LIKALKA ITTATAKKU

Two notes on the morphology of the verb *alāku* in Neo-Assyrian

BY

SIMO PARPOLA

HELSINKI 1984
As indicated by the title, the present article focuses on two queer-looking, hitherto misinterpreted Neo-Assyrian verbal forms which on the surface have nothing to do with each other but in fact belong to the paradigm of one and the same verb. A study of their underlying morphological structures and occurrences in context reveals important facts about the extent of alloformic variation within the Neo-Assyrian verbal system and makes it necessary to establish a new grammatical category in Assyrian: the Gtt stem. I dedicate this study to the memory of my respected teacher and friend, who contributed a great deal to our knowledge of Akkadian grammar and the Semitic verbal system, and who loved grammatical riddles.

1. LIKALKA

The dialectal features of Neo-Assyrian listed in modern grammars of Akkadian include one real curiosum: the form litanka presented as the Gt(n) imperative of alâku "to go".1 This form is actually quite rare (only seven attestations so far) but, like all curiosities, comparatively well known. Apart from in the grammars, any student of Akkadian will find it dutifully noted in the basic dictionaries2 and in the grammar section of R. Borger's Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke (21979).3 The way this little grammatical oddity has been 'canonized' is actually rather surprising, considering the shaky grounds on which it rests. Symptomatically, it is not yet found in the first
edition of W. von Soden’s Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik (1952). The reason is that while the form does occur in texts published as early as 1892 and 1902, its existence was not recognized for a long time since the relevant passages were not understood correctly. As late as in 1955, H.W.F. Saggs was left completely puzzled by the three new occurrences he encountered in the Nimrud letters, which he hesitatingly read li-dan-ka and took as precatives of the verb tadānu "to give".

The reading li-tan-ka was introduced in 1957 by von Soden, who observed that since the form twice follows the imperative of nammušu "to set out" and is once immediately followed by 3rd person plural forms of nammušu and alāku used in hendiadys, it must represent an imperative of the latter, specifically a Gt imperative plural, "die von bisher bekannten Formen des imp. Gt stark abweicht, da der erste Radikal der Wurzel in ihr verschwunden ist". He compared the posited two-radical imperative /lik/ to "hebr. lēk und ugar. ĭk, die ebenfalls nach dem Muster der Verben I w ... gebildet sind", but had to admit that he had "not yet" come across the expected form in Neo-Assyrian. He could also find no explanation for the "merkwürdige" -n- inserted after the Gt-infix -ta-.

Eight years later K. Deller pointed out that the analysis of li-tan-ka as a Gt form was out of the question since the relevant stem had become obsolete in Neo-Assyrian. Instead he suggested that the form was to be interpreted as a Gtn imperative, which not only would obviate the difficulty but would also provide a satisfactory explanation for the curious infixed -n-. He did not elaborate on the meaning of the -tan- infix in this particular case, but briefly noted his impression that "die iterative bzw. frequentative Funktion [des Gtn-Stammes im Neuassyrischen] bisweilen recht abgeschwächt ist" (ibid. 272f).

With this adjustment, the 'litanka theory' has remained uncontested for almost twenty years and seems to have been generally approved even by specialists in Neo-Assyrian. It does indeed provide an ingenious solution for a difficult crux, and the basic thesis — that the form represents an imperative of alāku — stands beyond question. Yet it suffers from two serious flaws. In the first place, the Neo-Assyrian G imperative of alāku is not
/lik/, as the theory requires, but unquestionably /alik/. Secondly, the contention that the -tan- infix would occasionally have lost its basic function in Neo-Assyrian does not bear closer study. All Neo-Assyrian attestations of alāku Gtn easily fall within the standard semantic range of this verbal form ("to go/wander/roving about"). Such a meaning does not at all fit the contexts in which 'litanka' occurs. That the Gtn meaning is completely absent from 'litanka' is also evident from the fact that the forms of alāku associated with 'litanka' are consistently in the G stem, never in Gtn. In fact, not only has the form nothing to do with the Gtn stem but the reading li-tan-ka should also be forgotten. The correct reading is li-kal-ka. It is a sandhi spelling for /aLik alka/ "go!" (pl.), i.e. the regular imperative plural of alāku G preceded by the imperative singular of the same verb with an elided initial vowel. These two imperatives together form the Neo-Assyrian non-ventive imperative plural of alāku G.

The evidence on which this interpretation rests is presented in Chart I, which includes all attestations of li-kal-ka and the (Neo-Assyrian) imp. pl. of alāku known to me. For the sake of clarity, the passages quoted in Assyrian are given with the most relevant context only; fuller details can be found in the translations.

It can be immediately seen from the chart that all non-ventive imperative plurals of alāku are compounded with the imperative singular /alik/; the uncompounded form /alikā/ does not occur. Examples 1 (a-lik al-ka) and 2 (lik al-ka) show that the singular element was at least occasionally understood as a separate imperative; however, the elision of the initial vowel in all but one of the cases and especially the predominating sandhi spelling (li-kal-ka) indicate that it had virtually become a prefix and that the morphological structure of the compound was probably not always correctly understood.

Apheresis of a short unstressed initial vowel is a well-attested and relatively well-known phonetic feature of Neo-Assyrian. It is generally not realized, however, that this phenomenon is not limited to certain lexical items only but also occurs on the phrase level on the condition that the phrase in question func-
Chart I. Imperative Plural of alāku in Neo-Assyrian

A. Non-ventive forms

1. ussēglišunu  muk a-lik al-ka íāmuttu ina muhhi egli
2. mā emūqēkunu .. šabtā mā lik al-ka16 pāhāte .. šabbitā
3. iqṭibūniššunu  mā ana GN .. li-kal-ka mā lā immagur
4. mā .. iqṭib[annāši] mā ana GN li-kal-ka mā hillak
5. ana ṣābiute iqṭibi mā nammišā li-kal-ka annurig uttamišū illukū of. nammiš alik (K 3458 r.6.10)
    lunammiš l111[1k] (ABL 1328:10)
6. mā šallutu .. nammišā li-kal-ka PN issēniš .. illakā
7. [mā] puhrà li-kal-ka še'u .. [issu] GN ushā
8. ša .. šemu ışkunnāš[Ini mā .. 1]li-kal-ka issu GN nissuhrā
9. ....) li-kal-ka a-[

