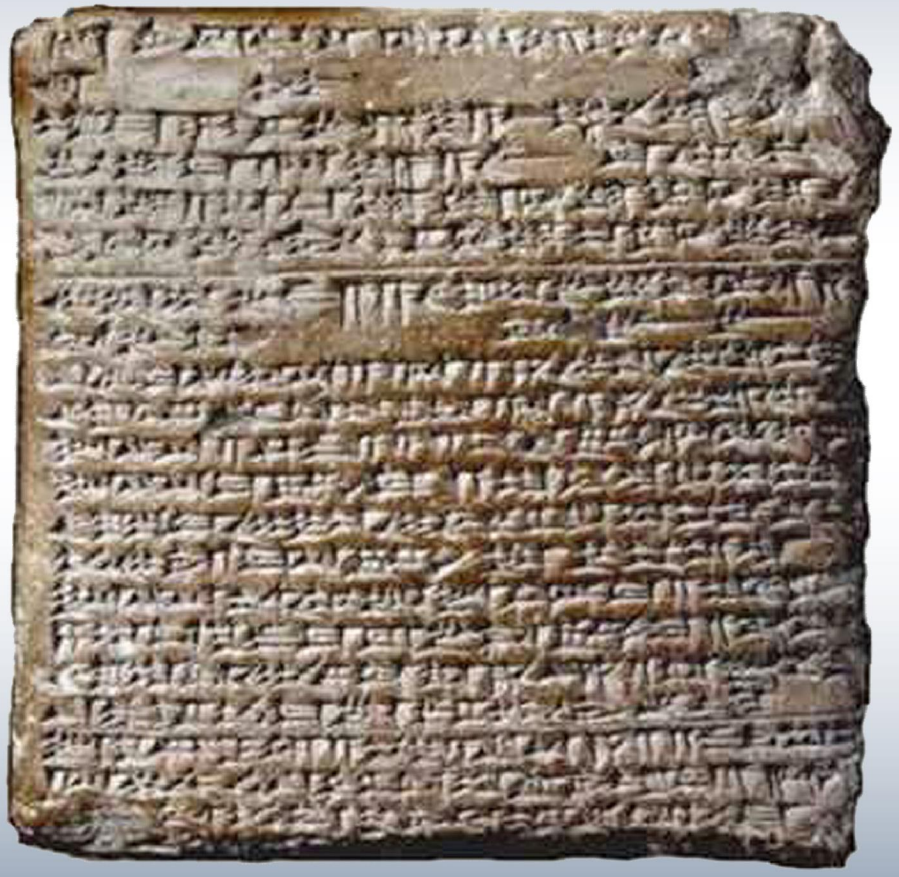
An Introduction To the Hurrian Language



Ilse Wegner

Revised, edited, and reformatted by
Allan R. Bomhard

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FLORENCE, SC
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English translation of *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache* by Ilse Wegner. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag (2000).

Additional changes and corrections were made in December 2022.
The translation of the Hurrian Glossary was completed in January 2023.

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Author Foreword

Among the numerous languages of the Ancient Near East, Hurrian is an important one. But, in contrast to Akkadian or Hittite, there are few descriptions of this language, and summary works documenting present knowledge are non-existent. One of the goals, then, of the present "Introduction" shall be to provide access to the grammar as reflected by current research. Many grammatical phenomena that are introduced here may, however, in the future be modified or even completely reevaluated by others, especially since many aspects of the Hurrian language are still unclear. A scientific grammar, in the strict sense, is not included in this Introduction. The previous aids to the study of Hurrian are, however, all out-of-date and derive from three grammars and one glossary as well as from numerous scattered published articles. Works that introduce Hurrian grammar to the student by means of largely coherent text fragments do not exist. These details shall be taken into account here.

As reading pieces, artificially constructed sample sentences are not used in this work. Instead, the sample texts originate primarily from the Mittani Letters, with a few examples taken from the Boğazköy texts. Following after a strictly grammatical portion comes a series of transcriptions, with a translation and a commentary provided as lessons. Lessons 1—10 are text passages from the Mittani Letters, lessons 11—13 originate from the Hurrian-Hittite Bilinguals of Boğazköy, and lesson 14 treats the Tišatal-Inscription. The text passages that are taken from the Mittani Letters are not arranged by content criteria, but, instead, suitable text fragments are chosen so that the grammatical material progresses from introductory to difficult.

I give many heartfelt thanks in this connection to Dr. Chr. Girbal for reviewing the manuscript and for valuable references and corrections. For Hurrian, we had many conservations concerning the Mittani Letters, especially, from which I received important advice, though some errors may remain.

Dr. J. Klinger has kindly presented clear explanations involved in the construction of the stress patterns. Heartfelt thanks to him for this valubable help.

I thank my husband, Volkert Haas, for making various suggestions, advice, corrections, and, above all, for the constant encouragement that brought this instruction book to completion.

Ilse Wegner
Berlin, Germany
March 1999

Editor Foreword

I came across a partial English translation of the first edition of Ilse Wegner's *Einführung in die Hurritische Sprache* (*Introduction to the Hurrian Language*) on the Internet, and I downloaded it for my own use. I immediately realized that this was a very rough translation, indeed, and that it could benefit from a thorough reworking and reformatting to improve both the English and the presentation. This is what I have attempted to do here. In preparing this revised English version, I have consulted the German original extensively. The German version ends with text samples, indices, and a glossary. These are not included in the English translation that I found on the Internet, and, consequently, they are not included here. I may tackle the missing material at a future date.

A second edition of Wegner's book was published in 2007, under the title *Hurritisch: Eine Einführung*. Unfortunately, this was not available to me. A helpful review of the second edition was prepared by the Russian scholar Alexei Kassian in 2011 (in Orientalia et Classica, XLIII, 517—518). Kassian (p. 518) makes an important point concerning the Hurrian writing systems:

> … the available Hurrian texts were written down in a variety of writing systems (namely, diverse cuneiform traditions and the Ugaritic quasi-alphabet), each possessing its own orthographic devices of encoding the Hurrian speech. In view of these factors, a comprehensive synchronic reconstruction of the Hurrian phonemic inventory turns out [to be] an intricate task which cannot be definitively solved on the basis of our limited text corpus.

I also came across a review of the second edition on the Internet by Dennis R. M. Campbell. According to Campbell, the main differences between the first and second editions are:

> In 2000 Wegner first published her fine grammar of Hurrian. In the years following this publication, a number of new discoveries have come to light, most notably the first articles detailing the Hurrian from Qatna by Thomas Richter. The author was able to include this and related material into her grammar to create a revised second edition that expands upon the original without compromising its quality. Wegner's grammar is not meant to be a detailed linguistic treatment of the language, but rather a learning grammar to be used by both those who already work on Hurrian and newcomers to the language.
>
> The book is made up of four sections: a temporal and geographic breakdown of Hurrian language material (pp. 21—34), the grammar (pp. 35—148), text samples (pp. 149—244), and a word glossary /morpheme index/text register (pp. 245—308). The first section now includes a short synopsis of the material from the Syrian site of Qatna. The format of the grammatical section remains unchanged from the first edition, although it has been revised and expanded, especially the section on "Althurritisch" (pp. 125—39). The text examples from the Mittani Letter, the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, and the Tis-atal inscription remain the same as in the first edition. Wegner has, however, added new and updated commentary on these texts and new samples of Hurrian material from Mari, Ugarit, and Qatna. With these additions, the reader is given a very nice sample of known Hurrian texts.

Allan R. Bomhard
Florence, SC USA
Ausust 2020

The translation of the Hurrian glossary was completed in January 2023.

1

Introduction

Time and Space of the Tradition: A Survey of the Hurrian Language Tradition in Time and Space

A. The time span: inscriptions that are demonstrably written in Hurrian begin in 2230 B.C.E. (Akkadian Period 2230—2090 B.C.E., for the short chronology; otherwise, add 60 years) and stretch up to 1200 B.C.E After that, pockets of Hurrian speakers probably still survived in the hinterlands of Eastern Anatolia.

B. Hurrian may also have existed considerably earlier in Northern Iraq and Eastern Anatolia — for example, traces of Hurrian may be found in Old Sumerian, where some have suggested that the craftsman term *ta/ibira* 'coppersmith' could have a plausible Hurrian derivation: root *tab/v* 'to pour' + *i* +*ri*, being an agent oriented participle = 'he, the one who pours'[1].

C. The spatial extent:[2] The first recognizable appearances of Hurrian occur in Northern Iraq and Northeastern Syrian (Ḫābūr region). In both regions, from ca. 2230 B.C.E. Later, there is an expansion of Hurrians to the Mediterranean Sea and into Anatolia, with Hittite using Hurrian from 1400 B.C.E., mainly in texts of a cultic nature.

Specifically, there is the following evidence: The oldest reports of the Hurrian language, in the form of personal names (PN) and possibly also geographic names of the transtigridian region[3], as mentioned above, come from the Akkadian period.

Akkadian Period (ca. 2230—2090 B.C.E.)

In broadly separated locations in the northern regions conquered by the Akkadian kings, relevant inscriptions are found:

A. In Gasur — the future Nuzi, situated in the northeastern Tigris area — some of the numerous personal names can be identified as Hurrian (Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, 52f).

B. Azuhinnu, situated on the Lower Zāb, is mentioned during the time of Narām-Sin (ca. 2150 B.C.E.). The ruler of Azuhinnu was captured by Narām-Sin. The ruler's name is *Tahiš-atili*, and this is a Hurrian name (Lambert RA 77, 1983, 95). An Old Babylonian period historical text that describes a general rebellion against Narām-Sin also names a king of Simurrum with

[1] G. Wilhelm, "Gadanken zur Frühgeschichte der Hurriter und zum huttitisch-urartäischen Sprachvergleich", Xenia 21, 1988, 50 f. See also lesson 12.
[2] On the first references to the earliest Hurrian language, see M. Salvani, "The Earliest Evidences of the Hurrians before the Formation of the Reigns of Mittanni", Bibl. Mes. 26, 1998, 99ff.
[3] P. Michalowski "The Earliest Hurrian Toponymy: A New Sargonic Inscription", ZA 76, 1986, 4—11.

the Hurrian Name *Puttim-atal* (perhaps, however, this text described a later event; Wilhelm, Grundzüge, 11).

C. Tell Brāk, in the upper Ḫābūr region, is, through the discovery of Old Akkadian seals, to be identified with Nagar. These seals also mention the name of the city's ruler, who carries the Hurrian name *Talpuš-atili*;[4] the name element *atili*, probably being the later *atal*, means approximately 'the strong (one)' (Wilhelm, SCCNH 8, 1996, 336). The element *-atal* is widely used over several centuries (see, e.g., the Names *Na-x-s.e-a-tal* in the Ugarit letter RS 23.031 quoted in Fl. Malbran-Labat, "L'épigraphie akkadienne. Rétrospective et perspectives", in: Ras Shamra-Ougarit XI, 1995, 37).

D. Tell Mōzān, also in the upper Ḫābūr region, can be identified through the continuing excavations since 1987, with the later texts as the well-known city of Urkeš, the old cult-center of the Hurrian godfather Kumarbi. From over 600 seals associated with a queen of Urkeš with the Akkadian name *Uqnītum* 'the lapis-lazuli girl', there is a king (*endan*) of the city named Tupkiš (abbreviation for *Tupki-š(enni)*) and a wet nurse named *Zamena*; both of the latter names are doubtless Hurrian. Also, in another context, we encounter the PN *Unab=še(nni)*, which is Hurrian.[5] The name element *tupki* is encountered — still over a thousand years later — in Nuzi, Alalakh, and Boğazköy. The meaning of this word is unclear.

E. Tell as-Sulaima in the Ḫamrīm region supplies an Old Akkadian letter containing the name *Tulpib=še*, with the element *-še* shortened from *šenni* "brother" (Wilhelm, SCCNH 8, 1996, 337).

Thus far, the cases discussed of the Hurrian language from this epoch consist merely of personal or place names. Consequently, the following texts are more interesting, since, for the first time, Hurrian grammatical elements can be found:

Gutian Period (2090—2048 B.C.E.) up to the Ur-III Period:

F. These appear in the so-called clothes list from Nippur, the religious center of Sumeria (Gelb, "Hurrians at Nippur", in Fs. Friedrich, 1959, 183 ff.). Besides Hurrian personal names like *Šehrin-ewri* and *Tubi*, we encounter grammatical elements like *-hi/e* and *-na*, e.g., 12 *TÚG 'à-ku-hi-na* (root *ag-*) 8 *TÚG hi-šè-lu-hi-na* (root *hešl-),* 5 *TÚG zi-im-zé-hi-na* (root *zimz-*). The above-mentioned tablets are valuable inscriptions on white marble that were a 'splendid-covering letter of a gift delivery'. The origin of the tablets is not known.

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[4] D. Matthews/J. Eidem "Tell Brak and Nagar", Iraq 55, 1993, 201ff.

[5] M. Liverani/L/ Milano: Mozan 2, "The epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season", Philological presentation SNS 5,1 Malibu 1991,19, 25,32; M. Kelly-Buccellati, SCCNH 8, 1996, 247 ff.; G. Buccellati and M, Kelly-Buccellati, "The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse" AK in Fs. Hans Hirsch, WZKM 86, 1996, 66ff with an excursion from M. Salvini on the Name Tupkiš 84ff.; G. Wilhelm, "Zu den hurritschen Namen der Kultepe-Tafel" kt k.k 4 SCCNH 8, 1996, 335ff with fn,. 17: *un=a=b=še(nni)* "The brother comes".

Atal-šen

G. Among the ruins made when the Guti destroyed the Akkadian dynasty (the Akkadian dynasty ended swiftly with *Šar-kali-šarri* [ca. 2114—2090 B.C.E.]), the first inscription bearing witness to a tangible Hurrian state was found. From this period, we have a discovery from Samarra named the "Bronze Tablet". The inscription is composed in the Akkadian language and is written in the Old Akkadian ductus. Its contents include a "Foundation Inscription" for a temple of the God Nergal, which is first mentioned in Inscription of Narām-Sin. The god Nergal is referred to as the 'King of Hawalum', a state in the Diyāla region.

At the foundation of this temple, one can recognize a king with the Old Hurrian name *Atal-šen* (*šen* a reduction of *šenn* "brother"), who is described as the king of Urkeš and Nawar. His father is given as the still not well-known king *Šatar-mat* — this name also can be interpreted as Hurrian.[6]

The inscription says (quoted from Wilhelm, Xeenia 21, 1998, 47):

> "To Nergal, the King of Hawalum, Atal-šem, the capable herdsman (?), the king of Urkeš and Nawar, the son of the King Šatar-mat, the builder of the Temple of Nergal, the destroyer of (his) rivals. Whoever destroys this tablet, Šamaš and Ištar will make his seed be 'pulled up'. Šaum-šen (has) …. made/is the maker of the …."

Atal-šen is identified is this inscription as the king (LUGAL) of Urkeš and Nawar. Urkeš was first assumed to be in the West Tigris area (Thureau-Dangin RA, 9, 1912, 1 ff.), later in the Ḫābūr drainage (Goetze, JCS 7, 1953 62 f.), then equated with Tell Amuda, on the Syrian-Turkish border, and finally has been identified with Tell Mōzān.[7] Nawar was earlier identified with a land named Namri or Namar, which was located in the Zagros region between the Diyāla and the Lower Zāb. This led to the suggestion of a very extensive early Hurrian state. Recent finds prove, however, that Nawar was also in the Ḫābūr region, so that the assumption of early Hurrian state is to be rejected (D. Oates, Iraq 49, 1987, 188). The name Nawar has recently been interpreted as Hurrian (*nav=ar* 'Place of the pasture') (Wilhelm, Amurru 1, 1996, 178 f.).

Ur III Period (2047—1940 B.C.E.)

H. In the following Ur III period, a Hurrian-speaking population settled in the mountainous zones west and north of Mesopotamia, as well as the region north of the Diyāla. In the countless economic texts of the Ur III period, Hurrian PNs are still frequent (e.g., in Drēhem, a suburb of Nippur, *Šagir-Bazar* is attested). Probably, the bearers of Hurrian personal names arrived as prisoners of war in Southern Mesopotamia under *Šulgi* (2029—1982 B.C.E.), the second king of the Ur III dynasty. From the Ur III period comes the oldest reference known to date to the great Hurrian goddess *Ša(v)uška* from Niniveh, in the text ^{D}*ša-u$_{i8}$(ÙLU)-ša,* ^{D}*ša-ù-ša,* ^{D}*ša-u-ša* (all without the element *-k-* [Wilke, Drevnij vostok 5, 1988, 21ff.]). The name of this goddess is 'the most great (godhead)' (Wegner, SCCNH 7, 1995, 117 ff.)

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[6] The first treatment of the tablet is from Thureau-Dangin, "Tablette de Samarra" RA 9, 1912, 1 ff.

[7] G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati "The Identification of Urkesh with Tell Mozan (Syria)", Orient Express 1995/3, 67—70.

Tiš-atal

The reign of *Šu-sin* (1972—1964 B.C.E.) marked a turning point in the story of the Ur III dynasty. Under the pressure from Amorite tribes from the northwest, the country was driven into a defensive posture, as can be seen by the construction of a wall against these nomadic groups (the wall was located north of Baghdad, extending from the Euphrates to the Tigris and on to the Diyāla).

Two documents from Ešnunna (= Tell Asmar)[8], composed in the third year of the reign of *Šu-Sin* (that is, 1970 B.C.E.), mention a Hurrian prince named *Tiš-atal*, called the 'Man of Niniveh', and thus must have ruled over the northern part of Assyria, including the temple city of Niniveh, A ruler with a similar name, and most likely identical with *Tiš-atal*, the 'man of Niniveh', is attached to the tradition of *Atal-šen* or even *Tupkiš*. Like *Atal-šen* this (second) *Tiš-atal* (old reading: *Tiš-ari*) left a foundation inscription on the construction of a Nergal temple, except this document was written in the Hurrian language! This document — known as the *Tiš-atal-* or Urkeš-inscription — is, therefore, the oldest known inscription in the Hurrian language.[9]

Tiš-atal is described in this inscription — just as the above-mentioned *Tupkiš* — as '*endan*' of Urkeš, a title that is thus far not fully understood. At first, this title was interpreted as coming from the Sumerian *entu-* (priestess) (in early works of the text, we find the reading "*Tiš-atal* priestess?" from Urkeš), but today, one favors a Hurrian derivation. It probably contains the element *-tan*, which would correspond in later texts to the suffix *-tann/-tenn* that serves to indicate job designations. The remaining *en* is derived either from Sumerian EN "lord" or Hurrian *en(i)* "God" (Wilhelm, The Hurrians, 1989, 11).

A king from Kar(a)har in seal legends is also named *Tiš-atal* (^{D}*Tiš-atal LUGAL Kar(a)har*). (Earlier, the name was read as *Ankiš-atal*, which is also in RIA.) Kar(a)har = Ḫarḫar is situated west of the Tigris in the Diyāla Area. The possibility that this *Tiš-atal*, king of Kar(a)har, is to be identified with the *Tiš-atal* of Urkeš, is made very unlikely by the great distance between the towns.

Old Babylonian Period (ca 1800—1530 B.C.E.)

I. In the Old Babylonian period, one finds increasingly widespread Hurrian Personal Names (PN), but also texts in the Hurrian language itself. From southern Mesopotamia, possibly from the city of Larsa or from Enegi, which lies in the region influenced by Larsa, come invocations in the "Hurrian", that is "Subarian" language (to so-call non-canonical invocations VAS 17, 5,6 and YOS 11, 64); ten texts were recognized as Hurrian by van Dijk, one as Subarian.[10] One of these invocations properly is against serpents (?), another names "Teššub of Kumme". Altogether however, these invocations are largely incomprehensible.

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[8] Whiting, JCS 28, 1976, 173 ff.: Wilhelm, The Hurrians, 1989, 11/42, 1948, 1—20.

[9] This tablet was previously dated to the end of the Akkadian period. The language stage of the Tiš-atal inscription is denoted in the literature as "Old Hurrian". The first work on the Tablet appears in A. Parrot and J. Nougayrol, "Un document de fondation hourrite", RA 42, 1948, 1—20.

[10] J. van Dijk, "Fremdsprachige Beschwörungstexte in der Südmesopotamischen literarischen Überlieferung", in Mesopatamien und seine Nachbarn, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, Bd I/1. Hrsg von H-J. Nissen/J. Renger. Berlin, 1982, 97 ff.

Language relationships: The term *su-bir*$_4^{ki}$ (= Akkadian geographical term *s/šubartu*) for Sumerian and Babylonian corresponds to the region of northwestern Mesopotamia. *eme-su-bir*$_4^{ki}$ (= Subarian language) was originally a collective term for the languages of the people from this region, and thus originally did not correspond to a linguistic unit.

A. Ungnad[11] says the name Subarian, that is, Subarish, only applies to the language of the Mittani Letters and the Boğazköy Hurrian.

I. J. Gelb (Hurrians and Subarians 108), however, draws a sharp distinction between "Subarian" and "Hurrian" in that he uses Subarian for the linguistic and ethnic substratum of northern Mesopotamia from the earliest times, distinguishing the Hurrians as later arrivals.

These positions later had to be given up because the Hurrian language itself is described by Sumerians and Babylonians as "Subarian".[12] Nevertheless, in earlier times, the term "Subarian" also referred to non-Semitic and non-Hurrian languages (possibly Lullubaian or also Gutian?). In later times, however, *eme-su-bir*$_4^{ki}$ doubtless also meant Hurrian.

The term "Hurrian" appears in the texts from Boğazköy, which appears in Akkadian writing of the time as the "Hurri-Land", that is, "The people of Hurri". However, the word was first read as *harri* (the cuneiform sign HUR also has the values HAR and MUR) and, inasmuch as the united gods in the treaty between *Šuppiluliuma* I and *Šattiwaza* of Mitanni have Indo-Aryan parallels, the designation "Hurrians" was interpreted as the oldest Indo-Aryans.[13] This hypothesis was very soon found to be untenable when texts were discovered that had the Hittite adverb *hurlili* "Hurrian", that is, *hurla-* "Hurrian" as an equivalent in the Mittani Letter itself (namely, the membership adjective *hurr=o=he/hurv=o=he* in the titular (?) of the king *Tušratta* from Mittani) and succeeded finally in convincing all that "*hurri*" instead of "Subarian" was the proper name. It is thanks to Speiser's great research on this issue that the name "Hurrian" was finally universally established.[14]

Old Babylonian Mari

J. A further source of Hurrian texts from the Old Babylonian period is Mari, an important metropolis on the middle Euphrates. The archive of Mari has so far produced six Hurrian texts, five of which are described as invocations and one text is probably a letter.[15]

One of the invocations (no. 1) is directed — as far as it is understandable — against the "tooth worm" and, thereby, forms a parallel to the familiar Akkadian invocation. Another (no. 4) was a recitation for trapping the *gergiššum-* '(skin) illness'. The Hurrian gods *Teššub*, *Kumarbi*, and *Ša(v)uška* (here still in the old form *ša-ú-úš-a-an*) are named. Otherwise, these texts are still poorly understood. Numerous Hurrian personal names are found in ration lists, where it sounds like they lie at the lower levels of society.

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[11] See A. Ungnad, Kulturfragen 1, Breslau, 1923; id., Subartu, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Völkerkünde Vorderasiens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1936, 24 ff.

[12] Chiera/Speiser AASOR 6, 1926, 75 ff. Speiser AASOR 13, 1933, 13 ff.; id., IH 2 ff.

[13] Winckler, MDOG 35, 1907, 1 ff.; id., OLZ 13, 1910, 289 ff.

[14] Speiser IH 1 ff.; Wlhelm, Grundzüge 1982, 2 ff. id., The Hurrians 1989, 2 ff. In the Old Testament, the form *hōrī(m)* appears, without, however, corresponding to Hurrian in the historical and linguistic sense.

[15] Thureay-Dangin, RA 36, 1939, 1—28; Salvini, RA 82, 1988, 81.

K. The modern site Tell Bī'a, situated near Raqqa on the upper Euphrates, is traditionally identified with the cuneiform inscriptions as the city Tuttul. From this excavation comes a still incomprehensible text that is a duplicate to the Mari Invocation no. 4 (*gergiššum-* '(skin) illness'). Another, like the Mari tablets, has an Akkadian text on the front, showing the invocation from the tablets of Tell Bī'a on the front and back sides. Also, this text is nearly incomprehensible. In any case, the preserved Akkadian tablet inscription fixes the invocation against the illness 'red skin rash' (*gergiššum*).[16]

Hurrian Personal Names appear in various places: outside Mari in Šağir- Bāzār (here, the names are about 20% Hurrian), Tell ar-Rimah (= Karana, situated between Niniveh and the Sinğar regions), Dilbat, Tikunani (in the Northern Ḫābūr region), etc. The names, for the most part, are contained in name lists covering natural tasks and craftworks. The prism of the King *Tunib-Teššub* of Tikunani contains a list of Ḫabiru people, a great portion of which have Hurrian names. Also from Tikunani comes a text fragment in the Hurrian language.[17]

L. In Šušarrä, on the upper course of the Lower Zāb, there exists a local kingdom. Its ruler has the Hurrian personal name *Kuwari*. Numerous personal names (e.g., *Hašib-Teššub*, *Talpu-šarri*, *Unab-šenni*, etc.) and Hurrian words suggest that a Hurrian-speaking populace was dominant here.[18]

In the second half of the 18th century B.C.E., after the death of *Šamši-Adad* of Assyria, numerous local principalities formed in upper Mesopotamia whose rulers had Hurrian names.[19]

Alalakh VII

M. From a westernmost Old Babylonian period site, with texts possessing not only Hurrian personal names but also words with Hurrian grammatical elements, is Alalakh level VII (first half of the 17th century, ca 1560 B.C.E.). The city of Alalakh is situated on the lower reach of the Orontes. Approximately half the preserved personal names are now known to be Hurrian.[20] The Hurrian influence reached into the state cult, with one oath in a contract being an oath to *Teššub* and *Ištar*.

Middle Babylonian Period (15th/14th centuries B.C.E.)

The following layers, Alalakh VI-V, were inscriptionless. In the following level, Alalakh IV, a distinct number of Hurrian personal names are found; about three quarters of all the personal names are now known to be Hurrian. Hurrian or Hurrian-Akkadian words are encountered as technical terms of the political and economic administration and cult practices, but also as typical

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[16] See Krebernik/Strommenger 1980—1995: Tuttul (Tal Bï'a). Ausgrbungen in der Stadt des Gottes Dagan, in Zwischen Tigris und Nil 100 Jahre Ausgrabungender Deutschen Orient-Geselschaft in vorderasien und Ägypten, Hrsg G. Wilhelm, Sonderhefte der Antiken Welt, Mainz, 1998.

[17] M. Salvini, The Habiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššub of Tikunani, Rom, 1998.

[18] J. Eidem, The Shemshara Archives 2, The Administrative Texts, Copenhagen 1992; Wilhelm, The Hurrians, 1989, 13.

[19] E.g. Atal-šenni from Burundum or Šukrum-Teššub from Elakhut. See Wilhelm, Grundzüge, 1982, 20 ff.

[20] A. Draffkorn(-Killmer), Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalakh: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis, Diss. Univeristy of Pennsylvania, 1959, 17.

daily subjects. It is Hurrian numerals that are used. Here, Hurrian texts still have not been found. To the east of the Orontes in the state of Qatna, there is an inventory text for the goddess *bēlet ekalli*, with Hurrian technical terms. Hurrian personal names are attested as well. From Nuzi, the successor state to the Old Assyrian Gasur, but also properly descended from the kingdom of Arrapha, come thousands of documents, whose language, while Akkadian, has a strong Hurrian stamp in the lexicon and syntax (so-called "Hurro-Akkadian"[21]).

Mittani Letter

N. An important testimonial of the Hurrian Language is the well-known (since 1888—1889 C.E.) letter from the Mittanian King *Tušratta* to the Pharaoh Amenhotep that was written in 1365 B.C.E. (Mittani Letter). The letter belongs to a dossier of 14 writings altogether (12 letters and 2 gift lists) that *Tušratta* sent to the Egyptian court (Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV). Unlike the other *Tušratta* writings, which all were written in the Akkadian language, this one is written in Hurrian. Moreover, it is over 500 lines long. Probably, this document accompanied the bridal party of the princess on her trip to the Egyptian court. The tablet was found in the Egyptian archive of El-Amarna.

The contents of the Mittani Letter are part of the marriage correspondence between *Tušratta* and Amenhotep III and discuss the project of the marriage between the Pharaoh and a daughter of *Tušratta* named *Tadu-Heba*. The negotiations concerning the marriage had stretched over several years and ended happily with the arrival of the princess in Egypt. Amenhotep III, however, died soon after the marriage. Marriage alliances between Egypt and Mittani were an established tradition. There was a marriage between a daughter (name unknown) of *Artatama* (I) (the grandfather of *Tušratta*) and the Pharaoh Thutmose IV; also a daughter of *Šuttarna* II, the father of *Tušratta*, and thus sister of *Tušratta*, named *Kelu-Heba* became a secondary wife to Amenhotep III.

The "Mitanni-Letter" is close in thematic and stylistic terms to the letters *Tušratta* composed in Akkadian, so one can treat the document as a quasi-bilingual work. It reveals a good deal about Hurrian grammar and semantics. This letter is, from a linguistic viewpoint, the most reliable source. It forms the basis for the understanding of Hurrian grammar and is the foundation of all the grammars thus far; it also serves as the prime example for this work. The Mittani Letter is particularly notable for having a strict orthography — the other Hurrian texts are not done in this manner.

History of the Mittani State: The origins of the Mittani State are still unclear. Shortly before or after 1500 B.C.E., the kingdom of Mittani emerged in northern Mesopotamia. The oldest record for the name Mittani does not come from a Mesopotamian archive, but from a grave inscription of an Egyptian official from the time of Thutmose I (ca 1497—1982 B.C.E.) "… a land, one called it Mittani. The enemy…." (Brunner, MIO 4, 1956, 323—327). As Mait(t)ani, the land is mentioned in older Mesopotamian sources (Sauštattar Seal of Urkunden from Nuzi; *Ma-i-ta-ni*). In sources from Nuzi/Arrapha of the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.E., there appears for Mittani the still totally obscure name Hanigalbat or Haligalbat, in the oldest form also Habingalbat. With the Mittani king *Parrattarna* through the mention in the Idrimi inscription, we get the first approximate data, ca. 1470 B.C.E. (Rouault SMEA 30, 1992, 254.)

[21] See G. Wilhelm, "Untersuchunger zum Hurro-Akkadischen von Nuzi", AOAT 9, 1970.

At the apex of the of the Mittani state. stands one dynasty, whose kings' non-Hurrian throne names are deceptive and certainly, or still with great probability, are linked etymologically to Indo-Aryan (*artatama* = Vedic *ṛtá-dhāman* 'this living place that *Ṛta* is', *Tušratta*[22] = Vedic *tveša-ratha-* 'this war-chariot (?) monster advances', *Šattiwaza* = Old Indo-Aryan **sati-vāja* 'contestant of good obtains', Vedic *vāja-sāti* 'the obtainer of goodness' [Mayrhofer, Arier, 1974, 23—25]). Among the gods worshipped by the Mittani kings of the later 14th century B.C.E., there were *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Indra*, and the *Nāsatya*-deities, gods of the Vedas, the oldest Indian literature. These gods were in two god summaries of contract texts; namely, they are mentioned in the contracts between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza as divine oaths. The rest of the Indo-Aryan language terms are found in the names of the military nobility titles like *marianni=na* 'charioteer', in the expression for the bride-price *úadu-ranni* (= Indo-Aryan *vadhūrā* 'bride-gift'[23]), and in certain expressions on the training of chariot horses (Kikulli Text). The name Mittani is a geographical term and not a language or ethnic term.

Tell Brāk

O. Tell Brāk (= Nagar in the upper Ḫābūr region) provides a Mittani-period letter fragment in the Hurrian Language (published in Wilhelm Iraq 53, 1991, 159ff.). In this legal document, the names of the Mittani kings *Artašumara* and *Tušratta* are found.[24]

Ugarit

P. The next place to mention that has provided Hurrian material is on the North Syrian coast located in the mercantile state of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra). From the tombs come important texts for the understanding of Hurrian of various types, including:

1. A short Akkadian-Hurrian Bilingual of 8 Akkadian, 11 Hurrian lines;
2. A Sumerian-Hurrian list of the series *HAR-ra = hubullu*, 9 tablets;
3. A Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian and a Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian-Ugaritic vocabulary;
4. Various Hurrian fragments in Babylonian script, including a letter that mentions the city of Carchemish (= Karkemish);
5. A religious Hurrian text written in Ugaritic consonantal script, which is important for understanding the values of the Hurrian consonants.[25]

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[22] Also Tuišeratta in documents from Tell Brāk, see N. J. J. Illingworth, Inscriptions from Tell Brak, 1985, Iraq 50, 1988 83ff.

[23] See M. Mayrhofer, "Eine indo-arischer Rechtsterminus im Mittani-Brief?", in Hist Sprachforschung 109, 1996, 161—162. For the widely discussed "Aryan" problem, see A. Kammenhuber, "Die Arier in the Vorderen Orient", 1968, and the response by M. Mayrhifer, :Die Arier im Voderen Orientein Mythos?:, Wien, 1974.

[24] I. Finkel, Inscriptions from Tell Braq, 1984, Iraq 47, 1985 191ff. N. J. J. Illingworth, Inscriptions from Tell Braq, 1985, Iraq 50, 1988, 99ff.

[25] Laroche in Ugaritica V (1968).

Emar

Q. Dating from among the later Hurrian language inscriptions are the texts from Emar (destroyed 1187 B.C.E.; modern Meskene, situated on the middle Euphrates). These include a lexical list of the series *AN=anum* and omens. All the texts are at present still unpublished. Several words and forms have, however, appeared in the works published by Laroche 1976—1977 and 1980 in his Glossaire de la langue hourrite (GLH).

Assyrian Merchant Colony

R. In Asia Minor, there are references to the Hurrian language in the following situations: While thousands of documents from the Old Assyrian period have been preserved, Hurrian words or Hurrian names in these texts are still only found occasionally. This situation will, however, change as progress is made on the publication of the remaining Kūltepe texts.[26]

One of the rulers of Kaniš (modern Kūltepe) received a legal letter from a prince of the city Mama (located in the vicinity of Maraš) with the name *Anum-hirbe*.[27] This name is — by general consensus — considered to be Hurrian. A linguistic analysis of the name has been done by Wilhelm in Amurru 1, 1996, 176 Anm. 15: *an=o=m hirve* (so it does not include the God-name *Anum*, but instead the verbal root *an-* 'to be happy').

Another letter of North Syrian origin from Kaniš names the sender as a certain *Ehli-Addu* and the letter receiver as *Unapše*. Under the named witnesses appears the probably also Hurrian name *Tuhuš=madi*. This witness came from Haššu in north Syria; another witness who comes from a place in the same region is named *Zibuhuliwe*.[28] Furthermore, the letter addressed to *Unapše* mentions a "scribe who understood and read Hurrian".[29]

Boğazköy

Extensive Hurrian linguistic material has been uncovered in the archive of the Hittite metropolis Hattušaš. The following text classes have been found so far:

1. Omens: Astrological and birth omens, still on the Akkadian model.
2. Historical Texts: So far only a few broken fragments of these are known.
3. Mythological Texts: Large fragments of the Gilgameš Epic, the story of the hunter *Kešši*; texts from the Kumarbi cycle; one song described as a literary work on the kingdom in heaven.
4. Conjuration or purification rituals (e.g., the series *itkalzi* and *itkahhe*; the ritual of the lady *Allaiturah(h)e*); feast rituals, offering lists).

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[26] See the Hurrian personal name Titin-atal in Kt 90/k, 223 9 Tí-tí-na-tal, C. Michel and P. Garellu, Tabletter Paleo-Assyrienees de Kültepe, Volume 1, 1997, 33.

[27] K. Balkan, "Letter of King Anum-hirbe of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish", Ankara 1957, TTKY VII/31a.

[28] The place name contains the root *zib-*, the title-forming suffix *-uh(u)li* and the genitive suffix *-ve*: *zib=uh(u)li=ve*.

[29] See K. Hecker, "Zur Herkunft der hethitischen Keilschrift", SCCNH 8, 1996, 291 ff. (Revised from a lecture from 1990, mentioned in Corum.) See also G. Wilhelm, "The Hurrians in the Western Parts of the Ancient Near East", Michmanim 9, 1996, 17 f.; Veenhoof, SCCNH (next to thes econd letter of Unapše). For the name Tuhušmadi, see Wilhelm, SCCNH 8, 1996, 342, who considers that it may also be of Anatolian origin.

5. From the new excavations in the upper city of Boğazköy in 1983 come multiple tablets that provide complete Hurrian-Hittite Bilinguals. These Bilinguals provide another thus far unknown literary genre in the ancient near east, namely, so-called "Parables".[30] The series mentions, in its colophon, the title *kirenzi* 'release', corresponding to the Hittite *para tarnumar.* The word *kirenzi* corresponds with the Akkadian expression *andurāru* and Biblical Hebrew *dərōr* [דְּרוֹר] 'emancipation of slaves' (Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 8 ff.). The text was written down in the Middle Hittite period (14th century B.C.E.), but the basic meaning can be found in older occurrences (e.g., from the destruction of Ebla in Old Babylonian times.)

History: The Hurrian Boğazköy texts date to the 14th or 13th centuries B.C.E. Nevertheless, the presence of the Hurrians at least in southeast Anatolia seems to have been known from the foundation of the Old Hittite Empire. Hattušili I (1650 B.C.E.) reports in his annals that the enemy *Hanigalbat* (noted first during Old Babylonian times, later in Akkadian sources often employed for Mittani)/Hurri entered in the land and the land altogether fell away, until Hattušaš alone remained. This proves that the Hurrians in the Old Hittite period represented a very important factor and a powerful opponent to the Old Hittite Empire. Under Muršili I, the successor of Hattušilis I, the Hurrians once more pushed into Anatolia. It was probably this renewed advance that prompted Muršili I, during his successful Babylon venture (ca. 1631 B.C.E.), to leave behind the stolen god images in Hana on the middle Euphrates and face the Hurrians. From Terqa, also situated on the middle Euphrates, comes a text that could be related to this event (Rouault, SMEA 30, 192, 252 with Anm. 24). In the following weak period after the Old Hittite Empire, the local kingdom of Kizzuwatna forms, which, in the following period, acted as mediator to bring Hurrian cults to Hattušaš. The Hurrian influence derived from the mediation of Kizzuwatna is clearly noticeable in the Middle Empire of Hatti. For example, the Hittite Kings have Hurrian personal names (*Tašmešarri* = Tuthalia III, *Šarri-Teššub* = Muwattalli II, *Urhi- Teššub* = Muršili III, *Hišmi-Šarruma* = Tuthalia IV) and also the queens of the dynasty of the Middle Empire and Great Imperial Period have Hurrian names: *Nikkalmadi* (wife of Tuthalias I/II), *Ašmunikkal* (wife of Arnuwandas I), *Tadu-Heba* (wife of Tuthalias III), *Pudu-Heba* (wife of Hattušili III).

Near the Turkish villages of Ortaköy (= Hittite Šapinuwa) with Çorum, ca. 50 km northeast of Boğazköy, numerous new texts have been found beginning in 1990. Among these, several Bilinguals, multiple Hurrian Texts of the series *itkalzi*, and other Hurrian texts have been found. This material is unpublished (as of 1999).

S. In the first millennium B.C.E., Hurrian texts are no longer found, but several words and Akkadianized Hurrian words still persist (for example, the name of the goddess *Ša(v)uška* appears at the time of Sargon).

Dialect Structure from M. L. Khačikjan (Churritskij i urartskij jazki, Yerevan, 1985): Hurrian inscriptions are scattered and dispersed so widely in time and space that M. L. Khačikjan, a student of the Russian scholar I. M. Diakonoff,[31] divided them into six dialects, that, to different degrees, show the development of a structural transformation of Hurrian from a predominantly

[30] Published in KBo. 32, work from Neu, StBoT 32; see here lessons 11—13.

[31] Also Diakonoff himself has, based on the work of Khačikjan, discussed the dialect structure of the Hurrian language rules, see I. M. Diakonoff, "Evidence on the Ethnic Division of the Hurrians", SCCNH 1, 1981, 77—89.

"active"[32] structure to an ergative one. (This dialect structure has, however, not been adopted by all researchers, see Girbal/Wegner ZA 77, 1987, 147 ff.) Thereby, the following dialects are recognized:

1. The dialect of the *Tiš-atal* inscriptions (also Urkeš dialect), called "Old Hurrian";
2. The "Babylonian" dialect (in the Old Babylonian oaths/rituals from Larsa and Mari);
3. The dialect of the Sumerian-Hurrian *HAR-ra* list from Ugarit;
4. The dialect of the remaining Ugarit texts;
5. The Boğazköy dialect;
6. The Mittani dialect.

The "Babylonian" dialect (2) is, according to Khačikjan, the most archaic one. It possesses the opposition condition/action and gradually acquires (?) the opposition transitive/intransitive. The Urkeš dialect (1) also appears to be relatively archaic. In these two dialects, according to Khačikjan, the verb in the 3rd person singular is still conjugated according to the principles of "active" structure, whereby the suffix *-b* indicates the subject for the verb of action, regardless of whether it is transitive or intransitive (for information on the suffix *-b*, see §109). The dialect of the Sumerian-Hurrian list (3) is likely not derived from two previous dialects, but marks an independent development.

Dialects 4—6 have the most in common: Ergative structure (see §33 ff.) is pronounced, and transitive and intransitive verbs are conjugated differently. A common innovation is the perfect (that is, preterite) suffix *-oš-*. These three dialects appear to have a common origin, perhaps the "Babylonian" dialect.

