History of the Akkadian Language

Volume 2
The Second and First Millennia BCE
Afterlife

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BRILL

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Contents

PART 8
Afterlife: Akkadian after Akkadian

Akkadian and the Hittites

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1 The Akkadian Language at Ḫattuša

Akkadian was of great importance for the administration of the Hittite empire of the Late Bronze Age,[1] although it is unlikely that many native Anatolians could speak or write the language fluently. This Mesopotamian language was used by the Hittite monarch and his bureaucracy in part internally for prestige purposes (e.g., Nos. 2–6 below), but was essential for generating documents employed in the governance of subjugated regions in Syria and for corresponding with foreign rulers located outside of Anatolia.[2]

Akkadian had been in use earlier in the region, specifically in the trading stations of the Old Assyrian mercantile network of the Middle Bronze Age,[3] utilized in letters, family documents, and business records primarily by the Mesopotamian merchants themselves but also by a number of natives.[4] However, the hiatus that lay between the demise of this commercial system (c. 1720 BCE) and the rise of the Hittite state in the mid-seventeenth century—a period marked by continuous warfare among the polities of central Anatolia— saw the complete disappearance from the area of the language as well as of the cuneiform script. As a result, neither the Akkadian "dialect" nor the writing sys-

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1 Recorded Hittite history began in the closing century of the Middle Bronze Age, but the great bulk of available records are from the Late Bronze, and it is only in this later period that the state can be called an "empire."

2 For Akkadian as a lingua franca in the Late Bronze Age, see Wilfred H. van Soldt, "Akkadian as a Diplomatic Language," in *The Semitic Languages. An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger et al. (Berlin-Boston: de Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 405–15. Much of the diplomatic material generated by Hittite chancellery has been translated in Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999²).

3 On Old Assyrian see the chapter 15 in this volume.

4 See Cécile Michel, "The Private Archives from Kaniš Belonging to Anatolians," *Altorientalische Forschungen* (2011): 94–115, and Klaas R. Veenhof, "Seven Debt-Notes of Anatolians from Ancient Kanesh," in *At The Dawn of History. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J.N. Postgate*, ed. Yağmur Heffron, Adam Stone and Martin Worthington (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 665–84.

tem displayed by any document from Ḫatti bears a close resemblance to that of the Old Assyrian period.

Writing was reintroduced into Anatolia only when the newly consolidated Hittite state required it as a tool for carrying out its ever more complex activities. This reception apparently took place during the reign of Ḫattušili I (late seventeenth century), the earliest Hittite king for whom any texts have been preserved.[5] The precise source of the borrowing remains a matter of debate, but most authorities believe that the variety of cuneiform that ultimately gave rise to the Old Hittite script was introduced from North Syrian Alalaḫ or another site in its region.[6]

However, I believe that we are chasing a chimera in seeking a single point of origin for cuneiform in Late Bronze Age Anatolia, for there is no reason to think that the script was introduced to Ḫatti once and for all by a single scribe or scribal school on a particular occasion.[7] The two very earliest texts, both Akkadian in language, seem to have been written by scribes impressed into service on the spot in southeastern Anatolia. The letter of Ḫattušili I to Tunip-Teššub (No. 1 below) was probably retrieved illegally in modern times from the latter's residence city, Tikunani, which is to be sought somewhere in the vicinity of modern Mardin.[8] And while it was excavated by Winckler at Boğazköy, the Siege of Uršu Text (No. 2, CTH 7) has been shown by X-ray fluorescence analysis of its fabric to have likely also been created in the Upper Euphrates region.[9]

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5   The relationship to the Hittite dynasty of Anitta, who ruled in the city of Kuššar during the final years of the Assyrian presence and a tablet copy of whose display inscription(s) was recovered in the Hittite archives (CTH 1, translation Gary Beckman, "The Anita Text," in *The Ancient Near East*, ed. Mark W. Chavalas, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, 216–19), is uncertain. See Amir Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 200–1.

6   See Theo van den Hout, "The Ductus of the Alalaḫ VII Texts and the Origin of Hittite Cuneiform," in *Palaeography and Scribal Practices in Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age*, ed. Elena Devecchi (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), 147–70, and Mark Weeden, "Hittite Scribal Culture and Syria: Palaeography and Cuneiform Tradition," in *Cultures and Societies in the Middle Euphrates and Habur Areas in the Second Millennium—1. Scribal Education and Scribal Traditions*, ed. Daisuke Shibata and Shigeo Yamada (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 157–91.

7   See already van den Hout, "The Ductus of the Alalaḫ VII Texts," 165.

8   Dominique Charpin, "Tigunânum et l'horizon géographique des archives de Mari," *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2000: 63–64.

9   Yuval Goren, Hans Mommsen and Jörg Klinger, "Non-destructive Provenance Study of Cuneiform Tablets using Portable X-ray Flouresence (pXRF)," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (2011): 694.

Perhaps it was brought to Ḫattuša from Kuššar[10] when the former city became the capital.

Over the following decades and centuries additional practitioners of writing hailing from Syria as well as Assyria and Babylonia brought—or in some instances reintroduced—to Ḫattuša the sign forms characteristic of the New Script and Late New Script.[11] In their teaching, these "guest professors"[12] will have followed the pedagogical practices of their homelands, which customarily involved the copying by students of previously prepared texts. Through this process both the original language of the teachers and the literary genres of Mesopotamia became familiar to the pupils—here Anatolians.[13]

Indeed, the visiting experts sometimes brought along tablets from Babylonia or Assyria, presumably for use in this mode of instruction. This is the best explanation for the discovery in their archives of such material of no utilitarian value to the Hittites as a Middle Assyrian *lūmu* list (CTH 817) and a Kassite royal

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10   For the possible location of this earlier Hittite political center, see Gojko Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period* (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, 2011), 143–50.

11   See Theo van den Hout, "A Century of Hittite Text Dating and the Origins of the Hittite Cuneiform Script," *Incontri Linguistici* 32 (2009): 11–36, and Mark Weeden, "Assyro-Mittanian or Middle Assyrian?" in *Palaeography and Scribal Practices in Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age*, ed. Elena Devecchi (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), 229–51, for the development of the Hittite cuneiform script.

12   These foreign specialists are attested sporadically at Ḫattuša and other Hittite sites, recognizable by their Akkadian personal names; see Gary Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 35 (1983): 97–114. Mark Weeden, "State Correspondence in the Hittite World," in *State Correspondence in the Ancient World: From New Kingdom Egypt to the Roman Empire*, ed. Karen Radner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 46, suggests that these monikers may have been *noms de plume* adopted by braggart native scribes, but this will certainly not have been the case in all instances. Someone had to import the tablets written in a Mesopotamian hand to Ḫattuša.