1. "I sent them away (from the fortresses) saying: 'Go! Let each (of you build) on the field (and stay there)!'" ABL 208 r.11
2. "(The king of Urartu gave orders to his governors:) 'Take your troops, go and capture the governors (of the king of Assyria, and come and bring them to me)!" ABL 198+CT 53 120:16
3. "They said to them: 'Go to Nineveh (for judgment before the sukkallu and sartinnu)! They did not consent (to this but said)" Iraq 32 132:9
4. "(The king) told us: 'Go to Sapirrutu! We'll go" ABL 87 r.14
5. "(A royal bodyguard came and) told the magnates: 'Set out and go! They are now setting out and going; (should I go with them?)" ABL 598:6
6. "(The turtanu wrote to me:) 'Set the POWs (in your charge) on the move and go!' Will Tutammû (and his eunuchs) also come?" NL 15:8.
7. "Get together, and go and extract (dry) barley [from Bit]-Amukani!" NL 10:8
8. "[As to the Arameans concerning] whom (the king) gave us (this) order: '[... and go off!', we returned from GN" ibid.4
9. "Go!" CT 53 614:5"
### Chart I

**B. Ventive forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td><em>ina muhhišunu assapra nuk al-ka-a-ni issékunu ladbub</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td><em>ina muhhišunu assapar nuk al-ka-a-ni lāšurkunu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td><em>pāhāte ... qabbitā ina muhhiša iṣā al-ka-a-ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td><em>maddattakun iṣā al-ka-a-ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td><em>issenni iddubū mā [al]-ka-a-ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td><em>ma is[s]i emuqškunu mā al-ka-a-ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td><em>attunu [pahhirā al]-ka-a-ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td><em>ekallāti(?) iraggam[ā mā] al-ka-ni ... [qa]bbirā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td><em>dullakun rammea [e]tqā al-ka-ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td><em>mā hilqāni al-ka-ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>... al-ka-ni ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. "I sent word to them: 'Come, let me talk to you!' ABL 610:13'
11. "I sent word to them: 'Come, I have to itemize you!' ibid. 15
12. "Capture the governors (of the king of Assyria), and come and bring (them) to me!" ABL 198 + CT 53 120 + 438:18
13. "Come (pl.) and bring your tribute!" CT 53 311:11'
14. "They spoke with us, saying: 'Come!'" ABL 1093:10
15. "Come (pl.) with your troops!" CT 53 76:3'
16. "[Collect] (all loyal inhabitants) and come!" ABL 1093:17
17. "The queens cry out: 'Come and bury (the righteous queen)!'" ZA 45 44:40
18. "Leave your business, move over and come!" CT 53 136 r.10
19. "Run away and come!" CT 53 27:7'
20. "Come!" CT 53 930 + 967 r.25
tions as a stress unit with one primary stress only. If this condition is met, the constituents of the phrase tend to coalesce and, in addition to apheresis, become subject to other types of phonetic change (sandhi, crasis, assimilation, syncope) as well. The particular combination of phonetic changes (apheresis + sandhi) observable in likalka is attested in other phrases too, e.g. in the prepositional expression /ana irti/ "toward" and the adverbial phrases /ana mala/ "completely" and /ana ŝalši ūmi/ "the day before yesterday".

Chart II. Phrases with sandhi and apheresis

A. ana irti

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full phrase: a-na ir-ti/GABA(–)</th>
<th>ABL 243:9, 1315 r.4.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ina ir-ti/GABA(–)</td>
<td>ABL 128:8.18, 165:5, 167:10, 170 r.11, 251:14, 890:7, 936 r.10, 1296 r.6, 1453 + CT 53 104:6, CT 53 93:8, 806:3', 833:5, 863:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandhi: i-ni-ir-ti-šú-nu</td>
<td>ABL 596 r.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in6-ni-ir-ti-ía</td>
<td>ABL 529:9.r3; (-ia) ibid. r.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in6-ni-ir-ti-i-[a]</td>
<td>ABL 529 r.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in6-ni-ri-te</td>
<td>ABL 515 r.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Apheresis: ni-ri-it</td>
<td>ADD 646 r.26, 647 r.27, 734:5'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. ana mala

| Full phrase: a-na ma-la          | ABL 197:11.r11, AFO Beih.6 6:5, CT 53 369:7', NL 42:14 |
| Sandhi + apheresis: nam-ma-la    | ABL 330:10 |

C. ana ŝalši ūmi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full phrase: a-na 3-ši UD-me</th>
<th>ABL 132 r.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ina ŝal-ši UD-me</td>
<td>ABL 709:12, LAS 129 r.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandhi: iš-šá-šú-me</td>
<td>ABL 605:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-šá-šu-me</td>
<td>ABL 99 r.3, CT 53 456:9'; NL 74:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-šá-šu-u-me</td>
<td>TCAE 361:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Apheresis: šá-šu-me</td>
<td>ABL 414 r.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other examples of sandhi (and orasis) in Neo-Assyrian are kal-la-
/m/na-ri "early morning" (CAD K 78) for /kal amāri/; an-ni-ia-ši
"to me" (LAS 151 r.14) for /an ijaši/; a-da-kan-ri "until
now" (ABL 343 r.6, 1205:10) for a-di/du a-kan-ri; ina-me-te
"cubit" (ADD 1252:7 for /in ammiti/; and i-šal-ka "bring and
come!" (ABL 1193:14) for i-ša al-ka; note also /(amma)r ūtu/ >
rūtu "span" (AHw. 997b). For apheresis, note further the person-
al names Pāqan-Arbaiš < /Upāqa-ana-Arba'il/, 1tab-ši-GIS
(TCL 957 r.17) < 1it-tab-ši-GIS (ADD App.1 xii 5) and 1di-ma-
tī-DINGIR (CCENA 1 i 45) 23 < /Adi-māti-ilī/.

Since all attestations of /likalka/ (Chart I 2-9) are preceded by
words ending in a vowel while the only example of /alik alka/ is
preceded by a consonant, it is possible that the two forms were
in complementary distribution. However, in the lack of more
examples of the latter this remains uncertain, and the analogy of
other comparable phrases rather suggests that they were free
variants whose distribution was conditioned by prosodic and sty-
lptic factors. /likalka/ may have been on the way to replace
/alik alka/ completely, but this possibility too must be left
open for the present.

One important question remains: Why was the imperative singular
/alik/ "go!", which occasionally also functioned as an interject-
ion, consistently prefixed to the (non-ventive) plural form? Could
it have been an interjection there too and thus largely
redundant? Hardly. It will be noted (Chart I B) that it is equal-
ly consistently missing in the ventive imperative plural. Why?

