

Final *-m* in Ugaritic

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[Occurrences of enclitic or final *-m* in Ugaritic are presented under a series of headings related to grammar and function. Personal names with this enclitic are also listed. The enclitic is then discussed in terms of function, with reference to other Semitic languages].

Aside from indicating the dual and masculine plural of nouns¹, final *-m* (here abbreviated to FM) in Ugaritic has a variety of meanings and functions². This so-called enclitic³ *-m* on nouns, verbs, prepositions and particles has been well studied over the years and the present article draws heavily on previous research⁴. Virtually all identified examples are set out here⁵ with reference to the latest available discussions on the Ugaritic texts and in addition there is a section discussing proper names with FM, a topic

1. See UT §§8.7, 8.9; Segert, BGUL, §§52 and 33.

2. Mimation does not occur in Ugaritic; cf. Rainey, *Or* 56 (1987) 393. For a contrary view cf. Gibson, CML², 150; Segert, BGUL, 2. On mimation and nunation generally see I.M. Diakonoff, *Afrasian Languages* (Moscow 1988) 66-67; W. Diem, "Gedanken zur Frage der Mimation und Nunation in den semitischen Sprachen", *ZDMG* 125 (1975) 239-238 and G. Böhm "Mimation und Nunation – eine grosserythräischer Glosse", *Afrikanische Arbeitspapiere. Schriftenreihe des Kölner Instituts für Afrikanistik* 7 (Sept. 1986) 33-67, esp. 34-37. Böhm concludes (p. 58): "Nur das frei syntaktisch figurierende Nomen – in Status rectus – erhält Mimation oder Nunation". For the distinction between mimation (no following vowel) and enclitic *m* (is followed by a vowel) see S.C. Layton, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta 1990) 156.

3. "Enclitic" is used as a neutral term. For a definition cf. J. Dubois et al., *Dictionnaire de linguistique* (Paris 1973) 190. The various functions and meanings of the enclitic are discussed below. In general see A.M. Zwicky, "Clitics and Particles". *Language* 61 (1985) 283-305. According to L. Bauer, *Introducing Linguistic Morphology* (Edinburgh 1988) 239, a clitic "is an obligatorily bound morph which is intermediate between an affix and a word" and an enclitic is attached after a base (whereas a proclitic is attached before a base).

4. H.D. Hummel, "Enclitic *-MEM* in early Northwest Semitic, especially Hebrew", *JBL* 76 (1957) 85-105; M. Liverani, "Un tipo di espressione indefinita in accadico e in ugaritico", *RSO* 39 (1964) 199-202; M.H. Pope, "Ugaritic enclitic *-m*", *JCS* 5 (1961) 123-128; A.D. Singer, ["The 'final *-m*' (= *ma*?) in the Ugaritic tablets"], *BJPES* 10 (1942) 54-63; "The vocative in Ugaritic", *JCS* 2 (1948) 1-10; Blau – Loewenstamm, *UF* 2 (1970) 22 n. 15. Note especially Aartun, PU I, 51-61 and passim. For a longer bibliography see Pardee, *AJO* 34 (1987) 415-416. See also Blau, *Maarav* 2 (1979-80) 143-145; del Olmo Lete, MLC, 573; Gibson, CML², 150; Gordon, UT §§11.7; 13.99-102; 19.1402. In general, see G. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-Ovest* (Naples 1960) 163-165 and especially H.A.R. Blejer, *Discourse Markers in Early Semitic, and their Reanalyses in Subsequent Dialects* (unpub. thesis, University of Texas at Austin 1986; cf. DissAbs 47/05 (Nov 1986) 1712A-1713A).

5. Except for the prepositions and particles which are dealt with exhaustively by Aartun (see previous note). Some questionable occurrences are discussed in section L and a few very dubious examples will be referred to in footnotes. Generally the sequence of KTU will be used within each section.

6. But see PTU, 53 and section N below. Since preparing this article S. C. Layton, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta, Georgia 1990) has come into my hands. Chapter 4, "Mimation and Enclitic *-M*" (pp. 155-197) is an extensive examination of proper names with FM; see also *ibid.*, 236-237.

largely ignored until very recently⁶. In the last section some attempt is made at establishing Ugaritic FM within the larger context of comparative Semitics in the light of recent work⁷.

