatical preconceptions (cf. Parpola 1972, 23); and if it were correct, one may ask why Neo-Assyrian texts don’t feature any anomalous sign-sequences like *li-ul-ku* for intended /illukū/, and why scribes would have bothered writing *ma-az-za-ru-ti* for intended /mazrūti/, adding a useless sign for no purpose.

In sum, attempts to explain intrusive vowels orthographically do not help solve the problems presented by them but only encumber their solution.

In the present study, the problem complex will be considered from a new perspective: that of prosodic phonology. It will be shown below that intrusive vowels correlate strongly with certain prosodic features, particularly syllable and word structure, primary stress, and high/rising pitch. In addition, sonority plays an important, though not as decisive a role in the formation of anaptyctic vowels. Intrusive vowels can thus be viewed as *segmental reflexes* of *stress and pitch* in certain phonological environments. While no formal difference is to be observed between stress- and pitch-related vowel intrusion (anaptyctic and paragogic vowels can result in both cases, depending on the syllabic structure of the underlying word form), there is an important *functional* difference between the two: stress-related intrusive vowels are largely meaningless, whereas pitch-related ones correlate with intonation morphemes and thus carry linguistically significant information.

Seen in this light, Neo-Assyrian intrusive vowels, while *segmentally* redundant, emerge as a key to fascinating discoveries in the practically untrodden field of Akkadian prosodic phonology. A systematic analysis of pitch-related intrusive vowels in their discourse contexts can be expected to lead to the identification of at least some of the underlying intonation contours, and thus to a partial if not complete recovery of the intonation system of an *ancient extinct language*. The significance and implications of such prospects hardly need to be stressed.

Before proceeding further, a word of caution is in order. The intonation systems of all languages make a complex object of study, and the isolation of distinctive intonation contours involves many difficulties and pitfalls even in the case of living languages with plenty of informants, unlimited quantity of well-understood text (both written and oral), and a possibility of instrumental melodic analysis (see, e.g., Pike 1945, 24f.). In the case of a dead language, accessible only through a limited and fragmentary text corpus and written in a script making no use of prosodic signs, the limitations of the evidence and the many pitfalls and dangers involved in its interpretation must be particularly clearly recognized and kept in mind. Hence, while the present study will follow up the clues outlined above, it does not claim to be anything but a first tentative survey of a previously unexplored terrain. My aim is not to present a complete and “final” reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian stress and intonation system, but simply to demonstrate the feasibility of the prosodic approach and provide a model by which the intrusive vowels can be explained.

3. Cf. fn. 1, above.

To this end, it is first of all necessary to determine exactly the conditions under which intrusive vowels can occur.

### 3. Stress- and accent-related intrusive vowels

#### 3.1. Anaptyctic vowels

In Neo-Assyrian, intrusive vowels can be inserted in *consonant clusters* ending in a *voiced* consonant, if the following syllable is stressed. For example, the word /na'kru/, “enemy”, contains the cluster **kr** ending in a voiced consonant, but contains no intrusive vowel *because the stress is on the preceding syllable*. But its plural /nakaru:'ti/ receives an intrusive (anaptyctic) vowel before **r**, because the stress has shifted to the following long syllable (< \*/nakru:'ti/). In 90% of the words featuring anaptyctic vowels, the stress lies on the syllable following the consonant cluster, and the consonant following the anaptyctic vowel is usually *r*, *l*, *n*, *m* or *b*, all of which have high sonority values.

The anaptyctic vowel is always of the same colour as the preceding vowel, and the addition of an anaptyctic vowel is often accompanied by *gemination* of the first consonant of the consonant cluster (*id-di-bu-ub-u-ni*, *ma-az-za-ru-ti*). These two facts, considered both separately and together, demonstrate that a *phonetic* phenomenon is in question. Otherwise, why would a scribe writing a morphologically irrelevant vowel go as far as to *add an extra sign* to express a morphologically totally irrelevant gemination?

An anaptyctic vowel can be partially *stabilized* and become part of a nominal or verbal paradigm, as the plural of the word *nakru*, “enemy”, discussed above,<sup>4</sup> but it is *always* optional. The location of primary stress or high/rising pitch in the sentence likely contributes to the appearance of anaptyctic vowels (/mazru:'tu → mazaru:'tu → ma'zzaru:'tu/), due to the concentration of speech energy on the stressed syllable, whereby the tone intensity goes down and distinctive formation of heterogeneous sounds in the surrounding syllables becomes correspondingly more difficult.

#### 3.2. Paragogic vowels

A intrusive (paragogic) vowel can be added to word-final **closed** syllable containing a *stressed or long* vowel (e.g. /mu'k/ → *mu-ku*; /ta:b/ → *ta-a-ba*; /irtu:b/ → *ir-tu-bu*). The long vowel of monosyllabic words is usually written out, but not always (e.g., *ta-ba*, SAA 10 44, 11; 70, 10f., r.3; 220, r.3).

In monosyllabic words with morphemically short vowel, the vowel is *lengthened* under stress or pitch (/di'n/ → *di-i-ni*).

The consonant preceding a paragogic vowel can be whichever, and the paragogic vowel is always of the same colour as the preceding vowel.

A paragogic vowel can be lengthened in interrogative and relative clauses (*ēše* → *e-še-e* SAA 10 43, 9; *šīti* → *ši-ti-i-ni* *ibid.* 42, r.18) and hence is a full, phonologically true

4. Cf. also *abnu*, “stone”, pl. *abanāti*; NB *pagru*, “corpse”, pl. *pagarānu*; *šipru*, “message”, pl. *šipirāti*; etc. (Part II A); and Hebr. segolate nouns, e.g. *dēreḵ* (< \*darku), “way”, pl. *d'rākīm*; *ēbēn*, “stone”, pl. *abanīm* in Jerome's transcription into Latin (Harviainen 2013).



vowel, like the anaptyctic one.

The appearance of paragogic vowels can be explained phonologically in a way analogous to that of anaptyctic vowels (CV'C → CV'–CV). The place of primary (sentence) stress probably is the main factor contributing to the appearance of these vowels; cf. *tu-ub libbi* (passim) vs. *tu-bu libbi* (SAA 10 329, r.9f.).

In polysyllabic words, the paragogic vowels are *optional*, whereas in monosyllabic ones they usually are *stabilized* (*šūt* → *šūtu*, *tāb* → *tāba*, etc.).

#### 4. Intonation-related intrusive vowels

Some cases of anaptyxis and many cases of paragogue would fit under the preceding chapter only by assuming that an anomalous shift of lexical stress has taken place in them. However, an attempt to explain all these cases as evidence of freely variable stress patterns can be rejected offhand.

In contrast, it is thinkable that at least a part of the cases are explainable syntactically as emphatic shifts of accent or as reflexes of distinctive intonation contours. It has to be taken into consideration that a great majority of the cases are verbs mostly occurring in juncture position.

We shall test this hypothesis by first considering interrogative sentences.

#### 4.1. Questions

In principle, one has to differentiate between questions which do not contain any question word (*Y/N question*, *echo question*), and those beginning with an interrogative (*X-question*, *information question*, *substitution question*).

##### 4.1.1. Y/N question

Phonetic changes take place in the word most central to the question, mostly in the verbal form concluding the sentence:

- if the word ends in an open syllable, the vowel of the last syllable is lengthened (for example, *illaka*, “he is coming” → *il-la-ka-a*, “is he coming?”);
- if the last syllable is closed, it receives a paragogic vowel (*mahir*, “it is pleasing” → *ma-he-e-re*, “is it pleasing?”);
- if even the penultima is closed, an anaptyctic vowel (± consonant gemination) may appear between it and the ultima (*lā nidbuk* → *la ni-di-bu-ú-ku*, “did we not pour?”; *ušadbab* → [*ú-ša*]-*ad-da-ba-a-ba*, “will he cause others to plot it?”).

All these changes are parallel to those caused by (primary) stress falling on the final syllable. But this time the changes are caused not by stress but by high pitch. We can state this with great confidence since terminal rise or upward glide of pitch in Y/N type questions is a linguistic universal occurring in countless languages all over the world. It can take different forms in different languages, even with a single speaker, but the basic characteristic, the sharply rising terminal contour, as opposed to the terminal fall of the intonation contour characteristic of declarative sentences (*finality*), remains the same throughout.

In present-day Semitic languages, interrogative intonation may have several manifestations, e.g. **1 4** or **1 2 4** or **2 3 3** or **1 1 1 2**. The decisive distinguishing feature is not to what level the frequency of voice rises (although it usually rises to a high tone level), but that it rises to a relatively higher level than the intonation pattern elsewhere in the sentence. The purpose of raising the voice is to signal to the listener that an answer to the sentence is expected. Correspondingly, in declarative intonation expressing finality, the tone level falls at the end of the sentence, signalling the end of the message (e.g. **2 2 1** or **4 1**) and is unmarked, e.g. Neo-Aramaic *ōhel qšilā*, “does he eat oats?” (**1 3.4**); *qšila*, “oats” (**4 1**), Bergsträsser 1933, C 9–10.

The raising of pitch does not affect the stress pattern of the word, but as a result of it, the vowel of the last syllable is regularly lengthened, regardless of how high the voice rises: *’ilhun eḥsōdā*, “do you have newly harvested field?” (**1 1.3**); *’inkēb*, “is it dry?” (**1 4**); *’inkeb ḥittōjā*, “is the wheat dry?” (**1 3.4**), *ibid.* B 1, B 3, B 4.

Returning to the Neo-Assyrian Y/N-type questions, the actual intonation contours of these sentences cannot of course be reconstructed from the extant material. But it is important to note that the upward glide of the pitch is reflected in the same way as stress, and it may with reason be conjectured that fully written long vowels (*id-di-bu-u-bu*) reflect high /3/ or /4/ pitch, whereas unmarked vowel length (with only paragogic and/or anaptyctic vowel correspond to lower pitch level /2/ or /3/.

#### 4.1.2. Information questions

In information questions, no phonetic changes are usually observable in the verbal form concluding the sentence, e.g. *atā nikattir*, “why are we waiting?” (SAA 10 221, r.4), or *atā lā tašpura*, “why haven’t you written?” (SAA 15 100, r.12’). This is in keeping with the fact that sentences of this type in Akkadian are already lexically marked as questions by an interrogative word, which often has a terminal stress or pitch, and information questions universally have the terminally falling (unmarked) intonation contour of declarative sentences (statements).

However, some information questions do end in anaptyctic and paragogic vowels comparable to those occurring in Y/N questions, e.g. *atā lā ta-šá-pur* /tašapu:r/, “why haven’t you written?” (KAV 115, r.16), or *atā ta-še-te* /taše:te/, “why were you negligent?” (SAA 19 51, 20). In contrast to Y/N questions, however, the vowel of the pitched syllable in these forms is never written as long. A slight rise of pitch (after a preceeding fall) occurs in Semitic (and many other languages) as a variant to terminal fall and then usually serves to modify the tone of the question in same way.

We shall return to the possible meaning of such “marked” information questions in a later chapter (implication). What is important in this context is the fact that the vowel affected by the rising pitch (in contrast to Y/N questions) is *never* written as long in these cases. This clearly correlates with comparatively low level of the final pitch in this type of questions as opposed to the intonation contour of Y/N type questions.

To conclude this chapter, the study of Neo-Assyrian interrogative sentences has established several important facts:

1. the variation in pitch does effect phonetic changes expressed in writing, and these changes are similar to those effected by (primary) stress;
2. the differences in pitch level are reflected in the script (even though perhaps not entirely consistently);
3. the intonation contours thus reconstructed are amply paralleled by other Semitic languages and even universally;
4. the many anaptyctic and paragogic vowels, which remain to be explained by “normal” stress patterns, find a natural explanation in the reconstructed contours.

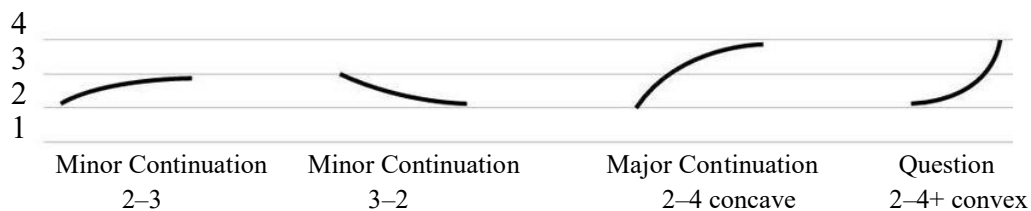
Equipped with the insights thus far gained, we shall now study whether or not the remaining “irregular” cases of anaptyxis and paragogue do allow interpretation as reflexes of specific intonation patterns. Externally, these remaining cases do not differ much from the ones already studied, even though they do not occur in interrogative contexts. The immediate problem, then, is: what possible function(s) could the hypothetical intonation contour(s) have concealed behind these spellings?

The answer obviously can be given only through an analysis of the relevant contexts, examples of which are collected and classified in Part II. In other words: one has to abstract from the contexts a meaning or meanings which are general enough to justify positing a functionally distinctive intonation pattern, and which is rendered likely by *linguistic universals* and *Semitic parallels* much in the same way as in the case of the question intonation.

#### 4.2. Continuation

By far the largest and most easily definable semantic group is constituted by cases where the questionable form is a verb preceding a paratactically coordinated verb or clause. By its location, the hypothetical intonation contour is thus very likely to be a non-terminal juncture; generally, it seems to mean simply that the utterance is not yet complete but is to be continued, and often no particular translation is called for, although translations “and, and (then), and (so)”, or “but/yet” fit. Like information questions, the relevant forms exhibit paragogic and anaptyctic vowels, but very rarely explicitly written vowel lengthening in the pitched syllables; this suggests a terminal rise of pitch similar to but less dramatic than that in information questions.

Slightly rising (sustained) terminal contour is indeed a universal marker of unfinished sentences and it occurs very frequently in modern Arabic and Aramaic. Typical contours (after Delattre 1966, 8, 67ff.) are:



Using the same schematic notation as above, the basic forms of this intonation contour (as opposed to finality and question) are 2–3, 3–2 and 2–4. Their basic function is to signal to the listener that the utterance is not yet complete but more is to follow. Thus the contour often corresponds in meaning to coordinating conjunctions but can frequently also be left untranslated.

That this intonation contour existed in Neo-Assyrian and that it is indeed reflected in the form of parasitic vowels can be established for certain both by diachronic and synchronic evidence. It can be shown, in the first place, that the parasitic vowels indicating continuation correspond to and replace the enclitic particle *-ma*, which functions as the primary device of syntactic coordination in Babylonian and older stages of Assyrian but has become almost entirely obsolete in this function in Neo-Assyrian. It occurs there only in literary contexts, scholarly letters, astrological reports and legal documents, where verb forms with terminal *-ma* are occasionally replaced by ones ending in paragogue. Consider, e.g., the following doublets:

*uš-ken-ma iššiḳ qaqqaru maharša* (Poor Man of Nippur, 73)

*ik-mi-si iš[šiḳ] qaqqaru mahriša* (STT 28, i 28)

*idabbub-ma lā ilaqqi* (SAA 6 10, r.5 and passim)

*i-da-bu-bu lā ilaqqi* (SAA 14 473, r.6)

Note that those NA legal documents, which exhibit reflexes of continuation intonation rather than formulae with coordinative *-ma*, also show other synchronic features instead of archaisms (e.g., *ú-tap-piš*, *is-si-qi*).<sup>5</sup>

Neo-Assyrian sentences with parasitic vowels indicating continuation can furthermore be matched with parallel Neo-Babylonian sentences, where the idea of coordination is primarily expressed with enclitic *-ma*, e.g.:

*al-lak-ma pānī ša šarri bēlīja am-mar-ma ú-rad-de-e-ma aballut*, “I shall go **and** see the face of the king, my lord, **and** (then) I shall get even better” (SAA 22 35, 17–19);

*al-la-ka a-za-za ina pān niqiāti*, “I shall go **and** supervise the sacrifices” (SAA 10 94, r.8’)

It may be noted that in NB, coordination of two verbs or clauses is possible also paratactically, without the enclitic *-ma*. Thus phrases like *ul amangur-ma ul inamdina*, “he refuses to give it to me” (SAA 14 220, 11)<sup>6</sup> are sometimes paralleled by phrases omitting the enclitic *-ma*, e.g. *ul imangur ul inamdin*, “he refuses to give” (SAA 17 9, 9’), or *ul imangur ul uššūnu*, “they refuse to come out” (SAA 18 196, r.10).<sup>7</sup> This is probably due to Assyrian influence (cf. NA *la i-ma-gúr lā iddu[nū]*, “they refuse to give”, Part II D 72, and *lā im-ma-gúr ... lā u[ššūni]*, “they refuse to come [out]”, *ibid.* 67), because the NB

5. The apparent paragogic vowel *-i* in the legal formula *ina ur-kiš-ši ina ma-te-ma* (SAA 6 93 r.9; 335 r.2; 336 r.3; etc.) is a sandhi spelling for the more common *ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-ma*, “in the future, at any time”, and has nothing to do with actual paragogue.

6. Cf. NA *immerē lā i-ma-gúr lā iddu[nū]*, “they refuse to give the sheep”, SAA 13 21 r.10. For similar NB clauses coordinated with *-ma* also see SAA 5 243:8 (*ul amangur-ma ... ul anamdin*, SAA 13 181 r.1; 22 19 r.8 (*ul amangur-ma*); 58:2; and 114 r.13 (*ul imangurū-ma*).

7. Note also *[ul i]-man-[g]ur ul imahhara[nni]*, “he refuses to accept me”, SAA 18 109 r.4.

phrase often occurs without *-ma* in NA royal inscriptions written in standard Babylonian.<sup>8</sup> It can be assumed that the word *i(m)-ma-gúr* in this case too was pronounced by a mildly rising intonation contour. But the rise of pitch may have been so slight that no parasitic vowel developed (or was felt necessary to express in writing). It is good to keep in mind that all parasitic vowels were in principle optional (see above, pp. 8–9), and in fact many utterances containing parasitic vowels indicating continuation have doublets where such vowels are missing.

Further evidence proves the reality of the continuation intonation in Neo-Assyrian, and it will be discussed in a while. First, however, we have to consider in more detail the forms in which this intonation contour is reflected in words of different syllable structure.

In words with *closed* ultima and penultima, the forms are similar to those observed under interrogative intonation, except that the (lengthened) vowel in the last syllable is almost never written as long to avoid confusion with interrogative intonation.

In words with an *open* ultima and penultima there are differences, however. Here it is not the ultima that witnesses the rise of pitch and the associated vowel changes but the *penultima*, cf. [*maššartu*] *ša Šamaš* [*ni*] *ttašar* *ir-ti-i-bi* [*attalû*] *ussētiq*, “we observed the sun; it set **and** let [the eclipse] pass by” (SAA 8 47, 1–5); SN<sub>1</sub> *ina muhhi* SN<sub>2</sub> ... *lā iqrib* [*is*] *su pānīšu* *ip-ti-e-ti* [...], “Mars has not approached Venus; it has departed from it and [...].” (SAA 8 55, r.5).<sup>9</sup> Obviously, because of the particular structure of these words, the intonation here assumes the rising-sustaining or rising-falling variant form.

Besides the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, the forms in question may, depending on the quality of the last root consonant, also lose their final vowel, e.g. *lā im-ma-gúr* (*lā immággurū* → /immagu:’r(u)/), “they do not agree”. This may happen if the last radical is a continuant (liquid or sibilant) or a weak consonant (aleph or semivowel). Apocope of the last vowel in this environment is attested e.g. in the ironical comment *arhiš lu-rab-bi-iš*, “(the king) should promote him at once” (< /lurabbi:’ šu/) in SAA 10 72, r.11, see the commentary in LAS II, under no. 65.

Now, this state of affairs sometimes results in forms that seem confusing at the first sight. Compare the following forms of the verb *magāru* with continuation intonation:

1st and 3rd singular present		3rd plural present	
normal form	with continuation contour	normal form	with continuation contour
<i>lā ammággur</i>	1× la-ma-gu- <b>ru</b>	<i>lā immággurū</i>	6× la i-ma- <b>gúr</b>
<i>lā immággur</i>	1× le-ma-gúr- <b>ru</b>		2× la im-ma- <b>gúr</b>
	1× la-a i-ma-gúr		1× la i-ma- <b>gur</b>
	1× la i-ma-gúr		1× la im-ma-gu-ru
	1× la im-ma-gu-ur		2× la i-ma-gu-ru
			1× la-a i-ma-gúr-ru

8. E.g., *ul amgur ul addinšu*, “I (Assurbanipal) refused to extradite him”, Asb B v 2.

9. Cf. also the 3rd plural forms *e-ta-ra-bu*, “they entered”, and *ih-te-si*, “they molested”, in SAA 15 168:10f. (App. D 27).

At the first sight, two of the singular forms of *magāru* (ending in paragodic **-u**) look like plurals, while most of the plural forms (with apocopated *-ū*) look like singulars. But as explained above, all the forms are in fact regular manifestations of the continuation contour. The regular-looking singular and plural forms probably involved weaker pitch not causing noticeable phonetic changes.

The different treatment of sg. and pl. forms exemplified above and the consistency in which it is effected — in my opinion — proves conclusively the prosodic nature of the phenomenon and its interpretation as an intonation contour indicating continuation.

There are considerable differences in the distribution of the contour within the domain of a sentence. In certain compound sentences, most verbs may contain a coordinative parasitic vowel (e.g., Part II D 27, 30); in others, it occurs much more sparsely or not at all. This may be partly due to the fact that most of the examples come from letters and other texts written down from dictation; frequent intonation-related parasitic vowels may relate to pauses in dictation taken by the speaker while reflecting on a proper way to continue the message. This would explain the occasional cases in which coordinative paragodic vowels combine with the conjunction *ū*, “furthermore”, presumably with an intervening pause in between.

It may also explain why the scribes took such a care in writing down the parasitic vowels (many of which do not particularly contribute to the understanding of the message), for a tentative pause tends to sustain the height of the final pitch of the contour (Pike 1945) and thereby effectively contributes to the appearance of parasitic vowels. In any cases, it seems likely that the contour was mostly associated with pauses and constituted a juncture; the relevant pitch-affected forms seem to have been largely morphologically stabilized (cf. below on the prehistory of the forms), which would explain why they are found even in texts not written down from dictation, including pieces of literature.

Most typically, the contour occurs between (two) verbs sharing the same subject and belonging to the same sentence. The contour also frequently enters between two logically connected sentences with or without the same subject. If the sentences are in adversative relation to each other, the contour conveys the meaning “but”, otherwise generally “so (that)” or simply “and (so)”.

