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Final *-m* in Ugaritic Again

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[Additional examples of final-*m* in Ugaritic are presented, some of them uncertain, and corrections to a previous article are provided. There is a brief note on occurrence and distribution in Ugaritic. Comparative material from other languages is also discussed.]

In section (a) will be discussed examples not included in my previous article on final *-m*¹ (FM) as well as some difficult passages (b). To make reference easier, within each section texts are cited in the sequence of KTU (and then RIH).² In view of the frequent occurrence of FM in Ugaritic and the correspondingly extensive bibliography it has engendered, I make no claim to be exhaustive or complete. In (c) incorrectly identified occurrences are listed. Section (d) gives corrections to the previous article and (e) is a short presentation of occurrence and distribution in Ugaritic. A survey of some comparative material from other languages is provided in (f).

(a) New Entries

(111) 1.3 ii 33 (and par.)

ybmt l'imm

sister-in-law of Lim.³

(112) 1.3 iv 31-32 (// 1.4 i 19-20)

'ap. mtn. rgmm 'argmn

Yet another word will I say

The noun *rgm*, “word” has an FM here and the expression is a “fórmula de cambio de discurso”.⁴

1. “Final *-m* in Ugaritic”, *AuOr* 10 (1992) 223-252. The same abbreviations are used here. To the bibliography there add D. Sivan, “Dual Nouns in Ugaritic”, *JSS* 28 (1983) 233-240.

2. The numbering continues from the previous article.

3. D. Pardee, review of ARTU, *AfO* 36/37 (1989/90) 179, following B. Margalit, *A Matter of > Life < and > Death <* (AOAT 206; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980) 135.

4. MLC, 623.

(113) 1.4 vi 36-38

hty bnt dt. ksp.

hkly[.] dtm.ħrş

My <ma>nsion I built of silver,
my palace of gold.Here the repeated *dt* has a FM.

(114) 1.15 v 16

[k]hm. l. mtm. uşb'[t],

Yes, he is only a finger-breadth removed from death

where *mtm* is a stative.⁵

(115) 1.17 v 36-39

pr^cm. şdk. ybn[.][] pr^cm şdkhn. pr[^cm.] şd

The first spoils of your chase, O son,

[] the first spoils of your chase,

look, the first spoils of your chase...

Various restorations have been proposed,⁶ but FM most probably occurs three times. Dijkstra and de Moor note that the word division is *pr^cm şdk*, not *pr^c mşdk* as in Gordon, UT #19.2151 and that here there is an enclitic *-m* in a genitive construction.⁷

(116) 1.17 vi 15-16

[krpnh tdy] l'arş.

ksh. tşpkm [l^cpr.]

Her beaker she threw on the earth,

her cup she spilled on the ground.

The restorations are fairly certain;⁸ the FM is added to a verb form.

(117) 1.18 i 6-8

The restorations [bnm bt]k, [bnm btk] and [bnm hklk] were proposed on the basis of the parallel passage (1.3 v 19-25)⁹ – all examples of FM within a construct chain.

5. J. C. de Moor – K. Spronk, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (II)", *UF* 14 (1982) 173-190 (179, with a parallel from the syllabic texts from Ugarit).

6. Margalit, UPA, 123.288: see 177 for textual notes. His translation is: "[Observe], my son, the beginnings of your hunting (career), /Behold], the beginning of your hunting; Here! (take it) and may you hunt well" (149).

7. M. Dijkstra – J. C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhātu", *UF* 7 (1975) 171-215 (182, n. 113): their translation is reproduced here.

8. Dijkstra – de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 185. Margalit, UPA, 124. 150. 297, reads and translates: [krpnh tplm.] larş ksh. tşpkm(.) [l^cpr.] "Her goblet falls to the ground, /Her cup spills to the earth". Note that Margalit restores a FM in the first verb, but this is conjecture.

9. Dijkstra – de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 193.

- (118) 1.19 iv 49-50
mgy[t] pgt. 'ahlm

Renfroe translates the last word “the tent”, presumably *'ahl* with FM.¹⁰ This passage has been fully discussed elsewhere.¹¹

- (119) 1.82: 6
hr. btrm. 'uḥd. b'lm
 Seize the entrails of the serpents, O Baal!

This rendering is only one of the possibilities.¹² In line 14 of the same text *b'lm*, “O Baal”, recurs.

