

RARA AVIS : A STUDY OF THE
HU SECTION OF THE Sa VOCABULARY
YORAM COHEN

IN:

YOUR PRAISE IS SWEET

A MEMORIAL VOLUME FOR JEREMY BLACK
FROM STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS



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RARA AVIS: A STUDY OF THE 𒀵U SECTION OF THE S^a VOCABULARY

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The S^a Vocabulary is a lexical list of over two hundred signs arranged in a relatively fixed order.* Every sign is given a single entry or more, sometimes over fifteen, and supplied with an Akkadian translation or gloss in a separate column. Occasionally, the signs are given the reading of their value and their names.¹ The vocabulary is known from various incomplete manuscripts found in the sites of Assur, Emar, 𒀵attuša, and Ugarit. At 𒀵attuša, in addition to the sign and Akkadian columns, a Hittite column is provided, whereas at Ugarit vocabularies with Hurrian, and with Hurrian and Ugaritic, columns are found.² At Emar, all the sources of the list are bilingual, with the occasional pronunciation gloss of the sign. There is no column in the local language, ‘Emarite’, as in Ugarit and 𒀵attuša. However, occasionally, some West Semitic or non-normative Akkadian forms are found dispersed throughout the list.³

The first part of this contribution is concerned with the 𒀵U section of the Emar S^a Vocabulary. The Akkadian entries of this section seemingly defy a straightforward explanation, because they cannot be paralleled with what is known from other sources of the list. They will be explained one by one and shown to form, apart from the last entry, a semantically related group. The second part will study the 𒀵U section of the partly preserved Boğazköy S^a Vocabulary, KBo 26.34 obverse. This section caused much controversy amongst Hittitologists and Indo-Europeanists because of the reconstructed equation between [𒀵U], [*iššuru*], and Hittite šu-wa-iš and the subsequent translation of the Hittite entry as ‘bird’.⁴ This translation can now be shown, at best, as doubtful. Following the discussion, an edition of KBo 26.34 obv. will be presented. It is hoped that the commonplace assertion that the lexical lists from the Western Periphery (like those from Emar and 𒀵attuša) are full of mistakes and/or are laden with West Semitic entries (like those from Emar) will be subjected to some reconsideration, when the various lexical traditions interlaced in the S^a Vocabulary recensions become more apparent.

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¹ See Cavigneaux 1983: 622–3; Civil 1995: 2309. See Gong 2000 for the pronunciation and names of the signs.

² The Ugarit vocabularies were edited by Nougayrol in *Ugaritica* 5 nos. 130–8 (re-edited by Huehnergard 1987: 21–102; see also van Soldt 1990); add also RS 94.2939, a S^a Vocabulary of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hurrian columns, edited by Salvini and Salvini 1998; 1999a; 1999b. The Assur and Boğazaköy (CTH 299) recensions were edited in MSL 3 49ff.; to the latter add KBo 26.34, whose obverse is edited here.

³ D. Arnaud edited the Emar remains of the list in a conflated edition (*Emar* 537). See the studies of Sjöberg 1998; Penttici 2001; see also Borger 2004: 231–4; Cohen 2002; 2006; forthcoming.

⁴ See the review of the literature in Röble 2004: 546 n. 8.

THE 𒁺U SECTION OF THE EMAR S^A VOCABULARY

There are three main copies of the S^a Vocabulary at Emar, with some additional fragmentary manuscripts.⁵ The 𒁺U section, however, is preserved only in one copy, Copy 2.⁶ The section consists of five entries (Figure 1):⁷

(82)	i 19'	𒁺U	<i>ḫu-uZ-Zu⁸-ru</i>
(83)	i 20'	𒁺U	<i>ḫu-bu-šu</i>
(84)	i 21'	𒁺U	<i>ḫu-uZ-Zu-Zu</i>
(85)	i 22'	𒁺U	<i>ḫu-ri-Zu-tu₄</i>
(86)	i 23'	𒁺U	<i>na-pár-šu-Zu</i>

The five equivalents for 𒁺U given in the right hand column are difficult to explain on the basis of what is apparent in the lexical tradition. Basically, the equation of 𒁺U with *ḫu-uZ-Zu-ru*, *ḫu-bu-šu*, and *ḫu-uZ-Zu-Zu* is unknown from other lexical lists, be it the S^a Vocabulary or others, while *ḫu-ri-Zu-tu₄* is altogether a form that is not recognizable in the Akkadian dictionaries. The last form, *na-pár-šu-Zu*, likewise defies an easy equation with 𒁺U, at least without some emendation. However, the problem can be resolved by recourse to the TAR section of the lexical list Aa III/5 (MSL 14 345–6). Observe the following:

56	ku-ud	TAR	<i>ḫe-se-rù</i> <i>šá šin-ni</i>	‘to blunt, trim a tooth’
103	ḫa-áš	TAR	<i>še-bé-rù</i>	‘to break’
104			<i>ḫa-ša-bu</i>	‘to cut or break’
105			<i>ḫa-aš-bu</i>	‘broken off’
106			<i>ḫa-ša-šu</i>	‘to break’ (?)
107			<i>ḫa-ba-šu</i>	‘to break into pieces’
108			<i>ḫa-ma-šu</i>	‘to break or snap off’ (?) ⁹
109			<i>ḫa-ka-rù</i>	‘to break or smash’ (?) ¹⁰
110			<i>ga-da-du</i>	‘to chop’
111			<i>ḫa-šá-lu</i>	‘to crush’
112			<i>ka-pa-rù</i>	‘to strip, trim down’

As expected, all the Akkadian verbal forms equated with TAR, or rather with the verbs *kud* and *ḫaš*, have to do with cutting and chopping. Note in particular the highlighted entries 56, 106 and 107. When these three are compared to the entries of the 𒁺U section, the following paradigm emerges:

⁵ The manuscripts are reconstructed on the basis of Civil 1989: 9. Copy 1 (= A [Msk 74171b] + E [Msk 74158a] + G/G' [Msk 7523a+b] + H [Msk 74199d] + I [Msk 7521]) is the most complete and the longest, preserving nine columns. Although the copy contains a colophon, the name of the scribe or copyist is broken, therefore he cannot be identified (cf. *Emar* 604.9, which is Arnaud's restoration of the colophon). Copy 2 (= C [Msk 731064 + 74249a] + D [Msk 74249b]), at three columns per side, is a shorter version than Copy 1. The upper part of the tablet is partly broken off, but the colophon is fully preserved, supplying the name of the copyist, Ribī-Dagan. Copy 3 (= F [Msk 74231a]) is the shortest of the main manuscripts, preserving some three incomplete columns on each side. Of the remaining incomplete manuscripts, manuscript B (= Msk 74204a [not Msk 75204a!]) is the longest. It contains a colophon identifying Šaggar-abu of the renowned Zu-Ba'la family as its copyist. See Cohen 2009: 166–70.