#### 4.3. *Implication*

In the material surveyed by me, there remain over 100 further verbal forms with evidently pitch-related parasitic vowels, which do not fit under the question or continuation groups. I regard all of them as reflexes of the same intonation contour, which I label as the “implication contour”, although the available examples indicate that it includes also other kinds of utterances.

Formally, the reflexes of this contour are identical with those of the continuation contour. As we shall see presently, the two could in fact for several reasons be considered but variants of one and the same intonation morpheme. However, for practical purposes they are kept separate because their distributions and therefore their functions, too, differ largely from each other.

The label “implication” assigned to the contour is based on linguistic parallels, and seeks to render the least common denominator of the contexts in which it occurs: it generally *implies that something has been left unsaid*. Corresponding to this, the contour is never found before tentative pause (like continuation) but seems mostly to combine with final pause and is often found at the end of a message. Theoretically, it could thus be regarded as a continuation contour preceding an utterance left unexpressed for this or that reason. Comparative evidence suggests, however, that implication contours may have differed from the continuation by a slight fall after the terminal rise (Delattre 1966, 170).

The implication contour seems to have had three primary usages judging from its occurrences:

- (1) to stress that an action described by the verb in question is or is not a *repetition* or *supplement* of another action mentioned earlier;
- (2) to *emphasize* the importance of an action, assertion or command, or one’s loyalty and blameless behaviour, pitiful situation, or inability to carry out a task, etc.;
- (3) to add a *modal* nuance to the sentence.

All these three usages, different as they may seem, have one feature in common: like the continuation contour, they too have an analogy in the usages of the enclitic particle *-ma*. But while the continuation contour clearly has in Neo-Assyrian replaced *-ma* in the coordinating function, it seems that the implicative use of *-ma* in verbs is a late development prompted by the emergence of pitch-related parasitic vowels. We shall now consider the three usages in more detail separately.

#### 4.3.1. *Hendiadys*

This contour is attested in sequences of two semantically closely related verbs, where the latter supplements or repeats the information given by the former; hence the label assigned to it in this study. The rising contour is located at the end of the last verb of the chain:

*šarru bēlī ša-qurbūti taklu lišpura liš'al lu-ši-ši*, “May the king my lord send a trusty bodyguard to inquire and investigate” (SAA 10 369, r.10–12)

*ša'al ú-ši-ši šēši'a*, “inquire and investigate, and bring (them) forth” (SAA 1 21, 10f.)

Because of the semantic relation existing between the verbs in those examples, and because the contour here occasionally seems to add to the latter verb the notion “also” or “even”, they could actually also be regarded as cases of *iteration* to be discussed in the next section.

These cases could be interpreted as minor variants of the intonation contour discussed in the proceeding chapter, the place of pitch being shifted to the latter member of the verb pair like in the Latin construction A B-*que* (as opposed to Greek A-τε και B). However, I feel hesitant to push ahead this interpretation since it is counter the common meaning (incompleteness) of both implication and continuation contour. The relevant passages actually allow other (though not as obvious) interpretations as well.

Nevertheless, there is one example with the enclitic particle *-ma* which supports the A B-*que* interpretation:

*ina muhhi PN lā iqbûni kî ina libbi anākûni akanni ētarab šīru a-ta-mar-ma*, “They didn’t tell me about PN when I was there. Now (however) I have entered and examined (his) flesh” (SAA 10 202, r.4’–9’)

Here *-ma* seems to carry an emphasizing connotation in addition to its coordinative function (“I entered and *did* examine her”). It seems possible that the above examples with parasitic vowels may carry similar connotations, which escape attention because of the obvious coordinative solution.

#### 4.3.2. Repetition

If a verb is repeated immediately after its occurrence in a similar context, pitch-related parasitic vowels tend to accompany the second occurrence. In the translation, words like “moreover”, “also”, “too” or “likewise” have usually to be supplied:

*šumma šû iddan anāku la-din-ni*, “if he is going to give, (then) I **too** will give” (SAA 1 128, r.13)

The second verb can alternatively (though more rarely) be followed by an enclitic *-ma*:

- *ina qanni ša šehru inūhūni ina muhhi mār-ahi ša PN i-sa-ka-nu it-tu-a-ha* (cf. r.3 *i-sa-ka-nu it-tu-ah-ma*), “once the child had calmed down, they put (the amulets) upon the nephew of Zeru-ukin, **and** he **too** calmed down” (SAA 10 309, 5’–8’);
- *lumnu ina libbi ēkalli lā memmēni šarru ina libbi GN im-mati il-lik-ma*, “There is no evil inside the palace; and when has the king ever visited Harihumba?” (SAA 10 42, 13–15).

The contour of repetition and enclitic *-ma* thus seem to be in partially complementary distribution in the iterative usage.

The use of *-ma* as a particle of repetition in verbs is not at all usual in Akkadian. As far as I can see, it is only attested in Neo-Assyrian and sporadically in Neo-Babylonian. By contrast, it is very well attested in this usage in nouns, particularly in Neo-Assyrian. It seems reasonable to assume, accordingly, that it has made its appearance relatively late in verbs, by the analogy of the continuation intonation, where forms marked with intonation contour and enclitic *-ma* had certainly coexisted for centuries.

The contour of repetition may also appear in other types of repetitive contexts:

- (1) *šumma ēnāte muṭê ... šumma šanṭuppu muṭê ...* (SAA 10 41, r.3–6);
- (2) *šumma ina hursān lallik šumma kalappu la-an-ti-hu* (SAA 21 111, r.17–19);
- (3) *pīka lā ta[ptê] ... lā ta-da-bu-bu* (SAA 5 108, 23–24).

In the first two examples, the grammatical structure of the first clause is repeated. In the last example, the meaning of the first clause is repeated in a different form. For more examples of this type, see the preceding section.



### 4.3.3. *Emphasis and implication in a narrower sense*

In contrast to the preceding two usages, no overt reason can be assigned to the occurrence of the intonation contour in the following examples. The meaning implied by the presence of the contour has to be determined solely from the context, to be read “between the lines”, so to speak, *e.g.*

- *kī ša šarru bēlī i[la ’ûni l]e-pu-šú*, “the king, my lord, may (however) do as he [deems best]” (SAA 19 351, r.1–5); on the plurality of [le]-pu-u-šú, see above, p. 87, and the discussion below;
- *ūmā kī ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni [le]-pu-u-šú*, “Nowadays, (however), it should be done as it (best) suits the king, my lord” (SAA 10 76, r.7ff.);
- *[šarru bē]lī kī ša ila ’ûni le-pu-šú [šarru bē]lī ūda ...*, “the king, my lord, may do as he [deems best], (but) the king, my lord knows that ...” (SAA 5 291, r.12f.).

It has to be admitted that some of these passages can be understood in various ways, and in some of them it is difficult to discern any implication at all. Accordingly, the temptation is great to disregard the implicative function of parasitic vowels altogether and to regard them as scribal mistakes or bad orthography. Considering, however, the frequency at which the phrase *šarru bēlī ... lēpūš* is attested with a paragogic *-u* and the explicit marking of the lengthening of the pitched vowel in the second example, the possibility of scribal mistakes appears rather remote. Several other considerations, too, suggest that the parasitic vowels in these examples should be taken seriously:

- (1) The phrase *šarru ... lēpūšu* which figures so prominently among the examples, is unambiguous in its reading, and the implied meaning, made explicit in the translation, is strongly required by the context. The writers are *not* necessarily suggesting that the king should act (*lēpuš*) as he pleases; on the contrary, they may have occasionally wanted to imply that *even though* he as an autocrat of course *could* act as he pleases, he should follow the proposal of his advisors. The same observation applies to two parallel phrases where the verb is *paqādu*.
- (2) The context in several of the relevant examples is either emphatic approval or emphatic refusal and as such appropriate for an intonation contour with similar emotional implications. Cf. the emphatic implications of the particle *-ma* discussed below.
- (3) The utterances with “implicative” parasitic vowels are paralleled by ones where the existence of the implication is marked by the enclitic *-ma*. In some cases, there is a virtual one-to-one semantic correspondence between the two ways of expression, and in most cases the presence of *-ma* lends emphasis to the utterance. Regarding this emphatic/implicative function of the particle *-ma*, the comments made under “Repetition” apply here too. Emphatic *-ma* is very common in nouns in all periods and dialects of Akkadian but is attached to verbs only in NA and NB, probably for the same reasons as repetitive *-ma*.<sup>10</sup> The continuative and causal connotations of *-ma* (GAG § 123) have also parallels in clauses with implication contour, as has also the use of *-ma* to mark the stative predicate of nominal clauses (see Part II I–K and Appendix).

10. For further discussion of the relationship of *-ma* and intonation contours in NA see below.

- (4) The contour of implication is worldwide used very frequently in everyday communication (Delattre 1966, 170). Even though the precise meaning of the contour is not necessarily always patent, it is mostly sufficient — and often essential (as shown above, under 1) — that the very *existence* of an implication in the utterance is made explicit. Accordingly, it is legitimate not only to assume the existence of this contour in Neo-Assyrian but also, given the way its phonological system functions, to expect to find at least some occurrences of this contour fully marked in the script.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1. Neo-Assyrian grammar

The foregoing analysis has dealt with phonological issues which may superficially seem to be of relatively little significance, but which in fact are pivotal to the understanding of certain fundamental aspects of Neo-Assyrian grammar. One of these is the question of the phonological relevance of the Neo-Assyrian orthography and writing system at large. As pointed out in the introduction, the *communis opinio* has been that the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform script leaves — perhaps under the influence of the West Semitic alphabetic script — much to desire especially in the representation of vowels and phonemic length.

The results of the present study necessitate a drastic reconsideration of this picture. The existence of intonation contours affecting the phonetic shape of words and the simple rules of paragoge and anaptyxis account for the curious word forms occurring in the texts and completely rule out any possibility of an “abnormal” orthography. Except for a single clear scribal error,<sup>11</sup> I have not encountered in the entire Neo-Assyrian text corpus a single instance where the syllabic values fixed in the cuneiform syllabaries would not apply. The fact that the scribes took care to indicate not only the “citation” forms of words but also prosodic features also puts the question of the accuracy of the writing system in a new light. How does accuracy in such matters square up with inconsistency in the representation of syllable length?

This question, if nothing else, forces one to abandon the traditional perspective and look at the Neo-Assyrian orthography from the viewpoint of the ancient scribes. It is an undeniable fact that the whole issue of “inconsistent representation of morphemic length” is largely a product of the Neogrammarian School only. Vowel length may be important in Greek and Latin poetry and grammar, but in Neo-Assyrian phonology it plays a minor role and is clearly subordinate in importance to stress and pitch. There is no evidence that any morphemic lengths were realized in this dialect except in stressed or pre-stressed syllables. In contrast, there is ample evidence for the reduction of both consonantal and vocalic length in unstressed syllables. Length was only important as one of the factors determining the place of stress; on the phonetic level, it was a by-product of stress.

Thus, the “underrepresentation” of morphemic length in Neo-Assyrian orthography is actually quite natural and does not justify labelling it as *inaccurate*. The ancient scribes

11. *it-AT-na-ag-ra-ra* (for *ittanagrāra*) in a letter from Assurbanipal, evidently written by the crown prince himself (SAA 16 20 r.35').

did not have at their disposal reference books, which would have systematically and unambiguously fixed the spelling of each word form occurring in the texts. Thus, especially when writing from dictation but also otherwise, they dealt with the forms actually occurring in speech. Thus, the texts we have can in a way be compared to modern recordings in linguistic transcription. The informants are dead, but they can still be consulted through the choices the scribes made in the representation of sounds and prosodic features, and indication of morpheme and word boundaries.

Seen in this light, inconsistency in the representation of morphemic length ceases to be an orthographic issue, and can instead be studied as a phonetic phenomenon (*e.g.*, *rimku* vs. *rinku*), a case of linguistic variation, of which there are innumerable other examples in the texts.

The evidence mustered in this study indicates that vowel lengthening due to the pitch was as a rule marked only in Y/N questions, that is, with the highest terminal rise of the pitch. Otherwise long vowels (both graphemic and phonetic) are, with negligible exceptions, only marked in stressed syllables and usually only once per each word. Since they are very frequently (in about 50% of the cases) left unmarked even in stressed syllables, it would seem that the marking/unmarking decision was at least partially conditioned by the degree of stress in question. In other words, the decision whether to write out a long vowel largely depended on whether the syllable in question happened to carry the primary stress. To judge from the representation of vowel length, then, stress and pitch were (partially) correlated in Neo-Assyrian in that syllables with primary stress were also spoken with high pitch (but not vice versa). A consideration of the distribution of marked/unmarked vowel length in relation to stress and pitch suggests that we have to distinguish, phonetically, five different vowel lengths in Neo-Assyrian:

- 1) Extra-long (â ê î û), in syllables with high pitch (Y/N questions) and certain lexical items ending in a vowel with primary stress: *ta-ba-a* /tābâ/, *la-a-áš-šu* /lāššu/, *a-de-e* /adê/, *a-na-ku-ú* /anākû/. The extra-long vowel is always written *plene*.
- 2) Long (ā ē ī ū), in syllables under primary (or rarely secondary) stress containing a phonetically long vowel, or any open syllable under (or rarely preceding) primary stress. The vowel length is indicated in about 70% of the cases.
- 3) Half-long (ā ē ī ū), in unstressed syllables with mildly rising (middle) pitch or containing a phonemically long vowel. The vowel length is usually left unmarked.
- 4) Short (ă ẽ ĭ ŭ), in unstressed syllables with low pitch, always written as short.
- 5) Extra-short (<sup>a e i u</sup>), in non-phonemic (parasitic) vowels inserted between consonant clusters and at word end. These may or may not be indicated in script and could therefore be referred to as “optional” vowels.

Three pitch levels can be distinguished:

- 1) High /3/ or /4/, typically occurring at the end of Y/N questions or in syllables with primary stress;
- 2) middle /2/, typically occurring at the end of incomplete utterances;
- 3) low /1/, typically occurring at the end of commands and completed statements.

In terms of these three pitch levels, the intonation contours discussed above can be defined as follows:

- Complete statement: rising-falling /231#/ or falling /221#/, /31#/.
- Information question: falling /32(1)#/ or falling-mildly rising /312#/.
- Y/N question: rising /13||/, /12||/ or falling-sharply rising /213||/, /313 / (*rībanê*).
- Continuation and implication: mildly rising /323/ or rising-sustaining /122/ or /233/.

Depending on the pitch level of the precontour, which cannot be controlled, many more variants of these contours certainly existed.

As shown above, the last contour (continuation/implication) corresponds functionally to the enclitic particle *-ma*, which it largely replaces. It can be surmised that in an earlier stage of the language, when the notion of continuation/implication was expressed lexically by means of this particle, a similar contour already accompanied the relevant utterances. Its role, however, probably was quite slight in comparison to that of the particle. The disappearance of *-ma*, however, must have put an end to this passive role of “emotive” intonation. It seems reasonable to assume that the role of pitch in general increased in Neo-Assyrian, and that this dialect was becoming increasingly “intonation-oriented”.

The correlation between stress, pitch and (vocalic and consonantal) length noted above and the conspicuous prominence of pitch and stress-related vowels point to a relatively great concentration of energy in the articulation of syllables with high pitch or primary stress. In its prosodic system, Neo-Assyrian seems to relate to Old Assyrian approximately as Italian does to Latin or modern dialectal Arabic to Classical Arabic.

Pitch-related paragogic (and to a lesser extent anaptyctic) vowels seem to have developed, at least in writing, towards a sort of segmental substitution for the obsolescent *-ma*. Nevertheless, in practice it must have been the intonation that carried the functional load of the particle. Bearing in mind the many different meanings assigned above to the continuation/implication contour (and the certain elusiveness inherent in any intonation), it may be asked whether it was an adequate substitution. The answer is yes. It must be borne in mind that the same semantic elusiveness is also inherent in the particle *-ma*, whose precise meanings are also exclusively determined by the context.<sup>12</sup> M. Schubiger (1965) has established an interesting parallel in modern European languages: where German uses unstressed particles (like “*nur, doch, denn*”) to modify the implication of an utterance, such modifications are in English largely expressed by means of intonation only. Lexical equivalents of the German particles “*nur, doch, denn*” seem to be entirely missing in Neo-Assyrian, too.

## 5.2. *Further perspectives*

The present study started as a study of problematic features in Neo-Assyrian orthography, and has purposely been kept limited in scope to Neo-Assyrian. However, it could and should be considerably expanded. The parallel evidence provided by other dialects and

12. It may be that the differentiation between the two basic contrastive meanings of *-ma* (continuation: implication/emphasis) was helped by minor differences in the accompanying intonation contour; if so, the hypothesis presented above that there might have been a minor difference between the NA continuation and implication contours would only be substantiated.

stages of Akkadian supports the key conclusions drawn in this article; on the other hand, the results of the present study also shed new light on some old problems in Akkadian and comparative Semitic phonology (*e.g.*, DeCaen & Drescher 2020). I believe that the “abnormal plene writings” discussed by J. Aro (1953 and 1971) are evidence of intonation contours in Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian, and an up-to-date study of them from the viewpoint of prosodic phonology would be highly desirable.

## PART II DOCUMENTATION

### *A. Anaptyxis*

Examples are listed in order of sonority by clusters ending in: *n m l r b d g h z ṭ q ṣ p t k s š*. The anaptyctic vowels are underlined.

#### *A.1. Prestressed anaptyxis (165 examples)*

- |     |           |  |  |
|-----|-----------|--|--|
| 1.  | <i>bn</i> | NA <sub>4</sub> . <i>a-ba-na-ti</i> , cf. Hebr. <i>abānim</i> (Jerome)   | SAA 1 141, 4'  |
| 2.  |           | <i>si-il tab-ba-na-a-ti</i> , <i>sil-li tab-ba-na-a-ta</i><br>(as against sg. <i>sil tab-nit</i> , <i>sil-la tab-ni-ti</i> ) | TCL 9 11+, 43; GCCI 1 206, 6<br>(YOS 3 68, 32; TCL 9 80, 10) |
| 3.  | <i>dn</i> | <i>ta-da-nu-u-ni</i>   | SAA 11 221, r.25; 13 31, r.13; 15 268, 6                     |
| 4.  | <i>mn</i> | URU. <i>ta-ma-nu-ni</i>  | GPA 128, 9 (cf. URU. <i>tam-nu-nu</i> , <i>passim</i> )      |
| 5.  |           | <i>'a'-mu-nu-ni</i>  | SAA 1 49, 16   |
| 6.  | <i>qn</i> | <i>iq-qī-nu-u-ni</i> (var. <i>iq-nu-u-ni</i> )   | SAA 2 6, 274   |
| 7.  | <i>šn</i> | <i>i-ši-ni-ma iqbi</i> (NB)  | YOS 7 42, 5  |
| 8.  |           | <i>ú-sa-ša-ni-ú</i>  | SAA 15 42, 7   |
| 9.  | <i>ṭn</i> | GIŠ. <i>bu-ṭu-na-te</i>  | CTN 1 pl. 48, 39   |
| 10. | <i>zn</i> | <i>i-zi-nu-nu</i>  | SAA 5 26, 11'  |
| 11. |           | <i>tu-ša-zā-na-a-ni</i> (var. <i>tu-ša-az-na-a-ni</i> )  | SAA 2 6, 65  |
| 12. | <i>dm</i> | <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN <i>ki-dī-mu-ri</i>  | SAA 16 106, 6  |
| 13. |           | <sup>d</sup> 15 <i>ša É-ki-dī-mu-ri</i>  | SAA 16 105, 5; 106, r.13                                     |
| 14. | <i>gm</i> | <i>li-gi-ma-ru-ku-nu</i> (var. <i>li-ig-mur-u-ku-nu</i> )  | SAA 2 6, 629   |
| 15. |           | <i>ir-tu-gu-mu-ni-šú</i>   | SAA 1 194, r.1   |
| 16. | <i>lm</i> | <i>el-le-me-šum</i> , <i>il-me-ši</i>  | OBGT XV, r.19; SAA 6 13, 3                                   |
| 17. |           | URU. <i>ta-la-mu-sa</i> , URU. <i>tal-mu-sa</i>  | ADD 888, 7; SAA 1 65, 10                                     |
| 18. | <i>bl</i> | [š] <i>a-ba-lu-u-i[a]</i>  | SAA 10 387, 7'   |
| 19. |           | ÍD. <i>tu-bu-li-'a-áš</i> (NB)   | SAA 17 151, 4  |
| 20. | <i>dl</i> | <i>ša-ad-da-lu-pu-ka</i>   | SAA 9 9, 15  |
| 21. | <i>gl</i> | <i>dī-gī-li-ia</i> , <i>dī-ig-lu</i>   | SAA 9 11, r.5; 10 361, r.2; 16 61, 10                        |
| 22. |           | <i>na-ag-ga-la-pa-a-a</i>  | SAA 9 9, 18  |
| 23. |           | <i>ša-ga-lu-ti</i>   | SAA 21 50, 4   |
| 24. |           | <i>ša-ga-la-ni</i>   | SAA 19 87, 12'   |
| 25. |           | <i>ú-ša-ga-lu-šú-nu</i>  | SAA 21 50, 23  |
| 26. |           | <i>ú-ša-ga-lu-ka-nu-ni</i>   | SAA 21 50, r.4   |
| 27. |           | <i>ú-šag-ga-lu-na-ši</i>   | SAA 15 221, 3, r.8   |
| 28. |           | <i>ú-sa-ga-li-uš</i>   | SAA 1 204, r.4   |
| 29. |           | <i>ú-ša-gal-u-šú-nu</i>  | SAA 5 112, r.2   |
| 30. |           | <i>ú-ša-gal-na-ši-ni</i>   | SAA 1 190, r.6   |
| 31. |           | URU. <i>la-ag-ga-la-gi</i> , [URU. <i>la-a</i> ] <i>g-la-gi</i>  | ADD 1096, 12.17  |
| 32. | <i>hl</i> | <i>i-hi-li-qu-nu</i> (NB)  | SAA 22 85, 11  |