The answer is that while /alik/ was not needed in the latter
case, it was badly needed in the former, since the loss of mi-
nation and the shortening of unstressed final vowels had made the
non-ventive imp. pl. "go!" (originally /alkā/) homophonous with
the ventive imp. sg. "come!" (originally /alkam/). It is certainly
not accidental that /alik/ is never found prefixed to the
latter form. The non-ventive and ventive imperatives, while
diametrically opposed in meaning, were both so frequently used
that they could certainly be occasionally confused as long as
they remained fully homophonous. This possibility was eliminated
by prefixing to the non-ventive form the singular /alik/, which
under no circumstances could be mistaken for a ventive form. The
procedure is analogous to the use of /ana/ as nota accusativi in certain Neo-Assyrian verbal constructions involving a potential confusion between the subject and object.29 Thus, the paradigm of the imperative G of alâku in Neo-Assyrian can now be presented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-ventive (&quot;go!&quot;)</th>
<th>Ventive (&quot;come!&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. alik</td>
<td>alka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. likalka</td>
<td>alkânî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(alik alka)

Looking at the paradigm, it might be said that the elimination of one oddity (litanka) has just resulted in the creation of another one (likalka). Maybe so, but the new oddity, unlike the old one, does not present any grammatical problems but instead helps one understand better the intricacies of the grammatical system of Neo-Assyrian.

2. ITTATAKKU

The meaning "to be watchful, alert" assigned to the lemma etêku in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (Vol.E [1958] 380) works well in the majority of the (thirteen) references cited there, but in four cases, treated under mng.1b-c. (i–ta–at-ku ABL 138:11 and 342:9, ni–ti–ik ABL 971 r.1; i–ta–ta–ka ABL 410 r.14), it presents difficulties. This fact is reflected in the entry etêku in von Soden's Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (p.260a [1961]), which as far as references are concerned is virtually identical with the CAD30 but defines the meaning of the lemma entirely differently ("etwa sich dranhalten, sich beilen"). Unfortunately, this modification, prompted by Arab. htk "schnell gehen" (cf. ibid.), only reverses the coin: it fits the troublesome three30 occurrences but not the other nine. Thus the original dilemma remains; until now, it has not been possible to propose a convincing translation fitting all the forms grouped under the lemma, which are still considered to be forms of the same verb.31 Despite their differences, the interpretations of the CAD and AHw. agree in one important respect: both make a clear semantic
distinction between the perfect and stative forms of the verb, and while widely differing in the interpretation of the former, they assign a similar meaning (CAD: "to be alert", AHw.: "auf dem Posten sein, bewachen") to the latter. The same distinction was made recently by F.M. Fales, who follows the CAD in the rendering of the stative forms but the AHw. in the rendering of the perfect forms.

Since the completion of the ētā/ēkū entries in the CAD and AHw., hundreds of new texts in Neo-Assyrian have been published, and it is now possible to reassess the problem posed by this lemma on a significantly improved material basis. The Nachträge to the AHw. (p. 1555a [1981]) already added three new references to the total of fourteen taken into consideration earlier; the present article adds 13 more, which brings the total number of presently known attestations of 'ētekū' up to 30, a more than 100% increase vis-à-vis 1961.

The evidence now at hand is summarized in the following chart. In accordance with the obvious semantic distinction between the perfect and stative forms (cf. just above), the forms compatible with the stative meaning are presented separately from the perfect forms denoting a different meaning. New attestations (i.e. ones not to be found in the dictionaries) are marked with a + sign.

Chart III. Attestations of 'ētekū'
A. Stative forms, and forms with 'stative' meaning

1. Gprs. Sg 3m e-ta-ka
2. e-te-ka ABL 1295:3
3. stat. Sg 1 et-ka-ka ABL 373 r.9, CT 53 77 L.E.4
4. 2m et-ka-ka ABL 312:6, +CT 53 77 L.E.3,
   +CT 53 886:4
5. 3m e-ti-ik ABL 1006 r.10, +LAS 35 r.12,
   279 r.12, RMA 103 r.3
6. pl 2m et-ka-ku-nu ABL 971:4
7. 3m et-ku +ABL 251 r.4, LAS 72 r.18
8. Uncert. (pl) e-ta-ka-a-ni LAS 181 r.13
9. e-ta-ka-ni +ABL 1451:434
B. Perfect forms

1. G pf. sg 3m i-ta-ta-ka ABL 410 r.14, NL 64:19
2. pl 3m i-ta-ta-ku +CT 53 163:4', +CT 53 460:10
3. it-ta-ta-ku +NL 92 r.12'
4. it-ta-tak-ku +CT 53 29:3'
5. it-ta-tak-[u] +CT 53 625 r.7'
6. i-ta-ta-ku-u-ni NL 60:7
7. i-ta-at-ku ABL 138:11, 342:9
8. i-ta-at-[u] +CT 53 335:7

Two things catch the eye in this chart. Firstly, the initial vowel in the G stative forms is consistently /e/, whereas it is consistently /i/ in the G perfect forms. This shows that the first radical of the verb in the former case is /'3-5/, but /'1-2/ in the latter;35 in other words, the chart actually contains forms of two different verbs, not one, as already suggested by the semantic difference between the stative and perfect forms. In the second place, the gemination of the perfect infix in B 3-5 is a morphological feature which, as far as verba I are concerned, only occurs in the verb alāku "to go".36

Externally, the forms listed under B quite closely resemble attested perfect forms of alāku, cf., e.g.

a-ta-la-ka GPA 180 r.6
i-ta-la-[a] ABL 1058:4
it-(ta)-la-ka ABL 251:19
ni-ta-la-ka ABL 1180:7
i-ta-al-ku-u-ni ABL 537 r.4, 556:4
[i]-ta-al-ku ABL 483:10
it-ta-al-[ku] CT 53 110:15
i-ta-al-ka ABL 87 r.9, CT 53 304:5.