⁶ Copy 2 is the work of Ribī-Dagan, a novice scribe at the Emar school, who also copied Hh Tablet III-Va (= *Emar* 543A, 544A, and 545A [= Msk 731030]); see Civil 1989 for the reconstruction of the Emar Hh list. For the scribe Ribī-Dagan, see Cohen 2009: 126–31.

⁷ The parenthesised numbers follow Arnaud; the second column gives numbers according to the tablet.

⁸ The sign throughout is ZU; for a SU sign, see Copy 2 (D [= Msk 74249b]) rev. 9', and Copy 1 (A [= Msk 74171b]), i 29, and (E [= Msk 74158]), i 12'.

⁹ AHW 315: *ḫamāšu* ‘abknicken’.

¹⁰ AHW 309: *ḫakāru* ‘zerschlagen’.

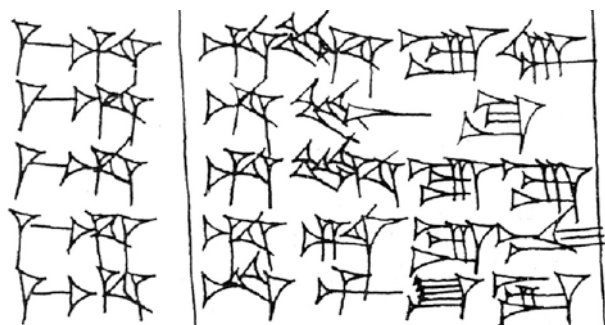


Figure 1: Msk 731064 + 74249a

Aa III/5: TAR (kud or ḥaš)	Emar S ^a : ḪU
56 <i>ḥesēru</i>	i 19' <i>ḫu-us-sú-ru</i> → <i>ḫussuru</i> 'to trim'
107 <i>ḥabāšu</i>	i 20' <i>ḫu-bu-šu</i> → <i>ḫubbušu</i> 'to chop up'
106 <i>ḥašāšu</i>	i 21' <i>ḫu-uš-šú-šú</i> → <i>ḫuššušu</i> 'to cut, break'

In the Emar ḪU section, therefore, are three perfectly normal Akkadian verbs. When equated with TAR in the Aa lexical list they are found in the G Stem; when equated with ḪU in the Emar list, they are given in the D Stem. It seems that the latter gives forms one would expect as Akkadian translations of reduplicated Sumerian verbs, which are occasionally presented as D Stem verbal forms.¹¹ As Yoshikawa (1979: 108) observes, verbs of the D Stem, or the *piel* reduplication, translating Sumerian reduplicated verbs 'center around the semantic field of "breaking", "cutting", "destroying", "injuring" and the like'. As such they fit the category of forms found here.

It remains unclear why forms beginning with /ḫu/ are given D Stem entries in the Emar list, although some phonological association between the pronunciation of the sign and the entries can be imagined. The origins of this tradition likewise remain opaque,¹² but it can also be traced in one of the Boğazköy S^a Vocabulary recensions. G Stem forms of the D Stem verbs in the ḪU section are not found in the TAR section of the Emar Sa Vocabulary (or elsewhere in that list). The Akkadian forms equated with TAR are, as expected, verbs like *nakāsu* 'to chop', and *parāsu* 'to divide, slice' (Emar 537, 24, 589'–98'). As will become apparent, however, some of the Emar ḪU

¹¹ See Yoshikawa 1979; Steinkeller 1979; Thomsen 1984: 123–7. The Akkadian translation of reduplicated Sumerian verbs in the Grammatical Texts is also instructive (Black 1984/1991: 40–1).

¹² It might be that the sign ḪU was analyzed as a double (vertical) TAR sign, hence understood as TAR-TAR, or kud-kud/ḥaš-ḥaš (as suggested by N. Veldhuis, personal communication). Note the possible relationship of ḪU to ḪUM (the sign LUM). ḪUM is equated in the lexical tradition to verbs of a similar semantic field, a few also beginning with /ḫ/; some of the verbs are also equated with TAR. Cf.:

S^b Vocabulary (MSL 3 114):

213	<i>ḫu-um</i>	ḪUM	<i>ḫa-ma-šu</i>	'to strip'
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Ea V (MSL 14 397):

2	[ḫu-uz]	[ḪU]M	<i>ḫa-^rša-bu¹</i>	'to break off'
3	[gu-u]z?	ḪUM	<i>ga-ša-šu</i>	'to trim'
9	[gu]-uz	ḪUM	<i>ḫu-ur-ru-ru</i>	'to dig'
10	[gu]-uz	ḪUM	<i>ḫu-ur-ru-mu</i>	'to separate'

Emar Sag-Tablet (MSL SS 1 32):

135	<i>kirī-ḪUM</i>	<i>ḫu-um-mu-šu</i>	'snapped off (nose)'
136	<i>kirī-ḪUM</i>	<i>ḫa-am-šu</i>	'malformed (nose)'

Hh 24 (MSL 11 8; cf. AHw 315, 355):

165	<i>še-ḫum-ḫum</i>	<i>ḫum-mu-šu</i>	'crushed (barley)' (vel sim.)
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section D Stem forms do appear in other lexical lists as equivalents of reduplicated *haš* and *kud* (see Yoshikawa 1979: 103).

What follows is an entry-by-entry elucidation of the Emar S^a Vocabulary ʕU section.