33.	<i>na-ha-lap-ti</i>	AfO 8 20, r.10
34.	<i>ú-sa-ha-li-qu-šú-nu</i>	SAA 19 186, 7
35.	<i>ú-ša-ha-li-qu-šú-nu-ni</i>	SAA 19 186, r.15
36.	<i>ql ma-qa-lu-tú</i> , cf. Hebr. <i>maqaloth</i> (Jerome)	SAA 10 212, r.7; 13 57, r.4
37.	<i>ma-qa-lu-a-te</i>	SAA 8 102, r.10
38.	<i>sl ki-si-li-mu</i>	Hh I 229
39.	<i>šl [m]u-šu-la-li</i>	SAA 10 131, 6
40.	<i>šl LÚ.taš-ša-li-ša-nu</i> , LÚ.taš-li-ša-nu (NB)	BE 10 117, 16; SAA 18 72, 13; and passim
41.	<i>br [m]ú-bu-ra-ki</i> , <sup>m</sup> ub-ra-ki	SAA 14 74, r.4; 73, 11'
42.	<i>e-ta-ba-ru-ni</i>	SAA 19 89, 28
43.	<i>a-sa-b/pa-r-a(k)-ka</i>	SAA 15 186, r.10; KAV 115, r.12
44.	<i>gr LÚ.a-gar-ru-ú-tu</i> (< <i>agrūtu</i> )	AHw 16
45.	<i>i-gi-ru-ú-ni</i>	SAA 5 37, 29
46.	<i>li-gi-ru-ru</i>	SAA 5 203, s.1
47.	<i>URU.ma-ga-ri-si</i>	AKA 347, 3 (Class. Magrus)
48.	<i>mi-gir-i-ša</i>	Borger Asb p. 75 § 48, 4
49.	<i>na-ga-ru-ti-ni</i>	CT 53 148, 17
50.	<i>hr i-hi-ri-pu</i>	SAA 19 169, r.3
51.	<i>i-su-hu-ru-u-ni</i>	SAA 15 90, 6; SAA 19 61, r.17
52.	<i>i-ta-ha-ru-šu</i>	KAV 115, r.17
53.	<i>me-he-ri-šu</i>	SAA 16 115, r.8
54.	<i>še-he-ra-ka</i>	SAA 9 1 ii 32'
55.	<i>še-he-ri-ia</i>	SAA 10 187, 8
56.	<i>kr na-ka-ra-ka</i>	SAA 5 260, 7
57.	<i>na-ka-ru-te-ka</i>	SAA 9 1 i 8', 13', 19'
58.	<i>mr [KUR].ha-mar-a-na-a-a</i>	SAA 1 90, 11
59.	<i>pr i-sa-pa-r-u-ni</i>	SAA 15 136, 24
60.	<i>i-sa-pa-ru-u-ni</i>	SAA 5 202, r.14
61.	<i>i-sa-pa-ra-an</i>	SAA 15 54, r.5
62.	<sup>m</sup> si-pa-r-a-nu	SAA 6 156, 17
63.	<sup>m</sup> si-pa-r-ra-a-nu	GPA 35, r.4
64.	<sup>m</sup> si-pa-ra-nu	SAA 6 1, r.7
65.	cf. <sup>m</sup> si-ip-ra-a-nu	SAA 6 146, 12
66.	<i>šip-pir-ra-a-te</i>	SAA 10 274, 9 (cf. Syr. <i>šaprōtō</i> )
67.	<i>ši-pir-a-ti</i>	SAA 15 353, 1
68.	<i>sr si-(is)-ši-ri-in-nu</i> (var. <i>si-is-rin-nu</i> )	Malku I 268
69.	<i>šr ka-šar-u-ni</i>	SAA 11 219 ii 28
70.	<i>ú-ša-ša-rih</i>	Levine Stele 55
71.	<i>šr pi-šir-a-ti</i>	SAA 10 245, r.11; 246, 12'
72.	<i>tr ú-tū-ru-te</i>	SAA 16 96, 12
73.	<i>URU.ha-ta-rik-ka</i> ( <i>hat-ri-ka</i> / <i>hat-rak</i> )	16 x in AOAT 6 (= Bibl. Hadrāk)
74.	<i>tr ip-ta-ta-ru-ni-šu</i>	SAA 13 27, r.21
75.	<i>ša-a-ta-ta-ra-a-ni</i>	SAA 10 60, 11
76.	<i>ši-ti-ri-ša</i>	SAA 5 295, r.24
77.	<i>zr i-zi-ri-ia</i>	SAA 9 2 iii 30'
78.	<i>ke-ze-re-e-ti</i> (var. <i>ke-ez-re-e-ti</i> )	SAACT Gilg. VI 161 Var. B
79.	<i>ma-za-ru-te</i>	SAA 6 149, 7, 278, 3; SAA 14 112, 3'; GPA 33, 3
80.	<i>ma-za-ru-ti</i>	SAA 6 30, 4
81.	<i>ma-za-ru-u-te</i>	SAA 14 205, 4'
82.	<i>ma-az-ru-te</i>	SAA 6 226, 3
83.	<i>ma-az-ru-ti</i>	SAA 14 463, 4
84.	<i>ma-az-za-ru-u-ti</i>	SAA 6 19, 5; 334, 22
85.	<i>ma-az-za-ru-u-ti</i>	SAA 14 118, 4
86.	<i>db i-di-bu-bu-u-ni</i>	VAT 16554, 5

87.	<i>i-dī-bu-u</i> [ <i>b-u-ni</i> ]	SAA 5 95, r.2
88.	<i>id-dī-bu-ub-u-ni</i>	SAA 5 91, 6
89.	<i>la-dā-bu-ub</i>	SAA 5 78, r.14; 133, r.20
90.	<i>ta-dā-bu-bu-u-ni</i> (Prt.)	SAA 16 78, r.10
91.	<i>ta-dā-bu-bu</i> (Prt.)	SAA 5 26, 6
92.	[ <i>ú-šā</i> ]- <i>ad-dā-ba-a-ba</i>	SAA 4 159, 8
93.	<i>na-dā-ba-ki</i>	SAA 19 211, 5
94.	<i>na-dā-ba-ak-te</i>	VS I 100, 4; 101, 3 (AR 232)
95.	[ <i>l</i> ] <i>i-dī-bu-ku</i>	SAA 19 211, r.3
96.	<i>ni-dī-bu-ku-ni</i>	SAA 13 137, r.3
97.	<i>ni-id-dī-bu-ú-ku</i>	SAA 21 65, 17
98.	<i>nu-sa-dā-bi</i> -[ <i>šú-nu</i> ]	SAA 13 208, 2'
99.	<i>ú-šā-dā-ba</i>	SAA 5 58, 9
100.	<i>ú-sa-dā-bi-šu</i>	KAV 115, r.7
101.	<i>gb</i> <i><sup>m</sup>a-gā-bu-ru</i>	SAA 14 197, 23
102.	<i>na-gā-bi-šā</i>	WO 1 468, 36
103.	<i>qb</i> <i>na-qā-ba-a-te</i>	SAA 10 352, 80
104.	<i>na-qā-bi-ia-te</i>	SAA 10 351, 11
105.	<i>a-qā-bu-u-ni</i>	SAA 16 43, 9, 14; 63, r.31
106.	<i>a-qā-ba-āš-šú-nu</i> (Prt.)	SAA 15 4, 15
107.	<i>a-qā-ba-kan-ni</i> (Prt.)	SAA 5 213, 6; SAA 9 1 vi 8'
108.	<i>aq-qā-ba-kan-ni</i> (Prt.)	SAA 9 1 i 16'
109.	<i>ta-qā-bu-u-ni</i> (Prt.)	KAV 115, 10
110.	<i>i-qī-bu-ni</i> (Prt.)	SAA 14 154, r.8
111.	[ <i>l</i> ] <i>i-qī-ba-āš-šú-nu</i>	SAA 5 63, r.12
112.	<i>li-qī-ba-āš-šú</i>	GPA 194, 23
113.	[ <i>l</i> ] <i>i-qī-bu-ni-šú-nu</i>	SAA 5 203, r.22
114.	<i>ú-šā-qā-ba-a</i>	SAA 4 154, 8; 156, 9; 161, 6
115.	<i>ú-sa-qā-bi-šú</i>	SAA 10 351, 12
116.	<i>kb</i> <i>a-kā-bu-su-ni</i> (Prt.)	SAA 19 176, r.10, 11
117.	<i>i-kī-bu-su-ni</i>	SAA 23 (ABL 307), r.9
118.	<i>tb</i> <i>ba-tā-ba-ti-ia</i>	SAA 5 79, 7
119.	[ <i>ba</i> ]- <i>tā-ba-ti</i>	SAA 5 67, 6
120.	<i>zb</i> <i>ú-šā-zā-bil</i>	Levine Stele 46
121.	<i>ša-zā-bu-su</i>	SAA 1 234, 11
122.	<i>ša-zā-bu-sa</i> -[ <i>te</i> ]	SAA 1 234, 10
123.	<i>i-zī-bi-lu-u-ni</i>	SAA 13 50, r.5
124.	<i>šb</i> <i>iš-šī-bat-tu</i> (var. <i>iš-ba-tu</i> )	SAA 2 6, 24
125.	<i>la-ša-ba-ta</i> (... <i>lašpur</i> )	SAA 13 43, r.2
126.	<i>šu-šu-bu-ta-ka</i> (NB)	SAA 18 60, 3
127.	<i>na-ša-bat</i>	SAA 7 71, 1; 96, r.11
128.	TÚG. <i>na-ša-bat</i>	SAA 7 96, r.1
129.	TÚG. <i>na-ša-ba-te</i>	SAA 7 172, r.9
130.	TÚG. <i>na-ša-pa-a-te</i>	SAA 7 112, r.1
131.	<i>ta-ša-bat-ú-ni</i> (Prt.)	KAV 198, 4
132.	<i>ú-ša-ša-bat</i> (... <i>unammaša</i> )	SAA 1 261, 2'
133.	<i>ú-ša-aš-ša-bat</i> (NB)	SAA 22 139, 8'
134.	<i>ú-sa-ša-bi-ma</i>	SAA 1 227, r.3
135.	<i>šb</i> <i>āš-šā-bu-rak-ki</i>	STT 28 vi 48' (Nergal & Ereškigal)
136.	<i>lb</i> <i>na-lā-ba-na</i>	Anp. II 134
137.	<i>gu-lū-bu-ti</i>	PVA 27 (cf. <i>gulbūtu</i> CAD G 127a)
138.	<i>šil-lī-ba-a-ni</i>	SAA 10 241, 6
139.	<i>ši-il-ba-ni</i> (without anaptyxis)	SAA 10 315, r.9
140.	<i>du-lū-ba-ni</i>	SAA 15 283, 7
141.	<i>rb</i> LÚ. <i>qur-ru-bu-u-tu</i> (NB)	VS 5 no.72 and often in NB

142.	LÚ.šá-qur-ru-bu-ti (NB)	SAA 17 17, r.1.7 and often in NB
143.	iq-qa-ra-bu-u-ni	SAA 5 64, 8
144.	sa-ra-b-a-te	SAA 9 9, 13
145. hb	i-hi-bu-tu (NB)	SAA 22 85, 8
146.	URU.nu-hu-ba-a-a	SAA 23 (ABL 307), 2
147.	URU.nu-uh-ba-ia (without anaptyxis)	SAA 23 (ABL 307), r.10
148.	ta-ha-ba-tu-ši-na (var. ta-ah-ba-tu-ši-na)	SAA Gilg. VI 166 Var. A
149. bd	KUR.la-ba-du-du	SAA 11 1, 15
150.	KUR.la-ba-du-da-a-a	SAA 15 121, 5
151. md	ša-ma-da-ni	Borger Ash 53 iii 76 (= šimdāni)
152. qd	pa-qa-da-a-ni	SAA 16 148, 1
153.	pa-qa-da-ku-u-ni	SAA 1 179, r.4
154. rg	ma-ra-ge-e, ma-ra-ge-i	SAA 5 91, 3; SAA 14 13, 21
155. rh	ma-ra-ha-a, ma-ra-ha-a	AnSt 7 139, 23; APN 183b
156. rk	pa-ra-ak-at (with continuation intonation)	SAA 13 34, 4
157. bk	da-ba-ku-u-a, da-ba-ku-u-a	SAA 20 49 ii 18; 40 ii 7
158. qp	i-zu-ku-pu (Pl. 3; see fn. 18, above))	SAA 5 53, r.3
159. rq	URU.ma-ra-qa-si	Iraq 23 pl. 21, 7, 8
160. šq	ma-ša-qi-te	SAA 6 10, 3
161.	ma-ša-qi-it, ma-ša-qi-te	SAA 10 294, r.1, SAA 6 13, 3
162. pq	a-pa-qi-du-ni (Prt.)	SAA 1 82, r.7
163. ht	u-hu-ta-bi[l]	SAA 15 330, 3
164.	u-hu-ta-ri-du-šu-nu	SAA 5 217, 12
165. ls	ul-lu-su-nu, ul-lu-su-un-nu	SAA 1 9, 2, r.2; SAA 5 220, 4

#### A.2. Poststressed anaptyxis (31 examples)

1.	kn	i-sa-ka-nu	SAA 1 179, r.8, 9; LAS 309, 8', r.3
2.	mn	ša-mi-ni	BT 128, 7 // šam-ni KAV 171, r.14
3.	tn	GIŠ.bu-tu-ni	CT 53 230, 7
4.	zn	u-ša-za-nin	Levine Stele, r.16
5.		mu-ša-za-nin	Iraq 30 p. 141, 2
6.	bl	i-tu-bu-lu	CT 53 83, r.13
7.	dl	UZU.me-di-li	ABL 724, r.8 // UZU.mid-lu SAA 20 52, r. iii 19
8.	pl	ki-pi-li	ABL 438, 7 // kip-lu TCL 3 387
9.		sa-pa-lu	PVA 441 // sa-ap-lu SAA 20 34, 3
10.	dr	NINDA me-di-ri, me-dir(-ri)	ADD 1012, r.6; ADD 1030, r.9, passim // midru CAD M/2 48a)
11.	hr	i-su-hu-ra	ABL 1371, r.2
12.		ni-is-su-hu-ra	ABL 126, 9
13.		pa-ga-ru	PVA 344
14.	kr	na-ka-ri	ABL 556, r.11
15.	pr	ku-pu-ru	PVA 328
16.	tr	NA <sub>4</sub> .ni-ti-ru	ABL 347, r.9
17.	sr	u-ša-ša-rih	Levine Stele 55
18.		i-ta-ša-ru	LAS 100, 4'
19.	mr	GIŠ.za-ma-ri	ADD 1036, 28
20.	rd	i-tu-ru-du	NL 41, 40
21.	zb	u-ša-za-bil	Levine Stele 46
22.	lq	ih-ta-lu-qu	CT 53 185, 4'
23.		ih-ti-li-qu	ABL 419, r.19
24.	rs	ti-ri-ši	ADD 299, r.3
25.	qp	i-zu-ku-pu (Pl.)	ABL 251, r.3
26.	pt	a-pa-ta-làh	ABL 1288, r.7 // ap-ta-làh ABL 525, r.16; ABL 1385, 13



- |     |           |                                      |   |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 27. | <i>qt</i> | <i>ba-ti-qí-tú</i>                   | ABL 515, r.11, 13 // <i>ba-ti-iq-tú</i> ABL 1079, 10' |
| 28. |           | <i>bu-ti-qí-te</i>                   | ABL 941, 5 // <i>bu-tiq-ta</i> KAR 177, r. ii 23      |
| 29. | <i>rt</i> | <i>ši-pi-rí-ti</i>                   | ADD 171, 9  |
| 30. | <i>lk</i> | <sup>m</sup> <i>mì-lì-ki</i> –DINGIR | ADD 877a, 11  |
| 31. | <i>bš</i> | <i>ha-ba-šu</i>                      | LAS 120, r.4  |

## B. Paragogue

### B.1. Nouns and indeclinables

- |     |               |                                    |  |
|-----|---------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1.  | <i>ahīš</i>   | <i>i-sa-a-hi-ši</i>                | SAA 1 175, 13'; 182, 8' (vs. 4 x <i>i-sa-hi-iš</i> )                                 |
| 2.  |               | <i>ina šà a-hi-ši</i>              | SAA 1 172, 12  |
| 3.  | <i>ahāiš</i>  | <i>i-sa-ha-ii-ši</i>               | SAA 15 101, 13   |
| 4.  |               | <i>ša a-ha-ii-ši</i>               | <i>ibid.</i> 14  |
| 5.  |               | <i>a-ha-ii-ši</i>                  | SAA 5 227, r.14  |
| 6.  | <i>Akzīb</i>  | URU.ak-[ <i>zi</i> ]- <i>bī</i>    | RINAP 3/2 140, 16' (= Bibl. 'Akzīb)  |
| 7.  | <i>bēt</i>    | <i>bé-te</i>                       | SAA 5 25, r.5, 6 (as against 23 x <i>bé-et</i> )                                     |
| 8.  | <i>daiān</i>  | <i>da-a-a-na</i> AN- <i>e</i>      | SAA 12 96, 28  |
| 9.  | <i>ah-hūr</i> | <i>a-na hu-ru</i>                  | SAA 1 235, r.2 (vs. <i>ah-hur</i> passim)  |
| 10. | <i>issēt</i>  | <i>1-te</i>                        | SAA 16 53, r.2, 3; 63, r.29  |
| 11. | <i>kūm</i>    | <i>ku-mu</i>                       | SAA 6 236, 3; 245, 14 (vs. 63 x <i>ku-um</i> )                                       |
| 12. | <i>manzāz</i> | LÚ.man- <i>za-za</i> pa- <i>ni</i> | SAA 16 127, r.7; 128, r.2 (cf. <i>man-za-az</i> É.GAL, SAA 10 7, 10)                 |
| 13. | <i>mūk</i>    | <i>mu-ku</i>                       | SAA 1 75, 10; 77, r.5; 96, 7; 179, 15–17; 180, r.2; 181, 16 (vs. 10 x <i>mu-uk</i> ) |
| 14. | <i>nūk</i>    | <i>nu-ku</i>                       | SAA 5 21, r.15; 32, r.5; 33, 7, r.2, 19; 126, 8', 9' (vs. <i>nu-uk</i> , passim)     |
| 15. | <i>pēt</i>    | <i>pe-te</i> K[Á]                  | SAA 10 356, 7'   |
| 16. | <i>šīt</i>    | <i>ši-i-tī</i>                     | SAA 1 247, r.5; SAA 16 181, r.3  |
| 17. |               | <i>ši-tī</i>                       | SAA 10 31, 8; SAA 16 92, 10  |
| 18. |               | <i>ši-tī-i-ni</i>                  | SAA 6 140, r.12; SAA 10 42, r.12; 347, r.10  |
| 19. |               | <i>ši-tī-ni</i>                    | SAA 10 8, 7, r.30  |
| 20. | <i>šūt</i>    | <i>šu-u-tú</i>                     | SAA 10 90, r.7, 21; 92, 11; 96, r.28 and passim                                      |
| 21. |               | <i>šu-tú</i>                       | SAA 1 171, 11; SAA 5 51, 9; 164, r.1; SAA 10 241, 9; SAA 19 29, r.16                 |
| 22. |               | <i>šu-tu-ma</i>                    | SAA 10 56, r.11; 253, r.16; SAA 15 273, 4  |
| 23. |               | <i>šu-tú-ma</i>                    | SAA 10 319, r.11   |
| 24. |               | <i>šu-tu-u-ni</i>                  | SAA 10 95, 11; 265, 17; 280, r.1; 298, r.3; 328, 15                                  |
| 25. |               | <i>šu-tú-u-ni</i>                  | SAA 10 321, r.3; KAV 213, r.27   |
| 26. |               | <i>šu-tu-ni</i>                    | SAA 10 51, r.10; 206, 7  |
| 27. |               | <i>šu-tú-u-ni</i>                  | SAA 2 6, 278   |
| 28. |               | <i>šu-ú-tú</i>                     | SAA 1 235, 18  |
| 29. | <i>ūb</i>     | <i>tu-bu</i> šà- <i>bi</i>         | SAA 10 329, r.9–10 (as against 65 x <i>tu-ub</i> šà- <i>bi</i> )                     |
| 30. | <i>Zāb</i>    | ÍD.za- <i>ba</i>                   | SAA 1 62, 5; SAA 19 72, 25   |

### B.2. Verbs

Stative (mediae infirmae)

- |     |            |                     |   |
|-----|------------|---------------------|---|
| 31. | <i>bēd</i> | <i>bé-e-de</i>      | SAA 15 223, r.10  |
| 32. | <i>dār</i> | <i>lu(-u) da-ra</i> | SAA 10 283, 7; SAA 16 34, r.3                               |
| 33. | <i>dēk</i> | <i>de-e-ke</i>      | SAA 10 96, r.13; SAA 16 30, 7; SAA 19 80, 10, 11; 111, r.11 |
| 34. | <i>ēš</i>  | <i>e-še</i>         | SAA 10 257, 9; SAA 15 182, 15                               |
| 35. |            | <i>e-še-e</i>       | SAA 10 43, 9; 89, 10  |