13   See Gernot Wilhelm, "Zur babylonisch-assyrischen Schultradition in Ḫattuša," in *Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirleri (19–21 Temmuz 1990) Çorum*: 83–93 (Çorum: Hitit Festivali Komitesi Başkanlığı, 1990); Leonhard Sassmannshausen, "Babylonische Schriftkultur des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. in den Nachbarländern und im östlichen Mittelmeerraum," *Aula Orientalis* 26 (2008): 263–93; Jeanette C. Fincke, "The School Curricula from Ḫattuša, Emar, and Ugarit: A Comparison" in *Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer: Studies in School Education in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. W.S. van Egmond and Wilfred H. van Soldt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), 85–101.

inscription.[14] Other tablets may be recognized by their clay matrix and/or their script as imports from the south.[15]

Given this type of education provided its authors, Hittite written literature owed much to Mesopotamian models, primarily Akkadian rather than Sumerian.[16] For example, certain Hittite prayers to the Sun-goddess lean heavily on Akkadian forerunners,[17] and elements of the Gilgameš epic are found at Ḫattuša in two Akkadian versions as well as in Hurrian- and Hittite-language adaptations.[18]

What we may characterize as Mesopotamian scholarship and science are present in both Akkadian—and sometimes Sumerian—originals (CTH 800–13) as well as in Hittite translation.[19] Attested are reference works on lexicography

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14   Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Creation Myths* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 268.

15   This was pointed out to me by Robert Biggs, who has had considerable experience handling Mesopotamian scholarly material from Boğazköy.

16   Jörg Klinger, "Literarische sumerische Texte aus den hethitischen Archiven aus überlieferungsgeschichtlicher Sicht. Teil I.," in *Palaeography and Scribal Practices in Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age*, ed. Elena Devecchi (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), 79–93; Gary Beckman, "Hittite Literature," in *From an Antique Land: An Introduction to Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, ed. Carl S. Ehrlich (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 215–54; id., "Under the Spell of Babylon: Mesopotamian Influence on the Religion of the Hittites," in *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff and Yelena Rakic (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 284–97.

17   Hans G. Güterbock, "The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 78 (1958): 237–45; Christopher Metcalf, "New Parallels in Hittite and Sumerian Praise of the Sun," *Die Welt des Orients* 41 (2011): 168–76; id., *The Gods Rich in Praise. Early Greek and Mesopotamian Religious Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 79–103; Charles W. Steitler, *The Solar Deities of Bronze Age Anatolia. Studies in Texts of the Early Hittite Kingdom* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 371–76; cf. Alfonso Archi, "Die Adad-Hymne ins Hethitische übersetzt," *Orientalia* 52 (1983): 20–30.

18   Jörg Klinger, "Die hethitische Rezeption mesopotamischer Literatur und die Überlieferung des Gilgameš-Epos in Ḫattuša," in *Motivation und Mechanismen des Kulturkontaktes in der Späten Bronzezeit*, ed. Doris Prechel (Florence: LoGisma, 2005), 103–27; Gary Beckman, "Gilgamesh in Ḫatti," in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Gary Beckman, Richard H. Beal and John Gregory McMahon (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 37–57; id., *The Hittite Gilgamesh. Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2019).

19   In general see René Labat, "Le rayonnement de la langue et de l'écriture akkadiennes au deuxième millénaire avant notre ère," *Syria* 39 (1962): 1–27; Kaspar K. Riemschneider, *Die akkadischen und hethitischen Omentexte aus Boğazköy* (Dresden: Verlag der Technischen Universität, 2004); Volkert Haas, *Hethitische Orakel, Vorzeichen und Abwehrstrategien* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008); and Matthew T. Rutz, "Mesopotamian Scholarship in Ḫattuša and the *Sammeltafel* KUB 4.53," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132 (2012): 171–88.

(CTH 299–309),[20] medicine (CTH 808),[21] extispicy (CTH 547–57),[22] the interpretation of various ominous terrestrial phenomena (CTH 536–45),[23] the decoding of the meaning of patterns made by oil when poured into water (CTH 542),[24] hemerologies (CTH 546),[25] and astronomy/astrology (CTH 531–35).[26] Some of these practices were not actually employed in Ḫatti, as far as we can tell, but the imported technique of extispicy was intensively practiced there—if as part of a binary system incorporating several other types of oracle,[27]

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20   Heinrich Otten and Wolfram von Soden, *Das akkadisch-hethitische Vokabular KBo I 44 + KBo XIII 1* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968); Jeanette C. Fincke, "Neue Erkenntnisse zur 21. Tafel der Diagnostischen Omenserie SA.GIG und zur Überlieferung diagnostischer Omentexte in Hattusa," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 68 (2011): 472–76; Tobias Simon Scheucher, "Errors and Mistakes: The Narrow Limits of Orality-Literacy Research in the Study of Ancient Cultures—the Case of Lexical Lists from Ancient Ḫattuša," in *Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer: Studies in School Education in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. W.S. van Egmond and Wilfred H. van Soldt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), 137–46.

21   Franz Köcher, "Ein akkadischer medizinischer Schülertext aus Boğazköy," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16 (1952–53): 47–56; Federico Giusfredi, "The Akkadian Medical Text KUB 37.1," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39 (2012): 49–63; Jeanette C. Fincke, "KUB 4, 50: Ein medizinischer Text über Augenkrankheiten aus Ḫattuša," *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2010: 11–12.

22   An De Vos, *Die Lebermodelle aus Boğazköy* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013).

23   Harry. A. Hoffner, "Akkadian *šumma immeru* Texts and their Hurro-Hittite Counterparts," in *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell and David B. Weisberg (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993), 116–19; Yoram Cohen, "Akkadian Omens from Ḫattuša and Emar: The *šumma immeru* and *šumma ālu* Omens," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 97 (2007): 233–51; id., "Parallel Hurrian and Hittite *šumma izbu* Omens from Hattuša and Corresponding Akkadian Omens," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 44 (2017): 9–18.

24   Netanel Anor and Yoram Cohen, "The Oil Omens from Hattuša: An Investigation of the History and Transmission of a Babylonian Divination Composition," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 77 (2018): 195–206.

25   Jeanette C. Fincke, "Zu den hethitischen Übersetzungen babylonischer Omentexte: Die Kalendarischen und astrologischen Omina in KUB VIII 35," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 46 (2004): 215–41; id., "Zu den akkadischen Hemerologien aus Ḫattuša (CTH 546), Teil I: Eine Hemerologie für das 'Rufen von Klagen' (*šigû šasû*) und das 'Reinigen seines Gewandes' (*ṣabāt-su ubbubu*): KUB 4, 46 (+) KUB 43, 1," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 61 (2009): 111–25.

26   Ernst Weidner, "Astrologische Texte aus Boghazköi," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1 (1923): 5–6; Marcel Leibovici, "Un texte astrologique akkadien de Boghazköi," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 50 (1956): 11–21; Hans G. Güterbock, "Bilingual Moon Omens from Boğazköy," in *A Scientific Humanist. Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, ed. Erle Leichty, Maria de J. Ellis and Pamela Gerardi (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1988), 161–73.

27   For a concise description of Hittite oracle practice, see Gary Beckman, T.R. Bryce and Eric H. Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 183.

as shown by a large body of reports recording the results of such consultations (CTH 561–70).[28]

Particularly interesting is the fact that the instructional clay liver models from the Hittite capital reflect a Mesopotamian tradition free of Hurrian influence,[29] in sharp contrast to the extispicy compendia and diviner's reports from Ḫattuša, which are replete with Hurrian technical terms.[30]

A relatively small number of Mesopotamian rituals (CTH 800–813)[31] and incantations[32] made their way to Ḫattuša. Babylonian elements were also taken over into Hittite rites, on occasion transposed in their entirety.[33] At other times the southern tradition supplied particular components of a ritual, such as Akkadian-language incantations to be spoken as part of a ceremony otherwise framed in Hittite.[34]

2 "Boğazköy Akkadian"

Describing the Akkadian language of the texts produced at Boğazköy presents particular challenges.[35] First, we can hardly include in our corpus all texts

28   Annelies Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1976); Alfonso Archi, "Hethitische Mantik und ihre Beziehungen zur mesopotamischen Mantik," in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, ed. Hans-Jörg Nissen and Johannes Renger (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1982), 279–93.

