



A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INJUNCTIVE IN THE AMARNA LETTERS FROM SYRIA-PALESTINE AND ITS RELEVANCE FOR EGYPTIAN IMPERIALISM

Luis Robert Siddall

School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of London

ABSTRACT

The Amarna Letters from Syria-Palestine were written in a mixed language comprising the lingua franca, Akkadian, and what appears to be the local West-Semitic or “Canaanite” language. One of the more distinguishing features resulting from this combination of the two languages is the use of the injunctive form, limited in this article to the jussive (Canaanite) and precative (Akkadian), which were equivalents in the respective languages. Yet while both verbal forms are injunctive and express a wish or an indirect command, the scribes of Syria-Palestine were by no means consistent in their preference for one or the other form. This article maps the geographical pattern of the use of the injunctive, revealing a clear division: the northern and central cities preferred the precative and the southern and coastal cities elected for the jussive. The phenomenon is explained in terms of the regions’ place in the Egyptian empire and the difference in the regions’ familiarity with the Egyptian imperial administration.

It is known that the Amarna Letters¹ sent from Syria-Palestine were written in a mixed language comprising the *lingua franca*, Akkadian, and what we understand to be the local West-Semitic or “Canaanite” language. The presence of Canaanite is most prominent in the verbal system of these letters, and as a result, impacts upon the letters’ syntax, morphology, phonology, and vocabulary. The scribes of the Syro-Palestinian cities often used both Akkadian and Canaanite verbal forms in their correspondence. One of the more distinguishing features resulting from this combination of the two languages is the use of the injunctive. While the term “injunctive” in Semitic languages refers to the jussive, precative, volative and energetic forms, we will limit ourselves to the jussive (Canaanite) and precative (Akkadian). This is because the two verbal forms are equivalent in the respective languages.² Since both verbal forms are injunctive and express a wish or an indirect command,³ one would expect the scribes to be consistent in their use of the injunctive. However, this is not always the case. By conducting a geographical survey, this study will attempt to identify the reason behind the scribes’ use of the precative or the jussive, respectively.

It is necessary to clarify what we consider Canaanite. By the term “Canaanite” and the toponym “Canaan,” we follow Rainey and refer to the people and region of “the Levant south of Nahr el-Kebîr and ancient Kedesh on the Orontes.”⁴ Such a designation is consistent with the area called Canaan by Tutmosis III and the Hebrew Bible (Num. 34:1–12; Ezek. 47:13–48:29).⁵ However, since we are

interested in all cities with a West-Semitic linguistic orientation, centers as far north as Ugarit and the central Syrian region of Amurru are included in the present study.

PRELIMINARY MATTERS

While scholars have not discussed the Canaanite scribes’ use of *both* the precative and the jussive, light has been shed on the nature of the use of the injunctive. Shlomo Izre’el argues that the Canaanite use of the Akkadian precative indicates that the scribes understood Akkadian as the “chancellery” language of the period.⁶ Izre’el also observes that there was a tendency among the northern cities, particularly the letters from Amurru, to construct the precative on the Akkadian present-future base (thus *lû iparras*) rather than the preterite base (see table below).⁷ Izre’el reads this morphology of the precative as a product of northern Syria, as it also occurs in other letters found at Mari, Emar, and in the inscriptions of Idrimi of Alalakh.⁸ While the identification of a different scribal practice in the north from that of the south is significant for this study, Anson Rainey has pointed out that most of the precative forms constructed from the present-future base are not mistakes as such, but rather attempts to differentiate the D-stem from the G-stem.⁹ Rainey has also noted that the precative can signify the beginning of a chain of injunctives.¹⁰ Izre’el’s and Rainey’s explanations clarify part of the puzzle. They do not, however, explain the reason for the scribes’ use of one or both forms of the injunctive verbs when they

occurred independently of each other. Thus, while those scholars who have examined the Amarna precatives and jussives have provided some insights into the problem, little attention has been paid to the issue at hand.