The Ugarit, Mittani, and Boğazköy dialects, therefore, must be regarded as a linguistic group, in which the Boğazköy text apparently, in contrast to the Mittani Letter, is the earliest. The Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual is to be considered to a certain extent a special case, in that here the inventory of forms, in particular, contains verbs predominantly in so-called "Old Hurrian". It thus contains, for the first time, verbal endings like *-i=b, -a=b* and *-o=m*.

[32] The notion of the "active" structure was first coined by Klimov (G. A. Klimov, "On the Character of Languages of Active Typology", in Linguistics 131, 1974, 11—25). It is believed that, in these languages, the verbs support the opposition condition/action, while in ergative structure, the corresponding opposition is transitive/intransitive. While all transitive verbs are also verbs of action, this does not apply in the reverse case. Verbs like 'to laugh', 'to cry', 'to walk' are, in principle, not transitive, but are in the sense of "active" structure, verbs of action (see also Girbal/ Wegner, ZA 77, 1987, 145 ff.).

2

Introduction to Grammar

A. Relationships and Typological Characteristics

1. Genetic Relationships

Hurrian and Urartian, a language closely related to Hurrian from the first millennium B.C.E.,[33] belong to the so-called "isolated" languages of the Ancient Near East. Just as with Sumerian and Hattic, so with Hurrian-Urartian — no convincing genetic relationships to other languages have been established with sufficient certainty.

Genetically-related languages are understood as a language family or group, that is, they all derive from a common root language (Sternemann/Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 140). (Large, genetically-related language families are, e.g., Indo-European, Uralic, Afroasiatic, Dravidian, Altaic/Transeurasian, Niger-Kordofanian, and so on. Even today, there are still languages with no proven genetic connections, e.g., Basque or Burushaski — also the origin and connections of Etruscan are still not clearly known.)

However, more recently, several scholars have attempted to place Hurrian (and Urartian) in a specific language family. Candidates include a possible connection with Northeast Caucasian languages, which have certain similarities with Hurrian-Urartian. For example, in his book Hurrisch und Urartäisch, published in 1971, the Russian linguist I. M. Diakonoff speculated that a relationship with the Caucasian languages Nakh and Lezgian could exist (HuU 161 f). Then, Diakonoff and Sergei A. Starostin published a work in 1986 in which they looked for proof of the relationship of Hurrian and Urartian with Northeast Caucasian and also reconstructed, from the numerous individual Caucasian languages, a "Proto-East Caucasian" (PEC).[34] From these investigations, both authors concluded that Hurrian-Urartian was related to Northeast Caucasian. According to Diaknoff and Starostin, the nearness of the expected relationships derived here placed them on a par with those involving the oldest inscriptions of the Indo-European language family — probably, an all too optimistic assumption. Several of the documented parallels were surely nothing but accidental, others were unclear or too few in number to provide such a tight relationship between them. Particularly important was, naturally, the structure of the nominal and verbal complexes, where one can demonstrate, indeed, a number of clear correspondences. The

[33] The Urartian tradition begins at the end of the 9th century and ends in the middle of the 7th century B.C.E. Its settlement zone extended, to a large extent, to that which corresponds with a region that was the territory of Greater Armenia in classical times. The center of the Urartian Empire and its capital Tušpa lay in eastern Anatolia on the shore of Lake Van. The Urartian texts are written in a variant cuneiform introduced from Assyria, which was used primarily for rock and stone inscriptions. In linguistic terms, newer examinations show that the two languages Hurrian and Urartian are actually two dialects or better treated as two stages in linguistic development, whereby Urartian stands nearer to the so-called "Old Hurrian" (see M. Salvini, Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges, 1995, pp. 2 ff., 193 ff.)

[34] I. M. Diakonoff and S. A. Starostin, Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language, MSS Beihelf 12 N. F., München, 1986.

hypothesis, altogether, has several things going for it. However, above all, it depends on the reliability or unreliability of the intra-Caucasian etymological relationships, which are hardly verified. Despite the great difficulty of the examination of individual languages and despite the large temporal distance between Hurrian-Urartian and the Northeast Caucasian languages, it cannot be rejected entirely out of hand. One is convinced that some derivations have proven to be false: Diakonoff and Starostin, p. 58: *havurni* means, according to the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual and the Ugarit Vocabulary, 'heaven' and not, as the authors suggest, 'earth'. Thus, the reconstruction of the PEC term **qwy'rV* 'field' is invalid. The same goes for the Hurrian term *eše*, identified in the Bilingual as 'earth' — it does not mean 'heaven' (PEC **ʔamsV*).

Thus, the hypothesis of a genetic relationship between Proto-Hurrian-Urartian and Northeast Caucasian, as advocated by Diakonoff and Starostin, still requires further confirmation.[35]

In 2010, Arnaud Fournet and Allan R. Bomhard prepared a study in which they tried to demonstrate that there were non-Indo-Aryan Indo-European (grammatical and lexical) elements in Hurrian. Bomhard now (2020) takes these to be the result of prehistoric language contact.

2. Typological Characterization

Typologically, Hurrian belongs to the "agglutinating"-type of languages, a discovery already made in the first work on the Mittani Letter shortly after it was discovered (see Messerschmidt, "Mitanni-Studien", MVAG 4/4, Berlin, 1899, 2 ff.; Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 69 ff.; Sternemann/ Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 75).

The examination of languages for possible genetic connections is, however, not the only way that languages can be compared or classified. In numerous languages, entirely independent of their genetic relationships, one can recognize similar traits and processes in their structure. (However, in covering genetic relationships and typological similarities, one must not ignore the other [Sternemann/Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 75].)

The examination of structural traits is the area of typology. The typologically relevant traits are morphology, phonology, and semantic-syntactic traits. Valid traits for all languages provide realizations of so-called "universals", while those valid for only certain languages are called "near universals" (Sternemann/Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 76 ff.)

The actual originator of the classification by typology was Fr. v. Schlegel at the beginning of the 19th century. In the course of the development of the field, these classifications underwent various changes, but, nevertheless, much linguistic research today still uses four basic types (including several subtypes) in discussions, which ultimately come from a classification proposal by W. v. Humboldt. Succinctly, for the sake of simplicity and clarity, we can say that the languages of the world can be divided typologically into these four basic types (see Sternemann/ Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 179 ff.)

A. *The "isolating" language type* (also known as the "monosyllabic type"). This language type is identified by the fixed forms of its words. Particularly distinctive for this type are the so-called "root isolating" languages like Old Chinese, which express terms — with very few exceptions — through monosyllabic words. The monosyllabic words are

[35] See the review by W. Farber, ZA 78, 1988, 314 ff. and R. Smeets, "On Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language", BiOr 46, 1989, 259—279.

conveniently identified with one-syllable morphemes, a formative, which in the linguistic literature is called the "root". The morphology of the word changes, or the morphology of the word construction does not exist. Morphologically marked word types are also not found. One and the same root word can, depending on its position in the sentence, represent various word types and fulfill different functions. The characterization of the syntactic function of words is based on their location in the sentence; this language type possesses strong rules concerning word order (in the case of Old Chinese, it is S(ubject) P(redicate)O(bject) (see Sternemann/Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 80; this book is also where the following sentences were taken from):

A sentence:	*wǒ*	*bù*	*hē*	*chá*
	"I"	not	drink	tea

(Subject) *wǒ*, (Predicate) *bù hē*, (Object) *chá*

By positioning it after the "verb", *wǒ* functions as the "object", we obtain:

tā	*ài*	*wǒ*		
he/she	love(s)	"I"	=	"she loves me"

Languages of the isolating type change, in course of their development, to agglutinating types; for Chinese, this development occurred in Middle Chinese (around the 6th century C.E.). Other languages of this type are Vietnamese, Khmer, and Malay.

B. *The "polysynthetic" (or incorporated) language type:* To this language type belong a large numbers of mainly exotic languages, like Ainu, Chukchi, and Eskimo languages. The main feature of these languages is that a number of non-independent or independent morphemes fuse together to form so-called "complex words" — a type of structure in which these words can only be used and understood in their polysynthetic form and not as individual morphemes (Sternemann/Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 85).

C. *The inflectional language type:* The Indo-European and Semitic languages belong here. The defining characteristic of this group of langauges is that words change their form depending upon their grammatical function.

Thus, essentially, whenever inflection exists, the inflectional morphemes can express several meanings (for example, Latin *amic-ā* nominative+singular+feminine 'friend'), or a grammatical function can be expressed through several different morphemes: e.g., German *die Gäste* (signals the plural in three different ways: article+umlaut+ending) as opposed to *die Messer*, which signals the plural only once through the article.[36]

D. *The agglutinating language type:* To this type belong the majority of languages in the world. The languages in this group — quite independent of their genetic affiliations — are characterized as having an unchanging root as their "smallest common denominator".

[36] The German and Latin examples follow Sternemann/Gutschmidt, Einführung, 1989, 85 f.

Grammatical elements (morphemes) are attached (or "agglutinated") onto this root through affixation (prefixation, infixation, and/or suffixation). In this way, strikingly long morphological chains can be produced, in which vowel harmony is also frequently found (i.e., the adjustment of the vowels of the affixes to the stem or root vowel).

As essential criteria, one further finds that each affix or morpheme carries only one grammatical meaning, and, thus, one speaks of "separable exponents" of the grammatical morphology (unlike the "cumulative exponents" of inflectional languages).

An example: The inflected language Latin forms genitive singular masculine thus: *amic-ī* 'of the friend'. By contrast, the agglutinating language Hurrian needs two terms here (gender is not distinguished): root 'friend' + singular marker (= Ø or *ni*) + genitive case marker (= *ve*).

The affixes can be purely suffixes, but there are also languages that use prefixes as well as suffixes, or only prefixes.

Within the Ancient Near East, the following belong to the agglutinating language type: Sumerian (uses prefixes and suffixes), Hattic (prefixes and suffixes), and Hurrian and Urartian (both languages only use suffixes). Modern languages of this type include Turkish, the Finno-Ugrian languages, and the Bantu languages.

An example from Turkish:	*ev*	=	'house'
	ev=in	=	'of the house' (genitive)
	ev=ler=in	=	'of the houses' (genitive, plural)

A large number of agglutinating languages share a further common characteristic, the so-called "ergative sentence structure", whereby they show, to varying degrees, ergative syntactical alignment — some languages construct only certain tenses ergatively (so, e.g., Georgian) or only certain persons. These phenomena are designated by the term "split ergativity" (German "gespaltene Ergativität"). In the Ancient Near East, for example, Sumerian belongs to this type. "Split ergativity" appears, to a certain extent, to be the normal case (Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 88). Only Hurrian and several Australian languages (like Dyirbal) are marked linguistically as examples of full ergative alignment, in which ergativity appears consistently through all tenses, persons, pronouns, etc. (Plank, *Xenia* 21, 1988 76 ff.) Furthermore, as will be shown below, Hurrian also displayed examples of "split ergativity".[37]

In summary, agglutinating languages possess the following characteristics:[38]

1. The mono-functional status of morphemes, i.e., each suffix keeps its individuality and meaning;
2. No semantic fusion of grammatical elements;
3. No multiple meanings (polysemy) of single morphemes;
4. The relatively loose construction of root+affix, i.e., easily recognizable morpheme boundaries;
5. The syllable independence of affixes;

[37] See the review of Haas/Wagner in StBoT 32 in OLZ 92, 1997, 440 f., 454.
[38] From V. Skalička, Typologische Studien, Braunschweig, 1979; F. Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 80 ff.

6. The chaining together of the morphemes of a word, often accompanied by vowel harmony;
7. Suffix rich;
8. The null-term for the root-category of the paradigm (indicative mood, present tense, absolutive case, singular number);
9. No gender.

Ergative sentence structure: The typological classification of Hurrian and Urartian as languages with ergative alignment is an important contribution of Russian scholarship.

In 1967, Diakonoff wrote an article in Russian in which he investigated the sentence structure of, not only Hurrian-Urartian, but also Elamite and Sumerian, and recognized all of them as ergative.[39] This idea replaced the aniquated idea of the "passive verbal interpretation"[40] of Hurrian.[41] In 1964, F. W. Bush published his dissertation, A Grammar of the Hurrian Language (GHL), without, however, recognizing the ergative structure of Hurrian.

In 1971, I. M. Diakonoff published a grammar entitled Hurrisch und Urartäisch (HuU), in which he compared the Hurrian and Urartian languages. This grammar also contained the results of the Russian article from 1967 mentioned above.

In 1985, M. L. Khačikjan published a revised version of Hurrisch und Urartäisch (Churr. i uraru.) (in Russian).

Bush, Diakonoff, and Khačikjan noted the ergative sentence construction for Hurrian in their works, without, however, recognizing the anti-passive sentence construction. Khačikjan, as well as Speiser, defined a sentence type called the "equative" construction" and subsumed under it both the nominal sentences and "antipassive" sentences (e.g.. Hurrian *šen=iffə šuda=man fašš=oš=i*, where *fašš=oš=i* is understood as the normalized participle: 'My brother (is) my sender (?)'). This sentence is actually an antipassive construction: 'My brother has sent me' (the object, that which was to be sent, is not expressed).

H. J. Thiel (Phonematik, 1975, 193 ff.) introduced the term "antipassive" for Hurrian. The idea of "antipassive" was originated by M. Silverstein for Chinook, a Native American language of Northwest America [Theil took the term from a manuscript by Silverstein from 1971]. See M. Silverstein "Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity", in R. M. Dixon [ed.]: Linguistic Series *22*, Canberra, 1976, 140—143).

Definition of Ergativity (derived from the Greek word for 'work'[42]): The basic distinction in languages with ergative structure is that between transitive and intransitive verbs, whereby ergative sentence structure can only be used with transitive verbs. This applies also to Hurrian: transitive and intransitive verbs each possess separate rules for conjugation suffixes.

With languages that use case endings on nouns like Hurrian, the subject of intransitive verbs has an endingless case, called the "absolutive". (In their descriptions of ergativity, many authors use the term "nominative" for this endingless case. This usage is not advisable, for the so-called

[39] I. M. Diakonoff, Jazyki drevnej Perednej Azii, Moscow, 1967, 29 ff.,113 ff.

[40] The essence of the "passive verbal interpretation" as used for the Caucasian languages, states that a verbal usage, when an actor (Urheber, Agent) and a target (Patient) participate, was represented in a linguistic manner with a reversal of that which usually appears in the Indo-European languages: The subject is not the actor but the target, which correctly follows the verbal predicate rules, while the actor stands in an oblique case.

[41] So J. Friedrich, "Kleine Beiträge zur hurritschen Grammatik", MVA(e)G 42/2, 1939, 19; Speiser, IH, 10.

[42] Girbal, Hattisch, 1986, 137; Plank, Ergativity, 1979, 4 ff.

“nominative” of ergative languages is not the same as the nominative of nominative-accusative languages.)

The subject of transitive verbs, by contrast, appears in another case, called “ergative” (also “agentive” = “acting person”). This case is identified through a particular ending. (The ergative function can be provided with a separate case. It can, however, also share a case that has another function; this is, for example, the situation in Avar, where the ergative function is shared with the instrumental case.)

Also characteristic of ergative structure is the fact that the target (direct object) of transitive verbs does not appear in the accusative (= object case) — which does not occur in such languages —, but in the endingless absolutive case.

The absolutive is thus the case that identifies both the subject of the intransitive verbs (‘the man comes’) and also the direct object of the transitive verbs (‘The man struck the dog’).

An example of an intransitive sentence: ‘The man comes’: **tahe=Ø un=a=Ø*

(subject *tahe* ‘man’ in the absolutive singular with the null-marker (-*Ø*); verbal root *un-* ‘come’, intransitive marker (-*a*) + null-marker (-*Ø*) for the 3rd person singular intransitive) and a transitive sentence:

‘The man hits the dog’: **tahe=š erbi=Ø id=i=a*

the man (*tahe=š*: subject of the transitive verb in the ergative with -*š*)
the dog (*erbi=Ø*: absolutive with null-marker [-*Ø*] = direct object of the transitive verb)
hits (*id-* ‘to hit’ transitive verb + -*i* transitive ending + -*a* 3rd person singular transitive)

A number of ergative languages also posses a further sentence construction, the so-called “antipassive”. The antipassive construction occurs when one uses a semantically transitive verb without naming the target (the direct object). In our case, such a sentence would be:

‘The man hits’: **tahe=Ø id=i=Ø*

The semantically transitive verb *id-* ‘hit’ is used here without a direct object. The subject, *tahe* ‘man’, has lost the ergative marker -*š*. It, therefore, now appears in the endingless absolutive case (Ø); the verb has the ending -*i*, the marker for a transitive verb, while the person-marker follows the intransitive conjugation, in which the third person singular null-marker (-*Ø*) appears.

Description of the Antipassive: In the antipassive sentence construction, as the above example shows, a semantically transitive verb is conjugated like an intransitive verb, i.e., a direct object in the absolutive is no longer expressed. The active subject loses the ergative marker, i.e., it now appears in the endingless absolutive case. The participle stem of the transitive verb follows the intransitive conjugation with regard to particular person markers, whereby, for the third person singular, a null-marker (-*Ø*) appears.

The distinction between the intransitive and antipassive usage of a transitive verb is, then, exclusively the marker of intransitivity: -*a-* with intransitive and the marker -*i-* of transitive verbs, even when conjugated with the antipassive.

There are, however, also languages which allow a target (= direct object) to be expressed with the antipassive construction. However, under no circumstances (like the agent) can these appear in the absolutive but must bear the mark of an oblique case. One example of this is from the previously mentioned Dyirbal language, in which the dative is used for this purpose.[43]

Comparable constructions of such an "extended" antipassive usage are obviously found in so-called "Old Hurrian" as well, where a transitive (non-ergative) verb shows an object with a form in the essive case: *kirenz(i)=a* (essive)*=mma šar=i=b* 'and (= *mma*) he demanded (*šar=i=b*) release (*kirenz(i)=a* essive)'; see Haas/Wigner, review of StBoT 32 in OLZ 92, 1997, 445; (see additional examples also under lesson 10, "Old Hurrian"; for the eventual appearance of these sentence types in the Mitanni Letter, see below).

Summary: Hurrian is an agglutinating, purely suffixing language with ergative syntactical alignment (at least in the Mittani and partly in the Boğazköy dialect) and antipassive constructions. In the Boğazköy texts, particularly in the Bilinguals, there are further sentence types of the "extended" antipassive sort (for possible examples of the "extended" antipassive in the Mittani Letter, see below). "Split ergativity" comes in modal forms (jussive).

A particular peculiarity of Hurrian (and Urartian) is the so-called "suffix reception", a form of the congruence merger in attributive constructions (for "suffix reception" see below and Table 1, p. 47).

A typologically close relationship occurs with Dyirbal, an Australian language which possesses numerous typological similarities to Hurrian (Plank, Double Case, 1995, 30 ff.).

B. Writing and Sound Studies

Writing, Orthography, and Phonetics

A. Hurrian is written in the syllabic Babylonian cuneiform script and, to a limited extent also, in the Ugaritic alphabetic script.

Heterograms are relatively rarely used. The script is, therefore, in practice, a true syllabic script. The use of Sumerograms or Akkadograms in the Hurrian texts, which serve to support comprehension, can also make interpretation much more difficult.

B. At different places and different times, various "Cuneiform-proper writings" came to be used for Hurrian, particularly to represent sounds peculiar to Hurrian that Akkadian lacked. The considerable number of variant Hurrian orthographies are as follows:

C. In Mari, northern Mesopotamia, and in the early texts of Arrapha and Nuzi, Hurrian phonemic doubling of intervocalic consonants is rarely, if ever, reproduced graphically. Similarly, the sounds [u] and [o], also [h] and [ğ] are not distinguished graphically. Differences are also found in the treatment of the sound [s]: In Mari, older Arrapha,

[43] See Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 172 with reference to R. M. W Dixon, "The Syntactic Development of the Australian Languages", in Mechanisms of Syntactic Change, ed. by Charles N. Li Austin, 1977, 365—415. See also Girbal/ Wegner, ZA 77, 1987, 150, with fn. 8. For an extensive discussion of the "antipassive" concept above see: I. Kalmár "The Antipassive and Grammatical relations in Eskimo", in F. Plak, Ergativity, London 1979, 117—143.

Meskene, etc., [s] is expressed with Š-signs, but the voiced allophone (i.e., the position-dependent variant of a phoneme), unlike [s], is, in particular positions, occasionally written with Z-signs, whereas in Mittani and Boğazköy, [s] and the position-dependent voiced allophone of [s], [z] are always written with Š-signs.

C. In Mittani, Syria, Nuzi, and Boğazköy, syllabograms, which were used in the Old and Neo-Babylonian for Akkadian voiceless and voiced consonants, are used fundamentally without any distinction; thereby, "double" writing of consonants (as the sign combination VC-CV) were used for Hurrian long consonants, while a single writing represented the voiced allophone of the short consonant in the given position. The positions in which a voiceless short consonant of a voiced counterpart occur are: between vowels, attached to *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, and at end of words. So, for example, the signs *DI* and *TI* at the beginning of a word are read as a voiceless [ti], while the same signs between vowels or the genuine voiced consonants *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* are to be read [di]:

e.g., given the signs	*ad-da-*	or	*at-ta-*	are read	*/atta/*
	ak-ku-	or	*ag-gu-*		*/akko/u/*
whereas the signs	*a-ta-*	or	*a-da-*	are read	*/ada/*
	a-ku-	or	*a-gu*		*/ago/u/*

In Mittani-syllables and commonly also in Nuzi and Boğazköy, the cuneiform signs:

GI is to be read /ke/ or /ge/, with *e*-vowel;
KI is to be read /ki/ or /gi/, with the *i*-vowel;
KU is to be read /ko/ or /go/, with the *o*-vowel;
GU is to be read /ku/ or /gu/, with the *u*-vowel.

The cuneiform signs *U* and *Ú* were only consistently distinguished in Mittani. The following phonemic opposition appears in the Mittani Letter:

U-sign = [o]
Ú-sign = [u]

That there was a vocalic system consisting of five vowel qualities (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) is confirmed by a student tablet of (Emar)-Meskene (Msk 7462; D. Arnaud, Emar, VI.4, 1987, Nr. 601), which notes:

WA-*u* : *BU-u*	vowel *o*
WA-a : *PA-a*	vowel *a*
WA-e : *BE-e*	vowel *e*
WA-i : *BI-i*	vowel *i*
WA-ú : *BU-ú*[44]	vowel *u*

[44] So also the autograph.

The rules of Hurrian orthography were consistently used only in the Mittani royal office. This orthography, which is known as the "normal orthography", was, in principle, also used in Boğazköy and Nuzi. However, here, the handling was considerably more careless. So *i* is often not graphically distinguished from *e* and also [u] and [o] are not always clearly distinguished.

E. Similarly, Old Babylonian and Hittite cuneiform, as well as Hurrian, use the sign *PI* for the syllable *wa*, but the Mittani Letter also uses it for *we*, *wi*, *wu*. The Hurrian Boğazköy texts avoid this uncertainty with the aid of particular signs *WA+A* for wa_a, *WE+E* for we_e etc.

The signs *AB*, *IB*, *UB* before *WA* represent the syllables *aw*, *ew* ~ *iw*, *uw* (hence *AB+WA* = *aw-wa*, in Mittani also *aw-we*, etc.) — in transliteration, they are written as *áw*, *éw*, *íw*, *úw*. The sign *IB* has the reading *EB* in word-initial position, which is frequently written in Boğazköy as *e-IB-*.

In Mittani, the reading of the vowel for *WA* is determined through the next syllable when this begins with a vowel *WA+UT-* = *wu-ut-*. If the next syllable begins with a consonant, without the vowel for *WA* indicated in the orthography, or with the syllable *AH*, there can be multiple interpretations of the reading: *WA-ri-e-ta* = *wu-ri-e-t*a = *fur=ed=a* 'he will see', *WA-AH* can be read *wa-ah*, *we-eh*, *wu-uh*, etc.

For the sign combination *WA*+subscript *ap/b*, *ip/b*, *p/bu*, in transliteration, they are represented as *wa+ap/b* [$wa_{ap/b}$], *wa+ip/b*, that is, *wi+ip/b*, *wa+p/bu*, that is, *wu+p/bu*, inasmuch as their interpretation is still an outstanding issue.[45]

F. Different script rules for different signs are required for the sound combination labial spirant+vowel:

Labial Spirant + a: Cuneiform signs *BA*, *PA*, *WA+A* [wa_a] (only Boğazköy), *ú+a* (this only after *u* is probably [wa]).
Labial Spirant + i: Cuneiform signs *BI* (= *bé*), *p/í*, *WA* (Mittani), *WA+E* [we_e], *WA+I* [wi_i] (only Boğazköy), *ú+e*, that is, *ú+i* (only after *u*, then probably [we]).
Labial Spirant + u: Cuneiform signs *B/PU*, *WA*, *WA+U* [wu_u], *WA+ú* [$wu_ú$], *ú+ú* [wu] or [ü].

So, for example, the genitive marker *fe* [ve][46] is expressed in the Mittani Letter with the cuneiform sign *WA* (without a vowel sign) or through the sign combination *ú-e* (thus only after the vowel *u* then probably [we])[47]; in Boğazköy, through the cuneiform sign *-pí*, *WA+I* > wi_i; *WA+E* > we_e and also *ú+e* (for *u*); in Meskene, through the sign *-be*; in Ugaritic alphabetic script, through *-w* (the genitive of the god name Teššub is, however, represented in Mittani and Boğazköy with the signs *-ub-bi* = *up-pí*; in Ugarit, however, it appears as *-p* [Tšb+we > Tšp], hence, it is voiceless, probably the sound *-*obwe* > [*-owwe] > [-offe], from Diakonoff, HuU 27 [Tessoffe], see also Laroche, Ugaritica V, 1969, 529 ff.).

[45] For *wa+ap* as *af(f)*, that is, *av*, see Thiel/Wegner, SMEA 24, 1984, 208 f., fn 31, and HZL, 318
[46] The genitive and also the dative marker, to be more easily comprehensible, will here each be described in the normal manner, which is always as *-ve*, that is, *-va*. Also, we will present *WI*, *-WE*, *-BI* after *-u-* as *-ú-e*, that is, *-WA*, $-WA_a$, *-PA*, *-BA* after *-u-* as *ú-a*.
[47] See Speiser, IH, 26, 43, 109; Laroche, GLH, 91 f. and 136 f.

For the dative marker *fa* [va] in the Mittani Letter, the syllabogram *WA* (without vowel sign) is used as well. After [u], the sign combination *-ú-a* (probably [wa]) is written.[48] In Boğazköy, *-pa*, *WA*, *WA+A* > wa_a is written, in Meskene, also *-ba*.

The enclitic possessive suffix of the first person singular appears graphically as *-IP-WA* = *íw-wə* /iffe/, *IP-WA-Ú-* = *íw-wu-ú-* /iffu/.

In certain orthographies, the sign *WA* can also be used for *ew*, that is, *iw* — e.g., *WA-ri* = <ew-ri> /evri/ 'gentleman'.

In the Mittani Letter, among the stops, the signs *PA*, *TA*, *KA*, *TE*, *TI*, and *DU* are still used but not the signs *BA*, *DA*, *GA*, *DI*, and *TU*. The Mittani Letter appears, therefore, to have a reduced sign inventory. In the Boğazköy-texts, there is nothing comparable.

The presence of consonant pairing is characteristic in Hurrian:

1. A consonant is voiceless at the beginning of a word (e.g., *da-he*, i.e., *tahe* 'man'); a short (single) consonant next to another consonant is also voiceless (e.g., *aš-du-u-u-uh-he*, i.e., *ašt=o=hhe* 'female'). In certain positions, it develops into a voiced allophone:

    1a. Next to a genuine voiced consonant like *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, a short consonant develops a voiced allophone (e.g., *ar-te*, i.e., *arde* 'town'; *an-ti*, i.e., *andi* 'that'; *ge-el-ti*, i.e, *keldi* 'hail');
    1b. Between vowels (e.g., *a-ta-ni*, i.e., *adani* 'stool'; *i-ti-ia*, i.e., *id=i=a* 'he struck');
    1c. At the end of a word.

2. A double consonant is lengthened, voiceless, and probably has still further traits (e.g., *ad-da-ni*, i.e., *attani* 'father').

The allophonic rules for the voicing of consonants is certain, inasmuch as they are found, on the one hand, in the alphabetic texts of Ugarit, but also independently in the writing of Hurrian personal names by Babylonian scribes in Nippur, Nuzi, etc.

The distinction between single and double consonants in intervocalic position, as occurs in the Mittani Letter, therefore, represents a phonemic opposition of some kind, but the exact nature of this contrast is still unclear (besides voiceless ~ voiced, for some authors,[49] it is aspirated ~ unaspirated. It can even be treated as "glottalized" ~ "non-glottalized").[50]

Summing up, is the following determination: A single consonant is voiceless and short; next to another consonant it is also voiceless; in certain positions, it transforms into the corresponding voiced allophone. The positions are: between vowels; next to *l, m, n, r*; and at the end of a word.

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[48] See Speiser, IH, 26; Laroche, GLH, 133 f.

[49] H. J. Thiel, Phonematik: 1975, 116 ff.: "The following representation of the Hurrian consonant system represents, as opposed to the usual interpretation, a contrast between 'lengthened' and 'unlengthened' (compared with the previous treatments as a contrast between 'voiced' ~ 'voiceless' or 'geminated' ~ 'ungeminated') …" The phonetic characteristic of the aspirated segment is — for Thiel — "length" for obstruents (generic term for stop and frictive) and, further, voicelessness, with the occlusive at the end of the word perhaps also glottalized. "The unaspirated segment contrasts with this by being short and voiced when next to a voiced segment …" See Khačikjan, Churr. i urart., 23 ff.

[50] See Wilhelm, Orientalia 54, 1985, 489.

According to Diakonoff (HuU, 52—53) and Khačikjan (Churr. i uraru., 43), Hurrian has the following phonemes:

The Phoneme Pair			
Voiceless long	Voiceless short	Voiced allophone (only allophone of the short consonant in certain positions)	Signs
/ff/	/f/	with allophone [v]	<ww>-<w>
/pp/	/p/	with allophone [b]	<pp>-<p/b>
/tt/	/t/	with allophone [d]	<tt/dd>-<t/d>
/ss/	/s/	with allophone [z]	<šš>-<š>
			<z> in Mari
/cc/	/c/ = [ts]	with allophone [dz]	<zz>-<z>
	/c'/	?	<s>
/kk/	/k/	with allophone [g]	<kk/gg><k/g>
/hh/	/h/	with allophone [ġ]	<hh>-<h>
/ll/	/l/		
/mm/	/m/		
/nn/	/n/		
	/r/		

As for the liquids (lingual sounds), probably only the single consonants *l* and *r* are present. *ll* as a voiceless variant of *l* is probably not present; *mm*, *nn*, and *rr*, as distinct phonemes, are also probably not possible. Double *ll* and *rr* are most likely assimilated results of *l+n* > *ll*, *r+n* > *rr*.

The doubling of *ll* in the root *hill-* 'to inform' can be shown to be from the petrified (iterative) morpheme *l*. This *l* appears also in the root *hub-* 'to break' and *hub+l-* 'to break completely' also perhaps *pugl-* 'to meet'. Final *l* or *r* is found only in loan words.

An *r* ~ *l* exchange is a dialect feature that can be observed in Boğazköy: e.g., with *avari* 'field' beside *avalli-* 'field'.

G. *The vowels*: Hurrian has the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, and *o*. This has now been confirmed by the previously mentioned student tablet from Emar/Meskene. Hurrian probably also had *-ə*, but the writing is identical with *e* or also with *i* or *a*.

The vowel [u] is written in cuneiform with the sign *Ú*, The vowel [o] is written in cuneiform with the sign *U*.

The distinction between *U* (= *o*) and *Ú* (= *u*) comes from Bork and Speiser (Speiser, IH, 22 f.; see also Bush, GHL, 42) . It is made, because the sign Ú appears in combination with *e* as *-ú-e*, or with *a*, as *ú-a*, = *we* or *wa* in certain dialects, whereas U = *o* is never used in such combinations for *we* or *wa*.

The graphical marking of *o* and *u*, however, is only carried out consistently in the Mittani Letter:

e.g.	*u-u-mi-i-ni*	/ômini/	'land'
	šu-u-we	/šove/	'mine' (genitive of the independent personal pronoun

			1st person singular)
but	*šu-ú-ta*	/šuda/	'to me' (directive of the independent personal pronoun 1st person singular)
	šu-ú-ú-ra	/šura/	'together with me' (comitative of the independent personal pronoun, 1st person singular)
	úr-ru-um-	/ur=om-/	'to be busy'

In the other dialects, the distinction not only between *u* and *o*, but also between *i* and *e* is not consistently carried out. Thus, one finds in Boğazköy, on the one hand, multiple spellings for one and the same word:

e.g.	*šu-u-ni* and *šu-ú-ni*	'hand'
	e-di but also *i-di*	'person, self' (in Mittani, only *e-di* is written)
	i-ra-de but also *e-ra-de*	'bird'

On the other hand, one must, however, take into consideration that the Boğazköy texts do not show a uniform orthography, so that certain texts show more careful writing than others (see also Giogieri/Wilhelm, SCCNH 7, 1995, 37 ff.).

Diphthongs: *ai*, *ia*, *ie* (written *a-i* or *a-e*, *i-a*, *i-e*), e.g., *a-i* 'when, if', or *u-i-a-(man)* = *oja(=man)* '(but) not'.

Plene-Writing: In Hurrian orthography, plene writing (i.e., writing of one or even two vowel signs after a syllabogram of the type C(onsonant)V(owel) or before a syllabogram of the type VC) is an additional characteristic. It is used:

a) To distinguish the vowels *e* and *i*, or *u* and *o*:

ú-ni-e-IT-ta = *un=et=t=a* 'they will bring' and 'she will come' (Mit. III, 12, 21)
-ni-e = *-ne*, so-called "article"

but:

ti-i-ha-ni-tén = *tîhan=i=(i)d=en* 'they want to show' (Mit. III, 24)
pa-li-i = *pal=i* 'he knows' (Mit. II, 56)
šu-ú-ta = *šu-da* 'to me' (Mit. I, 50)
ú-ú-ri-a-a-aš-še-na = *ûr=i=a=šše=na* 'which he desires' (Mit. I, 108)

but:

šu-u-we = *šo=ve* 'mine' (Mit. III, 40)
u-u-mi-i-ni = *ômini* 'land' (Mit. I, 90)

b) To produce diphthongs:

u-i-a-ma-a-an = *oja=mân* 'but no' (Mit. IV, 46)
ši-i-e = *šije* 'water'

c) One case of the use of plene writing is difficult to explain but seems not to indicate a long vowel (Diakonoff, HuU 32). See, however, Wilhelm, Orientalia 61, 1992, 125, in which the supposition is made that "as a rule a strong accent on the penultimate syllable leads to the lengthening of this syllable (e.g., the *plene* writing [Wegner]) and produces or can produce a simultaneous shortening of the preceding syllable(s)."

(The representation of the *plene*-written syllables by means of the symbols *â*, *ê*, *î*, etc., in the intelligible inscriptions, is used principally with certain particles in this work. Here, an important alternative is apparent; occasionally, one also has words where plene writing in the root syllable distinguishes meaning: e.g., *ur-* [*ú-rV-] 'to exist' and *ûr-* [*ú-ú-rV] 'to desire'; *hâš-* [*ha-a-aš-] 'ointment' and *haš-* [*ha-aš-/*ha-šV-] 'to hear'; *tar-* [*ta-rV-] verb of unknown meaning and *târ-* [*ta-a-rV-] 'fire'; *pal-* 'to know' [*pa-lV-] and *pâl-* 'false?'[51] [*pa-a-lV-]; probably also *pahi* 'head' [*pa-a-hV-] and *pahe* meaning unknown [*pa-hV-], perhaps derived from the verb *pah-* 'to destroy'.)

H. Broken writings occur in Alalakh IV, Nuzi, and Boğazköy occasionally for double consonants: e.g., ^{URU}*Igingal-iš* > ^{URU}*Igingalliš* 'the town of Igingalli'; *kulah-e-na* > *kulahhena* 'the so-called' (Wilhelm, SCCNH 8, 1996, 339, Anm. 26; id., Fs. Kingel, 1997, 283, Anm 34. For the suggested meaning of *kulahhe-*, see Wegner, SMEA 36, 1995, 97 ff.).

Still unclear are writings like *ta-a-e* ("Ugaritic Vocabulary", RS 94—2939, col. V 5')[52] for the normal *ta-(a)-hi/e* and *ta-ah-e* 'man' or *i-ti-i-ih-[in]* for *i-ti-i-e-in* both 'he wants to strike (the enemy)' (ChS. I/5, Nr. 47 Rs. IV14 and Nr.46 Rs. IV 39'; for additional examples, see Wegner, ZA 85, 1995,122 and 125, with Anm. 23).

I. Assimilation with the rare consonantal stem can occur with the genitive and dative, e.g., ^{URU}*Igingal(l)išša* < ^{URU}*Igingal(l)iš+va* (dative) 'for the town of Igingalliš' (KBo. 32, 19 I .5), ^{D}*Hebatte* < ^{D}*Hebat+ve* (genitive) 'of the goddess Hebat' (Laroche, GLH. 101).

Metathesis is reported with the god name *Kušuh* (*Kušuphi* < *Kušuh+ve*) (Laroche, GLH 158), as also with the verb *tašp-*, later *tapš-* 'to destroy' (see section 210) and the number word *kig* + *še* > *kiški* 'third' (see section 70).

Principles for arranging Hurrian Lemmata in the dictionary and the word-catalogues (see also Wilhelm, Orientalia 54, 1985, 489). The principle for the ordering of Hurrian words follows the arrangement of the standard works on Hurrian personal names from Nuzi (I. J. Gelb, Nuzi Personal Names [NPN], [OIP 57], Chicago 1943); it matches the arrangement found in Hittite dictionaries and name lists.

The principles used are not claimed to have any phonological or phonetic accuracy. However, they appear useful. Acccordingly, voiced consonants (such as *b*, *d*, *g*) are placed under their voiceless equivalents (such as *p*, *t*, *k*), with the usual exception of *w* for *f* or *v*.

Furthermore, the graphic doubling of consonants is neglected in the ordering, although the distinction between single and double consonants in intervocalic positions is a phonemic

[51] Suggested meaning for this root by Friedrich, BChG, 40.

[52] B. André-Salvini/M. Salvini, "Un nouveau vocabulaire trilingue sumérien-akkadien-hourrite des Ras Shamra", SCCNH 9, 1998, 7, 17.

opposition, the strict definition of which is still open. Consistency in single and double writing is only found in Mittani. For a dictionary and word catalogue, however, according to previous research findings, that distinction hardly occurs, since innumerable exceptions exist. (The relationship between single and double consonants in other positions, such as at the beginning of a word, is also totally unclear.)

Thus, when phonetic organizing principles are not useful, and phonemic ones are not possible, one merely follows a convention. This organization is also followed in this work, with the additional feature that *c* [ts] is placed under *z*. The rare *s*-containing words (such as *su-bi-*) are included under *š*.

(E. Laroche only used these principles in a haphazard manner in his Glossaire de la langue hourrite — he follows them for the voiceless consonants [this is because the Hurrian texts in the Ugaritic alphabetic script produce the voiced consonants], expanding the alphabet to include *b*, *d*, *g*, *z*.)

Transcription: With the transcription (really transliteration), the procedures are as follows: When a cuneiform sign represents Media and Tenuis and, in both cases, it carries the same index, the unvoiced variant is chosen, thus *ap*, *at*, not *ab*, *ad.* As is normally the rule,[53] the sound with the lower index figure is inserted, thus, *be*, *bi*, not *pè*, *pí.* With double consonants, this principle is adjusted, so *ab-bi* or *ib-be*, not *ap-pí* or *ip-pè*. The syllable signs *AB*, *IB*, *UB* are written as *áw*, *íw*, *úw*, when the following syllable starts with *W*, thus *IB+WA = íw-wa*

Bound Transcription: The bound transcriptions are graphemic; hačeks are retained throughout; also, /ḫ/ is consistently written /h/. Phonetic [u] and [o] are distinguished. The short consonants are also reproduced phonetically. The possessive pronoun of the third person is marked with *-i-*. The genitive and dative markers are uniformly reproduced with *-ve* and *-va*. A circumflex (*â*, *ê*, etc.) indicates the plene-writing of the corresponding vowels.

C. Hurrian Roots

Syllable Structure

Hurrian roots, by a large majority, consist of a single syllable that is fundamentally unchanging. One can distinguish the following commonly occurring types:

A. Roots of the type C(onsonant)V(owel)	*pa-*	'to build'
	ha-	'to name'
Or V(owel)C(onsonant)	*un-*	'to come'
	ar-	'to give'
	id-	'to strike'
Nominal roots	**el*	'sister'
	**en*	'god'
Roots with VCC	*itt-*	'to go'
	ašš-	(?)

[53] An exception is the sign *TIN*, which is here reproduced as *TÉN*.