29   De Vos, *Die Lebermodelle*, 98–100. See also Gary Beckman, review of *Die Lebermodelle aus Boğazköy*, by An De Vos, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 137 (2017): 601–3.

30   See my translation of KUB 5.6++ in Gary Beckman et al., *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 183–209.

31   Daniel Schwemer, *Akkadische Rituale aus Ḫattuša. Die Sammeltafel KBo XXXVI 29 und verwandte Fragmente* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1998); id., "Ein akkadischer Liebeszauber aus Ḫattuša," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 94 (2004): 59–79; Walter Farber, "Das Püppchen und der Totengeist (KBo 36, 29 II 8–53 u. Dupl.)," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 91 (2001): 253–63.

32   Elyze Zomer, *Corpus of Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian Incantations* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018), Nos. 155–278.

33   As in Gary Beckman, "A Hittite Ritual for Depression (CTH 432)," in *Tabularia Hethaeorum: Hethitologische Beiträge. Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Detlev Groddek and Marina Zorman (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 69–81.

34   Rita Strauss, "Elemente mesopotamischer Ritualistik in hethitischen Texten. Das 'Šamuḫa-Ritual' CTH 480," in *Brückenland Anatolien? Ursachen, Extensität und Modi des Kulturaustausches zwischen Anatolien und seinen Nachbarn*, ed. Hartmut Blum, Betina I. Faist, Peter Pfälzner and Anne-Maria Wittke (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 2002), 323–38; Gary Beckman, *The babilili-Ritual from Hattusa (CTH 718)* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014).

35   Previous studies include René Labat, *L'akkadien de Boghaz-köi* (Bordeaux: Librairie Delmas, 1932); J.W. Durham, "Studies in Boğazköy Akkadian" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1976); and Lisa Wilhelmi, *The Akkadian of Boğazköy* (PhD diss., SOAS, University of London, 2011) (not seen).

written in this language found at the Hittite capital. Much of the material, as we have seen, consists of scholarly and religious texts imported from Syro-Mesopotamia to the south and cannot be considered to be products of Hittite scribes, even if in some instances Anatolian students may have recopied them. Other compositions, such as Ramesses' version of the parity treaty with Ḫattušili III (CTH 91),[36] were also clearly drafted elsewhere, in foreign scribal schools with their own traditions, and sent to Ḫatti.[37] Such compositions have not been included in the following discussion.

Secondly, since almost none of the relevant tablets from Boğazköy bear the name of the scribe who wrote them, we cannot identify the individual ultimately responsible for the composition of any document. Finally, "guest professors" kept arriving at the Hittite court throughout the history of the state, bringing along the latest scribal practices of their homelands,[38] so their influence on their Hittite students will have differed over time. Indeed, we must consider the possibility that in some cases the foreign experts might have been drafted by the Hittite government to compose texts themselves.

Therefore, in the study that follows I have identified Akkadian-language documents definitely generated by the Hittite chancellery, assuming for the sake of argument that they were all inscribed by native Hittites—or at the very least that an Anatolian was involved in their composition. Note that most of the records dealing with the governance of Syria found at Ugarit have not been taken into account,[39] since it yet remains unclear just which texts were pro-

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36   Edited by Elmar Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Ḫattušili III. von Ḫatti* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997). For a comparison of the Egyptian-language and Akkadian-language witnesses to the text and consideration of the influence of Egyptian on the Akkadian of the treaty, see Anthony J. Spalinger, "Considerations on the Hittite Treaty between Egypt and Hatti," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 9 (1981): 299–358. See also Matthias Müller, *Akkadisch in Keilschrifttexten aus Ägypten* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010) and his contribution to this volume (chapter 20).

37   For the procedure behind the concluding of treaties between rulers of equal status in the Late Bronze Age, see Gary Beckman, "Hittite Treaties and the Development of the Cuneiform Treaty Tradition," in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz, Doris Prechel, Konrad Schmid and Markus Witte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 289.

38   It is likely that it was this repeated infusion of knowledge by native speakers of Akkadian that prevented the texts written at Boğazköy from accumulating ever more "errors" over time, as described by Krzysztof Baranowski, *The Verb in the Amarna Letters from Canaan* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 40–43, for those Amarna tablets composed in Canaan.

39   In this I differ from Durham, "Studies in Boğazköy," 69–86, who includes in his analysis all of the records of the Hittite imperial administration found at Ugarit. Note that the

duced in the scriptorium of the imperial viceroy, the king of Karkemiš,[40] and which might have been sent directly from the court of the Great King in Ḫattuša.[41]

3   Schema for Presentation of Data[42]

I.   Layout
      a.   Tablet format
      b.   Word space[43]
II. Script
      a.   Distinction of voiced/voiceless signs
      b.   Rare sign usage
III. Sound changes
      a.   Dental cluster dissimilation (nasalization) (GAG §32b)
      b.   *m > n*
      c.   *št > lt* (GAG §30g)
      d.   Loss or retention of *w* (GAG §21d)
      e.   *š* for *s*[44]
      f.   Loss or retention of mimation (GAG §190a)

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studies by H.J.M. van Deventer, "More Missing Pieces—Notes on a Few Akkadian Texts from Ḫatti," *Journal for Semitics* 12 (2003): 172–96, and by H.J.M. van Deventer and P.J.J. van Huyssteen, "The Orthography and Phonology of the Akkadian Texts from Ḫatti Found at Ugarit," *Journal for Semitics* 4 (1992): 35–50, also ignore this possible complicating factor in describing the language of the Akkadian texts from "Ḫatti."

40 Even if a tablet found at Ugarit was impressed with the seal of the Great King (e.g., RS 17.159 = CTH 107, with the sealing of Tudḫaliya IV), it cannot be ruled out that this instrument was available in Karkemiš for the production of imperial letters and rescripts in the name of the supreme ruler.

41 Or, during the reign of Muwattalli II, from Tarḫuntašša. As observed by Erich Neu, "Hethiter und Hethitisch in Ugarit," in *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Band 1. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag), 129, answering this question remains an important topic for future research. On the Akkadian used in tablets definitely or probably written at Karkemiš, see John Huehnergard, "The Akkadian Dialects of Carchemish and Ugarit," PhD diss., Harvard University, 1979, Part I.

42 The examples cited in the descriptive summaries below are not always exhaustive.

43 Standard Akkadian scribal usage did not insert space between individual words (GAG §7b), but the texts produced at Ḫattuša introduced this practice, presumably influenced by this convention in Hittite-language documents (Harry. A. Hoffner and H. Craig Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008, 10, §1.5).