The Akkadian precative is identified by the *lū-/li-* prefix and is based on the preterite or stative conjugation. However, the base form of the precative as it appears in these letters is not as strict as it is in Mesopotamian Akkadian texts. The major variation occurs when the *lu/li-* prefix precedes a Canaanite jussive preterite form: *lu-u a-na-ša-ar* “may I guard” (EA 127:37), *lu-u ti-ra-ḥa-aš* “may they smash” (EA 141:31), and *lu-u ti-i-di* “may you know” (EA 162:78). These forms are reminiscent of the asseverative in Akkadian.¹¹ The context, however, dictates that these forms are precatives, not asseveratives. I categorize these as “mixed forms.” In the case of the jussive, the morphology, as it is in Classical Hebrew, is identical to the morphology of the Canaanite prefixed preterite.¹² The identical morphology of the forms leads to an ambiguity that makes the interpretation of certain instances highly subjective. Every effort has been made in this study to distinguish the jussive forms from the prefixed preterites in the Canaanite letters. The morphology of the precative and the jussive are shown in the table below.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The geographical divisions in the tables below follow those set out by Goren et al. in their petrographic analysis of the Amarna letters.¹³ The tablets are divided into eleven geographical regions and are represented by their city of origin within the geographical region. Each injunctive presented in the tablets is divided into the categories of Akkadian precative (Prec), West-Semitic jussive (Juss), or a mixed form (Mix). The injunctives are then subdivided according to the person to whom the injunctive refers: Pharaoh or Egyptian god (PhG), non-royal Egyptian (Eg), or a non-Egyptian person or god (NE). These divisions will serve to identify whether there is a geographical preference for a particular form of the injunctive and whether there is a correlation between the form of injunctive and its subject.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE PRECATIVE AND JUSSIVE

PRECATIVE		JUSSIVE	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
3c <i>liprus</i>	3m <i>liprusū</i> 3f <i>liprusā</i>	3m <i>yiqtīl</i> 3f <i>tiqtīl</i>	3c <i>tiqtīlu(na)</i>
1c <i>luprus</i>	1c <i>i niprus</i>	1c <i>iqtil</i>	1c <i>niqtīlu(na)</i>

NORTH SYRIAN KINGDOMS

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Ugarit	6	5	1	0	—				—			
Nuḥašše	2	2	0	0	—				1	1	0	0
Ni	—				—				1	1	0	0
TOTAL	8	7	1	0	—				2	2	0	0

SYRIAN KINGDOMS IN THE MIDDLE ORONTES AREA

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Qatna	13	7	4	2	—				4	3	1	0
Qedeš	2	1	1	0	—				—			
Ruḥizzi	1	0	0	1	—				—			
TOTAL	16	8	5	3	—				4	3	1	0

AMURRU AND NEIGHBORING POLITIES

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Amurru	16	10	2	4	2	2	0	0	6	4	0	2
Šumur	1	0	0	1	—				—			
Tunip	3	2	0	1	—				1	1	0	0
Irqata	—				4	4	0	0	—			
TOTAL	20	12	2	6	6	6	0	0	7	5	0	2

THE LEBANESE BAQA' REGION

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Enišasi	2	2	0	0	—				—			
Hasi	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	—			
Guddašuna	1	1	0	0	—				—			
Various rulers ¹⁴	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	—			
TOTAL	6	6	0	0	3	1	0	2	—			

THE LEBANESE LITTORAL

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Byblos	21	19	0	2	115	75	5	35	8	6	1	1
Beirut	—				4	4	0	0	1	0	1	0
Sidon	—				4	4	0	0	1	1	0	0
Tyre	29	27	0	2	7	4	0	3	—			
TOTAL	50	46	0	4	130	87	5	38	10	7	2	1

SOUTHERN SYRIA

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Damascus	7	7	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0
Mušihuna	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	—			
TOTAL	8	8	0	0	3	3	0	0	2	2	0	0

THE BASHAN AREA

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Aštaroth	2	2	0	0	—				—			
Zuḥra	1	1	0	0	—				—			
King Zišamimi	1	1	0	0	—				—			
TOTAL	4	4	0	0	—				—			