Semantically, there is an even more striking correspondence between the two verbs. Cf. the following examples, where the contexts in which 'etāku B' occurs are matched with similar context
occurrences of alāku:

(1) "to go off to one's country"
ana mātīšunu i-ta-ta-ku CT 53 163:4' 
ana mātīni nittalak ABL 526 r.10f

(2) "to leave for one's duty"
ammiju ana maṣṣargitišu i-ta-ta-ka ABL 410 r.12-14
šū ana maṣṣargitišu lillik ABL 1227 + CT 53 923 r.5'f
ana GN ana maṣṣargitiša allak ABL 883 r.15-17
assuhur ana maṣṣargitiša attalak CT 53 5 r.15f
ina muhhi maṣṣargitišu i-ta-ta-ka NL 64:18f

(3) "to depart and leave"
šāb-šarrāni ... uttammišu it-ta-ta-ku NL 92 r.10f
issu libbi GN uttammišu ana GN ittalku ABL 441:5-8
harammaša unammasa ana GN ... allak ABL 883 r.15-17
annurig uttammiša illuku ABL 598:6f
annuri uttammiša illaka ABL 411 r.1-3

(4) "to go and fetch"
šarēšānija .. assapar .. i-ta-at-ku šābāni ussēridūni ABL 138:7ff
PN ... assapāra ... ittalka urdānišu ussērida ABL 251:11f

(5) "to go and see"
assapra i-ta-at-ku étamrušunu ABL 342:7-9
[a]ssap[ra i]ttalkū étamrušunu IBA 3866:11ff
ašappar illak šibšāte emmar ibattaqa ABL 1205:9
illak ina GN dullu emmar .. isahхurranni ABL 106 r.4ff
ittalak ālu étamar .. isahхuru ABL 1041 r.3'f
nillik nēmur ABL 251 r.9f
alik amuršunu LAS 142:9

(6) "to be brought out and go off"
ussēšiaššunu i-ta-ta-ku-u-ni NL 60:7
ussēššunu muk alik alka ABL 208 r.10f
lušēššu issīja lilliki ABL 312 r.10f
It can be seen that not only do all contexts in which 'etēku B' occurs find exact parallels in phrases involving alāku, but more importantly, some of these phrases are so common and so tightly linked with alāku that it is almost inconceivable that any other verb could occur in them. Note especially the hendiadys nammušu + alāku (above # 3) already encountered under the discussion of likalka (see Chart I A). It is of course theoretically possible that a verb very close to the semantic field of alāku (like "schnell gehen") might have a similar phrase distribution; but it is highly unlikely that the distribution would be identical, as in the present case. An etymological connection with Arab. htk (= '3tk) is in any case ruled out by the color of the prefix vowel which, as pointed out above, requires /'2/ as the first radical.38 Thus, phonological, morphological and semantic considerations alike imply that the forms identified as 'etēku B' in reality are nothing but hitherto unrecognized forms of alāku "to go". Since these forms by and large differ from regular forms of alāku only in having a /t/ in the place of the middle radical /l/ (above, p.12), they could prima facie be merely phonetic variants of regular G pf. forms, resulting from a regressive assimilation of the middle radical to the pf. infix -ta- (ittalku → ittatakku, ittalaka → ittatataka, etc.). However, such an interpretation appears abortive on closer analysis. Total consonant assimilation is otherwise attested in Neo-Assyrian only in contact position, never over an intervening vowel.39 Furthermore, the plural forms of 'etēku B' showing an anaptyctic /a/ inserted before the last radical (Chart III B 2-6) cannot be paralleled by similar pf. forms of alāku, as one would expect if only phonetic variants were concerned. And finally, the gemination of the last radical /k/ evidenced in Chart III B 4-5 is unparalleled in the hundreds of attested context forms of alāku. The last two points taken together imply that in the paradigm of 'etēku B' presented in Chart III, all plural forms at least have to be considered as having a geminated last radical (ittatakku, ittatakkuni), a feature not compatible with the morphology of the G stem of alāku in Neo-Assyrian.

The possibility that the 'etēku B' forms are just variants of
normal pf. forms of alāku must accordingly be rejected, but this by no means invalidates the conclusions reached above concerning the identity of the two verbs. In fact, the gemination of /k/ in the plural forms of 'etēku B' provides a key to its correct interpretation. Supposing that the gemination results from consonant assimilation in contact position, these forms could derive from original *ittatakū, i.e. pf. pl. of alāku with an infixed -ta- after the tense marker. In other words, they could be interpreted as perfect forms of alāku Gt, a verbal stem which supposedly should not exist in Neo-Assyrian.40 While the presumed assimilation *lk > kk remains otherwise unattested (though not improbable) in Neo-Assyrian, the standard meaning of alāku Gt ("to go away, leave") would fit well the contexts in which 'etēku B' occurs (see above). This fact, in conjunction with the arguments adduced earlier, necessitates a reconsideration of the whole issue concerning the existence of a Gt stem in Neo-Assyrian. Is it really so out of the question as currently maintained?
The answer is, it is not. Until recently, the only piece of evidence in favor of this stem in Neo-Assyrian was the obscure li-it-ta-AT-LAK in ABL 168 r.25,43 and this had been effectively ruled out of consideration by K. Deller, Or 34 (1965) 272, who pointed out that the form (if correctly copied) could equally be read li-it-ta-at-rid.44 With the publication of CT 53 (1979), however, new evidence relating to the problem has become available which not only conclusively settles the 'Gt issue' but also shows that the correct reading in ABL 168 r.25 indeed is li-it-ta-at-lak. The crucial evidence is contained in the following two passages:

(1) ittuši it-ta-at-lak "he went out and left"
ABL 198 + CT 53 120 + 438 r.1045

(2) [issu pān]šu it-ta-at-lak [ina birti ã]tarab "he left his [presence and] entered [the fort]"
CT 53 92 r.4

The form it-ta-at-lak occurring here is the regular Gt perfect (Sg 3m) of alāku.46 The reading of the last sign as -lak (and not, e.g., -rid) is in both cases assured by the context. Moreover, it is important to note that both cases can be easily paralleled by several cases of alāku occurring in hendiadys with
the two other verbs figuring in the above examples. For (1) ugû + alâku "to go out and leave" cf.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{attûgi} & \text{at-ta-lak} & \text{CT 53 94 r.7} \\
\text{ittûgi} & \text{i-tal-lak} & \text{ABL 444 r.2, 492:7} \\
\text{ittuûgi} & \ldots \text{it-ta-[lak]} & \text{CT 53 56 r.5} \\
\text{ittûûnî} & \text{it-tal-ku-u-ni} & \text{ABL 138:17, CT 53 83 r.1};
\end{array}
\]

for (2) alâku + erãbu "to go and enter" cf., e.g.,

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{[li]-lik-u-ni} & \text{[ina bûrti]} & \text{lêrubû} \\
\text{lil-li-ka} & \text{ina GN} & \text{lêrub} \\
\text{il-lak} & \text{ina bêtîšu} & \text{errab} \\
\text{it-tal-ku-u-ni} & \text{bêt PN} & \ldots \text{êtarabû} \\
\text{it-ta-lak} & \text{êtarba} & \text{ABL 198:28 and 32};
\end{array}
\]

The relation between it-ta-at-lak (< *ittatatalak) and alâku G is thus the same as that holding between it-ta-ta-ku (+ other forms of 'etëku B') and alâku G (cf. p.13). It may also be noted that all attested forms of 'etëku B' are plural or ventive (cf. p.18) ones, while it-ta-at-lak is a non-ventive singular form. The two sets of forms thus are in complementary distribution, and the hypothesis that ittataku goes back to original *ittatalku (< *ittatalaku) can be considered as good as proven.