Entry i 19'

ʕU *ḥu-us-sú-ru*¹³ → *ḥussuru*

The Akkadian entry is a D Stem verbal form derived from *hesēru* ‘to trim’ (see above, Aa III/5, 56; cf. CAD ʕ 176, 257–8). Note that *hesēru* and *ḥašāšu* (see entry i 21') are near synonyms.¹⁴ Sjöberg (1998: 247 no. 82) translates the entry as ‘blunted’. It is difficult to know whether this form, and indeed, the other verbal forms in the ʕU section, are D Stem infinitives or verbal adjectives, because the forms are morphologically identical. It is usually understood that in lexical lists the Akkadian translations of the reduplicated forms of TAR (i.e., *ḥaš-ḥaš*, or *kud-kud*), and any other reduplicated Sumerian verbs, are given in the Akkadian *piel* or D Stem infinitive (Yoshikawa 1979: 115 and *passim*).

Entry i 20'

ʕU *ḥu-bu-šu* → *ḥubbušu*

The entry is a D Stem verbal form (→ *habāšu* ‘to break into pieces’; see above Aa III/5, 107).¹⁵ Sjöberg (1998: 248 no. 83) translates it as ‘either “describing a characteristic bodily trait” or “defective” (said of objects).’ Note these (partly restored) entries in Diri I (MSL 15 108–9):¹⁶

64	[ḥa-aš-ḥa-aš]	[TAR.TAR]	[š <u>u</u> -u]b-bu-ru	‘to break’
65	[ḥa-aš-ḥa-aš]	[TAR.TAR]	ḥu-bu-šu	‘to break into pieces’

Entry 65 in Diri I is identical to the form found in the Emar ʕU section, with the same non-doubling of the consonants.

Entry i 21'

ʕU *ḥu-uš-šú-šú*¹⁷ → *ḥuṣṣušu*

The entry is a D Stem verbal form (→ *ḥašāšu* ‘to break’, ‘to chop’; see above Aa III/5, 106), which is attested not only in the lexical tradition, but in other genres as well (cf. CAD ʕ 131).¹⁸ Note the following equations of Akkadian *kuṣṣušu* with reduplicated TAR or kud:

OB Lu, Frag. 1 (MSL 12 201):

7 lú-šu-kud-kud-rá ku-uš-šú-šú-um ‘chopped(-hand-person)’

¹³ Note that the sign ZU is used to write /su/. Ribí-Dagan, the scribe of Copy 2, shows great flexibility in the writing of sibilants, allowing almost any sibilant sign to be assigned in order to write /s/, /š/, /š/, or /z/. E.g., zV signs for /sV/, Copy 2, iii 5: [n]i-sí-ig-tù; and Emar 545, Hh III (Msk 731030), 401': ḥa-sí-sà.

¹⁴ Cf. Leichty 1970: 93': BE UDU.NITÁ KIMIN (SI.MEŠ) IGI-šú ḥas-ra // (var.) ḥaš-ša... ‘If a ram’s horns are blunted // (var.) broken in front...’.

¹⁵ Pentiuć 2001: 73 assumed that *ḥu-bu-šu* is a type of bird, but this suggestion is not likely. ʕU as mušen is indeed equated with *iššūru*; see the S^a Vocabularies of Assur, Frag. D (MSL 3 54) 1', 10' and 13'; Ugarit, RS 94.2939 (Salvini and Salvini 1998: 5) obv. i 11 (the ʕU section is not preserved in other Ugarit manuscripts). However, ʕU, or mušen, is only equated with the general nomenclature *iššūru* ‘bird’; the ʕU section does not list specific types of birds. Specific types are always listed in lexical lists as items followed by the post-determinative mušen. To suggest otherwise would be to assume a break with a guiding principle in the lexical tradition. See Hh XVIII, the ‘Bird-Tablet’ (MSL 8/2; cf. <http://cdl.upenn.edu/dcclt/sub URs-ra 18>); cf. also the OB ‘bird-list’ edited by Black and Al-Rawi 1987 (re-edited by Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: 105–7); see also Veldhuis 2004: 209–305; Salonen 1973.

¹⁶ Cf. *haš* = *šebēru* in Aa III/5, 103, above, and see Yoshikawa 1979: 103 for additional lexical sources, which provide the basis for the reconstruction of these entries.

¹⁷ For zV signs used to write /šV/, see Copy 2, iv 23': ší-rù and v 18: šé-eh-rù.

¹⁸ Sjöberg 1998: 248 no. 84 provides Arabic etymologies for the entry, saying that ‘*ḥuṣṣušu* in the Emar lex(ical) text might then be a “(person) with little/no hair”.’ He regards the entry as a non-Akkadian or a West Semitic word (1998: 240).

SIG₇.ALAN XVII (MSL 16 164):

329 šu-kud-kud-rá ku-uš-šu-šu ‘chopped(-hand)’

There is no doubt that Akkadian *kuššušu* (sub *gašāšu* ‘to trim, cut’, equated with *kud*; see CAD G 53) is akin to *huššušu*, with the well-documented alteration in Akkadian between /k/ and /h/ (see GAG §25d).

Entry i 22’

ĤU *hu-ri-šú-tu₄* → *huršūtu*

On the basis of the previous entries of the section, the root of the entry *hu-ri-ZU-tu₄* is probably Akkadian Ĥ-R-Š.¹⁹ The G Stem infinitive derived from this root is *harāšu* ‘to cut down, cut off’. The entry is to be read *hu-ri-šú-tu₄* and possibly vocalized as */huršūtu/ with the sequence /ri-šu/ containing an anaptyctic vowel /i/ that breaks up the consonantal cluster.²⁰ The entry can be compared with Akkadian *heršētu* ‘deductions’ (→ *harāšu*; cf. CAD Ĥ 199 and AHW 347; the word appears in the lexical list *Ana Ittišu* [MSL 1 63]).²¹ We would then have a *purs* noun with an adjectival ending *-ūtu*.²² The variability of the vowel quality between *hurš-* and *herš-* should not be a reason for concern. In the Western Periphery lexical lists, and in other genres as well, such an alteration is a prominent phenomenon (see Durand and Marti 2004: 4). In the Emar S^a Vocabulary the following alternations between /u/ and /i/ ≈ /e/ can be found (see also Seminara 1998: 138):

/u/ → /i/ ≈ /e/:

(718’)	Copy 2, iv 26’	NIM	<i>ši-ib-bu</i> ²³	← <i>zubbu</i>	‘fly’
(625’)	Copy 2, v 34	KAR	<i>na-bi-tu₄</i>	← <i>nābutu</i> ²⁴	‘to flee’

/i/ ≈ /e/ → /u/:

(253)	Copy 1, iii 45	EL	<i>te-lu-ul-tu₄</i>	← <i>tēliltu</i> ²⁵	‘purification’
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They can also be seen in the Emar Hh lexical list:

/e/ ≈ /i/ → /u/:

542, 95’	še-še-bal	<i>šu-pu-ul-ti</i>	← <i>šupēltu</i>	‘(barley) exchange’
545, 64’	il-síg	<i>ha-am-bu-rù</i>	← * <i>habburu</i> ← <i>habbiru</i> ²⁶	‘loom-part’

¹⁹ Penttuc 2001: 76 suggested that the entry be understood as perhaps a kind of bird, possibly to be read as a whole as *mušen-ri-ZU-tu₄*, with the first sign—ĤU—understood as a determinative. But ĤU cannot be a determinative here because *mušen* is always used as a post-determinative (see above, footnote 15). Neither does taking *hu-ri-ZU-tu₄* as a ‘bird-type’—Penttuc’s alternative suggestion—seem likely. As stated in n. 15, the ĤU section does not include the listing of various bird species. Sjöberg 1998: 248 no. 85 suggested as follows: ‘*h/hurīšūtu* perhaps “desire”, “eagerness”.’ He then provided the entry, which he regarded as a non-Akkadian or a West Semitic word (1998 241), with putative Arabic and Hebrew cognates.

²⁰ Seminara 1998: 153–4. This is also a common feature of the Ugarit lexical lists; see Huehnergard 1989: 115–8.

²¹ Another possibility worth considering is a metathesis of /r/ and the sibilant: *hu-ri-ZU-tu₄* → *hu-Zu-ri-tu₄* → **husurtu*; cf. *husirtu* ‘cut off part of a reed’ (CAD Ĥ 257). The noun would then be derived from *hesēru*, a form which, as already seen, appears in Entry i 19’.

²² The adjectival ending *-ūtu* is found at Emar as the feminine ending (although it is not obvious that this is the present ending before us); see Seminara 1998: 291. This is part of a wide-spread phenomenon in Western Peripheral Akkadian. Morphological markers are reduced to allomorphs, whereby the feminine and masculine markers merge to produce one morphological marker for both genders. See Huehnergard 1989: 147–8, 273–4.

²³ IGI = ši for /zi/ or /si/. Compare:

(716’)	Copy 1, viii 24’	NIM	<i>zu-ub-bu</i>	‘fly’
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²⁴ Sjöberg 1998: 273 no. 626’.

²⁵ Reading with the copy and Arnaud here; see AHW 1344 and Seminara 1998: 138 citing *Emar* 554, 21’: [*te*]-*li-il-tu₄*; Sjöberg 1998: 258 no. 253 reads differently.

²⁶ Penttuc 2001: 55.

546, 9	(gi)-izi-lá	gi-zi-lu-u : šab-bu-ṭu	← šabbiṭu	‘staff’, ‘torch’
551, 5	[muš-ú-nu]-mú-a	muš ku-su-ba-ni	← kusipānī or kassibānī	‘snake-species’
555, 30’	BAD ku ₆	nu-un tu-um ¹ -ri	← timri ²⁷	‘baked fish’

Entry i 23’

𒀵U na-pár-šu-Zu → naparšudu¹

By correcting the last sign ZU to DU¹, the entry can be read as *naparšudu*¹ ‘to escape, flee’.²⁸ This word is not otherwise known to be equated with 𒀵U, but rather with ŠUB.²⁹ But the semantically close *naprušu* ‘to fly’ is equated with 𒀵U elsewhere in the lexical tradition.³⁰

THE 𒀵U SECTION OF THE BOĞAZKÖY S^A VOCABULARY

The reconstruction of the Emar 𒀵U section offered above enables us to reconsider the 𒀵U section of the Boğazköy S^a Vocabulary recensions.

The 𒀵U section is found in two fragments from Boğazköy. The first is HT 42, which was edited in MSL 3. The second, which will be at the center of the discussion, is KBo 26.34 obv. (Figure 2). It was first published as 902/z by Otten and von Soden (1968: plate iii), who also presented a short discussion (1968: 39–41). It is rather poorly preserved. The Hittite column survived, but the Sumerian is entirely missing, and the Akkadian mainly lost.³¹ In spite of its poor state, Otten and von Soden were able to reconstruct the sequence of the Sumerian signs and identify the 𒀵U section, which has four fully intact Hittite entries. The entries will now be elucidated one by one.

Entry 12’

[𒀵U] [hu-šú-š]ú kar-ša-u-wa-ar ‘cutting’

The Hittite word kar-ša-u-wa-ar is the verbal noun of the verb karš-, karšiya-, ‘to cut’, and hence translated as ‘cutting’.³² What karš(a)uwar has to do with 𒀵U puzzled Otten and von Soden;³³ their puzzlement can now be resolved.

In Hittite texts, the verb karš-, karšiya-, can be written logographically with the Sumerian sign TAR ‘to cut’.³⁴ As was seen above in the reconstruction of the Emar 𒀵U section, in the lexical tradition verbal forms in the G Stem equated with TAR (as ḥaš or kud) can be equated with 𒀵U when in the D Stem. Therefore, if Hittite karš(a)uwar ‘cutting’ is written logographically with TAR, it can also be equated with 𒀵U. The missing Akkadian equivalent is probably one of the first three entries of the Emar 𒀵U section, but any other Akkadian verb semantically related to cutting will do just as well. The verb [hu-šú-š]ú (Emar S^a, entry i 21’) was restored here because the partly preserved sign in the Akkadian column, consisting of two horizontals, looks like [Z]U or [š]ú.

²⁷ Cf. Hh XVIII (MSL 8/2 101), 18.

²⁸ Following the suggestion made by Sjöberg 1998: 249 no. 86, and Arnaud (*Emar* 537, p. 12).

²⁹ An-ta-gál III (MSL 17 155), 151: RU^{min}-minRU = na-par-šú-du.

³⁰ The Assur S^a Vocabulary (MSL 3 55), 11’ and Ea II (MSL 14 259), 285 equate 𒀵U with *naprušu*. Note also RS 94.2939 (Salvini and Salvini 1998: 5), i 10: [𒀵U] = nap-ri-šu (as pointed out by N. Veldhuis, personal communication). See also below, KBo 26.34, entry 13’.