GALILEE, THE COASTAL PLAIN OF ACCO, AND THE NORTHERN VALLEY

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Hazor	1	1	0	0	—				—			
Šim'on	—				1	1	0	0	—			
Acco	—				2	2	0	0	—			
Anaḥarath	3	1	2	0	—				2	2	0	0
Megiddo	7	7	0	0	—				2	2	0	0
Reḥob	4	4	0	0	—				2	2	0	0
[. . .]Gmete	2	2	0	0	—				—			
Ginti-Kirmil	—				1	1	0	0	—			
Peḥel	3	3	0	0	—				—			
TOTAL	20	18	2	0	4	4	0	0	6	6	0	0

CENTRAL HILL COUNTRY

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Šechem	1	1	0	0	—				—			
Jerusalem	29	28	1	0	—				1	1	0	0
TOTAL	30	29	1	0	—				1	1	0	0

THE SHEPHELAH AND THE SOUTHERN COASTAL PLAIN

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Gezer	3	3	0	0	9	9	0	0	5	4	0	1
Gath	1	1	0	0	20	19	0	1	—			
Lachiš	—				2	2	0	0	—			
Ašdod	—				2	2	0	0	—			
Ašqelon	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
TOTAL	5	5	0	0	35	34	0	1	6	5	0	1

UNIDENTIFIED CITIES IN CANAAN

City	Prec	PhG	Eg	NE	Juss	PhG	Eg	NE	Mix	PhG	Eg	NE
Bayawa	—				2	2	0	0	1	0	1	0
Šipiṭu-riša	—				1	1	0	0	—			
Various	—				2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
TOTAL	—				5	5	0	0	2	1	1	0

OBSERVATIONS

It must be noted that these findings are somewhat tentative. The majority of the cities offer only one or two letters, which makes it difficult to accurately determine the nature of a city’s writing system. However, when the letters are divided into geographical groups, one is able to identify consistencies and patterns in the corpus. For our purpose, the data reveal a striking phenomenon in the use of the injunctive. The pattern that emerges is of a geographical division, with the northern and central cities preferring the precative and the southern and south-coastal opting for the jussive. The geographical division forms a curve from the Phoenician coast south to the Acco region, and then across to the Shephelah and the south of the Central Hill Country (see Figure 1).

There are two main exceptions to the general geographical scheme: Jerusalem and Tyre. Long has it been recognized that the Jerusalem letters, despite their southern geographical location, pertain to a northern grammatical and orthographic style.¹⁵ However, this situation is not surprising, as Abdi-Ḥeba states that he was not the local ruler of Jerusalem but an Egyptian puppet ruler.¹⁶ If Abdi-Ḥeba’s scribe was trained in Egypt and then placed in Jerusalem, that would explain why the correspondence reflects the “northern” or more conserva-

tive style. Similarly, Tyre’s position on the Phoenician coast indicates that it should have made greater use of the jussive injunctive than the precative. However, precatives make up 80.6% of the injunctives used. Like Abdi-Ḥeba, Abi-milki states that he was once a magnate of the Egyptian administration,¹⁷ and this statement is reinforced by the Egyptianisms found in the letters.¹⁸ Therefore, these two centers were unlike the other Canaanite cities: they were governed by members of the Egyptian administration and consequently produced letters that were more conservative than those from neighboring cities.

The statistical data, when collated, offer a number of insights into the linguistic division between the northern-central and southern-coastal centers. Overall the balance between use of the precative and jussive injunctives is fairly even: 167 precatives (42.5%) and 186 jussives (47.3%), with the mixed forms tallying 40 (10.2%). However, the figures diverge when we divide the centers into our “northern” and “southern” groupings. The letters from the northern-central centers contain 92 precatives (75.4%), 12 jussives (9.8%), and 18 mixed forms (14.8%); while the southern-coastal letters contain 75 precatives (28.2%), 169 jussives (63.5%), and 22 mixed forms (8.3%). Thus, while the use of the different types of the injunctive occurs relatively evenly throughout the Canaanite corpus as