Nominal roots	*att	'father'
	*all	'mistress'
VC_1C_2	ašh-	'to sacrifice'
	ašk-	'to ask (?)'
Nominal roots	*ard	'town'
	*ašt	'wife'

B. The commonest root type is CVC	tad-	'to love'
	tan-	'to make'
	haš-	'to hear'
	hil-	'to inform'
	kad-	'to speak'
	pal-	'to know'
	zaz-	'to make eat [verköstigen (?)]'
Nominal roots	*šen	'brother'
	*šal	'daughter'
	*ner	'mother'

C. Roots of the type CVCC	pašš-	'to send'
	nahh-	'to sit'
	nakk-	'to dismiss'
CVC_1C	kunz-	'to throw oneself down (?)'
	hemz-	'to bind'

D. Reduplicated roots	keligel-	'to raise up'
	wirwir-	[*firvir-*] 'to loosen (?)'
With syncope of the vowel /-i-/	kelgel-	'to raise up' (< *keligel-*)

E. Two-syllable roots of the type CVCVC like, e.g., **šehel* 'to purify' or *zulud-* 'to loosen' are probably not real. In the case of **šehel,* there appears the root *šehl-* with an anaptyctic[54] vowel; with **zulud*, there is a root **zul* with a formative (?) *-ut-* [*-ud*].

F. Primary nominal roots like *šen-a* 'brother', *ner-a* 'mother', and *att-ai* 'father' are rare.

Up to three optional root extensions can be attached to these roots; the root and root extensions (in the following, abbreviated RE) then form the stem.

D. Noun Morphology

To the root and RE of the nominal stem, a final vowel (also called a "thematic vowel") can be added, which is frequently *i* or *e*, or, more rarely, *a*; Hurrian *u*-stems are not securely proven.[55]

[54] Anaptyxis, that is, the insertion of a secondary vowel, appears most often between liquids and nasals when these are attached to another consonant. Note, for example, the nouns *torbi* and *torubi* 'enemy', *purli* and *puruli* 'temple' (Laroche, GLH, 274 and 206).

The decision on whether an *-i-* or an *-e-* stem is present can only be established in the Mittani orthography. Since naturally all words do not appear in the Mittani Letter, and examination of the quality of the final vowel hardly happens, in the following discussion, *-i-* and *-e-* stems are treated together (see also Diakonoff, HuU, 60 f.).

Stems that end in a consonant do not occur, expect with a few god names like *Hebat*, *Kušuh*, *Nubadig*, and with particles like *tiššan* or *pegan*.

i/e-stem:	*ašti*	'wife'
	eni	'god'
	eli	'feast'
	pâhi	'head'
	edi	'body'
	hani	'child', (from *han-* 'to give birth')
	furi	'look' (from *fur-* 'to see')

(The final thematic vowel /i/ is written /e/ for the nominalized action by Wilhelm, Orientalia 61, 1992, 140.)

tahe	'man'
arde	'town'
tive	'word'
eše	'earth'
taše	'gift'

a-stem: The *a*-stem is basically restricted to relationship terms and god names:

šala	'daughter'
šena	'brother'
ela	'sister'
nera	'mother'
mena	'twin (?)'
GN *Ša(v)uška*, rarely *Šimiga* (usually *Šimige*)	

One of the few words that does not belong to either of these categories is:

tiša	'heart'

Diphthong stems:	*allai*	'lady'
	attai	'father'
	šije	'water'

[55] As the final vowel, *u* appear with adverbs (e.g., *ašhu-* 'above'), but principally with particles (*inu-* 'how', *panu-* '(al)though').

The following formants, that is, stem-building elements, can be attached to the unchanging root. However, their meanings are often unclear. These so-called "derivational" nominal suffixes give the root an alternative meaning, the nuances of which are often obscure. It is important to note that the nominal suffixes (just like the verbal ones) follow a clear, invariable sequence in position, and that the derivational elements are placed closest to the root, while the inflectional formants are placed at the end of the word. Two groups can be distinguished:

1. The following group (Speiser, IH, 129 ff.; Bush, GHL, 109 ff.) is little studied, and the meaning of many is unclear:

   -ar- in: *av=ar=i* 'field'; *ped=ar=i* 'cow'; *nih=ar=i* 'gift'. (With this group, in contrast to the following ones, a verbal origin has not been established.)
   haš=ar=i 'fine oil', from *haš-* 'ointment'; *šid=ar=ni* 'curse', from *šid-* 'to curse'

   -ade *amm=ade* 'grandfather'; *fir=ade* 'nobleman'; *hur=ade* 'warrior'; *er=ade* 'bird'

   -ni individualizer, not to be confused with the so-called "article", sg. *-ni /ne/*; examples of this suffix occur in: *šid=ar=ni* 'curse'; *havur=ni* 'heaven'; *evri* 'lord', but *ever=ni* 'lord, king'.

2. Group of derivational suffixes that form adjectives, actor nouns, etc. (from Diakonoff, HuU, 65 f.). They follow either the root or the suffixes of the first group.

   Hurrian only possesses a few primary adjectives; specifically:

e.g.	*turi*	'below, low'
	timeri/timari	'dark'
	ove-	'dumb'

Much more common are adjectives produced by the addition of derivational suffixes (see Speiser, IH, 144 ff.; Bush, GHL, 163ff.):

-(h)he This suffix, whose final vowel in the Mittani form appears as *e*, comes in two variants, namely, one with a single and one with a double consonant. We cannot yet discern with certainty the distribution of *-he* and *-hhe*. The suffix forms adjectives of membership:

A. Ethnic and geographic adjectives, the majority with the suffix *-he*;
B. Adjectives expressing the material or interior quality, most with the suffix *-hhe*;
C. Numbers.

-he	a)	*hurri*	+ *he*	>	*hurr=o=he*	[With the transition of *i* > *o*; i.e., with derivation vowel *o*][56] 'Hurrian'

[56] On the use of the term "derivation vowel", see Wilhelm, SMEA 29, 1992, 241, fn. 6.

	hatti	+ *he*	> *hatt=o=he*		'Hittite'
	Halba	+ *he*	> *Halba=he*	[with *a*-stems, the vowel *a* remains]	'belonging to Halab'
	Ebla	+ *he*	> *Ebla=he*		'belonging to Ebla'
	Tukriš	+ *he*	> *Tukrišhe*	[with consonantal stems, -*he* attaches directly to the stem]	'belonging to Tukriš'
	Igingalliš	+ *he*	> *Igingallišhe*		'belonging to Igingalliš'
-*hhe* b)	*hiari*	+ *hhe*	> *hiar=o=hhe*	[with the transition *i* > *o*, with the derivation vowel *o*]	'golden'
	šinniberi	+ *hhe*	> *šinniber=o=hhe*	'ivory'	
	ašti	+ *hhe*	> *ašt=o=hhe*	'feminine'	
	turi	+ *hhe*	> *tur=o=hhe*	'masculine'	
	**huši*	+ *hhe*	> *huš=o=hhe*	'belt'	

c) *eman=am=h(e)=a* (from *eman*- 'ten') 'tenfold'

When -*he* attaches to a verbal stem, it takes the thematic vowel -*i*-:

d)	*pašš=i=he*	'mission'	> *pašš-*	'to send'
	na=i=he	'pasture'	> *nav-*	'to graze'
	pa=i=he	'building site (?)'	> *pa-*	'to build'
	hemz=i=he	'belt'	> *hemz-*	'to surround (?)'
	kul=i=he	'speech'	> *kul-*	'to speak'
	šiš=i=he	'shovel, spade'	> *šiš-*	(?) (Ugarit Vocabulary)

Like the pair -*he* and -*hhe*, two very similar suffixes in form and function, distinguished only through the length of the consonant element, can also be discerned, with both the following adjective morphemes: -*še/-šše* and -*ni/-nni* (see Wilhelm, Double Case, 1995,123 ff.: for -*ni* and -*nni*, see Parrattarna, Sauštatar und die absolute Datierunf dur Nuzi-Tafeln, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 24, 1976, 149, Anm. 1):

-*o=š(š)e*	*talav(i)=o=še*	[with the transition *i* > *o*, i.e., derivation vowel *o*] 'great' (derived from the root *tal(mi)*- 'great')	
	šav=o=še	'great, elevated'	
	fahr(i)=o=še	'good'	from *fahri*- 'good'
	ker=a=šše	'long'	from *keri*- 'long'

-*(a)=šše* This suffix also forms abstract notions like:

ašt=a=šše	'femininity'	from *ašti* 'woman'
all=a=šše	'ladyship'	from *alli* 'lady'
šarr=a=šše	'kingship'	from *šarri* 'king'

The compound suffix *-*ambaše*, which is constructed from the individual morphemes *=a=mb=aš(š)e=h(h)e*, belongs here as well. This compound suffix serves to form membership adjectives from abstracts:

alambaše < *al=a*(intr.)=*mb=aš(še)=h(h)e* 'count for the base from the harvest work' (Nuzi).
tehambašu < *teh=a*(intr.)=*mb=aš(še)=h(h)u* (Akkadian form) 'wages for the rearing of infants' (for the segmentation, see Wilhelm, AdŠ 3, 1985, 85; for the suggested readings, see Fincke, WO 24, 1993, 48 ff.). The meaning of -*mb*- is unknown.

-*(i)=šše* forms abstracts as well:

šar=i=šše	'desire'	from *šar*- 'to desire' (Ugarit Vocabulary)[57]
nir=i=šše	'goodness'	from *niri*- 'good'
kib=i=šše	'seating'	from *keb*- 'to sit, to place, to put (on the throne)'

-*ni* *KUR mašriâ=ni-* 'the Egyptian (land)' (Mit. II, 69)

-*nni* *KUR mašria=nni-* (Mit. II, 71)

or *KUR mašria=n(i)=ne*, e.g., a form with the so-called "article" -*ne* (Wilhelm, Double Case, 1995, 124, examples [48] and [49]); *maria=nni*- 'charioteer'

-*o=nni*	*mad=o=nni-*	'wise'	from *madi* 'wisdom' (Boğazköy)
	pic=o=nni	'happy'	from *pico* 'joy' (Mit. I, 79, *bi-su-un-ni*-)

-*i=nni* forms relative adjectives, substantives for job titles:

urb=ar=i=nni	'butcher'	from *u(r)b*- 'to slaughter'
išh=ar=i=nni	'baker'	
far=i=nni	'bread-baker'	
fand=i=nni	'cook'	
tab=(i)=r(i)=i=nni	'smith'	from *tab/v*- 'to pour'

-*u/onni*: *ašh=uš=i=kk=onni* 'offering-client' (Boğazköy)
amumm=i=kk=onni 'administrator' (Boğazköy)

-*kk*- Nominal element, uncertain meaning, in: *amumm=i=kk=onni*, etc. For forms with the formation *+t+u+kki*, see under -*t*-. (The formation -*kk*- is not to be confused with the verbal negation suffix -*kkV*-.)

-*li* This ending forms nouns indicating one's profession — it appears athematically on the stem:

[57] Ugarit-Vokabular, RS 94-2939, col II 5; see André-Salvini/Salvini, SCCNH 9, 1998, 5, 18 f., 393.

keb+li	'hunter'	from *keb-* 'to set, to place, to put'
tab/v+li	'smith'	from *tab/v-* 'to pour'

-(u)zzi This ending forms adjectives. It expresses an external quality such as its suitability. When so attached, this formation causes the thematic vowel to be lost. Thus, the thematic vowel goes from *i* > *u*/*o*/:

ašt(i)=uzzi	'a particular woman' (name for a robe)
pah(i)=uzzi	'the suitable head'
šen(a)=iff(u)=uzzi	'my suitable brother'

(The suffix *-o/u+zzi* has the unusual property that it does not have to attach directly to the nominal stem [example 3], which strongly suggests that it should not be treated as a derivational suffix. The segmentation *=o/u=zzi* is from Wilhelm (SMEA 29, 1992, 241, Anm. 6), who proposes that *=o/u=* can be interpreted as the derivation vowel of the *i*-stem).

-phe/i This ending is predominantly used to from ethnicities. According to Wilhelm (AdŠ 2, 1980, 99, 131), */p/* is an allomorph of the genitive suffix *-ve* attached to *-he/i*, used to form adjectives: *-phe* < **-ve-(h)he*:

ninua=p=he (< *ninua=v(e)=he*)	'the (man) from Ninua'
pišaiša=p=he	'he who is from the mountain Pišaiša' (GN)

-(a)=šhe/i This suffix forms adjectives based on abstracts:

ašt=a=šhe	'having female qualities, attributes'	from *ašti* 'woman'

-(u)=šhe/i

ahr=u=šhe	'incense user (?)'	from *ahri* 'incense'
tiv=u=šhe	'word, speech'	from *tive* 'word'

(The suffix *-ušhe*, as a way to form tool descriptions, is also known, in particular, from the texts from Nuzi and Alalakh; Bush, GHL, 112.)

-šari Possibly another abstract or collective suffix. When attached as a suffix to a stem with *n, l, (m, r ?)* + vowel, the thematic vowel is lost, and the *š* becomes the graphic *z*:

enzari	(< *en(i)+šari*)	'godhead'	from *eni-* 'god'
tipšari	(< *tiv(e)+šari*)	'word, speech, story'	from *tive-* 'word'
furulzari	(< *fur+(u)l(i)+šari*)	'offering shower'	from *fur-* 'to see'

-ki This suffix forms Nomina instrumenti and also substantives with resultive meaning:

id+ki	'mortar'	from *id-* 'to break'
id+ar+ki	'trash (?)'	
tudi+ki	'trashpile, clay pit'	
nan+ki	'a striking weapon'	from *nan-* 'to strike (down) (enemy)'
fud+ki	'son'	from *fud-* 'to procreate, to beget'
kad+ki	'saying, remark'	from *kad-* 'to say'
tub+ki	(?)	

Actor nouns (occupation names) are formed with the very productive suffix combination *=o/u=h(e)=li* (graphically, *-uhli* or *-uhuli*, the latter is the usual form in Alalakh and the western Hurrian region), whereby *-li* is the actual job designation suffix. The occupation terms with *-uhlu/-uhuli* are based on a noun, which, with the help of the suffix *-he*, is transformed into a membership adjective. Onto this membership adjective is attached the job designation suffix *-li* and, in Alalakh, the derivation vowel *-o/u-*. Otherwise, this vowel is not used, and there is syncope of the final vowel with *-he*. Occupation terms with Hurrian and non-Hurrian stems are:

emand=o/uhlu (Akkadian form) 'leader of the ten' < *eman* 'ten' + *-ti* > *emandi* 'the ten' + *-he* > *eman=d(i)=o=he* 'belonging to the ten' + *-li* > *eman=d(i)=o=he=li*.
halz=uhli (Nuzi, Alalakh, and Boğazköy) 'mayor' (literally, 'the one whose occupation is working those who belong to the (military) district' (Wilhelm, SMEA 29, 1992, 239 ff).
zil=ikk=uhli 'witness'.
ambann=uhli from *ambane* 'firewood' (root *am-* 'to burn'); *mašk=uhuli* (Alalakh) 'leather worker' (Akkadian *mašku* 'skin'); *mardat=uhuli* 'carpet weaver' (Akkadian *mardatu* 'carpet').

-hhuri Occupation term in *amummi=hhuri* 'administrator', see Wilhelm, SMEA 29, 1992, 240 Anm 4., in the part, "eine Suffickombination of *-(h)h(e) + o + ri*".

-tann/tenn Also job description in Nuzi (see Wilhelm UF 2, 1970, 277 ff.).

-arde Forms collectives. Attaching this suffix causes the thematic vowel to be lost (Girbal, ZA, 78, 1988, 125 f.); *šal(a)=arde* 'daughtership'; *atta(i)=arde* 'forefather, ancestor'; *maria=nn(i)=arde* 'fighting charioteer'.

-arbu Appears with numerals (Nuzi, Akkadianized form). The thematic vowel is again lost.

šin=arbu	'two years old'
kig=arbu	'three years old'
tumn=arbu	'four years old'

-ae Serves as the instrumental case and also for forming adjectives and adverbs.

ker=ae	'long'
niroš=ae	'in a good manner'
teon=ae	'many'

-pae The ending *-pae* is interpreted by Wilhelm (SCCNH 9, 1998, 178 ff.) as < **ve* + *ae*. In this analysis, /p/ is then again treated as an allomorph of the genitive suffix *-ve* (see also above under *-phe*) and *-ae*, the instrumental ending, which, in the framework of the suffix reception, is submitted without the suffix addition *-NE-* (sg.)/*-NA* (pl.). This ending, therefore, does not belong to the root extensions.

The above list still leaves out a great number of derivational suffixes, whose segmentation and meaning are still mostly unclear. Among them are:

-me *ul=me* 'weapon'
taš=me 'gift' (from *taš-* 'to give')
hud=me 'prayer' (from *hud-* 'to pray, to praise')

-nzi and *-lzi* Both of these suffixes probably form abstracts. In writing, *-zi* could be *-še*, which can become *z* after *n* and *l*.

punuh=u=nzi (meaning unknown) (from *pun=uh* [meaning unknown])
kire=nzi 'release' (from *kir-* 'to release')
talahh=u=lzi 'drawing out' (?) (from *tal-ahh-* 'to draw out')
itk=a=lzi 'purity' (from *itk-* 'to be clean')
un=a=lzi 'coming' (from *un-* 'to come')
maga=lzi 'gift', perhaps equivalent to *maga=nni* 'gift'

-t- Unclear — appears in expressions like *puttukki-* (from *fud-* 'to produce') (*fud+t+u+kki*) or *mandukki-* (probably derived from *mann-* 'to exist'); perhaps identical to the root extension *-t-* of verbal morphology (see below) or to the following suffix: *-ti*: *fud+ti* (*i* > *u/o* before *kki*) + *kki*, *man+ti* (*i* > *u/o* before *kki*) + *kki*.

-ti *kel=di* 'well' (from *kel-* 'to be well')
kum=di 'tower' (from *kum-* [meaning unknown])
hap=ti 'ring' (from *hab/v-* [meaning unknown]) (Ugarit Vocabulary)[58]
eman=di 'having ten'

-idi Nominalizing element, appears in:
tar=idi 'pot' (from *tari-* 'fire')
nahh=idi 'seat' (from *nahh-* 'to sit, to be seated')

-(i)=thi/e *pašš=i=the* 'messenger' (from *pašš-* 'to send')

-(a)=thi/e

hašul=a=thi (meaning unknown) (either from *haš-* 'to hear' or *hâš-* 'to anoint')
zalm=a=thi epithet of the god Nubadig

[58] Ugarit Vocabulary, RS 94-2939, col. I, 7; André-Salvini/Salvini, SCCNH 9, 1998, 5, 11.

-ubad- According to Laroche (SMEA 22, 1980, 84 ff.), this form is used to create abstracts from adjectives. Included here are forms like *ni-i-ru-pa-a-ta-e* (Mit. IV, 5, 6), *ma-a-an-nu-pa-a-ta-e* (Mit. IV, 59) and *pal-du-pa-a-te* (Mit. II, 48). The first vowel of this suffix is unclear — it could be *u* or *o*. As the expression *pal+t+ubad+e* shows, the formation *-ubad-* can occur together with another formation, namely, the above-mentioned *-t-*.

On the homography with a suffix combination *uw(a)+bade*, which negates the constructed formation, see Wegner, SMEA 36, 1995, 101 f.

The "relational" nominal suffixes follow the "derivational" or "extensional" nominal suffixes (also known as "root extensions"), which are attached directly to the root. The nominal suffixes are basically either "derivational" and, as such, appear next to the root, or "relational", and, as such, appear further from the root.

Like other agglutinating languages, there is a specific sequence for the "relational" nominal suffixes in Hurrian, in which each has a set position within the "suffix chain". The suffix morphemes that are attached to the noun can express the following relations:

a) Attributional, better relational (= the so-called "article");
b) Possessive;
c) Case forms;
d) Adjectival forms;
e) Verbal noun forms;
f) Syntactic relations.

The Hurrian noun lacks gender; singular and plural are distinguished. Twelve cases have been identified thus far.

E. The Suffix Chain of Nouns

For the nominal suffix chain, there are, according to Diakonoff, nine ordered positions, in which the word-formation suffixes are not included, and the particle is included at position nine (Diakonoff, HuU, 87 ff.),

After the root and the root extensions (these are not included within the following numbering of the suffix position), the following positions appear in the suffix chain:

1st Position: The so-called "article":	*-ni /ne/*	singular
	-na	plural

With stems (that is, the root + root extensions) ending with *r*, *l*, *n* + *vowel*, the attachment of this suffix removes the thematic vowel, and the *n* of the suffix *-ni/ne/* or *-na* assimilates on the now final consonant of the stem:

e.g.	*nihari*	'dowry'	*nihar(i)+ni*	>	*niharri*	'dowry'
	tari	'fire'	*tar(i)+ni*	>	*tarri*	'fire'

ela	'sister'	*el(a)+ni*	>	*elli*	'sister'
šav(a)li	'year'	*šaval(i)+ni*	>	*šavalli*	'year'
eni	'god'	*en(i)+ni*	>	*enni*	'god'
šena	'brother'	*šen(a)+ni*	>	*šenni*	'brother'
šav(a)li	'year'	*šaval(i)+na*	>	*šavalla*	'years'
eni	'god'	*en(i)+na*	>	*enna*	'gods'

When the so-called "article" is attached to a consonantal stem that already carries the root-extension *-ni* ("individualizer", see above, type*: -Cni*), the following occurs: the thematic vowel disappears (syncope), and a secondary vowel is inserted (anaptyxis) between the consonant now at the end of the stem and the suffix *-ne*; the anaptyctic vowel matches the vowel of the root:

e.g.	*evri* 'lord' + *-ni* ("individualizer")	>	*everni* + ("article") *-ne*	>	*evrenne* 'lord, king'
	**havur* + *-ni* ("individualizer")	>	*havurni* + ("article") *-ne*	>	*havurunne* 'heaven'
	**šuh* + *-ni* ("individualizer")	>	*šuhni* + ("article") *-ne*	>	*šuhunne* 'wall'

Secondary vowel insertions are also found with the occupation-forming suffix *-li*, when *-li* is attached to a consonant:

keb- 'to set, to put' + *-li* 'hunter' + ("article" plural) *-na* > *kebella* 'hunters'
tab/v- 'to pour' + *-li* 'pourer' + ("article" singular) *-ne* > *taballe* 'smith'

In the Boğazköy texts, one occasionally also finds non-assimilated forms, e.g., with *tali* 'tree, wood', where *tali+ne+š > tali=ne=š* is given as the ergative singular and not the expected **talleš* (KBo. 32: 14, Rs. 60).

The actual function of the singular so-called "article" *-ni /ne/* is difficult to determine. In practice, the part of speech "article" is used, but, within the Hurrian texts, *-ni /ne/* does not have the normal function and definition of an "article". A relational rather than a determinative function probably appeared at a later date. In the Mittani Letter, the so-called "article" never appears on a noun which appears in the absolutive case; as a result, it is commonly suggested that this *-ne* also possesses some sort of case function, which is clear in the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual. Here, the *-ne* with ergative also expresses a local notion. E. Neu (Fs. Alp, 1992, 391 ff.; id., StBoT 32, 1996, 23 ff). interprets this form as "absolutive in locative function", counting also absolutive forms without *-ne* ("… the local notion probably is not unique to the 'article'"), whereas Wilhelm (ZA 83, 1993, 105 ff.) remarks "(…), that the 'article', or better relational suffix *-ne* in the form of old and new cases, approaches the function of a general relational case, that were partly recovered through the development specific cases"), and Haas/Wegner (OLZ 86, 1991, 390) ascribe an original case function to *-ne*. Since the final clarification of this problem is lacking because detailed individual investigations of the various time periods is still not possible, we continue using the term "article", but place the word in quotation marks ("article"), or say so-called "article". Other authors (Wilhelm, ZA 83, 1993, 109, and, following him, Giorgieri/ Röseler, SCCNH 8, 1996, 283, fn. 4 and 9) refer to this *-ni/ne* as a "relator" and combine the relational function of *-ni/ne/* with the suffix of location.

With the so-called plural "article" *-na*, the situation is much simpler, inasmuch as the case function of *-na* is not established. The so-called plural "article" is primarily a general plural marker.

The suffixes *-ni/ne* (singular) and *-na* (plural) are extremely rarely, if ever, combined with the following possessive suffixes. An example appears to exist in the document Mit. II, 77: *en(i)=n(a)=iff=aš=(v)e=n* 'our gods' (Giogieri, SCCNH 8, 1996, 283.)

2nd Position: The second position takes an enclitic possessive pronoun. These include:

1st person	*-iffə*[59]	(graphically *-ip(íw)-WA*)	(in the absolutive and with the absolute final sound, the thematic vowel of the noun is e.g., in *šen(a)=iffe* 'my brother', *en(i)=iffe* 'my god')
	-iffe	(graphically *-ip(íw)-WA-*)	(in the absolutive with additional suffixes, like *-nna* [enclitic pronoun], e.g., in *šen(a)=iffe=n(na)*).
	-iff=u-	(graphically *-ip(íw)-WA-* or *-ip-pu-*)	(with bound vowel *-u-* for the genitive, dative, and, above all, cases with an initial consonant sound like *-š* ergative, *-ta* directive, *-tan* ablative, *-nna* equative, e.g., in: *šen(a)=iff=u=š* ergative *šen(a)=iff=u=ve* genitive[60] *šen(a)=iff=u=da* directive *šen(a)=iff=u=nna* equative).
2nd person	*-v* (*-b/p*)[61]	(graphically *-(i)p/-(a)p* with correct thematic vowel, also *-WA-*)	(with preservation of thematic vowels, e.g., in: *šena=v* 'your brother', but *eni=v* 'your god'; with bound vowel *-u-* in the ergative, e.g., *šena=v=u=š* 'your brother' *attai=v=u=š* 'your father'.[62] In the genitive and dative without this, e.g., in: *šena=p=pe* [< **v+ve*] 'of your brother' *attai=p=pe* [< **v+ve*] 'of your father' *attai=p=pa* [< **v+va*] 'to your father'[63])
3rd person	*-i-*		(with loss of the thematic vowel, e.g., in *ard(e)=i=da* 'his city' *tiš(a)=i=da* 'in his heart'

[59] The symbol *-ə* indicates the uncertainty of the sound in the final position of the suffixes.
[60] For a discussion of the genitive suffix, see fn. 46. The genitive sign in this work is always transcribed as *-ve*, even when it, as in this case, corresponds to /u/ as *-ú-e* [we].
[61] The possessive suffix of the second person is always given as *-v* in this work, whereas the verbal person marker of the third person of "Old Hurrian" is marked using *-b* to avoid confusion.
[62] Graphically, *še-e-na-wu(WA)-ša-an* (Mit. I, 84); *at-ta-i-wu(WA)-uš* (Mit. III, 67).
[63] Grapically, *še-e-na-ap-pè* (Mit. I, 89); *at-ta-i-ip-pè* (Mit. III, 69); *at-ta-i-ip-pa* (Mit. III, 52, 58).

The plural is formed from these well-known singular suffixes and the pluralizer *-aš-*, which occupies the third position:

3rd Position:

1st pers. plural	*-iff+aš*	> *-iffaš*	(e.g. *atta(i)=ard(e)=iff=aš* 'our forefathers')
2nd pers. plural		*-šu* (?)	(only found in the Boğazköy Bilingual; e.g., *e-te-šu-ú-t* [64] 'to your body, to yourself')
3rd pers. plural	*-i+aš*	> *-iaš*	(e.g., *tiš(a)=i=aš* 'their hearts')

The suffix of the third position (*-aš-*) thus forms the plural of the possessive suffixes, and also forms the plural for the case-morpheme (?) (except in the absolutive); the morpheme *-aš-* is separated from the case ending (except for the genitive, dative, directive, and absolutive) with the bound vowel *-u-* or *-o-*:

Plural: *=aš=u*+case ending, e.g., *en=na=aš=u=š* 'the gods' (ergative case); *=(a)š=o*+case ending, e.g., *man=š=o=š* 'they' (independent pronoun of the 3rd person pl. ergative).

The following rule is to be noted: With the attachment of the possessive suffix of the 1st person singular or plural (*-iffə* or *-iff=aš*), as well as the 3rd person singular or plural (*-i-* or *-i=aš*), the final or thematic vowel of the noun is lost:

1st person singular: *šen(a)=iffə* 'my brother' (absolutive); *el(a)=iffə* 'my sister' (absolutive); *atta(i)=iffə* 'my father' (absolutive); *el(a)=ard(e)=iff=u=ve* 'my sisterhood' (genitive).

1st person plural: *tiš(a)=iff=aš=a* 'in your hearts' (essive); *ed(i)=iff=aš=a* 'for us'.

3rd person singular: *nihar(i)=i=ve* 'her dowry' (genitive singular); *nihar(i)=i=aš=(v)e* 'their dowr(ies)' (genitive plural).

With the attachment of the 2nd person singular, the end or thematic vowel remains:

šena=v	'your brother'	*tiša=v*	'your heart'
edi=v	'your body'	*attai=v*	'your father'
ômini=v	'your land'		

The 2nd person plural is only known from the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual so far, and the segmentation is not certain. Graphically, it appears that the suffix with the directive is *-šu-ú-ta* in the form *e-te-šu-ú-ta* 'to your body, to yourself'. By analogy to the 1st person plural (**ed(i)=iff=aš=ta*), however, **edi=v=aš=u=da* or **edi=v=aš=ta* (graphically, *e-te-wa-šu-ú-ta* or *e-te-wa-aš-ta*), e.g., noun + possessive suffix + pluralizer + (bound vowel) + case, was to be expected (Wilhelm, Orientalia 54, 1985, 488 [revision from Laroche, GLH]; Girbal, AoF 21, 1994, 378 Anm. 8).

[64] One would expect following the pattern of the 1st person plural, either *edi=v=aš=u=da* or *edi=v=aš=ta*.

The combination of the so-called "article" *-ni/ne* and the possessive *-iffe* etc. is, as mentioned above, found extremely rarely. They may even be incompatible. Possible cases that have been interpreted in this way are: (Mit. II, 54) *ma-ka-a-an-ni-iw-wu-ú-un-na-na*, that is, *magan=n(i)=iff=u=nna* (as adverb) 'as my gift' and (Mit. II, 77) *en(i)=n(a)=iff=aš=(v)e=n* 'of our gods'. The first form, *maganniffunna*, has, in the meantime, been read as *maga=nn(i)=iff=u=nn(i)=a*, that is, a form with the morpheme *-nni*, which does not contain the so-called "article" (Giorgieri, SCCNH 8, 1996, 283).

As an example, *nihar(i)=i=aš=(v)e* shows that the plurality of the noun cannot be clearly expressed with the attachment of the possessive suffix.

4th Position: The so-called "relational suffix", that is, the "case suffix", is found in the fourth position. The suffix of the 4th position indicates the case relationship, which can, not only indicate the subject-object relationship, but also the relationship of the nouns to their regens (that is, of the genitive) as well as their relationship in space. Following the plural suffix *-aš-* (3rd position), the case markers of the genitive or dative both undergo certain phonetic changes.

Cases	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	Ø	*-(na)*
Ergative	*-š*	*-aš=u=š*
Genitive	*-ve*[65]	*-aš=u=ve* (thus only in Nuzi) otherwise > *aše*
Dative	*-va*[66]	**-aš=va* > *aša*
Directive	*-t/da* / *-u-da*	*-aš=ta*
Ablative	*-t/dan* / *-u-dan*	*-aš=tan*
Comitative	*-ra*	*-aš=u=ra*
Equative-Adverbial	*-nna*	*-aš=u=nna* (or from *-nni+a* essive [?])
Equative	*-uš*	—
Instrumental also Adverbial	*-ae*	—
Locative-Instrumental (also Ablative-Instrumental)	*-ni/e* (?)	—
Essive	*-a*	*-aš=a*
Adverbial	*-nni*	
(also	*-nnae* [< *-nn(i)+ae*])	
Case open	*-e* (?)	

The various cases are:

Absolutive: The absolutive with the null-sign (Ø) is the case that marks the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb. The absolutive also appears in transitive sentences without objects (the so-called "antipassive construction"). The absolutive can also be used as a vocative. The absolutive appears in place and direction terms in the Hurrian-

[65] See fn. 46. Actually probably /fe/, after vowel [ve] and after *u* also [we].
[66] See fn. 46. Actually probably /fa/, after vowel [va] and after u also [wa].

Hittite Bilingual from Boğazköy (Neu, Fs. Alp, 1992, 391ff.; also Wilhelm, ZA 83, 1993, 105 f.; Haas/Wegner, OLZ 86, 1991, 390 [review of KBo. 32]. The latter authors do not write the endingless absolutive (*Ø)*, but a form with the formative *-ni/e* as the directional term.

Ergative: The ergative case is the subject case in transitive sentences with objects.

Genitive: In an attributive nominal phrase, the genitive marks possession or membership.

Dative: The dative expresses the relationship 'to whom?' and probably also 'where to?' The dative and the directive can be used equally (Wegner, Double Case, 1995, 145). The *-W-* of the genitive and the dative suffixes *-ve* and *-va* assimilate to the preceding plural element *-aš-* (*-a-še* < + *aš* + *(v)e*). The same *-W-* also binds with preceding labials to form *-pp-*: ^{D}*Te-e-eš-šu-up-pè* < *^{D}*Teššub* + *ve*.

Directive: Marks movement toward something. It answers the question 'where to?'

Ablative: The ablative indicates the starting point of a movement. It answers the question 'from where?'. According to Diakonoff (HuU, 97), the ablative is a composite case marker formed from the directive *-ta* and the ablative-instrumental *-ni*.

Comitative: The comitative expresses the relationship '(together) with, mutually'.

Equative: The equative indicates a comparison or an equality: 'like'. The equative in *-nna* can also function as an adverbial: 'as', 'with the quality of" (Girbal, ZA 78, 1988, 131 f). Controversy exists as to whether *-nna* is a "real" case or a case created from *-nni* + *a* (summarized in Giorgieri, SCCNH 9, 1998, 76, with fn.13.)

Instrumental: The instrumental indicates the means or the tools. It answers the question 'with what?, from what?, out of what?'.

Essive: The essive covers the function 'when….', direction, goal of a claim, condition, transfer from one condition to another; an adverb of number adjectives (Haas/Wilhelm, AOAT3, 1974, 13 f.: Neu, Hethitica 9, 1988, 163 f.). In the "extended antipassive construction", the object appears in the essive (and not like the agent in the absolutive).

Ablative-instrumental, that is, the locative-instrumental of *-ni/e* established by Wilhelm (73, 1983, 96—113; id., Double Case, 1995, 114): *-ne/i* "ablative-instrumental-directional".

Adverbial: 'like, with the quality of'.

The name for the *-a* case, "essive" (from the Latin *esse* 'to be'), was introduced by Haas/ Wilhelm (AOATS 3, 1974, 13 f.), to deal with the problematic phenomenon that this case not only has the observed meaning of a state, but also the transfer of state and the destination, In Nuzi, this case occasionally also substitutes for the dative. For this case, see also Neu, Hethitica

9, 1988, 157—170. The term "essive" is used in Caucasian grammar for a case that answers the question 'where?' (see HdO I, VII, 69 ff.)

The cases *-a*, *-ae*, and *-uš* act differently than the others, in that, when they are attached to the stem, there is elision of the thematic vowel (e.g., *halzuh(i)=a* 'as mayor', *išuhn(i)=ae* 'with silver', *kaz(i)=uš* 'like a cup'). Also, it appears that *-a, -ae*, and *-uš* share another peculiarity: these case morphemes are part of the so-called "suffix reception" structure (see below), which follows irregular rules or is connected with the suffix attachments *-NE-/-NA-* (for this special case of irregular "suffix reception", see below).

The case with *-e* developed from postpositional expressions like *šen(a)=iff=u=ve=n(e)=e* 'for my brother' (Mit. IV, 49 f.) or *ômini(i)=iff=u=ve=n(e)=**e** ed(i)=i=e* 'concerning my land' (Mit. IV, 19) (see Wilhelm, "Postulating a certain case or adverbial ending *-e-*, which is distinctive when adjacent to the possessive suffix of the 3rd person singular *-i-* from the genitive *-ve*, which would not give *-i-ie*"; see Wilhelm, Iraq 53, 1991, 163 f., fn. 20; further, Orientalia 61, 1992, 136; id., Double Case, 1995, 119 and fn. 4; Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 1041—1045). In older grammars, the ending *-e* was seen as an allomorph of the genitive suffix *-ve* after the 3rd person singular possessive suffix *-i-* (*=i/y(a)=ve* > *=ye*, Speiser, IH, 56; Bush, GHL, 91, 127 ff.; Diakonoff, HuU, 153, with fn. 163; Khačikjan, Churr. i urart., 115 f.; Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 75).

The function of this *e*-case however, besides being another genitive, is thus far not really clear. The parallels in the Mittani Letter, where the *e*-case has developed, are, however, so constructed that at least a genitive function must exist; in like manner, Bush (GHL, 91, 127 ff.) and Neu (StBoT 32, 1996, 104 f.), in this connection, attention may be drawn to an example from the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual: *nav=n(i)=i=(v)e* or *nav=n(i)=i=e papanne* (KBo. 32: 14, Vs 5) 'the mountain (*papanne*) of his pasture'.

5th, 6th, and 7th Positions: The suffixes of the so-called "Suffixaufnahme" are found here.

The suffixes of the 5th, 6th, and 7th positions put the syntactic context into an attributive construction, through repetition of the case suffixes on preceding words. It is here that the peculiarly Hurrian "Suffixaufnahme" or "suffix duplication" appears.

Under "Suffixaufnahme", one observes the peculiar Hurrian phenomenon where, in genitive or other attributive constructions (*-h(h)e*, *-(š)še*, *-(n)ni*), the case-suffix (i.e., the suffixes of positions 3 and 4) of the attribute (rectum = dependent noun) is copied from the preceding words (regens = head noun).

[The term "Suffixaufnahme" was coined by F. N. Finck (Die Haupttypen des Sprachbus, Leipzig, 1910, 141) and by J. Friedrich ("Zum Subaräian and Urartäischen", AnOr 12, 1935, 124), for the Hurrian phenomenon mentioned above. In a later work, Friedrich used the neutral term "suffix transfusion" (J. Friedrich, BChG, 1939, 3, fn. 3; HdO II, 1969, 1, 2, 21). However, the use of this term has declined more and more through time, and today "suffix gathering" is generally used. Besides the term "suffix gathering", one still finds the term "suffix duplication" in the literature, as well as "suffix transfusion" and "suffix copying" (cf. I. Wegner, "Suffix-aufnahme" in "Hurrian: Normal Cases and Special Cases", in: Double Case: Agreement by Suffixaufnahme, ed. by Frans Pank, 1995, 137—138.]

The Suffixaufnahme serves as a congruence marker (i.e., a formal correspondence joining together sentence structures) of the syntactic connection in attributive constructions. Beside the genitive construction, it is found with the "membership adjective" forming suffix *-(h)he*, with the

adjective forming suffixes *-(š)še* and *-(n)ni*, and with *-šše*, the nominalizing suffix of the verbal form. Furthermore, it is found with rare suffixes like the compound suffix *-nnohha*.

With the Suffixaufnahme, at least as represented in the Mittani Letter, the case and number of the reference word (Regens) are followed by an anaphoric suffix *-NE-* (singular) and *-NA-* (plural), which separates them from the attributive suffixes: *-ve* "genitive", *-hhe* "membership adjective", *-šše/-nni* "adjectivizer", and *-šše* (nominalizer of verbal forms). The choice of *-NE-* or *-NA-* depends on the number marker of the reference word. These anaphoric suffixes *-ne* and *-na* are referred to in the literature as the "carrier suffixes", "suffix duplications *-ne/-na*", or "suffix relators". They should not be confused with the so- called "article", sg. *-ni/ne* and pl. *-na*. The "carrier suffix" and "article" not only have distinctive functions, but also appear in different places in the suffix chain: while the so-called "article" sg. *-ni/ne/* appears immediately after the stem (i.e., the root and root extensions), the "carrier suffix" *-ne/-na* occurs after the attributive suffixes *-ve, -(h)he*, and *-šše*, the basis of Suffixaufnahme. In the following, the "carrier suffix" is marked with capitals (*-NE-*, *-NA-*). In this work, we use the term "carrier suffix" or "relator".

(The proper distinction between the so-called "article" and "carrier suffix" was made by Bush, GHL, 153 f, who also noted the anaphoric usage of the "carrier suffixes".)

Concerning the details:

A. Suffixaufnahme is not found with a referred word in the absolutive singular case, which is endingless and, therefore, has no congruence-enabling morphemes:

   šen(a)=iff=u=ve ašti 'the wife (*ašti*, absolutive singular) of my brother' (Mit. III, 21) a_a) Suffixaufnahme of the so-called "article" singular *-ni/-ne/* is not securely attested. There are examples from the Boğazköy material, where a particle *-ni* is apparently used as a genitive attribute: e.g., *šehurni=ve=ni tuppi=ni* 'on the tablet of the living' (ChS. I/1, no. 9, III, 42). This *-ni/ne/* of the so-called "article" has, in this example, however, a purely case function, where it is resumptive for the suffix of the genitive attribute (*šehurni=ve=ni*) (see also under nominal morphology below)

B. If the reference word is absolutive with the plural ending *-na*, that *-na* on the attribute is transmitted without inclusion of the carrier suffix:

   **šen(a)=iff=u=ve=na ašti=na* 'the wives (absolutive plural) of my brother'; ^{D}*erbi=na* ^{D}NIN.GAL=*ve=na* 'the hounds of the goddess Ningal'" (KUB XLV, 47+, Bo 4186, III 19').

C. When the reference word is not in the absolutive, then the case sign of the attribute is transmitted and isolated by the carrier suffix *-NE-* or *-NA-* from the case sign of the preceding word:

   Singular: The referred word *ašti-* 'wife' appears in the ergative with *-š*:
   šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=š ašti=š (Mit. III, 7).
   'The wife (ergative singular) of my borther (*šen(a)=iff=u=ve+NE+š*)'.

This example makes clear that -*NE*- is not the so-called "article" in the singular, since the referred word *ašti=š* carries no such term. Furthermore, the so-called "article" singular/plural occurs to the left of the possessive pronoun, whereas the form -*NE*-, in this example, appears to the right of the possessive pronoun.