A: FM ON NOUNS

A(i): FM on noun in nominative

- (1) 1.6 vi 49

kṯrm. ḥbrk

Kutharu is your companion.

Though the context is notoriously difficult, because the suffix on *ḥbr* is singular, the *-m* is enclitic here⁸, i.e., it does not indicate the plural.

- (2) 1.12 i 28-29

'ilm ypr šmthm

Ilu proclaimed their names.

Here *'ilm* = "Ilu" + enc. *-m*⁹. Apparently it is the second time *'il* occurs in the text, though we cannot be certain, as the first ten lines or so of col. i are missing¹⁰.

A(ii): FM on noun in genitive

- (3) 1.3 iii 43-45

mḥšt. mdd 'ilm. 'arš

smt. 'gl. 'il. 'tk

mḥšt. k|. }lbt. 'ilm. 'išt

I struck Arsh, darling of Ilu¹¹

I smote 'Atik, calf of Ilu

I struck Fire, Ilu's bitch.

The section begins with *lmḥšt. mdd 'il. ym* (lines 38-39) and the resumption of *il* in two of the following lines may account for the FM here (see below under J).

- (4) 1.4 vii 25-27 (// 17-18)

yptḥ. ḥln. bbhtm.

'urbt bqr. hklm[.]

He opened a window in the mansion,

a lattice within the palace.

7. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 572, comments that in spite of the convincing evidence for a "focussing particle/connective *m*" the documentation for early Semitic is incomplete. Ugaritic is suggested as an example which might yield useful results if re-examined.

Note that here, broadly speaking, sections A to D list forms, sections E to K functions. Further elaboration is provided in the discussion sections.

8. For various translations cf. MLC, 235; ARTU, 99; CML², 81; TOug I, 270; etc. It is improbable that there is an enclitic *-m* in *ilm* in 47 (*contra* Aartun, PU I, 51).

9. TOug I, 341, n.1; so also, implicitly, MLC, 482.

10. The occurrence in line 9 is quoted speech.

11. So MLC, 185; contrast Gibson, CML², 50: "darling of the gods".

- (5) 1.119: 25'
mtk. mlkm
 A libation of the king.
 This is the translation of Miller, based on collation by Pardee. The reading appears to be *mlkm* rather than *mlkt* and the *-m* is enclitic¹².
- (6) 2.12: 11-12
w. yd 'ilm. p. etc.
 And the hand of a god is etc.
 Evidence that the expression *yd 'ilm* is unlikely to mean "the hand of the gods" here has been mustered by Pardee¹³. However, see example (36) below.
- (7) 4.44: 28
dyahd lg ynm
 ... who hold a *l g*-measure of wine¹⁴.
 A (iii): *FM* after noun in construct
- (8) 1.4 viii 8-9 (// 1.5 v 15-16)
tspr. byrdm. 'arš
 Be numbered among those who have gone down into the underworld¹⁵.
 See also example (11).
- (8) 1.5. v 5-6
'ašt.n. blyrt 'ilm. 'arš
 I shall place him in the grave of the chthonic deities¹⁶.
- (9) 1.16 i 6-9 (// ii 44-47)
tbkyk. ab. gr. b'l
spn. hlm. qdš
nny. hlm. adr.
hl rhb. mknpt.
 Baal's mountain, O father, weeps over you¹⁷,
 Sapanu, the holy bulwark.
 Nny, the mighty bulwark,

12. P.D. Miller, "Prayer and Sacrifice in Ugarit and Israel" in W. Claassen, ed., *Text and Context. Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F. C. Fensham* (JSOTSS 48 Sheffield 1988) 139-155, p. 146. Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 32 instead, accepts the reading *mlkt* and translates the phrase *mtk mlkt rišyt* "la libación de la realeza primordial".

13. D. Pardee, "As Strong as Death" in J.H. Marks - R.M. Good (eds.), *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of M.H. Pope* (Guilford 1987) 65-69, esp. 67-68. It is also possible that *ilm* is a plural form referring to a single god; for corresponding spellings in EA see Na'aman, *UF* 22 (1990) 255. See however Smith, *UF* 18 (1986) 321, who translates "the hand of the gods is here like Mot (death)". If he is correct then FM would occur not in *ilm* but in *kmm* (*k + mt + m*). For a different solution see under *kmm* below.