- (120) 1.82: 11
 [] x *'nt. šzrm*
 [] Anath with a rope.

De Moor and Spronk comment: “We regard *šzrm* as a noun with enclitic -m”.¹³ Although Caquot reads *ḥzrm* instead (meaning “revenir” or “réitérer”) he too notes “il s’agit probablement d’un nom verbal adverbialisé par -m”.¹⁴

- (121) 1.105: 25-26
'lm tzgm
 in addition, a *t*.-offering.

Note that *tzg*¹⁵ has already been mentioned in line 7, which may explain the use of FM here.¹⁶

- (122) 2.16: 10-11
w'um tšmḥ. m'ab

Del Olmo Lete has proposed a solution for this difficult line by assuming the word-divider to be incorrect and the *m* to be a FM on the verb form: *w'um tšmḥ*. {*m 'ab*, “(my) mother made (my) father happy”.¹⁷ Since FM is so often added to verbs¹⁸ this is a very plausible solution.

10. F. Renfroe, *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies* (ALASP 5; Münster 1992) 97 [= *AULS*].

11. “Ugaritic Lexical Studies in Perspective”, to appear in *SEL* 12 (1995).

12. I follow G. del Olmo Lete, *La Religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 3; Sabadell 1992) 252; for other translations cf. A. Caquot, “Un recueil ougaritique de formules magiques: KTU 1.82”. *SEL* 5 (1988) 31-43 (36); TOug II, 64-65, and the seminal study by J. C. de Moor – K. Spronk. “More on Demons in Ugarit (KTU 1.82)”, *UF* 16 (1984) 237-250 (240 and 243).

13. De Moor – Spronk, *UF* 16 (1984) 242 – see there for the etymology of *šzr* – followed by del Olmo Lete, *Religión*, 254.

14. Caquot, *SEL* 5 (1988) 38; cf. TOug II, 66, n. 187.

15. For the meaning of this term cf. Xella, TRU I, 39-41. Note, in addition, Akk. *t/diš/šḫu*, “eine Fleischsorte” (AHw, 1362a).

16. For the most recent translation cf. del Olmo Lete, *Religión*, 168, previously, *AuOr* 6 (1988) 192.

17. Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 189 (review of TOug II); see already G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín. “A New Ugaritic Dictionary. Its Lexicographical and Semantic Structure”, *AuOr* 6 (1988) 255-274 (259).

18. Watson, “Final -m”. 226-229, esp. section B(ii).

(123) 2.25: 4

htm. 'iph. ['ady. w.]

Now I would like to/let me see [my mistress and]

Here, simple *ht*, “see, now”,¹⁹ has been made emphatic by FM.²⁰

(124) 2.41: 14

'inm. 'bdk

Now then, your servant etc.

Since 2.41 is a literal translation of the original Akkadian, Ug. *'inm* derives from Akk. *i/enūma*, “now now then”.²¹

(125) RIH 78/14: 5'

*'ahrm*then²²

(126) RIH 78/20 2-3

*wišš'u lpn ql t'y**kqtr 'urbtm kbt'n 'mdm*and you shall depart before the voice of the incantation-priest
like smoke through a chimney, like a snake up a pillarIndisputably, both *'urbt* and *'md* here have adverbial *-m*. Of interest, too, is the place name *lbnm* (1.91 21; 4.610 (ii) 16; 4.693: 39; 4.621: 1; 4.684: 3 (*lbn[n/m]*) and RIH 77/27: 14', which corresponds to *Labinuma* and *Labnima*.²³

(b) Uncertain examples

(127) 1.4 i 36-37

*n^cl. 'il.**d.qblbl**yblhm. hṛš*a tremendous couch,
with a head-rest on it,
the support of which was goldThe stichometry and translation are de Moor's²⁴ – *yblhm* = *ybl* + suffix *-h* + FM.²⁵ FM has already been noted in lines 27-28.

