LIKALKA ITTATAKKU

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

BY

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LIKALKA ITTATAKKU: TWO NOTES ON THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB ALĀKU
IN NEO-ASSYRIAN*

To the memory of Jussi Aro

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 con-
text 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 alāku "to go".[1] This form is actually
quite rare (only seven attestations so far) but, like all curio-
sities, comparatively well known. Apart from in the grammars, any
student of Akkadian will find it dutifully noted in the basic
dictionaries[2] and in the grammar section of R. Borger's Babylo-
nisch-assyrische Lesestücke ([2]1979).[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

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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,[4] its existence was not re-
cognized for a long time since the relevant passages were not un-
derstood correctly.[5] 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".[6]

The reading li-tan-ka was introduced in 1957 by von Soden,[7] who
observed that since the form twice follows the imperative of
nammušu "to set out" and is once immediately followed by 3rd
persol 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 ver-
schwunden ist". He compared the posited two-radical imperative
/lik/ to "hebr. lēk und ugar. lk, 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.[8] He
could also find no explanation for the "merkwürdige" -n- inserted
after the Gt-infix -ta-.

Eight years later K. Deller pointed out[9] 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] bis-
weilen recht abgeschwächt ist" (ibid. 272f).

With this adjustment, the 'litanka theory' has remained uncontes-
ted for almost twenty years and seems to have been generally
approved even by specialists in Neo-Assyrian.[10] 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,[11] but unquestionably /alik/.[12]
Secondly, the contention that the -tan- infix would occasionally
have lost its basic function in Neo-Assyrian does not bear closer
study.[13] All Neo-Assyrian attestations of alāku Gtn easily fall
within the standard semantic range of this verbal form ("to
go/wander/rove about").[14] 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 consistent-
ly 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 /(a)lik alkā/
"go!" (pl.), i.e. the regular imperative plural of alāku G pre-
ceded by the imperative singular of the same verb with an elided
initial vowel. These two imperatives together form the Neo-Assyr-
ian 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 trans-
lations.

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 /alkā/ does not occur.
Examples 1 (a-lik al-ka) and 2 (lik al-ka) show that the singu-
lar 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 spel-
ling (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.[15] 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. ussēṣišunu   muk a-lik al-ka iāmuttu ina muhhi eqli
2. mā emūqēkunu .. ṣabtā   mā   lik al-ka[16] pāhāte .. ṣabbitā
3. iqṭibūniššunu   mā ana GN .. li-kal-ka mā lā immagūr
4. mā .. iqṭib[annāši] mā ana GN li-kal-ka mā nillak
5. ana rabiūte iqṭibi mā nammišū li-kal-ka annurig uttammišū illukū
   cf.   nammiš alik   (K 3458 r.6.10)
                         lunammiš lill[ik] (ABL 1328:10)
6. mā šallutu ..   nammišā li-kal-ka PN issēniš .. illakâ
7.   [mā] puhrā li-kal-ka še'u .. [issu] GN ushā
8. ša .. ṭēmu iškunnāš[īni mā .. l]i-kal-ka issu GN nissuhra
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 As-
    syria, 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 Arame]ans 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

10.   ina muhhīšunu assapra nuk al-ka-a-ni issēkunu ladbub
11.   ina muhhīšunu assapar nuk al-ka-a-ni lāšurkunu
12. pāhāte ... şabbitā ina muhhīja işā al-ka-a-ni
13.   maddatt]akunu işā al-k[a-a-ni]
14.   issenni iddubbū mā [al]-ka-a-ni
15.   mā is[si emūqēkunu mā a]l-ka-a-ni
16.   attunu [pahhirā a]l-ka-a-ni
17. ekallāti(?) iraggam[ā mā]   al-ka-ni ... [qa]bbirā
18.   dullakunu rammeā [e]tqā al-ka-ni
19.   mā hilqāni al-ka-ni
20.   ...] al-ka-ni [...