³¹ Because the left hand side of the tablet is broken it is difficult to estimate exactly the width of the Akkadian column. The endings of entries which are preserved cannot serve as sure indications of its width, since sometimes signs are intentionally spaced out to the right, or justified, in order to ‘fill in’ the column.

³² The writing kar-ša-u-wa-ar may represent *karšuwar, with ša for /š/. Cf. KUB 24.7 i 55: kar¹-šu-wa-ar (as pointed out by C. Melchert, personal communication), and the genitive form karšuwaš (cited in HED K 104).

³³ Otten and von Soden 1968: 40: ‘Z. 12 kar-ša-u-wa-ar “schneiden” paßt nicht gut dazu...’.

³⁴ See HED K 100; Hoffner 2003: 622. This equation was already suggested by H. Ehelolf in 1936, as mentioned by Archi in the content-pages of KUB 52. Note KUB 52.101 ii 5’: A-NA PA-NI ŠEŠ LUGAL dUTU-ŠI TAR-an versus iii 5: [A-NA P]A-NI ŠEŠ LUGAL dUTU-ŠI kar-ša-an ‘removed/cut in front of the brother of the king, My Majesty.’

Entry 13'

[ĤU] [nap-ru-š]u wa-at-ku-wa-ar 'flying', 'fleeing', 'hiding'

Hittite wa-at-ku-wa-ar, from the verb watku-, 'to jump' was equated by Otten and von Soden with Akkadian [nap-ru-š]u 'to fly'. The Akkadian entry is equated with ĤU elsewhere in the lexical tradition.³⁵ In Boğazköy Diri Hittite watkuwar is equated with *šaḫātu*, which can mean 'to jump' but also 'to flee'.³⁶ Hence the semantics of watkuwar, *šaḫātu*, *naprušu*, and *naparšudu* (in the Emar section) overlap.³⁷ Hittite watkuwar is the only entry of the ĤU section to be found in the other Boğazköy fragment of this section, HT 42 obv. 3'.

Entry 14'

[ĤU] [ka-pa-d]u or kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar 'planning', 'reckoning', '(the) taking care of'
[ku-pu-d]u

The verbal noun kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar 'counting', 'reckoning' is derived from the verb kappuwe-, kappuwai-, 'to count, reckon'. How is one to equate ĤU with the entry kappuwauar?³⁸ Here we should consider the reading of ĤU as pag. While ĤU as pag does not appear in the Emar S^a list, it does feature in the Assur S^a Vocabulary, as well as in other lexical lists. In SIG⁷.ALAN IV-IV_a (MSL 16 81) the following are found:³⁹

112	ir-pa-ag	ka-pa-du	'to take care of (something)', 'to plan'
113	ir-pag-ak-ak	kup-pu-du	

Hittite kappuwe- can often mean, apart from 'to count, to reckon', also 'to take care of someone, something', as the multiple examples in *HED* K 66 show. Therefore, it is suggested here that when ĤU is read as pag it can be equated with Akkadian *kapādu* or *kuppudu* and, subsequently, to Hittite kappuwauar '(the) taking care of'.

Entry 15'

[ĤU] [ezēbu] šu-wa-iš 'abandonment', 'rejection'

The last entry was considered the Hittite word for 'bird' by Otten and von Soden (1968: 40 n. 2) because of its equation with ĤU. Their suggestion has been a point of controversy among Indo-Europeanists and Hittitologists, and so far no clear-cut consensus has been reached.⁴⁰ Ostensibly, the entry can be compared to the ĤU section of HT 42 obv. (MSL 3 55), 2' and 4':⁴¹

1'	[ĤU]	[...]	x-aš	?
2'	[ĤU]	[iṣṣūru]	ĤU-eš	'bird'
3'	[ĤU]	[naparšu]	wa-at-ku-ar	'flying', 'fleeing'
4'	[ĤU]	[iṣṣūru]	ĤU-eš	'bird'
5'	[ĤU+?]	[ritkub mušen(.meš)]	ĤU-ŠÚ ĤU ti-ia-u-ar	'the mating (lit., approaching) of birds' ⁴²

³⁵ See above: Emar S^a, entry i 23'.

³⁶ See Boğazköy Diri 6.2 (MSL 15 93–4), 10; cf. CAD Š/I 88. Cf. Beckman 1983: 110, where MUL wa-at-ku-zi is considered a calque on the Akkadian idiom *kakkabu iṣḫit* (→ *šaḫātu*) 'a star has risen' (but not 'shimmered'; see CAD Š/I 91).

³⁷ It is probable that both *šaḫātu* and *naparšudu* are equated with Sumerian è 'to go out'; see Aa III/3 (MSL 14 337), 159: [e UD.DU] = [šá]-'ha'-tu and 179: [e UD.DU] = [na-par-š]u-du (?).

³⁸ Otten and von Soden 1968: 40 remarked that '(w)as kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar "rechnen" in Z. 14 mit ĤU zu tun haben soll, ist auch unklar.'

³⁹ On the basis of these entries, perhaps restore the Assur S^a Vocabulary (MSL 3 54), 6a as follows: pa-ag ĤU 'ka'-[pa-du]. The restored 'ka' [lī] 'to confine' in MSL 3 is otherwise not equated with pag in the lexical tradition.

⁴⁰ This suggestion has found recent advocacy in Rieken 1999: 24–5; Röbke 2004.

⁴¹ Collated in the British Museum, 8 September, 2004.

⁴² Some compound sign of ĤU (like U₅ = *rakābu* 'to ride') is expected in the Sumerian column. Consider,

However, it is clear that HT 42 and KBo 26.34 are not identical and in fact represent two divergent traditions of the 𐎶𐎵 section.⁴³ Hence the equation of *šu-wa-iš* with Akkadian *iššūru* is not to be taken for granted, and other options are to be sought.