19. Aartun, PU I, 5 and 67.

20. See Veereet, MU, 127 for translation.

21. I. Márquez Rowe, “Akkadisms in Ugaritic Texts. KTU 2.41: 14-22: a suggestion”, *AuOr* 10 (1992) 152-154, esp. 153 with bibliography.22. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz. *Mantik in Ugarit. Keilalphabetische Texte der Opferschau – Omensammlungen – Nekromantie* (ALASP 3: Münster 1990) 181-182 and 182 n. 583 on enclitic *m*, here used pleonastically.23. Bibliography: Pardee, *AfO* 36-37 (1989-90) 490.24. J. C. de Moor, “Syntax Peculiar to Ugaritic Poetry” in J. C. de Moor – W. G. E. Watson, eds., *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (AOAT 42: Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1993) 191-205 (198).25. For other possibilities cf. MLC, 194; CML², 56; TOug I, 196.

(128) 1.6 v 17-19

‘lk[.] pht. ḡly.-bšdm.

On your account I experienced abandonment in the field

In view of the parallel *bšd tdr^c.nn* (1.6 ii 34-35),²⁶ perhaps *šdm* here is singular.

(129) 1.82: 16

šmdm. špk []

with an axe he sheds []

This may be *šmd* with adverbial -*m* or it may be a dual form (“double-headed axe”) as in 1.2 iv 11.²⁷ 1.82 uses FM often (see also *km* in lines 3, 11, 24//24 and 25) but exact occurrences cannot be determined because the text is in bad condition and is difficult to understand.

(130) 1.117 7’

‘d. mtm. šknt

“L’absence de contexte empêche d’analyser ‘*d mtm šknt*, car chaque mot pourrait avoir plusieurs significations... *mtm* = «les morts», «les hommes», «la mort (+ -*m*)», ou «*Môtu* (+ -*m*)?»”.²⁸ Tropper is also hesitant: “Ob auch *KTU* 1.117.8 [=7’] (*d mtm šknt*) als Beleg für ugar. *mt* zu werten ist, muß mangels Kontext offen bleiben”.²⁹

(131) 1.119: 20’ and 20’-21’

‘šrmm

birds

“The explanation of the anomalous form ‘*šrmm* here, and probably at the end of the line and into line 21’, is uncertain”.³⁰

(132) 5.156+(1.70) 5

*k’addm.*Perhaps to be analysed as *k* + ‘*add* (divine name) + *m*.³¹

(133) RIH 78/20: 1

ydy. dbbm. dḡzr.

He (= Baal) shall drive off the accuser of the young man

In the light of Akkadian, Fleming explains *dbb* as “accuser”,³² however, “tormenters” is also possible.³³

26. On which cf. W. G. E. Watson, “More on Metathetic Parallelism”, *WO* 19 (1988) 40-44 (44).

27. De Moor AOAT 16, 135; de Moor – Spronk, *UF* 16 (1984) 244.

28. D. Pardee, *Les textes Para-mythologiques* (Paris 1988) 259.

29. J. Tropper, “Sam’alisch *mt* “wahrlich” und das Phänomen der Aphärese im Semitischen”, *Or* 61 (1992) 448-453 (448, n. 8).

See my previous examples (15) and (36).

30. D. Pardee, “Poetry in Ugaritic Ritual Texts” in de Moor – Watson, *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* 207-218 (215, n. 27).

31. Perhaps to be normalised as *kī Adad-ma*; cf. W. H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40; Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991) 297 and 299, n. 100. FM may occur in line 6 of the same text.

32. D. Fleming, “The Voice of the Ugaritic Incantation Priest (RIH 78/20)”, *UF* 23 (1991) 141-154 (143-144); according to him *m* is a G participle with enclitic -*m*.

33. Pardee, “Poetry”, 211.

(134) RIH 78/20: 9-10

*'aphm kšpm. dbbm. ygrš**hrn ḥbrm. wglm. d' tm.*

Then he shall expel the sorcerer who accuses

– Horon, the magician, and Ghalmu, the familiar.³⁴On *'aphm* Fleming comments: “This exact form of the conjunction *'ap* appears to be new”.³⁵

(135) RIH 78/20: 10-11

lk lztm. 'al. tmk.

Go, you shall sink low...,

Here, *ztm* would appear to have an FM.³⁶ Pardee renders *lztm* “with respect to heat”.³⁷

(136) RIH 78/20: 14

'adm. rd.ḥtm.

For the man, descend (from) the rod

This is Pardee’s rendering;³⁸ Fleming proposes “O man, the one with the staff(s) etc.”.³⁹ In spite of the difficulties it seems that *ḥtm* = *ḥt* + *-m* here.