44 Cf. John Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 111–14.

IV. Grammar and morphology
    a. Tense preferred for past narration (GAG § 80 f)
    b. Tense with *šumma*
    c. I'-verb with initial *a-/e-/i-*

V. Lexemes
    a. *undu*, "now; when"[45]
    b. Quotative *umma*
    c. Quotative *mā*[46]
    d. Quotative suffix *-mi/e*
    e. Indefinite morpheme *-mê*[47]
    f. Irrealis suffix *-māku*[48]

VI. Assyrianisms

VII. Hittite Influence

VII. Miscellaneous

4   **Texts**[49]

1.   Letter from Ḫattušili I to Tunip-Teššub of Tikunani. *Editions*: Mirjo Salvini, "Una lettera di Ḫattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 34 (1995): 61–80; id., *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1996), 107–14. *Date of composition and inscription*: late seventeenth century. *Provenance*: Upper Tigris region. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. no word space. IIa. differentiation of voiced and voiceless signs usual.[50] IIIf. inconsistent mimation. IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. IVb. *šumma* followed by present (l. 27). VIII. Miscellaneous: Mari-like features: *lu a-i-la-at* (*awīlat*) (2sm)[51] (ll. 9, 13), *mala ḫa-aš-ḫa-tú* (2sm subj.) (l. 19).

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45   Of Hurrian origin; see Hans-Peter Adler, *Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1976), 72, 338–39, and Thomas Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 492.

46   An Assyrianism; see Jacob Jan de Ridder, *Descriptive Grammar of Middle Assyrian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018), 531–33, §§ 735–38.

47   Of Hurrian origin; see Adler, *Das Akkadische*, 82–86, and Huehnergard, *Akkadian of Ugarit*, 282.

48   Of Hurrian origin; see Ephraim A. Speiser, "Nuzi Marginalia," *Orientalia* 25 (1956): 6–8; Einar von Schuler, "Zur Partikel *-maku* in barbarisiertem Akkadisch," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 53 (1958): 185–92, and Adler, *Das Akkadische*, 88–91, 298.

49   For a convenient summary, see Table 19.1.

50   But *i-TA-bu-ub* (l. 32).

51   See André Finet, *L'accadien des lettres de Mari* (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1956), 167, § 63b.

2.   Bilingual Annals of Ḫattušili I, KBo 10.1 (CTH 4; also Hittite version on separate tablets). *Editions*: Fiorella Imparati and Claudio Saporetti, "L'autobiografia di Ḫattušili I," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 14 (1965): 40–85; H. Craig Melchert, "The Acts of Hattušili I," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 (1978): 1–22. *Date of composition*: OH. *Date of inscription*: NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša (Büyükkale K). *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: ᵁᴿᵁ*Tí*(ḪI)-*iš-ḫi-ni-ya* (obv. 9). IIIf. inconsistent mimation. IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. VII. *Hittite influence*: calque SIG₅.ḪI.A after Hittite *aššauit*, "with goods/possessions" (obv. 10). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: two scribes, the second of whom inscribed rev. 1–12 with Assyrian(?) signs; many errors; Mari-like features: *ir-ṭú-up alākam/itabbula* (obv. 14, 28), *dá-wa-dá-šu*(-*nu*) *a-du-uk* (obv. 16, 33).

3.   Bilingual Succession Edict of Ḫattušili I. KUB 1.16 + KUB 40.65 (CTH 6). *Edition*: Ferdinand Sommer and Adam Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I.* (*Labarna II.*) (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938). *Date of composition*: OH. *Date of inscription*: NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. two-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. some indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: *ṭè*(NE)-*en* (i 18). IIIf. inconsistent mimation. IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. VII. *Hittite influence*: word space. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: Mari-like features: *ar-ṭú-up ú-ʾ-ú-ri-šu* (*uʾrišu*) (i 4).

4.   The Siege of Uršu. KBo 1.11 (CTH 7). *Editions*: Gary Beckman, "The Siege of Uršu Text (CTH 7) and Old Hittite Historiography," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 47 (1995): 23–34; Amir Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 278–95. *Date of composition*: OH. *Date of inscription*: OH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Origin*: Upper Tigris region(?).[52] *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. no word space. IIa. differentiation of voiced and voiceless signs usual.[53] IIb. rare sign usage: *i-na-ṭà*(ḪI)-*lu* (obv.! 23′), *i-na-ṭà*(ḪI)-*al-ma* (obv.! 30′). IIIe. š for s: *ik*-ŠA-*ma* (obv.! 16′), *li-iḫ*-ŠU-*ús* (obv.! 28′), *nu*-ŠA-*ra-ar* (obv.! 31′). IIIf. inconsistent mimation: e.g., *ta-ḫa-za-am* (rev.! 20), *ta-ḫa-za* (rev.! 10). IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. IVb. *šumma* followed by present (obv.! 22′, rev.! 32) and perfect (rev.! 31).[54] Vd. quotative -*mi/e*(-*e*) (obv.! 24′).

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52   Goren, Mommsen and Klinger, "Non-destructive Provenance," 694.

53   But *ut-ta*-GA-*ar* (rev.! 23).

54   Preterite *ta-ak-mi-is* (rev.! 12) in a contrary-to-fact condition.

vii. *Hittite influence*: word space; calque *mamma qaqqaršu lišbat* after Hittite *kuišša pedan epdu* "let each take his place!" (obv.! 17′); *ku-la-ú-tam* after Hittite *kuleššar*, "hesitation" (rev.! 13, 18);[55] Hittite text (rev.! 14–15). viii. *Miscellaneous*: Mari-like features: *em-qé-et* (2sm) (obv.! 25′), *né-ti* (obv.! 31′).

5. Royal Land Donations (cth 221–22).[56] *Edition*: Christel Rüster and Gernot Wilhelm, *Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012).[57] *Date of composition*: oh, mh. *Date of inscription*: oh, mh. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša.[58] *Features*: ia. single-column tablets. ib. intermittent word space, more regular in later texts. iia. usual differentiation of voiced and voiceless signs. iiif. occasional loss of mimation. iva. ob sequence of tenses: e.g., pnn *itbū-ma itti* pn *ittaṣbatū* (No. 3, obv. 6–9). vii. *Hittite influence*: word space; calque *našûm ... nadānum* after Hittite *šarā dā- ...* verb (*passim*), Hittite technical terms for measures and landscape features, increasingly frequent use of Hittite grammatical forms: e.g., ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫuwašiyaz anda nilqe*, "we have taken (a field) on this side of the stone monument" (No. 7, obv. 15), culminating in No. 91, which is entirely in Hittite up until the formulaic concluding paragraphs in Akkadian (rev. 46–55).

6. Bilingual Proclamation of Telipinu.[59] kub 3.85++ (cth 19, Hittite version on separate tablets). *Edition*: Inge Hoffmann, *Der Erlaß Telipinus* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1984). *Date of composition*: oh. *Date of inscription*: nh. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: ia. two-column tablet. ib. word space. iia. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. iiie. *š* for *s*: *iš-ḫu-ru* (kub 3.89 i 7′). iiif. inconsistent mimation. iva. prefers perfect as past tense. vii. *Hittite influence*: word space; levelling of gender distinction: [ᵈḪarapšil]*i qadu* dumu.meš-*šu* (kub 3.89 i 11′).

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55 See Gary Beckman, "The Siege of Uršu Text (cth 7) and Old Hittite Historiography," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 47 (1995): 29.

56 Included under this rubric are a few eccentric texts, which, however share the physical format and the sealing practices of the property grants: No. 1 is a marriage-adoption and No. 3 a legal case. These outliers also involve the transfer of real estate under royal authority.

57 On the language of the records in this group, see Christel Rüster and Gernot Wilhelm, *Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 72–73.