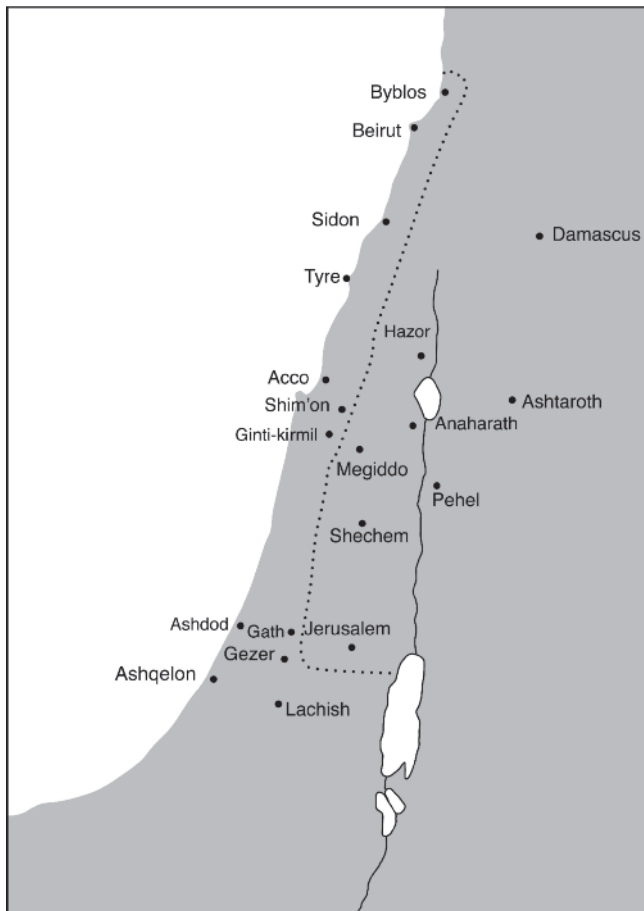


Figure 1. The geographical division.

a whole, a geographical evaluation reveals a division in its use: the northern-central cities preferred the precativ, while the southern-coastal cities opted for the jussive.

The data also show that there is no correlation between the verbal form used and the cultural background of its subject. An initial point of interest was to determine if the vassals referred to themselves and their peers with the jussive and reserved the Akkadian precativ for the Pharaoh. The Byblos corpus, for example, in all but two cases, uses the precativ for the Pharaoh. However, the use of the jussive with the Pharaoh as subject is almost three times more frequent! In those cities that used both the precativ and the jussive, we find writers oscillating between using the precativ and the jussive, regardless of the verbs' subjects. Thus, there is no correlation between verbal form and subject.

ANALYSIS

The geographical pattern that has emerged from this analysis is that the regions that had the longest contact with Egypt tended to use jussives, while those cities whose submission to Egypt was relatively recent tended to use precatives. Should one

view the use of the respective injunctive form as a reflection of a city's political relationship to Egypt, or is it a cultural indicator? A recent study by E. F. Morris has examined the opening formulae of the Amarna Letters to determine the level of obsequiousness on the part of the vassals.¹⁹ That study revealed geographical divisions in Syria-Palestine, which are similar to those of the northern-central/southern-coastal division found here.²⁰ It is clear that during the Amarna Period, all cities and nations were expected to write their international correspondence in Middle Babylonian Akkadian. This is evident from the letters of the "great powers": Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, Mitanni, and Babylonia.²¹ Moran has noted that in the Syro-Palestinian region, the northern Canaanite cities often wrote letters with a more consistent use of Akkadian than the southern cities.²² This certainly is supported by what we have found in the geographical analysis of the injunctive verbs.

Is the style of language an indication that the northern-central cities were more politically cooperative than the southern-coastal cities? Many northern-central cities were on the frontier of the Egyptian empire and at continual risk of being attacked. For example, Rib-Addi of Byblos constantly complains about the advances of Amurru, the 'Apiru and the Hittites. Yet it is the cities of this region that offer the most linguistically conservative letters. Further, the only jussives found in the Amurru letters appear in those from Abdi-Aširta,²³ yet the letters from Abdi-Aširta's successor, Aziru, who defected from Egypt to the Hittite empire, do not contain a single jussive. The Tyrian letters, which contain aspects of Egyptian royal ideology and religious philosophy,²⁴ used precatives 80.6% of the time and often exhibit Middle Babylonian rather than West-Semitic grammar.²⁵ Are we to read this as political subordination of an Egyptian administrator acting as governor? Or should we take the view that Abi-milki had a better understanding of Egyptian culture than his contemporaries? The Jerusalem letters often included postscripts to the Egyptian officials directing how his message should be presented to the Pharaoh.²⁶ Abdi-Ḥeba clearly understood the dynamics of the Egyptian foreign office and was attempting to get his message taken seriously by the bureaucracy. It is proposed here that Abi-milki used the same tactic, but that exhibiting his knowledge of Egyptian culture was an attempt to appeal to the Pharaoh as well as to the bureaucrats. Thus, the content of these letters does not indicate that the northern-central rulers were more subordinate.