(137) RIH 78/20: 20

“If *r'tm* in line 20 is a fully preserved word, it may be feminine dual or plural + enclitic *-m*, ‘evils’”.⁴⁰Note, also that the month name *ittbnm* (4.269: 30; 4.387: 13; 4.609: 1) is perhaps to be analysed as *itt* + *n* + *m* if it corresponds to Alalakh *aštabi*.⁴¹

(c) Incorrect identification of FM

To section M of the previous paper (incorrectly identified examples of FM)⁴² can be added the following. The *-m* in both the numerals *tlm* (4.360 6.7) and *ttm* (4.141 iii 7.9) is not enclitic but the dual ending; the equivalents in German are “Dreierschaft” and “Sechterschaft” respectively.⁴³ Van

34. Translation: Fleming, *UF* 23 (1991) 151; on enclitic *m* see *ibid.*, 144. Pardee, “Poetry”, 212, translates all the nouns as plural and has a different stichometry: “Then the sorcerers, the tormenters, / Will *Horanu* drive out, (even) the companions, / And the Lad (will drive out) the familiars for you”.

35. Fleming, *UF* 23 (1991) 151 n. 57.

36. For the meaning cf. Fleming, *UF* 23 (1991) 151.

37. Pardee, “Poetry”, 212. Note that his stichometry is again different.

38. Pardee, “Poetry”, 212, with the correction of *wd* to *rd* (*ibid.*, 212, n. 14).

39. Translation: Fleming, *UF* 23 (1991) 153. According to Fleming the following *zrm* = *zr* (pass. ptc., Heb. *zûr*) + enclitic *-m* (*ibid.* 153) but del Olmo Lete, *Religión*, 260, translates “¿en tierra te quedarás clavado?” (where the verb is *zrm*).

40. Pardee, “Poetry”, 213, n. 17.

41. T. de Jong – W. H. van Soldt, “Redating an early solar eclipse record (KTU 1.78). Implications for the Ugaritic calendar and the secular accelerations of the earth and the moon”, *JEOL* 30 (1987-88) 65-77. They conjecture that the month name with the spelling *iš-šī-GI* (RS22.217A[+]), *i-iš-GI* (RS25.453+) and *iš-GI* (RS 22.229) could correspond to *it* + *tibnu/uma*. Further bibliography: D. Pardee, “Ugaritic Proper Nouns”, *AfO* 36-37 (1989-90) 390-513 (430).

42. Watson “Final *-m*”, 244-246.

43. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, “Kennt das ug. Zahlensystem die duale *tlm* “6” und *ttm* “12”?”, *UF* 14 (1982) 307-308. On *tm* see *ibid.*, 307, n. 6 and Gordon *UT* # 7.65; van Soldt, *Studies*, 412.

Selms mentions a possible occurrence of *ktrm* in PRU V 125:9 (i.e., KTU 1.94:31)⁴⁴ but the reading in KTU is *jrgrm*. In at least one text (1.10 iii 29) *bkm* = *b* + *km*, “hill, mound, etc.” as shown by Aartun⁴⁵ and confirmed by Renfroe.⁴⁶ Therefore, it cannot be analysed as *bk* + FM.⁴⁷

(d) Corrections and additions to previous entries

For ease of reference the words discussed here will be in the accepted alphabetical sequence. The term *'urm* has been translated in various ways⁴⁸ including “as a flame sacrifice”⁴⁹ and “combustión”.⁵⁰ It would seem that *kmm* (end of section F) which also occurs in RIH 77/10B: 4.10 and RIH 77/2B: 5.7.8, corresponds to Emar *ki annutima*.⁵¹ The syntagma *kmtm* (entry (36)) has been discussed yet again recently.⁵² The unique form *m'idm*, “very” (entry (37)) is due to the fact that like RIH 77/21A, the letter (KTU 2.39+) was probably translated from Akkadian.⁵³ On *mrḥqm* and *mrḥqtm* (end of section F) some additional bibliography can be given.⁵⁴ It is to be noted that Milano rejects the exact equivalence of Akk. *ištu rūqiš* and *mrḥq(t)m* put forward by Loewenstamm.⁵⁵ In addition to the meanings discussed for *psltm* (entry (105)), “by pounding”,⁵⁶ is possible, though Renfroe translates “with a razor”.⁵⁷ It is likely that *p'nm* (entry (52) 1.43:24.24) means “barefoot”.⁵⁸ Additional examples of *šlmm*, “sacred gifts of greeting”⁵⁹ are RIH 77/2B: 8; RIH 77/10B: 12; RIH 78/4: 11 and RIH 78/11: 4.6.⁶⁰

44. On *ktrm* (entries 1 and 46) see A. van Selms, “The Root *ktr* and its Derivatives in Ugaritic Literature”, *UF* 11 (1979) 739-744 (742).