14. Verreet; MU, 134: "die fassen (jede Schale) ein Log Wein".

15. Cf. MLC, 211; ARTU, 66.

16. ARTU, 77; MLC, 220. TOug I, 247 avoids the enclitic by assuming apposition: "je le placerais dans le cimetière divin, la terre". See above under example (3). Note also difficult *dq. anm.* (1.6 i 50).

17. See Verreet, MU, 51.

the wide-crested¹⁸ bulwark¹⁹.

Twice in succession *hl* has a FM, in parallel with simple *hl*²⁰.

(10) 1.16 i 9-10 (// ii 48)

'ap krt. bnm. 'il.

Is K. indeed a son of Ilu?

There is no doubt that *bnm* here is in the singular (it refers to Krt and is parallel to *špḥ*). Is it coincidence that *-m* occurs in a question²¹?

(11) 1.114 22

'il kyrdm 'ars

Ilu (fell) like one who has gone down into the underworld.

On this text Pardee comments "Sans insister, nous vocalisons *yrdm 'ars* comme participe + accusatif de but. La phrase pourrait également consister en participe + *m*- "enclitique" + génitif"²². It is uncertain whether *yrd-m* is singular or plural²³; see example (8) above.

In addition to these passages the expression *bn 'ilm mt*, "Motu, son of Ilu", with an enclitic *-m* after a noun in the construct state, occurs quite a few times²⁴: 1.4 vii 45-46; viii 15-17.29-30; 1.5 i 6-7.8.11.12-13.ii 11.13-14.19.20; 1.6 ii 13.25.30-31; v 9-10; vi 7.23-24.30; 1.133 1-2.rev 15-16. According to Margalit it is "a metrically elongated version of *bn 'il*"²⁵. See example (39) below.

B: VERB + FM

As Aartun notes²⁶, only in verse does the verb have an enclitic *-m*.

B(i): QTL + FM

(12) 1.19 iv 29

qrym. 'ab. dbḥ. l'ilm

My father has in fact brought a sacrifice to the gods etc.²⁷.

Only Aartun has remarked on the enclitic *-m* here²⁸. The corresponding (earlier) passage, lines 22-23, has *wqr[y]ḥ*²⁹, apparently without the enclitic.

B(ii): YQTL + FM

(13) 1.2 i 19 (// 35)

18. For this meaning see de Moor – Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 181-182.

19. For the whole passage see now Dietrich-Loretz, *UF* 22 (1990) 81.

20. See the comment by de Moor – Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 181.

21. According to Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 85ff. *-m* is found in interrogatives.

22. D. Pardee, *Les textes Para-mythologiques* (Paris 1988) 65.

23. Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 13 (1981) 90: "El gleicht nun denen, die zur Unterwelt hinabsteigen".

24. See de Moor, *UF* 1 (1969) 187.

25. B. Margalit, *A Matter of >Life<and>Death<* (AOAT 206), 64. For an explanation involving apposition cf. Segert, BGUL, #75.2.

26. Aartun, PU I, 56-57. For FM with the verb cf. Brockelmann, *Or* 10 (1941) 232-233, #5(i).

27. K. T. Aitken, *The Aqhat Narrative* (Manchester 1990) 77: "My father is presenting etc.", presumably construing *qrym* as a masc. sing. participle.

28. Aartun, PU I, 57; he refers to the parallel verb *sly* without a final *-m*. Verreet, MU, 171 translates "Mein Vater hat doch ein Opfer dargebracht etc." where the "doch" seems to reflect the enclitic though no comment is made in the text.