Returning to the precative form li-it-ta-at-lak in ABL 168 r.25, the two attestations of it-ta-at-lak of course now provide a very strong case for reading the last sign as -lak, but this reading could in fact have been established already long ago on evidence that has been available since the turn of the century. The context in ABL 168 r.25 reads:

\[
[\text{ŠEŠ.MEŠ]-šu} \text{ li-ik-mi-si} \text{ li-it-ta-at-lak} \text{"let him collect his [brothers] and go."
}\]

This can be matched with

\[
\text{ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ni [ni]-ik-me-si ni-il-lik} \text{"let us collect our brothers and go"};
\]

ABL 506 r.5f.

The verb kamása "to collect" occurring in these two examples is a loan word from Babylonian, not attested in the said meaning in any other Neo-Assyrian text. This fact, when considered together with the parallelism of the two constructions and the analogy of the alâku G/Gt parallelism documented above, puts the interpretation of li-it-ta-at-lak as a precative form of alâku beyond doubt. Moreover, in the light of the evidence discussed above, it must represent the Neo-Assyrian (3rd sg.) Gt precative of alâku,
corresponding to the Gt prec. /littalak/ of the other dialects of Akkadian.\footnote{47}

At first sight, the extra -\textit{t-} in /littatlak/ seems to present a problem. However, on second thoughts it turns out to be obligatory within the grammatical system of Neo-Assyrian. It will be remembered that the Dt precative in Neo-Assyrian is also formed with an extra infixed -\textit{t-}\.\footnote{48} This extra -\textit{t-} infix is also regularly found in the Dt present,\footnote{49} and is the reason why the Dt stem in Neo-Assyrian is nowadays referred to as the Dtt stem.\footnote{50} It is, however, never found in the perfect forms of this stem,\footnote{51} presumably because a sequence of three -\textit{t-} infices was considered too cumbersome.\footnote{52} The morphology of the Dtt stem thus provides an exact parallel to the emerging Neo-Assyrian paradigm of al\textit{aku} Gt, which can now be reconstructed as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{Sg 3m} & & \text{Pl 3m} \\
\text{Prs.} & *\text{ittatallak} & *\text{ittatalluku} \\
\text{Pf.} & \text{ittatlk} & \text{ittatakku} (< *\text{ittatalku}) \\
\text{Prec.} & \text{littatlk} & *\text{littatakku}
\end{align*}

On the analogy of the Dtt stem, these forms should actually be identified not as Gt but as Gtt stem forms, with the understanding that the new 'stem' (like the Dtt stem) largely consists of 'regular' Gt forms. The analogy of the Dtt stem also provides an explanation for the syncopated pf. form /ittaku/ attested beside /ittatakku/ (see Chart III B 7-8), for similar syncopated plural forms are also attested for the Dtt perfect (and present).\footnote{53} The syncope there affects the geminated radical and the vowel preceding it, and is thus exactly analogous to the syncope occurring in /ittaku/:

\begin{align*}
\text{Dtt} & \text{ ugdatammiru} & \text{ugdatmiru} \\
\text{Gtt} & \text{ittatakku} & \text{ittaku}
\end{align*}

In both cases, the syncope implies a forward shift of stress from its normal position (on the syncopated syllable) to the following syllable. Such a shift of stress, occurring in sustained juncture, is a well-attested phonological feature of Neo-Assyrian,
even though the relevant evidence is too complex to be discussed here.\(^54\)
The pf. singular *i-ta-ta-ka* (< *ittatalka*) and the plural *i-ta-ta-ku-u-ni* (< *ittatalkùni*) (Chart III B 1 and 6) must be interpreted as Gtt ventive forms comparable to Old Assyrian Gt ventive (prs.) /ittallakam/ "he will depart for there" and /ittallukù-nim/ "they are coming back here".\(^55\)

3. CONCLUSION

The two main points of this study are briefly recapitulated:

1. The 'canonized curiosum' *litanka* must be read *likalka* and interpreted as the imp. pl. of *alâku* G; and
2. The examples cited under 'etâ/âku' in the CAD and AHw. must be split in two and assigned to two entirely different verbs: to *etâku* proper (*i-3-et\_tk*), meaning "to be watchful, alert",\(^56\) and to *alâku* Gtt, meaning "to go away, leave".

Both of these findings, while interesting in their novelty, are in themselves of limited significance. They gain in importance, however, when considered within a broader context, the grammatical system of Neo-Assyrian as a whole. For one thing, they focus attention on several little known but important phonological and morphological features of this dialect: stress-related vowel shortening, apheresis, syncope, sandhi, and crasis; pitch-related shift of stress; lexically restricted consonant assimilation; the Gtt stem; and the role of lexical marking as a means to avoid morphological ambiguity. Secondly — and this is even more important — they stress the fact that Neo-Assyrian, like all natural languages, exhibits a great deal of semantically (but not necessarily stylistically) redundant variation both on the graphemic (*i-ta-ta-ku - it-ta-ta-ku - it-ta-tak-ku*), phonological (*likalka - lik alka - alik alka*), morphological (*ittattaku - ittatku*) and lexical level (*alâku* G - *alâku* Gtt). Thirdly, the co-existence of sg. and pl. forms like *alik : likalka* and *ittatla : ittatakkku* is a healthy remainder of the fact that Neo-Assyrian morphological paradigms do not always neatly conform with those of the other Akkadian dialects but occasionally involve surprising innovations.\(^57\)
An essential point is that all the various linguistic phenomena touched upon in this article are explicitly and unambiguously reflected in the script. It has regrettably often been contended that the Neo-Assyrian writing system involves certain idiosyncrasies ("inverse spellings", etc.) which make it not entirely dependable but subject to 'correction' according to our current grammatical theories.\(^5\) The advocates of this thesis overlook the extent of non-orthographic linguistic variation evidenced in the texts, as well as the fact that the forms in 'aberrant orthography' do not occur at random but make up a coherent system. 'Correcting' all such forms would in practice mean throwing overboard thousands of potential linguistic variants, and thus deleting a great deal of linguistic information.\(^6\) The examples of likalka and ittatakku indicate that the grammatical system of Neo-Assyrian is not nearly well enough known at present to justify 'corrective' measures of such sweeping proportions, and imply that important grammatical discoveries are yet to be expected from a serious analysis of the countless 'ungrammatical' forms hitherto dismissed as mere orthographic variants of 'correct' paradigmatic forms.
NOTES