36.	<i>kūn</i>	<i>ku-ú-nu</i>	SAA 10 363, 13
37.	<i>mēt</i>	<i>me-e-te</i>	SAA 10 90, r.14; 97, 10; SAA 13 157, r.7; SAA 16 31, 1; 34, r.25
38.		<i>me-e-ti</i>	SAA 1 75, 7; SAA 16 105, 15, 23; 127, r.15
39.		<i>mé-e-te</i>	SAA 5 91, r.3'; SAA 13 157, r.8
40.		<i>mé-e-ti</i>	SAA 16 95, r.3,
41.		<i>mé-te</i>	SAA 10 309, r.4
42.	<i>nēh</i>	<i>né-e-he</i>	SAA 1 55, 5
43.	<i>qāl</i>	<i>qa-a-lā</i>	SAA 10 72, r.17; SAA 13 134, r.16
44.		<i>qa-lā</i>	SAA 15 288, 14
45.	<i>rēh</i>	<i>re-e-he</i>	SAA 1 194, r.3, 5; SAA 10 47, r.2'; 84, r.12; SAA 15 164, r.7
46.		<i>re-he</i>	SAA 1 52, r.7
47.	<i>ṭāb</i>	<i>ṭa-a-bā</i>	SAA 1 63, 11; SAA 5 132, 7; SAA 10 5, r.1; 13, 13; 31, r.5; 52, 13, 17, r.7; 53, r.3, 7; 61, r.11; 73, 11, r.5; 130, r.3; 190, 9, r.1; 194, 9; 195, r.7; 197, 6; 207, 15; 215, r.5; 217, r.9; 221, r.11; 253, r.2; 319, r.15; SAA 15 148, 4; 219, 15, and passim, vs. <i>ṭa-ab</i> , SAA 1 138, r.17
48.		<i>ṭa-bā</i>	SAA 10 70, 9, 11, r.3, 9; 222, r.3; 378, 6; SAA 15 286, 5
49.		<i>ṭa-bā-a</i>	SAA 10 73, 9; 190, 7; 205, 5
Imperative (mediae infirmae; <i>tdn</i> ; <i>wšb</i> )			
50.	<i>din</i>	<i>dī-i-ni</i>	SAA 1 8, 17; SAA 13 18, r.13; 39, 7; SAA 15 121, 12; 151, 6; SAA 18 22, 19; KAV 198, r.10; 213, r.25
51.		<i>dī-ni</i>	SAA 10 334, r.3; SAA 15 24, 15; SAA 16 5, 15; 81, r.8; 145, r.8; VAT 15545, 14
52.		[ <i>dī</i> ]- <i>e-ni</i>	SAA 1 192, 11 (as against <i>dī-in</i> , SAA 16 112, 14)
53.	<i>hīt</i>	<i>he-e-te</i>	VAT 15545, 13
54.	<i>mūt</i>	<i>mu-ú-tu</i>	SAA 13 158, r.11
55.	<i>rīš</i>	<i>ri-i-ši</i>	SAA 9 1 ii 12
56.	<i>šīb</i>	<i>ši-i-bi</i>	SAA 1 7, 8
57.	<i>tēr</i>	<i>te-e-re</i>	SAA 15 186, r.8
58.		<i>te-re</i>	SAA 1 220, r.8
59.	<i>zīz</i>	[ <i>šá-z</i> ]- <i>i-zi</i>	SAA 19 89, r.31
Present (D/Š mediae infirmae)			
60.	<i>ukāl</i>	<i>ú-ka-lā</i>	SAA 1 87, r.6; SAA 13 147, 13; SAA 16 63, r.18
61.		<i>ú-kal-lā</i>	SAA 10 238, r.1
62.		<i>nu-ka-a-lā</i>	SAA 10 72, r.9; 221, r.9; 241, r.13
63.		<i>nu-ka-lā</i> , <i>nu-ka-al</i>	SAA 10 23, 11; 33, r.1
64.		<i>nu-kal-lā</i>	SAA 10 23, 12
65.		<i>tu-kal-lā</i>	SAA 10 23, 10
66.	<i>uktatāl</i>	<i>uk-ta-ta-lā</i>	SAA 10 363, r.12, 17
67.	<i>ukân</i>	<i>ú-ka-na</i>	SAA 1 77, r.11; SAA 9 2, i 7'
68.	<i>upâq</i>	<i>ú-pa-qa</i>	SAA 10 39, r.13
69.		<i>ú-pa-qa-ana-arba-il</i>	SAA 14 17, r.5; 117, 25
70.	<i>utâr</i>	<i>ú-ta-ra</i>	SAA 1 192, 15, 5; 105, r.10; SAA 15 214, r.8
71.	<i>ušarâq</i>	<i>nu-ša-ra-qa</i>	SAA 1 66, 13
Perfect (verba mediae infirmae)			
72.	<i>iddūl</i>	<i>id-du-lu</i>	SAA 21 19, 7
73.	<i>irtūb</i>	<i>ir-tu-bu</i>	SAA 8 37, 6; BM 123358, 7 (Iraq 4 186)

74.	<i>ir-tu-bu-u-ma</i>	SAA 10 10, 7
75.	<i>uktīl uk-te-le; uk-ti-il</i>	SAA 10 182, 5; 279, 11; 322, 12
76.	<i>uktīn nu-uk-ti-ni</i>	SAA 1 236, r.12
77.	<i>uttēr ū-te-re</i>	SAA 1 226, 11, SAA 13 38, 9; 128, 17
78.	<i>ut-te-e-re</i>	SAA 13 126, r.8
79.	<i>tu-ut-te-re</i>	SAA 1 8, 11

## Preterite (verba mediae infirmae)

80.	<i>idūl li-du-lu</i>	SAA 5 254, 11' (Sg. 3!)
81.	<i>ihīt li-he-te</i>	SAA 13 127, 10
82.	<i>šīt ta-še-e-te</i>	SAA 1 84, r.8
83.	<i>ta-še-te</i>	SAA 19 51, 20
84.	<i>utēr lu-te-re</i>	SAA 1 220, 5
85.	<i>uktatīn lu-uk-ta-ti-ni</i>	SAA 5 163, 10
86.	<i>uka'in lu-ke-ii-ni</i>	SAA 16 44, r.5

## C. Interrogative intonation

## C.1. Y/N questions

## C.1.a) open penultima + open ultima → (ultra-)long final vowel

Statement	Y/N Question	
1. <i>abiti</i>	<i>ina</i> UGU <i>a-bé-te-e an-ni-ti</i> , “on this matter?”	SAA 10 90, 14
2. <i>abutu</i>	<i>a-bu-tu-u</i> , “is it a(n insignificant) matter?”	SAA 16 62, 4
3. <i>anāku</i>	<i>a-na-ku-ū</i> , “shall I (...)?”	SAA 10 93, 11
4. <i>annītu</i>	<i>an-ni-tu-u</i> , “is this (...)?”	SAA 10 265, 6; SAA 16 28, 6
5. <i>antiši</i>	<i>an-ti-ši-i</i> , “have I forgotten?”	SAA 10 39, r.11
6. <i>atta</i>	<i>at-ta-a</i> , “are you (...)?”	SAA 19 87, 5'
7. <i>attunu</i>	<i>la at-tu-nu-u</i> , “can you not (...)?”	SAA 10 259, 10
8. <i>dīlpī</i>	<i>di-il-pe-e</i> , “are the efforts (...)?”	SAA 10 328, r.7
9. <i>ēše</i>	<i>la e-še-e</i> , “is it not enough?”	SAA 10 43, 9
10. <i>hubtu</i>	<i>hu-ub-tu-ū</i> , “(did we take) spoils?”	SAA 21 65, 16
11. <i>illaka</i>	<i>il-la-ka-a</i> , “is he coming?”	SAA 19 55, 12
12. <i>illukū</i>	<i>il-la-ku-ū</i> , “should they go?”	SAA 16 27, r.4
13. <i>illakūni</i>	<i>il-la-ku-ū-né-e</i> , “are they coming in?”	SAA 13 102, r.3
14. <i>lāšu</i>	<i>la-a-šu-u</i> , “are there no (...)?”	SAA 1 80, 10
15. <i>nitūru</i>	<i>la ni-tu-ru-u</i> , “did we not turn?”	SAA 21 65, 18
16. <i>nušēriba</i>	<i>nu-še-ri-ba-a</i> , “shall we bring in?”	SAA 10 264, 9
17. <i>qabi</i>	<i>qa-bi-i</i> , “is it decreed?”	SAA 4 18, 13 and passim
18. <i>rībāni</i>	<i>ri-i-ba-né-e</i> , “(did I not see) earthquakes?”	SAA 10 56, r.17
19. <i>rību</i>	<i>ri-i-bu-u</i> , “was there an earthquake?”	SAA 10 56, r.14
20. <i>šunu</i>	<i>šu-nu-ū ... ma'dū</i> , “were they numerous?”	SAA 21 20, 7
21. <i>tūdāma</i>	<i>la tu-da-ma-a</i> , “do you perhaps not know?”	SAA 21 65, 5
22. <i>īāba</i>	<i>īa-ba-a</i> , “is it good?”	SAA 10 196, 8; 207, 6

## C.1.b) open penultima + closed ultima → ultima is lengthened and receives a paragodic vowel

Statement	question	
23. <i>issakan</i>	<i>uznu is-sa-ka-a-na</i> , “did he pay attention?”	SAA 10 090; ABL 46, r.12
24. <i>lēpuš</i>	<i>le-e-pu-u-šū</i> “should I perform?”	SAA 10 274, r.8
25. <i>mahir</i>	<i>ma-he-e-re</i> “is it pleasing?”	SAA 10 182, 29; SAA 19 87, 7'
26. <i>tētiq</i>	MUN-ū ... <i>ina muhḥija te-te-qe</i> “has the favour passed on to me?”	SAA 16 78, 10

C.1.c) closed penultima + open ultima → anaptyctic vowels may appear before lengthened ultima

	Statement	question	
27.	<i>addinakka</i>	<i>la a-di-nak-ka-a</i> , “did I not give (them) to you?”	SAA 9 3 iii 21
28.	<i>dilpī</i>	<i>di-il-pe-e</i> , “are the efforts ...?”	SAA 10 328, r.7
29.	<i>ētarba</i>	<i>e-tar-ba-a</i> , “has he come in?”	SAA 13 81, r.3'
30.	<i>ibašši</i>	<i>i-ba-aš-ši-i</i> , “can it be (that)?”	SAA 10 320, r.7
31.	<i>ušaqlia</i>	<i>ú-šá-qa-ba-a</i> , “will make them order?”	SAA 4 154, 8

C.1.d) closed penultima + closed ultima → all above rules may apply

32.	<i>ašpur</i>	<i>la áš-pu-ru</i> , “did I not send?”	SAA 21 25, 4'
33.	<i>eppaš</i>	<i>ep-pa-a-šá</i> , “shall I perform (the ritual)?”	SAA 10 258, 7'
34.	<i>ladbub</i>	<i>la-dá-bu-ub</i> , “should I speak?”	SAA 5 78, r.14; 133, r.20
35.	<i>lallik</i>	<i>la-li-ki</i> , “should I go?”	SAA 15 34, 8
36.	<i>lasdir</i>	<i>la-as-de-e-re</i> , “should I array (the horses)?”	SAA 13 95, 14; 100, r.10
37.	<i>lūpahhir</i>	<i>lu-pa-hi-ri</i> , “should I collect?”	SAA 1 160, r.12, 14
38.	<i>nidbuk</i>	<i>la ni-dī-bu-ú-ku</i> , “did we not pour?”	SAA 21 65, 17
39.	<i>nišpur</i>	<i>ni-iš-pu-u-ru</i> , “shall we send word?”	SAA 5 139, 7
40.	<i>šaknat</i>	<i>la šak-na-ta</i> , “is it not set?”	SAA 10 30, r.8
41.	<i>tadlib</i>	<i>i-ba-aš-ši-i ... ta-dī-li-bi</i> , “have you really been concerned?”	SAA 10 320, r.7ff.
42.	<i>ušadbab</i>	<i>ú-šá]-ad-da-ba-a-ba</i> “[Will he cause] (others) to instigate it?”	SAA 4 159, 8

C.2. Information questions

C.2.a) Predicate of the clause has anaptyctic or paragogic vowels (21 examples)

1.	<i>'nš</i>	<i>atā e-ni-šī</i> , “In what sense is he weak?”	SAA 1 118, r.9
2.	<i>'pš</i>	<i>akē in-né-pi-šī</i> , “Ho[w] did it happen?”	SAA 10 304, r.18
3.	<i>'tq</i>	<i>atā ša-qurbūte lā i-hi-ru-pu lā e-ti-qa</i> , “Why didn’t the body-guard proceed here in advance?”	SAA 19 169, r.3ff.
4.	<i>dbb</i>	<i>atā muhhi urdāni ša šarri ta-da-bu-bu</i> , “Why do you plot against the king’s subjects?”	SAA 5 260, 5' f.
5.	<i>dgl</i>	<i>atā ta-ha-ru-pu tu-na-me-še ina pān ... lā tadgul</i> , “Why did you set out early <b>and</b> not wait for (the governor)?”	SAA 5 199, 5ff.
6.	<i>dūk</i>	<i>atā [ana ...]-ka ta-du-ku</i> , “Why did you kill your [...]?”	SAA 19 126, 11'
7.	<i>gmr</i>	<i>atā ... la ga-mi-ri</i> , “Why is it not finished?”	SAA 5 293, 9'
8.	<i>hrd</i>	<i>akē a-ha-ri-di</i> , “How can I stay watchful?”	SAA 19 87, r.2
9.	<i>krr</i>	<i>atā ta-kar-ra-ra</i> , “Why are you setting up (the table of Šamaš)?”	SAA 13 44, 5'
10.	<i>kšd</i>	<i>atā ā[šu] ta-ka-ša-da</i> , “Why do you conquer a city of [his]?”	SAA 19 70, r.9' f.
11.	<i>pqd</i>	<i>kī maši ina pānīka ip-qid-dī mā atā lā tašpur</i> , “Why have you not written how many (horses, oxen and sheep) he has entrusted to you?”	SAA 19 33, 8f.
12.	<i>pqd</i>	<i>i-su-ru ... GN nu-sa-ah-ha-ra man-nu ina libbi ni-pa-qi-dī ū man-nu an-na-ka ina ku-[tal-]i-en-ni</i> , “Suppose ... we shall retake Bet-Ha’ir, whom shall we appoint there, and whom here, in our rear?”	SAA 15 131, r.12ff.
13.	<i>qūl</i>	<i>atā bēlī qa-la</i> , “Why is my lord silent?”	SAA 15 288, 4
14.	<i>shr</i>	<i>akē lu-sah-hi-ri</i> , “How will he return it?”	SAA 16 65, r.16
15.	<i>šbt</i>	<i>aiēša ni-ši-bat</i> , “Who(se feet) should we grasp?”	SAA 16 63, 28
16.	<i>šīt</i>	<i>at]ā ta-še-te [at]ā la [t]ašp[ur]a</i> , “Why were you neglectful and why didn’t you write?”	SAA 19 51, r.5f.
17.	<i>škn</i>	<i>aiāka ša-ka-nu</i> , “Where are they placed?”	SAA 15 184, 6

18. *škn issi man-ni-m[a ē]nē-ia ša-kaṇ-na*, “Upon whom are my eyes fixed?” SAA 13 80, r.10  
 19. *špr atā lā ta-šá-pur*, “Why didn’t you write?” KAV 115, r.14  
 20. *tdn mīnu anāku la-di-ni*, “What shall I give them?” SAA 19 39, r.16  
 21. *tdn mīnu la-an-tu-hu mīnu la-din-šu*, “What should I raise and what should I give him?” KAV 213, r.11

## C.2.b) No phonetic changes in the predicate (214 examples)

1. *’br atā lā tebbirā [šēpē ša šarri] ta-šab-ba-ta*, “Why don’t you (pl.) cross (the river) and grasp [the feet of the king]?” SAA 21 139, 14’ f.  
 2. *’hz mīnu ina l[ibb]i ah-za-ku*, “What did I get for it?” SAA 10 294, 30  
 3. *’kl atā karšīja ina ēkalli ta-kul*, “Why have you slandered me in the Palace?” SAA 5 243, r.4f.  
 4. *’kl mā mīnu tú-šá-kal*, “What do you feed (your horses)?” SAA 1 107, 8  
 5. *’kl bu-un-ni-ka nam-ru-u-te man-nu uk-kil*, “Who has darkened your radiant countenance?” SAA 3 29, r.1  
 6. *’kš atā tú-ki-iš*, “Why were you delayed?” SAA 1 85, r.1  
 7. *’kš atā a-du a-kan-ni tú-ú-ki-[iš]*, “[Why] were you delay[ed] until now?” SAA 1 233, 12  
 8. *’kš atā ša-qurbūti ú-ki-iš*, “Why was the royal bodyguard delayed?” SAA 5 37, 19  
 9. *’lī atā urdānīja tú-še-l[i]*, “Why have you expelled my subjects?” SAA 1 179, 13  
 10. *’lk ana am-mīni [a]na GN il-la-ak*, “Wherefore does he go to Kar-Šamaš?” SAA 06 276, 7f.  
 11. *’lk ana mīni [em]ūqī il-la-ku-u-ni*, “For what reason is the army coming?” GPA 186, r.10  
 12. *’lk ana mīni il-lu-ku*, “To what purpose are they going?” SAA 1 195, r.14  
 13. *’lk ana mīni PN il-la-ak*, “Why does Hamunayu go?” SAA 16 2, r.4  
 14. *’lk ana [Mann]āia ana mīni il-[li-ku]*, “Wherefore did they go to Mannea?” SAA 15 54, 17’  
 15. *’lk atā [ina] GN [il-l]i-ku-u-ni*, “Why [did they g]o [to] Guzana?” SAA 5 21, r.20f.  
 16. *’lk atā akanni ta-li-ka*, “Why did you come now?” SAA 1 84, 10  
 17. *’lk [atā ana šul]mi šarri lā tal-[li-ka]*, “[Why] did you not co[me] to gr[ee]t the king?” SAA 15 117, r.6’  
 18. *’lk atā ina šēpēka ta[l-la-k]a*, “Why do you go on foot?” SAA 1 294, r.18  
 19. *’lk atā ina pānika i-la-ka*, “Why should he come to you?” SAA 19 91, r.12  
 20. *’lk atā bēl-ālāni gabbu il-li-ku-u-[ni] ... atta lā ta-li-ka*, “Why is it that all (other) city-rulers have come ..., but you have not come?” SAA 1 84, 13–r.2  
 21. *’lk atā tikpī ša pūli issēn id-da-at šanīe lā il-lak*, “Why do the limestone layers not go one after another?” SAA 16 143, 14ff.  
 22. *’lk maššartu ša šarri atā tu-ra-am-me-a tal-lik-a-ni*, “Why did you leave the royal guard and come (back)?” SAA 16 105, r.1  
 23. *’lk [mar’ē] māt nakiri akē [ana] šarri bēlīja i-lu-ku*, “How (then) will foreign[ers] behave [towards] the king, my lord?” SAA 13 19, r.4f.  
 24. *’lk mīnu ina libbi dulli il-lak*, “What is going into the ritual?” SAA 13 76, 11  
 25. *’mr akē ta-mu-ra*, “How did you observe?” SAA 8 21, 3  
 26. *’pš ulā dullu ana mī[ni ep-pa]-áš*, “For what pur[pose] do I w[ork]?” SAA 10 294, 37  
 27. *’pš ana mīnimma PN e-pu-uš*, “Why on earth did La-qepu do (it)?” SAA 16 3, r.5  
 28. *’pš atā anēnu [...] né-pa-áš*, “Why should we do [the work ...]?” SAA 1 71, 9  
 29. *’pš atā pāhutu ša ina pā[n x] dullu ša bēlīja lā e-pa-[áš]*, “Why SAA 16 183, 7f.

- does a governor in char[ge of ...] not d[o] the work of my house?"
30. 'pš *atâ ina šaddaq[diš ... dullu] lā te-pa-sá* "Why did you last year [...], but do not do [the work]?" SAA 10 355, 10f.
31. 'pš *atâ kī [annie] te-pu-uš*, "Why did you do like th[at]?" SAA 5 108, r.19
32. 'pš *atâ kī lib[bika] te-pa-áš*, "Why do you act arbitrarily?" SAA 10 387, r.5f.
33. 'pš *atâ ša urhu a-na u[rhi] la in-né-pa-áš-ma*, "Why is nothing at all done month after mo[nth]?" SAA 10 89, r.9
34. 'pš *atâ šikin muršija anniju lā ta-mar bulṭēšu lā te-pa-áš*, "Why do you not diagnose the nature of this illness of mine and bring about its cure?" SAA 10 315, 8–10
35. 'pš *anāku akē le-e-pu-uš*, "How should I act?" SAA 16 36, 13'
36. 'pš *pānī ša šarri bēlīja akē ep-šú*, "How is the king, my lord, disposed?" SAA 13 66, r.9'
37. 'pš *akē ah-hur ep-pu-šú*, "What else can they do?" SAA 21 25, 3' f.
38. 'pš *ša ... libbī išpilūni akē né-pu-uš*, "How did we act that I became so depressed?" SAA 10 187, 8–10
39. 'pš *akē né-pu-uš*, "How are we to do the work?" SAA 1 114, r.1
40. 'pš *[m]īnu ep-pa-á[š]*, "What shall I do?" SAA 10 383, s.1
41. 'pš *mīnu e-pu-uš ana šar māt Aššūr*, "What have I done to the king of Assyria?" SAA 21 66, 7'
42. 'pš *mīnu ep-pa-šu-u-ni*, "What can they do to me?" SAA 16 36, r.9
43. 'pš *mīnu né-pu-uš*, "What can we do?" SAA 10 187, 13
44. 'pš *anāku mīnu le-pu-uš*, "What should I do?" SAA 5 2, r.1
45. 'pš *a-na man-ni i-ba-áš-ši ṭābtu ki-i ia-ši šarru e-pu-uš*, "To whom indeed has the king done such a favour as to me?" SAA 10 39, r.4ff.
46. 'pš *ki-ma a-na-ku la-a e-pu-uš man-nu-um-ma le-e-pu-uš*, "If I did not do it, who would?" SAA 16 34, 27
47. 'pš *niqiāti ... ina pān man-ni e-pu-šu*, "Before whom do they make ... the offerings?" SAA 13 77, 7f.
48. 'rb *atā ... paššūru ina pān šarri bēlīja lā e-rab*, "Why ... is the table not brought to the king, my lord?" SAA 10 196, 14–16
49. 'rb *akē ina pān PN er-ru-bu*, "How are they to enter into the presence of Šamaš-bunaya?" SAA 19 81, r.18f.
50. 'rb *ūmā ak[ē] ina pānīja le-e-ru-ba*, "How could he now visit me?" SAA 10 27, r.16f.
51. 'rb *mīnu simunu lū te-ru-ba*, "What time should she come in?" SAA 10 209, 8
52. 'šš *atā šarru bēlī adakanni [lā iš-al lā ú-ši-šl]*, "Why has the king, my lord, until now [nei]ther asked nor enquired (about it)?" SAA 16 62, 3f.
53. b'ī *ana [m]īni mātkunu lu-ba-'i*, "Why would I persecute your country?" SAA 21 65, r.5'
54. b'ī *anāku mātkunu ana mīni lu-ba-'i*, "Why, then, would I persecute your country?" SAA 21 65, r.13'
55. b'ī *ana mīni ša-muhhi-āli ú-ba-a-šú-nu*, "Why does the city overseer persecute them?" GPA 197, 4ff.
56. b'ī *šarru atā ú-ba-'a-a [ina] bēt qatinni šarru [a]tā ú-ba-'a-a-ma*, "Why does the king look for (trouble), and why does he look (for it) [in the ho]me of a tiller?" SAA 10 42, 10–12
57. bdd *atā ú-ba-du-du*, "Why is it (the treasure) being squandered?" SAA 10 369, r.10
58. bkī *atā anēnu ni-bak-ki*, "Why are we weeping?" SAA 16 95, r.13'
59. blṭ *ana mīni a-bal-laṭ*, "Why should I live?" SAA 13 184, s.2
60. blṭ *am-mīni šarru ú-bal-la-ṭa-ni*, "Why does the king, my lord, let me live?" SAA 17 48, 23
61. blṭ *akē la-ab-laṭ*, "How can I live?" SAA 15 30, 12