29. See Margalit, UPA, 235.

- bn. dgn. 'artm. pdh.*
...the son of Dagan so that I may surely inherit the gold³⁰.
- (14) 1.2. iv 28
bšm. tgrm. 'ttrt
Athtartu reproached (him) by name.
- (15) 1.4 i 27-28
ḥrs. yšqm. lrbbt
Gold he cast by the myriad.
It is to be noted that the sequence of (identical) verbs in lines 25-28 is: *yšq // yšq // yšqm*, with FM on the last verb.
- (16) 1.4 iv 16
qdš. y'uḥdm. šbr
Qidshu went out late at night³¹.
- (17) 1.4 vii 15-16
'aštm. kṯr.(?) bn ym.
I will make Kotharu, this very day (place etc.)³².
See example (39).
- (18) 1.12 i 39
bn. dgn. yhrrm
The son of Dagan quivered (with desire).
According to Tropper the verb is more probably G than D³³.
- (18) 1.15 ii 24-25
wṯmn. tṯmnm lk
Fully eight times may she bear for you³⁴!
- (19) 1.23: 16
tlkm. rḥmy.
R. walks.
- (20) 1.23: 33
t' irkm. yd. 'il. kym
Ilu's 'hand' grew as long as the sea.

30. As translated by Verreet, MU 167: "(Gebt)... den Sohn des Dgn, damit ich ja sein Gold erwerbe". The enclitic is brought out by the "ja". Note also *yblmm*, "they shall carry" (*ybl + -m*), in 1.2 iii 14.

31. Here I follow Rendsburg, *JAOS* 107 (1987) 624f. Contrast J. Tropper, *Der ugaritische Kausativstamm und die Kausativbildungen des Semitischen* (Münster 1990), 83-85, who proposes "Qdš nahm den Leitriemen in die Hand", and see there for a survey of other translations. Add Dietrich-Loretz, *UF* 22 (1990) 51-54, esp. 54.

32. Following MLC, 208. Alternatively: "I will put (it in), Kothar, this very day" (ARTU, 62; CML², 64).

33. Tropper, *UF* 22 (1990) 377; he transcribes *yhrr-m* but makes no comment on the FM.

34. ARTU, 206; cf. Sasson, *SEL* 5 (1988) 185 (*tṯmnm* mistake for *tṯmm* [so already KTU, p. 44]).

(21) 1.24: 18-19

'ib t'rbm bbhth.

May Ib enter his mansion³⁵.

(22) 1.25: 2-4

['ilm. w'ilht, dt [jšb. lšb^cm.'af]x []w/tldm. dt ymtm
...gods and goddesses who ...bore... 77... who surely die³⁶.

(23) 2.14: 14

w lh y^clm

And may he surely go up to him³⁷.

(24) 2.39 +: 33-34

t'adm 'atr. 'it.

You will claim it (i.e. the bronze) wherever it is.

On *t'adm* Dijkstra comments: "it could be a form of the... verb 'WD "to charge" with a postpositive conjunction"³⁸.

B(iii): imperative + FM

(25) 1.4 iv 35

lhm. hm. štym.

Eat or drink!

This appears to be the only instance, but see the next example.

B(iv): infinitive absolute + FM

(26) 1.3 iii 28

'atm. w'ank. 'ibgyh.

Come! And I will reveal it.

In the parallel passage (1.1 iii 16) there is simply *'at*³⁹.

(27) 1.5 i 24-25

wlhm^cm. 'ahy. lhm

wštm. ^cm. 'a[h]y yn

In order to eat bread with my brothers,
in order to drink wine with my brothers.

According to Verreet⁴⁰ here *lhm^cm* = *lhm*, G-Inf. abs. = *laḥamu-ma* (with enclitic *-m*) and *štm* = *šty*, G-Inf.abs. = *šatâ-ma* < *šatayu-ma*.

35. So Driver, CML, 25 and MLC, 458; but cf. ARTU, 143: "Let her enter his mansion"; similarly Gibson, CML², 128. This example is cited by Segert, BGUL, §58.2.

36. See Verreet, MU, 135 for translation and recognition of the "enclitic mem" in *ymt-m*.

37. Translation: Verreet, MU, 108; according to him *y^clm* = *^cly*, G-imperfect 3m sg. jussive + enclitic *-m*.

38. Dijkstra, UF 21 (1989) 143 and n. 16 (with further references). The reading may also be *adm* according to Pardee, UF 13 (1981) 155-156. Cf. Verreet, MU, 123. For a possible cognate (Akk. *ādu*) see Balkan, in H.A. Hoffner, Jr. – G.M. Beckman, edd., *Kaniššuar. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock...* (Chicago 1986) 2 n. 4 (c).

39. As already noted by Aartun, PU I, 57; in 1.3 iv 18-19 and 1.7:33 it is uncertain whether *at* or *atm* is to be restored. See, too, Verreet, MU, 56.