It is suggested that the form *šu-wa-iš* is an action noun in *-ai*,⁴⁴ derived from the verb *šuwe-*, *šuwai-* ‘to push (away)’, ‘to reject’, ‘to abandon’.⁴⁵ The meaning of the word would then be ‘abandonment’, ‘rejection’. If 𐎶𐎵 is to be read as *pag*, as suggested for the preceding entry, this suggestion becomes valid. Compare the Assur S^a Vocabulary (MSL 3 54):⁴⁶

7a pa-ag 𐎶𐎵 e-z[i-bu]

The verb *ezēbu* can mean ‘to abandon’, ‘desert’, and ‘leave behind’. Hence it is semantically close to *šuwai-* and its suggested action noun, *šuwaiš*. The following example is illustrative of what is argued here. Compare the use of *šuwai-* and *ezēbu* in the meaning of ‘to leave’, ‘to abandon’, ‘to divorce’:⁴⁷

The Hittite Laws (Hoffner 1997: 35), §26b+c:

ták-ku LÚ-ša MUNUS-an šu-wa-a-[iz-zi ...] ‘If a man divorce[s] a woman...’

The Middle Assyrian Laws (Roth 1995: 166-7), §37:

šumma a’īlu aššassu ezzib... ‘If a man divorces his wife...’

Hence, *šuwai-* = *ezēbu* ‘to abandon’, ‘to divorce’ and *šuwaiš* = *ezēbu* ‘an abandonment’, ‘a divorce’.

The reconstruction offered here and the suggested meaning of *šu-wa-iš* are very tentative and might prove to be incorrect. However, they have the advantage of proposing a valid Hittite base for the word while taking the structure of the section more carefully into consideration, demonstrating that 𐎶𐎵 can take other meanings than just ‘bird’. Should the Akkadian equivalent *ezēbu* not be accepted as the correct reconstruction, *šuwaiš* can still be understood to derive from *šuwe-*, *šuwai-*, and another Akkadian equivalent can be sought.⁴⁸

alternatively, perhaps KÍD, (which resembles a re-duplicated 𐎶𐎵 sign), that is equated to *ritkub iššūrī* ‘the mating of (two) birds’ (CAD R 83). The Akkadian probably led to the Hittite translation of ‘the mating (lit., approaching) of birds’. The Gt Stem is occasionally employed to translate reduplicated Sumerian verbs; see Yoshikawa 1979: 114.

⁴³ Therefore, the one-to-one comparison between HT 42 and KBo 26.34 proposed by Röble 2004 offers no real solution to the problem. The 𐎶𐎶𐎵 section of KBo 26.34 (see below) and that of another Boğazköy S^a Fragment, KBo 1.45 (MSL 3 53), also reveal considerable differences.

⁴⁴ Such as Hittite *ḫu(wa)rt-* ‘to curse’ → *ḫurtaiš* ‘a curse’, *link-* ‘to swear’ → *linkaiš* ‘an oath’, *wašta-* ‘to sin’ → *waštaiš* ‘a sin’, and so on (cf. HE 39). This may have been a productive pattern which enabled the formation of *-ai* resultative nouns. There is no problem equating an action noun to an Akkadian infinitive, as this telling example shows (Boğazköy Erim-ḫuš [MSL 17 107]):

22’ KA-x-BAL da-bá-bu me-m[i-a]š ‘word’, ‘speech’

⁴⁵ The Hittite Laws (Hoffner 1997: 51–2, 93–4, 35) §§43, 95, and 26, make it clear that the semantics of the verb *šuwe-*, *šuwai-*, move beyond ‘to push away’, and can include meanings such as ‘to give up (a slave)’ and ‘to divorce’. The Hittite Laws OS manuscripts show the spelling *šu-ú-iz-zi*, with the later manuscripts having *šu-(ú)-wa-(a)-iz-zi* (see Hoffner 1997: 244; Oettinger 1979: 293–8). The latter spelling is also found in the discussed entry *šu-wa-iš*, and it fits with the NH dating of KBo 26.34 (see Röble 2004: 545 n. 1).

⁴⁶ The restoration of the Akkadian is virtually certain; see CAD E 416, lexical section.

⁴⁷ The meaning of *ezēbu* ‘to divorce’ is well documented in OB, MB, MA, Nuzi, and Alalakh sources; see CAD E 422; AHW 267.

⁴⁸ Consider *šu-wa-iš* ‘abandonment’, ‘rejection’, ‘loss’ and the Assur S^a Vocabulary (MSL 3 54), which has 𐎶𐎵 as *pag* equated with *šutānuḫu* ‘to be dejected’, ‘to suffer’, *pa[šku]* and *pušku* (→ *pašāku*), ‘pain’, ‘trouble’, *eḫēru* ‘to take out, to take something from somebody (also ‘to save’), and *ekēmu* ‘to take away (by force)’ → ‘a taking’.

Now that the 𐎶U section of the Boğazköy S^a Vocabulary has been elucidated, the entire col. i of KBo 26.34 can be presented.⁴⁹