D. The referred word *ašti* 'wife' appears in the genitive singular with -*ve*:
šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=ve ašt(i)=i=ve (Mit. IV, 48), literally, 'of the wife (genitive singular) of my brother'.

E. The referred word *torubi*- 'enemy' appearing in the dative singular with -*va*:
šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=va torub(i)=i=va (Mit. III, 114), literally, 'to the enemy of my brother'.

F. Plural: The referred word *ašti*- 'wife' appears in the ergative plural with *=aš=u=š*:
**šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NA=aš=u=š ašti=na=aš=u=š* *'The wives of my brother'.

The reference term *tive*- 'word' appears in the ergative plural and also as a plural:
en(i)=na=aš=(v)e=NA=aš=u=š tive=na=aš=u=š (ChS. I/1, no. 20 II, 10) 'the words (*tive=na*-) of the gods'.

G. The referred word *eni*- 'god' appears in the directive plural with *=aš=ta* — the attribute is singular:
en(i)=na=aš=ta attan(i)=ne=va=NA=aš=ta (ChS. I/2, no. 43, Rss. 19) 'to the gods of your fathers'.

H. Example with the equative case with -*nna*: The referring word appears in the equative plural (*=aš=o=nna*) — the attribute is the independent pronoun of the 1st person singular genitive *šove*-:
puttukki=aš=u/o/=nna=(lla=ân) šove=NA=aš=u/o/=nna (Mit. III, 60).

Precise Analysis (see Girbal ZA 78, 1988, 130):

puttukki- 'the performance' + *aš* pluralizer + *u/o/* bound vowel for case ending (hence not with absolutive) + *nna* equative case.

šove- genitive of the independent first person singular pronoun + *NA* carrier suffix for the plural suffix + *aš* + *u/o/*, resumptive plural suffixes from *puttukki*- + *nna*, resumptive case suffix from *puttukki*-, (-*lla* enclitic 3rd person plural pronoun as subject marker of the intransitive verbs *irn=o=kk=o* 'they are not the same', + -*an* 'and'): '(…. They are not the same) as the performances from me' = 'as my performances'.

I. Suffixaufnahme appears on nominalized verbs with -*šše*. Functionally, this construction corresponds to a relative sentence. Also here, the case markers of the previous clause are transferred to the verb of the attributive dependent clause:

tive=na tan=oš=av=šše=na (Mit. I, 73)
'the thing, which I have done (*tan=oš=av-*)'.

šove=mân tuppi nihar(i)=ne=ve ar=oš=av=šše=NE=ve (Mit. III, 40 f)
'my tablet of the dowry, which I have given…'

Commentary: *tuppi nihar(i)=ne=ve* functions, in this sentence, as a quasi-solid compound unit. The genitive of the independent pronoun of the 1st person singular *šove-* functions as the possessive pronoun.

J. Special cases of the Suffixaufnahme:

a) Suffixaufnahme is not found with the so-called "fixed genitive compound", as in the sentence:

^{URU}*ninua=ve* ^{D}*ša(v)uška=va* 'for the Ša(v)uška of Nineveh' (Mit. III, 98).

With Suffixaufnahme, we would have:

*^{URU}*ninua=ve=NE=va* ^{D}*ša(v)uška=va*

b) When the head word has multiple attributes named, the hierarchically lowest attribute shows the case (genitive) of their direct referring word, but not the case of the head word:

e.g., *šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=v(e>)a=t(ta)=an ašt(i)=i=ve…. nihar(i)=i=da* (Mit. IV, 46)
'For the dowry of the wife of my brother'

Commentary: The head word *nihar(i)=i=da* appears in the directive case. The first attribute *ašt(i)=i=ve* 'the wife' (literally 'of the wife') appears in the genitive, and does not, however, assign the case *-ta* [*da*] from *nihar(i)=i=da.* The lowest appearing attribute, 'my brother', shows the case form *-ve* of the first attribute (i.e., *ašt(i)=i=ve*), but not the case of the overall referring word (*nihar(i)=i=da*). The case of the reference word, therefore, does not appear multiple times with the Suffixaufnahme in multiple attributes.

In the Boğazköy texts, however, there are multiple attributes showing the case ending of the referred word on all attributes:

en(i)=na attan(i)=ne=va=na ^{D}*ša(v)uška=ve=na* (ChS. I/3—1, no. 1, I, 71)
'the gods of the fathers of the goddess Ša(v)uška'

c) A further deviation from the norm is the "Suffixaufnahme" with the obvious absence of a reference word; this leads to the elliptical (from Latin *ellipsis* 'left out') usage of the Suffixaufnahme:

fe=š=nna=ân atta(i)=iff=u=va úadurann(i)=a keban=oš=o=šše tea attai=p=pe=NE=dan (Mit. III, 68—69)

‘and that, which you had sent to my father as bride-price, was more than that of your fathers’

Commentary: The verb is *keban-* ‘to send’ + *oš* (preterit) + *o* (2nd person singular transitive person marker) + *šše* (morpheme which nominalizes the verb form). The referred word is an expression within this sentence through the enclitic *-nna* (3rd singular absolutive of *fe=š=nna-*) (see under relative sentence B: relative sentences without the relative particle *ije-*): ‘that which you had sent’.

The following genitive attribute *attai=p=pe=NE=dan* in this sentence is, however, missing an obvious reference word in the ablative. It appears, therefore, as an elliptical term (literally): ‘from them, your fathers’.

Another elliptical expression occurs in the following sentence: *adi=nîn* ^{D}*Šimige =ne=ve=**NE=**mmaman amm=oš=a* (Mit. I, 94 f.) ‘he/she/it reached that (the city) of the Sun god’.

The carrier-suffix *-NE-* after the genitive attribute *-ve* is followed by neither a number nor a case marker, which is not expressed for the reference word (in the function of the direct object) in the unmarked absolutive singular. Instead, the carrier suffix *-NE-* is followed, in this example, only by the sentence particle *-mmaman*.

d) Hypostasis building: The possibility of using such absolute reference wordless genitive attributes with carrier suffix and Suffixaufnahme leads, in rare cases (only in Boğazköy examples), to hypostasis building, as shown in the following example (ChS. 1/2, no. 43 II, 17’—21’):

huešša ^{D}*Teššub=va ehli=ve=NE=da šubri=ve=NE=da en(i)=na=aš=(v)e=NE=da šarri=ne=da* ‘Cry (?) to Teššub, to the rescuer (literally, to the one who rescues), to the *šubri*, to the king of the gods’.

Under the premise of equal compatibility with the dative and directive, it is clear that both the genitives *ehli=ve* and *šubri=ve* are syntactically parallel to the dative *Teššub=va* and, therefore, this can only be handled as a hypostasis. The elliptical expression *ehli=ve* ‘of the rescue’ then only yields the ‘proper’ case *-ta* (directive) within the pattern of the “Suffixaufnahme” after the carrier suffix *-NE-*. Such Hypostases have the same syntactic potential as common genitives, and this enables them to function again as an attribute, where a second genitive plus the suffix of the reference word is required. This leads formally to a doubled Suffixaufnahme as shown in the following example:

*en(i)=na=aš=(v)=l(la) ehli=ve=**NE**=ve=**NA**=aš=(v)a=l(la)* (ChS. I/1, no. 43 II, 18’ f.) ‘for the god of the rescue’ (see Wener, Double Case, 1995, 143 ff. [21]; also Wilhelm, SCCNH 8, 1996, 340, for the meaning *ehli=ve* as ‘of the rescue’ and not ‘of the rescuer’).

e) Another special case where irregular Suffixaufnahme appears is with cases like ^{D}*é-a-bi-ia ti-bi-ia* (from ChS. I/9, p. 340, fn. 250), which can be analyzed as ^{D}*Éa=ve=<NE>=a* (essive) *tiv(e)=i=a* (essive) (i.e., without the addition of the suffix *-NE-*, but with the reduplication of the essive *-a*). Here is another example where the above-mentioned ending *-pae (<v(e) + ae* genitive+instrumental) appears, and also the instrumental of *-ae*

without the suffix *-NE-/-NA-*, with the Suffixaufnahme on the genitive. Another case of ending *-ae* yields, with loss to the preceding final vowel (see also above):

Teššup=v(e)=ai [not **Teššup=ve=N(E)=ai*] *tev(e)=ai* 'through the word of Teššub' (see Wilhelm, SCCNH 9, 1998, 177 ff., with further examples).

K. With adjective using *-he/-hhe* and *-šše/-še* in the attributive function, the case suffix of the membership noun is repeated after *-NE-/-NA-*:

a) *hurv(i)=o=he=NE=ve ômin(i)=ne=ve* (Mit. II, 72)
'of the Hurrian lands'

en(i)=na=aš=(v)a … turi)=o=hhe=NA=aš=(v)a (ChS. I/1, no. 2, Rs 25')
'for the manly gods'

b) *hašar(i)=ne=š fahr(i)=o=še=NE=š* (ChS. I/1, no. 3, Rs 37)
'the good oil'

Teššub=va šarri=ne=va talav(i)=o=še=NE=va (ChS. I/1, no. 41, III, 20 f.)
'for Teššub, the great king….'

(Wilhelm [Double Case, 1995, 120 ff.] discusses this complex in detail: he comes to the conclusion [p. 128] that the construction of attributes in Hurrian appears to have a uniform pattern of the Suffixaufnahme, independent of whether it is a genuine adjective, an adjectival noun, a nominalized verb, or a noun in the genitive.)

Table 1: Schematic representation of the "Suffixaufnahme"

Position	1	2	3	(3a)	4	5	6	(6a)	7	8	9
Root+RE	"Article"	Poss. Pronoun	Pluralizer	(unused)	Case	Suffix Auf-nahme	Pluralizer of Ref. Word	(Bound Vowel)	Case of Reference Word	Enclitic Pronoun	Syntactic Particles
-hhe *-šše* *-arde* etc.	sg. *-ni/ne* pl. *-na*	1st sg. *(-iff-u)*	*-aš-*		gen. *-ve-*	sg. *-NE-* pl. *-NA-*	*-aš-*	*-u-*	erg. *-š* abs *-Ø* gen. *-ve* dat. *-va* dir. *-ta* etc.	1st sg. *-tta/t*; 2nd sg. *-mma/m*; 3rd sg. *-nna/n*; 1st pl. *-tilla/til*; 2nd pl. *-ffa/f* 3rd pl. *-lla*	*-an* *-man* etc.
e.g., *šen(a)-*		*-iff-u*			*-ve*	*-NE-*			*-ve*	'my brother'	
en(i)-	*-na-*		*-aš-*		*-(v)e*	*-NA-*	*-aš-*	*-u-*	*-š*	'the gods' (erg)	

8th Position: The eighth position in the suffix chain is for what is called the "enclitic personal pronoun". Enclitic words can be attached to a noun, which stand in direct relation to it. It is, thus, the personal pronoun of the absolutive (other relations are associative pronouns [Bush, GHL, 253 ff.], enclitic pronouns, enclitic personal pronouns). It functions either as the subject marker of intransitive (or antipassive) sentences or as the object of a transitive sentence. The third person plural *-lla* can, furthermore, also be used as a general plural marker (e.g., *andi* 'that', *andi-lla* 'those'. Thus, the pronoun *-lla* is here merely another way to form the plural.). The enclitic personal pronouns each have a long and a short form — what distinguishes their use is not clear.

The enclitic personal pronouns:

	Long Form	Short form	
1st pers. sg.	*-tta*	*-t[-d]*	'I' or 'me'
2nd pers. sg.	*-mma*	*-m*	'you'
3rd pers. sg.	*-nna*	*-n*	'he/she' or 'him/her/it'
1st pers. pl.	*-tilla* [*-dilla*]	*-til* [*-dil*]	'we' or 'us'
2nd pers. pl.	*-ppa* [*-ffa*]*	*-p* [*b/v*]	'you'
3rd pers. pl.	*-lla*	*-l*	'they' or 'them'

*Only found in the Boğazköy Bilingual.

The following rules should be noted in using of the enclitic personal pronoun:

a) When the enclitic pronoun of the 1st and 2nd pers. sg. and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd pers. pl. follow the ergative ending *-š*, the *š* disappears, and the preceding vowel lengthens (see Bush, GHL, 89 f. [S4.4]; Kammenhuber, MSS 23, 1968, 64; Hass/Wilhelm, Orientalia, 38, 1969, 553 ff.; Farber, Orientalia 40, 1971, 33):

   e.g., *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-ut-ta-a-an* (Mit. II, 50)
   šen(a)=iff=û=(š)=tta=ân 'and my brother (ergative) me'

   ^{D}*Ši-mi-i-ge-ni-e-ti-la-an* (Mit. I, 77)
   Šimige=ne=(š)=dil=an 'and the Sun-god (ergative) us'

   i-šal-la-a-an (Mit. III, 54; IV, 63)
   iša=(š)=lla=ân 'and I (ergative) them…'

   (This lengthening of the vowels is valid, at the moment, only for the Mittani Letter — the frequent failure of plene-writing is apparent here.)

b) When the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sg. *-nna* follows the ergative ending *-š*, the *-nn* assimilates on the *š*, resulting in *-šša* (Farver, Orientalia 40, 1971, 32 f.):

   e.g., *še-e-en-ni-íw-wu-uš-ša-a-an* (Mit. III, 1)
   šen(a)=iff=u=šša=ân < *šen(a)=iff-u=š=nna=an* 'and my brother him'

[I]*Ge-li-i-aš-ša-an* (Mit. I, 83)
Kelia=ššа=ân (< *Kelia=š=nna=an*) 'and Kelia him'

a-ar-ti-bi-ni-eš-ša (Boğazköy Bilingual, KBo. 32: 14, I, 22):
arde=ve=NE=ššа < *arde=va=NE=š=nna* '(the deity) of the city him…'

c) Attaching these *a*-containing enclitic pronouns on a stem with *-i* or *-e*, causes a morpho-phonematic change of the thematic vowel from *-i* or *-e* to *-a*, i.e., phonetically, it results in vowel assimilation (Bush, GHL, 87 [S 4.24]). This change appears also when only the short form of the enclitic is used:

e.g., with the verb *mann-* 'to be':	*mann=i* 'he is';
	but (**manni+tta* >) *manna=tta* 'I am'
With nouns:	(**oli+ffa* >) *ola=ffa* 'another you'
	(**šue+lla* >) *šua=lla* 'all'
With the case *-ve*:	(**-ve+tta* >) *-va-tta*
	(In Mit. IV, 46: *šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=va(<ve)=tta ašti=i=ve* 'the wife of my brother, I….')

d) These changes in the thematic vowel *-i* or *-e* > *-a* do not occur when the enclitic pronoun is:

1) Attached to the "article" *-ni/ne/*	[D]*šimige=ne=(š)=lla*
	'*Šimige* (ergative) them …'
2) Used with demon. pronouns, e.g.	*andi=lla* 'that them' or 'those'
and independent pronouns, e.g.	*šatti=lla* 'we them'
	mane=lla 'he them' or only 'them'
3) Used with number words, e.g.	*tumni=lla* 'four them'
4) Used with adverbs, e.g.	*anammi=lla* 'then they..' (Mit. II, 56)
5) *-nna*, e.g.	[I]*Asali=nna-* 'Asali he…' (Mit. IV, 36)
	ašti=n(na) 'the wife he' (Mit. IV, 33)

6) When *-lla* is a general pluralizer, the change often does not occur:
mariannarde=l(la)=am 'charioteers' (Mit. III, 32)
elgi=lla 'shiny application' (Boğazköy Bilingual, KBo. 32: 14 I, 58). Perhaps, *elgi=lla* is to be read *elg(i)=i=lla* instead, so that the presence of the possessive suffix *-i-* hinders the change *-i* > *-a*.

7) With particles ending in *-u*, there is no change:

inu=tta-	(Mit. I, 74)
inu=lle-	(Mit. II, 32; III, 101)
panu=lle-	(Mit. IV, 16)

The position of the enclitic pronominal suffix is relatively free — it can appear anywhere in the sentence, but with special preference for the beginning position:

e.g., *inu=tta=nîn henni šen(a)=iff=u=š tad=i=a* (Mit. I, 74)
'as my brother now loves me (=*tta*)'

ai=l(la)=an tive=na anni talame=na… (Mit. II, 75)
'and when these (*-l(la)+anni*) great words…'

e) For the sentence-initial conjunctions like *inu-* 'as', *inna-* 'when', *unu-* (variant of *inu-*), *panu-* 'although', and the relative particle *ije-/ija-*, the enclitic particles *-me-/-ma* are used for the 3rd person singular, and *-lle-* is used for the 3rd person plural. These, therefore, correspond in their function to the pronouns *-nna* and *-lla*. They appear exclusively with these sentence-initial particles (see also Diakonoff, HuU, 108; Khačikjan, Churr. i. urart., 1985, 82; Girbal, SMEA 34, 1994, 85 f.).

f) In transitive sentences, the substitution of direct objects can occur multiple times through the noun and through the enclitic pronoun. In intransitive sentences, double substitution of subjects (as noun and as pronoun) can also appear (Girbal/Wegner, ZA 77, 1987, 151 f.; Wegner, AoF 21, 1994, 162, 168 ff.)

g) The enclitic of the 3rd pers. sg. *-nna/-n* can replace other, proper personal pronouns in the absolutive, when the expressed grammatical person is clearly expressed in another place. It functions, therefore, as a neutral pronoun marker: e.g., substituting *-n(na)* in Mit. I, 78, for the first person plural (properly *-tilla*) *tiš(a)=i=aš=a=n(na)* 'us in his heart (like the god loves)' (Girbal, ZA 80, 1990, 93 f.: id., SMEA 29, 1992, 163).

9th Position: In the ninth and following positions, various syntactic particles can appear, the so-called "associatives". These enclitic associatives are characteristic of the Hurrian of the Mittani Letter — they appear frequently here —, in contrast to Boğazköy Hurrian, where they are completely absent. The true meanings of these particles are often unclear or somewhat difficult to determine. The most frequent particles are:

-an 'and': *-an* connects single words, but also two verbs or two sentences. The vowel of the morpheme */an/* is not long when it occurs alone. However, a phonetically long vowel occurs only when */an/* is attached to a morpheme with a final vowel:

/an/ can follow a consonant;
/an/ can follow one of the *-a*-ending morphemes;
/an/ cannot follow a morpheme that ends in a vowel other than *-a*. For any other vowel, *-a* is used as the associative.

/man/ or /mân/ 'but, even' in addition (for this whole complex, see Girbal ZA 78, 1988, 135).

-nin 'for while' appears always at the end of a word, often with sentence-initial words like:

adi=nin, inu=me=nin, ija=lla=nin
and with the verb *mann-* 'to be': *mann(i>)a=tta=nin* 'thus I am'

-mma-man 'and namely', or the like

Table 2: Schematic representation of the nominal suffix chain

Position	1	2	3	(3a)	4	5	6	(6a)	7	8	9
Root+RE	"Article"	Poss. Pronoun*	Pluralizer	Bound Vowel	Case	Suffix Auf-nahme	Pluralizer of Reference Word	(Bound Vowel)	Case of the Reference Word	Enclitic Pronoun	Syntactic Particles
-hhe *-šše* *-arde* etc.	sg. *-ni/ne* pl. *-na*	1st sg.: *-iff-ə*, *-iff-e*, *-iff-*; 2nd sg.: *-v-*; 3rd sg.: *-i-*	*-aš-*	*-u-/-o-* *-u-*	erg. *-š* abs. *-Ø* gen. *-ve-* dat. *-va* dir. *-ta* etc.	sg. *-NE-* pl. *-NA-*	*-aš-*	*(-u-)*	erg. *-š* abs *-Ø* gen. *-ve* dat. *-va* etc.	1st sg. *-tta*; 2nd sg. *-mma*; 3rd sg. *-nna*; 1st pl. *-tilla/til*; 2nd pl. *-ffa/f*; 3rd pl. *-lla*	*-an* *-man* etc.

*The possessive pronoun and the "article" appear together extremely rarely, if at all.

F. Number Words

The following number words are known in Hurrian:

Cardinal Numbers		Ordinal Numbers	
1	*šukki, šugV-* (?)	—	
2	*šin(i)*	*šinzi* (< *šin+še*)	'second'
3	*kig(e)*	*kiški* (< *kig+še*)	'third'
4	*tumn(i)*	*tumušše* (< *tumun+še*)	'fourth'
5	*nari(ja)*	*narišše*	'fifth'[67]
6	*šeše*	—	
7	*šind(i)*	*šindišše*	'seventh'
8	*kir(i/a)* (?)		
9	*tamr(i)*	—	
10	*eman*	*emanze* (< *eman+še*)	'tenth'
18 or 80	*kirmani*	*kirmanze* (< *kirman+še*)	'eighteenth' or 'eightieth'[68]
10,000	*nubi*		
30,000	*kige nubi*		

[67] The meaning 'five' is from Rowe (AZ 87, 1997, 247—257) and is uncertain.
[68] See Gieorgieri/Pöseler (SCCNH 9, 1998, 87 ff.) with the derivation *kir=(e)man(i)-* (<*kir+eman*) 'eighteen' or 'eighty' and *kir=(e)man=zi* (< *kir+eman+ši*) 'eighteenth' or 'eightieth'.

For the cardinal numbers, various other words and forms are used:

-arbu	*šin=arbu*	'two years old'
	kig=arbu	'three years old'
	tumn=arbu	'four years old'
	nari(j)=arbu	'five years old'
	šind=arbu	'seven years old'
	kir=arbu	'eight years old'
-ade	*kig=ade-*	'three each'
	tumn=ade-	'four each' also 'four wheeled' (?)
	nari(j)=ade	'five each' (?) (Alalakh)[69]
	šind=ade-	'seven each'
-ti	*eman=di-*	'group of ten people'
-o=h(e)=li	*eman=d(i>)=o=he=li*	'in the tenth place'

Number adverbs:

X-times	*šukki*	'once'
X-times	*šug=am=h=a*	(from *šukko*) 'one' (Meskene)
	2-ha = šin=am=h=a	(from *šin(i)*) 'two' (Meskene)
	3-ha = kig=am=h=a	(from *kig(e)*) 'three'
	tamr=am=h=a	(from *tamr(i)*) 'nine'
	eman=am=h=a	(from *eman*) 'ten'

With the number words, there does not appear to be a morphophonemic change in the thematic vowel *i/e>a* before the enclitic pronouns (see above):

e.g., *šini=dilla* 'two we..', *tumni=lla* 'four, they…'

G. The Independent Pronouns

The Personal Pronouns: Besides the enclitic personal pronouns for the absolutive (see above, position 8), Hurrian also possesses independent personal pronouns (for recent work, see Wegner, SMEA 29, 1992, 227 ff.).

The paradigms of the independent pronouns, however, still contain major gaps, especially in the plural forms.

For the pronouns of the first person singular, there are two stems: the absolutive stem *iš=te* and the ergative *iša=š*; as well as the oblique case stem *šo-* or *šu-*. For the second and third person singular, there is only one pronominal stem attested.

[69] See footnote 67.

Singular

	1st Person: 'I'	2nd Person: 'you'	3rd Person: 'he, she, it'
Absolutive	*ište*	*fe* (graphically, *ú-i/e-* ~ *we-* ~ *bi-e-*)	*man=e* (other form *mann=i*)
Ergative	*iša=š*	*fe=š*	*man=u=š*
Genitive	*šo=ve*	*fe=ve*	—
Dative	*šo=va*	*fe=va*	—
Directive	*šu=da*	**fe=(u)=da*	—
Ablative	—	—	*man=u=dan*
Comitative	*šu=ra*	—	*man=u=ra*
Equative	*šo=nna* 'like me'	—	*man=u=nna*

The plural forms have attached the marker *-š-* to the attested singular forms. The enclitic pronoun *-lla* is attached to the absolutive.

Plural

	1st Person: 'we'	2nd Person: 'you'	3rd Person: 'they'
Absolutive	*šatti(=)lla*	*fe=lla*	*mane=lla*
Ergative	*šie=š*	*fe=š=u=š*	*man=š/z=o=š*
Genitive	—	*fe=š=(v)e*	—
Dative	—	*fe=š=(v)a*	*man=š/z=(v)a*
Directive	—	—	—
Comitative	—	—	*man=š=u/o=ra*
Equative	—	—	—

Rules: With the independent pronouns, the change *i/e* > *a* for the enclitic pronoun does not occur: e.g., *šatti=dilla* 'we', that is, 'us'.

With the Ergative forms *iša=š* or *man=š=o=š*, the enclitic pronouns (*-tta*, *-mma*, etc.) appear also not to have ergative markings:

e.g., *i-šal-la-an .... E-e-ma-na-a-mu-ša-a-ú* (Mit. III, 54)
i.e., *iša=(š)=lla=ân ....eman=am=oš=av*
'and (*-an*) I have made them (plural — probably, the gifts) tenfold'

This example also demonstrates the usage of the ergative pronoun: its function is to emphasize the subject. The position of the pronoun is not fixed — it appears most often immediately before the verbal form, but it can also still turn up here.

The absolutive can be a subject with intransitive verbs (and antipassive constructions) and an object with transitive verbs.

The genitive of the independent personal pronoun can, moreover, also be used as a possessive pronoun: [1]*Megi feve tiša=v an=ašt=i=kki* 'Megi, your heart is not happy' (Boğazköy Bilingual, KBo. 32: 15 I, 20').

The Demonstrative Pronouns: The "demonstrative pronouns" *anni*, *ani* 'this', *andi* 'that', *akki*, **agi* 'the one … the other' have the following paradigms: In the absolutive, there is the thematic vowel */i/* — with the oblique forms, */u/*. The change of the thematic vowel *i* > *a* before the enclitic pronouns is not found.

Singular			
Absolutive	*anni*	*andi*	*ani*
Genitive	—	*andu=ve*	—
Dative	—	*andu=va*	*anu=va*
Ablative	—	*andu=dan*	*anu=dan*
Plural			
	anni=lla	*andi=lla*	*ane=na*

The alternative pronouns 'the one… the other' also behaves in this way:

akki	**agi*
akku	**agu*

For example (in ChS. I/1, Hr 52, Rs 15'): *ak-ki a-ku-ta* 'the one to the other'.

(Wilhelm, SMEA 24, 1984, 215 ff. For Wilhelm, these pronouns have no space-time deixis like actual "demonstrative pronouns", but are, instead, contextual "anaphoric-cataphoric". For sake of simplicity, here, we will denote these deictic pronouns as "demonstrative pronouns".)

The pronominal stem *oli-* means 'the other, not this'.

The generalized pronoun in the Mittani Letter is formed from the stem **šue-*:

šu(e>)a(?)=nna 'whole, all' (The change of *e* > *a* before the enclitic pronoun *-nna* is, however, not secure.
šu(e>)a=lla 'all'

In the Boğazköy Texts, one finds instead:

šummi(=nna)	'whole, all';
šummi=l(la)	'all'; and
hejarunna	'all'

The two pronominal terms 'on this side' and 'on the other side' are: *aga=ve* and *eša=ve*, respectively. Both can be interpreted as the genitives of the roots **aga-* and **eša-*.

An interrogative pronoun appears as *abe-/ave-* in the forms *ave=(š)=dilla* (KBo. 32:15, I, 26': *a-bé-e-di-il-la*) 'us who' and *avešša* (< *ave=š=nna*) (KBo. 32: 11, IV, 19': *a-bi-iš-ša-a*) 'he/him who'. Both are the ergative forms of the pronoun (although E. Neu in StBoT 32, 1996, 50—51, sees the latter example as a substantive **abišši* in the essive with *-a*).

The term 'both … and…' is formed through:

ija + enclitic pronoun (*Ø*-term with the 3rd pers. sg.) + *an ûrikki // ija* + enclitic pronoun (3rd pers. sg. *Ø*-term) + *an ûrikki*, whereby *ûrikki* appears to be a negative antipassive form of the verb *ûr-* 'to want, to desire'. This structure appears, for example, in Mitt. III, 5 f.:

… ja-a-an ú-ú-rík-ki ma-a-na šu-e-ni 6) *Hur-ru-hé KUR u-u-mi-i-ni ja-a-an ú- ú-rík-ki ma-a-na šu-e-ni 7)* ^{KUR}*Ma-a-áš-ri-a-an-ni KUR u-u-mi-ni ….*
'… both all the Hurrian lands and all the Egyptian lands …' (Girbal, AoF 21, 1994, 376—379).

H. Verb Morphology

1. The primary distinguishing characteristic of Hurrian verbs is the distinctive conjugations of transitive and intransitive verbs. Each has its own rules for conjugation suffixes, according to which the intransitive is not conjugated strictly speaking. It is treated as a (nominal) participle form, with the pronominal person marker not actually attached to the verbal form, but a lexically independent formant. The agent, that is, the subject, can thus be expressed through the enclitic pronoun (as in noun morphology). The person marker of the intransitive, as a lexically independent form, can, consequently, appear anywhere in the sentence.

2. The Hurrian of the Mittani Letter contains three forms, which are the so-called "tenses", or "aspects",[70] according to Diakonoff:

   a) The present, or the aspectless form, with the null-marker (*Ø*-sign);
   b) The preterit — the perfective aspect —, or also narrative form, with the marker *-oš-*;
   c) The future — or the imperfective aspect —, with the marker *-et-*.

   The decision as to whether verb morphology should be interpreted as a system based on tense or a system based on aspect is to be made as follows: verbs in the Mittani Letter have a clear tense system, with the three temporal periods distinguished: present (unmarked), preterit (*-oš-*), and future (*-et-*), while the language of some of the Boğazköy tablets and some of the older texts appear to have aspects and action types[71] (Wilhelm, Double Case, 1995, 114).

[70] Aspect represents distinctions in the temporal structure or status of an event referred to by the verb, without regard to the event's occurrence in time (i.e., whether occurring in the past, present, or future). In Hurrian, aspect marks the completive (perfective aspect) or the incompletive (imperfective aspect) form of an event. Tense, on the other hand, denotes the time (past, present, or future) at which the action took place, is taking place, or will take place.

[71] The action type marks the type within an action sequence (e.g., durative indicates the continuation of an action; ingressive, or inchoative, indicates the initiation of an action; effective, or resultative, marks the conclusion of an action).

3. Hurrian possesses distinctive negative conjugation forms of the verbs.

4. The non-indicative verb forms utilize a complex and still not completely understood system. Many of these non-indicative forms have no actual personal suffixes. Complete paradigms cannot be drawn up due to lack of attestation.

5. A passive is not given.

6. Hurrian verb roots are — like noun roots —, in a great majority of cases, monosyllabic.

   Verb root types:

CVC	*han-* 'to give birth to', *tad-* 'to love', *tan-* 'to do, to make', *zaz-* 'to give food'
CVCC	*nahh-* 'to sit', *nakk-* 'to release', *pašš-* 'to send', *mann-* 'to be'
CV	*ha-* 'to name', *pa-* 'to build'
VC	*ar-* 'to give', *un-* 'to come', *id-* 'to hit'
VC_1C_1	*ašš-* (?), *itt-* 'to go', *tupp-* 'to exist'
VC_1C_2	*ašh-* 'to sacrifice', *šehl-* 'to be pure', *hubl-* 'to break'
CVC_1C_2	*hemz-* 'to be girdled (?)', *kunz-* 'to throw oneself down', *zimz-* (?)

   Reduplicated verb roots:

   keligel- 'to set high', *wirwir-* [*firvir-*] 'to loosen'; with loss of the medial vowel, *kelgel-*.

7. Stem-modifying suffixes are attached to these monosyllabic roots. In the first place, these suffixes modify the semantics of the verbal root. They can lend the root a causative, factitive, iterative, or reflexive meaning. A large number of these suffixes, however, still present problems of interpretation.

   For the sake of simplicity, the stem-modifying suffixes are ascribed one position in the suffix chain of verbs (1st position), although, in reality, they can occupy multiple positions.

   Polysyllabic stem-modifying suffixes are occasionally unclear regarding their segmentation, such as, for example, the iterative-durative suffix */-ukar-/* < *uk+ar* or *-ukar-* [*-ugar-*]. Some authors see a nominal element in the suffix *-ukar-*, which would form abstracts or collectives. At least for the language of the Mittani Letter, however, it makes both (see Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 164). So the supposed absolutive (Laroche, GLH, 249) *tad=ugar=i* is to be interpreted as an antipassive form, and the supposed ergative (Laroche, GLH, 249) *tad=ugar=i=š* is to be interpreted as a jussive form of the 1st person plural — a nominal interpretation would, however, make *aš-du-ka-a-rí-íw-wa-ša* (Mit. II, 76) 'in our marriage relationship' (Wilhelm, Orientalia 54, 1985, 490). The term appears, however, to be a postpositional submission in *š[a]š=va ašt=ugar=iff=aš=(v)a* 'our favor' (Wegner, SMEA 29, 1992, 232, note 10).[72]

   The stem modifying suffixes are described below as root extensions (RE[s]).

[72] For *ašt=ugar=i* = Akk. *miḫru* = Sum. GAB 'equivalent', see the Ugarit Vocabulary (RS 94-2939 V, 20), by Andre Salvini/Salvini (SCCNH 9, 1998, 8, 10).

As with the nominal suffix chain, the suffixes of the verbal suffix chain follow a definite, invariable positional order and, in like manner, place the derivational suffixes closer to the root and the inflectional suffixes closer to the end. This produces the following scheme:

Verbal Root ~ Root Extension (RE) ~ Valence[73]/Diathesis[74] ~ Aspect/Tense ~ Mood[75] ~ Number/Person, that is, Person/Number (see also Bush, GHL, 99f., 178 ff. [S7.4]; Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 71 ff.).

1st Position: The first position indicates the root extensions (RE); (those forms marked with * are only found in so-called "Old Hurrian"):

-an(n)-: indicates the causative: *ar-* 'to give', *ar=ann-* 'to make one give'.

-am-: indicates the factitive: *eman-* '10', *eman=am-* 'to make tenfold' (Wilhelm, Iraq 53, 1991, 12, fn. 35).

-ar-: marks the factitive and also the iterative: *tad=ar-* 'to love', *šid=ar-* 'to curse'. The RE corresponds to the Hittite iterative *-ške-* form.

-aš-: intensivizer, e.g., *haš-* 'to listen', *haš=aš-* 'to listen attentively'.

***-ahh-**: unclear: *tal-* 'to pull out, to steal'; *tal=ahh-* also 'to pull out, to steal', *mel=ahh-* 'to expel' (this form is apparently only found with the verbal forms of so-called "Old Hurrian"; e.g., with verbal forms of *=o=m* and *=i=b* — perhaps, it marks a spatial dimension ['out-'], see also below).

-uk+ar or **-ukar-**: *tad=ugar-* is the mutual expression 'to love one another', but also the iterative-durative.

-u/ol-: reflexive, but also intransitivizer.

-ol-: unclear: *ar-* 'to give', *ar=ol-* also 'to give'; *šalh-* 'to hear', *šalh=ol-* also 'to hear' (perhaps, the form marks another spatial relationship, see Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 361: *-ol-* 'there'. For the Urartian verbal form with the term *-ul-*, see Salvini, ZA 81, 1991, 122 ff.).

-om-: unclear: in *ur=om=* perhaps 'to employ' (?); *tihan=ol=om=* from *tihan-* 'to show'.

-on-: unclear: in *tad=on=i=i(d)=en* 'she prefers to love' from *tad-* 'to love'.

[73] I.e. the valence of the verb.
[74] Genus verbi (active/medium/passive).
[75] Indicative/non-indicative

-Všt-: The vowel of this RE is adjusted to match the vowel of the root, e.g., *tan=ašt-* 'to make', *an-/an=ašt-* 'to be pleased', *mad=ašt-* 'to be wise', *teh-/teh=ešt-* 'to increase, to become large', *šurv=ušt-* 'to do evil'. This RE has a denominalization character in several cases. It is not to be confused with the intransitive tense indicator of the preterit *-oš-+-t-*. However, it also provides references. Together with the formations *-ol-*, *-Vst-*, and the verbal form of *=o=m*, it may indicate another grammatical differentiation (aspect or action type [Wilhelm, Fs. Heger, 1992, 670]). In so-called "Old Hurrian", it appears that the form *-Všt-* may mark the end of events, e.g., *pa=ašt=o=m* 'he had built'.

***-ill-**: the inchoative or inceptive is an action type of verbs that marks the start or beginning of an event: e.g., *šis=ar=ill=o=m* 'he began to curse' or *am=ar=ill=o=m* 'he began to do evil' (Boğazköy Bilingual; Neu, Orientalia, 59, 1990, 223—233; id., StBoT 32, 1996, 104: "… we judge *-ill-* as a unit to provide the inchoative function". In this function, the form *-ill-* is only found in the Boğazköy Bilingual).

-uš-: This morpheme of uncertain meaning should not be confused with the tense marker *-uš- /-oš-/*. It appears in forms like *urhupt=uš=il=eva* (Mit. III, 64) '(I) would like a sincere manner' (from *urhi-* 'true') *šilah=uš=ušt=i=wa=en* (Mit. IV, 41) '(my brother) shall not trade (with me)' (Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 178 and 181).

-upp-: unclear (Bush, GHL, 187): in *kap=upp-* from *kad-* 'to say', *tad=upp-* from *tad-* 'to love' *pid=upp-* from *pid-* 'to turn, to dance'.

-ut-: unclear: this form perhaps occurs in *zul(l)=ud-* 'to loosen'[76] and *keb=ud-* 'to set' (*keb=ud=o/u* 'they set there' [KBo. 32, 13 I2]). This is probably not the same as the negative particle *-ut-*.

-t-: unclear: in *tan=d-* 'to celebrate (a festival)' from *tan-* 'to make', *kul=d-* from *kul-* 'to say', *pal=d-* from *pal-* 'to know'. This form is possibly identical with the RE *-t-* of nominal morphology (see above). This formation is not to be confused with the plural morpheme *-t-* and the marker of the objectless term *-t-* (taking account of the suffix position).

-uh-/-oh-: unclear: in *hic=uh-* trans. 'to sicken', *hic=uh=o/ul-* intrans. 'to sadden', *anz=ann=oh-* 'to designate', *šed=oh-* 'to make fat, rich', *ôl-ôh-* 'to be near (?)'

***-o/ur-**: unclear: in *kul=o/ur=o=m* 'he spoke' from *kul-* 'to speak', *ar=ur=o=m* from *ar-* 'to give', *par=ur=o=m* from *par-* 'to feel pain'.

2nd Position: Following the root and the root-extensions (1st position), there is the tense (or, according to Diakonoff, aspect) suffix in the second position, with the following forms:

[76] See, however, Giorgieri (SCCNH 9, 1998, 80), who prefers to see this *-ud-* as the negative morpheme *-ud-*, with the meaning 'un-, -less…', *zul=ud-* would then mean 'to unbind, to unleash'.

Null-marker (-*Ø*)	for the present	=	Neutral aspect
-*oš*-	for the preterit	=	Perfective aspect (completed action)
-*et*-	for the future	=	Imperfective aspect (incomplete action)

3rd Position: This position is not occupied with the positive transitive verbs. However, with intransitive verbs, the mark of objectlessness -*t*- appears in this position.

4th Positon: This position can take a suffix -*imbu*- with unclear meaning and function. This element appears both with intransitive and transitive verbal roots and only with derivations of -*š(š)e* and -*(h)he* (Bush, GHL, 147, 193 ff. [SS7.425]).

5th Position: This position is marked for intransitive verbs with the intransitive marker -*a*-.

In the aspectless positive transitive (ergative) verbal forms — i.e., with forms where only the root exists, which is in the present tense, and probably after the root extensions -*ol*- and -*ar*- —, the marker of transitivity -*i*- follows after the null-marker (-*Ø*) of the present, however, only in the 2nd and 3rd person singular**.** Otherwise, the transitive marker appears before the negative suffix (and as several authors assumed, in non-indicative forms. See below.):

e.g. *tad=i* (transitive marker)=*a* (person marker transitive erg. 3rd pers. sg.) 'he loves'
pal=i (transitive marker)=*o* (person marker transitive erg. 2nd pers. sg.) 'you show'

In the 1st person singular and all plural forms, there is no transitive marker:

e.g. *tad=av* (person marker transitive 1st pers. sg.) 'I love'
tad=av=š (person marker transitive 1st pers. pl.) 'we love'

With the forms of the preterit with -*oš*- and the future with -*et*-, the transitive marker -*i*- is not found with any person:

e.g.	*tad=oš=a*	'he loved'	(3rd pers. sg. preterit)
	tad=oš=o	'you loved'	(2nd pers. sg. preterit)
	tad=ed=o	'you will love'	(2nd pers. sg. future)

6th Position: With the transitive ergative, positive verbs, this position is unoccupied; with negative verbal forms, the mark of negation (-*u(w)/wa*-, that is, -*kkV*-) appears in this position.

7th Position: After the tense marker and also the transitive marker -*i*- (in the 5th position), the person marker (= subject marker) of the indicative of the transitive ergative, positive verbs follows in the 7th position (or in the 6th position when the negation is not occupied). These person markers are:

Singular

1st person	*-av*	(graphically, *(K)a-a-ú/-ap*); long form: *-affu-* (thus before the enclitic pronouns and after the negative suffix)
2nd person	*-o*	(graphically, *-u*)
3rd person	*-a*	

8th Position: The plural is marked by placing the pluralizer *-š* (with allomorph *-ša*) after the person marker of the singular and before additional terms. This pluralizer *-š(a)* is encountered both in indicative and non-indicative forms (see below).