40. Verreet, MU, 175f.; previously, Verreet, UF 18 (1986) 370.

(28) 1.107: 12/41

bkm. y^cny. [šrgzz]

Weeping Š. answers

It is generally accepted that *bkm* is an infinitive plus FM⁴¹ although it could be a participle⁴².

B(v): *participle + FM*

(29) 1.19 iv 32

ltbrkn. 'alk. brktm(?)

In order that they (the stars) will bless me so that I may travel blessed⁴³.

The fem. participle is unquestionably singular (it refers to Pughatu)⁴⁴. For other instances of the participle with FM see examples (7) and (10) above.

C: *PRONOMINAL SUFFIX + FM*

(30) 1.2 i 37

bn. dgn. 'asrkm

Son Daganu (is) your(sing.) captive⁴⁵.

In the parallel line the word which corresponds to *'asrkm* is *'bdk*.

(31) 1.19 ii 37

'a/nbšrkm. dn'il. md/bh

I/We will inform you, Danilu,...

Although the test is uncertain⁴⁶ there is no doubt that the suffix *-km* refers to one person only, namely Danilu.

(32) 1.123: 7

yrhm kty

The parallel text in 1.102 A 14 has *yrh kty*, indicating the division *yrhm kty*, with enclitic *-m*⁴⁷.

D: *PREPOSITIONS AND PARTICLES WITH FM*

According to Pope "There can be little doubt that the enclitic *-m* with particles has the same origin and function as in Hebrew *b^cmô, k^cmô, l^cmô*"⁴⁸. In addition to the use of *bm, km* and *lm* in verse⁴⁹ note the following in prose:

bm (= b + m)

41. For references cf. Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques*, 246.

42. Levine – de Tarragon, *RB* 95 (1988) 503. It is not to be confused with *bkm*, "forthwith" or the like; however, cf. Verreet, *MU*, 41: "Darauf antwortet Šrgzz".

43. The translation follows Verreet, *MU*, 171.

44. Margalit, *UPA*, 236 reads *brkt[m?]* and comments: "Thus KTU: *brktm(?)*; CTA: *brkt*. KTU's *-m*, if correct, would be enclitic, its use determined *allit.cs.*". Contrast Pardee, *UF* 10 (1978) 25If., with no mention of the FM.

45. See, e.g., *MLC*, 172.

46. For a possible restoration and translation cf. Margalit, *UPA*, 228 and 387.

47. . So Astour, *JAO* 86 (1966) 282 – but cf. De Moor, *UF* 2 (1970) 314. Xella, *TRU* I 217 renders "Yarihcassiti(?)" with a note on enclitic *-m*.

48. Pope, *JCS* 5 (1961) 123 n. 9. Also *UT* §10.2,4,9,10,14 and Segert, *BGUL*, §§56.2; 58.2. For similar usage in Mari Akkadian cf. Durand, *MisEb* 2 (Florence 1989) 34, n. 25.

49. For these forms ("ballast variants") cf. *UT*, p. 103, n. 3. On *bm* see especially Aartun, *PU* II, 24-26. Note the double use of FM in *bm qrbm*, 1.19 ii 25. For the interchange between simple and augmented prepositions cf. Ricardson, *TynBull* 24 (1973) 10 and n. 10 (on *lm l/; k / km* and *km /k*).

(33) 2.13: 14

*bm. ty ndr 'itt. 'mn. mlkt*From the tribute they have vowed a gift(?) to the queen⁵⁰.*wm (= w + m)*Occurs only in 3.9: 6⁵¹.*km (= k + m)*

(34) 1.41: 55

*w. km. 'it y[š'u. l.]šmm. yd[h]*And when there let him ra[ise his] hands (to) heaven⁵².

(35) 2.19: 2-3

*km. špš dbrt*Like the sun which is pure (= free) etc.⁵³.*kmtm (= kmt + m)*

(36) 2.10: 11-13

w. yd. 'ilm. p. kmtm 'z. m'id

and the hand of the gods is – and that (is) how it is! – extremely powerful.