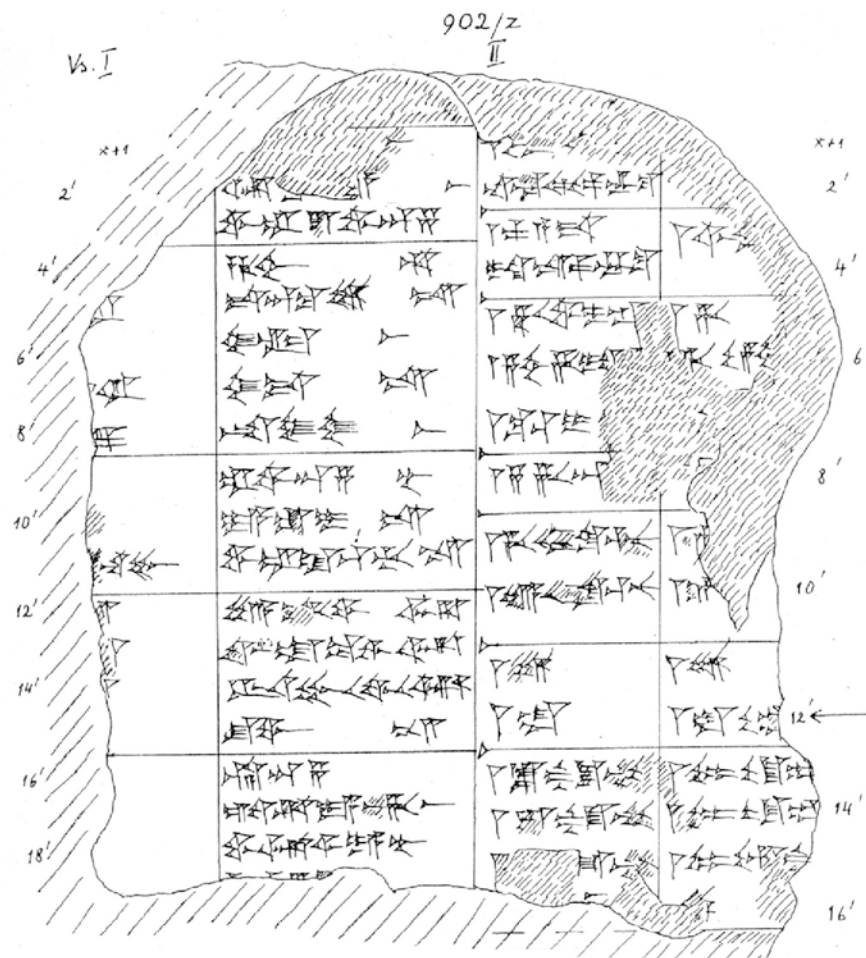


Figure 2: KBo 26.34 obv.

KBo 26.34, obv. i⁵⁰

1'	[ŠIR]	[...]	[x-x-x]-aš	?
2'	[ŠIR]	[išku]	ar-k[i-i]a-aš	'testicles'
3'	[ŠIR]	[...]	wa-al-lu-wa-an-za	?
4'	[ḪAR]	[ḫašū]	ḫa-aḫ-ri'	'lung'
5'	[ḪAR]	[še-mi-r]u	da-an-ku-li-iš	'bracelet'
6'	[ḪAR]	[ḫarru]	ḪUR.SAG-aš	'mountain'
7'	[ḪAR]	[ar-r]a-ru	ḫur-da-iš	'curse'
8'	[ḪAR]	[e-ru]-[ú]	^{NA4} KÍN.KÍN-aš	'grindstone'
9'	[UH]	[kišpū]	al-wa-an-za-tar	'witchcraft'
10'	[UH]	[ru'tu]	ia-ú-i-iš	'bodily fluid'
11'	[UH]	[...](-)na ² -bu	wa-al-la-an'-ti-iš	?
12'	[ḪU]	[ḫu-šú-š]ú	kar-ša-u-wa-ar	'cutting'
13'	[ḪU]	[nap-ru-š]u	wa-at-ku-wa-ar	'flying', 'fleeing'

⁴⁹ Column ii of the tablet contains only the sign names and their pronunciation and is not given here.

⁵⁰ Collated from the photograph of the tablet in the Mainz Academie Boğazköy Archiv, 17 October, 2005.

14'	[𐎶U]	[<i>ka-pa-d</i>]u / [<i>ku-pu-d</i>]u	kap-pu-u-wa-u-ar	'taking care of', 'reckoning', 'planning'
15'	[𐎶U]	[<i>ezebu</i>]	šu-wa-iš	'abandonment', 'rejection'
16'	[MÜŠ×A]	[<i>kuššu</i>]	MÜŠ×A-an-za	'winter'
17'	[MÜŠ×A]	[<i>nâhu</i>]	ta-ri-ia-aš-ḥa-aš	'tiredness'
18'	[MÜŠ×A]	[<i>pašāhu</i>]	wa-ar-ši-ia-tar	'respite'
19'	[MÜŠ×A]	[...]	x-x-x-x	?

Break

2': The restoration of the Hittite, in spite of the gap, is almost certain. The Sumerian and Akkadian are restored on the basis of the fact that the ŠIR sign preceeds 𐎶AR, as the Emar S^a Vocabulary now shows. See Emar S^a, Copy 1 (*Emar* 537 12):

i 35 ŠIR+AŠ *iš-ku* 'testicle'

See Sjöberg (1998: 245 nos. 49–50). The verification of the meaning of arki- 'testicle(s)', formerly derived on the basis of comparative Indo-European and context (see *HED* A 142) can now be based on lexical data. Note ar-ki-i-e-eš 'testicles' (nom. pl.) cited in *HW*² 307; in this entry the word displays a plural ending in -iyaš, which is typical of NH, alongside the ending in -ieš; see Melchert (1995). The sign ŠIR is employed in Hittite texts to denote the male gender of animals; see Kümmel (1967: 130–1). Compare Aa VIII/4 (*MSL* 14 511):

89 ŠIR *zi-k[a-ru (?)]* 'male'

Whether such an entry is to be restored in the broken lines of this section is not known.

5': The equation of dankuli- with 'tin' by Laroche (1966: 180) was accepted by Otten and von Soden (1968: 17 40) and since, throughout the scholarly literature. However, it is open to doubt. The equation was made on the basis of the trilingual RS 25.421 (= *Ug.* 5.169, *Signalement Lyrique*, 313, 773), 21: [ḥar-an-na] | *ši-me-er an-na-ak-ki* | da-an-ku-li-iš ar-ši-x[...] 'bracelet of tin' (see also Civil 1964: 2–3 l. 27). The Emar and Ugarit S^a Vocabularies show, however, that 𐎶AR = *š/semiru* 'bracelet' (*CAD* S 219; see also Cohen 2002).

Emar S^a Vocabulary, Copy 1 (*Emar* 537 12):

i 41 𐎶AR *se-e-mi-rù*

Emar S^a Vocabulary, Copy 2 (*Emar* 537 12):

i 8 𐎶AR *še¹-e¹-mi-rù* (not *gu-ra-mi-rù* !)

RS 94.2939 S^a Vocabulary (Salvini and Salvini 1998: 5):

i 7 [𐎶AR] *še-me-ru* ḥa-ap-te (Hurr.)

Therefore, if dankuliš is equated to [𐎶AR] in KBo 26.34, the Akkadian is probably to be restored as [*še-mi-r*]u, which indicates that the Hittite word means 'bracelet'. (The last preserved Akkadian sign can be taken as the end of the sign RU). The Hittite word for 'tin' possibly lies then in the obscure ar-ši-x[...] found in the trilingual RS 25.421. The same conclusion was reached independently by Soysal (2006), who also showed on the basis of additional evidence that the Hittite word for 'tin' is arzili-.