* Abbreviations used are those of W. von Soden, Akkadisches Hand- wörterbuch, with the following additions: NL = H.W.F. Saggs, The Nimrud Letters (Iraq 17, 21ff, etc., cited by text numbers); VTE = D.J. Wiseman, The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon (London 1958, cited by text lines).


2 See AHw. 33b sub alāku Gt; CAD A/1 (1964) 324a sub alāku 5f, also N/1 (1980) 222b.

3 See note 1.

4 Cf. ABL 87 r.14 (1892) and 598:6 (1902).

5 Cf. L. Waterman, RCA I (1930) p.58f ad ABL 87 r.14 (li-rib(?)-ka "let him enter for you") and p.421f ad ABL 598:6 (li-dan-ka "may it be favorable(?)"); cf. also ibid. III (1931) p.202, note on ABL 598:6 ("lidanka: for lidamkā").


7 "Zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Neuassyrischen", AfO 18 121f. (with reference to a posthumous note on the matter by B. Meissner).

8 "Nach Muster dieser Pluralform Gt litankā mit dem merkwürdigen eingeschobenen n sollte man neuassyrisch einen Imp. G lik wie im Ugaritischen erwarten. Ich habe aber eine solche Form bisher nicht finden können. In ABL 251, 11.18.25 findet sich die normale form a-lik." (ibid.)

9 Gr. 34 (1965) 271f.


11 Note the formulation in AfO 18 121: "Imperativerform ... nach dem Muster der Verben I w ... gebildet". The infixation of -tan- after the second radical would indeed be imaginable only if the first radical was regularly dropped in the G imperative, as is the case in /din/ "give!" (from TDN) or /bila/
"bring!" (from WBL). However, it should be noted that even in the Gt and Gtn imperatives of WBL, the infix is inserted before the second radical (tabal, itabbal).

12 See ABL 128:9, 158 r.7, 167 r.1, 243:10, 251:11.18.25, 306:18, 307 r.16, 312:8, 814:6, 1133 r.7, 1149:4' r.11', 1315:11, 1453:8, LAS 142:9, GPA 240:9, K 3438+ r.14 // K 10209 r.8' (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 10/2, T 83 and 88), K 3458 r.6.10. The spelling is in all cases a-lik.

13 The Gtn stem of šapāru means "to send many (times/persons/messages)", cf. ABL 563 r.8, 996:5, CT 53 2:9, 61:15, 213:2, 351 r.3, 397:3, NL 1:22 and 86:10, and note the interesting roundabout expression ma'da (ana imitti ana šumēli) išappurū (ABL 635:11', cf. also 304 r.1-3) corresponding to (ana imitti ana šumēli) nissatappar in ABL 996:5. ša'ālu Gtn means "to make inquiries" (cf. ABL 144 r.1.6 and ABL 1224); for šamū Gtn "to keep hearing, to be attentive, to hear and obey", see Parpola, AOAT 5/2 (1983) p.145 on LAS 158:6 (additional attestations are ABL 121 r.16 and 123 r.2); for salû "to tell lies" see ibid. 70 on LAS 65 r.14. In ABL 1042, the Gtn form is-sa-na-kan "he keeps putting" (Obv.12') is immediately preceded by ka-a-a-ma-nu e-kal "he continuously eats" (ibid. 11'). In ABL 830:9, e-ta-na-bir refers to repeated crossing of a river in the process of bringing troops to the other side. Note finally issēn an[a šanje] ih-ta-na-li-[qu] "they keep disappearing, one after another", ABL 1287:13'.

14 Cf. LAS 38 r.8 ("wander" = "live"); VTE 424 ("walk about"); see Deller, Or. 34 271; ABL 243 r.8 ("go about"); the precise meaning of the verb in LAS 214 r.8 cannot be determined with certainty owing to the fragmentariness of the context. Note also GPA 242:5, ma'ad ... illaka "he often comes", possibly a roundabout expression for alāku Gtn (cf. n.13).

15 Cf. GAG § 14a; S. Ylvisaker, LSS 5/6 (1912) § 11. The few examples cited ibid. can be easily multiplied: andurāru > durāru, alahhinu > lakahhinu, alappānu > lappānu, egirrū > gīrrū, ikkilīlu > kilīlu (for references see the dictionaries); further the toponyms Araši > Raši, Izibia > Zibis, Up(p)ūmu > Pūmu (see AOAT 6 s. vv.); anēnu > né-e-nu ABL 216 r.7 and ni-nu ADD 83 r.9; ašarittu > šā-ri-su AKA 232 r.21; ašappu >
ANŠE gap-pu ABL 325:13; ezizzu > zi-zi ZA 45 44:35 and zi-zi KAR 178 r. vi 15; usukku > sukkú in the PN Usukkai, see Post-gate, FNAD p.142; and Inurta > Nurta in the PN 1nu-ur-ti-i = 1.dMAS-ti-i, ND 2309:1.4 (Iraq 16 pl.7).

16 The text here reads ma-a lik al-ka (collated), and hence could theoretically also be rendered (and actually has always been rendered) ma a-lik al-ka. However, the latter reading is out of the question since the particle /mā/ is in this letter otherwise consistently spelled <ma-a> (cf. Obv.11.19.20.21.24.25.26bis.27.29.30.31.33.35, Rev.1.2.3.4.7.9.12.13), even when followed by <a> (ma-a a-se-me r.2, ma-a a-ta-a r.13).

17 For the <a-na> - <ina> - /in/ alternation in this phrase (and the following ones) see Parpola, AOAT 5/2 (1983) 145f., note on LAS 158:6. For the semantic development of the expression (lit. "to the breast" > "towards", "considering (that)"), cf. e.g. German "gegenüber", "angesichts".