The presence of *kmtm* as a form of *kmt* (used in 2.19: 3) was recognised by Dietrich and Loretz⁵⁴.*lm (= l + m)*: see below under K.*m'idm (= m'id + m)*

(37) 2.39+: 3-4

*'m. špš.kll.m'idm šlm*With the 'Sun' everything is very fine⁵⁵.The form *m'idm* occurs only here⁵⁶.

E: ACCUSATIVE FM

(38) 1.3 i 11

*krpnm. bkl'at. ydh⁵⁷*50. Text and translation: Pardee, *A/O* 31 (1984) 224 – though he leaves *itt* untranslated (see his comments). Aartun, PU II, 25, understands *bm* here to be comitative: "mit (wörtlich: in (Begleitung von)) dem gelobten Geschenk bin ich bei der Königin".51. For latest discussion cf. Aartun, *SEL* 7 (1989) 64-65; previously, PU II, 86 and PU I, 168. For the possible occurrence of *ūma* in the Ebla text (and of **wm* in Hebrew) cf. C.H. Gordon, et al., (eds.), *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and the Eblaite Language*, vol. 1 (Winona Lake 1987), pp. 29-41.52. Xella, TRU I, 63 "e, giuntovi, sollevi le [sue] mani al cielo". Cf. TOug II, 159. Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 5 (1987) 266. In both 1.95 2 *km.rf* and 4.56 6 *ttm.sp. kmf* the context is too broken for any certainty.53. See Kienast, *UF* 11 (1979) 446-447 for brief discussion. In the same sentence the extended form *kmt* also occurs.54. Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 22 (1990) 63; their translation, "die Hand der Götter ist – und das (ist) so! – überaus stark!", has been rendered into English here. For a different analysis of this line see example (6).55. So Pardee, *UF* 13 (1981) 151.56. Aartun, PU I, 15.58. According to Huehnergard, UVST, 87, "the writing *ma-du-ma* (in Ugar. 5 137 ii 36') reflects plural /*ma'aduma*/ or /*ma'duma*/ "many"". Cf. also *mukm = muk + m*.57. For this reading see de Moor, AOAT 16, 72 (= no -*m*) but KTU read *krpnm* (p. 10 with note 2!); cf. MLC 179f. (textual notes).

A flagon in both his hands.

Also 1.4 iv 36-37 *št bkrpnm. yn.*; 1.4 iii 43 [*tšty.*] *krpnm yn*; 1.4 vi 58 *tšty. krp[nm. y]n*; 1.5 iv 15 *šty. kr[pnm.yn]*. As Pope has noted, all these seem to be variations on a formula, though he regards the FM as a plural morpheme⁵⁸.

(39) 1.4 vii 16

bnm. ʿdt

This very moment.

After a full discussion de Moor concludes: "Finally, Singer may of course be right in regarding the -m of *bnm* as an enclitic *mem*. It might be added that it seems to balance the emphasizing -m of *'aštm* in the preceding verse"⁵⁹.

(40) 1.5 vi 16-17

lpš. yks m'izrtm.

He cut his cloak, apron-like⁶⁰.

(41) 1.6 vi 10-11 // 14-16

'ahym. ytn. b't sp'uy.

bnm. 'umy.klyy

My own brothers Ba'alu has given me to eat,
the sons of my mother has he made me consume⁶¹!

De Moor (whose translation this is) comments "Apparently the enclitic -m has been used here for the sake of emphasis"⁶².

(42) 1.17 i 15

mk. bšbʿ. ymm

Lo! On the seventh day.

Presumably, *ym* = *ym* + -m here.

F: ADVERBIAL FM

It is accepted that in Ugaritic there is an adverbial -m or "adverbial postposition" as Sanmartín prefers⁶³.

58. Pope, *JCS* 5 (1961) 126.

59. De Moor, *AOAT* 16, 160; cf. *MLC* 208; Margalit, *A Matter*, 60 discounts Singer's suggestion [*BJPES* 10 (1942-43) 54-63] that *bnm. ʿdt* is a mistake for *bn.mʿdt*. "The addition of enclitic -m to *bn* was made to avoid the possibility of scanning as *bn - ʿdt*, i.e., a single verse-unit".