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"[17] and
the adverbial phrases /ana mala/ "completely" and /ana šalši ūmi/
"the day before yesterday":

Chart II. Phrases with sandhi and apheresis

A. ana irti

Full phrase:	a-na ir-ti/GABA(-)	ABL 243:9, 1315 r.4.5
	ina ir-ti/GABA(-)	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
Sandhi:	i-ni-ir-ti-šú-nu	ABL 596 r.2
	in_6-ni-ir-ti-iá	ABL 529:9.r3; (-ia) ibid. r.15
	in_6-ni-ir-ti-i-k[a]	ABL 529 r.8
	in_6-ni-ri-te	ABL 515 r.9
+ Apheresis:	ni-ri-it	ADD 646 r.26, 647 r.27, 734:5'

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 šalši ūmi

Full phrase:	a-na 3-ši UD-me	ABL 132 r.3
	ina šal-ši UD-me	ABL 709:12, LAS 129 r.5
Sandhi:	iš-šá-šú-me	ABL 605:7
	i-šá-šu-me	ABL 99 r.3, CT 53 456:9'; NL 74:5
	e-šá-šu-u-me	TCAE 361:30
+ Apheresis:	šá-šu-me	ABL 414 r.8

Other examples of sandhi (and crasis) in Neo-Assyrian are <u>kal-la-m/na-ri</u> "early morning" (CAD K 78) for /kal amāri/; <u>an-ni-ia-ši</u> "to me" (LAS 151 r.14') for /an ijāši/;[18] <u>a-da-kan-ni</u> "until now" (ABL 343 r.6, 1205:10) for <u>a-di/du</u> <u>a-kan-ni</u>;[19] <u>ina-me-te</u> "cubit" (ADD 1252:7 for /in ammiti/;[20] and <u>i-ṣal-ka</u> "bring and come!" (ABL 1193:14) for <u>i-ṣa al-ka</u>;[21] note also /(amma)r ūṭu/ > rūṭu "span" (AHw. 997b). For apheresis, note further the personal names <u>Pāqan-Arbail</u>[22] < /Upāqa-ana-Arba'il/, [1]<u>tab-ši-GIŠ</u> (TCL 9 57 r.17) < [1]<u>it-tab-ši-GIŠ</u> (ADD App.1 xii 5) and [1!]<u>di-ma-ti-DINGIR</u> (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 stylistic factors.[24] /likalka/ may have been on the way to replace /alik alka/ completely, but this possibility too must be left open for the present.[25]

One important question remains: Why was the imperative singular /alik/ "go!", which occasionally also functioned as an interjection,[26] 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 equally 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 mimation and the shortening of unstressed final vowels[27] 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.[28] 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 alāku in Neo-Assyrian
can now be presented as follows:

	Non-ventive ("go!")	Ventive ("come!")
sg.	alik	alka
pl.	likalka	alkāni
	(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 etēku
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 pre-
sents difficulties. This fact is reflected in the entry etāku in
von Soden's Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (p.260a [1961]), which as
far as references are concerned is virtually identical with the
CAD[30] but defines the meaning of the lemma entirely differently
("etwa sich dranhalten, sich beeilen"). Unfortunately, this modi-
fication, prompted by Arab. htk "schnell gehen" (cf. ibid.), only
reverses the coin: it fits the troublesome three[30] 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,[32] 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 etā/ēku 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 'etēku' 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.

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Chart III. Attestations of 'etēku'

A. Stative forms, and forms with 'stative' meaning

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1.	G prs.	Sg 3m	e-ta-ka	ABL 1295:3'
2.			e-te-ka	+ABL 312 r.12[33]
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 1451:4'[34]

10.	D prs.	sg 1	ú-ta-ak	CT 53 19:12
11.	prec.	sg 1	lu-ti-ki	+NL 63 r.9'
12.	stat.	pl 3m	ut-tu-ku	ABL 170 r.14

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-k[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-k[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 con-
cerned, 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-k[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 be-
tween the two verbs. Cf. the following examples, where the con-
texts in which 'etēku B' occurs are matched with similar context

occurrences of <u>alāku</u>:

         (1) "to go off to one's country"

ana <u>mātīšunu</u> i-ta-ta-ku		CT 53 163:4'
ana <u>mātīni</u> nittalak		ABL 526 r.10f

         (2) "to leave for one's duty"

<u>ammiju</u>	ana <u>maṣṣartišu</u> i-ta-ta-ka		ABL 410 r.12-14
<u>šû</u>	ana <u>maṣṣartišu</u> lillik		ABL 1227 + CT 53 923 r.5'f
ana GN	ana <u>maṣṣartija</u> allak		ABL 883 r.15-17
<u>assuhur</u> ana <u>maṣṣartija</u> attalak			CT 53 5 r.15f
<u>ina muhhi</u> <u>maṣṣartija</u> i-ta-ta-ka			NL 64:18f

         (3) "to depart and leave"

<u>ṣāb-šarrāni</u> ... <u>uttammišū</u>		it-ta-ta-ku	NL 92 r.10f
<u>issu libbi</u> GN <u>uttammišū</u> ana GN$_2$ ittalkū			ABL 441:5-8
<u>harammāma</u> <u>unammāša</u> ana GN ... allak			ABL 883 r.15-17
<u>annurig</u> <u>uttammišū</u>		illukū	ABL 598:6f
<u>annuri</u> <u>uttammiša</u>		illaka	ABL 411 r.1-3

         (4) "to go and fetch"

<u>šarēšānija</u> .. <u>assapar</u> .. i-ta-at-ku <u>ṣābāni</u> <u>ussēridūni</u>	ABL 138:7ff
PN ... <u>assapāra</u> ... ittalka <u>urdānīšu</u> <u>ussērida</u>	ABL 251:11f

         (5) "to go and see"

<u>assapra</u>	i-ta-at-ku	<u>ētamrūšunu</u>	ABL 342:7-9
[a]ssap[ra	i]ttalkū	ē[tamrū] <u>isahhurūni</u>	CT 53 866:11ff
<u>ašappar</u>	illak	<u>šibšāte</u> emmar <u>ibattaqa</u>	ABL 1205:9
	illak ina GN <u>dullu</u> emmar .. <u>isahhuranni</u>		ABL 106 r.4ff
	ittalak	<u>ālu</u> <u>ētamar</u> .. <u>issuhru</u>	ABL 1041 r.3'f
	nillik	<u>nēmur</u>	ABL 251 r.9f
	alik	<u>amuršunu</u>	LAS 142:9

         (6) "to be brought out and go off"

<u>ussēṣiaššunu</u> i-ta-ta-ku-u-ni	NL 60:7
<u>ussēṣīšunu</u> <u>muk</u> alik alka	ABL 208 r.10f
<u>lušēṣīšu</u> <u>issīja</u> lillīki	ABL 312 r.10f

It can be seen that not only do all[37] 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 dis-
cussion 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 identic-
al, as in the present case. An etymological connection with Arab.
htk (= '$_3$tk) 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
→ ittatku, ittalaka → ittataka, etc.). However, such an inter-
pretation appears abortive on closer analysis. Total consonant
assimilation is otherwise attested in Neo-Assyrian only in con-
tact position, never over an intervening vowel.[39] Furthermore,
the plural forms of 'etēku B' showing an anaptyptic /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 phonet-
ic 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 con-
sidered 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 'etāku 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 con-
sonant assimilation in contact position, these forms could derive
from original *ittatalkū, i.e. pf. pl. of alāku with an   infixed
-ta- after the tense marker. In other words, they could be inter-
preted as perfect forms of alāku Gt, a verbal stem which sup-
posedly should not exist in Neo-Assyrian.[40]

While the presumed assimilation *lk > kk remains otherwise unat-
tested (though not improbable)[41] in Neo-Assyrian, the standard
meaning of alāku Gt ("to go away, leave")[42] 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-aṭ-rid.[44] With the publication of CT 53 (1979),
however, new evidence relating to the problem has become avail-
able 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) ittūṣi   it-ta-at-lak "he went out and left"
                                 ABL 198 + CT 53 120 + 438 r.10[45]
(2) [issu pān]īšu it-ta-at-lak [ina bīrti ē]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) uṣû
+ alāku "to go out and leave" cf.