62. *bšī* *mīnu i-ba-áš-ši* NA[M].BÚR.BI, “What apotropaic ritual is there?” SAA 10 10, 6
63. *btq* *akê lā na-da-ku-ú lā ba-tu-qu ašlīja*, “How could I not be cast adrift, and how could my tows not be cut?” SAA 3 15, 4
64. *dbb* *ana am-mīni dibbī ma d[ū]ti a-d[a-bu-ub]*, “But why do I s[peak] so much?” SAA 13 158, r.4’
65. *dbb* *atā lā kētu issē’a ta-da-bu-ub*, “Why do you not tell me the truth?” SAA 1 124, 16
66. *dbb* *ak(ê) anaku issi šarri bēlīja lā kettu ad-da-bu-ub*, “How could I speak dishonestly to the king, my lord?” SAA 16 78, 6
67. *dbb* *att[unu m]īnu ta-dáb-[b]u-ba*, “[W]hat are you saying?” SAA 16 63, r.7
68. *dgl* *atā ... ina pān pāhiti ša GN lā ta-ad-gul*, “Why did you not wait for the governor of Arrapha?” SAA 5 199, 5–7
69. *dlh* *atā šū ú-du-lih e-[ta]-pa-[áš]*, “Why did he hasten to per[fo]rm (the ritual)?” SAA 10 273, r.15f.
70. *dlp* *ana mīni kaīamānū sīsē ša šarri ú-šá-ad-la-ap*, “Why must I constantly harass the king’s horses?” SAA 13 92, r.9f.
71. *dmq* *ana mīni da-an-qu*, “What are they good for?” SAA 10 316, r.20
72. *dr* *akê ni-id-ru-ur*, “How do we intercalate?” SAA 13 60, r.1
73. *dūk* *atā annūti i-du-ku-u-ni*, “Why are these (people) killing me?” SAA 19 91, 8
74. *dūk* *atā i-du-ka-an-ni attunu qa-la-ku-nu*, “Why do you keep silent while he is trying to kill me?” SAA 1 29, r.13
75. *gmr* *atā ina tukkāni māt[ī] i-ga-mar*, “Why is he destroying [my] country by oppression?” SAA 5 149, r.11f.
76. *grr* *atā ta-ag-da-na-ra-[ra]*, “Why are you scar[ed]?” SAA 5 95, 7f.
77. *hbl* *mār PN man-nu ih-bīl-an-ni*, “Who has taken from me the son of PN?” SAA 3 29, r.1
78. *hbt* *atā hu-ub-tú tah-bu-ta*, “Why have you taken plunder/captives?” SAA 16 137, 13
79. *hbt* *atā Arpāja hubtu ša GN ih-bu-tú-ni mā atā at[ta] adi urdānīka [lā] tūši ta-bu-uk-š[u-nu]*, “Why is it that the Arabs plundered GN, but you did not go out with your servants but kept [them] away?” SAA 1 84, r.4–8
80. *hkm* *[at]ā [x lā] ú-šah-kim*, “Wh[y] did[n’t] he explain [...]?” SAA 16 172, r.3’
81. *hkm* *atā lā ta-am-li-kan-ni lā tu-šah-kim-a-ni*, “Why didn’t you advise and instruct me?” SAA 10 90, r.19’
82. *hlq* *atā [šarri bēlī ú-hal-l]i-qa-an-ni*, “Why [has the king, my lord, let] me [pe]rish?” SAA 10 361, 8’
83. *hlq* *atā d[ullašūnu] ú-ra-me-u ih-[li-qu]*, “Why have they left their w[ork] and r[un away]?” SAA 15 223, r.3f.
84. *hlq* *atā ni-hal-liq*, “Why should we run away?” SAA 15 1, 16
85. *hrd* *akê a-ha-ri-dī*, “How can I stay watchful?” SAA 19 87, r.2
86. *hsī* *ana mīni bēlī i-ha-si-šú*, “Why does my lord mistreat him?” SAA 16 48, r.8
87. *hšn* *atā bēt hirši mugirri ša šarri bēlīja ettiqūni atā lā ú-ha-aš-ša-an*, “Why should I not embrace (the ground) where the tracks of the chariot of the king, my lord, pass by?” SAA 10 68, r.8ff.
88. *hss* *atā lā tu-šah-si-sa-a-ni*, “Why did you not remind me?” SAA 10 94, r.12’
89. *hss* *atā lā tu-šah-si-si*, “Why did you not remind (me)?” SAA 10 103, r.6f.
90. *hss* *atā lā tu-šah-sis-a-ni*, “Why did you not remind me?” SAA 10 56, r.5
91. *j’š* *atā kallīju la-šú*, “Why isn’t there any express service?” SAA 5 227, 6
92. *kbs* *atā ahūni ana urdānūte ta-kab-ba-as*, “Why are you subjecting our brother to slavery?” ZA 73 9, 6f.
93. *kīl* *[ina] bēt in-na-m[ir-u-ni] mīnu tú-ka-[la]*, “What (month) did you h[ave wh]en it became vis[ible]?” SAA 10 152, 2’
94. *kīl* *urhu an-ni-u mīnu tu-kal-la*, “What do you take the present SAA 10 23, 10; 72, r.8

- month to be?”
95. *kl'* *imārēja ana mīni i-ka-li- 'u-ú*, “For what purpose are they de- BaM 27 420, 7  
taining my donkeys?”
96. *kl'* *atā immerī issu lib[bi ... t]a-ka-la-šú*, “Why do [yo]u with- SAA 5 256, 4' f.  
hold sheep fr[om ...]?”
97. *kl'* *ū an-ni-u akē lak-la-šú*, “So how could I hold back this one?” SAA 5 111, r.11
98. *kms* *atā [... ina] GN kam-mu-su* “Why are [...] staying [in] GN?” SAA 15 269, 3' f.
99. *kms* *ina mīni anna[kk]ā lū kam-mu-su*, “Why should they dwell SAA 13 190, r.5  
here?”
100. *kms* *atā ina bēti [k]am-mu-sa-[k]u*, “Wh[y] are [y]ou [s]taying at SAA 19 125, 12'  
home?”
101. *kšd* *atā urhu ana urhi ú-[kaš-šá-du]-na-ši*, “Why are they [perse- SAA 1 183, 13'  
cuting] us month after month?”
102. *ksp* *[atā mār]-šarri bēlī [libbī ak]ē ik-su-up*, “Why] did [the SAA 10 182, r.34  
crown] prince, my lord, [thus break [my heart]?”
103. *ksp* *is-surri bēlī iqabbi ma-a akē tak-šip*, “Perhaps my lord will SAA 16 54, 6–7  
say: ‘How did you figure it out?’ ”
104. *ktr* *atā ni-kāt-tir*, “Why are we waiting?” SAA 10 221, r.4
105. *mhr* *atā šarru bēlka lā ta-mah-har*, “Why don’t you appeal to the SAA 21 121, 3'  
king, your lord?”
106. *mhr* *[a]nāku mīnu lu-šá-am-[hir]*, “What can I say in return?” SAA 21 103, r.3'
107. *mnī* *tupšarrūtu annītu ana mīni ú-man-na*, “What do I count this SAA 16 62, 9  
scribal lore for?”
108. *mqt* *atā in-qu-ta ina pānīja*, “Why did he flee into my presence?” SAA 21 42, 6
109. *mqt* *akē šarru bēlī ina libbī ēnē ša DN i-ma-qut*, “How will the SAA 13 149, r.3  
king, my lord, fall under the gaze of DN?”
110. *mrkū* *atā pilkakūnu na-[mar-ku]*, “Why is your work behind sched- SAA 1 235, 21  
ule?”
111. *mth* *[kurum]mutu man-nu i-ma-ta-ha*, “Who will raise [the bar]ley SAA 19 60, r.14  
rations?”
112. *mṭī* *atā issu li[bbi] nīpi in-ti-ú*, “Why is it that there is a deficit in SAA 1 100, r.10f.  
the figures?”
113. *mṭī* *mīnu i-ba-áš-ši dullu [ša ilāni m]a-aṭ-ṭi*, “What work [on the SAA 10 349, 11  
gods] is [i]ncomplete?”
114. *mūt* *atā ina bubūti ša kusāpi a-mu-at*, “Why am I dying for lack SAA 16 149, r.19  
of food?”
115. *mūt* *[at]ā ina lā kette ta-mu-at*, “[Wh]y are you going to die un- SAA 13 157, 21'  
justly?”
116. *n'd* *ana mīni [x pī]lkušu ú-na-a-da*, “Why does he brag about his SAA 15 084, r.9'  
[...] work assignment?”
117. *ndī* *ana mīni kī eleppē ina qabsi nārē na-da-ki*, “Why are you SAA 3 15, 1  
cast adrift like a boat in midstream?”
118. *nkr* *mār-ahātīja [ak]ē a-na-ki-ir*, “How can I become an enemy SAA 19 87, 14'  
of my sister’s son?”
119. *nš'* *atā bītātīšūnu ta-áš-ši ana urdānīka ta-din*, “Why have you SAA 1 124, 19–21  
taken their houses and given them to your servants?”
120. *nš'* *atā ina libbī GN rēš āšipi šarru iš-ši*, “Why did the king SAA 10 294, r.16  
summon an exorcist from GN?”
121. *nš'* *atā Gimirāja ta-ši*, “Why have you removed the Cimmeri- SAA 16 15, 11  
ans?”
122. *nš'* *atā aladlammū ša PN nāgir-ēkalli i-na-áš-ši*, “Why should SAA 1 150, 18  
the Palace Herald get a bull colossus of PN?”
123. *nš'* *atā ta-na-áš-ši*, “Why are you appropriating (them)?” SAA 1 11, 8
124. *nš'* *atā ālāni eqlāti ša PN ša ina pāhat GN ... taš-ši*, “Why have SAA 15 24, 5–8  
you appropriated towns and fields of PN in the province of



- GN?"
125. *nsh* [a]tā [...] ta-su-uh, "Why did you extract [...]?" SAA 5 291, 4'
126. *nšr* atā bēl-maššarāti PN ina libbi lā i-na-aš-šu-ru, "Why don't the guards and PN keep watch there?" SAA 10 183, 7f.
127. *phz* atā rā'iāni ú-šap-hu-zu, "Why do they leave the shepherds on the loose?" SAA 10 353, r.5
128. *plh* atā šarru lā ta-pal-la-ha, "Why do you not fear the king?" SAA 13 20, r.5
129. *pqd* atā ina muhhi nīšē ša annaka [ip]-taq-d[u-šú], "Why [did they] appoint [him] over the people here?" SAA 21 138, 9'
130. *prs* atā atta lā tap-ru-[us], "Why did you not decide (about it)?" SAA 10 225, r.7
131. *psk* kurummutu man-nu ú-pa-sa-ak, "Who is removing the barley rations?" SAA 10 69, 12
132. *pt'* a-na-ku a-na man-ni [up-ni-ia] la-ap-ti, "To whom should I [pr]ay?" SAAB 17 86, 14
133. *ptī* [at]ā girri raminika [ša l]ā šanie karmī ša šarri [ta-a]p-ti, "Why did you self-willedly, [with]out the permission of the deputy, open the king's granaries?" SAA 1 181, 17ff.
134. *pūg* atā eqlu ta-pu-ga-ni, "Why did you appropriate a field from me?" SAA 23 267, r.12'
135. *qbī* ūmā ana mīni taq-bi mā mīnu hiṭā'i, "Now w[hy] did you say 'What is my fault?'" SAA 21 24, 6'
136. *qbī* atā iq-bi, "Why did he say?" SAA 10 314, 6'
137. *qbī* atā kī annī ša[rri lā] iq-ba-áš-šú-nu, "Why did the ki[ng not] tell them like this?" SAA 10 90, 16
138. *qbī* atā lā [...] i-qab-bi-iu-ú, "Why don't they speak [...]?" SAA 23 116, 5' f.
139. *qbī* atā taq-ba-áš-šu, "Why did you tell him?" SAA 1 235, 7
140. *qbī* atā ṭuppiki lā ta-šaṭ-ṭi-ri liginniki la ta-qab-bi-i, "Why don't you write your tablet and do your homework?" SAA 16 28, 3f.
141. *qbī* šumma šarru bēlī i-qab-bi ma-a akē qa-bi, "If the king, my lord, says: 'How is it said?'" SAA 10 42, 22
142. *qbī* mīnu ana [š]arri a-qab-bi, "What can I say to the [k]ing?" SAA 19 98, 27
143. *qbī* anāku mīnu la-aq-bi, "What can I say?" SAA 10 265, 14
144. *qbī* anākūma mīnu a-qab-bi, "What am I to speak?" SAA 10 191, r.2
145. *qbī* anīnu mīnu ni-qa-bi, "What can we say?" SAA 5 105, 12
146. *qbī* mīnu aq-qa-ab-bi, "What (else) could I say?" SAA 13 158, r.12'
147. *qbī* mīnu happu anniu ina muhhiika i-qab-bi, "What can this villain say against you?" SAA 21 38, 6f.
148. *qbī* šū mīnu i-qab-bi ina muhhiika, "What could he say against you?" SAA 21 38, 13f.
149. *qbī* mim-ma ma-l[a šarru bēlā] id-di-na-na-ši a-na man-ni-[ma] lu-uq-bi, "To whom can I tell all the things [that the king, my lord], has given us?" SAA 10 158, 6
150. *qrb* akē ša lā pī š[a ša]rri anāku id[āja] i[na l]ibbišu ú-qa-[ra-ba], "How could I la[y my] han[ds] o[n] him without the [ki]ng's permission?" SAA 19 192, 10–12
151. *qrb* ina muhhi an-ni-i mīnu qur-bu, "What has it to do with this?" SAA 10 203, r.8
152. *qrb* erābu ina libbi ušē mīnu qur-bu, "What has entering to do with going out?" SAA 10 052, r.5
153. *qūl* atā qa-la-a-ka, "Why are you silent?" SAA 1 244, r.13
154. *r'm* man-nu bēlu ṭābu la i-ra-am, "Who does not love a good lord?" SAA 10 198, r.9
155. *rdī* atā [...]ti gabbu i-rad-di, "Why does he lead all the [...]s?" SAA 16 146, 7' f.
156. *rmū* akē ra-mu-u-a-ku-nu, "How were you released?" SAA 16 62, r.8'
157. *rmū* atā pāhutu ša GN mešli abulli ina pānīšú ú-ra-am-me, "Why has the governor of GN left half of the gate to him?" SAA 1 64, 7f.

158. *rmū* *atā ... dullu ú-ra-am-[mē-ú] it-bi-ú il-lu-ku*, “Why have they quitted (their) work and left, going away?” SAA 1 152, r.5ff.
159. *shr* *akê issu libbi kaq-qí-ri ga-am-ri lā ma-har ma-a ša lā pī šarri a-sa-hur*, “How can I return unopposed from a used-up territory without the king’s permission?” SAA 15 32, 10–12
160. *shr* *anāku ina kūmi mīnu ana bēlīja ú-sa-hi-ir*, “What have I been able to give to my lord in exchange for it?” SAA 16 78, 9
161. *slī* *ana mīni ta-sa-al-li*, “Why are you lying?” SAA 10 333, 11
162. *slī* *atā man-nu in[a muhhi [i]-sa-na-al-li i-pa-ah-hi-iz*, “Why does someone tell lies and boast about it?” SAA 10 72, r.13f.
163. *smī* *atā idātīšu is-sa-m[a<sup>2</sup>-a]*, “Why are his arms in[*ept*]?” SAA 16 183, 10
164. *šbt* *atā an[a] halqu[t]e ... tu-ša-bat*, “Why do you seize deserters (to Assyria)?” SAA 5 35, 18–20
165. *šbt* *atā anēnu sa-al-ma-ni attunu attunu birātīni tu-ša-ba-ta*, “Why do you capture our forts, while we are at peace?” SAA 5 2, 12ff.
166. *šbt* *atā kī anniu tāmūrāni ša duāki lā ta-du-ú-ka ša šabāti lā ta-aš-ba-ta*, “Why did you not kill those who were to be killed and take prisoners those who were to be taken prisoners?” SAA 21 20, 3’ ff.
167. *šbt* *atā lā ta-aš-bat-si*, “Why haven’t you arrested him?” SAA 16 127, r.4
168. *šbt* *atā šābānīni tu-ša-bi-ta*, “Why have you seized our men?” SAA 5 115, r.1f.
169. *šbt* *kuššumma atā i-ša-bat-su*, “But why is he seized by ague?” SAA 10 241, 13
170. *šbt* *[man]-nu ra-’i-i-ma-ni qa-ti i-š-bat*, “Who has showed me any compassion by taking me by the hand?” SAA 10 294, r.15
171. *šlī* *attī ana mīni tu-ša-na-li-ni*, “Why do you keep praying to me?” SAA 3 15, 12
172. *š’l* *ana mīni ta-šá-al-an-na-[šī]*, “Why do you ask u[s]?” SAA 16 63, 35
173. *š’l* *atā i-š-al*, “Why did he ask?” SAA 10 86, r.2’
174. *š’l* *a-na man-ni-im-ma la-áš-al*, “Whom should I ask?” SAA 10 86, r.5’
175. *š’l* *a-na man-ni-im-ma la-[á]š-a[l]*, “Whom should I ask?” VAT 9770, r.10
176. *š’l* *a-na man-ni la-áš-al*, “Whom should I ask?” SAA 10 280, r.3
177. *šhṭ* *atā libittu ina [...] lā ta-šá-ha-ṭa*, “Why aren’t you glazing bricks in [...]?” SAA 15 344, 5’
178. *škn* *pa-ni-ia ina bēt man-nu a-šak-kan*, “To whose house shall I go for help?” SAA 1 11, 17
179. *škn* *i-lu-um-ma issi man-ni ēnē-šú šak-na*, “For god’s sake, on whom are his eyes fixed?” SAA 10 86, r.3’
180. *škn* *is[si man-ni] ah-hur e-ni-ni šá-ak-na*, “T[o whom] else would we be devoted?” SAA 10 39, r.2
181. *škn* *issi man-ni-im-ma ah-hur e-ni-in-ni šá-ak-na*, “To whom else would we be devoted?” SAA 10 68, 17
182. *šlm* *ik-kūmi anāku mīnu ana šarri bēlīja ú-šal-lim*, “What I have rendered to the king, my lord, instead?” SAA 16 36, 6’
183. *šm’* *ana mīni dibbi lašlamūte šarru bēlī i-sa-na-me*, “Why does the king, my lord, pay attention to groundless allegations?” SAA 5 121, r.15f.
184. *šm’* *atā ana PN ina muhhi dulli [ša]rri lā ta-šá-me-a*, “Why do you not obey PN regarding the [ki]ng’s work?” SAA 5 63, r.13–15
185. *šm’* *atā a-šam-me*, “Why would I listen to it?” SAA 21 38, 15
186. *šm’* *atā kī ana epāšikāni lā ú-di lā áš-me*, “Why have I not learned and heard that you have to do (this)?” SAA 10 92, r.4–6
187. *šm’* *atā lā tu-šá-áš-man-ni*, “Why didn’t you inform me?” SAA 13 126, r.5’
188. *šnn* *man-nu ú-har ú-šá-an-na man-nu i-šá-na-an*, “Who can ever repeat it, who can vie with it?” SAA 10 228, 21
189. *špl* *atā anāku issi PN ... ikkīni ku-ri libbīni šá-pil*, “Why then must I and PN, amidst them, be restless and depressed?” SAA 10 226, r.4–6
190. *špl* *urdāni ša šarri ... akê lu-šá-pil*, “How may he humiliate the servants of the king?” SAA 10 182, r.8

191. *špr* [at]â ta-še-tē [at]â lā [t]aš-p[u-r]a, “Wh[y] have you neglected to wri[t]e me?” SAA 19 91, r.5f.
192. *špr* atâ gabri egerti lā taš-pur-ra, “Why have you not sent an answer to (my) letter?” SAA 10 202, 6
193. *špr* atâ ina ēkalli lā iš-pur, “Why did he not send it to the palace?” SAA 13 131, r.9
194. *špr* atâ lā iš-pu-ra, “Why didn’t he send it?” SAA 13 131, r.16
195. *špr* atâ lā ta-āš-pu-ra, “Why did you not write?” SAA 15 100, r.12’
196. *špr* atâ lā taš-pu-ra, “Why did you not write?” SAA 5 114, r.6’
197. *špr* atâ lā taš-pur, “Why have you not written (about this)?” SAA 19 33, 9
198. *špr* atâ taš-me [lā] taš-pu-ra, “Why is it that you heard but did not write?” SAA 1 125, r.11
199. *špr* a]tâ lā taš-pu-ra, “Why did you not write?” SAA 1 123, r.1’
200. *špr* anāku mīnu la-āš-pu-rak-ka, “What (else) should I write to you?” SAA 16 10, 5’
201. *tdn* ana mīni tū-har-ri-dī ta-di-na-šū-nu, “What have you given them for their safety?” SAA 19 22, r.4
202. *tdn* [att]a ana aiāši mīnu ta-di-na, “[As for yo]u, what have you given to me?” SAA 9 3, iii 25
203. *tdn* mīnu la-din-šu, “What should I give him?” KAV 213, r.11
204. *tdn* a-na man-ni-ma 6 imār kurummutu ... ta-din, “To whomever did you give 6 homers of barley rations?” SAA 5 98, r.4’
205. *tdn* a-na man-ni šul-man-nu ta-ad-din, “To whom have you given bribes?” SAA 10 107, r.8
206. *wbl* emūqī ša šarri ana mīni ina muhhija tū-ba-la, “Why do you bring the king’s troops to me?” SAA 5 129, r.4’
207. *wbl* ana am-mīni idātēka ina libbi PN tu-bi-il, “Why did you lay your hands on PN?” SAA 19 192, 7
208. *wd’* ša ina pān PN man-nu ū-da me-me-ni la ū-da, “Who knows what is in PN’s presence? Nobody knows!” SAA 16 181, r.6
209. *wšb* ū a-ni-ni man-nu ina bēt abī-šū it-ta-šab, “But who of us has settled in his dynastic house?” SAA 17 155, r.12
210. *ziz* ana mīni nīšē iz-za-a-zu, “Wherefore will the people be present?” SAA 10 246, 10’
211. *ziz* akē ina pūt šarri bēlīja lā az-za-az, “How could I not stand in front of the king, my lord?” SAA 10 68, 14–16
212. *ziz* a-na maššarti ša ANŠE.a-šap-pi man-nu li-zi-iz, “Who can stand guard over the pack animals?” SAA 19 37, r.15’
213. *ziz* a-na maššarti man-nu-ma iz-[za-az], “Who will [be there] for the guard?” SAA 1 97, r.2’
214. *ziz* a-na maššarti ina pa-ni-iā man-nu li-zi-iz, “Who will stand guard in my presence?” SAA 19 37, r.18’

#### D. Continuation (“and, but”)

1. *’kš* šumma šarru iqabbi mā alik dullu ū-ku-šū šūtu i-da-bu-bu mā issu GN<sub>1</sub> issu GN<sub>2</sub>, “If the king should say, ‘Go (there)!’, the work is in progress **but** he contests **and** says: ‘From GN<sub>1</sub>, from GN<sub>2</sub>!’ ” SAA 19 109, 17–23
2. *’lk* a-ta-la-ka [iss]ēšu addubub mūku, “I went **and** spoke with him, saying” SAA 1 181, 15f.
3. *’lk* issēšu a-ta-la-ka bēt ibaššūni i-su-uk iddanūni, “I went with them, **and** whatever there was, they would assign and give to me” GPA 180, r.6’ ff.
4. *’lk* anāku lā al-la-ka rēš hūlīja lā anašši, “I cannot go **and** start my SAA 15 30, r.12f.