Plural

1st person	*-av+š(a)*	(graphically, *(K)a-(a)-ú-uš* or *(K)a-(a)-ú-ša*, when elements like *-šše* follow)
2nd person	*-aššu*	(only in the Boğazköy Bilingual, KBo. 32)
3rd person	*-a+š(a)* or *-t+a*[77]	

9th and 10th Positions: In the 9th and 10th positions, the enclitic pronouns (*-tta*, *-mma*, *-nna*, etc.) and the syntactic particles (*-an, -man*, etc.) can appear.

Examples of the indicative, transitive ergative, positive verbs (Table 3):

ar=av 'I give', but *ar=i=a* 'he gives'; **ar=av=š(a)* 'we give'
ar=oš=av 'I gave'; *ar=oš=a* 'he gave'
ar=ed=av 'I will give'; **ar=ed=av=š(a)* 'we will give"
ar=ol=av=š (graphically, *a-ru-la-a-uš* [Boğazköy Bilingual]) 'we give'
na-ak-ki-da-a-u-uš, i.e., *nakk=ed=av=š* 'we will release …'
na-ak-ki-da-aš-šu, i.e., *nakk=ed=aššu* 'you will release …'

With the long form *-affu-* of the personal suffix:

a-ru-la-ú-un-na, i.e., *ar=ol=af(f)u=nna* 'I give him'

In addition to the Position 8 pluralizer *-š*, there is another plural morpheme *-t-* (Girbal, AoF 16, 1989, 78 ff) or *-it-*. This plural morpheme appears after the tense marker but before the person marker:

e.g. *un=et=t=a*. This form can either be 'he will come' (intransitive), or, by recognizing the plural morpheme *-t-*, 'they will bring' (transitive).

Additional examples include:

[77] The pluralizer *-t-* is not generally accepted (see Giorgieri/Röseler, SCCNH 8, 1996, 281, fn. 2): in this work, it will, however, be recognized as an allophone of *-id-*.

gu-li-e-ta (Mit. IV, 27) against *gu-li-e-et-ta* (Mit. IV, 60)
kul=ed=a *kul=et=(i)t=a*
'he will say' 'they will say'

a-ki-tu (KBo. 32: 20, I, 16') ("Old Hurrian")
ag=id=o
'they lead …'

hu-u-i-tu (KUB 47: 2, IV, 8')
hu=id=o
'they call over ….'

Table 3: The suffix sequence for indicative, transitive ergative, positive verbs

1 Root+RE	2 Tense Marker	3 Objectless-ness Marker (not used)	4 (not used)	5 Transitive Marker	6 Transitive Negation Marker (not used)	7 Marker for the Subject of the Action	8 Plural Marker of the Subject**	9 Enclitic Pronoun	10 Syntactic Particles
-an- *-ar-* *-ol-* *Všt-* etc.	*-Ø-* *-oš-* *-et-*			 *-i-** *-i-*		1 sg. *-av/* *-affu-* 2 sg. *-o* 3 sg. *-a*	*-š(a)-*	1 sg. *-tta* 2 sg. *-mma* 3 sg. *-nna* etc.	*-an* *-man* etc.
* The marker of the transitive appears only in the present of the 2nd and 3rd person singular **or *t+a* for the 3rd person plural									

8. The negation suffix *-u(w)-/-wa-* (6th position), which appears with the indicative transitive ergative negated verbs, is placed after the transitive marker *-i-* (5th position). The negation suffix *-u(w)-/-wa-* (whose full form, namely, *-wa-*, is the suffix in the modal form) appears as *-u-*, and the person marker (7th position) of the 1st person *-av* appears in the long form *-(a)ffu*. Together, the *-u-* + *-(a)ffu* produce, for the 1st person singular, *-uffu*.

   The first person plural is created from the first person singular, as *u+(a)ffu*, and the plural term *-š* (8th position) form (only in the Boğazköy Bilingual) *-uffu=š*. The 2nd person sg. is not attested; the second person plural (only found in the Boğazköy Bilingual) is built from the *-u-* and the personal marker of the 2nd person pl. *-(a)ššu* > *-uššu*.

   The paradigm thus appears to be:

   1st sg. trans. erg. negative *-uffu*
   2nd sg. (not attested) —
   3rd sg. trans. erg. negative (see below)

1st pl. trans.-erg. negative *-uffu=š*
2nd pl. trans.-erg. negative *-uššu*
3rd pl. (not attested) —

(For the 3rd person singular, see below.)

Table 4: The suffix sequence for indicative, transitive ergative, negated verbs of the 1st and 2nd person (for the third person, see below)

1 Root+RE	2 Tense Marker	3 Objectless-ness Marker (not used)	4 (not used)	5 Transitive Marker	6 Transitive Negation Marker	7 Marker for the Subject of the Action	8 Plural Marker of the Subject**	9 Enclitic Pronoun	10 Syntactic Particles
-an- *-ar-* *-ol-* *Všt-* etc.	*-Ø-* *-oš-* *-et-*			*-i-*	*-u(w)/wa*	1 sg. *+(a)ffu* > *-uffu-*; 2 pl. *+(a)ššu* > *-uššu*	*-š(a)-*	1 sg. *-tta* 2 sg. *-mma* 3 sg. *-nna* etc.	*-an* *-man* etc.

A. The Negation of the First Person Singular and Plural:

e.g. *ku-z-u-ši-úw-wu-la-* (Mit. IV, 46)
koz+oš+i+uffu+l(la)
'I have not held them back (*-lla*)'

na-ak-ki-u-úw-wuú-uš (Boğazköy Bilingual, KBo. 32: 15 I, 24')
nakk+Ø+i+uffu+š
'we do not let (something) free'

B. The Negation of the Second Person Plural: only found in the Boğazköy Bilingual — the 2nd person sg. is not attested.

e.g. *na-ak-ki-u-uš-šu* (Boğazköy Bilingual, KBO. 32: 19 I, 20)
nakk+Ø+i+u+(a)ššu (> *-uššu*)
'you do not let (something) free'

C. The Negation of the Third Person Singular:

The negation morpheme *-ma*, which could well be genetically related to *-wa-* (Khačikjan, Churr. I urart., 1985, 95), is taken out from the suffix chain and shifts to the end of the verbal form (the transitive marker *-i-* appears before the person marker):

e.g. *pašš+i+a+ma*
'he does not send'

kul+i+a+ma
'he does not say'

irnoh+oš+i+a+ma
'he has not retaliated"

The morpheme *-ma* appears in those cases in which the application of *-wa-* would lead to a series *-*i+wa+a* (3rd pers. sg. transitive). It thus appears to function as a positionally conditioned allomorph of *-wa-*, though *-ma* does not appear in the suffix chain in the same position as *-wa-*. Whereas *-wa-* appears in the position between the transitive marker *-i-* and the person marker of the agent, *-ma* appears after the personal marker *-a*.

In order to avoid confusion with the particle *-mân* (*-ma-a-an*, see below), it seems that the negation morpheme *-ma* does not follow the associative *-an* 'and' (Girbal, SMEA 34, 1994, 83 f.).

Negated transitive forms in the third person plural are not attested.

D. Another negation morpheme is *-ut-* (Neu [StBoT 32, 1996, 164] regards this as only *-u-*, *-t-* being interpreted as a preterit form).

Thus far, this negation suffix has been found with sufficient certainty only in the Boğazköy Bilingual.[78] Here, it is found with verbal forms that are associated with so-called "Old Hurrian" (see also below). It is here that the 3rd person singular ergative is built with the forms *=o=m*:

fur=ud=o=m 'he does not see (a second district)' (Boğazköy Bilingual, KBo. 32: 14 I, 38)

am=ud=o=m 'he does not reach (the opposite bank)' (Boğazköy Bilingual, KBo. 32: 14 I, 29) (For an identical root extension *-ut-*, see above.)

9. The Suffix Sequence with the Indicative, Intransitive, Positive Verb

With the intransitive, non-negated verbs, there occurs the tense marker (2nd position) (only in the preterit and the future), the intransitive marker *-t-* (3rd position), [the 4th position is still undocumented], and a further intransitive marker *-a-* (in the 5th position); the enclitic pronouns (e.g., *-tta*, *-mma*, etc.) are used as subject markers, except the 3rd person sg., which has a null-marker (*-Ø*) (not *-nna*). The subject marker frequently appears without the corresponding verbal form.

[78] In the Mittani Letter, one can point to forms like *hu-up-pu-ta-aš-ša-a-al-la-a-a*n (II 22) which may have the negation morpheme *-ut-* (see Haas/Wegner, Fs. Klengel, AoF 24/2, 1997, 344 ff.).

Examples:

un+a
'he comes'

un+a+tta
'I come'

un+a+lla
'they come'

itt+oš+t+a
'he has left'

un+et+t+a
'he will come' (for the ambiguities of this form, see above)

10. The Suffix Sequence with Indicative, Intransitive, Negated, and Antipassive Verbs

The negated form of the intransitive verb is formed with *-kk-* (in the 6th position). The intransitive marker *-o-* (/*o*/ is an allophone of the /*a*/ of the 5th position) or, in antipassive constructions, the transitive marker *-i-*, appears before this morpheme. Following after the negating morpheme *-kk-*, one finds the vowel *-a-*, which, in certain forms (probably in the absolute final sound), appears as *-o-*. In the antipassive, it appears in contrast as *-i-*. As subject markers, the enclitic pronouns of the absolutive are used, although for the 3rd person singular, the null-marker (*-Ø*) is given (and not *-nna*).

Examples:

mann ('to be')+*o+kk+o*
'he is not'

un ('to come')+*o+kk+ a* (*o* > *a*)+*lla*
'they do not come'

In contrast to the intransitive, here are the negated forms of the antipassive:

tan ('to make')+*oš+i+kk+*(*i* >)*a+tta*
(not *-oš-t-*, i.e., without the intransitive marker *-t-*)
'I have not made'

an+ašt+i+kk+i
'he is not happy'

Tables 5 and 6: The suffix chain of the indicative intransitive positive and intransitive negative verb as well as the antipassive verb

1 Root+RE	2 Tense	3 Objectless Marker	4 (unused)	5 Intransitive Marker	6 Intransitive Negation Marker	7 Subject Marker of the Action (unused)	8 Plural Marker of the Subject (unused)	9 Enclitic Pronoun as Subject Marker	10 Syntactic Particles
-ol- *-Všt-* etc.	*-Ø-* *-oš-* *-et-*	*-t-*		*-a-*				1st sg. *-tta/t*; 2nd sg. *-mma/m*; 3rd sg. *Ø* (not *-nna*); 1st pl. *-tilla/til*; 2nd pl. *-ffa/f*; 3rd pl. *-lla/a*	*-an* *-man* etc.
				-o- (*o* is an allo-phone of *a*)	*-kko* (actually *a*, subjected to vowel harmony) (*o* > *a* before *-tta*, *-mma*, etc.)				
Antipassive		(unused)		Transitive *-i-*	*-kki* (*i* > *a* before *-tta*, *-mma*, etc.)				

Table 7: Summary table of the suffix sequence of the indicative verbs (based on Diakonoff, DuD, 115). The mood markers are not included in this table, as with Diakonoff

1 Root+RE	2 Tense	3 Objectless Marker	4 unclear	5 Intransitive/ Transitive Marker	6 Negation Marker	7 Subject Marker of the Action	8 Plural Marker of the Subject	9 Enclitic Pronoun	10 Syntactic Particles
-an- *-ar-* *-ol-* *-Všt* etc.	*-Ø-* *-oš-* *-et-*	*-t-*	*-imbu-*	*-i-* *-a-*	*-u(w)/wa-* *-kkV-*	1st sg. *-av/ -(a)ffu-*; 2nd sg. *-o* 3rd sg. *-a*	*-š(a)-*	*-tta/t* *-mma/m*	*-an* *-man* etc.

11. The Non-indicative Verbal Forms

Hurrian has at its disposal a number of different modal constructions, whose actual definitions are still unclear. Therefore, the terminology used here must remain provisional, since there is as yet no adequate study of the inventory of Hurrian modal forms.

Also, the rules for the segmentation and regulation of particular morphemes are not consistent. Hence, in this description of the Hurrian mood system, the thesis is put forward that, with the jussive, the same construction clearly underlies the transitive and intransitive verbs (i.e., there is not a morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, e.g., *tad=ašt=i=i(d)=en* 'they would like to love (something)' and *itt-=i=(i)d=en* 'they would like to go'; *haš=i=en* 'he would like to hear' and *šir=i(?)=en*[79] 'it [the dowry] would like to be sufficient/pleasing') and furthermore, the few interpreted sentences can be said to show "split ergativity", since the person markers in the enclitic pronouns are always absolutive even when the verb is transitive. (For the relevant sentences see below.) This apparently also goes for the imperative — but here, yet another examination is necessary (see Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 172 f. with note 2; Haas/Wegner, recension of StBoT 32 in OLZ 92, 1997, 454). The Hurrian modal forms possess no individual person markers.

12. The Non-indicative Positive Form (the jussive, from Latin *iussum* 'order, command')

"Jussive" (following Speiser, IH, 163 ff.; Bush, GHL, 216; Khačikjan, Churr. I urart., 105 and 109) — e.g., the possible commanding form — is a summary term for forms that are of this general type (voluntative, imperative, optative): Below, the jussive is formed as follows (see Girbal, AoF 16, 1989, 81 ff.; Wegner, Orientalia 59, 1990, 298 ff):

Table 8: The suffixes for the positive jussive

Root+RE	Jussive Marker	Negation Marker (unused)	Pluralizer	Person Marker of the Jussive	Bound Vowel	Enclitic Pronoun*	Synt. Particle
-an-	*-i-*		*-(i)t-*				
-ar- *-aš-* *-ugar-* etc.	1 sg. *-i-* 2 sg. — 3 sg. *-i-* 1 pl. *-i-* 2 pl. — 3 pl. *-i-*		 *-š* (?) *-e+š* (?) *-(i)t-*	*-l+e* (voluntative) *-i/e* (imperative) *-en* *-en*	 *(-i-)* *-i-*	*-tta* *-mma* *-nna* *-tilla* *-ffa* *-lla*	*-an*

*The enclitic pronouns are most advanced.

[79] (Mit. III, 34) *ši-ri-en-na-a-an*. Here, the evidence of an intransitive jussive form requires that the marker *-i-* be really the graphical marker of the jussive and not an emphasizer through plene-writing — the sign RI can also be read RE. An intransitive marker is, however, not present.

Examples:

1st Person Singular (voluntative):

haš+i+l+e 'I shall hear' (graphically, *ha-ši-i-i-li* [Mit. IV, 43])
talm+ašt+i+l+e 'I shall raise' (graphically, *ta-al-ma-aš-ti-i-li* [KBo. 32: 11, I 2])
kul+(i)+l+e 'I shall say' (graphically, *kul-li* [Mit. IV 1])

Rule: With stems ending in /l/, /r/ and /t/, the *-i-* of the jussive does not appear — hence:

**hil+i+l+e* > *hilli* 'I shall say'
**tad+ukar+il+eva* > *tadugarreva* 'I shall love'
**kut+i+(i)t+en* > *kutte(n)* 'they shall fall'
but, note:
itt=i=(i)d=en 'they shall go'.

Whether the voluntative morpheme *-le* can be segmented still further into *-l+e* is not clear, in which case the purpose of the *-l-* is unknown. Therefore, it is assumed here that combined *-l+e* acts as the person marker of the voluntative. Some authors, like Speiser (IH, 153 ff.) and Bush (GHL, 215—217) segment *-l-e* and assign the proper jussive function to the *-l* alone. Other authors are satisfied with the segmentation *=i=l=e* or *=i=li*, frequently without distinguishing the separate functional elements. The final vowel of the morpheme is, however, treated here as *-e*, based on the form (Mit. II, 85) *ta-a-du-ka-a-ar-ri-e* > *tad=ugar=i=l+e* 'I shall love (my brother)' (see also Bush, GHL, 216 f.).

2nd Person Singular: The imperative, as the generalized morphological category of verbs, is formed as the stem + *i* (that is, *-e*, or also *-ə*, as position-dependent allophone of *-i* — see Haas/Wegner, Fs. Klengel, AoF 24/2, 1997, 348 f.: *-e*, that is, *-ə*).

ar+i/e 'give!' (Mit. I, 51)
nakk+i/e 'release!' (KBo. 32: 19 I, 1, 3)

3rd Person Singular:

haš+i+en 'he should hear' (trans.) (Mit.II, 13)
šir+i[80]*+en+(n)na+an* 'and it should be sufficient' (intrans.) (Mit. III, 34)
haš+i+en+(n)na+an 'and he should hear' (Mit. III, 42)
haš+i+en+i+lla+ân 'and he should hear it' (Mit. III, 40)

1st Person Plural:

tad+ugar+i+š 'we shall love one another?' (Mit. IV, 121)

[80] Graphically (Mit. III, 34), *ši-ri-en-na-a-an*, i.e., *šir=i (?)=en=n(n)a=ân*.

2nd Person Plural:

kol+eš 'let off!' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 23)

3rd Person Plural:

itt+i+(i)t+en 'they shall go' (Mit. III, 23)
ha+i+(i)t+e(n) 'they shall take' (*ha-a-i-te*, *ha-a-i-te-in* [KBo. 32: 14 I, 12, 13])

According to Wilhelm (ZA 73, 1983, 108 f.), the transitive imperative uses the transitive vowel *-i-* ([Mit. I, 51] *ar=i* 'give!'; [Mit. II, 56] *pal=i* 'know!', whereby, in the latter case, the plene writing *pa-li-i* is cited as proof that the imperative is *-i.* However, *pal=i* has been determined to be a form of the antipassive [see Haas/Wegner, AoF 24/2, 1997, 348]). The intransitive, however, is then formed with the intransitive marker *-a*: *un=a* 'come!'; the indicative *un=a* 'he comes' and the imperative *un=a* 'come!' are then formally identical (Wilhelm, ZA 73, 1983, 108 f.; Neu, StBoT 32, 156, *i-te-i-e*).

The above cases show that there is not universal agreement on the elements of the jussive. Thus, the *-i-* that is regarded here as the jussive morpheme was formerly seen by certain researchers as the transitive marker (Speiser, IH, 164 [SS196]; Bush, GHL, 89 [SS4.33]; Diakonoff, HuU, 128 f.; Wilhelm, OrNS 61, 1992, 138), while only the *-e-*, that is, *-en*, was seen as the jussive morpheme (Speiser, IH, 163 ff.; Bush, GHL, 216, 218, 224; *-e-* jussive suffix, 233 f.: *-n* copula; Diakonoff, HuU, 128 f). Other authors segment *=i=e=n* (singular) or *=id=e=n* (plural) (Giorgieri/Röseler, SCCNH 8, 1996, 281, with note 2), without determining the individual segments, including the *-i-* in the singular and the word-final *-n*. When *-en* should be further broken down into *-e+n*, the *-n* cannot be identified with the marker *-n (-nna)* of the 3rd person singular in the grammatical function of the absolutive. This means that the forms covered above, in which the jussive form is *-ien*, has a direct object of the 1st person singular or plural (Girbal, AoF 16, 1989, 81, with note 8). For the plural jussive forms (3rd person), there are some authors who do not identify the plural sign /t/, but, rather, a plural morpheme *-it-* [*-id-*] (so first Jensen, ZA 14, 176; Friedrich, BChG, 36; Speiser, IH, 146 ff. [with doubts regarding its position]; Bush, GHL, 218 ff.; Wilhelm, Bibl. Mes. 26, 1999, 142). We take *-t-* as an allomorph of *-it-* (see similar Steiner, RHA 36, 1978, 173—187, however, with another interpretation of the form).

The argument against the idea that *-i-* corresponds to the transitive marker is based mainly on the Mittani Letter form *it-ti-tén* 'they shall go', from the actual root *itt-* 'to go', which can hardly be transitive. An analysis *itt=id=e=n* or also *itt=id=en* has, as noted above, a marker of the person (*-id-*) that is not in the expected position, in particular, it is located closer to the root than the supposed modal element (*-e-*) or (*-en*). Regarding this, Speiser's doubts (IH, 146 ff) are still valid. The agent-indicating person-number morpheme is still closer to the end of the sequence (see Speiser, IH, 147; Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 71; and Wegner, Orientalia 59, 1990, 298 ff.: Scheme: + tense/mood + number/person). In addition, a further problem arises from the analysis *itt=id=en*, while *-en* must be treated then as a cumulative morpheme, but the optative is also a 3rd person marking (see below). Furthermore, unfortunately, there is no clearly secure

intransitive jussive form found in the Mittani Letter[81]. The Boğazköy Bilingual (KBo. 32:12 V I, 7—8) provides, besides the transitive voluntative form *haš=ašt=i=l+e* 'I shall hear', an intransitive voluntative form with the same format *itt=i=l+e* 'I shall go'. From the intransitive root *nahh-* 'to sit, to put oneself', a voluntative form is made in the mythological text KUB 8, 60 (+?) KUB 47: 9 I 16': *na-ah-hi-li*: *nahh=i=l+e* 'I shall sit'.

In the above cited case (Mit., IV, 42—43 f.), *haš=i=l+e* (see Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 172, note 2), there is the enclitic pronoun of the 1st person singular absolutive *-tta* in combination with the transitive verb *haš-* 'to hear': *tive(> a)=tta=ân… šeniffuvemân keldi nîriše haš=i=l+e* 'I shall hear … the word and the well-being (and) the good health of my brother'. In this sentence, *-tta* is the agent in a transitive sense, so the verb *hašile* 'I will hear' has a direct object, this being 'the word' (*tive-*) and 'the well-being (and) the good health of my brother' (*šeniffuve-keldi nîriše*). The pronoun here is expected not to be the absolutive *-tta*, but the ergative *iša=š*. A further example occurs in Mit. II, 84—85: *še*[*n(a)=iffe=t*]*ta=man tad=ugar=i=l+e* 'I (*-tta*) shall love my brother', where also the absolutive pronoun *-tta* occurs with the transitive verb *tad=ugar-*. A comparable situation presents itself in the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual, with multiple occurrences of the sentence: *amum(i>)a=f(fa) šalh=ol=a* (KBo. 32:14I, 23, I40, IV 7, Rs. 21, 33, 53). The enclitic absolutive pronoun of the 2nd person plural *-ffa* is also the agent of the transitive verb *šalh-* 'to hear' and has the direct object *amumi-* 'message': 'you (pl.) shall hear the message!'

(This does not support Neu's [StBoT 32 for KBo. 21:11, I 4] *ka-ti-il-li i-š[a-aš]* suggested reconstruction of *iša=š* 'I', the independent pronoun of the 1st person singular ergative, since all forms of the jussive in which a person marker is expressed appear in the absolutive case. In the meantime, it raises the question as to whether the independent personal pronoun can appear with this modal form at all.)

So, assuming this proposed model is correct, then Hurrian, in the non-indicative moods, and particularly in the jussive, shows the phenomenon of "split ergativity", in which the same formation scheme underlies the transitive and intransitive verbs. Furthermore, as the above examples show, at least with an agent in the first or second person jussive (i.e., in the voluntative and the imperative), the ergative construction is not found (see also Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 172 with fn. 2; id., AoF 16, 1989, 81 ff.; Haas/Wegner, recension to StBoT 32 in OLZ 92, 1997, 440 f.; 444 with note 22, 454.)

Rules: With the attachment of the enclitic pronoun (except for the 3rd person singular) to the jussive form, note the following:

When the person marker of the jussive *-en* is followed by the enclitic pronoun, a bound vowel *-i-* is inserted between *-en* and the pronominal suffix:

*ha=i=en=**i**=l(la)=an* 'he should take them' (*-lla* pl.) (*ha-i-e-ni-la-an* [Mit. III, 30])
*ar=ann=i=en=**i**=l(la)=an* 'he should give them' (*a-ra-an-ni-e-ni-la-an* [Mit. III, 39])

[81] The wish-form of the so-called "Old-Hurrian" of the Tiš-atal inscription, which ends in *-in*, is still not entirely clear. See, however, Wilhelm, Bibl. Mes. 26, 1999, 117 ff.

A bound vowel does not occur with the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person singular *-nna*. Instead, the three *-nnn-* are reduced to two *-nn-*:

ar=ann=i=en=(n)na=man 'he should give it' (*a-ra-an-ni-e-ni-na-ma-an* [Mit. III, 41]).

A special development appears in the form of the Hurrian Boğazköy texts, especially those in the Bilingual. Here, the person marker *-en* of the jussive can be reduced to *-e* before words starting with a consonant:

KBo. 32: 14 I, 12—13:	*ha-a-i-te-in a-a-še*	but	*ha-a-i-te ka-ri-e-na-šu-uš*
	'they shall take the oil'		'the bird-catcher shall take…'

Such a reduction of the morpheme *-en* to *-e* argues against the further segmentation of the suffix into *-e+n*, or the elimination of *-n* as a distinct morpheme. (Still Bush, GHL, 224, Khačikjan, Churr. I urart., 122—125; and Diakonoff, HuU 126, who abandoned the "cupola-thesis", whereby Hurrian possesses no *-n* copula, see Girbal/Wegner, ZA 77, 1987, 151.)

The Boğazköy texts further contain a plural imperative form with *-eš (-e+š)* (?): e.g., *kol=eš/kol=e=š* 'let go!' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 23, u. o). For another imperative form in *-o* and *-o=š*, see below)

13. The Non-indicative Negative Form (Negated Jussive)

The negated jussive form is produced by means of the well-known indicative formant *-u(w)/wa-*, which here appears in its full form (i.e., *-wa*). The negation morpheme *-wa-* appears after the marker of the jussive *-i-*, which, in our opinion, is not to be confused with the *-i-* of the transitive (Girbal, AoF 16, 1989, 83; id. SMEA 29, 1992, 177 ff.; Wegner, Orientalia 59, 1990, 298 ff. — on the problematic interpretation of the *-i-*, see also above); *-wa-* is the only known negation of the non-indicative mood.

Table 9: The suffix sequence with the negated jussive

Root+RE	Jussive Marker	Negative Marker	Pluralizer*	Person Marker of the Jussive	Bound Vowel	Enclitic Pronoun	Syntactic Particles
-an *-ar-* *-aš-* *-ugar* etc.	*-i-*	*-wa-*	(*-id-*)	*-l+e/-lli* (voluntative) *-en*	(*-i-*)	*-lla*	*-an* *-man* etc.

*A negated jussive in the 3rd person plural is not attested.

Examples:

pašš+ar+i+wa+en
(*pa-aš-ša-ri-i-wa-a-en* [Mit. IV, 54])
'he should not send''

haš+aš+i+wa+en
(*ha-ša-a-ši-wa-a-en* [Mit. IV, 20])
'he should not hear'

haš+aš+i+wa+lli+lla+ân
(*ha-ša-a-ši-wa-al-li-i-il-la-(a-an)* [Mit. IV, 26])
'and I should not hear it'

(For the 1st person singular of the jussive [voluntative], *-l+e* appears as the allomorph *-lli* [Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 177]).

Besides the form *-iwaen*, there exists a form with the ending *-o/uw(a)en*, which certain researchers (Bush, GHL, 212; Wilhelm, SMEA 24, 1984, 220, note 14) interpret as another negated jussive form (e.g., *hi-su-ú-hu-lu-ú-en* 'he should not be sad' [Mit. I, 110] and *ú-ru-u-we-en* (*ur=o=w(e)=en*) 'he does not exist' [Mit. III, 111]; see Wilhelm, Orientalia 54, 1985, 492: "negated intransitive jussive form"; id., SMEA 24, 1984, 220, note 14). Both forms can also be read as word-final *-o/uwen-*. The following *-wa+en* is written using the rule *-wa-a-en*, where the negation *-wa-* is needed and, at least for the second forms, a positive meaning is probable (Mit. III, 110—112): 'When an enemy of my brother shall exist (*ur=owen*) (and) when now an enemy (*šukko=mmaman torubi*) of my brother shall enter (*faš=eva*) into your land , my brother sends to me'. It can, therefore, also be given a positive form with *-owen*.

14. The Non-indicative Form with *-ewa /eva/* (so-called "conditional optative" [from Diakonoff HuU, 130 f.])

Table 10: The suffix sequence with the so-called conditional optative

Root+RE	Term	Term	Term of the Conditional Optative	Pluralizer	Enclitic Pronoun	Syntactic Particle
	(-ol-)	*(-il-)*	*-eva*	*-š(a)*	*-tta*, etc.	*-an*, etc.

The morpheme *-ewa /eva/* is interpreted as a conditional optative form, which expresses an ability or desire. The form of the suffix with the final *-a* has already been recognized by Spieser (IH, 156 f. [SS 192]) and Bush (GHL 229 f. [7.46322]). (In the graphical *-(K)i-e-WA* in the Mittani Letter, the final vowel is ambiguous.) The form *-eva* appears frequently in combination with *-il-*[82] — perhaps another term indicating the conditional optative. Occasionally before *-eva*, there appears a form *-ol-*. Both *-il-* and *- ol-* have a very similar function and come together — as already mentioned.

[82] Other authors segment this term as *-i-l-* as in the form *kapp=i=l=eva=š* (see Wilhelm, Fs. Klengel, AoF 24/2, 1997, 280 f., with note 20; Speiser, IF, 157), attach *-il*, and see therein a cohortative suffix (Bush, GHL, 232 ff.) attached to the voluntative *-l-*.

The subject of the action is indicated through the enclitic pronominal suffix of the absolutive term that commonly appears at the start of the sentence.

The plural marker of the subject of the action is *-eva-* in the Boğazköy Bilingual and, with the *-ai/ae* form, use the indicative pluralizer *-š*, with allomorph *-ša*, for the additional forms.

Examples:

kad+il+eva
(*ka-ti-li-e-wa* [Mit. IV, 18]) 'he could say'

hill+ol+eva
(*hi-il-lu-li-e-wa* [Mit. III, 102]) 'he could inform'

**kad+il+eva+tta*
(**ka-ti-li-e-wa*) 'I could say'

un+eva+tta
(*ú-ni-wa$_a$-at-ta* [KBo. 32:19 I, 23]) 'I will come'

Plural forms with the pluralizer *-š(a)* are only attested in the Boğazköy Bilingual:

kapp+il+eva+š
(*ga-ab-bi-li-wa$_a$-aš* [KBo. 32:15 I, 9']) 'we will fill'

pend+il+eva+š
(*bi-in-ti-li-wa$_a$-aš* [KBo. 32: 15 I, 16'[) 'we will send back'

The term *-il-*, when it occurs after the liquids */l/* and */r/*, is transformed into the allomorphs */l/* and */r/* (so *-l+il* > *-ll* and *-r+il* > *-rr*):

e.g. *ge-pa-a-nu-il-li-e-wa-a-at-ta-a-an* (Mit. III, 63)
i.e., *keban=ol=(i)l=eva=tta=ân* 'and I must send'

a-ar-ri-wa$_a$-aš (KBo. 32: 15 I 6', 8')
i.e., *ar=r(<il)=eva=š* 'we will give'

In the Mittani Letter, there are *-eva-* forms without an agent in the ergative, even though it is used with lexically transitive as well as intransitive verbs. These verbal forms are not complete. Whether the action ruler is, as in the above case, the subject in the absolutive agent or the patient of the action, it is not at first clear and is not morphologically fixed. Probably, the context makes the correct understanding of the sentence possible (Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 178).

The subject in the absolutive of a form like *hill=ol=eva* can then be both 'who could talk' and 'what could be said'.

The Bilingual from Boğazköy provides another form — *-eva-* forms with an object appear here in the absolutive:

e.g. *e-hi-il-li-wa$_a$-aš-ša* ^{D}*Te-eš-šu-up* (KBo. 32: 15 I, 18')
i.e., *ehl=il=eva=š=nna (š+nna > šša)* ^{D}*Teššub* 'we will save him (-*nna*), Teššub'.

15. The Non-indicative Form with *ae/ai* (so-called "debitive-final"; cf. Diakonoff, HuU, 130)

Verbal forms with the term *-ae/-ai* are interpreted as "debitive final" (Bush, GHL, 228 f.; Diakonoff, HuH, 130 f.; Khačikjan, Churr. i. urart., 109—110: "optative final"), which indicates a purpose or a target. It occasionally appears to have a meaning very similar to the jussive, so that a distinction between the two is not always possible. In the Mittani Letter, the forms *-ae* and *-ai* still have distinctive endings (Bush, GHL, 229 f.). It may be supposed that the morpheme *-ai/-ae* was (originally) a case ending, derived from the instrumental.

Just as with the *-eva-* form, the *-ae-* and *-ai-* forms can also occur in combination with the optative *-il-*. However, *-ae/ai* and *-eva* are mutually exclusive. As a plural marker of the subject of an action, the pluralizer appears as *-š(a)*.

For this, still little understood form, the suffix sequence is as follows:

Table 11: The suffix sequence with the so-called "debitive final"

Root+RE	Term	Term	Pluralizer	Enclitic Pronoun	Syntactic Particle
	(*-il-*)	*-ae/-ai*	*-š(a)*	*-tta* *-mma* *-nna* etc.	*-an* etc.

Examples:

pal+(i)l+ae+n(na)
(*pal-la-(a)-en* [Mit. IV, 56, 59])
'so that he knows it' or 'so that (my brother) knows it'

pal+(i)l+ai+n(na)
(*pal-la-in* [Mit. IV, 64])
'so that he should know it'

itt+ai+nna-+ân
(*it-ta-in-na-a-an* [Mit. IV, 53])
'and so that he can go'

pal+(i)l+ai+ša-lla
(*pal-la-in* [Mit. IV, 65])
'so that they may know'

itt+ai+ša+lla
(*it-ta-i-šal-la-a-an* [Mit. IV, 52])
'so that they can go'

In Mit. IV, 122 and the Boğazköy texts, there is the form *-ai*, with additional forms like *-i-m-* and *-i-l-*, whereby the *-i-* provides the nominalization indicator (and not the transitive marker *-i-*), as expected for (what was originally) a case ending (instrumental) (Wilhelm, Orientalia 61, 1992, 140). The forms with *-i-l-ai* and *-i-m-ai* are grammatically related to the nonfinite verbal forms. Functionally, they act as a gerund-like formation (see Neu, Fs. Thomas, 1988, 503 ff.; id., StBoT 32, 1996, 108, 133, 197; Salvini, Xenia 21, 1988, 168 f.; id., Orientalia 59, 1990, 246, with fn. 2, for parallel formations in Urartian).

Examples with the so-called "gerund":

(Mit. IV, 121—122) *inu=mê=nîn* ^{D}*Šimige taršuvani=š fur=i=m=ai=n(na) tad=i=a* 'and like the Sun God seeing (*fur=i=m=ai*) love (of) humans'

(KBo. 32: 14 I, 8) *papani haš=i=m=ai* 'the mountain hearing (*haš=i=m=ai)* this'

(KBo. 32: 15 V. 12—13) ^{I}*Megi=ne tive=na* ^{D}*IM=u=da kunz=i=m=ai kad=i=a* 'bowing (*kunz=i=m=ai*), Megi spoke the word to the weather god' (the subject of the action, ^{I}*Megi*, is missing the expected ergative morpheme *-š*. For this sentence type, see Wegner, AoF 21, 1994, 161 f.).

(KBo. 12: 80; KUB 45:62 Vs. I [?], 6) ^{D}*IŠTAR-g[a=]l(la) tive=na* ^{D}*U=da alu=m=ai=n kad=i=a* 'the goddess Ishtar spoke, saying (*alu=m=ai=n(na)*) the word to the weather god'

16. Further Request Forms from the Boğazköy Material

Here, we consider verbal forms with the final sequences *=i+l=e=š*, *=i+l=anni*, *=o+l=e=š*, or *=o+l=ae=š.* The forms with the endings *-ae-(š)* are distinct from the above-mentioned *-ai* "gerunds".

These verbal forms express requests, but the details still need further clarification. In some contexts, there are forms with *-ol-e-š* and *-ol-ae-š* without distinctive functions (e.g., KUB, 29:8 IV, 31 [= ChS., I/1, no. 9]): *še-e-ha-lu-le-e-eš ka-aš-lu-le-e-eš ki-ra-aš-šu-la-eš* 'they (the ritual specialists) should be clean, strong, (and) durable', (see Wegner, Xenia 21, 1988, 152 f.). Whether *=i+l=* and *=o+l=* correspond to the modal forms (*=il=* or *=ol=*), or whether here there are two forms (*=i=l=* or *=o=l=*) attached to each other, often remains unclear. I tend towards the first possibility and, therefore, see *i+l* or *o+l* as a single term; the transitive marker *-i-* is not included in this formation.

Here are some further examples of such request forms:

(ChS. I/1 no. 9; Rs. III, 34—35; see Wegner, ZA 85, 1995, 117): *edi=v ana=o+l=e=š irde=v urh(i)=a tij=a kad=i+l=e=š* 'your body must be pleasing (*ana=o+l=e=š*), your tongue must speak (*kad=i+l=e=š*) true words'.

(ChS. I/1, no. 9; Rs III, 30) *hazziz(z)i=v=a=lla šalh=o+l=e=š nui=v=a=lla haš=aš=i+l=e=š* 'your mind must learn (*šalh=o+l=e=š*) it (i.e., the words), your ear must hear (*haš=aš=i+l=e=š*) it'.

(ChS. I/1, no. 9 III, 39) (see Wilhelm, SMEA 29, 1992, 246, fn. 2; Wegner, ZA 85, 1995, 120): *kuduni=v ... hašar(i)=ai haš=o+l=e=š* 'your neck (?)… must be anointed (*haš=o+l=e=š*) with oil'; (ChS. I/1, no. 9 III, 36) *hinzur=o+l=ae=š*, also (ChS. I/1, no. 11; Rs 18') *hinzur=i+l=e=š* meaning unknown.

Forms with *=i+l=anni* are transcribed as transitive intensive desiderative mood forms. *-anni* is thus the suffix of the desiderative, reinforced through a further modal element *-l-*. The *-i-* is supposed to be the transitive marker (Wilhelm, Orientalia 61, 1992, 139; ders., Iraq 53, 1991, 164, fn. 20; Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 105 ff): *am=i+l=anni* 'it (the fire) may burn (it)' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 6); *id=i+l=anni* 'he may break (it, i.e., the cup)' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 6).

17. The Infinitive

The form *-umme* produces the nominal of the action, that is, the infinitive:

e.g. *itt=umme* 'departure'; *taš=umme* 'donation'; *fahr=umme* 'goodness'

These structures are especially productive in the Nuzi texts, which also use structures like
Root + *-umma epēšu* (Wilhelm, SCCNH 2, 1987, 336; id., ZA 83, 1993, 102 ff.)

I. Prepositions, Postpositions, and Particles

Prepositions and Postpositions

In a strictly suffix-oriented ergative language, prepositions do not exist. Languages of this type only have postpositions (Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 74 ff.). Both prepositions and postpositions are found in Hurrian, although there are some (e.g., *abi* and *egi*) in certain dialect forms that appear to be transitional between prepositions and postpositions (Diakonoff, HuU, 148, speaks of pre- and postpositions).

Hurrian possesses a small number of postpositions which are derived from what were originally independent nouns, mainly terms for body parts.

These postpositions are found after various stages in the transformation from a noun to a postposition and from a postposition to a case marker. Thus, Hurrian *edi-* 'body, person' still exists as an autonomous noun (*edi=v* 'your body', *edi=š* [ergative] 'body' > 'self'), but it also begins to function as an adverb and postposition. This transformation of the word *edi-* provides a good demonstration of this process:

edi=v 'your body' functions as noun: *edi=v ana=o+l=e=š* 'your body must be pleasing'; or

eda=l=an ... koz=oš=o 'you have restrained yourself (*edi=(š)=l(la)=an*)' (Mit. IV, 45); *edi=š-* [ergative] 'body' > 'self');

ed(i)=i=da, with certain case endings, occasionally has a meaning like 'to his body' but can also function as a postposition;

ed(i)=i=da, as a postposition, means 'for, referring to, because of, concerning': …. *fe=va ed(i)=i=da* '… for you'.

Other words of this type are:

abi/avi	'face'	*ab(i)+i+ta*	'in front of'
furi	'sight'	*fur(i)+i+ta*	'in view of, in front of'
egi	'middle'	*eg(i)+i+ta*	'in, among'
ištani	'interior, middle'	*ištani+i+ta*	'to its inside, to itself'

The originally independent words are combined with the possessive suffix of the 3rd person singular *-i-* and the directive or dative, and so function as postpositions.

The postpositions *avi* and *edi* can also be formed with the genitive (see Wilhelm, Double Case, 1995, 119 and note 4, with the *e*-case) of the head words:

e.g. *šove=NE=(v)e ed(i)=iff=u=ve* 'referring to me' (Mit. IV, 18)

Examples with the *e*-case from Wilhelm (Double Case, 1995, 119) are as follows:

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=N(E)=e a(vi)=i=e 'before my brother' (Mit. IV, 49f)
ômin(i)=iff=u=ve=N(E)=e ed(i)=i=e 'for my land' (Mit. IV, 22)

When the same postpositions are combined with the directive or the dative, then the head word must also be in the dative:

e.g . *en(i)=na=aš=va .... âb(i)=i=da* (graphically, *a-a-bi-ta*) 'before the gods…'
taše=ne=va ed(i)=i=da (Mit. I, 99, 104: *ta-še-e-ni-e-wa e-ti-[i]=ta*) 'for the gift'
fe=va ed(i)=i=va (Mit. III, 55: *we-e-wa e-ti-i-wa*) 'for you'.