attūṣi	at-ta-lak	CT 53 94 r.7'
ittūṣi	i-tal-lak	ABL 444 r.2, 492:7
ittuṣṣi ...	it-ta-[lak]	CT 53 56 r.5
ittūṣūni	it-tal-ku-u-ni	ABL 138:17, CT 53 83 r.1;

for (2) alāku + erābu "to go and enter" cf., e.g.,

[li]l-lik-u-ni	[ina bīrti]	lērubū	CT 53 110 + 400:33
lil-li-ka	ina GN	lērub	ABL 222 r.10
il-lak	ina bētīšu	errab	NL 39 r.66
it-tal-ku-u-ni	bēt PN ...	ētarabū	ABL 564:8'
it-ta-lak		ētarba	ABL 198+:28 and 32.

The relation between it-ta-at-lak (< *ittatalak) and alāku G
is thus the same as that holding between it-ta-ta-ku (+ other
forms of 'etēku B') and alāku G (cf. p.13). It may also be noted
that all attested forms of 'etēku 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 ittatakku 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:
[ŠEŠ.MEŠ]-šu li-ik-mi-si li-it-ta-at-lak "let him collect his
[brothers] and go away." This can be matched with
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ni [ni]-ik-me-si ni-il-lik "let us collect our brothers
and go", ABL 506 r.5f.
The verb kamāsu "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 alāku G/Gt parallelism documented above, puts the interpret-
ation of li-it-ta-at-lak as a precative form of alāku beyond
doubt. Moreover, in the light of the evidence discussed above, it
must represent the Neo-Assyrian (3rd sg.) Gt precative of alāku,

corresponding to the Gt prec. /littalak/ of the other dialects of
Akkadian.[47]
At first sight, the extra -t- in /littatlak/ seems to present a
problem. However, on second thoughts it turns out to be obliga-
tory 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 -t-.[48] This extra -t- infix is also regu-
larly found in the Dt present,[49] and is the reason why the Dt
stem in Neo-Assyrian is nowadays referred to as the Dtt stem.[50]
It is, however, never found in the **perfect** forms of this stem,[51]
presumably because a sequence of three -t- infixes was considered
too cumbersome.[52] The morphology of the Dtt stem thus provides an
exact parallel to the emerging Neo-Assyrian paradigm of <u>alāku</u> Gt,
which can now be reconstructed as follows:

	Sg 3m	Pl 3m
Prs.	*ittatallak	*ittatalluku
Pf.	ittatlak	ittatakku (< *ittatalku)
Prec.	littatlak	*littatakku

On the analogy of the Dtt stem, these forms should actually be
identified not as Gt but as **Gtt stem** forms, with the understand-
ing 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 /ittatku/ attested beside
/ittatakku/ (see Chart III B 7-8), for similar syncopated plural
forms are also attested for the Dtt perfect (and present).[53] The
syncope there affects the geminated radical and the vowel preced-
ing it, and is thus exactly analogous to the syncope occurring in
/ittatku/:

Dtt	ugdatammiru	ugdatmiru
Gtt	ittatakku	ittatku

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 junct-
ure, 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 (< *ittatalkūni) (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 /ittallukū-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 alāku G; and

   (2) The examples cited under 'etē/āku' in the CAD and AHw. must be split in two and assigned to two entirely different verbs: to etāku proper ($'_{3-5}$tk), meaning "to be watchful, alert",[56] and to alāku 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 languagues, 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 (ittattakku ~ ittatku) and lexical level (alāku G ~ alāku Gtt). Thirdly, the co-existence of sg. and pl. forms like alik : likalka and ittatlak : ittatakku 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 unambiguosly 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.[58] 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.[59] 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).