- journey”
5. 'lk *šēpē tanaššiq ta-al-la-ka tuššab*, “she kisses the feet, goes **and** sits down” SAA 20 34, 6
  6. 'lk *issija ana hūli la i-li-ki šābāni danqūti iktal'a*, “he did not go with me to the expedition **and** kept the best men at home” SAA 5 200, r.5–7
  7. 'lk *šū issi šābāni lil-li-ki PN annāka limmarku*, “let him go with the troops, **and** let PN stay here” SAA 5 199, r.10ff.
  8. 'lk *[ša]r pūhi ana šīmti [lil-l]i-ki anāku ... dullī lēpuš*, “let the substitute king go to his fate **and** let me perform my ritual” SAA 10 221, 8–10
  9. 'lk *udīna urah ūmāti lā il-la-ka sartinnušu mēte*, “a full month had not yet passed, **and** his sartinnu was dead” SAA 10 90, r.13' f.
  10. 'md *kablu ša nēmatti ina muhhi kaqqiri ta-te-mi-dī [...] ibašši*, “a leg of the ceremonial coach came in contact with the ground, **and** there was [...]” SAA 13 192, 7–9
  11. 'md *Šalbatānu ina libbi SN it-te-mi-dī ittitiz*, “Mars became stationary in SN **and** stayed there” SAA 8 52, 7–r.3
  12. 'md *ah[nni] nu-um-ma-da neppaš*, “we shall set to it **and** make (it)” SAA 1 66, r.21
  13. 'md *ahinni [ina] muhhi hirīti nu-tu-mi-dī ... ina muhhi madādi ša GN niqtirib*, “we made a start on the ditch **and** started measuring the GN canal” SAA 1 210, 6' ff.
  14. 'md *issēt šī būrtu ina libbi ú-ta-mi-dī issahlū*, “there is just one well there. I have set to work, **and** they have filtered it” SAA 1 255, r.1–2
  15. 'md *2800 ibissu ša šallūru GN ú-ta-mi-dī ... ina GN uttēre*, “I have imposed on GN in all 2,800 bundles and returned [...] to GN” SAA 1 226, 7–11
  16. 'md *bētāti annāti ... le-mu-ru lillika ana šarri bēlīja li-qi-bi*, “Let (a eunuch) ... look at these houses, **and** come and tell it to the king, my lord” SAA 1 124, 12–15
  17. 'mr *issurri ibašši né-ma-ra | ana šarri bēlīja ušēbal*, “Perhaps we shall indeed find it, **and** I can send it to the king, my lord” SAA 15 351, r.1–5
  18. 'pš *dullu le-pu-šū ana šarri bēlīja la[ddin]*, “I will do this work **and** de[liver] it to the king, my lord” SAA 15 151, s.1
  19. 'pš *PN annāka limmarku dullu ša šarri le-pu-šū batqu ... lik-šu-ru*, “Let PN stay here **to** do the king's work, **and** repair (the forts of the king)” SAA 5 199, r.11ff.
  20. 'pš *ešāni šēridāni dullakūnu ... e-pe-šā ana GN-āia ... lā taddanā*, “Bring down the wood and do your work, **but** don't sell it to the men/merchants from GN” SAA 19 22, 25–27
  21. 'pš *marhušu anniju šarru le-pu-šū issurri hunṭu anniju ... ippaṭṭar*, “Let the king apply this lotion, **and** perhaps this fever will leave (the king)” SAA 10 315, 20ff.
  22. 'pš *dullašūnu ibašši ša dammuqi e-pu-uš udammūqū*, “they are working on them **and** improving (their finish)” SAA 1 77, 8–9
  23. 'rb *kaimānu [...] le-ru-bu lūši*, “let him constantly go in **and** out [...]” SAA 15 368, 4' f.
  24. 'rb *[kī ša šarru bē]lī tēme iškunanni[nni ...] e-ra-ba ušša*, “he is [constantly] going in **and** out, [as the king my lo]rd ordered me” SAA 15 368, r. 6' f.
  25. 'rb *kaspu ina ēkalli ešši ú-se-ri-bi i[na lib]bi erēni assakan*, “I brought the money into the New Palace **and** put in into a cedar (box)” SAA 19 163, 4–7
  26. 'rb *šu-ú da-a-ni mi-ha-ar-šū' ú-se-ri-bi ina É-šū i-ša-bat*, “he made his equal enter into his house by force **and** imprisoned him there” ABL 307, 7–8
  27. 'rb *ittalkūni bēt PN<sub>1</sub> ... e-ta-ra-bu amāti ih-te-si ina libbi ka-* SAA 15 168, 8'–14'

- dammāti e-te-si-pi huzīrēšu uṭ-ṭa-bi-hi ū*, “they came **and** entered the house of PN<sub>1</sub>, **and** he (PN<sub>2</sub>) molested the slave-girls, gathered them into the storerooms **and** slaughtered his pigs; also ...”
28. *'sk* *šāb-šarrāni ammar šu[nūni] ú-ta-si-ki ana rab-ša-rēši ap-ti-qi-dī ... uttammišū*, “I have assigned all the available men **and** appointed them to the chief eunuch, **and** they have departed” SAA 19 210, 5ff.
29. *'sk* *bēt ibaššūni i-su-uk iddanūni*, “whatever there was, they would assign **and** give (it) to me” GPA 180, r.7–8
30. *'sp* *(erbiu) akī qallūni ni-te-si-pi ... ina libbi sūti nu-ta-hi-ši [ina lib]bi ni-in-ta-da-da*, “when they (the locusts) were few, we collected them **and** pushed them into a seah-measure **and** measured them with it” SAA 1 221, r.3' ff.
31. *'šr* *šalam-šarri ša mēširi anāku e-te-ši-ri šalam-šarri ša kabbusīti šunu ētapšū*, “I sketched the royal image which is an outline, **and** they made the royal image which is in the round” SAA 13 34, 14 ff.
32. *'tq* *šattu annītu lū te-ti-qi šarru bēlī ina MN illaka ú-ka-na*, “This year may pass (before the work is done), **but** the king my lord will come in MN **and** settle the issue” SAA 1 77, r.8 ff.
33. *'tq* *ina muhhišunu lā e-ti-qi issahīši lā nussatammah*, “I can't proceed to them, **and**, therefore, we cannot unite with one another” SAA 19 125, 8' f.
34. *brī* *[kīma labīrī]šu ba-ri-i šaṭir*, “collated **and** written [like its original]” CT 38 18, 128
35. *btq* *eqlu ammar ina pānēšu rēhūni li-ib-tu-qu ana mār-šiprīja lid-din*, “let him parcel out whatever field he has left **and** give it to my messenger” SAA 1 106, r. 4–7
36. *btq* *šummu ibašši ni-ib-tu-qu nikrur*, “if there are any (trunks), we shall cut them and lay them aside” SAA 1 229, r.3–4
37. *dbb* *PN dibbī lā dibbī i-du-bu-bu nakuttu rašši*, “PN spoke nonsense, **and** he was afraid” SAA 1 190, r.7–9
38. *dbb* *ū issi LÚ.A.BA ša qātīja ad-du-bu-bu ina muhhi d[u-a]-k[i-ia] idabbub*, “I have also spoken with my own scribe, **but** he is plotting to kil[l me]” SAA 16 112, r.8–10
39. *dbb* *anāku DN issēka a-da-bu-bu | gušūrē ša libbika a-ha-ri-dī | kī ummaka ...*, “I am Bel. I speak to you **and** watch the beams of your heart, **and** when your mother (gave birth to you ...)” SAA 9 1 ii 17' ff.
40. *dbb* *14 šanāti eqlu ātakal memēni issīja la i-dī-bu-ub | ūmā ...*, “I had the usufruct of the land for 14 years. Nobody disputed it with me, **but** now ...” SAA 10 173, 8ff.
41. *dbb* *šarru bēlī dibbī ṭābūti issēšu lid-bu-bu šarru bēlī lušarhissu*, “may the king, my lord speak kindly with him **and** give him confidence” SAA 15 159, 7' ff.
42. *dbb* *issēšunu šarru bēlī lid-bu-bu | hiṭṭānišunu šanijūte ana šarri bēlīja la-qa-bi |*, “The king, my lord, should speak with them, **but** (first) let me tell the king, my lord, about their other crimes” SAA 16 63, 6–8
43. *dbb* *ana dēnīšu i-da-bu-bu lā ilaqqi*, “he shall contest in his lawsuit **but** not succeed” (cf. connective *-ma*, no. 2) SAA 6 298, 16f. and passim
44. *dgl* *[lā] tašīti bētu du-gu-li rihsī*, “Don't be negligent! Look at the house **and** be confident!” KAV 215, 29–30
45. *hīt* *adaggal assanamme ú-ha-aia-a-ṭa lā kēnūti ina qāt šarrīja ašakkan*, “I will look, I will keep listening, I will search out the disloyal ones, **and** I will put them into the hands of my king” SAA 9 2 ii 32
46. *hkm* *ina pānīti ina pān šarri aqṭibi sakiqqēšu lā ú-ša-ah-ki-mi | ūmā ...*, “Earlier I spoke in the king's presence and could not clarify SAA 10 315, 11ff.

- his symptoms; **but** now ...”
47. *hlq* *urdāni ša šarri ša eqli ša birti āli uh-ta-li-qī iškārāti ša šarri ekkal*, “he has disposed of the king’s servants outside and inside the city, **and** is enjoying the allotments of the king” SAA 16 43, 11ff.
48. *hrd* *5/6 bē ūmi ittalak ih-ti-ri-dī uktil*, “(the treatment) went on for 1.5 hours; he was awake **and** held on” SAA 10 108, 10ff.
49. *hrd* [... a]h-ti-ri-dī [*issēšu ad*]dubub [*muk*] *maqtu atta* [x x x], “I attended [PN] **and** spoke [with him thus]: “You are a deserter [...]” SAA 15 244, 8’ f.
50. *hrd* *ana mīni tū-har-ri-dī taddinaššunu*, “Why did you put on the alert and give them?” SAA 19 22, r.4
51. *hrd* *urhāni annūti 2 na-ah-ri-di maššartaka lū dannat*, “for these two months be on the alert, **and** let your guard be strong!” SAA 15 156, 8f.
52. *hrp* *iš-šīari DN TA\* GN ta-har-ru-pu pān šarri tērab*, “tomorrow DN will leave early from GN **and** enter before the king” SAA 13 149, 1–3
53. *hrp* *atā ta-ha-ru-pu tu-na-me-še ina pān pāhiti ša GN lā tadgul*, “why did you get up early **and** leave without waiting for the governor of GN?” SAA 15 199, 5ff.
54. *hrp* *basi hannē šū ih-tū-ru-pu ana GN ēteli*, “For this reason he rose early **and** went up GN” SAA 15 199, 13ff.
55. *hrp* *atā ša-qurbūti lā i-hi-ru-pu lā ētiqa*, “why didn’t the bodyguard move on earlier?” SAA 19 169, r.3ff.
56. *hrš* *mā udīna batīqtu lā a-ha-ra-aš-ša mā kīma asseme ... ašappara*, “I do not have details yet **but** as soon as I have heard more, I shall write” SAA 1 29, 18ff.
57. *kbt* *ša akī ildi ša qudāsi ka-bi-dī uqur adanniš*, “the one which is like a base of an earring is important **and** very expensive” SAA 10 316, r.18f.
58. *kms* *ahhēni [ni]-ik-mi-si nillik*, “[we] will gather our brothers **and** go (away)” SAA 15, r.5–6
59. *kms* [*ahhē*]šū li-ik-mi-si *littatlak*, “let him gather his [brothers] **and** go away” SAA 15 24, s.1
60. *kms* *ik-mi-si iš[šiq] qaqqaru mahriša*, “he bowed down **and** kis[sed] the ground before her” (cf. uš-kín-**ma** *iššiq qaqqaru maharšu*, SAACT 12 p. 10, 73) STT 28 i 28 (SAACT 8 p. 13)
61. *krk* *etinnāti ... [a]k-ti-ri-kī issē[n pūlu us]sašbitsunu*, “I have gathered the master builders **and** made them take up the first [cornerstone]” SAA 1 165, 3’ ff.
62. *kšd* *šarru bēlī hūlšu ana GN<sub>1</sub> liškun GN<sub>2</sub> li-ik-šu-du šarru bēlī šunšu ana dārāti liškun* “May the king, my lord, launch his campaign against GN<sub>1</sub>, conquer GN<sub>2</sub>, **and** establish his name forever!” SAA 19 76, 7ff.
63. *kms* *PN immerē uk-ta-ši-dī 1,300 immerē šu’bat [...]*, “PN has driven away sheep **and** [...ed] 1,300 *šu’bu* sheep” SAA 5 256, 10’ ff.
64. *kms* *ikkāru nukaribbu ša PN [issu libbi ā]lānija uk-ta-ši-dī [...t]u šī ša immerē ša iršipūni untaggir*, “I have driven the farmer(s) and gardener(s) of PN [out of] my towns **and** torn down a [...] of sheep he had constructed” SAA 1 179, 9ff.
65. *mgr* *anāku issu pāni la-ma-gu-ru lā eppaš*, “I don’t agree with this **and** will not fashion it” SAA 13 34, r.7f.
66. *mgr* *bēl pāhiti ša GN le-ma-gūr-ru lā iddana*, “the governor of GN does not agree **and** will not give them to me” SAA 1 149, 7ff.
67. *mgr* *nuk qibāni mīnu šū la im-ma-gu-ru la iqabbūni*, “I said: ‘What is it? Tell me!’, **but** they refuse to tell me” SAA 5 292, 8’
68. *mgr* *ūmā la i-ma-gu-ru lā izzazzū*, “(The herders of donkey mares used to stand in front of the palace but) now they refuse to

- stand there”
69. *mgr* *nīšē māti mimmēni lā im-ma-gūr ana dull[tj]a lā u[ššūni]*, “the people of the country totally refuse to come [forth] to my work” SAA 5 121, 7ff.
70. *mgr* *(rabūti ...) lā i-ma-gūr dēnu ša bēt bēlišunu [lā] eppušū*, “(the magnates) refuse to render justice to the house of their lords” SAA 16 41, 14ff.
71. *mgr* *(annūti ...) lā i-ma-gūr [šarru b]ēlī lā ipalluhū*, “(these people) refuse to fear [the king], my lord” SAA 13 19, r.3f.
72. *mgr* *(PNN ...) lā i-ma-gūr [ina pi]rri [lā] errubū*, “(PNN ...) [re]fuse to come in [for the tax col]lection” SAA 13 20, r.1
73. *mgr* *rā’i naptini ana [p]irrišu la-a i-ma-gūr [lā] illak*, “the shepherd responsible for cultic meals refuses to go to his tax collection” SAA 13 19, 7–9
74. *mgr* *2 GNN ... immerē lā i-ma-gūr lā iddu[nū]*, “2 GNN ... refuse to give the tribute sheep” SAA 13 21, r.9f.
75. *mgr* *issapra mā sahhir [...] immerē ana urdānīni dī[ni] lā im-ma-gu-ur lā i[ddana]*, “He sent a letter (...), saying: ‘Give the [...] and] the sheep back to our servants!’. But he refused to gi[ve them]” SAA 21 139, 8’–10’
76. *mgr* *nuk ... urdānika šēbila ina pānija li-zi-zi la i-ma-gūr lā ušeb-bala*, [I told] him: ‘Send me (one of) your subjects, to stay in my presence’, **but** he refuses to send me one” SAA 5 254, 5’–7’
77. *mgr* *nasikāni ... [lā] i-ma-gur lā išapparūni* “the sheikhs ... refuse to send me (carpenters and potters)” SAA 15 280, 10
78. *mgr* *(bēl pāhiti ša-qurbūti) lā im-ma-gūr ina ēkalli lā ubbalūnāši*, “(The governor and royal bodyguard) refuse to bring us to the palace” SAA 5 104, r.10f.
79. *mgr* *ina muhhi ša qabaššunūni la-a i-ma-gūr-ru lā išammūni*, “no matter what is told to them, they refuse to listen to me” SAA 1 260, r.13’ f.
80. *mgr* *(GN ...) lā i-ma-gūr ina pānija [lā izz]azzū*, “(GN ...) refuse to stay with me” SAA 1 155, 8f.
81. *mgr* *ūmā lā i-ma-gu-ru lā izzazzū*, “Now (the shepherds) refuse to stand (there)” SAA 16 88, 10
82. *mgr* *zara šunu lā i-ma-gūr lā irrušū* “they refuse to cultivate their sown corn” GPA 207, 10’
83. *mhr* *1,000 unqāti ša šarri ina pānija ina pittu ū-sa-an-hi-ri akī unqi ša šarri lā epšat*, “I have in my possession a thousand seal(ed order)s of the king, my lord. I compared it with them, **and** it was not made like the seal of the king, my lord” SAA 15 125, 4’
84. *mḥš* *(erbiu) ina libbi sūti nu-ta-hi-ši [ina libbi] in-ta-da-da*, “we pushed (the locusts) into a seah measure **and** measured them with it” SAA 1 221, r.4ff.
85. *mṣ* *(naggāru) issēn in-ta-ra-ša imtūt*, “one (of the carpenters) got sick **and** died” SAA 1 179, r.17
86. *mth* *mīnu la-an-tu-hu mīnu laddinšu*, “what should I raise and give him?” KAV 213, r.28f.
87. *mth* *šarru bēlī marmar’ēšu ina burkēšu li-in-tu-hu paršumāti ina ziqnēšunu lemur*, “may the king, my lord, lift his grandchildren upon his knees **and** see grey hairs in their beards!” SAA 10 301, r.3ff.
88. *mth* *ina libbi attalak at-ta-ta-ha ēnēja kapru ātamar*, “I went there, raised my eyes **and** saw the village” SAA 19 89, 32f.
89. *nkr* *GN issēšu i-ti-ki-ri turtānušu ina lib[bī] qarābu ū-pa-ša [...]*, “GN has revolted against him **and** his commander-in-chief is engaged in [bat]tle [the]re, [and ...]” SAA 5 166, r.1–4
90. *nks* *niksu ina libbi ni-ki-si šābāni ina libbi nušērab*, “we will cut a tunnel inside **and** bring in the men through it” SAA 15 199, 14f.
91. *nkr* *(gašūrī) i-ti-ki-si ina šid[di nāri] ik-ta-ra-ra*, “he has felled (the SAA 5 33, r.5’ f.