It is also difficult to read the southern-coastal cities' use of the jussive and other Canaanite verbal forms as evidence of a political withdrawal or as an "anti-language." Indeed, the southern letters indicate that both friend and foe of the Egyptian empire occupied the southern regions. In the south, the 'Apiru were causing havoc, and disturbances were also created by Lab'ayu (Shechem), Biryawaza (Damascus) and Etakkama (Qedeš), to name a few, also created disturbances. Consequently, political turmoil and rebellion were just as rife in the south as they were in the north.

An interesting statistic arises from the Byblos correspondence: of the last 45 letters from Rib-Addi, only five contain precatives,²⁷ as opposed to the preceding 28 letters which contain 35 precatives. There is little evidence for Rib-Addi's use of the jussive representing an anti-language. The character of his letters does not change after EA 100—he was consistently argumentative throughout his correspondence with the Pharaoh. As a result, the change in preference from precatative to jussive cannot be viewed as a method of political resistance. It is also noteworthy that the Canaanite letters mostly took the form of requests, as it would be nonsensical to write a request for aid to the suzerain in a politically antagonistic style. Thus, it is difficult to view the use of the precatative and jussive as evidence of political (dis)loyalty.

If the difference between the northern-central and southern-coastal cities' use of the injunctive verbal forms was not a matter of political loyalty, was it cultural? The Canaanite cities were not uniform, but rather were made up of various ethnicities and cultures.²⁸ Despite the variety of cultures, customs, and ethnicities in Canaan during the Amarna period, a verbal system separate from Akkadian was used consistently throughout the southern letters from Syria-Palestine. Young has proposed that the Canaanite verbal system found in the Amarna Letters represents the influence of a "Canaanite prestige language"²⁹—that is, a language that was used for communication between the Canaanite cities, much as Akkadian was used for international communication. Thus, in support of Young's thesis, it is proposed here that in their correspondence with the Pharaoh, the southern-coastal cities coalesced Akkadian, the international prestige language, with their local Canaanite prestige language.

What of the northern-central cities—did they not possess a prestige language? It appears that the situation there was quite different. We know of two major languages that developed in the north, Aramaic and Ugaritic, both of which almost certainly share the same origin as Canaanite. However, the *l-* prefix is different in these languages. In Ugaritic, the *l-* prefix does not indicate an injunctive verb; rather it acts only as the marker of the asseverative (as in Akkadian) or as a vocative (as in Hebrew).³⁰ The Sam'al branch of Aramaic retained the *l-* prefix that disappeared in other branches by the first millennium.³¹ For example, it is used in the Hadad inscription as a precatative: *lytkh*, "may he pour it" and *l'kl*, "may he eat."³² Thus, we see the presence of an *l-* prefix used in a precatative sense in the area from the second to the first millennium.

It also appears that, compared to the southern-coastal cities, the northern-central scribes felt little need to incorporate the local language into their correspondence with Egypt. The situation at Ugarit illustrates this most clearly. The archives from this city show that Akkadian was used for economic texts, legal documents, and some international correspondence, while Ugaritic was reserved for cultural texts (religious and literary).³³ Thus, for many of the northern Canaanite cities, the Akkadian precatative could well have been a familiar verbal conjugation. Indeed, if this

is correct, one could postulate that the mixed forms present in these letters are not an imitation of the East-Semitic precatative, but are the Canaanite version proper.