1 "Der Imp. Gt lautet nA ganz unregelmässig litanka (von Soden,
  AfO 18, 121) mit Aphäresis des ' (vgl. he. lēk)", GAG (^{2}1969)
  p.20** ad 97n; "nA Imp. [Gt] litanka", A. Ungnad + L. Matouš,
  Grammatik des Akkadischen (^{5}1969), p.86; "Neuassyrisch ...
  Imper. Gtn litankā (Pl.)", R. Borger, BAL (^{2}1979), p.180.

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 lidamḳa").

6 Iraq 17 p.42, note on NL 10:4; cf. p.42 on NL 15:8.

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

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 nor-
  male form a-lik." (ibid.)

9 Or. 34 (1965) 271f.

10 Cf. J.N. Postgate, Iraq 32 (1970) 133; F.M. Fales, Cento let-
   tere neo-assire (Rome 1983), 65.

11 Note the formulation in AfO 18 121: "Imperativform ... 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 impera-
   tive, 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 šamû
Gtn "to keep hearing, to be attentive, to hear and obey", see
Parpola, AOAT 5/2 (1983) p.145 on LAS 158:6 (additional at-
testations 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 pre-
ceded 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 šanīe] ih-ta-na-li-[qu] "they keep
disappearing, one after another", ABL 1287:13'f.

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", pos-
sibly 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 > lahhinu, alappānu > lappānu, egirrû >
girrû, ikkillu > killu (for references see the dictionaries);
further the toponyms Arāši > Rāši, Izibia > Zibia, U(p)pūmu >
Pūmu (see AOAT 6 s.vv.); anēnu > né-e-nu ABL 216 r.7 and ni-nu
ADD 83 r.9; ašarittu > šá-ri-su AKA 232 r.21; aṣappu >

[^ANŠE]ṣap-pu ABL 325:13;   ezizzu > zi-zi ZA 45 44:35 and zi-zu
KAR 178 r. vi 15;   usukku > sukku in the PN Usukkai, see Post-
gate, FNAD p.142; and Inurta > Nurta in the PN [1]nu-ur-ti-i =
[1.d]MAŠ-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 LÚ.ERIM.[MEŠ ...] i-ṣal-ka   with
   ABL 1432:17   nu-uk   LÚ.ERIM.MEŠ   i-ṣa al-ka. Cf.
   further ABL 167 r.2 and the references cited in Chart I B.

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

23 See collation in ZA 64 (1974) 115.

24 Note the co-occurrence of a-na ši-a-ri, iš-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/ oc-
   cur (ABL 208 and 198+) both date from the reign of Sargon, ca.
   715 B.C.

26 See CAD A/1 303b.

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 duāku "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 (LÚ.ARAD. MEŠ-ni ... i-du-ka), 1224 r6' (LÚ 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, PN_1 PN_2 a-na PN_3 lu-šá-ki-lu "let PN_1 and PN_2 feed PN_3", /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 disappearence 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 alāku. 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 ša'ālu "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, ni-ti-ik (ABL 971 r.3) has been rightly excluded as a form of etēqu; 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.

32 Op.cit. pp.45, 47 and 73f.

33 The inclusion of this form here is tentative only; judging from ABL 1295:3', where the meaning "to alert" (cf. n.56)

fits 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 r4' and LAS 35 r.11, i-pa-
áš-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 349:19, e-zi-ra /izīra/
FNAD 14:49; more examples in AOAT 5/2 loc.cit.). However,
such spellings are truly exceptional (when compared with lite-
rally 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 <it> are at-
tested in Neo-Assyrian for the verbs 'LK, MHR, MḪṢ, MQT, NKR,
NṢR, NŠ', NWH, TB', TBK, TBL, TWR, TDN, WRD, WṢJ, WŠB, 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 rele-
vant 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: ᴷᵁᴿbar-ha-zi   ND 2386+ ii 19' (TCAE p.372)
r+d --> dd: ma-di-tu   ABL 515 r.4
r+t --> tt: ᴷᵁᴿzi-ki-ti-a   ibid.15, tak-pi-t[u] 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: l[u t]a-qut   LAS 53 r.12
m+h --> hh: passim in prt. forms of mahāru and mahāṣu
m+t --> tt: tak-li-ta-šú-nu LAS 280:14, ni-ta-ta-ah LAS 294

