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GEORGE F. MOORE

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OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

GEORGE F. MOORE,

Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

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Assyrian Prepositional Usage.—By J. DYNELEY PRINCE,
Professor in New York University, New York, N. Y.

THE discussion of the syntax of *ina* (JAOS. xvi. pp. cxxviii-cxxxvi) and of *ana* (JAOS. xviii. 355-360), which are by far the most flexible particles in Assyrian and therefore merit a special consideration, should be supplemented by an examination into the syntactical peculiarities of the other prepositions. These will be treated under two heads: 1. Those which like *ana* and *ina* are syntactically independent, i. e. which, as far as can be determined from the published inscriptions, do not follow another preposition in a combination; and 2, those which have retained their substantival nature to such an extent that they may be used in a subordinate position, following and supplementing an independent preposition.

I. The members of the first class which appear most frequently and with most varied usage are *adi*, *nitu*, *istu*, and *itti*, the first three of which are primarily prepositions of motion.

1. *adi*. The fundamental force of *adi*, like that of *ana*, is motion towards, but with this difference, that the local *ana* means simply 'unto,' while *adi* denotes primarily 'as far as, up to.' This meaning occurs not only with verbs of going such as *alaku*, Shalm. Ob. 69, and *aradu*, Ašurn. iii. 30, 44, but with other verbs, like *kašadu* 'conquer'; thus, Ašurn. iii. 23, 'he conquered *adi Karduniaš*, as far as K.' The temporal sense 'until,' which occurs in a number of passages, is plainly a development from the fundamental local signification. From this in turn was evolved the meaning 'during, while,' seen in phrases like *adi am batlu* 'during his life,' V. R. 56, 59. The adverbial use of the prepo-

sition in such expressions as *adi la baše*, 'completely,' literally 'until it is not,' seems to be a development from the temporal usage; cf. also *adi šina* 'for the second time,' IV. R. 7, 21 a. *Adi* appears also as a conjunction in the senses 'until' and 'while' (Sm. 125, 67 a, and V. R. 56, 60).

The only Semitic cognate is the Heb. עַד, Aram. ܥܕܐ, which is used in exactly the same way as its Assyrian counterpart. Thus, locally עַד הַנְּהַר; temporally, 'until,' עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, Gen. xxvi. 33, 'during,' 2 K. ix. 22; and conjunctively and adverbially as in עַד מְאֹד 'exceedingly.'

Two distinct secondary meanings of the Assyrian *adi* are found: *a.* 'besides, as well as, together with,' lit. 'even up to this'; for example, *adi x alāni* 'together with ten cities,' Ašurn. ii. 74; and, *b.* 'according to,' as in *adi adē u mamit ša (māt) Aššur* 'according to the ordinances and oath of Assyria,' Senn. ii. 70-1. A double use of *adi* is seen in the same sentence in *adi šarrāni ša adi libbi ame anne* 'together with kings who (ruled) until these days,' Ašurb. vi. 2. The Hebrew use of עַד 'both its base and its flowers,' Num. viii. 4, seems parallel to *adi* 'together with.' This idiom is usually found in Hebrew with negative phrases, e. g. לֹא עַד אַחֵר 'not even one,' Jud. iv. 16.

Adi (עַד), like most prepositions, was originally a substantive, probably *adu*,¹ with the meaning 'progress, duration' (cf. Heb. לְעַד 'for ever,' Am. i. 11), from a stem meaning 'to go, depart,' Aram. ܥܕܐ, Ar. عدا, Eth. *adawa*.

2. *ultu, ištu*. The prepositions *ultu* and *ištu* are closely allied in meaning and usage and probably also etymologically. Their fundamental signification is 'motion out of.' Thus, locally, *ultu ašrišunu assuzūnāti* 'out of their habitations I dragged them,' Sarg. Prunkinschr. 57, and with *ištu*, Ašurn. i. 54; temporally, *ultu ame pāni* 'from (since) former days,' Esarh. ii. 14, and *ištu am ʔāti* 'since days of yore,' Tig. iii. 78-9. We find also *ultu—adi* and *ištu—adi* frequently in the sense 'from—unto' (cf. Heb. מִן—עַד). Both *ultu* and *ištu* occur commonly as conjunctions in the sense 'after, since.' The former, however, seems to have also the meaning 'as soon as' in Höllef. rev. 16.

¹ Identical with *itti*, q. v.

² The form *adu* occurs Sm. 1064, marg. (Delitzsch, *HWb.* 22).

³ Found also with *ina*, JAOS. xvi. p. ccxxv.

Utu has secondarily a causative meaning 'by reason of,' as in K. 818, 11, *ultu dabābe anna* 'on account of these words,' thus encroaching on one of the meanings of *ina* (JAOS. xvi. p. cccxiv). *Ištu* means secondarily 'along with, together with,' in a few passages, as *ištu nuduniša ma'adi* 'along with her great dowry,' II. R. 65, obv. c. ii. 35.

The etymology of these two prepositions is doubtful, but they are probably from the same stem $\sqrt{as, is}$, denoting direction (cf. *ištānu, illānu*, 'north'), from which the Eth. *eska* and *esma* may perhaps be derivatives.¹ *Ištu* in this case would be the older form and the ending *-tu* would be simply the sign of the feminine. *Ištu* is written *iltu* in a few passages (Delitzsch, *HWb.* 152), a form in which the vowel may have approached very closely to the *u* in *ultu*, a thick *i* like that heard in modern Arabic. *Utu* may have originated in this way.

3. *itti*. The primary meaning of *itti* is 'alongside of, by'; cf. V. R. 10, 2. From this are derived five secondary uses: *a.* *ittiki* 'with,' as in *lullik* 'I will go with thee,' Ašurb. Sm. 125, 62; also with verbs of speaking, as *qibā*, Ašurb. v. 25, *dabābu*, Ašurb. iii. 84, etc. *b.* 'besides, as well as (among),' Tig. ii. 19; 61. A somewhat unusual use of *itti* with *manā* is seen in Tig. iv. 30-1, *itti dagil pān Ašur belea amnušunūti* 'I reckoned them among the subjects of A. my lord.' *c.* 'against,' only with verbs of fighting and rebelling, such as *marāqu*, Šamsi Ram. iv. 42, *nakāru*, Ašurb. iv. 100, and *balkātu*; e. g. *ittia ušbalkitma* 'he made (them) rebels against me,' Sarg. Prunkinschr. 34 (cf. $\text{ע} \text{ח} \text{ח} \text{ל}$), 2 K. xiii. 12). *d.* Possibly connected with this idea of hostility appears the rare sense 'away from,' e. g. *itti gab'ani dānūti-lušēridu* 'I brought down from the mighty hilltops,' Tig. iii. 17, and IV. R. 59, nr. 2, 20 b, *itti lumni šatiqanni* 'save me from the evil'; cf. also *itti puli u špriša uttr* 'I cleaned it of its stones and dirt,' Rammannir. obv. 8. *e.* Finally, *itti* is employed very rarely instrumentally, 'by means of,' as in *itti puli u špri-špuš* 'I built it by means of stones and earth,' IV. R. 39,

¹ In spite of Delitzsch, *Proz.* 132 ff., 141, rem.

² The form *ištānū*, syn. *irtānū*, V. R. 31, 40 e. f., has no connection with this.

³ *Wasta* may also be derived from this stem, but Dillmann (*Aeth. Gram.* 311) makes it a derivative from *wasafa* 'be in the middle.' If this is so, we must suppose that the original *t* became assimilated to β under the influence of the sibilant (see JAOS. xvi. p. cccix n.).