Since a cultural reading of the presence of the jussive (and perhaps the mixed form) seems far more likely, how then are we to understand the distribution of the various injunctives? In a previous study, I have argued that the West-Semitic features of the Syro-Palestinian letters were used to attract the attention of Canaanites who had been recruited into the Egyptian foreign office.³⁴ That is, by using West-Semitic words and grammatical forms, the vassal was making an attempt to establish a cultural connection with the Canaanite officials in the Egyptian administration and thereby win favor and have his request met quickly and efficiently.³⁵ If the "cultural connection" thesis is correct, the geographical distribution of the respective injunctives has a significant implication for the situation in the Egyptian northern empire.

The relevant Canaanite centers would have had knowledge of the Egyptian administration. The evidence for such a view is found in the letters from Abi-milki and Abdi-Heba. Indeed, Egypt's influence in Asia was most consistent in the areas to its immediate north, and along the Phoenician coast.³⁶ This area of influence matches the regions of Syria-Palestine that used the jussive most prominently. Thus, it is possible that what is found in the Canaanite Amarna Letters is an expression of familiarity with Egypt. The regions which have had the longest contact with Egypt present the most divergent linguistic data. Despite this linguistic diversity, communication between Egypt and her southern and coastal vassals seems to have continued unhindered. If the Egyptian foreign office employed West Semites, one can understand how such varying grammatical forms could be accommodated without affecting the channel of communication. In this way, it is possible that the southern-coastal cities' preference for the jussive was not politically negative—an anti-language—but a cultural identifier used for political gain.

CONCLUSION

This paper has conducted a geographical analysis of the application of the precatative and the jussive in the Canaanite letters of the Amarna corpus. The study found a significant difference between the preference shown by the northern-central scribes and that shown by the southern-coastal. It was then argued that the basis for the scribes' preference was not negative or subversive politics, but a cultural symbol. The southern-coastal scribes' use of the Canaanite jussive verbal form represents a part of the scribal practice that combined the international *lingua franca* of Akkadian with the southern Canaanite prestige language. The northern-central scribes, however, appear to have reserved their local languages for cultural texts, using the *lingua franca* for its intended purpose of international correspondence—and in the case of the injunctive, the precatative was the more familiar form among the northern cities.

NOTES

This is an expanded version of a paper presented on July 3, 2007 at the 25th National Association of the Professors of Hebrew International Conference on Hebrew Language and Literature held at the University of Sydney. I would like to take this opportunity to give special thanks to Dr. Robyn C. Vern (University of Sydney) for her initial work collecting the raw data for this project and to Alyssa Coundouris for all her help with the map in Figure 1.