r.15, and passim in pf. forms of <u>mahāru</u> and <u>maqātu</u>

m+' --> '': <u>is-sa-ú</u>   LAS 125:14

m+ṣ --> ṣṣ: <u>ú-šá-ṣu-u</u>   ABL 241:8

'+l --> ll: <u>i-sa-al-lu</u>   ABL 645:7'

b) progressively:

l+ṭ --> ll: <u>bal-laṭ-u-ni</u>   ADD 76:5

b+r --> bb: <u>gab-bi</u>   ABL 1407:8

b+' --> bb: <u>it-ta-ab-bu</u>   ABL 610:15, <u>is-sab-bu</u> LAS 121 r.1

d+' --> dd: <u>id-dib-u-ni</u>   LAS 19 r.18', cf. 4R^2 61 i 6' etc

ṣ+' --> ṣṣ: <u>ma-ṣu</u>   LAS 204 r.5

š+' --> šš: <u>liš-šá-al-šú</u>   ABL 493 r.19, and passim in pf. pl. and ventive forms of <u>našû</u> (<u>it-ta-ṣu</u>, etc.), see Assur 1/1 (1974) 1ff.

40 Cf. Deller, Or 34 (1965) 271: "Rez. ist der Auffassung, dass das nA keine Stammformen mit einfachen ta-Infix (Gt, Dt, Št, Nt) bildet. Es gibt nur von Gt-Stämmen abgeleitete Nomina (wie <u>tahāzu</u>, <u>ana</u> <u>mithar</u>), einen Dtt-Stamm und Stammformen mit -<u>tan</u>-Infix." 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 <u>raman</u> (+ 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 (<u>batāqu</u>, <u>mahāru</u>, <u>mahāṣu</u>, <u>maqātu</u>, <u>našû</u> etc.) implies that it is a matter of morphophonemics, and as such not liable to occur outside a few verbal forms (such as <u>ittatakku</u>).

42 Cf. CAD A/1 322ff. and the examples cited ibid. Note that the function of the -<u>ta</u>- 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 <u>alāku</u> gebildet werden. Ist eigentlich die Lesung <u>li-it-ta-aṭ-rid</u> (Ntn *ṭrd) ganz ausgeschlossen?

*ṭrd 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, StOr 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.

47 Cf. (OA ventive) li-tal-kam, li-ta-la-ku-nim, (MB Bo., Ug.)
li-it-ta-lak, li-it-tal-ka (references in CAD A/1 322f).

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-ta-ṣar VAB 7 48 v
76; ú-sa-at-a-lam ADD 87:9 and 88:12; [tu-up]-ta-tar-šá-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-zu-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.

51 Cf. ug-da-ta-mir NL 17:23, ug-da-ta-me-ru MVAeG 41/3 62:4, ug-
da-dam-me-ru ibid.12, ug-da-at-me-ru ABL 330:9; up-ta-ta-ṣi-di
Iraq 4 186:16; us-sa-at-mi-nu LAS 121 r.2; uk-ta-at-ti-mu
ibid. r.3. On the last two forms see Deller, AOAT 1 (1969) 53.

52 Cf. Deller, loc.cit. and Parpola, AOAT 5/2 (1983) 130.

53 See notes 49 and 51.

54 I shall deal with the matter in detail in a forthcoming ar-
ticle on anaptyxis, 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 bas-
ically 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:
kalliu in NL 63) object.

57 Cf. the paradigms of <u>abutu</u> "word" (pl. dibbi), <u>ušābu</u> "to sit"
   (stative **kammus**), and <u>našû</u> "to take", (ventive) "to bring"
   (ittaṣu 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 <u>i-ta-ta-ku</u> /ittatakku/, which on
   the principle of 'inverse spelling' and the analogy of the
   (syncopated) form <u>i-ta-at-ku</u> would have had to be 'emended'
   into /ētatkū/. This 'correction' would have deleted two basic
   morphological features of the form and effectively precluded
   its identification as a form of <u>alāku</u> Gtt.