60. Translated by Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 18 (1986) 105 "Das Kleid schnitt er ab zu einem Schurz"; see their discussion, *ibid.* 107-108 and note "Das Nomen *mizrt* weist ein hervorhebendes -m auf; ein Dual... kommt kaum in Betracht, da das Kleid zu einem *mizrt* zusammengeschnitten wird". The translation is that of O. Loretz – I. Kottsieper, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry* (Altenberge 1987) 36; see 34-35 for other translations.

61. Note that line 10 begins with *pfn* – on which cf. Watson, *SEL* 7 (1990) 77 – and the *s* was mistakenly written *l*.

62. De Moor, *AOAT*, 16, 234 and cf. Hofstijzer, *Bo* 24 (1967) 65. See also Verreet, *MU*, 176 (under 8) and previously, Gordon, *UT* §19.128. For different stichometry and rendering cf. TOug I, 268. Note, in addition, 1.15 iv 10 *wʿbd.ʿlrmjm*, "and serve a banquet" – as restored and translated by De Moor – Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 178.

63. Sanmartín, *AuOr* 5 (1987) 301; cf. Segert, *BGUL*, §55.2. However, Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 240 would disassociate the adverbial ending -m from the "conjunctive, focussing enclitic". For a brief survey see Dobrusin, *JANES* 13 (1981) 12, n. 27.

- (43) 1.3 v 2-3 // 1.18 i 11-12
[ʼašh]k. šbth. dmm.
šbt. dqn̄h [mm̄m]
 [I shall make] his grey hair run with blood,
 the grey hair of his old age [with gore]⁶⁴.
- (44) 1.6 iii 7 = 13
n̄hlm. tlk. nbtm.
 The wadies will run with honey⁶⁵.
 The adverbial ending is on the last word.
- (45) 1.12 i 38 (cf. ii 9 *hmdm.f*)
b^cl. hmdm. yhm̄dm
 Ba^calu desired them intensely⁶⁶.
- (46) 1.14 i 16-17
m̄ltt. k̄trm. tmt
mrb^ct. zblnm
 A third died in good health,
 a fourth of disease⁶⁷.
- (47) 1.14 iv 42-43
tnh. k(!)spm ʼatn
w. tl̄th. hr̄sm
 ..twice her (weight) in silver shall I give,
 thrice her (weight) in gold.
 All translations agree on adverbial *-m* here⁶⁸.
- (48) 1.15 ii 18-19
brkm. ybrk [ʼbdh].
 He truly blessed [his servant]⁶⁹.
- (49) 1.15 v 14-15
[k]mtm. tbknn.
 [As if] he were dead you weep over him
 Unfortunately, some of the text is missing, so the restoration is not definite⁷⁰.

64. Translation: ARTU, 15; similarly, Verreet, MU, 82; cf. Tropper, *Kausativstamm*, 25.144.

65. De Moor, AOAT 16, 217 with further references. See also Verreet, MU, 184f.218. MLC, 228: "los torrentes fluyan con miel".

66. Cf. ARTU, 131; MLC, 482: "Ba^clu los codició ardientemente".

67. Whether these fractions refer to children or wives is debated; see recently J. M. Sasson, "The Numeric Progression in Keret 1:15-20. Yet Another Suggestion", *SEL* 5 (1988) 181-188; E. Verreet, "Der Keret-Prolog", *UF* 19 (1987) 317-335.

68. See too Wilson, *JSS* 27 (1982) 30 (and 29, n. 14). For the parallel passage, 1.16 v 6-9, see de Moor – Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 189.

69. MLC, 304: "bendijo [a su siervo] de verdad".

70. Suggested by De Moor – Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982); however, see Verreet, MU, 57.

(50) 1.16 ii 29

ʿrym. lbl[. lbšt.(?)] bš[.tlk(?)]

ʿnyt. [t...] lbl. sk.

Nakedly, without a linen [garment she went],

wretched she proceeded(?) uncovered.

The restoration and translation follow de Moor and Spronk who comment “*ʿrym* is *ʿry* ‘naked’ with adverbial *-m*. If it were an adjective we would expect *ʿryt*, like the word *ʿnyt* from *ʿny* “wretched” which balances it. Compare Hebrew *ʿārōm* ”⁷¹.

(51) 1.17 vi 38

wʿan. mtm. ʿamt

And I shall surely die.