58 See Rüster and Wilhelm, *Landschenkungsurkunden*, 25–27, for archaeological context and place of original publication. Note that No. 1 was found at İnandık and No. 21 at Tarsus.

59 Practically no complete sentences are present in the Akkadian version; the Hittite text is far better preserved.

7. Bilingual Treaty of Telipinu with Išputaḫšu of Kizzuwatna. KUB 4.76 (+?) KUB 31.82 (CTH 21, Hittite version on separate tablets).[60] *Edition*: Giuseppe F. Del Monte, "Note sui trattati fra Ḫattuša e Kizzuwatna," *Oriens Antiquus* 20 (1981): 203–21. *Date of composition*: MH. *Date of inscription*: MH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet(?). Ib. word space. IIa. usual differentiation of voiced and voiceless signs. IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: *i-na-an-din* (KUB 31.82: 9′, 14′, 16′, 19′, 22′). IIIf. regular mimation. IVc. I′ verb: *i-ir-ru-bu* (KUB 4.76: 3′, 9′), *i-ip-p[u-šu]* (KUB 31.82: 19′). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space.

8. Bilingual Treaty of Tudḫaliya II with Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna. KBo 1.5 and dupls.[61] (CTH 41,[62] Hittite version on separate tablet). *Edition*: Ernst Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien. Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1923), 88–111. *Date of composition*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. two-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: e.g., *i-na-an-dì-nu-šu* (ii 14), *i-ma-an-dá-dú* (iv 41). IIId. loss of *w*: *um-te-ʾ-er* (i 13), *a-wa-ti ~ a-ma[-ti]* (iv 34). IIIe. *š* for *s*: e.g., *ri-ik-*ŠA*-am … ir-ku-*ŠU (i 4), *iš-ḫu-ur* (i 7). IIIf. inconsistent mimation. IVc. I′ verb: e.g., *i-ir-ri-iš* (ii 44), *a-al-la-ak* (iii 5), *e-ep-pu-uš* (iii 16). IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. IVb. *šumma* followed by present (i 26–27, 60, 62–63, ii 5, 7–8, 16–17, etc.). vd. quotative *-mi/e* (i 14). ve. indefinite morpheme *-mê* (*passim*). vf. irrealis particle *-māku* (iv 14). VI. *Assyrianisms*: third person verbal prefix *e-*:[63] *e-ep-pu-uš* (iii 16), *e-eḫ-ṭì* (i 33), *e-eḫ-bu-tù-nim* (i 22). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space; calques *šumma* after Hittite *mān*[64] (i 8), *buʾu* after Hittite *šanḫ-*, "seek (revenge)" (ii 11); levelling of gender distinction: *māt* ᵁᴿᵁ*Išuwa el-ʾ-e-šu* (i 10).[65] VIII. *Miscellaneous*: gloss: EGIR*ᵃʳ·ᵍ ᵃ* *-nu-um* (i 6).

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60 Both versions are very fragmentary.

61 Remarks consider only the primary manuscript—in this group always the earliest—since it is most likely to reflect the original text.

62 With 269 lines, almost all at least partially preserved, this is the longest known Akkadian-language text composed by the Hittites. However, KBo 1.10+ (No. 20 below), with 166 longer lines, may contain more text.

63 See de Ridder, *Descriptive Grammar*, 345, §507.

64 Cf. AHw, 1273.

65 Curiously, a peculiarity of the peripheral Akkadian written in Amurru is the construal of *mātu* "land" as masculine. See Shlomo Izreʾel, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), vol. 1, 109.

9.   Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna. KUB 34.1++
      (CTH 26). *Edition*: G.R. Meyer, "Zwei neue Kizzuwatna-Verträge," *Mitteilun-
      gen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 1 (1953): 108–24. *Date of composi-
      tion*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia.
      single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. some indifference to distinc-
      tion between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: *ir-te-ʾ-u*₁₁(ḪU)
      (l. 28′). IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: *i-na-an-din* (ll. 31′, 32′, 35′, 36′, 39′,
      40′). IIId. retention of *w*: *ú-wa-ab-ba-tu-šu* (ll. 32′, 36′) *ú-wa-a-er* (l. 42′);
      IIIe. *š* for *s*: *ip-pa-al-la*-AŠ (*naplusu*) (ll. 6′, 14′, 16′), *ú-ša-aš-kí-ru* (*z/sakāru*)
      (ll. 10′, 29′). IIIf. regular mimation.⁶⁶ IVa. OB sequence of tenses. IVb.
      šumma followed by present (ll. 6′, 7′, etc.). IVc. I′ verb: *i-ip-pu-uš* (12′), *i-ir-
      ru-ub* (l. 17′, 34′), *i-il-la-ak* (l. 33′). vd. quotative *-mi/e* (7′, 22′). ve. indefinite
      morpheme *-mê* (ll. 9′, 28′). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space; calques *ana
      qaqqadim naplusu* after Hittite *ḫaršana šuwai-* (ll. 6′, 14′, 16′),⁶⁷ *dumqum*
      after Hittite *aššu-* "goods/possessions" (ll. 17′, 19′, 24′, 26′); VIII. *Miscel-
      laneous*: *be-lí-šu* (ll. 6′, etc.); masc.nom.sg. independent pronoun *šu-ú-tù*
      (l. 14′).⁶⁸

10.   Letter from Šuppiluliuma I to Niqmaddu of Ugarit. RS 17.132 (CTH 45).⁶⁹
      Edition: Jean Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*. Vol IV: *Textes accadi-
      ens des archives sud* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1956), 35–37. *Date of composition
      and inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ugarit. *Features*: Ia. single-column
      tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. some indifference to distinction between
      voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: *nak*ₓ(NAGA)*-ru* (l. 26). IIIa.
      dental cluster dissimilation: ᵐ*Ni-iq-ma-an-du* (ll. 5, etc.), *i-na-an-di-na-ak-
      ku* (l. 52). IIIc. *št > lt*: only *ul-tu* (l. 7). IIId. loss of *w*: *un-da-aš-ši-ru* (l. 24),
      ú-ma-šar-ru (l. 31), *a-ma-te*ᴹᴱˢ (ll. 15, 29); IIIe. *š* for *s*: ŠA-*la-ma* (l. 20) ∼
      sa-la-ma (l. 23). IIIf. mimation only when protected, e.g., *šar-ru-um-ma*
      (l. 17). IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. IVb. *šumma* followed
      by present (ll. 15–17, 30–31, 35–37). ve. indefinite morpheme *-mê* (l. 26).
      VI. *Assyrianisms*: *ta-pa-làḫ-šu-nu* (ll. 5, 32), *ta-na-ṣar-ši-na* (l. 16), *i-la-qè-
      šu-nu* (l. 44), *ta-la-ʾ-e-šu-nu* (l. 46).⁷⁰ VII. *Hittite influence*: word space. VIII.
      Miscellaneous: doubling of final root consonant: *ú-ma-šar-ru* (l. 31), *i-na-
      kir-ru* (l. 45).

66   But *ša-ra-qí* (ll. 33′, 37′), *ri-it-ti* (l. 43′).
67   See Hans G. Güterbock and E. Hamp, "Hittite *šuwaya*," *Revue hittite et asianique* 58 (1956):
      22–24.
68   But *šu-ú* (ll. 16′, 21′).
69   Since Nos. 10–12 date to before the establishment of the viceregal seat at Karkemiš, they
      have been included here.
70   But *ip-pu-uš-šu-nu-ti* (l. 27).

11. Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Niqmaddu of Ugarit (CTH 46).[71] *Edition*: Jean Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, 48–52. *Date of composition*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ugarit. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. usual differentiation of voiced and voiceless signs. IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: ᵐ*Ni-iq-ma-an-du* (obv. 9, etc.). IIIc. *št > lt*: only *ul-tu* (obv. 4) ~ *ištu* (obv. 5). IIIf. no mimation; IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. Vc. quotative *mā* (obv. 11, 12, 14). VI. *Assyrianisms*: *a-ba-te*ᴹᴱˢ (obv. 27, rev. 16′), *uk-te-bi-it-šu-nu* (obv. 23), quotative *mā* (above); *Hittite influence*: word space; calque *illak-ma … išpura-ma* after Hittite serial construction[72] (obv. 9–10). VIII. *Miscellaneous*: aberrant use of verbal pronominal suffixes: *ú-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-tu-ša* (acc.) (obv. 6), *i-qi-iš-šu-nu-ti* (dat.) (obv. 21).

12. Edict of Šuppiluliuma I Establishing the Tribute Due from Ugarit. RS 17.227 and dupls. (CTH 47). *Edition*: Jean Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, 40–44. *Date of composition*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ugarit. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. usual differentiation of voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: *ú-ṣa-aḫ*ₓ(ÚḪ)*-ḫa-tu-šu-ma* (l. 9), *ḫuš*ₓ(TAR)*-ma-na/ni* (ll. 24, etc.). IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: ᵐ*Ni-iq-ma-an-du* (obv. 5, etc.); IIIc. *št > lt*: only *ul-tu* (l. 10.). IIId. loss of *w*: *a-ma-te*ᴹᴱˢ (ll. 48, 52). IIIf. no mimation. IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. Vc. quotative *mā* (l. 20). Vd. quotative *-mi/e* (l. 11). VI. *Assyrianism*: quotative *mā* (above). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space.

13. Bilingual Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Aziru of Amurru. KUB 3.7++ and dupls. (CTH 49, Hittite version on separate tablet). *Edition*: Giuseppe F. Del Monte, *Il trattato fra Muršili II di Ḫattuša e Niqmepa' di Ugarit* (Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente C.A. Nallino, 1986), 118–27. *Date of composition*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIIa. some indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIIb. *m > n* dissimilation: *in-ta-at-ḫa-aṣ* (obv. 11′). IIIf. no mimation. IVb. *šumma* followed by present (obv. 11′, 15′, 22′–23′, 27′). VI. *Assyrianisms*: *lu-ḫal-li-qú-šu-nu* (3p) (rev. 16′), negative *lā* in all contexts (*passim*). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: rather fragmentary.

14. Bilingual Treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Šattiwazza of Mittani. KBo 1.1 and dupls. (CTH 51, Hittite version on separate tablet). *Edition*: Weidner, *Poli-*

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71 Neu, "Hethiter und Hethitisch," 125–26, observes that this tablet does not show a Boğazköy ductus.

72 See Hoffner and Melchert, *A Grammar*, 324–29, §§ 24.31–42.

tische Dokumente, 2–35. *Date of composition*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: *rík*(ZUM)-*sà* (obv. 2), *um-te-eš-šìr*(EZEN)-*šu-nu-ti* (obv. 23). IIIc. *št* > *lt*: *ul-tar-ra-aḫ* (obv. 5, 10), *al-ta-kán-šu* (obv. 40), *ul-te-bíl-šu-nu-ti* (obv. 53), *u-tu* (obv. 47). IIId. loss of *w*: *ú-ma-ʾ-ar* (rev. 35). IIIe. *š* for *s*: *ri-ik*-ŠI (rev. 58′).[73] IIIf. mimation only when protected, e.g., *e-eb-bá-ra-am-ma* (obv. 9). IVa. prefers perfect as past tense. IVb. *šumma* followed by present (obv. 9, rev. 38, 59–60). IVc. I′ verb: *e-eb-bá-ra-am-ma* (obv. 9), *e-ep-pu-šu* (obv. 70), *i-ip-pu-uš* (rev. 12′). Va. *undu* (obv. 2). Ve. indefinite morpheme -*mê* (obv. 15, 37). Vf. quotative -*mi/e* (obv. 8, 9, 35). VI. *Assyrianisms*: third person verbal prefix *e*-: *e-ep-pu-šu* (obv. 70), *e-ep-pu-sú-nu-mi* (obv. 8); *el-te-qé-šu-nu* (obv. 36), *li-iṣ-ṣú-ru-ku-nu* (rev. 72). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space; calques *ša kī* after Hittite *ki kuit* (obv. 6), *buʾʾu* after Hittite *šanḫ*- (obv. 54). VIII. *Miscellaneous*: doubling of final root consonant: *i-ša-ad-dá-ad-du-ku-nu-ši* (rev. 61′).

15.   Bilingual Treaty of Šattiwazza of Mittani with Šuppiluliuma I. KBo 1.3 + KUB 3.17 (CTH 52, Hittite version on separate tablet). *Edition*: Weidner, *Politische Dokumente*, 36–57. *Date of composition*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: LUGAL.E.NE (obv. 3), *ug-tàm*(TIM)-*mi-ir* (obv. 3, 11, 12, 13), SUM-*din* (obv. 10), *e*-PI-*ri* (obv. 11), *ú-še-bil$_x$*(BAL)-*šu-nu* (obv. 13), *uš-tàm*(TIM)-*ḫi-ir* (obv. 16), *al-te-si$_{20}$*(ZÉ) (obv. 18), *li*-MUT-*ta* (obv. 30), LIL-*li-ik* (rev. 56′). IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: *na-an-ku-ri-šu* (*makkūru*) (obv. 3), *i-na-din-nu* (obv. 7). IIIb. *m* > *n* dissimilation: *na-an-ku-ri-šu* (obv. 3), *i-ma-an-gu$_5$-ru* (obv. 49). IIIc. *št* > *lt*: *al-tá-ḫi-iṭ* (obv. 17), *el-te-te-em-me* (obv. 23), *ni-il-ta-par-šu-nu-ti* (obv. 38). IIId. loss of *w*: *lu-me-ʾ-er* (obv. 30). I′ verb: *e-ep-pu-uš-kà-mi* (obv. 24).[74] IIIe. vestigial mimation: *pí-ir-ʾ-am* (rev. 46), *ma-mi-ta an-na-a-am* (rev. 54′). IVa. prefers perfect as past tense. IVb. *šumma* followed by present (obv. 38–39, rev. 35, 44, 52, 53–54). Va. *undu* (obv. 31). Vb. quotative *umma* (obv. 27, placed oddly, or "thus"?). Vd. quotative -*mi/e* (obv. 24). Ve. indefinite morpheme -*mê* (obv. 10). Vf. irrealis particle -*māku* (obv. 17). VI. *Assyrianisms*: third person verbal prefix *e*-: *el-ta-ta-al-an-ni* (obv. 12), *el-te-pat-šu-nu-ti* (obv. 37); *iz-za-qap-šu-nu* (obv. 9), *ú-še-bil$_x$-šu-nu ú-ut-te-bíl-šu-nu* (obv. 13). VII.