18 See AOAT 5/2 p.139.

19 ABL 139 r.3, 726:6; CT 53 2:13, 629:4'; LAS 299 r.1, 312 r.22.

20 Cf. OA i-na-me-tim (TC 3 17:35) beside i-na a-me-tim (ib. 37) (Hecker, GKT § 20a).

21 Cf. ABL 1193:12f nu-uk 100 LÜ.ERIM.[MEŠ ...] i-gal-ka with ABL 1432:17 nu-uk LÜ.ERIM.[MEŠ i-ga al-ka. Cf. further ABL 167 r.2 and the references cited in Chart I B.

22 1pa-qa-ana- URU arba-li, ND 2094:11 (Iraq 16 pl.5); 1pa-qa-an- URU arba-li, Iraq 32 136 no.4:17; 1pa-qa-a-na- arba-li, ADD 327:9 (= pqn'rb'1, Aram. docket ibid.)


24 Note the co-occurrence of a-na ší-a-ri, šī-ši-a-ri and ina ši-a-ri in two letters by the same scribe (LAS 163 r.1 and 176:8 and 11). It seems likely that the full forms were considered more correct, the shortened ones more colloquial.

25 The earliest attestations of /likalka/ date from ca. 735 and 730 B.C. (NL 15 and 10), the latest from 694 B.C. (Iraq 32 132). The two letters in which /alik alka/ and /lik alka/ occur (ABL 208 and 198+) both date from the reign of Sargon, ca. 715 B.C.

26 See CAD A/1 303b.
likalka ittatakku

27 See provisionally my remarks in Iraq 34 (1972) 24.
28 Cf. ABL 129 r.18, 167 r.2, 242:6, 479 r.1, 486:11, 503 r.13, 842 r.3, 1432:17; CT 53 29:8, 37 r.5, 55:9, 245 r.7, 335 r.2, and 750:2.
29 To take an example, the verb du₃ku "to kill" is often construed with a direct object in the nom./acc. case, cf. e.g. ABL 251 r.4f (mi-mi-ni ..., la i-du-ku), 463 r.6.ff (LÜ ARAD. MEŠ-ni ... i-du-ka), 1224 r6' (LÜ i-du-ku), and passim with object suffixes. However, in ABL 251:4f, 1008 r.7f and 1263:10f, the object is preceded by the nota accusativi /ana/. The reason for this is obvious. In the latter cases, the subject and object are both in the same person and number, and thus potentially confusable; where they however disagreed in number or person, as in the above examples, no confusion was possible and accordingly no explicit marking of the object necessary. Correspondingly, in NL 88:8, PN₁ PN₂ a-na PN₃ lu-ša₃-ki-lu "let PN₁ and PN₂ feed PN₃", /ana/ is needed to determine which of the three PNN is the object, since both OSV and SOV were theoretically acceptable word orders. The need for a lexical accusative marker of course arose from the disappearance of a special accusative case marker after the Middle Assyrian period, and thus became actual at the same time as the differentiation between the ventive Imp. Sg. and non-ventive Imp. Pl. of al₃ku. It may be added that the use of /ana/ as a nota accusativi was not limited to cases were it was strictly necessary; thus it regularly marks the direct object of the verbs šamû "to listen to" and ša₃'alu "to question", and evidently was on the way to become the standard accusative marker in Neo-Assyrian.
30 Of the four references cited under mng.1b-c in the CAD, ni₃-ti-ik (ABL 971 r.3) has been rightly excluded as a form of šē₃qu; in compensation, the entry contains two new references (from Nimrud letters) not yet found in the CAD.
31 Cf. the recent discussion in Fales, Cento lettere neo-assire (Rome 1983), p.73f.
33 The inclusion of this form here is tentative only; judging from ABL 1295:3', where the meaning "to alert" (cf. n.56)
fis the context, the present tense vowel should be /a/ not /i/. I do not fully understand the context in ABL 312 r.12.

34 Cf. AOAT 5/2 p.173, note on LAS 181 r.13.

35 GAG § 97b-c and o. It is true that contrary to the general rule, spellings with initial <i> are occasionally attested in Neo-Assyrian for verba primae /*3-5/ (cf. e.g. i-te-et-qi ABL 1273 r.4, i-pu-šu-u-ni CT 53 374 r.9 and LAS 35 r.11, i-pa-aš-ni ABL 367 r.9; for more examples see AOAT 5/2 p.48, note on LAS 39 r.5), and conversely one occasionally finds initial /i/- rendered as <e> (e.g., e-da-na-kan-ni /iddanakkanni/ NL 23:5, e-za-qu-pa-ni /izaqqupanni/ ADD 34:9:19, e-zi-ra /izira/ FNAD 14:49; more examples in AOAT 5/2 loc.cit.). However, such spellings are truly exceptional (when compared with literally thousands of spellings conforming to the rule), and can under no circumstances affect the interpretation of the verbal forms in Chart III.

36 GAG § 97n. G-stem forms spelled with an initial <i> are attested in Neo-Assyrian for the verbs 'LK, MHR, MHS, MQT, NKR, NSR, NS', NWH, TB', TBK, TBL, TWR, TDN, WRD, WSJ, WSB, and *ZIZ (uzuzzu).

37 In addition to the passages already compared, x[... ] šu-nu it-ta-tak-k[u] (CT 53 625 r.7') could be matched with šu-nu it-tal-ku [... ] (ABL 731 r.8'). In this case, however, the relevant contexts are not sufficiently well preserved to make the comparison meaningful. In CT 53 29:2', 335:7 and 460:10 (Chart III B 2, 4 and 8) the context is even more fragmentary.