45. K. Aartun, “Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon”, *WO* 4 (1968) 278-299 (291).

46. Renfroe, *AULS*, 57-59.

47. On *bkm* see B. Margalit, “Lexicographical Notes on the Aqht Epic (Part II: KTU 1.19)”, *UF* 16 (1984) 119-179 (135-137).

48. Watson, “Final -m”, 246, n. 186: correct 1.119: 12 to 1.119: 13.

49. Cf. Pardee, “Poetry”, 215 and n. 23.

50. Del Olmo Lete, *Religión*, 30.80.146-149, etc.

51. See del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 5 (1987) 264, n. 46.

52. E. Verreet, *Bib* 72 (1991) 296 (= review of TOug II); he translates: “Und die Hand der Götter ‘ist’ hier, da Môt (+ Mem [sic!]-encliticum) sehr stark ist”, and points out (295) that *yd*, f., cannot agree with ‘z, G perf. 3 m. sg. On *yd ilm* see now D. Pardee, “As Strong as Death” in J. H. Marks – R. M. Good, eds, *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (Guilford CT 1987) 65-69 (68).

53. See M. Yamada. “Reconsidering the Letters from the “King” in the Ugarit Texts: Royal Correspondence of Carchemish?”, *UF* 24 (1992) 431-446 (435).

54. K. Aartun. “Präpositionale Ausdrücke im Ugaritischen als Ersatz für semitisch *min*. Eine kontrastive und sprachgeschichtliche Analyse”, *UF* 14 (1982) 1-14, (3.14) discusses *mrḥqtm* which he analyses as *min* + *rḥqm/rḥqtm*. However, cf. H. Hirsch, review of Segert, *BGUL*, in *AfO* 38/39 (1991/92) 196-198 (197) for critique and bibliography.

55. L. Milano, *VO* 3 (1988) 12.

56. G. A. Anderson, *A Time to Mourn, A Time to Dance. The Expression of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion* (University Park, Pennsylvania 1991) 62 and n. 5. However, cf. C. Bonnet, “La terminologie phénico-punique relative au métier de lapicide et à la gravure des textes”, *SEL* 7 (1990) 111-122 (121 on *psl*).

57. Renfroe, *AULS*, 45-48.

58. “Will man nicht davon ausgehen, daß König während des Rituals getragen oder gefahren wurde oder gar geritten ist, dann wirkt “zu Fuß” redundant. Vielleicht sollte erwogen werden, ob mit *p'nm* nicht ausgedrückt werden sollte, daß der König nicht nur “zu Fuß”, sondern auch “mit blanken Füßen, barfuß” dem Ritual beizuwohnen hatte”. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, “Jahwe und seine Aschera”. *Anthropomorphes Kultbild in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel. Das biblische Bildverbot* (UBL 9: Münster 1992) 60: cf. del Olmo Lete, *Religión* 192, n. 103.

59. As translated by B. Levine – J. M. de Tarragon, “The King Proclaims the Day: Ugaritic Rites for the Vintage (KTU 1.41//1.87)”, *RB* 100 (1993) 76-115 (82).

60. Note that for entry (43) there is also a parallel in 1.3 v 24-25. In the previous article, p. 239 n. 121 – read del Olmo Lete *AuOr* 5 (1987) 41-42 and 42, n. 13 (not n. 5) – and see now *Religión*, 148, n. 8. For a list of divine names with and without a final *m* see de Moor, *UF* 2 (1970) 226 (overlooked by me).