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73   But *ri-ik-sí* (rev. 5).
74   But *e-pu-uš* (obv. 30).

Hittite influence: word space. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: doubling of final root consonant: *i-na-din-nu* (obv. 7), *nu-ḫal-li-iq-qú* (obv. 44); aberrant use of verbal pronominal suffixes: *ni-il-ta-par-šu-nu-ti* (dat.) (obv. 38), *i-ša-ad-dá-ad-ku-nu-ši* (acc.) (rev. 27′), *li-iṣ-ṣu-ru-ku-nu-ši* (acc.) (rev. 36′).

16. Letter from Šuppiluliuma I to Pharaoh Amenophis III. EA 41 (CTH 153). *Editions*: Hugo Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna* (Berlin: W. Spemann 1889), 15; William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 114–15; Anson F. Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015), 358–59, 1386–87. *Date of composition and inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: el-Amarna. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: [*ta-ḫ*]*a*-ŠAḪ (l. 34′). IIIc. *št > lt*: *ul-te-bíl-ak-ku* (l. 38′). IIIe. mimation only when protected, e.g., *gab-bá-am-ma* (l. 13), *šu-u-up-ra-am-ma* (l. 37′). IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. IVb. *šumma* followed by present (ll. 33′–34′). Va. *undu* (l. 14). Vd. quotative *-mi/e* (l. 9). Ve. indefinite morpheme *-mê* (ll. 10, 17, 36′). VI. *Assyrianisms*: third person verbal prefix *e-*: *e-ri-šu* (sg. subj.) (l. 8); negation *lā* in main clause (l. 10).[75] VII. *Hittite influence*: word space.

17. Letter from Hittite Prince Ziti to Pharaoh Amenophis III. EA 44. *Edition*: VS 11, 16; Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 117; Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence*, 368–69, 1388. *Date of composition and inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: el-Amarna. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIIc. *št > lt*: *ul-te-bíl* (l. 13). IIIe. no mimation. IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. Ve. indefinite morpheme *-mê* (ll. 9, 27). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: *be-lí* for gen. (ll. 1, 5); *a-bi-ya* for nom. (l. 27); pleonastic *ana ak-ka-a-ša* (l. 11).

18. Treaty with Labʾu and the Citizens of Tunip. KBo 19.59 + KUB 3.16 (+) KUB 3.21 (+) KBo 28.122. (CTH 135). *Edition*: Weidner, *Politische Dokumente*, 126–47. *Date of composition*: early NH. *Date of inscription*: early NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša (Tempel I). *Features*:[76] Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: NIM-*taḫ-ḫa-aṣ* (B rev. 3′), *tu-pa-az*-ZAR-*šu* (A rev. 23′). IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: *a-na-an-din-šu-nu* (B rev. 26′).

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75 But *ul* (i 12).
76 Citations here refer to the line numbering in Weidner's edition.

IIId. retention of *w*: *tu-wa-aš-šar-šu-nu* (A rev. 18′), *a-wa-tum/tam/ta* (A rev. 8′, 19′, B rev. 8′, 9′). IIIf. inconsistent mimation. IVa. prefers perfect as past tense. IVb. *šumma* followed by present. IVc. 1′ verb: *i-il-la-ak* (A rev. 21′). Vd. quotative *-mi/e* (A obv. 19′, rev. 27′, 28′, 29′). Ve. indefinite morpheme *-mê* (A rev. 19′, B rev. 11′); VI. *Assyrianisms*: *a-na-an-din-šu-nu* (B rev. 26′), *lu-uš-šur-mi* (or first person?) (A rev. 28′); VII. *Hittite influence*: word space. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: *šu-wa-a-ti* (A rev. 17′, B obv. 14′) ~ *ša-a-šu* (A obv. 10′, rev. 25′).

19. Letters from Ḫattušili III and/or Puduḫepa to Pharaoh Ramesses II. (CTH 151–70).[77] *Edition*: Elmar Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994). *Date of composition and inscription*: NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablets. Ib. word space. IIa. general indifference to distinction between voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: *tàš*(ÁŠ)- (*passim*), *pu-uḫ₅*(’)-*ra-am-ma* (No. 67, obv. 4′). IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: *a-na-an-din* (No. 53, obv. 20′, No. 102, rev. 6′). IIIb. *m > n* dissimilation: *un-te-’-dá-ku* (*mâdu* D, 1s stative) (No. 101, l. 7). IIIc. *št > lt*: *il-te-es-sú-ú* (No. 53, obv. 12′), *al-ta-kán* (No. 58, l. 5′), *ul-tu* (No. 59, l. 6′), *tal-tap-ra* (No. 66, obv. 3′). IIId. loss of *w*: *a-ma-ta₅*(UD) (No. 53, obv. 4′). IIIf. mimation only when protected, e.g., *pu-uḫ₅-ra-am-ma* (No. 67, obv. 4′). IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. Va. *undu* (No. 34, l. 2′). Vb. quotative *umma* (No. 53, obv. 14′). Vc quotative *mā* (No. 34, l. 3′, No. 53, obv. 11′, No. 103, l. 3′). Vd. quotative *-mi/e* (No. 67, rev. 6, 7). Ve. indefinite morpheme *-mê* (No. 66, obv. 2′). VI. *Assyrianisms*: 3s independent prn. *šu-ut* (No. 45, l. 4′, No. 59, l. 9′, No. 102, rev. 10′, No. 103, l. 4′);[78] quotative *mā* (above). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: *te-e-ep-pu-ša* (No. 66, obv. 5′).

20. Letter from Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II of Babylonia. KBo 1.10 + KUB 3.72 (CTH 172). *Edition*: Albertine Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1989), vol. 2, 281–300. *Date of composition*: NH. *Date of inscription*: NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features*: Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. usual differentiation of voiced

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77 Most of the thirteen letters here are very fragmentary, some preserving little beyond the epistolary address and blessing, so that the sample is not particularly satisfactory. For editions of the other side of the conversation—from Egypt to Ḫatti—see Elmar Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), and Müller, *Akkadisch*, 415–54.

78 But *šu-ú* (No. 53, obv. 18′).

and voiceless signs.[79] IIb. rare sign usage: *ṭé*(ḤI)*-ma* (rev. 9), *ḫé-ṭí-i* (rev. 23), *i-gám*(KAM)*-ma-ra* (rev. 59), *šúm*(SUM)*-ma* (obv. 81, rev. 21), *aš-šúm* (rev. 26), *ni-tu₄*(TUM)*-ru* (obv. 57), *lil-su-ú* (obv. 20). IIIa. dental cluster dissimilation: *i-na-an-din* (obv. 45). IIIb. *m > n* dissimilation: *in-te-si* (obv. 12). IIIc. *št > lt*: *ni-il-ta-ka-an* (obv. 9), *al-ta-pár* (obv. 13), *ul-tar-ʾ-ib* (rev. 56), *ul-tu* (rev. 71, 72), *na-pu-ul-ta* (rev. 15). IIId. loss of *w*: *a-ma-tu₄* (obv. 16), *a-ma-su* (obv. 35), etc. IIIf. mimation only when protected, e.g., *ša-na-a-am-ma* (rev. 80). IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. IVb. *šumma* followed by present. IVc. Iʾ verb: *a-al-la-ka* (obv. 32), *a-al-lak* (obv. 62),[80] *e-ep-pu-uš-ma* (rev. 58). Va. *undu* (obv. 7, rev. 42). Vb. quotative *umma* (*passim*). Vc. quotative *mā* (obv. 25). Vd. quotative *-mi/e* (obv. 62, 63, rev. 27). Vf. irrealis *-māku* (obv. 43, rev. 41. 44, 48). VI. *Assyrianisms*: subj. *i-pu-šu-ni-ni-ma* (obv. 11); *tu-sà-an-na-qa-an-na-ši* (acc.) (obv. 24) (or simple error?); quotative *mā* (above). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space; calques *mi-na-a ki-i* (obv. 25) and *mi-nu-ú a-ma-tu₄ ki-i* (obv. 37–38) after Hittite *ki kuit*. VIII. *Miscellaneous*: aberrant use of verbal pronominal suffixes: *al-tap-ra-aš-šu-nu-ti* (dat.) (obv. 28).