The transition from postposition to preposition is observed with *avi* (and also with *egi*). The following examples from the Bilingual show *abi* as a preposition with the dative of the head word:

e.g. *a-a-bi e-eb-ri-wa*$_a$ (KBo. 32:14; Rs. IV, 18) i.e., *âbi evr(i)=i=va* 'before its people'

but as a postposition with "irregular" dative in the following example:

[I]*me-e-ki-ni!-wa*$_a$ ... *a-b[i-wa*$_a$ (KBo. 32: 20 IV, 21') [I]*Mêgi=ne=va ... ab[i=va* 'before Mêgi'

The remaining Boğazköy texts use *abi-/avi-* without the directive, as a preposition, e.g., *a-a-bi DINGIR^{MEŠ}-na-a-ša* 'before the gods' (ChS. I/1, no. 5 IV, 25), and as a postposition (with directive), e.g., *DINGIR^{MEŠ}-na-a-ša tar-šu-wa-an-na-a-ša a-a-bi-ta* 'before the gods and the people' (ChS. I/1, no. 9 IV, 29—30).

The same formations occur with *egi*, e.g., *i-ki DINGIR^{MEŠ}-na-a-ša* 'among the gods' (ChS. I/1, no. 8 III, 25'), but, *HUR.SAG^{MEŠ}-na-a-ša i-k[i-ta* 'among the mountains' (ChS. I/1, no. 8 III, 23').

An interesting example of such a transition occurs with the text KBo. 32: 13 I, 15—16 of the Bilingual:

^{D}IM-úw-wa$_a$ ša-wu$_u$-u-ši-ni a-wi$_i$ 'before the great weather god':

Here, *avi* is a postposition formed without the directive or the dative, as is the characteristic form of prepositions; *šav=o=še=ne* also appears without the dative or directive marker, but only the formant *-ne*; *^{D}IM-up=va* does have the expected dative marker *-va*.

The remaining postpositions are created with the directive or the dative, and the head word is also required to be in the dative or the directive:

e.g. *attai=p=pa (< v+va) ed(i)=i=da* (Mit. III, 52—53) 'for your father'

The same postpositions can also be formed with the dative, in which case the head noun or pronoun is also in the dative:

e.g. *atta(i)=iff=u=š fe=va ed(i)=i=va ... tan=oš=a-* (Mit. III, 55 f)
'my father has done for you' (*fe-* independent 2nd person singular pronoun + *va* dative)

ištani- 'interior, middle' and *furi-* 'sight'

From *ištani-* 'interior, middle' and *furi-* 'sight', obvious postpositions like 'among each other, for each other', *ištan(i)=iff=aš=(v)a* (literally, 'in our midst'), and *ištan(i)=i=aš=(v)a* (literally, 'in their midst, with each other') can be made. Similarly, *fur(i)=i=aš=(v)a* 'before' (literally 'in its sight') can be made.

Summary: When these words are not grammatical — in other words, those without a specific case for the relevant word —, they are prepositions. When they occur with the dative or directive case of the relevant word, they function as postpositions. The originally autonomous nouns, mostly terms for body parts, thus reveal the development of various prepositional and post-positional forms.

The head noun, however, only appears, in these situations, in particular cases, namely, the directive, dative, or genitive, or — only identified in the Boğazköy Bilingual — in the still not entirely clarified "*ni*" case.

The development of the (unoriginal) case markers, as in Urartian, is already found in Hurrian in the earliest stages. As examples, we can provide the following sentences, for which, however, Wilhelm (Double Case, 1995, 119, with fn. 4) gives another meaning (see above on the *e*-case):

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=N(E)=e a(vi)=i=e 'before my brother'
omin(i)=iff=u=ve=n(e)=e ed(i)=i=e 'for my land'

Particles

The term "particle" indicates a class of Hurrian words, which are not clearly recognized as of either nominal or verbal origin and which are not combined with the nominal or verbal suffixes. Attached to the independent particles, there can only be the enclitic particles (associative) and the enclitic pronominal suffixes — a certain group with particular allomorphs. Their primary function is as conjunctions, interjections, and adverbs. Nevertheless, their exact meanings are often obscure (Bush, GHL, 97 ff.: 238 ff.).

In this class, Hurrian words frequently are *u*-stems and consonantal (*n*-)stems. For the sentence introductory particles, there are the conjunctions *inu*- 'like, as', *unu*- (variant of *inu*-), or in combination with *anammi*- 'thus, in this way', *inna*- 'when', *panu*- 'although'.

These conjunctions and the relative particle *iije-i* appear with the allomorphs */lle/* (from */lla/* 'they' — plural absolutive) and */me/* (from */nna/* 'he' — singular absolutive). These allomorphs are not free variants for */lla/* and */nna/* in all contexts — the optional allomorphs appear to be excluded from sentence introductory conjunctions and relative particles (Laroche, GLH, 122; Diakonoff, HuU, 147; Khačikjan, Churr. i. urart., 1985, 119; Girbal, SMEA 34, 1994, 86).

For these independent auxillary words, there are the following:

adi- 'hence, now', combined only with the enclitic particle *-nin*: *adi=nin*
anammi- 'thus, just as, in this way'. This particle shows the transition of *i* > *a* before an enclitic pronoun: *anammi=tta* 'in this way, I …'
ai- 'when' in the temporal as well as the conditional sense. In combination with certain verbs (e.g., *pal*- 'to know'), when the particle introduces a secondary sentence, it has the meaning 'that'.
alaše- (conjunction) 'if, whether'
henni 'now'
kuru 'again', the form *kuru=ve* (Mit. IV, 42: *gu-ru-ú-we*), however, appears to be a noun in the genitive case (see also Bush, GHL, 324)
padi 'even (?)' possibly indefinite 'someone' (Wilhelm, Orientalia 54, 1985, 493)
pegan (?)
tiššan 'very'
oja- independent negation particle 'no'
undo- 'hence, now'
zugan 'yet, nevertheless (?)'

The Enclitic Particles or "Associatives"

The enclitic particles *-an*, *-nin*, *-ma*, *-man*, *-mmaman* can be attached to a noun, a verb, or the above independent particles. The particles *-an* 'and' and *-man* 'but, even' are commonly used connectives. The particle *-an* joins two nouns or two verbs or even two sentences (in the latter case, with the meaning 'and then, afterwards, and thus'). The particle *-ma* has the same meaning as *-an* and is frequently used in Boğazköy. On the particles *-man* 'but, even', *-nin* 'further', and *-mmaman* 'and namely', see also above. (The meanings of the particles are often approximate and are frequently omitted in the translations.)

3

Syntax

1. General Remarks

A. On congruence (see also under "Suffixaufnahme", above): The attributes, which are primarily the derived — as well as a small number of underived — adjectives and the genitive attribute, generally agree with their associated reference word. Whether real incrongruence occurs is thus far hardly settled (see, however, the "firm genitive construction" above). Occasional cases of incongruence between noun and adjective appear at times (e.g., Mit. III, 120—121 [context unclear]: KUR *ômini talimde=na*), but still unclear and could, particularly in the Boğazköy texts, also be classified as "errors".

In the Mittani Letter and largely in the other dialects, the verbal forms in the ergative construction have a pronominal suffix that refers to the noun in the ergative case. Verbs of the non-ergative construction (transitive and intransitive), however, lack an obligatory reference to the person, and their subjects are expressed through the enclitic absolutive personal pronouns, which do not have to be attached to the verbal form — they can appear anywhere in the sentence, however mostly on the first word of the sentence.

B. On word order: Root word order has not been sufficiently investigated (Speiser, IH, 205 f.; Bush, GHL, 121, 253; Plank, Xenia 21, 1998, 75ff.). The predominant word order in the Mittani Letter is "(Ergative) ~ Absolutive ~ Verb"; whereas, in the Bilingual, there are relatively common transitive sentences with the order "Absolutive ~ Ergative ~ Verb". In rare cases, the verb can appear at the beginning of the sentence, probably for emphasis. Nouns in the dative or the directive can follow the verb or appear between the ergative and the absolutive. The genitive attribute and the attributive adjective normally precede their reference noun (Speiser, IH, 200; Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 77 ff.). Overall, however, it appears that Hurrian does not follow strong rules of word order.

C. Hurrian is a so-called "ergative" language. The basic distinguishing feature of ergative languages is the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. Each verb has its own distinct conjugational suffixes; for Hurrian these are:

1st pers. sg. transitive ergative	*-av/-affu*, etc.
1st pers. sg. intransitive	*-tta/-t*, etc.

In the Hurrian of the Mittani Letter, there are 4 or 5 distinct sentence constructions. Like most so-called "ergative languages", the Hurrian of the Mittani Letter also has at least two transitive sentence types: ergative and antipassive.

2. The Ergative Sentence Structure

The ergative construction occurs with transitive verbs; the target (= patient, direct object) in the absolutive must be named in this sentence type:

The subject of the action (= agent) appears in the ergative case: *=š*
The direct object (= patient) appears in the absolutive case: *=Ø*

The transitive verb for this conjugation has characteristic person markers:

=av/affu
=o
=a, etc.

3. The Intransitive Sentence Sturcture

The subject of the action appears in the absolutive case: *=Ø*
The person markers of the intransitive verbs are the enclitic pronouns of the absolutive:

=tta/t
=mma/m
=Ø[83], etc.

The absolutive is, therefore, the case that marks the subject of intransitive verbs as well as the direct object of transitive ergative verbs.

4. The "Antipassive" Sentence Structure with Sub-types

A. This sentence construction occurs when a semantically transitive verb appears without a direct object, i.e., when it is syntactically intransitive. The verb is marked as lexically transitive through the vowel *-i-*.

Verbs like *tad-* 'to love', *tan-* 'to make', *han-* 'to give birth', *pašš-* 'to send', *kad-* 'to say', *hil(l)-* 'to inform', *ar-* 'to give', etc. can appear in the antipassive.

Formation Method: The transformation from the transitive to the antipassive construction proceeds by the following steps:

The subject of the action (noun or pronoun) loses the ergative marker *-š* — i.e., its case goes from ergative to absolutive.

The direct object in the absolutive case is no longer expressed; in typologically similar languages like Dyirbal, the object can be expressed, but in an oblique case and not the

[83] Null marker (*-Ø*) for the third person sungular, not *-nna*!

absolutive. In the Hurrian of the Mittani Letter, however, it appears that such a possibility of expressing the object probably did not exist (see, however, C below).

However, the so-called "Old-Hurrian" dialect shows obviously comparable constructions, in which the transitive verbal form with *-i=b* can occur either without an object ("reduced" antipassive) or with the object in the essive case ("extended" antipassive). (For details see the Chapter "Old Hurrian").

The verb in the antipassive construction uses the characteristic forms of the intransitive conjugation. (Hence, they use the negation suffix *-kkV-* and the person marker *-tta, -mma,* etc., which, for the 3rd person singular, is a null-marker (*-Ø*); in "Old Hurrian", the person marker of the intransitive verbs *-b* is found.)

The distinction between intransitive and antipassive usages of transitive verbs is, therefore, restricted to the thematic vowel, which is *-a-* with the intransitive and *-i-* with the antipassive (and transitive) verbs. Also with the antipassive, no *-t-* of intransitivity appears after *-oš-* and *-et-*. This is inferred from the following examples from the Mittani Letter:

The Ergative Sentence

[1]*[M]a-ni-en-na-a-an š[e-e]-ni-[íw-wu-u]š pa-aš-šu-u-u-ša* (Mit. II, 107—108)
i.e., *Mane=nna=ân šen(a)=iff=u=š pašš=oš=a*
'And my borther (subject) has sent Mane (object)'

The Antipassive Sentence

un-du-ma-a-an še-e-ni-í[w-w]e-e-en pa-aš-š[u-ši (Mit. II, 107)
i.e., *undo=mân šen(a)=iffe=n(na) pašš=oš=i* (null-marker for the 3rd person singular)
'Now, my brother (absolutive) has sent' (object not written)

B. Besides the transitive verbs that have examples of antipassive constructions, there are also verbs that appear to be used exclusively as antipassives, i.e., for which a transitive usage is unlikely; these verbs include, e.g., *an-* 'to be pleasing', *šurv=ust-* 'to do evil':

e.g. (Mit. II, 103) … *šur-wu-uš-ti-ik-ki-i-in* …
i.e. …*šurv=ušt=i=kki=n(na)* ... '… he does not do evil …'

With this interpretation, Hurrian can be said to have, besides the transitive and intransitive verbs, a third category of verbs, which, overall, appear intransitive.

C. A further usage of the antipassive is that in which the terms shift closer to the passive — not only does the agent appear in the absolutive, but also the patient:

e.g. (Mit. IV, 16 f.) *ti-w[a]-a-al-la-a-an šur-we še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta ka-ti-ik-ki*

i.e. *tivalla=an (tiv(e>)a=lla=ân) šurve šen(a)=iff=u=da kad=i=kki*
'evil words were not said to my brother'

In this example, not only is the agent in the absolutive, but also the patient ('evil words'), whereas the agent is completely omitted, so that a passive translation is made possible (Girbal, SMEA 29, 1992, 171 ff.; Plank, Xenia 21, 1998, 91).

This sentence, however, could also belong to the following sentence type (D). The word transliterated above as *šur-we* could instead be read as *šur-wa* (the sign WA in the Mittani Letter does not have an established reading for the vowel), which would give *šurv(e)=a* in the essive case, and similarly with *tiv(e)=a=lla=ân* (thus, in this case, there is not the transition of the final vowel *e* > *a* before the enclitic pronoun *-lla*, but the *a* of the essive). The antipassive verb form *kad=i=kki* would then possess a target in the essive case 'they do not say an evil word to my brother'. With this interpretation, the language of the Mittani Letter has the ability to construct an antipassive in which a patient is expressed in the form of the indirect object (see also Plank, Xenia 21, 1988, 91).

D. In so-called "Old Hurrian", the option of forming transitive non-ergative sentences in which a target is expressed using the essive case ("expanded" antipassive) is attested to multiple times. This sentence type allows, in a certain sense, for an accusative translation.

e.g. (KBo. 32: 13 I, 12) *el(i)=a fahr=o=š(e)=a tan=d=i=b*
'she (the goddess Allani) celebrates a lovely festival'

In this sentence, the object *eli-* 'festival' appears in the essive case with *-a: el(i)=a* (Haas/ Wegner, recension of StBoT 32, in OLZ 92, 1997, 445).

5. Nominal Sentences

Nominal sentences are mainly used in personal names (see Speiser, IH, 209; Khačikjan, Churr. I urart. 125; see here also below). For an example from the Mittani Letter, see Lession 4; from Nuzi, there is the example of the personal name *enna-madi* 'The gods are wisdom', from Boğazköy, *Nikkal-madi* '(the goddess) Nikkal is wisdom'.

6. The Relative Sentence

Hurrian employs two strategies for forming relative sentences. The relative sentence in the narrow sense is generated with the structure described under point (A).

A. This type of relative sentence is introduced by the particle *ije-/ija-* + an enclitic pronoun in the absolutive (this being from the series *-tta, -ma*, etc.) + a particle *-nin*, whereby, the 3rd person singular *-me/-ma* can appear for the 3rd person plural *-lle/-lla*. *ije-*, or *ija-* is used without a recognized distinction. Relative sentences beginning with the particle *ije-/ija-* without enclitics are not known. The reference noun is generally incorporated into the relative sentence. Though relative sentences beginning with *ije-/ija-* do not need the verb to be nominalized using *-šše*, this can be done, however (see C below).

Example without -*šše*:

ije=mâ=nîn tive Mane=š šen(a)=iff=u=da kad=ill=ed=a=mmaman fahr=[*o-* (Mit. II, 101 f)
Relative + enclitic pronoun + particle -*nin tive* (abs.) *Mane=š* (erg.) *šen=iff=u=da* ('my brother', directive) *kad=ill=ed=a* (future 3rd person singular) *fahr*=[*o-*
'the thing, which Mane will say to my brother, is g[ood'

B. The second option for forming a relative clause occurs when the verb — whose finite form remains unchanged — is nominalized with the morpheme -*šše*. The relative sentence is now a nominal and is made congruent with its reference word following the pattern of the genitive attribute, i.e., the "Suffixaufnahme". Thus, the -*šše*-nominalized verbs correspond to the rules of the "Suffixaufnahme" and contain the case endings of the reference word, as well as the "carrier suffixes" -*NE-/-NA*- before the ending of the nominalized verbal form.

Examples with -*šše*:

tive=na tan=oš=a=šše=na (Mit. III, 53, 56) 'the things, which he had done …'
tuppe nihar(i)=ne=v ear=oš=av=šše=NE=ve (Mit. III, 40 f) 'the tablet of the dowry, which I have given, …'

C. These two strategies are now most often combined with each other, i.e., the most commonly found form for a relative sentence not only has the relative particle *ije-/ija*-, but also a verbal form nominalized by -*šše*.

Example with the relative particle *ije-/ija*- and the -*šše*-nominalized verb:

ija=lla=nîn ômin(i)=na šu(e>)a=lla=man eše=ne tupp=a=šše=na (Mit. IV, 124 f.)

=*lla* enclitic pronoun, 3rd person plural absolutive is added at the beginning of the sentence. It pluralizes the verbal form *tupp=a*, hence: 'they are present'; *tupp*- 'to be present' + =*a* intransitive marker + =*šše* nominalizer + =*na* — this -*na* corresponds to the plural in the reference noun *ômin(i)=na*. 'All the countries, which are present on the earth…'

D. Both strategies are also used with relative sentences without reference nouns. Where this does not appear, these constructions have no referent.

Example without reference noun, but with the relative particle:

ije-: *ije=mâ=nîn Kelia=š Mane=š=nna=ân kul=ed=a … urh(i>)a=lla=ân* (Mit. IV, 27 ff).
'What Kelia and Malia will say … is true'
(The plural of the verbal form -*kul=ed=a* is expressed by the 3rd person singular — it can be omitted when the plural subject appears as such in the sentence [Bush, GHL, 209].)

Example without reference noun, but with a verb nominalized by *-šše*:

> *šen(a)=iff=u=va=lla=ân keban=ošav=šše=na keban=oš=av=lla=man* (Mit. III, 17 f.)
> 'That (meaning, the thing) which I have sent to my brother, I have sent…'

Summary: The structure of relative sentences is so characterized that the reference word of a relative sentence — entirely independent from the attested case form from the syntax of the main clause — appears as the direct object of the relative sentence or as the subject of an intransitive relative clause (for the latter, see the previous example [Mit. III, 17 f.]). When the reference word does not appear in the absolutive singular, it is marked through the *-šše-* nominalized verb of the relative sentence through Suffixaufnahme as the attribute of the reference word.

As shown by all of the examples, the nucleus in the relative clause is, therefore, always to be thought of in the absolutive, even when the reference word possesses its own case ending. There are no known examples in which the reference word appears in the ergative and, hence, is treated as the agent of the nominalized transitive verb. Thus, in Hurrian, a sentence such as 'my brother (agent), who gave a gift…' cannot be made, only the expression 'the gift, which my brother gave…' is possible.

(For information on the structure of the relative sentence in general, cf. C. Lehmann, Der Relativsatz, Typologie seiner Strukturen, Theorie seiner Funktionen, Kompendium seiner Grammatik, Tübingen, 1984, 75 ff.; see also F. Plank, Das Hurritsche und die Sprachwissenschaft, Xenia 21, 1988, 85 ff.)

7. "Old Hurrian"

Under the label "Old Hurrian" in the literature, there are texts that, in their inventory of forms, and, following Khačikjan, also in their structure, deviate from the Mittani Letter.[84] Included among these "Old Hurrian" texts there are:

1. The foundation inscription of Tiš-atal of Urkesh (ca. 1970 B.C.E.);
2. The roughly 10 Old Babylonian oaths from southern Mesopotamia ("Non-canonical oath texts");
3. The six texts from Mari (oath texts and a letter);

3a. A Hurrian oath text from Tell Bī'a that represents a duplicate of Mari text no. 4;

4. The Sumerian-Hurrian Bilingual from Ugarit;
5. Beyond that, there are certain texts from Boğazköy, particularly the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual, that exhibit this form of the language;
6. Personal names.

What distinguished so-called "Old Hurrian" from the remaining forms of Hurrian? For this determination, one can once again follow Khačikjan (following Diakonoff, HuU, 111), who drew attention to a typological shift in Hurrian. Khačikjan identified a shift in Hurrian in which the

[84] The designation "Old Hurrian" was chosen for these texts because they share certain verbal forms with the oldest Hurrian text, the Tiš-atal inscription. However, the term is somewhat misleading, inasmuch as these verbal forms are also found in later texts.

language, over the course of time, changed from a language with a predominantly "active" structure to a language with an ergative structure. Languages that have an "active"[85] structure share the fundamental characteristic in the conjugation of the verbs of an opposition between verbs of being and verbs of action. The two groups are conjugated in different ways.

In ergative structure, there is an opposition between transitive and intransitive verbs. Whereas all transitive verbs are also verbs of action, intransitive verbs are not all verbs of being. Verbs of movement, such as 'to go', 'to come', 'to enter', etc., or verbs of emotion, such as 'to laugh', 'to cry', etc., are, in principle, not transitive, but in the context of an "active" language structure, they are treated like verbs of action.

After the recognition of different developmental stages of Hurrian, Khačikjan conjugated the verb in the above-mentioned dialects of Hurrian (hence, Tiš-atal, Babylonian dialect, etc.), for the 3rd person singular, according to the principles of "active" structure.

The suffix *-b* is the mark of the subject with the verb of action, regardless of whether it is transitive or intransitive.

The markers of the transitive, */i/*, and the intransitive, */a/*, however, at the same time, also are present — i.e., a transitive verb like *pašš-* 'to send' therefore gives:

pašš=i=b 'he sent' (in Mit.: **pašš=i=a*).

Following Khačikjan, an intransitive verb gives:

šiw=a=b (unknown meaning).

An "action verb" like *un-* 'to come' is, in the present:

un=a=b 'he comes' (Mit.: *un=a=Ø*)

Verbs of being have for the subject marker either *-Ø* or *-n*. The marker of being is the vocalic morpheme *-o-*. In this model, those verbs that have the transitive marker *-i-* or the intransitive marker *-a-* of the action verbs, were constructed with the same subject marker *-b*.

The marker *-b* would then mostly disappear and only be retained in archaisms, auch as in personal names.

Simultaneously, there would appear in these dialects a further transitive marker, namely, *-u-*.

In dialects where both the *-u-* and *-i-* exist (Tiš-atal), *-u-* has the function of a marker for the transitive perfect: *pa=ašt=u=m* 'he built', while *-i-* appears to be an aspectless form (however, not for all persons) of the transitive verb.

The distribution of these transitive markers would then be the following:

-i- in the aspectless form
-u- in the transitive perfective form, whereas
-a appears in the intransitive form, and
-o is the marker of being in personal names (like *Tad=o=Heba*)

[85] For the meaning of "active" structure, see fn. 32.

Wilhelm (Fs. Heger, 1992, 667) has shown that the "thematic vowel" of the transitive past or perfect tense can use not only *-u-* but also *-o-*, and that it is the same with the supposed marker of being *-o-* (Wilhelm, Fs. Heger, 1992, 669). The differentiation between *-u-* and *-o-* is therefore weak. The name *Tad=o=Heba* does not mean 'Heba is loved', but rather 'Heba loves (specifically the name carrier)'.

The Suffix *-m* of the Urkesh dialect is regard by Khačikjan ("On the Typology of the Hurro-Urartian Verb" in Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff, 1982, 165; Churr. I urart., 81 f) as a variant of the subject marker *-b* of the transitive and action verbs. This was, however, before Wilhelm (Fs. Heger, 1992, 667) rightfully rejected this.

The past tense marker (= perfect marker) *-oš-* and the future marker (= imperfect marker) *-et-* are still not found in these dialects.

The system deduced by Diakonoff and Khačikjan began as:

	Transitive	Action Verb without Object	Subject Marker
	-i-	*-a-*	*-b*
	-u-		*-m*
Verbs of state			
	-o-		*-Ø / -n*

With a later improvement in the study of the inscriptions, the distinction between action verbs and verbs of state broke down, resulting in the following scheme:

	Transitive	Action Verb	Verbs of State
	-i-		*-a-*
	-u-	*-o-*	
Subject Marker	*-b*	*-Ø*	

What Diakonoff (HuU, 111, 118, 139) and, following him, Khačikjan (Churr. I urart., 20—21), regarded as the distinction between *-u-* transitive and *-o-* "Participle of state … of the object of the action" is — as shown above — no longer accepted (Wilhelm, Fs. Heger 1992, 669). Instead, it appears that these are one and the same morpheme */o/*.

For the thesis of a change in Hurrian from a language with a basically "active" structure to a language with an ergative structure, the material that Khačikjan had at her disposal at that time was not extensive, and the meaning of the above-mentioned forms was not certain. Here, the Bilingual makes further insights possible.

The language of the Bilingual is distinct from that of the Mittani Letter and shows a greater similarity to the language of the Tiš-atal Inscription (on account of the verbal form *=o=m*) and to certain other Hurrian texts from Boğazköy.

The "Archaisms" of the Hurrian language of the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual now yield an abundance of examples of the so-called "predicative participle" (Diakonoff, HuU, 141) with *=i=b* and *=a=b* as well as the ergative verbal form with *=o=m.* The question for the function of the final term *-b* in the numerous examples of the verbal forms with *=i=b* and *=a=b* is, however, not yet conclusively answered — we find the *-b* is a verb ending of the third person as a subject

marker of transitive non-ergative and intransitive verbs, whereas *-m* is a transitive ergative verb ending of the 3rd person singular. The personal suffix *-b* appears both as a singular and also with plural subjects of the third person, the verbal form in the latter case being without a distinct plural marker. The plural in these cases is, therefore, expressed through the nominal or the pronominal subject (see Wilhelm, Fs. Heger, 1992, 662; finally, also Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 25).

Besides the intransitive marker *-a-* and the transitive marker *-i-*, there is another transitive marker *-o-* in the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual (and also in the above-mentioned older texts). The *-o-* marker is used, however, only with transitive verbs in the ergative sentence construction, whereas the *-i-* marker appears with transitive verbs in non-ergative constructions (comparable to the "antipassive" of the Mittani Letters) (Wilhelm, Fs. Heger, 1992, 659 ff.) However, the "antipassive" sentence type appears in the Bilingual with two patterns (Haas, AoF 20, 1993, 263 note 15; Haas/Wegner, recension to StBoT 32 in OLZ 92, 1997, 444—446):

A. The transitive verbal form with *=i=b*, formed without an object, the subject appearing in the absolutive. This construction is referred to as the "reduced antipassive".
B. The transitive verbal form with *=i=b*, which has the object in an oblique case (essive or also *-ne*), the subject being in the absolutive. This construction is referred to as the "expanded antipassive".

The intransitive, like the transitive non-ergative verb of the 3rd person, is also formed with the subject marker *-b*, while the transitive ergative form of the 3rd person singular is made with the subject marker *-m*, with the corresponding, if rare, plural forms lacking the *-m.*

Against the equation of *-m* with *-b*, as Chačkijan has suggested ("On the Typology of the Hurro-Urartian Verb" in: Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff, 1982, 165; Churr. i urart., 81 f), the latter also replaces the third person plural. On the other hand, in the Bilingual, both forms with *=o=m* and with *=o=b* are found side-by-side, e.g.: *pu-ú-zi-hu-um* (*puz=ih=o=m*) and *pu-ú-zi-hu-ub* (*puz=ih=o=b*) in KBo. 32: 14 Rs 23—24 (see Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 169. Allowing for the possibility of actual graphical variants, there are also the side-by-side examples of *na-ah- ha-am* and *na-ah-ha-ab*, both 'he sits').

Deriving from the above statements comes the following organization of sentence types (see also Wilhelm, Fs. Heger, 1992, 659 ff.; Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 304; Haas, AoF 20, 1993, 263, note 15; Haas/Wegner, recension to StBoT 32 in OLZ 92, 1997, 444—446):

1. **The Ergative Sentence**, with subject in the ergative, object in the absolutive, and the verbal form with:

   =o=m (transitive 3rd person singular, in ergative construction)
   e.g., *kazi taballi=š … tab=ašt=o=m* (KBo. 32: 14 I, 42)
   'a smith … poured a cup'

   =id=o (transitive 3rd person plural in ergative construction; thus far, only a few examples)
   e.g., *tun=id=o pug=ang=ai âbi evr(i)=i=va* (KBo. 32: 14 IV, 17f)
   'they could transfer it before its gentlemen'

   evern(i)=a keši=ne ag=id=o (KBo. 32: 20 I, 16')
   'they conducted (the *Ešeb=abu*) as a gentleman to the throne'

=o (no secure examples, whether this belongs here or under number 4)

2. **The Antipassive Sentence**, with subject in the absolutive and the verbal form with:

   =i=b (transitive, non-ergative: "reduced antipassive")
   e.g., *far=i=n(n)i=ma muš=**i=b*** (KBo. 32: 13 I, 21)
   'the bread-baker however positioned'

   *mallad(e)=ae=l(la) un=**i=b*** (KBo. 32: 13 I, 23)
   'with a bowl they brought' (*=l(la)* is the pronominal substitute of the subject in the absolutive)

   =i (transitive non-ergative, occasional form without -*b*)
   e.g., *idenni alu=i=b hill=i ištan(i)=i=da* (KBo. 32: 14 Rs. 38)
   'the builder spoke, he said herein'

2a. **The Antipassive Sentence**, with subject in the absolutive, object in an oblique case, and the verbal form with:

   =i=b (transitive, non-ergative, with object in an oblique case like -*a* essive or -*ne* "extended antipassive")
   e.g., *fand=ar=i=n(n)i=na=ma ag=i=b nehern(i)=a* (essive) (KBo. 32: 13 I, 22)
   'the cook, however, brought (literally, guided) the breast meat'

   el(i)=a fahr=o=š(e)=a tan=d=i=b … Allani (KBo. 32: 13 I, 12)
   'the goddess Allani celebrated a beautiful festival'

   kirenz(i)=a=mma [*š*]*ar=i=b* (KBo. 32: 15 I, 4'—5')
   'and (-*mma*) it demands release'

   *olvi=ne=ma amm**=i=b** ommin(i)=ne* (KBo. 32: 14 I, 19—20)
   '(the deer) reached another land'

3. **The Intransitive Sentence**, with the subject in the absolutive and the verbal form with:

   =a=b (intransitive)
   e.g., *tapašahi=na zugm=ušt=a=b* (KBo. 32: 13 I, 21)
   'the mouth-giving came in'

   =a (intransitive, occasionally a form without -*b*)
   e.g., *Allani=ma … meh=a* (KBo 32: 13 I, 28 f)
   '(the goddess) Allani, however, went in…'

4. **Sentences with Unclear Verbal Forms with *-u*** (these could also partly belong under 1):

=u (unclear verbal morpheme. In Mittani, it is also found in forms like *ur=om=u* [Mit. IV, 47]. Verbs with these elements attached do not have an object in the absolutive. They are thus, in a sense, intransitive):

e.g., *idenni haš=i=m=ai far=u ištan(i)=i=da* (KBo. 32: 14, Rs 28)
'as the builder heard (this), displeasure (*far=u*) pulled into his inside'

Verbal forms of the type *=i=b, =a=b* and *=o=m* cannot be combined with terms like the *-oš-* of the preterit and *-et-* future. They do occur before forms like *-Všt-, -ill-, -ahh-, -uš-*and *-u/ol-* (see Wilhelm, Fs. Heger, 1992, 670), for which perhaps the label "root extensions" is not valid. Instead, they probably represent either an action type or aspect marker. Neu (StBoT 32, 1996, 6) tends to think in the same direction: "… the Hurrian language of the Bilingual (has) an unmistakable aspectual structure of the verbal system — in connection with temporal cases. The aspect system allows Hurrian to be the forerunner of the tense system, whereby the root extension and action types also play an essential role. For this complex, however, further clarification of the whole context of the verbal system is necessary."

The sentence type of so-called "Old Hurrian" is now attached to the Hurrian sentence names derived from the most ancient times. Since Akkadian times and later, passed down throughout the whole region where Hurrian was spoken, sentence names, in most of their verbal elements, follow the above-mentioned paradigm of so-called "Old Hurrian" (i.e., forms with *-b* and *-m*). The first component of such sentence names is most often a verbal form of the 3rd person with *-a=b, -i=b* or *-o=m,* followed by a nominal element, which, in the oldest personal names, can still appear without a thematic vowel. Sentence names of this type are, for example:

Un=a=b Teššub 'Teššub came',
Ar=i=b enni 'the diety gave' or
Ar=o=m Teššub 'Teššub have given (the child)'

In later times, we frequently find the tendency to lose parts of the verbal element, e.g., *Pud=o(=m) Heba* "Hebat has created (him)". (Name giving in Hurrian is discussed in detail by Wilhelm in RIA, Band 9, under Name, Namengebung, D.).

Besides the sentence types discussed above, the Bilingual also presents sentences with sentence patterns identical to those of the Mittani Letter. In particular, there are examples of the 3rd person singular transitive with *=i=a* (e.g., *tal=i=a* beside *tal=ahh=o=m*).

The tense markers *-oš-* of the preterit and *-et-* of the future are very rare in the Bilingual. However, they do exist, as the following examples show:

Present (unmarked): *tal=i=a, pal=i=a, kad=i=a*
Preterit (*-oš-*): *zaz=ol=oš=a, nahh=oš=a*
Future (*-et-*): *pah=ed=a*
The future form with *-et-* occasionally produces modal inflections.

Table 12: The suffix sequence of the "Old Hurrian" verb

Root	Root Extension	Root Extension (?) Probably Aspect or Action Type	Plural Marker	Transitive/Intransitive Marker	Subject Marker
	-ar- *-Všt-* (?)	*-ill-* *-ahh-* *-uš-* *-Všt-* (?)	*-id-*	*-o* (trans. erg.) *-i* (trans. non-erg.) *-a* (intrans.) *-a* (intrans. with verbs of motion) *-u* (unclear, likely with intrans. verbs of action)	*-m* (3rd pers. sg. agent) *-Ø* (null-marker of the 3rd person pl.) *-b* (3rd person) *-b* (3rd person) *-Ø* (with 3rd pers. sg.) *-Ø* (with 3rd pers. sg.)

Examples:

uv=o=m 'he slaughtered (cattle)' (KBo. 32: 13 I, 15) (trans. erg. 3rd person singular)
am=ar=ill=o=m 'he did evil to' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 21) (trans. erg. 3rd person singular)
pa=ašt=o=m 'he built' (KBo. 32: 14, Rs 35) (trans. erg. 3rd person singular)
tun=id=o 'they could' (KBo. 32: 14 IV, 17) (trans. erg. 3rd person plural)
muš=i=b 'they arranged' (KBo. 32: 13 I, 21) (trans. non-erg. 3rd person plural)
nahh=a=b 'he sits' (KBo. 32: 13 I, 4) (intrans. 3rd person singular)
un=a 'he comes' (Mit. II, 14) (intrans. 3rd person singular)
un=a=tta 'I come' (ChS. I/5, no. 64, IV 3') (intrans. 1st person singular)
par=u 'it drew into (its inside) displeasure' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 50) (designation of a procedure, but without an object in the absolutive)

Sentences with the transitive, non-ergative verbal form *=i=b* can — as discussed above — also have an object — this does not appear in the absolutive, like the agent, but in an oblique case (essive in *-a* or the so-called "article" singular *-ni/ne* is used). These extended forms of the antipassive construction allow, in practice, an "accusative" translation:

e.g., *el(i)=a* (essive) *fahr=o=š(e)=a* (essive) *tan=d=i=b* ^{D}*Allani* (KBo. 32: 13 I, 12)
'She (the goddess) Allani celebrated a beautiful festival'

fan=ar=i=n(n)i=na=ma ag=i=b nehern(i)=a (essive) (KBo. 32: 13 I, 22)
'The cooks brought the breast meat'

When the subject is not expressed through a noun, then, the enclitic pronoun of the third person plural absolutive *-lla* is used as the plural marker of the subject of the action:

e.g., *mallad(e)=ae=l(la) un=i-b* (KBo. 32: 13 I, 23)
'With a bowl they (*-lla*: meaning the cooks) brought'

(The enclitic absolutive pronoun *-lla* replaces the subject 'they' (meaning, the cooks) and not the named object 'the breast meat', which appears in the singular; the Hittite translation: 'and they brought them *(-aš* acc. plural. c.) … herein' (see Neu, StBoT, 32, 261) is based on a subject-object confusion, similar to what occurs throughout the rest of the Bilingual [for subject-object confusion in Akkadian transcriptions of Hurrian texts in Nuzi, see Wilhelm, AoAT 9, 1970, 61—63, and Diakonoff, HuU 154. For other cases in the Bilingual, see G. Wilhelm, Die Könige von Ebla, Fs. Klengel, AoF 24/2, 1997, 283, note 36])

Sentences of these types, with the subject of the action in a person other than the 3rd person singular or 3rd person plural, are not attested. The conditions that determine the choice of either the transitive ergative or the transitive non-ergative object-containing sentences has not been investigated.

Beside the above forms of the 3rd person, which obviously encode another pattern, the Bilingual also contains verbal forms that correspond to those in the Mittani Letter.

Table 13: "Mittani Forms" in the Bilingual

1.	2. Tense	3. and 4.	5. Transitive	6. Negation Marker	7. Marker of the Subect of the Action	8. Plural Marker of the Subject
Root+RE	*Ø* *-oš-* *-et-*	*-t- -Ø*	*-i-*	*-u(w)/wa*	*-av/affu* *-o* *-a*	*-š(a)*

Examples:

Present Ø-marker
urØ+i+o
'you desire' (KBo. 32: 15 IV, 2: *ú-ri-u*)

palØ+i+a
'he shows' (KBo. 32: 19 IV, 25'L: *pa-li-[a*)

Perterite with -oš-
zaz+ol+oš+a
'he boarded' (KBo. 32: 19 I, 6, 8: *za-a-šu-lu-u-ša*)

Future with -et-
pah+et+av
'I will destroy' (KBo. 32: 19 I, 24: *pa-hé-tap*)

hud+et+av
'I will praise' (KBo. 32: 19 I, 14: *hu-ti-a-ú*)

nakk+et+av+š
'we will release' (KBo. 32: 15 I, 26': *na-ak-ki-da-a-u-uš*)

Transitive-ergative negated verbs are formed:

A. With *-u(w)/wa-*:	Roo+RE	Trans.	Negation	Person Marker	Pluralizer
	nakk	*+ i*	*+ u(w)*	*+ (a)ffy*	*+ š*

'we do not release (something)'
(KBo. 32: 15 I, 23': *na-ak-ki-u-úw-wu$_u$-uš*)

B. With *-ut-*:	Root+RE	+ Negation	+ Trans.	+ Subject Marker
	am	*+ ut*	*+ o*	*+ m*

'he did not see'
(KBo. 32: 19 I, 37: *a-mu-du-um*)

(Whether the form *-ut-* can be still further segmented into *-u+t-* is unclear. This, in any case, is a suggestion by Neu [StBoT 32, 164]: *am=u* [negation morpheme]=*t* ["preterital" form]=*o=m*.)

C. With *-(m)ma* in the form of the 3rd person singular, whereby the negative morpheme is located on the end of the verbal form:

ar+i+a+(m)ma
'he did not give (something)' (KBo. 32: 15 IV, 16: *a-ri-ia-am-ma*; i.e., *ar=i=a̱=(m)ma*)

This morpheme is written in the Mittani Letter as a single *m*. In Boğazköy, it occurs most often with a double *mm*. It is not to be confused with the enclitic particle *-(m)ma* 'and, but' and the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person singular *-mma* 'you'.

Intransitive and antipassive negated verbs are formed with the suffix *-kkV-* (the formation perfectly matches that of the Mittani Letters):

Root	+	RE	+	Intrans.	+	Negation	+	Vowel
				o [< *a*]	+	*kk*	+	*o*
kud		+		*o*	+	*kk*	+	*o*

'he did not fall' (KBo. 32: 31+208 Vs 11: *ku-du-uk-ku*)

pend	+	*o*	+	*kk*	+	*o*

'he did not turn his back' (KBo. 32: 31+208 Vs.12: *be-en-du-uk-ku*)

Antipassive	RE	+	Transitive	+	Negation	+	Vowel
			i	+	*kk*	+	*i*
an	+	*ašt*	+	*i*	+	*kk*	+	*i*

'he was not happy' (KBo. 32: 15 21': *a-na-aš-ti-ik-ki*)

D. The negation *-bur* in *mann=o=bur* 'he is not' (e.g., KBo. 32: 14 I, 17, *ma-a-an-nu-u-bur*) does not allow further interpretation. This negation morpheme is not found in the Mittani Letter, but, beyond the Bilingual, it is also found in other Boğazköy texts: e.g. (ChS. I/1, no. 41 III, 75, 78), *ku-ul-du-pur* (*kul=d=o=bur*; probably the root *kul-* 'to speak' with the root extension *-t-* attached).

E. The suffix combination *-ubad-* in cases like *nahh=ubad(e)=uš* 'not populated', *kul=ubad=e* 'not named', *fahr=ubad=e* 'not good', or *nir=ubad=e* 'not good, bad' (Ugarit Vocabulary RS 94-2939, Col V, 11', described in B. André-Salvini/M. Salvini, SCCNH 9, 1983, 3 ff., 14) can perhaps be segmented into *-uw(a)+ade-*; the above-mentioned negation morpheme *-wa-* probably underlies *-uw(a)-*. In the Mittani Letter, there are also forms with *-ubad-* (abstracts from adjectives), but an obviously negative meaning is often ruled out (Wegner, SMEA 36, 1995, 97 ff.).

Verbal forms with the element *-uva* have, in contrast to the forms with *=o=m*, a durative or descriptive character (Neu, Fs. Otten, 1988, 244 ff.). Possibly, there is an opposition here between "punctual" (*-o-*) versus "durative" (*-uva-*) (Wegner, SMEA 36, 1995, 97 ff.), e.g. (KBo. 32: 14 I, 28), *hapš=ar=uva* 'he directed (the eyes toward something)'.