(e) Occurrence and distribution

FM occurs across the whole spectrum of the Ugaritic corpus: mythological and liturgical texts, letters, administrative documents and even on personal and place names. There is a tendency for clustering in certain texts, most of them literary. In addition to those noted previously (section Q), KTU 1.82 and RIH 78/20 can be mentioned. The many occurrences of FM in 1.23 have been set out elsewhere.⁶¹ Such clustering can be matched by the dense use of enclitic *-ma* in a Babylonian ballad (see section (f) below). However, virtually nowhere can the presence of FM be predicted and it would seem, therefore, to be a stylistic option, especially since at times it is redundant.⁶²

(f) Similar enclitics in other languages

To round off this study and for comparative purposes, here are listed some references to enclitic *-m*, *-ma*, *-mi* etc. in Aramaic, dialects of Akkadian and other languages.

There are a few occurrences of enclitic *-m* in Aramaic. One at least comes from the Akkadian-Aramaic bilingual from Tell Fekherye. In line 4, *l'lhyn klm*, "to the gods in their entirety", *klm* is an adverb, lit., "in its entirety".⁶³ Another occurrence is in the Deir Alla inscription.⁶⁴

In Ugaritic Akkadian, according to van Soldt, "All occurrences of cc [i.e. two consecutive consonants] are, in fact, examples of mimation + *ma*. Mimation, although generally dropped in the Akkadian texts from Ras Shamra..., is written as a rule when the case ending or ventive is followed by enclitic *-ma*. Where it does not appear in the spelling its presence has to be assumed on the basis of numerous parallels".⁶⁵ Further: "In conclusion one can say that – as in Assyrian – *-ma* was only sporadically used as a sentence connective. More often, we find this enclitic attached to the second member of a chain of verbs or nouns. This second member is mostly identical with the first one, or, occasionally, synonymous with it. A similar phenomenon seems to occur in Ugaritic. In a few cases *-ma* is added to adverbs or adverbial expressions which elsewhere take mimation".⁶⁶ Enclitic *-ma* is also used in Mari Akkadian.⁶⁷

In literary Babylonian there is one conspicuous example where the enclitic *-ma* occurs over twenty times in a single text. Black comments: "Note here [line 2] and throughout the song the liberal use of the enclitic *-ma*, especially at line ends, where it is useful in completing the necessary final trochee. But it is also used in some places where a final trochee already obtains... in which case its use

61. W. G. E. Watson, "Aspects of Style in KTU 1.23", *SEL* 11 (1994) 3-8.

62. In his review of Aartun, PU I, J. Hoftijzer, (*UF* 12 [1980] 455-457) notes that not all FM's are the same and not all are to be explained as emphatic.

63. J. Blau "Minutiae Aramaicae" in E. W. Conrad – E. G. Newing, *Perspectives on Language and Text. Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday July 28, 1985* (Winona Lake 1987) 3-10 (4-6).

64. J. C. Greenfield, "Philological Observations on the Deir 'Alla Inscription" in J. Hoftijzer – G. van der Kooij, eds. *The Balaam Text from Deir 'Alla Re-evaluated. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Leiden 21-24 August 1989* (Leiden 1991) 109-120 (115, n. 22).

65. Van Soldt, *Studies*, 291 n. 90. On *-mi*, *ibid.*, 470; on *-maku*, 471; cf. also 477, 506, n. 94, etc.

66. Van Soldt, *Studies*, 516. On PRU 3 146:14 (with enclitic *-ma*), cf. J. Huehnergard, "Akkadian Evidence for Case-vowels in Ugaritic Bound Forms", *JCS* 33 (1981) 199-205 (202 n. 18).

67. D. Charpin, "L'Akkadien des lettres d'Ilân-surâ", *FSFinet* (1989) 37; cf. Charpin, *ARM* 26/2, 196 ([place-name] *-ma^{kl}*) and Lackenbacher, *ARM* 26/2, 393 ("*-ma* nach präpositionaler Ausdruck vor folgendem Genitiv").

may either be attributed to musical considerations lost to us or be considered a rhythmic feature of some sort".⁶⁸ In a Babylonian incantation, *-mi* can mark a following quotation.⁶⁹