21. Letter from Ḫattušili III to Adad-nērārī of Assyria. KBo 1.14. (CTH 173). *Edition*: Clelia Mora and Mauro Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Ḫattuša* (Padua: SARGON, 2004), 57–75. *Date of composition*: NH. *Date of inscription*: NH. *Provenance*: Ḫattuša. *Features:* Ia. single-column tablet. Ib. word space. IIa. usual differentiation of voiced and voiceless signs. IIb. rare sign usage: *tàš*(ÁŠ)*-pu-ra-an-ni* (obv. 20′), *i-gám*(KAM)*-ma-ru* (obv. 23′). IIIc. *št > lt*: *ul-tù* (obv. 7′), *il-ta-nap-pa-ra* (obv. 8′), *mé-re-él-ti* (rev. 13′). IIId. loss of *w*: *a-ba-at* (obv. 11′), *a-ba-ti* (rev. 12′, 14′). IIIf. mimation only when protected, e.g., *šu-up-ra-am-ma* (obv. 17′). IVa. both preterite and perfect used for past. Vc. quotative *mā* (obv. 25′, rev. 17′). VI. *Assyrianisms*:[81] *a-ba-at, a-ba-ti* (above); negative *lā* in all contexts (*passim*); infinitive *e-pa-ši* (obv. 26′);[82] third person verbal prefix *e-*: *e-ep-pu-šu* (obv. 22′); subj. *aš-pu-ra-ak-ku-ni* (rev. 11′); quotative *mā* (above). VII. *Hittite influence*: word space.

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79   But *a-ka-aš-ša-dá*(TA) (obv. 15).

80   But *il-la-ku* (obv. 62), etc.

81   See already Albrecht Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 32 n. 128; for a fuller list see Clelia Mora and Mauro Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Ḫattuša* (Padua: SARGON, 2004), 68.

82   But *e-pé-ši* (obv. 21′).

5   Conclusion

Although the Akkadian of these twenty-one compositions in general resembles Middle Babylonian (note especially rubrics IIIa, IIIc, IIId, and IIIf, and see GAG §190),[83] examination of their particular features as charted in Table 19.1 does not allow us to recognize even a somewhat coherent "Boğazköy dialect,"[84] similar to that established by Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian*, for the Amarna texts from Amurru. There are, however, a number of notable commonalities: Except for the very earliest texts, word space is usual, and in all compositions that employ the conditional *šumma*, that subordinator is followed by a verb in the present tense. As usual in Middle Babylonian, the perfect comes to be the preferred tense in past contexts (GAG §80f), although this is by no means obligatory at Boğazköy.

Hittite influence is found—in some cases only in the use of word space—from the very beginning, which strongly suggests the participation of native Anatolians in the drafting of the records. Assyrianisms begin to appear only from the time of Šuppiluliuma I (mid fourteenth century), and Hurrian borrowings (viz., *undu*, *-mê*, and *-māku*) commence around the same time, that is, when the Hittites had (re-)established their political dominance in areas formerly under the aegis of Hurrian-speaking Mittani.[85]

Surprising is the rather frequent non-confusion of voiced and voiceless stops (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 20, 21), usually recognized as the hallmark of "Boğazköy Akkadian,"[86] as well as the sporadic retention of full mimation (Nos. 5,[87] 7, 9) and of *w* (Nos. 9, 18).

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83   Cf. also the contribution of Wilfred H. van Soldt to this volume (chapter 14).

84   The situation is similar to that which Huehnergard, *Akkadian of Ugarit*, 271, describes for the Akkadian texts from Ugarit:

> [T]he grammar of the Akkadian texts written at Ugarit is something of a palimpsest. While the underlying matrix of the grammar is essentially Middle Babylonian, there are relict Old Babylonian features, Assyrian features, and many features that do not conform to the normative grammar of any Mesopotamian dialect.

See also Huehnergard's discussion of the common features of W(est) P(eripheral) A(kkadian) (Huehnergard, *Akkadian of Ugarit*, 271–83). Shlomo Izre'el, review of *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, by John Huehnergard, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 49 (1992): 172, criticizes the use of WPA to designate the forms of Akkadian in use by non-native speakers in Syrian and Anatolian peripheral centers of the second millennium, but I think the term can be accepted if we simply remove Nuzi from the included sites.

85   See Wolfram von Soden, "Assyriasmen im Akkadischen von Ugarit und das Problem der Verwaltungssprache im Mitannireich," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979): 745–51, on the role of this Hurrian polity in the development of WPA.

86   See, for example, Labat, *L'akkadien*, 25.

87   In this instance, this could be due to the formulaic character of the Akkadian portions of these records.

TABLE 19.1 Overview of most significant features

Text	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Ib. Word space			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
IIa. Voiced/voiceless distinction	X			X	X		X				X	X								X	X
IIIa. Dental cluster dissimilation						X	X	X	X	X	X				X			X	X	X	
IIIb. *m > n*													X		X				X	X	
IIIc. *št > lt*[88]														X	X				X	X	
IIId. Retention of *w*									X								X				
IIIe. *š* for *s*				X		X		X	X	X					X						
IIIf. Retention of Mimation					X		X		X												
IVc. *ʾ* with initial *a-/e-/i-*								X	X	X					X	X		X		X	
va. *undu*														X	X	X			X	X	
vb. *umma*[89]															X				X	X	
vc. *mā*											X	X							X	X	X
vd. *-mi/e*				X				X	X			X		X	X	X		X	X	X	
ve. *-mê*								X	X	X				X	X	X	X		X		
vf. *-māku*								X							X					X	
vi. Assyrianisms								X		X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
vii. Hittite Influence			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

No preserved Akkadian-language texts from Ḫatti date to after the reign of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa, which is striking given that the greatest concentration of datable of Hittite-language texts is from the time of their son and successor Tudḫaliya IV. But that this situation is at least partly due to the accident of discovery is shown by a letter recovered at Ugarit sent by an Assyrian king (probably Tukultī-Ninurta I), in which it is stated that Tudḫaliya had dispatched a messenger to the Assyrian court bearing two diplomatic communications on tablets, which would certainly have been written in Akkadian.[90]

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88   Not noted are Nos. 10, 11, and 12, which show only *ultu*.

89   Not including letter headings.

90   RS 34.164 = Pierre Bordreuil (ed.), *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville: les textes de la 34ᵉ campagne (1973)* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991), 90–100, No. 46, obv. 21–23. The edition is by Sylvie Lackenbacher.

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