38 See p.12 with notes 35 and 36.

39 Examples of total consonant assimilation in contact position include a) regressively:

l+š --> šš: gi-iš-ši-ia ABRT I 27 r.9, i-ša-šu-me NL 74:5
l+z --> zz: KUR_bar-ha-zi ND 2386+ i1 19' (TCAE p.372)
R+d --> dd: ma-di-tu ABL 515 r.4
R+t --> tt: KUR_zi-ki-ti-a ibid.15, tak-pi-t[ū] CT 53 146 r.5
R+p --> pp: za-pat ADD 308 r.10
T+q --> qq: ib-ta-qa, ib-ta-qu ADD 1252:16.18, and often
M+q --> qq: i[t]a-qut LAS 53 r.12
M+h --> hh: passim in prt. forms of mahāru and mahāgu
M+t --> tt: tak-li-ta-šu-nu LAS 280:14, ni-ta-ta-ah LAS 294
ltkalka ittatakku

r.15, and passim in pf. forms of mahāru and maqātu

\[
\begin{align*}
m^+ & \rightarrow '': \text{is-sa-ú} & \text{LAS 125:14} \\
m^+s & \rightarrow \text{šš: ú-šá-su-u} & \text{ABL 241:8} \\
'\text{š} & \rightarrow \text{l.l: ñ-sa-al-šu} & \text{ABL 645:7'} \\
b) & & \\
1^+ & \rightarrow \text{l.l: bal-lat-u-ni} & \text{ADD 76:5} \\
b^+ & \rightarrow \text{bb: gab-bi} & \text{ABL 1407:8} \\
\text{bb}^+ & \rightarrow \text{bb: } \text{it-ta-ab-bu} & \text{ABL 610:15, is-sab-bu LAS 121 r.1} \\
\text{dd}^+ & \rightarrow \text{dd: id-dib-u-ni} & \text{LAS 19 r.18', cf. 4nr^2 61 i 6' etc} \\
\text{šš}^+ & \rightarrow \text{šš: ma-gu} & \text{LAS 204 r.5} \\
\text{šš}^+ & \rightarrow \text{šš: liš-šá-al-šu} & \text{ABL 493 r.19, and passim in pf. pl. and ventive forms of našū (it-ta-gu, etc.), see Assur 1/1 (1974) 1ff.}
\end{align*}
\]

40 Cf. Deller, Or 34 (1965) 271: "Rez. ist der Auffassung, dass das nA keine Stammformen mit einfachen ta-Infiz (Gt, Df, Sh, Nt) bildet. Es gibt nur von Gt-Stämmen abgeleitete Nomina (wie tažau, ana mithar), einen Dtt-Stamm und Stammformen mit -tan-Infiz." Thus also Parpola, AOAT 5/2 (1983), pp.48 and 59, who refers to the fact that the reflexive meaning of the Gt stem is in Neo-Assyrian partly covered by the N stem, partly expressed by means of the reflexive pronoun raman (+ Suff).

41 See n.39. It may be observed that in virtually all cases the totally assimilating consonant is, as in the present case, a liquid or a nasal, and that the assimilation mostly occurs in G Pf. 3rd person Pl. forms, again as in the present case. Furthermore, the fact that a given assimilation, while virtually unattested elsewhere, is a regular feature in the paradigms of certain verbs (batāqu, mahāru, mahāgu, maqātu, našū etc.) implies that it is a matter of morphophonemics, and as such not liable to occur outside a few verbal forms (such as ittatakku).

42 Cf. CAD A/1 322ff. and the examples cited ibid. Note that the function of the -ta- infix here is not reflexive (cf. n.40) but separative.

43 Cf. von Soden, Or 19 (1950) 396.

44 "Doch auch die Richtigkeit der Kopie vorausgesetzt, kann li-it-ta-AD.ŠID nicht von alâku gebildet werden. Ist eigentlich die Lesung li-it-ta-ay-rid (Ntn *ṣrd) ganz ausgeschlossen?
26 Simo Parpola

"3rd N scheint doch na (W. von Soden, ZA 51, 134:29 und ebd. 146 z. St.) belegt zu sein."

45 Joins by Deller (1980).

46 Attested in the spelling it-ta-at-la-ak in OB Mari and MB (for references see AHW. 33a and Aro, Stör 22 p.10). alāku Gt is also attested in Middle Assyrian, but judging from W. Mayer, AOATS 2 (1971) § 82.1, so far only in Prs. and Prt.


48 Cf. lu-uk-ta-ti-ni ABL 410:10, lu-un-ta-ta-zi-qu ABL 1205 r.5.

49 Cf. ug-da-dam-[mar] CT 53 133:7, ug-da-ad-am-mar LAS 69 r.10', ug-da-da-mar-u-[ni] ABL 100 r.13, ug-da-ta-mu-[ru] ABL 1235 r.2; uk-ta-ta-la LAS 290 r.12 and 17; uk-ta-šar VAB 7 48 v 76; ú-sa-at-a-lam ADD 87:9 and 88:12; [tu-up]ta-tar-ša-am LAS 129 r.23, up-ta-tar-šu-mu ABL 113 r.16; un-ta-at-ar-ru-qu ABRT I 26 r.10; ut-ta-ta-šu-mu LAS 281 r.4; up-ta-at-hu-ru ABL 408 r.28. For ú-ta-da-ar (LAS 143 r.6) see AOAT 5/2 130 a.1.

50 See GAG § 93e.


53 See notes 49 and 51.

54 I shall deal with the matter in detail in a forthcoming article on anapytixis, paragogue and intonation contours in Neo-Assyrian.

55 CCT 2 23:38 and TCL 20 79:37, renderings as in CAD A/1 322b.

56 The assigned meaning follows the CAD and is based on the G stative forms. It remains uncertain whether the G stem is basically transitive or intransitive. The context in ABL 1295:3' (the only reasonably certain attestation of the verb in G Prs.) favors the former alternative: "[... who] came is alerting the country; he has taken the governor[s] with him to Turushpa..." The two D Prs. forms with transitive meaning (CT 53 19:12 and NL 63 r.9) are not against this interpretation since the verb in these cases has a plural (or collective: kalli in NL 63) object.
likalka ittatakku

57 Cf. the paradigms of abutu "word" (pl. dibbi), ušābu "to sit" (stative kammus), and našu "to take", (ventive) "to bring" (ittagu etc.), in the meaning "to raise, lift" replaced by matāhu.

58 Cf. A. Poebel, AS 9 (1939) 61f; I. J. Gelb, BiOr 12 (1955) 97 and Or 39 (1970) on 'vowel-indifferent CVC values'; K. Deller, Or 31 (1962) 7ff on 'CVCV values', and ibid. 194ff on various types of 'inverse spelling' (CV for VC; VC for CV; CVC for CCV, etc). The influence exerted by these articles on present views regarding the NA writing system may be gauged from the recent discussion by Fales in his Cento lettere (n.10), p.19f.

59 A case in point is the form i-ta-ta-ku /ittatakku/, which on the principle of 'inverse spelling' and the analogy of the (syncopated) form i-ta-at-ku would have had to be 'emended' into /ētātkū/. This 'correction' would have deleted two basic morphological features of the form and effectively precluded its identification as a form of alāku Gtt.