6': The Hittite translation is a result of a mistaken equation which arose because of the confusion between two homophones. Notice the following entry from the Emar S^a Vocabulary, Copy 1 (*Emar* 537 12):

i 40 ḥa-ar HAR ḥa-ar-ru

The word *ḥarru* means ‘flour ground in a special way’ (see CAD H 114); cf. Aa V/2 (MSL 14 419), 188: HAR = *ḥa-ra-[ru]*, and CAD H 92: *ḥarāru* C ‘to grind’. The entry is obviously connected to the well-known equation of HAR with *ararrum* ‘miller’ and the other grinding terms found in the HAR section. However, in KBo 26.34, this entry may have been confused with *ḥarru* ‘a topographical feature’, ‘a watercourse’, or even with West Semitic *ḥarru* ‘mountain’ (see CAD H 114–5), which resulted in the Hittite column having HUR.SAG-aš. (This confusion might have already risen before the list reached Hattuša; see CAD H 92.) The lexical tradition does not equate HAR with HUR.SAG or *šadī* ‘mountain’. (Correct Cohen 2002: 825 40: *ḥa-ar-ru* ‘watercourse’ to ‘ground flour’; the former translation was based on Sjöberg 1998: 246 no. 64.)

7’: The equation was made on the basis of the mistaken understanding of the entry *ararrum* ‘miller’ as the near homophone *arārum* ‘to curse’. The same mistaken equation is found in KBo 1.42 (MSL 3 53), 2’, 6’ (see also CHD P 1–2).

9’: See the Boğazköy S^a Vocabulary, KBo 1.45 obv.¹ (MSL 3 Frag. b, 53):

8’ [Uḫ] [kišpū] al-wa-an-za-tar ‘sorcery’

Compare Emar S^a, Copy 1:

i 46 Uḫ ki-iš-pu

10’: If this entry is connected to the *Glossenkeil* (Luwian) word i-ia-u-wa-an appearing in KUB 30.33 obv. 9’ and KUB 8.38+ (= Bürde 1974: 30), as cautiously suggested by Melchert (1993: 273), it might be translated as spit or some other kind of bodily fluid. The word i-ia-u-wa-an is mentioned in both of these attestations with, and seems to be semantically related to, išḫaḫru ‘tears’ (see CHD L–N 202). Cf. Boğazköy S^a Vocabulary KBo 1.45 obv.¹ (MSL 3 Frag. b, 53):

9’ [Uḫ] [ruʾtu] iš-ša-al-li ‘spittle’

11’: Melchert (1993: 250) translates this word as (Luwian) ‘fit’, ‘capable’, following Starke (1990: 452). At present, no better suggestion can be offered, although what this has to do with the Uḫ sign is not clear. The little that survives in the Akkadian entry ([...](-)na-bu) does not seem to follow any known Akkadian entry for Uḫ from other lexical sources.

16’: MÜŠ×A-an-za is read thus by Otten and von Soden (1968: 40), according to which HT 42 (MSL 3 55), 8’–13’ is also to be read. Cf. entries 16’–17’ of Diri III (MSL 15 141–2), 113–19. The reason why the sign MÜŠ×A is written here and not the sign RI, as is the case in the other S^a Vocabularies, may depend on the visual resemblance of MÜŠ and RI, at least in the OB period (see Borger 2004: 282 no. 142, 284 no. 152). This could mean that the Boğazköy S^a Vocabulary follows a tradition which retained the sign MÜŠ, while the Emar, Ugarit, and the Assur versions gave only the entry RI. It is not known which was the original entry, or whether both were included in the lexical tradition side by side until only RI was kept. The sign MÜŠ×A, at any rate, should now be included in the MSL 3 reconstruction of the S^a sign-sequence. For the sign MÜŠ and its original meaning, see Steinkeller (1998).

17’–18’: The similar antonym pair, tariant- ‘tired’, ‘exhausted’ and waršiant- ‘rested’, appear in Hittite rituals and prayers; see Torri (2003: 220–1). The Hittite scribes elsewhere used the sign MÜŠ×A to write the verb waršiya- ‘to be at peace, satisfied’; see HZL 103 no. 27; HW 294.

CONCLUSION

The Ugarit, Assur, and one of the Boğazköy S^a Vocabularies (HT 42), all equate 𒀪U, or mušen, with Akkadian *iššūru* ‘bird’. This equation is missing, however, from the 𒀪U section of the Emar S^a Vocabulary and, very likely, from KBo 26.34. What the Emar S^a Vocabulary and KBo 26.34 do have in common is the association of 𒀪U with verbs of cutting. We found four semantically related Akkadian entries for ‘cutting’ in the Emar list, and one in the KBo 26.34. The fact that the entries in the Emar list are proper Akkadian verbal forms makes it unlikely that this section was a local innovation, but rather part of the transmitted Mesopotamian lexical tradition, which can also be traced in the Boğazköy recension.

The association between 𒀪U and verbs of cutting seems to have vanished in the Assur recension of the vocabulary, at least on the basis of the extant evidence. However, the entry *naparšudu*¹ in the Emar list, *naprišu* in RS 94.2939, and *watkuwar* in both Hittite versions find an echo in the Assur recension, which has the entry *naprušu*. And the restored equations of Hittite *kappuwar* with [*kapādu*] or [*kuppudu*] and *šu-wa-iš* with [*ezēbu*] suggest that the reading of 𒀪U as *pag* is attested in the Boğazköy recension. Such a reading of 𒀪U is also known in the Assur recension, in which eleven Akkadian entries are equated with *pag*.

The discovery and study of the Emar S^a Vocabulary challenged the reconstruction of the sequence and number of signs of the vocabulary as given in MSL 3, and supplied us with both signs and Akkadian entries that were hitherto unknown. We can now talk of different strands of lexical tradition in the S^a Vocabulary, not of one unified and consistent version present in all contemporary manuscripts from the various Western Periphery sites. In this light, it is appropriate to reassess two claims ever present in the discussion of the Western Periphery lexical lists: namely, that the Emar lexical lists abound with West Semitic terms, and that the Western Periphery lists, especially the ones from Boğazköy, display a poor understanding of the Sumerian and Akkadian entries. Not every unrecognized entry should automatically be assigned a West Semitic origin and, equally, not every seemingly ‘wrong’ equation should always be dismissed as a misunderstanding on the part of the local scribes (Cohen forthcoming). Our state of knowledge of the lexical tradition with its branches and offshoots, especially during the Middle Babylonian period, is simply too wanting to state such claims without proper caution.

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