1. All Amarna Letters quoted can be found in cuneiform copy in Otto Schroeder (ed.), *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna* (Osnabruck: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1915); and Carl Bezold and E. A. Wallis Budge (eds.), *The El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with Autotype Facsimiles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1892); in transliterations and translations in J. A. Knudtzon (ed.), *Die El-Amarna Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen I*, (Aalen: Otto Zeller Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1915); Anson F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359–379: Supplement to J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon und Kevelaer, 1970); and in translation in W. L. Moran (ed.), *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
2. This is confirmed by EA 228:18–19 where a precativus is “glossed” by a jussive: *li-iḫ-šu-uš-mi \ ya-az-ku-ur-mi*, “may he remember.”
3. Anson F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect used by the Scribes from Canaan*, vol. II, *Morphosyntactic Analysis of the Verbal System* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 211.
4. Rainey 1996, 1. See also A. F. Rainey, “Who is a Canaanite? A Review of the Textual Evidence,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 304 (1996): 1–15.
5. Rainey 1996, 2. See also Nadav Na’aman, “The Canaanites and Their Land: A Rejoinder,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 26 (1994): 397–418; and Michael G. Hasel, “Pa-Canaan in the Egyptian New Kingdom: Canaan or Gaza?,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1 (2009): 8–15. For an excellent coverage of the toponyms in Tuthmosis III’s topographical list and their attestation in Semitic texts, see A. F. Rainey and R. S. Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta’s Atlas of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 72–75.
6. Shlomo Izre’el, “Some Methodological Requisites for the Study of the Amarna Jargon: Notes on the Essence of that Language,” in Barry J. Beitzel and Gordon D. Young (eds.), *Tell el-Amarna 1887–1987* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming; currently available at <http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/semitec/izree11987.rtf>).
7. Shlomo Izre’el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study with an Appendix on the History of Amurru by Itamar Singer*, vol. I (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 165.
8. Izre’el 1991, 165–166.
9. Rainey 1996, 213–214.
10. Rainey 1996, 217.
11. See John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), §29.3.c.
12. C. L. Seow, *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew*, revised ed. (Nashville: Abindon Press, 1995), 209.
13. Yuval Goren, Israel Finkelstein, and Nadav Na’aman, *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance of the Amarna Tablets and other Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004).
14. For a description and notes about the duplicate texts, see Goren, Finkelstein and Na’aman 2004, 131–132.
15. W. L. Moran, “The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background,” in George Ernest Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1965), 66 and 79, n. 42; W. L. Moran, “The Syrian Scribe of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters,” in John Huehnergard and Shlomo Izre’el (eds.), *Amarna Studies: Collected Writings by William L. Moran* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 249–274; Schroeder 1915, 73–94; and most recently Zipora Cochavi-Rainey and Anson F. Rainey, “Finite Verbal Usage in the Jerusalem Amarna Letters,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 39 (2007): 37–56.
16. EA 286:9–13: *amur anāku lā abiya u lā ummiya šaknani ina ašri anni zuruḥ šarri dannu*, “Behold! I have not been established in this place (by) my father or my mother, (but) the strong arm of the King.” See Knudtzon 1915, 860.
17. EA 149:14–16: *anāku rābiš šarri bēliya u anāku ša ubbalu amāta ṭāba u annāma limna*, “I am the magnate of the king, my lord, and I am one who carries the good word and also the bad.” See Knudtzon 1915, 616.
18. For the varying views, see W. F. Albright, “The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki Prince of Tyre,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (1937): 190–203; Stanley Gevirtz, “On Canaanite Rhetoric: The Evidence of the Amarna Letters from Tyre,” *Orientalia Nova Series* 42 (1973): 162–177; Cecilia Grave, “On the Use of an Egyptian Idiom in an Amarna Letter from Tyre and in a Hymn to the Aten,” *Oriens Antiquus* 19 (1980): 205–218; and Cecilia Grave, “Northwest Semitic *šapānu* in a Break-up of an Egyptian Stereotype Phrase in EA 147,” *Orientalia Nova Series* 51 (1982): 161–182.
19. Ellen F. Morris, “Bowing and Scraping in the Ancient Near East: An Investigation into the Obsequiousness in the Amarna Letters,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65 (2006): 179–195.
20. Morris 2006, esp. 180–191.
21. Some of the Mitanni and Hittite correspondence is written in Hurrian (EA 24) and Hittite (EA 31 and 32). On the term “great powers,” see Mario Liverani, “The Great Powers’ Club,” in Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (eds.) *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 15–27.
22. Moran 1992, xx–xxii.
23. EA 60 and 64.
24. See especially EA 147, 151, and 155. See the literature cited above in n. 18.
25. There is, however, evidence for the presence of West-Semitic grammatical influence in the Tyrian corpus. For example, the

- perfective *qatala* form known from Arabic and Ugaritic is found in two instances (*ša-ar-ra* EA151:53 and *da-a-ka* EA 154:19).
26. EA 286:60–64; 287:64–70; 288:63–66; and 289:47–51.
27. EA 102:6, 106:26, 35, 41; 116:6; 127:37 and 136:6.
28. Ian Young, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1993), 7.
29. Young 1993, 8–10.
30. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar*, *Analecta Orientalia* 38 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), §9.16; Moran 1965, 68–69; and Josef Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 804, 810–811.
31. Paul-E. Dion, “The Language Spoken in Ancient Sam’al,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 (1978), 118.
32. Line 23, in John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol II: *Aramaic Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zenjirli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 69 and 74, n. 23.
33. John Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 9–16.
34. Luis Robert Siddall, “Was There a Purpose for the Use of West-Semitic in the Amarna Letters from Syria-Palestine?” *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 16 (2005): 85–99.
35. Siddall 2005, esp. 94–96.
36. For example, Byblos had been subject to Egypt since the Old Kingdom Period; see most recently Susan Tower Hollis, “Hathor and Isis in Byblos in the Second and Third Millennia BCE,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1 (2009): 1–5.
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