The Jussive and Other Modal Forms in the Bilingual

Voluntative

1st sg.	*=i=l+e*	*kad=il=(i)=l+e* 'I should say' (KBo. 32: 11 I, 4: *ka-ti-il-li*)

Imperative

2nd sg.	*=i/e*	*nakk=i/e* 'release!' (KBo. 32: 19 I, 1, 3: *n[a]-ak-ki*)
pl.	*=e+š*	e.g., *kol=e=š* 'discharge!' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 23: *ku-u-le-eš*)
3rd sg.	*=i=en*	*haš=i=en* 'he should hear'
or	*=u[o]*	*kud=o* 'he should fall', 'it is to be felled' (KBo. 32:14 I, 57: *ku-ú-du*) *kir=o* 'he shall be freed' (KBo. 32: 15 IV, 3: *ki-i-ru*)
but also	*=u[o]=š*	*zamm+al+ašt=o=š* 'shall be ragged' (KBo. 32: 14 I, 57: *za-am-ma-la-aš-du-uš*) *parn=ošt=o=š* 'he shall be clean' (ChS. I/5 Nr 2 64': *bar-nu-uš-du-uš*)

pl.	*=i=(id) en*	*ha=i=(i)d=en* ‘they must take’ (KBo. 32: 14 I ,13: *ha-a-i-te-in*)	
or	*=u[o]=š*	*itk=o=š* ‘they shall clean/be cleaned’ (ChS. I/1 Nr. 8 III 9’: *it-ku-uš*)	

An intensive-desiderative-transitive modal form can be represented as follows, see also below.

Sg.	*=i+l=*		*anni*	*id=i+l+anni* ‘it shall strike still’ (KBo. 32: 14 I, 6: *i-ti-la-a-an-ni*)
Pl.	*=i=*	*(i)d=*	*anni*	*itk=i=(i)d=anni* ‘they shall clean’ (ChS. I/1 Nr 9 II 29: *it-ki-ta-an-nim*)

(These forms are comparable to the Urartian Finalis forms with *-ilanni*. See Salvini, SMEA 29, 1992, 217 ff.)

The forms with *-eva* are occasionally given a meaning similar to the future.

Sg.	*(=il=) eva*	*un=ev=tta* ‘I (*=tta*) want to come’ (KBo. 32: 19 I, 23: *ú-ni-waa-at-ta*)
Pl.	*=il= eva = š*	*eh(e)l=il=eva=š* ‘we will save (him)’ (KBo. 32: 15 I, 18’: *e-hi-il-li-wa$_a$-aš-*)

Forms with *=ai*

=i+l =ai

=i+m =ai

(*=i=* following Wilhelm is not the transitive vowel but a nominalizer. It is thought that the ending *-ai* was originally a case ending, and, thus, a nominalization thematic vowel is to be expected.)

Forms with *-u/ol+il > u/oll=i* *zikk=u/ol=(i)l=i* ‘should completely break’ (KBo. 32: 14 I, 48. Following Neu, StBoT 32, 1996, 151 f., who also places, in this form of the intransitive, the reflexive use of the suffix *-ul-*. The *-il-* is interpreted by Neu [Orientalia 59,1990, 224, 228] as an action-type suffix with a distributive-iterative character. The meaning of the remaining *-i* is not clear.)

Peculiarities of the writing in the Bilingual

Especially noteworthy in the Bilingual is the graphical representation of the morpheme of the 1st person singular of transitive verbs. While in Mittani, this form is written as *-(K)a-(a)-ú*, the same form in the Bilingual can be written as *-(K)a-ú* or *-(K)a-a-ú* or with the cuneiform sign TAP in future forms (*pa-hé-tap*, i.e., *pah=ed=av* ‘I will destroy’; *hu-bu-uš-tap*, i.e., *hub=ošt=av* ‘I break’).

Difficulties regarding the interpretation of */i/* and */e/* arise because, except in the Mittani Letter, these vowels are not properly distinguished. Thus, the commonly used signs BI, HI, MI, NI, IN are used for both the *i*- and the *e*-vowel, whereas the corresponding, rarer signs BE, HÉ, ME, NE, En are predominantly used with the *e*-vowel. (Wilhelm/Giorgieri, SCCNH 7, 1995, 37 ff.)

The strictly followed distinction of the signs KI for /ki/ and /gi/ and GI for /ke/ and /ge/ in the Mittani Letter is also observed in the Bilingual. However, it is carried out much more carelessly there.

The signs U and Ú are rather consistently distinguished and, as in the Mittani Letter, probably designate the sounds *o* and *u*, respectively. It can be inconsistent, however. Defective writings with the possessive pronouns, especially the 1st and 2nd person singular, are known, e.g., KBo. 32, 14 ,Vs 47: *ta-bi-ri-pu-ú*, i.e., *tab=i=r(i)=if(f)=u=(v)e*, literally, 'my caster'.

4

Hurrian Glossary

The entries in this Hurrian glossary are listed in the following order: A, E/I [including -ia, i-a, i-e, etc.], Ḫ, G/K/Q, L, M, N, B/P/W [including ú-a, ú-e, ú-i], R, Š, D/T, O/U, Z. This is the order used in the "Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler" and other Hurrian glossaries.

A

ai-		conjunction	'if, if only'
	ai=l(la)=an	with 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
	ai=mâ=nîn	with 3 sg. pron. element + particle *-nîn*	
	ai=n(na)	with encl. 3 sg.	
a(j)i / a(v)i-		postposition; corresponding to *abi-* / *avi-* in Boğazköy; see under *abi*	'in front of, before'
aḫri		noun	'incense'
	aḫr=u=šḫe		'censer, incense-burner'
ag-		verb root	'to bring, to lead, to guide; to lift, to raise'
	ag=i=ib	3 sg./pl. (Old Hurrian)	
	ag=id=o	3 pl. (Old Hurrian)	
	ag=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
	ag=ugar=ašt=i=en	3 sg, jussive with the root extensions *-ugar-* and *-ašt-*	'to send here'
	agab	noun (?)	epithet of the weather god, 'leader' (?)
	ag=a=b	verb form (intr.)	'he leads'
ag=ol-		verb stem	'to carve'
	ag=ol=uva	3 sg. durative (Old Hurrian)	

agurni	noun	‘carving’
agurn(i)=a	essive	
*aga-	pron.	
aga=ve	genitive	‘on this side of’
akki- / *agi-	pron.	‘the one … the other’
akki	absolutive	
akku		
akku=š	ergative sg.	
agu=va	dative	
a-ku-ta	directive	
agu	see *akki*	
aguḫi	noun	‘an article of clothing’
aguḫi=na	pl.	
allai	noun	‘lady, mistress’
all=a=šše	abstract noun	‘domineering woman’
alali	noun	‘garment, clothing’
alal(i)=ai	instrumental	
alambašḫe	noun	‘a kind of payment, disbursement’
Allani	theonym	name of the goddess of the underworld
^{D}Allani=va	dative	
^{D}Allani=ma	with conjunction *-ma* ‘and, but’	
alaše-	conjunction	‘if, whether’
alaše=mê=nîn	3 sg. pron. + particle *-nîn*	
alli (or else *ḫalli*)	Old Hurrian pron. (?) or demonstrative pron. (?)	‘him, it’ (?)

al(u)-	verb root	‘to say, to speak’
alu=i=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
alu=m=ai=n(na)	gerund-like stem	
am- (1)	verb root	‘to burn down’
am=i+l=anni	3 sg. modal form	
ambane	noun	‘firewood’
ambann=uḫli	noun	a kind of profession, occupation
am- (2)	verb root	‘to see, to notice, to regard’
am=ud=o=m	3 sg. neg. (Old Hurrian)	
am=ol-		‘to seek out, to search for someone’
am=ol=ud=o=m	3 sg. neg. (Old Hurrian)	
am(m)-	verb root	‘to reach, to arrive at’
amm=i=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
amm=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
Amanu	theonym	Egyptian deity
^{D}Amanu=(š)=l(la)=an	ergative + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
^{D}Amanu=(š)=dil=an	(ergative) + 1 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
am=ar-	verb root	‘to cause harm’
am=ar=ill=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
ammade	noun	‘grandfather’
ammad(e)=iff=u-	with 1 sg. poss. pron.	‘my grandfather’
ammad(e)=iff=u=š	ergative sg.	
ammad(e)=iff=u=ve=n(na)	genitive sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
amatte=na	absolutive pl. (Boğazköy)	
amumi [amomi]	noun	‘message’
amum(i>)a=f(fa)	absolutive + 2 pl. encl. pron.	

amumikkunni	noun	‘administrator’
an-	verb root	‘to rejoice’
an=ašt=i=kki	with root extension *-ašt-*, 3 sg. antipassive neg.	
ana=o+l=e=š	3 sg, modal form	
an=o=om	3 sg. (Old Hurrian) in the personal name *An=o=m-ḫirve*	
anam-	adverb	‘thus, to such an extent’
anam=mân (?)	with particle *-mân* (?)	
anammi-	adverb	‘thus, in this way’
anammi=tta=man	with 1 sg. encl. pron. + particle *-man*	
anammi=dilla=ân	with 1 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
anni / ani	demonstrative pron.	‘this’
anni / ani	absolutive sg.	
ane=na	absolutive pl.	
anni=lla	absolutive pl.	
anni=n(na)	absolutive sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
anu=va	dative sg.	
anu=dan	ablative	
andi	demonstrative pron.	‘that’
andi=lla(=ân)	absolutive pl. (+ connective)	
andu=va	dative sg.	
andu=va=n(na)=an	dative sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
andu=ve	genitive sg.	
andu=dan	ablative sg.	
anz-	verb root	meaning unknown
anzannu		

anzannoḫ-	verb root	‘to distinguish, to mark’ (or similar)
anz=ann=oḫ=oš=av	1 sg. pret.	
awalli [avalli] (< avari)	noun	‘field’
aval(< ri)=ne=ve=n(e)=a	elliptical expression in the essive case	‘in the (size) of a field’
awari [avari]	noun	‘field’
av=ar=i		
*awatti / awattu [avatti]		
awatt(i)>u/o=ḫḫ(e)=a	adverbial expression in the essive case	‘far; far off, far from’ (or similar)
abe- [ave]	interrogative pron.	‘who?’
ave=š=na	> *aveššа*, ergative + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
ave=(š)=dilla (*abišši)	ergative + 1 pl. encl. pron.	
abi- [avi]	corresponds to Mittani *a(j)i* / *a(v)i*	‘the front part; before’
âbi / avi	“preposition”	‘before’
a-wi$_1$		
a(vi)=i=e	postposition	
a(vi)=i=(v)e		
âb(i)=i=da	postposition	
ab(i)+i+ta		
a(vi)=i=da		
abiḫari [aviḫari]	noun	‘a surface measurement’
abiḫar(i)=ne=ve=ne=lla	genitive + appended so-called “article” sg. + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
abli	noun (?)	‘a kind of gift’
ar-	verb root	‘to give’
ar=ann-	causative	‘to cause to be given’

ar=ann=i=en=i=l(la)=an	3 sg. jussive + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
ar=ann=i=en=(n)na=man	3 sg. jussive + 3 sg. encl. pron. + particle *-man*	
ar=av	1 sg. pres.	
*ar=av=š(a)	1 pl. pres.	
ar=i/e [arə]	2 sg. imperative	
ar=i=a	3 sg. pres.	
ar=i=a=(m)ma	3 sg. pres. neg.	
ar=r(< il)=eva=š	1 pl. conditional optative	
ar=ed=a	3 sg. future	
ar=ed=av	1 sg. future	
*ar=ed=av=i(a)	1 pl. future	
ar=ol-	with *-ol-* root extension	'to give' also 'to bring'
ar=ol=av=š	1 pl. pres. (?)	
ar=ol=af(f)u=nna	1 sg. (long form; defective) + 3 sg. encl. pron.	'I give him'
ar=om=ašš=oḫ=i=ḫ(e)=a	unclear derivative in the essive	
ar=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
ar=oš=av	1 sg. pret.	
ar=oš=av=šše	1 sg. pret. nominalized verb form	
ar=oš=av=šše=NE=ve	1 sg. pret. nominalized verb form + "Suffix-aufnahme" formant	
ar=oš=a(=šše)	3 sg. pret. (nominalized verb form)	
ar=oš=(i)=imbu=š(še)=ḫ(e)=a	unclear derivative in the essive	
ar=ur=o=m	with *-ur-* root extension, 3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
Ar=i=b	personal name element	
Ar=o=m	personal name element	

Artašumara king of the Mittani

Artatama I.		grandfather of Tušratta	
	[I]Artatama=š	ergative	
Ar-Teššub		name of a Mittani envoy, ambassador	
	[I]Ar-Teššuba=n(n)a=an	absolutive sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron. + particle *-an*	
arde		noun	‘town, city’
	ard(e)=i=da	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + directive	
	ard(e)=i=dan(i)	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + ablative	
	arde=ve=NE=ššа	genitive + “Suffix-aufnahme” (*=*NE=š=nna*)	
Asali		name of a Mittani envoy, ambassador	
	[I]Asali=nna(=ân)	absolutive sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron. (+ particle *-ân*)	
aššа-		verb root	meaning unknown
âše-		noun	‘fat, grease’
ašḫ-		verb root	‘to offer as a sacrifice’
	ašḫ=uš=i=kk=onni	nominal derivative	‘offerer’
ašḫu		adverb	‘over, above’
ašk-		verb root	‘to ask’ (?)
ašti		noun	‘woman’
	ašt=a=ššе		‘female nature, womanhood’
	ašt=a=šḫe		‘feminine, female, womanly’
	*ašti=na	absolutive pl.	
	ašti=n(na)	absolutive sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
	ašt(i)=i=nn(i)=a		
	*ašti=na=aš=u=š	ergative pl.	
	ašti=ve	genitive sg.	
	ašt(i)=i=ve	genitive sg. or with 3 sg.	

		poss. pron. + genitive	
	ašti=š	ergative sg.	
	ašt(i)=o=ḫḫe	adjective of kinship	‘feminine, female, womanly’
	ašt(i)=u/o(=)zzi	adjective	‘characteristic of a woman’
	ašt=ugar=i		‘agreement’
	ašt=ugar=iff=aš=(v)a	considered as a post-position with *šaš=va*	‘for our benefit’
ašuḫi [ašoḫe]		noun	‘food, meal’
	aš(i)=o=ḫi	absolutive	
	aš(i)=o=ḫi=ne	with so-called “article” sg.	
	aš(i)=o=ḫi=ne=va	dative	
attai		noun	‘father’
	atta(i)=i	with 3 sg. poss. pron.	
	atta(i)=i=va	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
	attai=p=pa	with 2 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
	attai=p=pe	with 2 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
	atta(i)=i=ve	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
	attai=ve=NE=š=nna	genitive + “Suffixaufnahme” (*=NE=š=nna*)	
	attai=p=pe=NE=dan	witn 2 sg. poss. pron. + “Suffixaufnahme”	
	attai=v=u=š	with 2 sg. poss. pron. + ergative	
	attai=v=u=(š)=mma	with 2 sg. poss. pron. (+ ergative) + 2 sg. encl. pron. (*-mma*)	
	atta(i)=iff=u=va	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
	atta(i)=iff=u=ve	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
	atta(i)=iff=u=ve=n(na)	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
	atta(i)=iff=u=ve=NE=nna	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended equative	

	atta(i)=iff=u=š	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + ergative	
	attani-	derivative of *attai-*	
	attani=ve=na	genitive + appended "article" pl.	
	attan(i)=ne=ve=na		
	attan(i)=ne=ve=NA=aš=ta	genitive + appended directive pl.	
	atta(i)=arde-	noun	'ancestors'
	atta(i)=ard(e)=iff=aš	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + pluralizer	
	atta(i)=ard(e)=i=ve=na=mân	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended "article" pl. + particle *-mân*	
	atta(i)=ard(e)=iff=u=nna	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + equative	
	atta(i)=ard(e)=iff=u=dan	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + ablative	
adani		noun	'(foot-)stool'
-atal [-adal]		noun (?), name element	'the strong (one)' (?)
	Atal-šen		
	Tiš-atal	see also under *Tiš-atal*	
adi-		independent particle	'thus, so, therefore'
	adi=nîn	with particle *-nîn*	
	a-ti	Old Hurrian, corresponding to later *andi*	'that'
atili		see *-atal*	
admi-		noun	'(foot-)stool'
	admi=ne	with so-called "article" sg.	

E / I

Ea-(šarri)	theonym	deity of Babylonian origin

	^{D}Éa=ve=<NE>=a	"Suffixaufnahme" in the essive without *-NE-*
	^{D}Ea-šarri=ne=(š)=lla=an	ergative with 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective
	^{D}Ea-šarri=ne=(š)=dil=an	ergative with 1 pl. encl. pron. + connective
Ebla=ḫe	adjective	'pertaining to Ebla'
ije- / ija-	relative particle	'which'
	ije=mâ=nîn	relative particle + 3 sg. pron. element
	ije=mê=nîn	*-ma-* / *-mê-* + particle *-nîn*
	ija=lla=nîn	relative particle + 3 pl. pron. element
	ija=lle=nîn	*-lla-* / *-lle-* + particle *-nîn*
	ija=t(ta)	relative particle + 1 sg. encl. pron.
	emeni	Old Hurrian, later *e(< ije)=me=ni(n)* (?) 'who, which, whosoever'
^{URU}Iḫibe	city name	
	^{URU}Iḫibe=ne	with so-called "article" sg.
eḫepš-	verb stem	'to be constricted'
	eḫepš=u/ol=(i)l=i=ma	3 sg. modal form
eḫl-	verb root	'to save, to rescue'
	eḫl=il=eva=š=nna	modal form; 1 pl. conditional optative + 3 sg. encl. pron. 'we will save him'
	eḫli=ve-	elliptical derivative '(the one) rescued'
	eḫli=ve=NE=ve=NA=aš=(v)a(=l(la))	double "Suffixaufnahme"
	eḫli=ve=NE=da	elliptical derivative + "Suffixaufnahme" of the directive

egi-	noun	‘inside, inner part’
egi=ne	with so-called “article” sg.	
eg(i)+i+ta	postposition	
eg(i)=i=da	postposition	‘in, in the midst of’
Igingalliš=ḫe	adjective	‘pertaining to Igingalliš’
ela	noun	‘sister’
ela	absolutive	
el(a)=iffə	absolutive + 1 sg. poss. pron.	
elli	< *el(a)+ne*, with so-called “article” sg.	
elarde-	nominal derivative	‘sisterhood’
el(a)=ard(e)=iff=u=ve	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
eli-	noun	‘festival’
el(i)=a	essive sg.	
elgi	noun	‘appliqué, decoration’
elg(i)=ae	instrumental	
elgi=lla	absolutive pl.	
elg(i)=i=lla	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
^{D}IM	theonym; see also ^{D}*IŠKUR* and ^{D}*Teššub*	
^{D}IM-up		
^{D}IM-up-pa	> ^{D}*Teššub=va*, dative	
^{D}IM-úw-wa		
^{D}IM-wa-al-la	^{D}*Teššub=va*, dative + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
eman-	numeral	‘ten’
eman=am-	factitive	‘to multiply tenfold’
eman=am=oš=av	1 sg. pret.	

	eman=am=ḫ(e)=a	adj. in the essive	‘tenfold’
	emandi-	nominal derivative	‘group of ten’
	emand(i)=o=ḫ(e)=li		‘leader of a group of ten’
	emanze	ordinal number (**eman+še*)	‘tenth’
emeni		see under *ije-* / *ija-*	
Immoria		name: Amenophis III	
	[I]Immoria=š=nna=ân	ergative + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective *-ân*	
	[I]Immoria=ve	genitive	
eni		noun	‘god’
	en(i)=na	absolutive pl.	
	en(i)=na=aš=(v)a	dative pl.	
	en(i)=na=aš=(v)a=l(la)	dative pl. with 3 pl. encl. pron.	
	en(i)=na=aš=(v)e	genitive pl.	
	en(i)=na=aš=(v)e=NA=aš=u=š	genitive pl. with “Suffixaufnahme” formant	
	en(i)=na=aš=(v)e=NE=da	genitive pl. with “Suffixaufnahme” formant	
	en(i)=na=aš=ta	directive pl.	
	en(i)=na=aš=u=š	ergative pl.	
	en(i)=n(a)=iff=aš=(v)e=n	pl. + 1 pl. poss. pron. + genitive + *n* (unclear)	
	enni	< *en(i)+ne*, so-called “article” sg.	
	eni=v	absolutive sg. + 2 sg. poss. pron.	
	en(i)=iffə	with 1 sg. poss. pron.	
	en(i)=i=va	sg. + 3 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
	en(i)=iff=u=va	sg. + 1 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
	eni=š	ergative sg.	
inna-		conjunction	‘when’

	inna=mâ/mê=nîn	with 3 sg. pron. element + particle *-nîn*	
endan		noun (Old Hurrian)	title of Tiš-atal
	en-da-an		
inu-		independent particle; sentence introductory conjunction	'as'
	inu=lle	with 3 pl. pron. element	
	inu=lle=nîn	with 3 pl. pron. element + particle *-nîn*	
	inu=mê=nîn	with 3 sg. pron. element + particle *-nîn*	
	inu=tta	with 1 sg. encl. pron.	
	inu=tta=nîn	with 1 sg. encl. pron. + particle *-nîn*	
inube, inaube		Old Hurrian numeral, corresponding to later *nubi*	'ten thousand'
enzari		noun	'deity'
	enzari	< *en(i)=šari*	
ewri [evri]		noun	'lord, master, king'
	evri=š	ergative sg.	
	evr(i)=i=va	sg. with 3 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
	evr(i)=i=ve	sg. with 3 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
	ever=ni		
	evern(i)=a	essive	
	evren(i)=na=aš=(v)a	< *evri+n(i)+na+aš+(v)a*, dative pl.	
	evri+ni	> *everni+ni* > *evrenni*	'king'

ipš-		verb root	‘to please’ (?)
	ipš=oš=i=l(la)=an	3 pl. antipassive pret. + connective	
	ipš=oš=i=n(na)	3 sg. antipassive pret.	
erade		noun	‘bird’
irn-		verb root	‘to be the same, similar’
	irinni-	nominal derivative	
	irinn(i)=ard(e)=iff=u=va	collective formation + 1 sg. poss. pron. + dative	‘equal, on a par with’
	irn(=oḫ)-	verbal derivative	‘to compensate, to repay; to satisfy’
	irn=oḫ=oš=i=a=ma	3 sg. pret. neg. (tr.)	
	irn=o=kk=o	3 sg. pres. neg. (intr.)	
erbi / ervi		noun	‘dog’
	erbi=Ø	absolutive sg.	
	erbi=na	absolutive pl.	
irde		noun	‘tongue’
	irde=v	with 2 sg. poss. pron.	
*eša-		pronoun	
	eša=ve	genitive	‘yonder’
išaš		1 sg. independent personal pron. (see also *ište-*, *šo-*, *šu-*)	
	iša=š	ergative	
	iša=(š)=lla=ân	ergative with 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
eše		noun	‘earth, ground’
	eše=ne	with so-called “article” sg.	
	eše=ne=ve	genitive	
	eše=ne=ra	comitative	

	eš(e)=iff=aš=tan	with 1 pl. poss. pron. + ablative *-tan*	
išši		noun	‘horse’ (?)
	išši=na=ân	absolutive pl. + connective	
*išḫ-		verb root (?)	
	išḫ=ar=i=nni	description of a profession, trade, occupation	‘baker’
^{D}IŠKUR		theonym (see ^{D}*IM* and ^{D}*Teššub*)	the name of the weather god
ištani		noun	‘middle, center’
	ištan(i)=i=aš=(v)a	with 3 pl. poss. pron. + dative / essive	
	ištan(i)=iff=aš=(v)a	with 1 pl. poss. pron. + dative / essive	
	ištan(i)+i+ta		
	ištan(i)=i=da	noun and postposition with 3 sg. poss. pron. + directive	‘on the inside; in the middle of, between’
ište		1 sg, independent personal pron.	
	ište=n	absolutive + 3 sg. encl. pron. (?)	
išuḫni		noun	‘silver’
	išuḫn(i)=ae	instrumental	
id-		verb root	‘to strike, to hit, to beat’
	id+ar+ki	nominal derivative	‘garbage dump, rubbish heap’
	id=i=Ø	3 sg. antipassive	
	*id=i=a	3 sg. pres.	
	id=i+l=anni	3 sg. modal form	
	id=i=e(n)	3 sg. jussive	
	id+ki	nominal derivative	‘mortar’

itt-		verb root	‘to go’
	itt=ai=nna=ân	3 sg. debitive-final + connective	
	itt=ai=ša=lla=ân	3 pl. debitive-final + connective	
	itt=i=l+e	1 sg. voluntative	
	*itt=id=e=n		
	*itt=id=en		
	itt=i=(i)d=en	3 pl. jussive	
	itt=oš=t=a(=mân)	3 sg. pret. (+ particle *-mân*)	
	itt=umme	infinitive	‘departure’
edi-		noun	‘body, person’
	eda=l=an	< *edi=(š)=l(la)=an*, ergative sg. + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	‘self’
	i-di		
	edi=v	sg. with 2 sg. poss. pron.	
	edi=š	ergative sg.	
	ed(i)=iffə	absolutive sg. with 1 sg. poss. pron.	
	ed(i)=iff=aš=a	sg. with 1 sg. poss. pron. + pluralizer + essive	
	ed(i)=iff=u=ve	sg. with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
	ed(i)=i=e	postposition	‘regarding, concerning, as for’
	ed(i)=i=va	sg. with 3 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
	ed(i)=i=da	sg. with 3 sg. poss. pron. + directive	
idenni		noun (Akkadian loan)	‘builder’
itk-		verb root	‘to purify, to be pure’
	itk=a=ḫḫe	nominal construction	
	itk=a=lzi	nominal construction	‘purity’
	itk=i=(i)d=anni	3 pl. modal form	
	itk=o=š	3 pl. modal form	

Ḫ

ḫa-	verb root	‘to take, to seize, to capture’
ḫa=i=en=i=l(la)=an	3 sg. jussive + supporting vowel + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
ḫa-a-i-te-in / ḫa-a-i-te	3 pl. jussive (with *n*-loss)	
ḫaikalli	noun	‘palace’
ḫaikal(i)=ne (?)	> *ḫaikalli* (?)	
Ḫalbaḫe	adjective	‘pertaining to the city of Ḫalab’
ḫalba=ḫe		
ḫalzuḫli	noun	‘mayor’
ḫalz=uḫli		
ḫalzuḫl(i)=a	essive sg.	
ḫalz=uḫla	< *ḫalz(i)+o+ḫ(e)+l(i)+a*, essive	
ḫalz=uḫli	< *ḫalz(i)+o+ḫ(e)+li*	
ḫamo- (?)	noun (?)	meaning unknown
ḫamo=ra	comitative sg. see also *šatta(-)ḫamora*	
ḫan-	verb root	‘to give birth to, to bear (a child)’
ḫani	noun	‘child’
ḫawaḫa-	Old Hurrian	‘prayer, request’ (?)
ḫaw=o=ḫḫ(e)=a	adjective	
ḫab=an-	verb stem	‘to go there’
ḫawirni [ḫavirni]	noun	‘lamb’
ḫapš-	verb root	‘(the eyes) to direct attention to something’
ḫapš=ar=uva	3 sg. durative (Old Hurrian)	

ḫawurni [ḫavurni]	noun	‘sky’
ḫavur+ni+ne	> *ḫavurunne*	
ḫavurni=a	locative / essive	
ḫavurun=ne=ra	comitative	
ḫapti	noun	‘ring’
ḫap=ti		
ḫaš- (1) (*ḫa-aš- / ḫa-šV-)	verb root	‘to hear’
ḫaš=aš-	with root extension -*aš*-	‘to hear’
ḫaš=aš=i=wa=en	3 sg. jussive neg.	
ḫaš=aš=i=wa=lli=lla=ân	1 sg. voluntative neg. + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
ḫaš=aš=i+l=e=š	3 sg. modal form	
ḫaš=ašt=i=l+e	1 sg. voluntative with root extension -*ašt*-	
ḫaš=i=l+e	1 sg. voluntative	
ḫaš=i=m=ai	gerund-like construction	
ḫaš=i=en	3 sg. jussive	
ḫaš=i=en=i=lla=ân	3 sg. jussive + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
ḫaš=i=en=(n)na=an	3 sg. jussive + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
ḫaš=i=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian); also element used in names	
ḫašuen	optative neg. (Old Hurrian)	‘wish not to hear’
ḫaš- (2) (*ḫa-a-aš-)	verb root	‘to apply ointment to, to oil, to grease’
ḫaš=o+l=e=š	3 sg. modal form	
ḫašar(i)=ae	noun in instrumental	‘(fine) oil’
ḫaš=ar=i	nominal construction	
ḫašar(i)=ne=š	ergative sg.	
ḫašulatḫi-	noun	meaning unknown
ḫašul=a=tḫi		

ḫattoḫe	adjective	‘Hittite’
ḫatt(i)=o=ḫe	< *ḫatti+ḫe*	
ḫazziz(z)i	noun (Akkadian loan)	‘ear, understanding’
ḫazziz(z)i=v=a=lla	with 2 sg. poss. pron. + -*a*- (?) + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
ḫe/iari	noun	‘gold’
ḫe/iar(i)=o=ḫḫe	adjective	‘golden’, but also ‘gold’
ḫiar(i)=o=ḫḫ(e)=a	essive	
ḫi(a)r(i)=o=ḫḫ(e)=ae	instrumental	
ḫi(a)r(i)=o=ḫḫ(e >)a=tta=ân	with 1 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
ḫejarunna	pron.	‘all, whole’
ḫil(l)-	verb root	‘to say, to speak, to inform’
ḫill=i	3 sg. pres. antipassive	
ḫil+i+l+e	> *ḫilli*, 1 sg. voluntative	
ḫill=i=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
ḫill=ol=eva	1 sg. optative conditional	
ḫel(i)-	perhaps belongs etymologically with *ḫeluwa*	
ḫel(i)=a=ma	essive + -*ma* conj.	‘for fame, glory, honor’; also ‘honorable, glorious’
ḫeluwa [ḫelob/va]	nominal construction	‘fame, glory, honor’
ḫelov(i)=a, ḫel=o=va	essive (?) or dative (?)	
ḫemz-	verb root	‘to bind, to gird’
ḫemz=a=tḫ=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
ḫemz=a=tḫ=oš=i	3 sg. pret. antipassive	
ḫemz=i=ḫe	nominal construction	‘girdle’
ḫenni	adverb	‘now’
ḫenz- / ḫinz-	verb root	‘to be in need, to lack; to oppress’
ḫenz=a	3 sg. pres.	
ḫenz=ad=u	with root extension -*ad*-	

		+ *-u* unclear verb ending	
	ḫe/inzi / ḫe/inzidi	nominal construction	‘oppressor, bully, tormentor’
	ḫinz=id(i)=a	either essive of a noun *ḫinzidi-* or *ḫinzi=da* directive	
ḫinzur-		verb stem	meaning unknown
	ḫinzur=i+l=e=š	modal form	
	ḫinzur=o+l=ae=š	modal form	
Ḫebat		theonym	the name of a goddess
	^{D}Ḫebatte-	< ^{D}*Ḫebat+ve*, genitive	
	Ḫeba	in female personal names	
ḫir-		verb root	meaning unknown
	ḫir=i=a	either a transitive present or a noun *ḫiri-*, in which case it is to be analyzed as *ḫir(i)=i=a* with 3 sg. poss. pron. + essive	either ‘it occurs, happens, takes place’ or ‘hour (?), time (?), moment (?)’
ḫirb/ve		see the personal name *An=o=m-ḫirve*	
ḫerari		noun	‘sinew, tendon (of the arm); upper arm’
ḫic=uḫ-		verb stem	‘to offend, to vex, to annoy’
	ḫic=uḫ=i=wa=en	3 sg. jussive neg.	
	ḫic=uḫ=oš=i=u(w)=(a)ffu	1 sg. pret. neg.	
	ḫic=uḫ=o/ul-	intr.	‘to be sad, distressed, vexed, annoyed’
ḫu(i)-		verb root	‘to call (here)’ (?)
	ḫuešša	modal form	
	ḫu=id=o	3 pl. (Old Hurrian)	
ḫub+l-		verb root	‘to break in pieces, to smash, to shatter’
ḫurade		noun	‘warrior, fighter, soldier’

	ḫur=ade	
ḫurroḫe	adjective	‘Hurrian’
	ḫurr(i)=o=ḫe ḫurv(i)=o=ḫe=NE=ve	with “Suffixaufnahme” formant
*ḫuši	noun	
	ḫuš(i)=o=ḫḫe	‘belt, girdle’
ḫud-	verb root	‘to pray, to praise, to exhalt, to laud’
	ḫud=ed=av	1 sg. future
	ḫud=me	nominal derivative ‘prayer’

G / K

kapp-	verb root	‘to fill (up)’
	kapp=il=eva=š	1 pl. conditional optative
kab(a)li	noun	‘copper’
	kaballe=š	< *kab=li=ne=š*, with so-called “article” + ergative
karije	noun	‘bird-catcher’
	karije=na=aš=u=š	ergative pl.
karḫ=ašt-	verb stem	meaning unknown
	karḫ=ašt=i=wa=en	3 sg. jussive neg.
kašl-	verb root	‘to be strong’ (?)
	kašl=ol=e(+)š	3 sg. request form
kad-	verb root	‘to say, to speak’
	kad=i=a	3 sg. pres.

	kad=i=kki	3 sg. antipassive neg.	
	kad=il=(i)=l+e	1 sg. voluntative	
	kad=il=eva(=tta)	1 sg. optative conditional	
	kad=i+l=e=š	3 sg. modal form	
	kad=ill=ed=a(=mmaman)	3 sg. future (+ particle *-mmaman*)	
	kad=i=nna	3 sg. antipassive (?)	
	kad+ki	nominal construction	'sentence, verdict, decision, decree'
	kad=ed=av	1 sg. future	
	kad=ol=(i)=l+e	1 sg. voluntative	
	kad=oš=a=šše=na	3 sg. pret. + nominalizing morpheme + "Suffixaufnahme" morpheme	
	kad=upp=	with root extension *-upp/ff-*	
kazi		noun (Akkadian loan)	'cup, beaker'
	kazi	absolutive	
	kaz(i)=uš	equative	
kig(e)		number	'three'
	kig=am=ḫ=a	adjective in essive	
	kig=arbu		'three years old'
	kiski	< *kig+še*	'third'
	kige nubi		'thirty thousand'
kel-		verb root	'to be well, to be in good health'
	kel=oš(?)=u(?)=a(?)	unclear form	
	keldi	nominal derivative	'health, well-being'
	kel+ti		
	keld(i)=i=va	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
kil-		verb root	'to rise' (?)
	kil=an=a=b	3 sg. causative (Old Hurrian)	
Kelia		name of a Mittani envoy, ambassador	
	^{I}Kelia=n(na)=an	absolutive + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
	^{I}Kelia=š	ergative	

	[I]Kelia=(š)=lla=ân	ergative + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
	[I]Kelia=šša=ân	(< *[I]Kelia=š=nna=ân*) ergative + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
keligel-		redup. verb stem	‘to raise up’
	keligel=ešt=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
	kelgel-	with syncope of the vowel *-i-*	
keb-		verb root	‘to set, to place, to put’
	kib/keb=ud=u/o (?)	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
	kebli	nominal derivative	‘hunter’
	keb+li		
	kebella	absolutive pl.	
	kib=i=šše	abstract construction	‘sitting (upon the throne)’
keban-		verb root	‘to send’
	keban=ol-	with root extension *-ol-*	
	keban=ol=(i)l=eva=tta=ân	1 sg. optative conditional + connective	
	keban=ol=oš=t=a=šše=na	3 pl. pret. + nominalizing morpheme + “Suffix-aufnahme” morpheme	
	keban=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
	keban=oš=a=šše	3 sg. pret. + nominalizing morpheme	
	keban=oš=av=lla=man	1 sg. pret. + 3 pl. encl. pron. + particle *-man*	
	keban=oš=av=šše=na	1 sg. pret. + nominalizing morpheme + “Suffix-aufnahme” morpheme	
	keban=oš=o(=šše)	2 sg. pret. (+ nominalizing morpheme)	
	keban=u=en	3 sg. jussive (?)	
kib-		verb root	‘to set, to place, to put’ (?)
	kib=u/oš=u=šši	unclear form	

kir-		verb root	‘to set free’
	kir=o	imperative (Old Hurrian)	
	kirenzi	nominal derivative	‘emancipation, liberation’
	kire=nzi		
	kirenz(i)=a=mma	essive + connective *-mma*	
keri-		adjective	‘long’
	ker=ae		
	ker=a=šše	adjective construction	‘long’
	ker=a=šše=na=aš=a=dilla=ân		
		adjective in *-šše* + “Suffix-aufnahme” morpheme + 1 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
	kir+aš=ol=ae=š	3 sg. request form	‘may it be long-lasting’
kir(i)		numeral	‘eight’
	kir=arbu		‘eight years old’
	kirman	< *kir+eman*	‘eighteen’ (?)
	kirmanze	< *kir+eman+še*	‘eighteenth’ (?)
kešḫi		noun	‘throne’
	kešḫ(i)=i (?)	with 3 sg. poss. pron. (?)	
	kešḫi=ne	with so-called “article” sg.	
kul- / kol-		verb root	‘to stop, to cease, to desist’
	kol=eš	2 pl. imperative, or is to be segmented *kol=e=š* (?)	
kul-		verb root	‘to say, to speak’
	kul=a=ḫḫe=na	adjectival construction pl.	‘those referred to, the ones mentioned’
	kul=i=a=ma	3 sg. pres. neg.	
	kul=(i)=l+e	> *kul-li*, 1 sg. voluntative	
	kul-li-mân		
	kul=ed=a	3 sg. future	
	kul=et=t=a	3 pl. future	
	kul=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
	kul=ur=o=m	with root extension *-ur-*,	

		3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
	kul=i=ḫe	nominal construction	‘speaking, talking’
	kul=ubad=e		‘not mentioned’
	kul=d-		
	kul=d=o=bur	3 sg. neg. (?)_	
kum-		verb root (?)	(?)
	kum=di	nominal derivative	‘tower’
Kumarbi		theonym	the name of a god
	^{D}Kumarbi=ne=š	ergative sg.	
kungalle		noun (loan from Sumerian GUKKAL)	‘fat-tailed sheep’
kunz-		verb root	‘to kneel down, to bow down’
	kunz=i=m=ai	gerund-like construction	
kuru		particle	‘once again, once more, over again’
	kuru=ve (?)	perhaps noun in the genitive	‘answer, response, reply’ (?)
Kušuḫ		theonym	the name of the moon-god
	^{D}Kušupḫi	< ^{D}*Kušuḫ*+*ve*, genitive (with metathesis)	
kud-		verb root	‘to fall; to fell, to bring down; to throw down, to cast down, to fling down’
	kud=u/o	imperative (Old Hurrian)	
kuduni		noun	‘nape of the neck’ (?)
	kuduni=v	with 2 sg. poss. pron.	
kuz- [koz-]		verb root	‘to hold or keep back, to retain’
	koz=oš=i=u(w)=(a)ffu=l(la)=an	1 sg. pret. neg. + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
	koz=oš=o	2 sg. pret.	
	koz=ošt=i=wa=en	3 sg. jussive neg.	