Enclitic *-ma*, *-me* or *-mi* is a feature of the Amarna letters,⁷⁰ including the personal names.⁷¹ The following personal names occur with either *-mi* or *-ma* in Syrian Akkadian:⁷² *Aḥa-mi* 57,10.12; *Aḥi-mi* 13,8; 20,3; 50,29; *Aḥu-mi-ilu* 60,5'; *Ba'al-ma* 1,22'; *Dagan-ma* 8,7; 9,24.25; *Ilu-ma* 13,6; *Milka-ma* 5,6; *Milka-ma-Dagan* 5,31; *še'u-ma* 2,34; 3,30. In Amorite it appears as *-ma*.⁷³ *Bi-nu-ma-da-gan*, *Da-du-ma*, *Da-ga-am-ma-il*, *Bi-nu-ti-ma-i-la*, *Mu-ti-ma-ŠKUR*, *Pu-ma-[el]*, *Ra-ma-ma-*, *Šu-uḥ-ma-ba-il*, *Ta-nu-uḥ-ma-il*, *Ḥa-ma-ma-ia-da-ḥa*, sometimes attached to dual and plural forms: *Ša-mi-ma-ia-si-im*, *Zu-sa-mi-ma*, *Ḥa-ab-di-DINGIR-ma*, *Ia-ki-in-ú-ru-ma*.⁷⁴

Hurrian *-mā* cannot be connected with mA and nA *mā* since in Assyrian it comes between the verb of speaking and the quoted speech, whereas in Hurrian it comes before the verb of speech.⁷⁵ The enclitic conjunction *-ma* also occurs in Hittite. In that language its chief function is to mark a correlation "either between single words or phrases within adjacent clauses... or between entire clauses". It is also used to mark a series of paragraphs and has other uses. Of particular interest is its use on specific adverbs.⁷⁶ While Hittite cannot account for the use of FM in Ugaritic, it is possible that some features may have been borrowed, especially since Hittite texts have been found in Ras Shamra.⁷⁷

Finally, it is probable that there was a Proto-Central Semitic present verb form which can be reconstructed as **yaqtVlum*, as Tropper has shown on the basis of certain unusual spellings in the Amarna letters.⁷⁸ It remains to be seen whether FM on verb forms in languages such as Ugaritic can be explained in the light of his findings.

68. J. A. Black, "Babylonian Ballads: A New Genre", *JAOS* 103 (1983) 25-42 (32). It is used twice within a construct chain – *rigimma šenika*, "the noise of your flocks" (line 31, contrast line 29; and similarly in line 39), according to Black "*metri causa*" (ibid., 33). According to W. G. Lambert, "Devotion: The Languages of Religion and Love", in M. Mindlin, M. J. Geller, J. E. Wansbrough, eds., *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* (London 1987) 26-39, *-ma* may be "a survival from the original copula *wa*" (39, n. 26).

69. "The *-mi* in this line indicates a quotation, which is closed by the *-mi* at the end of C:7 [U. 16892.D = UET 6/2 no. 399], making the description of this text direct speech. Since this seems out of place here, the usage is possibly a literary device expressing "they say" or "it is said": R. M. Whiting, "An Old Babylonian Incantation from Tell Asmar", *ZA* 75 (1985) 179-187 (182).

70. See, for example, B. Halpern – J. Huehnergard, "El-Amarna Letter 252", *Or* 51 (1982) 227-230 on EA 73:12 and EA 252:30.

71. R. S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names* (ASOR Dissertation Series 9; Winona Lake 1993) 202.

72. D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l'âge du bronze récent* (avec une contribution d'Hatice Gonnet: Sceaux hiéroglyphiques anatoliens de Syrie) (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 1; Sabadell 1991); references are to page nos., and lines.

73. R. Zadok, FSHallo, 326a ("enclitic emphatic particle").

74. On *Būnumānu* see W. Horowitz – A. Shaffer, *IEJ* 42 (1992) 31 (rev line 7) for *-mā* = "it is verily".

75. M. Dietrich – W. Mayer, "Beiträge zum Hurritischen (I). Einzelfragen zu Grammatik und Lexikon des Mitanni-Briefs", *UF* 23 (1991) 107-126 (119, n. 51).

76. H. G. Güterbock – H. A. Hoffner, (eds.), *The Hittite Dictionary*, Volume 3, (Chicago 1980-1986) 91-99 (the entry for *-ma*). Quotation from p. 99.

77. See J. -L. Cunchillos, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 2. Bibliographie* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit V; Paris 1990) 97.

78. J. Tropper, "Present *Yaqtulum* in Central Semitic", *JSS* 39 (1994) 1-6.