- roof-beams) **and** piled them up al[ong the river]”
92. *nmr* *nūr ša elmēši ina pān* RN ú-ša-na-ma-ra *kī agē ša kaqqidīja* SAA 10 1, iii 25' ff.  
*aharrissu*, “I let the lamp of amber shine before RN, **and** I watch him like the crown of my head”
93. *nmš* *annūrig* ú-nam-ma-ša *ana rab-bēti tēmu* a-sa-kan-na *id-dātū 'a* SAA 15 60, r.12ff.  
*mādaktu unammaš*, “I am setting out right now *and* have issued orders to the major domo, **and** he will set out with the camp after me”
94. *nmš* (GN) ú-ta-mi-š[ī ...] *ina libbi* GN *nīqī ad[i rabūtīšu]* e-pa-ša, SAA 5 165, 6ff.  
“(GN) has set out ... **and** is making sacrifices in GN wit[h his magnates”
95. *nmš* *issu libbi* nu-ta-mi-š[ī *ina* GN] *nētarba* “we departed from there **and** entered [GN]” SAA 15 272, 2' f.
96. *nrt* *šarru bēlī lū lā* i-nār-ru-tu [arh]iš *lūrabbīš*, “the king, my lord, should not waver **but** promote him [at on]ce!” SAA 10 72, r.18f.
97. *nsh* *u'iltu šanītu* a-na-as-sa-ha *ana šarri bēlīja ušašma*, “I shall copy another report **and** let the king my lord hear it” SAA 8 84, r.4f.
98. *nsh* *kīma ana* SN *iṭṭihi akī annie* in-na-sa-ha *ūmā udīna ina libbi lā iqarrib*, “When (Venus) comes close to the breast of SN, it will be copied like this, **but** it has not yet approached it” SAA 8 55, r.2–6
99. *p' š* *urdāni ša šarri ... zakū* up-te-ii-ši *ana bēt* PN *ittidin*, “he has taken away the servants of the king ..., exempt people, **and** given them to the house of GN” SAA 16 63, r.20f.
100. *phr* *ni-ip-hu-ru* T[N ...] *sīru nišakkan*, “we will come together [...] **and** apply plaster to T[N and ...]” SAA 13 163, r.5f.
101. *phr* *ip-tu-hur gabbišūnu uptattijūšu*, “they gathered **and** unanimously dismissed him” SAA 13 143, r.4f.
102. *phr* *mā uṭṭutu ša 3 ēkallāti pahhir ina* GN<sub>1</sub> *lu-pa-hi-ri [ina]* GN<sub>2</sub> SAA 1 160, r.9–14  
*[lu]-pa-hi-ri*, “(Should the king say): ‘Collect barley for three palaces!’, I will collect it in GN<sub>1</sub> **and** I will collect in GN<sub>2</sub> as well”
103. *psk* *kīma nāru pa-su-ku gamir harammāma ina muhhi* PN *ašappar*, SAA 15 156, r.10f.  
“after the river has been cleared **and** is ready, then I shall write to PN”
104. *pqd* *mākisū ša ina [muhhi] kārāni ša ina* GN *uraddūninni ap-ti-qī-dī* GN-āja *uktaššidūniššu*, “I appointed a tax-collector to the ports of trade that were added to me in GN, **but** the GN chased him away” SAA 19 22, 14–18
105. *pqd* *ša-rēši rab-bīrte ina muhhišūnu ap-ti-qī-dī 30 šābāni ... ina libbi ussērib*, “I appointed a eunuch over them as fort commander **and** brought 30 men into it” SAA 19 22, r.12–14
106. *pqd* *šāb-šarrāni ... ana rab-ša-rēši ap-ti-qī-dī 20 ša* MN *uttammišū ittatakkū*, “I appointed the king’s men to the chief eunuch, **and** they departed and went away on the 20th of MN” SAA 19 210, 6' ff.
107. *pqd* *2 urdāni ša šarri ... hannāka ap-ti-qī-dī šummu šarru bēlī iqabbi [dullu lēpušū]*, “I have appointed here two servants of the king, **and** if the king my lord commands, [they should do the work]” SAA 13 38, r.8' ff.
108. *prs* *bēlī [li]-ip-ru-su lišpura*, “let my lord decide **and** write” SAA 15 131, r.21
109. *pt'* SN<sub>1</sub> *ina muhhi* SN<sub>2</sub> ... *lā iqrib [is]su pānišu ip-ti-e-ti [...]*, SAA 8 55, r.10–12  
“SN<sub>1</sub> has not approached the SN<sub>2</sub>; it has departed from it **and** [...ed]”
110. *pzr* GN-āja *issu pān rādi-kibsi up-ta-zi-rī mā amēlumma laššu ina pānīja* “The ruler of GN concealed him from the tracker **and** said: ‘There is nobody in my presence’ ” SAA 19 186, 24–28



111. *qbī* *lillika ana šarri bēlīja li-qī-bī tēmīšu šarru bēlī ana hiṭṭīja liškun*, “let him go **and** tell it to the king, my lord, and let the king my lord hold his report to my discredit” SAA 1 124, 14-16
112. *qlp* *qāru ša hurāši issu muhhi paššūr uttāri ... iḳ-ṭa-la-pa ittiši*, “he peeled off **and** removed the golden topping from the massive offering table” SAA 13 138, 8-11
113. *rb’* [*maššartu*] *ša Šamaš [ni]ttašar ir-ti-i-bī [attalū] ussētiq*, “we observed the sun; it set **and** let [the eclipse] pass by” SAA 8 47, 1-5
114. *rdp* [*id-d*] *ātuššu ni-<ir>-ti-di-pī [ad]i GN niqtirib lā ni-ik-šu-du ma-ri-ši lā a-na sissē lā ana narkabāti*, “We went in pursuit [af]ter him **and** got as far as GN, **but** did not catch him, (as the terrain) was difficult **and** [not] (fit) for horses and chariots” SAA 19 175, 30ff.
115. *rdp* *atta ri-di-pī id-dātuššu alik*, “You, pursue **and** go after him!” SAA 5 53, 18
116. *rdp* *ir-ti-di-bī ana GN it-(ta)-la-ka*, “he went in pursuit to GN” SAA 5 53, 19
117. *rgm* *raggintu tar-tu-gu-mū ana PN taqtibi*, “a prophetess prophesied **and** said to PN” SAA 10 352, 23
118. *rkb* *aladlammē ina libbi eleppāti ú-sa-ar-ki-pī eleppāti lā emūqāšina lā intuhā*, “he loaded the bull colossi on the boats, **but** the boats could not carry the load (and sank)” SAA 1 119, 6ff.
119. *rks* *2 sissē pašiūti ina šēp DN i-ra-ka-sa kaspu ana ešrāti ana bēlišu [utāra]*, “He shall tie two white horses at the feet of DN **and** shall [return] the money tenfold to its owner” SAA 14 473, r.3-5
120. *ršp* *ištāti ina libbi a-ra-ši-bī ammar ša tarīhanni mē ina libbi ašakan*, “I shall construct towers with them (the bricks), **and** whatever is left over, I shall keep soft with water” SAA 15 129, r.2
121. *ršp* *iāmuttu bēssu li-ir-ši-bī le-ru-bū ina bēlišu lu-še-bī*, “everybody should build himself a house, enter it **and** live in his house” SAA 15 219, r.7-10
122. *shr* *tēmu issakanšu mā nīšē sa-hi-rī ana bēlišu dīnī*, “(my lord) ordered him to return the people **and** give them back to their owners” SAA 15 121, 9-12
123. *shr* *mīnu ša issu pān dāgil iššūri iššūni lu-sa-hi-rī liddin*, “he should return **and** give back whatever he took from the augurs” SAA 5 163, 11-15
124. *snq* *amēlu lu-sa-ni-qī lušēšia*, “Should I interrogate **and** bring out the man?” SAA 16 65, r.6
125. *srq* [*ana*] *DN lis-ru-qu kīma [attalū] issakan ... [ana] dināni šarri bēlīja lillik*, “Let him strew (the incense) for DN, **and** when [the eclipse] takes place, ... serve as a substitute for the king, my lord” SAA 10 352, r.17ff.
126. *šbt* *dullu ša šarri bē[līja] la-ša-ba-ta lē[puš]*, “I will undertake **and** per[orm] the work of the king, my lord” SAA 10 27, r.7f.
127. *šbt* *parrišūti šunu PN urdu ša mār šarri ú-ša-bi-tī ina ēkalli naša*, “PN, a servant of the crown prince, arrested those criminals **and** brought them to the palace” SAA 5 228, 8'-13'
128. *šbt* *ih-harri ālišu i-ša-ba-ta hub[tu] ... ina libbi ú-še-ra-ba ū GN is-sēšu it-ti-ki-ri*, “he has captured [...] in the moat of his city **and** is bringing captives into it, **but** GN has revolted against him” SAA 5 166, 2'-r.2
129. *šūd* *23 mana hurāšu ... nu-še-ii-dī uraqquqū*, “We have melted down 23 minas of gold ... **and** they will hammer it thin” SAA 13 28, 4'-5'
130. *šīt* *ana abit annīti šarru bēlī lū lā i-ši-ia-ṭa bis šarru bēlī dullānīšu lēpuš*, “May the king, my lord, not disregard this matter **but** perform his rites at once!” SAA 16 62, 5-7
131. *škn* *ana rab-bēti tēmu a-sa-kan-na id-dātū'a mādaktu unammaš*, “I have given orders to the major domo, **and** he will set out with the camp after me” SAA 15 60, r.13ff.
132. *špr* *akī harrānu ša GN iksūdanni a-sa-pa-ra našūniššunu*, “When SAA 15 54, 7' ff.

- the caravan of GN arrived, I sent word **and** had them brought to me”
133. *špr* *ussahhir mār-šiprija ina irti* PN a-sa-pa-ra<sub>u</sub> muku, “I sent my messenger back to PN **and** told him” SAA 5 53, 13’f.
134. *špr* *qēpu ša* GN i-sa-pa-ra<sub>u</sub> mā 2,000 šābāni šēbila, “the legate of GN has written to me **and** told me: ‘Send me 2,000 men!’ ” SAA 15 142, 5’–6’
135. *špr* <sup>f</sup>PN *ina qāt qēpi [ina muh]hija* ta-sa-pa-ra<sub>u</sub> [...] *tussēbila*, “[The lady P]N has sent **and** dispatched to me [a sealed letter] through the royal delegate” SAA 19 126, 9’ ff.
136. *špr* *gabrū ša egerti šarru bēlī* liš-pu-ru<sub>u</sub> *ana tašlīšāni šarru bēlī tēmu liškun*, “Let the king, my lord, send a letter in reply to (this) letter, **and** let the king, my lord, issue an order to the ‘third men’ ” SAA 13 83, r.9–12
137. *šrp* *ālānišūnu ina išāti* a-sa-ra-p[a<sub>u</sub> eb]ūrē *kirātišūnu akkis*, “I burnt their towns with fire **and** cut down their orchards” BiOr 27 154, 43
138. *šrp* *mannu ša šumī ipaššitūni ... 7 mar’ēšu pān* DN<sub>1</sub> li-ši-ru-pu<sub>u</sub> 7 *mar’ātišu ana* DN<sub>2</sub> *harimāti lūrammi*, “whoever deletes my name, shall burn seven sons of his before DN<sub>1</sub> **and** abandon seven daughters of his to DN<sub>2</sub> as whores” AfO Bh. 1 72, 6
139. *štr* *erbiu ... ammar tadūkāni* šu-tur-ra<sub>u</sub> *ina ēkalli šēbilāni*, “write down all the locusts that ... you kill, **and** send it (the information) to the Palace” AfO Bh. 1 72, 6f.
140. *štr* *ūmā annūrig* a-sa-ṭa-ra<sub>u</sub> [ina m]uhhi *bēlīja ussēbila*, “Now then I’m writing it down **and** sending it [t]o my lord” SAA 1 221, 8f.
141. *štr* (*šarpu*) *ina libbi nibzi Armāja* i-sa-ṭa-ra<sub>u</sub> *ina libbi kišādi ... ina libbi unqi iktankū*, “they wrote the silver ... on an Aramaic document and sealed it with the neck seal (of PN) ... and the (royal) stamp seal” SAA 16 63, 13–17
142. *štr* *ana šunāšunu ina libbi egiṛāti* i-sa-ṭa-ra<sub>u</sub> *ana tēgirtēšunu is-saknū*, “they have written them down on horizontal clay tablets **and** set them as their excuse” SAA 5 52, 20ff.
143. *tbl* GN-āja ... *ahēšunu ina nagē* i-ta-ba-lu<sub>u</sub> *immerē ša in-nagē ... ihtabtū*, “The men from GN ... interfered in the district **and** plundered sheep in the district” SAA 19 176, 6ff.
144. *tdn* *ša ana* GN *hūlšu iškunūni aššabat ana rādi-kibsi mār-šipri a-ti-di-ni muku*, “I arrested the person who had arranged his trip to GN, gave the tracker a messenger, **and** said:” SAA 19 186, 16–18
145. *wbl* 2 *urāti ana* GN<sub>1</sub> 2 *ana* GN<sub>2</sub> *u-se-bi-lī lā ikšudā*, “I sent two teams of horses to GN<sub>1</sub> and two to GN<sub>2</sub>, **but** they did not get there” SAA 1 231, 5’–r.3
146. *wrd* *mār-šipri ... ana māt Aššūr* i-tu-ri-di<sub>u</sub> *issu libbi māt Aššūr ana* GN *ētetiṭ*, “The messenger ... has come to Assyria and proceeded from Assyria to GN” SAA 5 96, 4–8
147. *wrd* *i-tu-ru-du<sub>u</sub> ša* PN *ša da’āni kapru ša ina libbi iššabtū*, “Down came the (men) of PN **and** seized the village there by force” SAA 19 89, r.11ff.
148. *wrd* *padakku iptete mādidānīšu* u-se-ri-di<sub>u</sub> *ša šābāni šalmūti* [...] *ik-ta-ra-ra*, “He opened a silo in one of my villages, brought in his measurers, **and** poured out [x] healthy men’s worth [of grain]” SAA 1 181, 11ff.
149. *wrd* *šābāni* nu-se-ri-di<sub>u</sub> *inakkisū*, “We took the men downstream, **and** they are now cutting (the timber)” SAA 1 98, r.4’ f.
150. *wrd* *rab-abullāti* nu-se-ri-di<sub>u</sub> *ētamar*, “We had the overseer of the city-gates go down, **and** he had a look” SAA 13 128, r.17f.
151. *ziz* *pān abul* GN *ni-it-ti-ti-zī issi mar’ē* TN *niddubub*, “We stood in front of the GN gate **and** spoke with the citizens of TN” SAA 19 98, 7–8
152. *ziz* *ša-pēthalli* li-zi-zī *maššartušu liššur*, “A cavalryman should SAA 5 246, r.7f.

153. *ziz* stand by **and** guard him”  
[...]*uššu li-zi-zi* [...] *ša šarri bēlīja lislimū*, “he would stand in his (the king’s) stead, **and** [the gods] of the king my lord would be reconciled” SAA 10 352, r.21f.
154. *zmr* *kīma iz-zu-mu[r]* *ugdammirū*, “after they have finished singing (lit. have sung **and** finished)” SAA 20 52, r. i 32
155. *zqp* GN-*aiu* ... *in-nagê ša šiddi tânti i-zu-qu-pu ittiši ēteli*, “The ruler of GN has attacked (cities) in the district along the lake shore, **but** has left and gone up (the mountains)” SAA 5 84, 6ff.
156. *zqp* GN-*aiu šinišu ina muhhišu i-zu-qu-pu dēktušu iddūak*, “The ruler of GN has twice attacked him **and** defeated him” SAA 19 72, 13f.
157. *zrp* *eqlu za-ri-bi lāqi*, “the field is purchased **and** acquired” SAA 14 473, 10

### E. Hendiadys

1. *’pš* [*dullu ann*]â ... *úšallam e-pa-šâ zēršu išsir*, “He performs this ritual in its entirety, **and** his seed will be right” SAA 20 27, r.39’
2. *’šš* *šarru bēlī liš’al lu-ši-ši is-sur[ri]* ... *ušagalûšunu*, “May the king, my lord, inquire **and** investigate: may[be] ... they are getting deported” SAA 5 105, 20f.
3. *’šš* *šarru bēlī liš’al lu-ši-ši ina libbi niptašša*, “May the king inquire **and** investigate (the matter): we have *withdrawn* because of it” SAA 16 40, r.10f.
4. *’šš* *šarru bēlī ša-qurbūti taklu lišpura liš’al lu-ši-ši*, “May the king my lord send a trusty bodyguard to inquire **and** investigate” SAA 10 369, r.10–12
5. *’šš* *umâ ašappar iša’ulū ú-su-uš ana šarri ašappar*, “I am now sending (spies) to inquire **and** investigate, and shall write again to the king” SAA 5 91, r.8ff.
6. *’šš* *assa’al ú-ta-ši-ši memēni laššu u lā nišme*, “I have inquired **and** investigated: there is nothing, and we haven’t heard anything” SAA 5 227, r.19ff.
7. *’šš* *assa’la ú-ta-ši-ši memēni issu pānīšu lā išši*, “I have inquired **and** investigated: he hasn’t taken anything from him” SAA 5 163, r.1–5
8. *’šš* [*assa’a*]l ú-ta-ši-ši *nuk*, “I have inquired **and** investigated, saying ...” (cf. NB *kī aša’lu kī uššišu ina GN ašbat* SAA 18 20, 7’ff.) SAA 1 195, 12ff.
9. *’šš* *ša’al ú-ši-ši šēši’a*, “inquire **and** investigate, and bring (them) forth” SAA 1 21, 10f.
10. *’šš* *ša’al ú-ši-ši šuṭur šēbila*, “inquire **and** investigate (all the widows), write them down and send them to me” SAA 1 21, r.3ff
11. *’šš* *ša’al ú-ši-ši ... šupra*, “inquire **and** investigate, ... and write me” SAA 5 68, 6–9
12. *dbb* *nuk pīka lā ta[patti issēšunu] lā ta-da-bu-bu*, “I told him: ‘Don’t [open] your mouth **and** don’t speak with them!’ ” SAA 5 108, 23ff.
13. *krr* DN [*nu*]ssabalkit *ina muhhi pān* *išū ni-ik-ta-ra-ra*, “[We] overturned the divine panther **and** (then) placed it on its [fa]ce” SAA 1 78, 7–8
14. *lq’* (PN<sub>1</sub> *uppiš-ma*) PN<sub>2</sub> *issu pān* PN<sub>3</sub> ... *izzirip is-si-iq-qī*, “PN<sub>2</sub> has (contracted and) **duly** acquired **and** bought PN<sub>1</sub> from PN<sub>3</sub> ...” SAA 12 94, 6–10
15. *ršp* *pilku ša PN aššabat a-ra-šip-pi a-ga-am-mu-ri*, “I took over the work assignment of NP, **and** shall (also) finish bricking it up” SAA 15 107, 4’–r.1

### F. Repetition

1. *’pš* *šumma ēnāte muṭē NA<sub>4</sub>ēnāte [ina lib]bi le-pu-u-šū [šumma š]anduppu muṭē NA<sub>4</sub>šanduppu ina libbi le-pu-u-šū*, “if ‘eyes’ are lacking, eye-stones should be made of it, and [if] a *šan-duppu* (ornament) is lacking, a *šanduppu*-gem should be made of it” SAA 10 41, 18–r.9

2. *'pš* *kī ša mala šinīšu šarru ēpušūni ip-pittimma* [l]e-pu-šú |, “just as the king has done once and twice, he should do accordingly” SAA 10 275, 10–13
3. *'šd* *Zar'u ša GN<sub>1</sub> e-ši-dī 1,000 zara' ša GN<sub>2</sub> utru ina muhhišunu e-ši-dī*, “I harvest the sown fields of GN<sub>1</sub>, **and** in addition I harvest an extra 1,000 (homers) sown fields of GN<sub>2</sub>” SAA 1 176, 25ff.
4. *'tk* *nilaqqi nubbal kalliu ša PN šašbutu ša GN lu-ti-ki*, “We shall buy (and) bring (the horses), **and** let the mule express of PN (**also**) *alarm* the supplies of the men of GN” SAA 19 195, r.4'ff.
5. *'tq* *muk 6 ūmī šamhir takpirtu dāt annie tu-še-ta-qa*, “I told him: ‘For six days do likewise; **and** you shall (**also**) perform a purification ritual after that’ ” SAA 10 212, r.11ff.
6. *btq* *amīlu issēka ašappar mā illak šibšāte emmar i-ba-ta-qa*, “I will send a man with you, he will go and select the *beams* **and** (**also**) cleave them” SAA 1 229, 7–10
7. *dbb* *šumma šarru bēlī iqabbi issēšunu lillika lid-dī-bu-bu*, “If the king, my lord, so orders, he may come with them **and** speak up” SAA 5 52, r.17ff.
8. *dbb* *ina pān šarri bēlīja lērubū šarru bēlī issēšunu lid-bu-bu*, “let them enter into the presence of the king, my lord, **and** may the king, my lord, speak with them” SAA 15 4, 10ff.
9. *dbb* *mā ... sarhat mā dabābu danqu ina muhhi ta-da-bu-bu* |, “she is enraptured **and** therefore speaks nice words” SAA 16 59, r.3f.
10. *hlq* *mā abat DN šī mā šarrūtu ana PN<sub>1</sub> mā šumu zar'u ša PN<sub>2</sub> ū-hal-la-qa*, “It is the word of DN: ‘The kingship is for PN<sub>1</sub>, **and** I will (**also**) destroy the name and seed of PN<sub>2</sub>!’ ” SAA 16 59, r.4f.
11. *ksp* *mišil kissete iktasap mišilma lā ik-su-pu*, “he *deducted* half of the fodder (for his horses), **but** he did not *deduct* the other half” SAA 1 181, r.8f.
12. *lsm* *mār ša ana abīka alsamūni ana kāša ūmā la-al-su-mu*, “As much as I served your father, so let me now serve you!” SAA 15 288, 13–15
13. *mtb* *šumma ina hursān lallik šumma kalappu la-an-tū-hu šumma hiṭāia ina pān šarri ibaššūni*, “Let me undergo the river ordeal **or** lift the divine axe — I swear I have not sinned against the king!” SAA 21 111, r.16ff.
14. *mtb* *mā kī ša anāku ina ramīnīja iškāru amattahūni mā šū ana ramīnīšu li-in-tu-hu*, “Just as I raise the *iškāru* quota on my own, so let him too raise it on his own” SAA 1 118, r.9–12
15. *nūh* *ina qanni ša šehru inūhūni ina muhhi mār-ahi ša PN i-sa-ka-nu it-tu-a-ha* (cf. r.3 i-sa-ka-nu *it-tu-ah-ma*), “once the child had calmed down, they put (the amulets) upon the nephew of PN, **and** he **too** calmed down” SAA 10 309, 5'–8'
16. *phr* *šumma šarru iqabbi mā kurummāti ša 3 ekallī pahhir ina GN<sub>1</sub> lu-pa-hi-rī ina GN<sub>2</sub> [lu]-pa-hi-rī*, “If the king my lord commands: ‘Collect barley for three palaces’, I'll collect it in GN<sub>1</sub> and GN<sub>2</sub> **as well**” SAA 1 78, r.8–14
17. *plh* *iāmu[tu ina lib]bi eqlīšu kirēšu lū kammu[s] ana mār-šarri lip-lu-hu*, “each (of them) should st[ay in] his (own) field or garden, and fear the crown prince” SAA 5 109, 6' ff.
18. *pqd* *šarru bēlī issapra mā ina bēt midīli pi-qid-dī ap-ti-qi-dī*, “The king, my lord, wrote: ‘Assign (them) to the storehouse for pickled meat’, **and** (so) I assigned (them)” SAA 13 18, r.7–10
19. *pqd* *10 imār tābtī ... ina libbi assakan bē[l-pi]qittija ... ina libbi ap-ti-qi-dī*, “I have placed there 10 homers of salt ..., **and** have (**also**) appointed my o[ff]icial there” SAA 15 166, 18–25