L

Lubadaga	theonym	the name of a god, later *Nubadig*
^{D}Lubadaga=š	ergative sg. (Old Hurrian)	

M

mâ=nna=ân	3 sg. pronominal element or particle used in quoted speech	
magalzi	noun	‘present, gift’ (?)
maga=lzi		
magan(n)i	noun	‘present, gift’
maga=n(ni)=na	absolutive pl.	
magann(i)=a	essive	
magan=n(i)=iff=u=nna	adverb in *-nna*	
maga=nn(i)=iff=u=nn(i)=a	essive	
mallade	noun	‘dish, bowl’
mallad(e)=ae=l(la)	instrumental + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
man=e	independent 3rd person personal pron.	
man=e=mmaman	absolutive sg. + particle *-mmaman*	
man=e=lla	absolutive + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
mann=i	alternative form of *man=e*	
man=š=o=š	3 pl. ergative	
man=š=o=(š)=dilla=ân	ergative pl. with 1 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
man=š/z=(v)a	dative pl.	
man=š=u/o=ra	comitative pl.	
man=u=nna	equative sg.	
man=u=ra	comitative sg.	
man=u=š	ergative sg.	
man=u=dan	ablative sg.	

man=š/z=(v)a	dative pl.	
mann-	verb root	‘to be’
mann=i(=mmaman)	3 sg.	
manna=tta	1 sg.	
mann=(i >)a=tta=man	1 sg. + particle *-man*	
mann=(i >)a=tta=nin	1 sg. + particle *-nin*	
mann=(i >)a=lla=man	3 pl. + particle *-man*	
mann=o=kko	3 sg. neg.	
mann=o=kk(o >)dil=an	1 pl. neg. + connective	
mann=o=bur	3 sg. neg. (Boğazköy Bilingual)	
mandukki	nominal derivative	meaning unknown
Mane	name of an Egyptian envoy, ambassador	
[I]Mane=n(na)=an(/man)	absolutive sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron. + *-an* or *-man*	
[I]Mane=š	ergative sg.	
[I]Mane=š=nna=ân	ergative + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
(-)manga	unclear — see also under *širi(-)manga*	
marianni	noun	‘war-chariot fighter’
maria=nni		
marianni=na	absolutive pl.	
mariannarde	nominal derivative: collective	‘war-chariot fighters’
maria=nn(i)=arde=l(la)=an		
mardatu-ḫuli	noun (from Akkadian *mardatu(m)* ‘rug, carpet, tapestry’)	‘knot of a rug, carpet, tapestry’
mardat=uḫuli		
KUR mašrian(n)I	adjective	‘Egyptian’
mašria=ni		
mašria=nni		
mašria=n(i)=ne		

madi	noun	‘wisdom’
madi	in personal names	
mad(i >)a=ffa	absolutive + 2 pl. encl. pron.	
mad=o=nni	adjective	‘wise’
mad=ašt-	verbal derivative	‘to be wise’
meḫ-	verb root	‘to stand in front of, before’
meḫ=a	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
Mêgi	name of an Eblaite ruler	
^{I}Mêgi	absolutive sg.	
^{I}Mêgi=ne=va	dative sg.	
mel=aḫḫ-	verb stem	‘to push away, to repel’
mena	noun	‘twin’ (?)
Mittani	name of a country	‘Mittani’
mittanni	adjective	‘Mittanian’
mitta=nni		
KUR mittanni=ve	genitive	
mitta=n(i)=ne-		
mait(t)ani	form in older Mesopotamian written sources	
^{KUR}Mizri	name of a country	‘Egypt’
Mizir=ne=ve=NE=ve	with so-called “article” sg. + genitive + appended genitive	
Mizir=ne=ve=NE=š	with so-called “article” sg. + genitive + appended ergative	
muš-	verb root	‘to put in order, to tidy up’, also ‘to arrange, to organize’
muš=i=b	3 sg./pl. (Old Hurrian)	
muš=ol=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	

naḫḫ-	verb root	(intr.) ‘to sit (down), to be seated, to take a seat’; (tr.) ‘to cause or make to sit’
naḫḫ=a=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
na-aḫ-ḫa-am		
naḫḫ=i=l+e	1 sg. voluntative	
naḫḫ=oš=a	3 sg. pret. (tr.)	
naḫḫ=oš=a (!)	to be thus segmented,	
naḫḫ=o=šo/u	or 3 sg. pret. (agent) / 3 pl. (patient)	‘she (sg.) makes them (pl.) sit’
naḫḫ=ubad(e)=uš	equative	‘like not settled down’
naḫḫ=idi	nominal construction	‘seat’ (or similar)
nakk- (1)	verb root	‘to set free, to liberate’
nakk=i/e [nakkə]	2 sg. imperative	
nakk=i=en	3 sg. jussive	
nakk=ed=av=š	1 pl. future	
nakk=ed=aššu	2 pl. future	
nakk=i=u(w)=(a)ffu=š	1 pl. pres. neg.	
nakk=i=u(w)=(a)ffu=š=na	1 pl. pres. neg. + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
nakk=i=u(w)=(a)ššu	2 pl. pres. neg.	
nakk- (2)	verb root	‘to melt metal and pour into a mold’
nakk=a=šš(e)=a	adjective in essive	
nakk=a=še		
Nagar^{ki}	city name	
nan-	verb root	‘to defeat (an enemy)’
nan+ki	nominal construction	‘weapon’
nav-	verb root	‘to graze’
nav=ar-	nominal construction (city name: *Nawar*)	‘pasture-land, grazing area’
na=i=ḫe	nominal construction	‘pasture’

	*nav=n(i)=i=(v)e	nominal construction + 3 sg. poss. pron. + genitive, or	
	nav=n(i)=i=e	then with the *e*-case	
nari(ja)		numeral	‘five’
	nari(j)=arbu		‘five years old’
	nari(j)=ade		‘five at a time’ (?)
	narišše		‘fifth’
niḫari		noun	‘dowry’
	niḫ=ar=i		
	niḫari	absolutive sg.	
	niḫarri	< *niḫar(i)+ni*	
	niḫari=mân	absolutive sg. + particle *-man*	
	niḫar(i)=i=aš=(v)e	with 3 pl. poss. pron. + genitive	
	niḫar(i)=i=n(na)	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
	niḫar(i)=ne=ve	with so-called “article” sg. + genitive	
	niḫar(i)=i=ve	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
	niḫar(i)=i=da	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + directive	
neḫerni		noun	‘breast(-meat)’
	neḫern(i)=a	essive	
negri		noun	‘(wooden) bolt, bar’
	negri	absolutive sg.	
Nimmoria		name: Amenophis III	
	^{I}Nimmoria=š	ergative	
^{D}NIN		theonym	the name of a goddess

^{D}NIN.GAL	theonym	the name of a goddess
^{D}NIN.GAL=ve=na	genitive + appended "article" pl.	
^{URU}Ninua	city name	'Nineveh'
^{URU}ninua=ve	genitive	
ninua=p=ḫe		'the person from Nineveh, the one from Nineveh'
nera	noun	'mother'
nera		
nera=v=u=(š)=mma	with 2 sg. poss. pron. (+ ergative) + 2 sg. encl. pron.	
ner(a)=i=ve	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	
niri-	adjective	'good, beautiful'
nir=i=š(š)e	abstract construction	'goodness; good condition'
niroš=ae	adverb	
nir=o=š(e)=ae	adverb	'in a good way'
nir=ubad=e		'not good'
^{D}NERIGAL	theonym	the name of a god
nui	noun	'ear'
nui=v=a=lla	with 2 sg. poss. pron. + *-a-* (?) + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
nubi	numeral (see also *kige nubi*)	'ten thousand'

B / P / W [including ú-e, ú-i]

pa-	verb root	'to build'
pa=ašt=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
ba-'à-áš-tum	3 sg. (Tiš-atal Inscription)	
pa=i=ḫe	nominal construction	'building plot'
pa=i=ri	resultative participle	'one who has built; building contractor'

paḫ-	(*pa-ḫV-)	verb root	‘to destroy’
	paḫ=ed=a	3 sg. future	
	paḫ=ed=av	1 sg. future	
paḫe (pa-ḫV)			meaning unknown
paḫi (*pa-a-ḫV)		noun	‘head’
	paḫ(i)=u/o(=)zzi	with the suffix of suitability, fitness	‘fitting the head’
waḫri- [faḫri-]		verb stem	‘to be good, to do good’
	faḫr=o-[		
	faḫr=o=nni==n(na)	adjective construction, also adverbial	
	faḫr(i)=o=še	adjective construction	
	faḫr=o=š(e)a	essive	
	faḫr(i)=o=šše=NE=š	“Suffixaufnahme” in the ergative	
	faḫr=umme	infinitive	‘goodness’
	faḫr=ubad=e		‘not good’
pal- (*pa-lV-)		verb root	‘to know’
	pal=av	1 sg. pres.	
	pal=(i)l=ae=n(na)	modalform: 3 sg. optative final	‘in that, he is knowledgeable’
	pal=(i)l=ai=n(na)	modalform: 3 sg. debitive final	‘in that, he may be knowledgeable’
	pal=(i)l=ai=ša=lla	modalform: 3 pl. debitive final	‘in that, they may be knowledgeable’
	pal=i	3 sg. antipassive	
	pal=i=a	3 sg. pres.	
	pal=i=o	2 sg. pres.	
	pal=d-	with unclear morpheme *-t-*	
	pal=d=ubad=e		meaning unknown
pal- (*pa-al-lV-)		noun	‘falsity, falseness’ (?)
pala		noun (see also *pille*)	‘canal’
pand- [fand-]		adverb	‘to the right, on the right; rightly’
	fand=i=n		

fand=a=ni		
w/pandari-nni [fandari-nni]	noun	‘cook’
fand=ar=i=n(n)i=na=ma	absolutive pl. + particle -*ma*	
panu-	conjunction	‘though, although’
panu=lle(=nin)	with 3 pl. pron. element + particle -*nin*	
papani	noun	‘mountain’
papan(i)=ne	with so-called “article” sg.	
par- [far-]	verb root	‘to be angry, annoyed, displeased, offended; to be in pain’
p/far=u	3 sg. with unclear ending -*u*	
warin(n)i [farinni]	noun	‘bread baker’
far=i=n(n)i=na=ma	absolutive pl. + particle -*ma*	
war+iš- [far-]	verb stem	‘to set out, to begin, to go’
far=iš=a=nna	with root extension -*iš*- + intr. marker + 3 sg. encl. pron. -*nna*	
parizzade	noun (Akkadian loan)	‘a unit of measurement, a half-kor’
parizz=ade	derivative in -*ade* from Akkadian *parīsu(m)* ‘half *kurru(m)*’	
parn-	verb root	‘to be clean’
parn=ošt=o=š	3 sg. modal form	

waš- [faš-]	verb root	‘to enter, to go in; to force one’s way into’
faš=eva	conditional optative	
faš=ai=n(na)=an	modal form: 3 sg. debitive final + connective	
faš=o/u=m=ai	gerund-like formation	
pašš- [fašš-]	verb root	‘to send’
pašš=ar=i=wa=en	3 sg. jussive neg. with root extension *-ar-*	
pašš=i=a=ma	3 sg. pres. neg.	
pašš=i=en	3 sg. jussive	
pašš=i=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
pašš=ed=a	3 sg. future	
pašš=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
pašš=oš=av	1 sg. pret.	
pašš=oš=i	3 sg. pret. antipassive	
pašš=i=ḫe	nominal construction	‘that which is sent, shipment’
pašš=i=ḫ(e)=iffə	with 1 sg. poss. pron.	
paššitḫe	nominal construction	‘messenger, courier’
pašš=i=tḫe	absolutive sg.	
*pašš=i=tḫe=na(=ân)	absolutive pl.	
pašš=i=tḫe=v	with 2 sg. poss. pron.	
pašš=i=tḫ(e)=iffə	with 1 sg. poss. pron.	
pašš=i=tḫ(e)=iff(e >)a=l(la)=an	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
pašš=i=tḫ(e)=iff=u=ra	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + comitative	
pašš=i=tḫ(e)=iff=u=š	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + ergative	
padi	independent particle	‘even’ (?), or indefinite ‘someone (or other), anyone’ (?)
úarduranni	noun (Indo-Aryan origin)	‘bride price’
úadurrann(i)=a	essive	

úe/i- / we$_e$- / bi-e- [fe-]	2 person independent personal pron.	'you'
fe	absolutive sg.	
fe=lla	absolutive pl.	
fe=ve	genitive sg.	
fe=va	dative sg.	
fe=š(=nna=ân)	ergative sg. (+ 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective)	
fe=š=(v)a	dative pl.	
fe=š=(v)e	genitive pl.	
fe=š=u=š	ergative pl.	
*fe=u=da	directive	
pegan	independent particle	meaning unknown
*pili	noun	'canal'
pille		
pille=ne		
pille=ne=WA		
pi/end- [fend-]	verb root	'to return, to go back, to come back; to send back'
pend=il=eva=š	1 pl. conditional optative	
pend=i=en	3 sg. jussive	
wirade [firade]	noun	'aristocrat, nobleman'
fir=ade(=na=ân)	absolutive pl. + connective	
wirwir- [firvir-]	reduplicated verb stem	'to loosen' (?)
pic-	verb root	'to enjoy, to take pleasure or delight in'
pic=and=išt-	denominal derivative of *pico-* 'joy, delight, pleasure'	
pic=and=išt=i=nna=ân	3 sg. antipassive + 3 sg. encl. pron. (for 1 sg.) + connective	
pico-	noun	'joy, delight, pleasure'
pic=o=nni=n(na)	adjective, also adverb	'joyful, joyous, glad, cheerful; joyfully, gladly, cheerfully'

pico=(o)št=ai=aš	modalform: debitive final + pluralizer	
pišaiša=p=ḫe	designation of a deity	‘the one from Pišaiša Mountain’
ped=ešt-	verb stem	‘to spread out’
ped=ešt=ai=š	modal form: 3 pl. debitive final	
ped=ešt=i=en(=an)	3 sg. jussive (+ connective)	
ped=ešt=et=t=a	3 pl. future	
ped=ešt=i=(i)d=en	3 pl. jussive	
pid-	verb root	‘to turn, to rotate, to spin (around); to dance’
pid=upp-	with root extension *-upp/uff-*	
pid=uff=a	3 sg. durative (?) (Old Hurrian)	
úett- [fett-]	verb root (?)	‘to be hungry’
fett=a	3 sg.	
pedari (GUD-ri)	noun	‘ox, bull’
ped=ar=i		
pugl-	verb root	‘to meet, to come together, to assemble’
pugl=ušt=i=en	3 sg. jussive	
punuḫunzi	noun	meaning unknown
punuḫ=u=nzi		
wur- / pur- [fur-]	verb root	‘to see’
furi	noun	‘view, sight, glance’
fur(i)=i=aš=(v)a	postpositional phrase	‘before, in front of’ (literally, ‘in view’)
fur=i=m=ai=n(na)	gerund-like construction	
fur(i)=i=da	postposition	‘in view of’
fur(i)+i+ta		
fur=ed=a(=ân)	3 sg. future (+ connective)	

fur=ed=a=l(la)=a/ân	3 sg. future + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
fur=u	with unclear ending *-u*	
furulzari	< *fur=(u)l(i)=šari*	'sacrificial shudder, terror'
fur=ud=o=m	3 sg. neg. (Old Hurrian)	
pur(u)li	noun	'temple'
pud- [fud-]	verb root	'to beget, to generate, to produce, to create'
fud+ki	nominal derivative	'son, child'
puttukki	nominal derivative	'production, creation' (or similar)
puttukki=aš=o=nna=lla=ân	equative pl. + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
pud=ang-	verb stem	'to transport, to conduct or lead across, to convey'
pud=ang=ai	3 sg. modal form with root extension *-ang-*	
puz=iḫ-	verb stem	'to dive (into)'
puz=iḫ=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
puz=iḫ=o=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	

S / Š

šaḫadnade	noun	unit of measurement: 'half a shekel'
šaḫadn=ade		
šaḫari	noun	'ram, buck, he-goat, billy-goat'
šaḫ=ar=i		
šagr-	verb root	'to guard, to protect, to defend' (?)
šagr=u=en	3 sg. optative (Old Hurrian)	
šala	noun	'daughter'
ŠAL šal(a)=iff=u=ve	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive	

šal(a)=arde	collective construction	'daughterhood'
šalḫ-	verb root	'to hear'
šalḫ=ol-	with root extension *-ol-*	'to hear, to listen (to)' (?)
šalḫ=ol=a	imperative pl. (Old Hurrian)	
šalḫ=o+l=e=š	3 sg modal form	
šawali [šavali], šavli	noun	'year'
šawalla	< *šawal(i)+na*, with so-called "article" pl.	
šawal(i)=na=aš=a	dative / essive pl.	
šawalli	< *šawal(i)+ne*, with so-called "article" sg.	
šawoše [šavoše]	adjective	'great, raised, elevated'
šav=o=še		
šav=o=še=ne	with so-called "article" sg.	
Ša(v)uška	theonym	the name of a goddess
^{D}Ša(v)uška=va	dative sg.	
^{D}Ša(v)uška=ve=ne	genitive with "Suffix-aufnahme"	
^{D}Ša(v)uška=š	ergative	
šar-	verb root	'to wish, to desire; to ask for'
šar=i=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
šar=i=šše	abstract construction	'wish, desire, request'
šar=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
šar=oš=av	1 sg. pret.	
šarri	noun (Akkadian loan: *šarru(m)* 'king')	'king'
šarri	absolutive	
šarr=a=šše	abstract construction	'kingship, royalty'
šarri=ne=va	dative sg.	
šarri=ne=da	directive sg.	

šatt-	verb root	‘to seize, to grasp’
šatta(-)ḫamu-	noun	meaning unknown
šatta(-)ḫam=o=ra	comitative; or to be segmented *šatt=a ḫam=o=ra* (?)	
šatti-	independent 1 pl. personal pron.	‘we’
šatti(=)lla šatti=dilla	absolutive pl.	
šije	noun	‘water’
šije=na=aš=u=š šije=ne	ergative pl. with so-called “article” sg.	
šie=š	1 pl. ergative independent personal pron.	‘we’
šeḫa=n(e) (?)	unclear form	‘from the outside, from out of doors’
šeḫl- or šeḫ+l-	verb root	‘to enter, to come in’
šeḫ(+)l=u/o	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
šeḫl-	verb root	‘to be clean, neat, tidy; to be pure’
šeḫel- / *šeḫal-		
šeḫl=o=e+š	3 sg. request form	‘may it be clean’
šeḫr-		meaning unknown
šeḫr=a=lla=man		
šeḫurni	noun	‘life’
šeḫurni=ve=ni	genitive sg. + appended so-called “article” sg.	
šiglade	noun (borrowed from Akkadian *šīqlu(m)* ‘shekel’)	‘shekel’

	šigl=ade=mma	derivative in *-ade-* + particle *-mma*
šilaḫ-	verb root	‘to deceive, to mislead, to dupe’ (?)
	šilaḫ=uš=ušt=i=wa=en	with root extensions *-uš-* and *-ušt-*; 3 sg. jussive neg.
Šimige	theonym	the Hurrian name of the sun-god
	^{D}Šimige=ne=(š)=lla	(ergative) + 3 pl. encl. pron.
	^{D}Šimige=ne=š	ergative
	^{D}Šimige=ne=(š)=dil=an	(ergative) + short form of the 1 pl. encl. pron. + connective
	^{D}Šimige=ne=va=man	dative
	^{D}Šimige=ne=ve=NE=mmaman	genitive with “Suffix-aufnahme” absolutive sg. (*Ø*-marker) + particle *-mmaman*
	URU Šimige=ne=ve=ne=mân	‘the city of the sun-god’
šena (*še-e-nV)	noun	‘brother’
	šen	nominal element without final vowel
	šen-a	with thematic vowel *-a*
	šena=nn(i)=ae	adverbial construction ‘brotherly, fraternally’
	šena=v	with 2 sg. poss. pron.
	šena=p=pe	with 2 sg. poss. pron + genitive (< *šena+v+ve*)
	šena=p=pa	with 2 sg. poss. pron. + dative (< *šena+v+va*)
	šena=v=u=š=an	with 2 sg. poss. pron. + ergative + connective
	šenni	< *šen(a)+ne*, with so-called “article” sg.
	šen(a)=iffə	with 1 sg. poss. pron. absolutive
	šen(a)=iff(e)=a	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + essive (?)

šen(a)=iffe=n(na)=ân with 1 sg. poss. pron. absolutive + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective

šen(a)=iff=u=(š)=lla=man/ân with 1 sg. poss. pron. (+ *š* ergative) + 3 pl. encl. pron. + particle -*man* or connective

šen(a)=iff=u=nna with 1 sg. poss. pron. + equative

šen(a)=iff=u=va(=mân) with 1 sg. poss. pron. + dative (+ particle -*man*)

šen(a)=iff=u=va=lla=ân with 1 sg. poss. pron. + dative + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective

šen(a)=iff=u=ve(=mân) with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive (+ particle -*man*)

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=na with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended so-called "article" pl.

*šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NA=aš=u=š with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended ergative pl.

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=n(na) with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended -*n(na)* equative (?)

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=N(E)=e with 1 sg. poss. pron. + appended *e*-case

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=nna with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended equative

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=va with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended dative

šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=v(e >)a=t(ta)=an

	šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=ve with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended genitive	
	šen(a)=iff=u=ve=NE=š with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + appended ergative	
	šen(a)=iff=u=ra with 1 sg. poss. pron. + comitative	
	šen(a)=iff=u=š with 1 sg. poss. pron. + ergative	
	šen(a)=iff=u=ššu=ân/man < *šen(a)=iff=u=š=nna =ân/man*, with 1 sg. poss. pron. + ergative + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective / particle	
	šen(a)=iff=û=(š)=tta=ân with 1 sg. poss. pron. (+ ergative) + 1 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
	šen(a)=iff=ššu=da(=lla=ân) with 1 sg. poss. pron. + directive (+ 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective)	
	šen(a)=iff=u=da=man with 1 sg. poss. pron. + directive + particle *-man*	
	šen(a)=iff=u=dan with 1 sg. poss. pron. + ablative	
	šen(a)=iff=u/o(=u)zzi with 1 sg. poss. pron. + morpheme of suitability	
šin(i)	numeral	'two'
	šin=arbu	'two years old'
	2-ḫa < *šin=am=ḫ(e)=a*, adjective in essive	
	šini=aš=(v)e=na=mmaman genitive pl. + appended plurality of the reference word	
	šini=dilla with 1 pl. encl. pron.	
	šinzi < *šin+še*	

*šinniber(i)	noun (Akkadian loan: *šinnu (pīri)* 'elephant tooth, ivory')	'ivory'
šinniber(i)=o=ḫḫe	adjective	'(made) of ivory'
šind(i)	numeral	'seven'
šind=arbu		'seven years old'
šind=ade		'seven at a time, seven by seven, in sevens'
šindišše		'seventh'
šir-	verb root	'to be in agreement with; to be sufficient, enough' or 'to be acceptable, agreeable, satisfatory'
šir=a=ân	3 sg. pres. + connective	
šir=a=šše	3 sg. pres. + nominalizing morpheme	
šir=i(?)=en=(n)na=ân	3 sg. pres. jussive + connective	
šir=ad-	verb stem	'to count'
šir=ad=i=l+e	1 sg. voluntative	
širi	noun (?)	'number' (?)
širi(-)man-ga	unclear form(s)	
šerrewi		meaning unknown
šerrewi=n(na)		
širni	noun	'brightness; gleam, shine'
širn(i)=a=mma	essive + particle *-mma*	
šeše	numeral	'six'
šiš=i=ḫe	noun	'shovel, spade'
šešwe [šešve]	noun	'kid'
šid-	verb root	'to curse'
šid=ar-	with root extension *-ar-* factitive / iterative	
šid=ar=a	3 sg. pres.	
šid=ar=ill=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
šid=ar=ni	nominal derivative	'curse'
šidarna	< *šidarni+a*, essive	

	šidarni	
	šid=i+l=ai	3 sg. modal form
	ši-ti-in	3 sg./pl. optative (Old Hurrian)
šed=oḫ-	verb stem	‘to fatten to make fat; to fill, to be full, to be satisfied, to be satiated’
šu- / šo=	oblique stem of the independent 1 person personal pron.	‘me’
	šo=nna	equative sg. (written *šu-u-un-na*)
	šo=va	dative sg. (written *šu-u-wa*)
	šo=ve	genitive sg. (written *šu-u-we*)
	šove=mân/man	genitive sg. + particle *-mân/-man*
	šove=NA=aš=o=nna	genitive sg. + appended equative pl.
	šo=ve=NE=(v)e	gentive sg. + appended genitive or *e*-case
	šo=ve=NE=nna	genitive sg. + appended equative
	šu=ra	comitative sg. (written *šu-ú-ú-ra*)
	šu=da	directive sg. (written *šu-ú-da*)
*šue-	indefinite pron.	‘all, every’
	šu(e >)a=lla=man	pl. ‘all’
	šu(e >)a (?)=nna=man	sg.
šuḫni	noun	‘wall’
	šuḫunni	< *šuḫni+ne*, so-called “article” sg.
šukko	numeral	‘one’
	šuga	probably belongs to *šukko*: *šug(V)=a* essive

šug=am=ḫ=a	adjective in essive	
šukkanne-	derivative of *šukko-*	‘one (of whom, of them)’
šukkanne=lla=man	absolutive + 3 pl. encl. pron. + particle *-man*	
šukkanne=n(na)	absolutive + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
šukki	adverb	‘once’
šukko=mma-man		
šummi(-)	indefinite pron.	‘all, every’
šummi(=nna)	sg.	‘all, every’
šummi=l(la)	pl.	‘all’
šum(m)un(n)i	noun	‘hand’
šuni [šoni]	noun	‘hand’
subiamašt-	verb stem	‘to light up’
subi=am=ašt=i=en	with root extensions *-am-* + *-ašt-* + *i* jussive + *-en* 3 pers. jussive marker	
šubri	noun	meaning unknown
šubri=ve	genitive	
šubri=ve=NE=da	genitive + appended directive	
šur-	verb root	‘to slaughter (cattle, livestock)’
šur=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
šur=am-	verb stem	‘to cause to go with speed or haste’ or ‘to dispatch, to expedite’
šur=am=ašt=i=en	3 sg. jussive	
šurru	adverb (?)	‘promptly, quickly; immediately, instantly’
šurr=u	or verb with *-u* formant (?)	
šurrumma	adverb (?)	‘quickly; immediately’

šurve	adjective	‘bad, evil’
šurv(e)=a	essive	
šurv=ušt-	verbal derivative	‘to do evil, to do wrong’
šurv=ušt=i=kki=n(na)	3 sg. antipassive neg.	
Šuttarna II	personal namee	father of Tušratta

D / T

taḫe	noun	‘man’
*taḫe=Ø	absolutive sg.	
*taḫe=š	ergative sg.	
ta-a-e	besides *taḫe*	
ta-aḫ-e		
taḫiš	element used in names	
tal-	verb root	‘to remove’, also ‘to steal’
tal=i=a	3 sg. pres.	
tal=aḫḫ-	with root extension *-aḫḫ-*	‘to remove, to take away; to withdraw, to depart’
tal=aḫḫ=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
tal=aḫḫ=lu=lzi	nominal derivative	‘coming near’ (?)
tali	noun	‘tree, wood’
tali=ne=š	ergative sg.	
tal(m)-	noun	‘greatness, largeness’
tal(a)mi		
talalme=na	absolutive pl.	
talav(i)=o=še	adjective in *-še*	
talav(i)=o=še=NE=va	with “Suffixaufnahme” of the dative	
talm=ašt-	verbal derivative	‘to make great, high; to raise’
talm=ašt=i=l+e	1 sg. voluntative	
talimde=na		
talm=u(v)=a=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	‘he became large, he grew large’
talpu+š	element used in names	
Talpu-šarri		

tamr(i)		numeral	‘nine’
	tamr=am=ḫ=a	adjective in essive	‘nine times’
tan-		verb root	‘to make, to do’
	tan=av	1 sg. pres.	
	tan=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
	tan=oš=av	1 sg. pret.	
	tan=oš=av=šše=na	1 sg. pret. + nominalizing morpheme + appended plural of the reference word through *-na*	
	tan=oš=a=šše=na	3 sg. pret. + nominalizing morpheme + appended plural of the reference word through *-na*	
	tan=oš=i=kk(i >)a=tta=ân	1 pret. sg. antipassive neg. + connective	
	tan=ašt-	with root extension *-ašt-*	
	tan=ašt=i=en	3 sg. jussive	
	tan=ill-	with root extension *-ill-*	
	tan=ill=ed=a=lla=ân	3 sg. future + 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
	tan=d-	with root extension /*-t-*/ [d]	
	tan=d=i=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
tab/v-		verb root	‘to cast (metal)’
	tab=ašt=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
taballi		noun; designation of a profession, trade, occupation in *-li*	‘metalworker, smith’
	tab/v=li		
	taballi=š	< *tab+li+ne+š* ergative	
	tab=ili=a=ne=š	adjective or passive participle in the ergative; segmentation unclear	‘that which was cast’

ta/ibira/i	agentive participial form	‘one who casts, coppersmith’
tab=i=ri=ma	with encl. particle *-ma* ‘and’	
tab=i=r(i)=if(f)=u=(v)e	with 1 sg. poss. pron + genitive	
tabrinni	< *tab=(i)=r(i)=i=nni* agentive participial form + the professional, occupational formational elements *=i=nni*	‘smith’
tapšaḫi	noun	‘cupbearer’
tap=š=a=ḫi=na	> *tapšaḫi=na,* absolutive pl.	
tapš-	verb root	‘to quarrel (?), to fight over (?); to destroy’
tapš=u	3 sg. with unclear ending *-u*	
taps=uḫ=umme		
tar- (1) (*ta=rV-)	verb root	‘to come together (?), to set out for (?)’
tar=i=(i)d=en=an	3 pl. jussive + connective	
tari (2) (*ta-a-rV)	noun	‘fire’
tarri	with so-called “article” sg.	
tar=idi		‘pot, jar, vessel’
taršuvani	noun	‘human being, person’
taršuvan(i)=na=aš=va	dative pl.	
taršuvan=š	ergative sg.	
taš-	verb root	‘to give, to present; to procure (something)’
taš=ol=uva	3 sg. durative (Old Hurrian)	
taše	noun	‘gift, present’
taše=na	absolutive pl.	
taše=ne=va	dative sg.	
taš=me	noun	‘gift, present’
taš=umme	infinitive	‘donation, gift’

tašp-		verb root (see also *tapš-*)	‘to annihilate, to destroy’
	tašp=i	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
	tašp=u=en	3 sg. optative (Old Hurrian)	
tad-		verb root	‘to love’
	tad=av	1 sg. pres.	
	tad=av=š	1 pl. pres.	
	tad=ar-	with root extension *-ar-*	
	tadarašk=ae	adverbial construction	
	tad=ašt-	with root extension *-ašt-*	
	tad=ašt=i=(i)d=en	3 pl. jussive	
	tad=i=a	3 sg. pres.	
	tad=i=a=šš(e)=a (?)	3 sg. pres. + nominalizing morpheme *-šše-* + essive (?)	
	tad=ed=a	3 sg. future	
	tad=ed=o	2 sg. future	
	tad=on=i=(i)d=en	with root extension *-on-*, 3 pl. jussive	
	tad=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
	tad=oš=o	2 sg. pret.	
	tad=ugar-	with root extension *-ugar-*	
	tad=ugar=i	antipassive	
	tadugarre	< *tad+ugar+i+l+e*, 1 sg. voluntative	
	tad=ugar=u=š	1 pl. jussive	
	tadugarreva	< *tad+ugar+il+eva*, optative conditional	
	tad=upp-	with root extension *-upp/ff-*	
[f]Tadu-Ḫeba		female personal name	(1) daughter of Tušratta (2) spouse of Tutḫalias III
	[f]Tadu-Ḫeba-n(na)	with 3 sg. encl. pron.	
	Tad=o-		
tea		adjective	‘large, numerous’
	teona	adverb	‘much, a large amount of, a lot’
	teon=ae	adverb	‘much, a large amount of, a lot’

teḫ-		verb root	‘to increase, to become great, big, large’
	teḫ=ešt-	with root extension *-ešt-*	
	teḫ=ešt=a=b	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
	teḫ=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
	teḫambašḫu	< *teḫ=a=mb=aš(še)=* *ḫ(ḫ)u*, nominal derivative (borrowed by Akkadian: *teḫampašḫu* meaning uncertain [Nuzi < Hurrian])	‘payment for baby-care’
tiḫan-		verb root	‘to show’
	tiḫan=>in<=i=šḫ(i >)=a=l(la)=an	unclear derivative, perhaps a noun	‘that which is shown’ (?)
	tiḫan=i=šḫi=n(na)		
	tiḫan=i=(i)d=en	3 pl. jussive	
	tiḫan=oll=et=t=a	3 pl. future	
	tiḫan=ol=om-		
tel-		verb root	‘to quarrel, to fight over’ (or similar)
	tel=u	3 sg. with unclear ending *-u*	
timeri		adjective	‘dark’
	timer(i)=ne	with so-called “article” sg.	
tive		noun	‘word, thing, matter’
	tev(e)=ai	instrumental	
	tiv(e >)a=tta=ân	with 1 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
	tiv(e >)a=lla=ân	with 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective. Perhaps to be segmented *tiv(e)=a=lla=ân*, then to be read as a form in the essive.	
	tive	absolutive sg.	
	tiv(e)=i=a	essive	
	tive^{MEŠ}	absolutive pl.	
	tive=na	absolutive pl.	
	têna	< *ti(v)e=na* or *ti(v)e=n(i)=a*, essive	

tive=na=aš=u=š	ergative pl.	
tive=ne=n(na)	with so-called “article” sg. + 3 sg. encl. pron.	
tipšari	< *tiv(e)=šari*, nominal derivative	‘word, story, tale’
tiv=u=šḫe	nominal derivative	‘word, speech’
Tiš-atal	personal name	name of an early king from the city of Urkeš
tiša	noun	‘heart’
tiša=mân	absolutive sg. + particle *-man*	
tiša=nna	equative	
tiša=nna=man	with 3 sg. encl. pron. + particle *-man*	
tiša=nn(i)=a	with adverbial ending *-nni* + *-a* essive	
tiša=v	with 2 sg. poss. pron.	
tiša=dan	ablative	
tiš(a)=i=aš(=a=n(na))	with 3 pl. poss. pron. (+ essive + 3 sg. encl. pron. [represents 1 pl.])	‘in your heart…us’
tiš(a)=iff=a=n(na)	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + essive + 3 sg. encl. pron. (represents 1 sg.)	‘in my heart’
tiš(a)=iff=aš(=a=n(na))	with 1 pl. poss. pron. (+ essive + 3 sg. encl. pron. [represents 1 pl.])	‘in our heart…we’
tiš(a)=iff=aš=a	essive pl.	
tiš(a)=iffe=nna=ân	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + absolutive + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
tiš(a)=i=da	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + directive	
tiššan	adverb	‘very, much’
tiššanna=man	secondary form of *tiššan* + particle *-man*	
Teššub	theonym	the Hurrian name of the storm-god
^{D}Teššuba=š	ergative	
^{D}Teššub+va	dative (graphics: *-up-pa* / *-úw-wa*$_a$)	

	^{D}Teššub=va=lla	dative + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
	^{D}Teššub+ve	genitive (graphics: *-ub-bi* / *-úw=we$_{e}$*); in personal names: *Ar=o=m Teššub*, *Ḫašib-Teššub*, *Šarri-Teššub*, *Tunib-Teššub*, *Urḫi-Teššub*	
tid-		verb root	‘to count’ (?)
	tid=i=bade	abstract construction	‘accounting’ (?)
	tidin-	first element in the personal name *Tidin-atal*	
	ti-du-um [tid=o=m]	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
Tukriš=ḫe		adjective	‘pertaining to Tukriš’
tumni-		numeral	‘four’
	tumn(i)=arbu		‘four years old’
	tumn(i)=ade		‘four at a time’
	tumn(i)=ade=ne=lla	with so-called “article” sg. + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
	tumni=lla	with 3 pl. encl. pron.	
	tumušše	< *tumun+še*	‘fourth’
tun-		verb root	‘to know how to, to be able; to set up’
	tun=id=o	3 pl. (Old Hurrian)	
	tun=ošt=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
	tun=i=b	element used in names	
tupp-		verb root	‘to be on hand, available’ (or similar)
	(=lla) tupp=a=šše=na	3 pl. + *-šše-* morheme on the nominalized verb form + so-called “article” pl. *-na*	
	tupp=e	3 sg. (with thematic vowel *-e*)	
	tupp=ol-	with root extension *-ol-*	
	tupp=ol=ai=n(na)	modal form: debitive final + 3 sg. encl. pron. (for 3 pl.)	
	tupp=ol=eva	conditional optative	

tuppi		noun (Akkadian loan: ‘(clay) tablet’ *ṭuppu(m)* ‘(clay) tablet, document, letter’)	
	tuppe	defective writing for *tuppi*	
	tuppi	absolutive sg.	
	tuppi=aš tupp(i)=i=aš	absolutive pl.	
	tuppi=mân	absolutive sg. + particle *-man*	
	tuppi=ni	with so-called “article” sg.	
tupki		perhaps a noun	meaning unknown
	tup+ki		
	tupki-	element used in names	
tupšarri		noun	‘writer, scribe’
	tupšarr(i)=iff=u=nni	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + adverbial	‘as my writer, scribe’
torubi / toruve		noun	‘enemy, foe’
	toruve	absolutive sg.	
	torub(i)=i=va	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + dative	
tur-		verb root	‘to run (away)’
	tur=i	3 sg.	
turi		adjective	‘low, deep’
turoḫḫe		adjective	‘manly, male, masculine’
	tur(i)=o=ḫḫe	absolutive sg.	
	tur(i)=o=ḫḫe=NA=aš=(v)a	with morphemes of “Suffixaufnahme” of the dative pl.	
Tušratta		noun	name of a Mittani king
	[I]Tušratta-ve	genitive	
	[I]Tušratta=va=mân	dative + particle *-mân*	

tudigi	noun	‘scrap-heap, dump; loam-pit’
tudi+ki		

O / U

oja (u-i-a- / u-ja-)	independent particle of negation	‘no’
oja=mân	with particle *-man*	
ôli (u-u-li)	pronoun	‘the other’
ôle	secondary form of *ôli*	
ôle=n(na)	with 3 sg. encl. pron.	
ôl(i)=na=ân	> *olla=ân*, absolutive pl. + connective	
ôl(i)=na=aš=(v)a	> *ollaša*, dative pl.	
ôli=mân	with particle *-man*	
ol(i >)a=ffa	absolutive sg. + 2 pl. encl. pron..	
olvi=ne=ma	secondary form of *oli* + so-called “article” sg. + particle *-ma*	
ôl=ôḫ- (u-u-lu-u-ḫa-)	verb stem	‘to be near’ (?)
ôl=ôḫ=a=dil=an	1 pl. pres. + connective	
ômini (u-u-mi-i-ni)	noun	‘land, country’
u-mi-i-ni	uncommon graphics	
ômin(i)=na	> *ôminna*, absolutive pl.	
ômin(i)=na=aš=(v)a	dative pl.	
ômin(i)=ne=ve	genitive sg.	
ômini=v	with 2 sg. poss. pron.	
ômin(i)=iff=u=(v)e=N(E)=e	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + genitive + *e*-case	
ômin(i)=i=da	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + directive	
ommin(i)=ne	Boğazköy graphics, with so-called “article” sg.	

ove- (u-we$_e$-, u-bi-, u=bé-)	adjective	‘simple-minded, stupid, dumb, foolish’
ove=ne=š	with so-called “article” sg. + ergative	
ulme	noun	‘weapon’
ulluḫ-	verb root	‘to depress, to oppress’
un- (ú-nV-, ú-ú-nV-)	verb root	(intr.) ‘to come’, (tr.) ‘to bring’
un=a	supposed imperative	
un=a	3 sg. pres.	
un=a=l(la)=a/ân	3 pl. pres. + connective	
un=a=ân	3 sg. pres. + connective	
un=a=tta	1 sg. pres.	
(=lla) un=i=b	3 pl. (Old Hurrian)	
un=et=t=a	3 pl. future (tr.)	
un=et=t=a	3 sg. future (intr.)	
un=eva=tta	1 sg. optative conditional	
un=o=kk(o >)a=lla	3 pl. pres. neg.	
un=oš=a	3 sg. pret. (tr.)	
un=a=lzi	nominal construction	‘coming, arrival’
Un=a=b	element used in names	
undo (un-du-u-)	adverb	‘so, therefore, consequently; now, then’
undo=mân	with particle *-man*	
undo=n(na)	with 3 sg. encl. pron.	
ubi	noun	‘barley’
ur- (1) (ú-rV-)	verb root	‘to happen, to occur, to take place’
ur=o=kk=o	3 sg. pres. neg.	
ur=o=wa=en / ur=owen	3 sg. jussive neg. (?) or an unclear positive form	
ur=om-	with root extension *-om-*	‘to be concerned with’
ur=om=u	unclear verbal form with *-u*	
ûr- (2) (ú-ú-rV-)	verb root	‘to wish, to want, to desire’
ûr=av=ša=šše=na=mân	1 pl. pres. + *-šše-* + *-na-* + particle *-man*	
ûr=i=a=šše=na	3 sg. pres. + *-šše-* + *-na*	

	ur=i=o	2 sg. pres. (Boğazköy)	
	ûr=i=u(w)=(a)ffu=nna=ân	1 sg. pres. neg. + 3 sg. encl. pron. + connective	
	ûr=i=kki … ûr=i=kki	formal negative anti-passive, formed together with *ija-*	'both … as well as; not only … but also'
uri		noun	'foot'
	ur(i)=i=lla	with 3 sg. poss. pron. + 3 pl. encl. pron.	
urḫi		'adjective'	'true'
	urḫ(i)=a	essive	
	urḫ(i >)a=lla=ân	with 3 pl. encl. pron. + connective	
urḫupt=uš-		verbal construction	'to deal honestly, sincerely, truthfully' (?)
	urḫ(i)=upt=uš=il=eva	conditional optative	
Urkeš^{ki}		the name of a city	'Urkeš'
u(r)b/v-		verb root	'to kill, to slaughter, to slay, to sacrifice'
	uv=o=m	3 sg. (Old Hurrian)	
	urb=umma	infinitive	
	urb=ar=i=nni	a kind of profession, occupation, vocation	'butcher'
uši		noun	meaning unknown; perhaps the same meaning as *uzi* (?)
	uš(i)=iff=u=nna=mân/ân	with 1 sg. poss. pron. + equative + particle *-man* or else connective	
odirrušanna			meaning unknown
	odirrušanna=lla=man		
UTU-ga-		theonym	the name of the sun-god
	^{D}UTU-ga-an	*Šimiga=(a)n* (Old Hurrian); see also	

Šimige

uzi	noun	‘flesh, meat’

Z

zalamši	noun (Akkadian loan)	‘image, likeness, statue’
zalm=a=tḫi	noun	epithet of a god
zamm+al-	verb stem	‘to tear or pull off’
zamm+al=ašt=o=š	imperative sg. / pl. (Old Hurrian)	
zaz-	verb root	‘to feed’
zaz=ol-	with root extension *-ol-*	
zaz=ol=oš=a	3 sg. pret.	
zikk-	verb root	‘to break in pieces, to smash, to shatter’
zikk=u/ol=(i)l=i	3 sg. modal form	
zimz-	verb root	meaning unknown
zimzeḫi=na	pl.	‘articles of clothing’
zugan	particle	‘yet, (but) still, however, nevertheless’
zugm-	verb root	‘to come in, to enter’
zugm=ušt=a=b	3 sg. / pl. (Old Hurrian)	
zul+ud-	verb stem	‘to loosen’

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