20. *pqd* (*eqlāti*) *nuzza* 'izaššunu urad-ēkalli ina pānēšunu ap-ti-qi-dī, SAA 19 209, 4'–6'  
"we distributed (fields) to them **and** I (**also**) appointed a palace servant to lead them"
21. *prs* *šarru liš'alšu tēmu ša urdīšu* li-ip-ru-su, "May the king question him **and (then)** decide about the report of his servant" SAA 10 175, r.6ff.
22. *qrb* *libnāti* [*uqarr*]ab udīna ina muhhi [...] *lā* a-qa-ri-bī, "[I am bri]nging the bricks [in], **but** I have not yet started to [...]" SAA 19 126, 6–8
23. *ršp* *dullu ša bīrti eppaš šalhī* a-ra-ši-(bī) *šārī ša ana libbi* WN<sub>1-2</sub> SAA 15 113, s.1–3  
*uptaṭṭir* ár-ti-ši-bī [*lā*] ú-ga-[mī]-rī, "I am working on the fort **and** building the outer walls. I have demolished the S and E directions **and** bricked them up **but** have not yet completed it"
24. *šhr* *aššahir ana šeherūti i*[na š]*aplūti* as-si-pi-lī, "I have become smaller than the small, **and** lower than the low" SAA 3 12, 15
25. *škn* *ūmā anāku 30 bētāti lušabbiša ina libbi* la-áš-ku-nu, "Now, let me get together 30 families **and** place them there" SAA 1 177, 8f.
26. *špr* *ussahhir mār-šiprija ina irti* PN a-sa-pa-ra<sub>2</sub> muku, "I sent my messenger back to PN, **and** told him: " SAA 5 53, 13f.
27. *špr* *mā atā lā tašpur šinīšu maši ana ina muhhi bēlija* a-sa-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>, SAA 19 33, 11  
"saying, 'Why haven't you written?'; but I've written to my lord at least twice!"
28. *špr* [*mā* atā lā tašpura [*ūmā an*]nūrig [*ana*] sukkalli bēlija [*a*]-sa-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>, "saying, 'Why haven't you written me?'; [now t]hen [I]'m writing [to] the vizier, my lord" SAA 1 123, r.3'–6'
29. *štr* *tēlūt adri gabbišūma* a-sa-ṭa-ra<sub>2</sub> [*ak*]iltu a-s[a]-ṭa-r[*a*] PN<sub>1</sub> SAA 19 51, 13ff.  
*ṭupšarru ina qāt* PN<sub>2</sub> *ussēbila*, "I have written down the entire yield of the threshing floor, **and** I have **also** written down the consumption **and** sent the scribe PN<sub>1</sub> (to the king) in charge of PN<sub>2</sub>"
30. *tdn* *ina MN karānu ina GN iddan šumma lā* i-di-nī *kī mahīri ša* SAA 6 181, 5–r.1  
*GN kaspu iddan*, "He shall give the wine back in MN in GN. If he does not, he shall pay (in) silver according to the market price of GN"
31. *tdn* *šumma šū iddan anāku* la-din-nī, "if he is going to give, (then) I **too** will give" SAA 1 128, r.13
32. *ziz* *ina pān turtāni attitzi ... libbu ša turtāni lā ṭābq la a-zi-zī*, "I stood in the entourage of the commander-in-chief ... (but later) he has not been happy, **and** I have **no (longer)** stood there" GPA 194, 18ff.
33. *ziz* *mīnu ša šūīni šarru lišpur mār-šipri ina libbi* GN *ina* SAA 16 140, r.12ff.  
*pānātunni* li-zi-zī, "let the king write us what to do, **and** may the messenger (**then**) stay at our disposal in GN"
34. *ziz* *ūmā maṭṭuru ...*[ina muh]hi kigalli ... *assaṭar šalamāni ...* SAA 10 358, r.2'–6'  
*ina muhhi kigalli ...* ú-sa-za-ai-zī, "I have now written the inscription ... on the pedestal, **and** I have (**also**) I placed the statues ... on the pedestal"

### G. Emphasis

1. *'pš* *ina timāli šarru rēšu lā išši ūmā ūmu anniju* [l]e-pu-šū |, SAA 10 324, 10ff.  
"The king did not begin with it yesterday, but now, this very day, he should carry it out"
2. *'tq* [*memēn*]i issēšunu lā idabbub [*ina bābīšunu*] lū lā e-ti-qī |, SAA 15 15, r.13f.  
"[Nobod]y may litigate against them **nor** trespass [their gate]"

3. *'tq ūmu lā e-te-qe ša šāsu hinsāte lā igarrannīni*, “Not a day passes without their quarrelling about the spoils” SAA 15 84, r.16–19
4. *bṭl ūmu u urhu lā ni-ib-ti-lī ša lā dullu u nēpēši*, “(By the gods of the king,) we did not leave a day or month without rituals and rites” SAA 10 298, r.8f.
5. *dbb mamma issi mamma lā i-da-bu-bu*, “Neither shall litigate against the other” SAA 6 178, r.1
6. *dūl anāku akī kalbi asabbu a-du-al-la*, “I wag my tail **and** run about like a dog” SAA 15 288, 4ff.
7. *dūl akī kalbi asabbū a-du-ū-a-la*, “I wag my tail **and** run about like a dog” SAA 13 190, r.19ff.
8. *hṣn [p]iq[ṭ]atti šarru ašappu ušēbala lā mūqāia ašappu lā a-ha-ši-nī*, “Perhaps the king will send pack animals, but I (absolutely) can’t take care of pack animals” SAA 19 51, 3–7
9. *hṣn šarru bēlī [kī] ša eppašūni [I]e-pu-šū | ašappu lā mūqāia lā a-ha-ši-nī*, “The king, my lord, [ma]y do [as] he does, but I (absolutely) can’t take care of pack animals” SAA 19 51, 23ff.
10. *mdḏ [ap]tiqidsunu birti ēnēšunu [un-t]a-di-id-dī*, “I appointed them **and** (clearly) impressed upon them” SAA 1 39, 19–21
11. *nsh [issēšunu memēni] lū lā idabbub [nusāhēšunu] memēni lū lā i-na-sa-ha*, “[no]body may litigate [against them (and) no]body may exact [corn taxes from them] (**either**)!” SAA 15 15, 5f.
12. *qrb libittu [uqarr]ab udīna i[n]a muhhi [...] lā a-qa-ri-[b]i*, “[I am bri]nging in the bricks, **but** I have not yet arrived to [...]” SAA 19 126, 7’–8’
13. *qrb (eleppāti) uktallim ana mallāhī iqṭibiū mā laššu lā ni-qar-ri-bi*, “I showed (the boats) to the skippers, (but) they said: ‘No way; we won’t go near them’ ” SAA 1 56, 10–12
14. *qrb [...]šu anūssu gabbi issēšu in-idi anūtīšu memēni lā iq-ri-bi*, “His [...] (and) his whole equipment (are) with him; nobody has (even) gone near his equipment” SAA 16 141, 1’–4’
15. *škn šarru ana qāti ana zuqete ana šarti uzun liš-ku-nu*, “The king should pay attention (**especially**) to the hands, the chin and the beard” SAA 13 34, 21–24
16. *šlm kīma ana mātīni nittalak habullīni nu-šal-li-mi*, “As soon as we have gone back to our country, we will (**surely**) pay our debt” SAA 1 147, r.8–13
17. *špr anāku ina muhhi anni šū ana šarri bēlīja a-sa-par-ra*, “It is because of this that I am writing to the king my lord” SAA 10 290, r.11’f.
18. *špr ina muhhi šū ana šarri bēlīja a-sa-par-ra*, “that is why I am writing to the king my lord” SAA 5 126, r.14f.
19. *špr abutu ša ūdūni ana šarri bēlīja as-sa-pa-ra šarru bēlī kī ša ila’ūni lēpuš*, “I have (simply) written to the king what I know; the king my lord may act as he finds best” SAA 16 115, r.10ff.
20. *tbk ma’da kurummāti lūbilūni ina libbi [I]i-di-bu-ku*, “plenty of barley may be brought and (even) be stored therein” SAA 19 211, 9–r.3
21. *tdn is-surri šunu iqabbīū mā PN ittannanāši assa’alšu mā lā a-di-ni*, “Perhaps they will say: ‘PN has given (them) to us’. I’ve asked him — he says: ‘I have not given (away anybody)’ ” SAA 15 121, r.16–19
22. *tdn tabku ša šarru bēlī iddinūni bēt ibaššūni lā addin bēt laššūni a-ti-di-ni*, “(as to) the stored grain that the king gave me, I haven’t provided it to the haves but have provided it (only) to have-nots” GPA 180, r.9’–11’
23. *tdn annūrig 500 kurummāti ina GN uptahhir la-di-ni*, “Now then I’ve gathered 500 homers of barley in GN, and would like to (finally) deliver it” SAA 1 160, r.4ff.

24. *trš* *laššu lā ta-ri-ši kaqquru ta-ri-ši birte šadāni šū*, “it is not at all feasible! The terrain is difficult; (and) it lies between mountains” SAA 5 200, 7–9
25. *ziz* *ša šarru ... lā nēmurūni ina muhhi šū ina pūt šarri ni-ti-ti-zi*, “that we had not seen the king (for a long time), that is (the sole reason) why we stood in front of the king” SAA 10 39, 15–r.2
26. *ziz* *šarru bēlī ... iqtibi mā attā[ma] ina pāni tazzaz iš-šaddaqdiš iš-šalušīni ina pāni at-ti-ti-zi ūmā ...*, “the king, my lord, said: ‘You shall stand by!’ — last year and the year before I **did** (indeed) stand by, (but) now ...” SAA 23 117, 7–12
27. *znn* *ū zinnu kupū [...] kaia mānu i-za-nu-un-nu*, “(the ... is badly ravaged) and it is raining and snowing continually” SAA 15 100, r.15' f.

### H. Implication

1. *'lk* *šumma [tariš] issi šarri bēlīja lū tal-li-ki*, “If [it is all right], it may go with the king, m[y] lord, (yet ...)” SAA 5 223, r.1'
2. *'mr* *memēni ibašši ina šamē ta-ta-ma-ra*, “You (must) have observed something in the sky (although you don't tell me)” SAA 10 45, 8–9
3. *'pš* *kī ša šarru bēlī i[la] 'ūni le-pu-šū*, “the king, my lord, may (however) do as he [deems best]” SAA 19 351, r.1–5
4. *'pš* *[šarru bēlī] kī ša ila 'ūni le-pu-šū [šarru bēlī] ūda ...*, “the king, my lord, may do as he [deems best], (but) the king, my lord knows that ...” SAA 5 291, r.12f.
5. *'pš* *šābāni issu libbišūnu dēkū šarru bēlī kī ša i[la] 'ūni le-pu-šū* |, “(When in the time of) your father they didn't keep their hands off the temple, some of the men were killed. The king, my lord, should (however) do as he d[eems best]” SAA 13 128, r.26f.
6. *'pš* *[ana šarri] a-ta-ha-ra š[arri bēlī] kī ša ila 'ūni le-pu-šū* |, “I have appealed [to the king], but the k[ing, my lor]d, should (anyway) do as he deems best” SAA 15 80, 2'–5'
7. *'pš* *urkīti kī ša šarru bēlī ila 'ūni le-pu-šū* |, “afterwards the king, my lord, may (in any case) do as he deems best” SAA 15 162, r.9ff.
8. *'pš* *ūmā kī ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni [le]-pu-u-šū*, “Nowadays, (however), it should be done as it (best) suits the king, my lord” SAA 10 76, r.7ff.
9. *'pš* *ūmā kī ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni le-pu-šū*, “Nowadays, (however), it should be done as it (best) suits the king, my lord” SAA 13 132, r.9' f.
10. *'pš* *kī ša ina pān šarri [mah]irūni le-pu-šū* |, “let them do as it [plea]ses the king” SAA 16 131, r.4f.
11. *'pš* *ahamma mīni bēlī annītu le-pu-šū*, “the reasons apart, may my lord do this!” SAA 15 288, r.1–2
12. *'pš* *muhhi [ša šarru] bēlī iqabbūni né-pu-šū*, “We will act (only) when the king, my lord, says so” SAA 13 62, r.10
13. *kšd* *ŠE.nusāhī ša it-timāli iš-šaššūmi ša ninassahūni ūmā PN qēpāni uk-ta-ši-dī*, “(Concerning) the habitual corn taxes ... that we have been exacting, PN has now (high-handedly) driven the delegates away” SAA 19 39, 4–8
14. *nks* *[...] ittalak i-na-ki-si mīnu ša šarru bēlī iqabbūni*, “[NN] has gone [to GN] (with cavalry) **and** is cutting timber, (but) what are the king my lord's orders? (Would the Urartian give timber to the king, my lord?)” SAA 5 34, r.19'f.

15. *pqd* *mannu ša ina pān šarri bēlīja mahirūni šarru bēlī lip-qi-dī*, SAA 1 75, r.6–8  
 “The king, my lord, may (however) appoint anyone who pleases the king, my lord”
16. *pqd* *mannu ... ša pān ša[rri bēlīja] mahirūni ina kūmuššu šarru bēlī lip-qi-dī*, SAA 10 352, r.25ff.  
 “The king, my lord, may appoint in his place anyone (among his brothers and [...]) who is acceptable to the ki[ng, my lord]”
17. *š'l* *šarri bēlī liš-'a-lā šummu lā urdī šūtūni*, SAA 1 171, 33–35  
 “The king, my lord, may ask (the members of the community) whether he is a servant of mine”
18. *zqp* *mā is-surri kīma kupū iddīni mā ni-za-qu-pu ina muhhišu*, SAA 5 145, r.10–13  
 “Perhaps, once there is more snow, we can attack him”

### I. Consecutive/resultative intonation

1. *btq* *[uš]ulti parzilli bilāni la-ab-tu-qu ina qinniti [ša p]āhiti laškun*, SAA 16 63, 12f.  
 “bring me an iron knife, **so** I can cut it off **and** stick it in the govern[er's] ass!”
2. *grr* *[l]i-qi-bu-ni-šū-nu issu pān galīti [...]* li-gi-ru-ru, SAA 5 203, s.1  
 “let them be informed, so they become scared of deportation”
3. *pqd* *šumma lā a-pa-qi-dī [pā]niumma ša ēšidūni inaššiū ekkulū*, SAA 5 289, 9–r.2  
 “If I didn't allot it, **then** they'd take what they harvested [ear]lier and eat it”
4. *pqd* *saklu ana šatammūti lū pa-qi-dī ina pān parakki ginū lūqarrib*, SAA 10 352, r.15f.  
 “a common man should be appointed to the office of the prelate **so as to** present the regular offerings in front of the dais”
5. *šbt* *ina TN lillik (pūt upni) la-ša-ba-tā DN ana mātāti lašpur*, SAA 13 43, r.2f.  
 “let him go to TN, **so** I can take possession of it and send DN to the lands”
6. *šbt* *[...] is-sa-ka-na lā i-di-ni az-zittišu nišēšu mār PN ú-ša-bi-ti*, SAA 15 295, r.1'ff.  
 “[The ...] set a [fine] but he did not pay it, **so** the son of PN seized his share and his people”
7. *šbt* *ūmā šarru bēlī nišē GN<sub>1</sub> GN<sub>2</sub> liddina [...]* lu-šā-ša-bi-ti, SAA 1 176, 29ff.  
 “Now, let the king my lord give me men of GN<sub>1</sub> (and) GN<sub>2</sub> **so** I can set up [the city]. (There is no Assyrian mayor or gate-guards in GN<sub>3</sub>)”
8. *tdn* *kurummāti ... bila ana hubte ša šarri la-di-i-ni*, SAA 1 260, r.3–7  
 “bring me barley rations **so** I can give them to the captives of the king”
9. *ziz* *[issēn issu] libbi urdānīka šēbila ina pānīja li-zi-zi*, SAA 13 21, 3ff.  
 “send me [one o]f your servants, **so** he may stand in my presence”
10. *znn* *[zun]nu ma'da [ad-dan]niš i-zu-nu-nu [zu]nnu mē ma'da ad-danniš*, SAA 19 166, 7'ff.  
 “[ik]-ta-ra-rā nību ša mē ma'da ad-danniš, “It rained [extre]mely heavily and the rain poured down very [mu]ch water, **so** the amount of water is great indeed”
11. *znn* *lā zun[nu] lā kupp[u] i-zi-nu-nu mē ina nāri la[ššu]*, SAA 5 26, 9'–r.1  
 “It has neither rained nor snowed, **so** the[re is] no water in the river”

### J. Statives with various nuances of intonation

1. *hss* *šarru ha-si-si*, SAA 13 118, r.11  
 “the king will (**surely**) remember”
2. *kms* *ittalkū lāššu ahūšu šūtu ēdumānu ina libbi kam-mu-su*, SAA 1 245, 5'ff.  
 “They went (to his home town) but again to no avail; **only** a lone brother of his was living there”



3. *kms* *tēmu ša PN emūqēšu ina GN<sub>1</sub> šū ina GN<sub>2</sub> kam-mu-su*, “News of PN: his army is in GN<sub>1</sub>, **but** he himself is staying in GN<sub>2</sub>” SAA 15 162, r.11ff
4. *mṛṣ* *muk nammiša mā maršāk muk mara’ka lillika mā ma-ri-ši-ma*, “(I said): ‘Set out!’; he said he was sick. I said: ‘Let your son come!’; he said: ‘He is sick too (I’ll send my brother with troops)’ ” SAA 5 217, r.15–18
5. *nsk* *[issē]n ūmu lū harip [issē]n ūmu lū na-si-ki ēninni ina muhhi l[ū t]aqquṭ*, “[On]e day it might be too early, **and** [anoth]er day it might lie flat. (To see it) our [e]yes sho[uld have f]allen on it” SAA 10 50, r.9ff.
6. *šbt* *100 šunu šābāni dēkū PN turtānu šaniu ... ina libbi GN ša-bi-ti*, “Some 100 soldiers were killed. PN, the deputy commander-in-chief ... was **likewise** arrested in GN” SAA 5 91, 12–15
7. *škn* *muk PN aiāka mā ina GN šā-ki-ni*, “I asked where the son of PN is. He said: ‘He is encamped in GN’ ” SAA 15 218, r.1–3
8. *škn* *ina libbi GN<sub>1</sub> ina libbi GN<sub>2</sub> šā-ki-ni*, “he is encamped in GN<sub>1</sub>, within GN<sub>2</sub>” SAA 5 168, r.5–7
9. *tdn* *kaspu gammur ta-din-ni*, “the money has been paid completely” (lit. “has been completed **and** paid”) SAA 6 289, 7 and passim
10. *tdn* *haṭṭu ... asallu ša ēkalli šarqū ina kaspi ta-da-nu*, “A sceptre and a kettle have been stolen from the Palace **and** sold for money” SAA 19 114, 7–11

#### K. Causal/explanatory intonation

verb + verb | “A, because B” (= NB verb verb-*ma*)

1. *’lk* *rēhte dulli ibašši lā ēpuš ina adē at-ta-la-ka*, “I could not perform the rest of the ritual, **because** I had to leave for the treaty” SAA 10 273, 10–12

### APPENDIX

#### NA and NB continuative, repetitive and emphatic suffix -*ma*

GAG § 123: “-*ma*, die meistgebrauchte aller enklitischen Partikeln, hat verschiedene Funktionen: α) -*ma* verbindet Sätze und stellt anders als *u* zwischen ihnen immer einen logischen Zusammenhang her; Übersetzung ‘und dann, und daher, und demgemäss’, selten adversativ ‘aber’; mA wird es in dieser Funktion selten, nA fast gar nicht gebraucht. β) -*ma* wird sehr oft and das Prädikativ des Nominalsatzes angehängt. γ) -*ma* dient zur Hervorhebung eines Wortes und hat dann manchmal identifizierende Bedeutung (z.B. aB *šū-ma* ‘er selbst’), steht aber auch im Sinne von ‘nur’ (mA *qaqqadamma ilaqqe* ‘er nimmt nur das Kapital’); im Sinne von ‘gleichfalls’ kommt er jünger, vor allem nA, auch beim verbalen Prädikat vor (s. nA *maṣṣīma* ‘er ist ebenfalls krank’).”

#### 1. Neo-Assyrian -*ma* clauses (in letters of scholars and priests, rituals and legal texts)

1. *’pš* *dullu annā ... ú-šal-lam-ma eppaš zēršu [iššir]*, “He performs this ritual in its entirety, **and** his seed will be right” SAA 20 24, r.44’
2. *’tk* *šarru bēlī lū e-ti-ik-ma maṣṣartu lū dannat*, “the king, my lord, SAA 10 351, r.12

- should be on his guard **and** under strong protection”
3. *dbb* *ina dēnīšu i-da-bu-ub-ma lā ilaqqi*, “he shall contest in his lawsuit **and/but** not succeed” GPA 62, 8f. + 14x
  4. *mrš* *muk nammiša mā maršāk muk mara’ka lillika mā ma-ri-ši-ma*, “(I said): ‘Set out!’; he said he was sick. I said: ‘Let your son come!’; he said: ‘He is sick too (I’ll send my brother with troops)’ ” SAA 5 217, r.15–18
  5. *nūh* [*ina muh*] *hi rā’ie ša ahātika ... i-sa-ka-nu it-tu-ah-ma*, “they put (the amulets) upon a shepherd of your sister, **and** he **too** calmed down” SAA 10 309, r.2f.
  6. *pqd* *issēn āšipu issēn asū ina pānija lip-qid-ma [issi ah]āmiš dullī lēpušū*, “Let him appoint one exorcist and one physician to attend me, **and** let them treat me together” SAA 13 66, r.2
  7. *šlm* *Sīn ūmu ú-šal-lam-ma ūmu 3[0 urrak]*, “the moon will make the day complete **and** [lengthen] the 30th day (to its full measure)” SAA 8 108, r.1
  8. *ziz* *anāku ina pān šarru bēlīja la-zi-iz-ma ina gummurti libbīja ina ahīja laplah*, “May I stand before the king, my lord, **and** revere (him) wholeheartedly with my arms” SAA 10 198, r.2–5

## 2. Examples of Neo-Babylonian continuative *-ma* clauses (only a few out of many)

1. *’lk* *al-lak-ma pānī ša šarri bēlīja am-mar-ma ú-rad-de-e-ma aballu*, “I shall go **and** see the face of the king, my lord, **and** (then) I shall get even better” SAA 22 35, 17–19
2. *dkī* *enna atta emūqīka de-ke-e-ma a-lik-ma itti PN ... išizza*, “Now you, mobilize your forces and go and join PN, the governor!” SAA 18 3, r.5f.
3. *nhs* *ittīja ana TN ta-nam-hi-is-ma tēmu išakkanga*, “You shall go back to TN with me, **and** he will give you orders” SAA 22 35, r.3–5
4. *nšī* *šarri rēšsu liš-ši-ma liš’alšu*, “The king should summon him **and** question him” SAA 18 83, r.10f.
5. *pqd* *ana rab-nikkassi ša ēkalli lip-qī-du-ma immerī liddinū*, “let them assign (the matter) to the chief of accounts of the palace, **and** let them give the rams” SAA 10 313, r.6
6. *qtī* *DNN ultu šīt šamši adi erēb šamši lu-qat-tu-ma ana šarri bēlīja liddinū*, “May the gods (...) give the king, my lord, complete (lit.: complete **and** give) dominion from east to west!” SAA 22 36, 7–10
7. *špr* *šarru ša-qurbūtu ittīja liš-pur-ma lul-lik-ma ahū’a lušēšā*, “May the king send a bodyguard with me, **so that** I may go **and** bring out my brother” SAA 10 165, r.4’–6’

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