So already Aartun (“und ich werde wahrlich sterben”) who considers *mtm* to be a noun in locative-adverbial + emphatic *-m*⁷².

(52) 1.43: 24-26

ʿatr. ʿilm.ylk.mlk. [p]ʿnm. y[ʿk] šbʿ pʿamt. lklhm

To the site of the (statues of the) gods the king goes on foot, he goes on foot seven times for all(or each) of them⁷³.

(53) 1.78: 5-6

kbdm tbqrn skn

They inspect a liver: Danger!⁷⁴

(54) 2.30: 19-20

w.lʿakm ʿilʿak

I will certainly send (one [i.e. a message])⁷⁵.

(55) 2.39+: 13-14

hfm.kjn. špš. bʿlk ydʿm. l. ydʿt

If you have truly recognised the Sun, your lord,

as restored and translated by Pardee⁷⁶. He notes the enclitic *-m* in passing and compares line 10: *[hn, y]dʿ. l.ydʿt* where there is no *-m*⁷⁷.

(56) 4.132: 2

w. ʿll. ktnt. bdm. tt

71. De Moor – Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 185-186. On *bš* and *sk* cf. Ribichini – Xella, *Tessili*, 18 and 55.

72. Aartun, *PU* I, 55. Similarly, Gibson, *CML*², 109: “even I indeed shall die” and ARTU, 239: “o yes, I to shall certainly die!” and Aitken, *Aghat Narrative*, 47: “I too will inevitably die”. Margalit, *UPA*, 187 comments: “Note the possible use of adverbial *m* in lieu of preposition in *mtm*...”. Another, less likely, possibility is to compare Akk. *matima* in its meaning “at any time (in the future)”, for which cf. *CAD* A/1, 409b-410a, meaning 1.4”.

73. For details see *TOug* II, 163 and n. 78.

74. Verreet, *MU*, 52. According to Caquot, *SEL* 5 (1988) 42 in 1.82 43 “*ʿsm*... serait le nom de l’arbre muni de l’enclitique *-m* qui l’adverbialise”; he translates “en arbre”. However, de Moor – Spronk, *UF* 16 (1984) 249 prefer simply “the trees”.

75. Pardee, *AJO* 31 (1984) 225. Verreet, *MU*, 219: “dann werde ich dich bestimmt benachrichtigen”. Cunchillos, *EEU*, 131: “te mandaré un mensaje igualmente”. *TOug* II, 324, n. 17: “infinitif avec mimation”.

76. Pardee, *UF* 13 (1981) 151ff. De Moor, *UF* 11 (1979) 651: “Now you have fully recognized”.

77. Pardee, *UF* 13 (1981) 154.

and three tunics also in the hand of PN⁷⁸.

Compare *bd tt* in the previous line (see discussion below under K).

Note also the following:

gm (1.17 vi 15, etc.), "aloud" (= *g*, "voice" + FM). *gršm* (1.16 v 10-12 // 14-15 // 17-18 // 20-21 // 27-28). "expelling"⁷⁹. *wptm* (1.4 vi 13), "and he spat"⁸⁰, *ʿršm* (1.14 ii 45-46 // iv 23-24)⁸¹, "(his) bed"⁸².

mrḥqtm (2.11: 6; 2.12: 10; 2.24: 7; 2.40: 7; 2.42: [4]; 2.64: 15; 2.68: 5; 2.70: 10)

"At a (respectful) distance".

The meaning of this expression was established by Loewenstamm from the Akk. equivalent *ištu rūiqis*⁸³. It is probably the noun *mrḥqt* with an adverbial suffix⁸⁴.

mrḥqm

According to Lipiński this is a dialectal variant of *mrḥqtm*⁸⁵. It occurs twice only, in 2.33+7.64+7.65: 3 (otherwise a standard letter formula) and in 1.127: 31 (with respect to time)⁸⁶.

Here, too, can be included, *tnm*, "a second time, twice" (with redundant adverbial FM) in 1.18 iv 22-33; 1.19 iv 61⁸⁷ as well as *kmm*⁸⁸ and *ʿlm*⁸⁹.

G: FM WITH VOCATIVE

Although few, the examples of *-m* with the vocative (which may correspond to Babylonian *-me*, used to intensify the vocative in poetry⁹⁰) are convincing⁹¹. There is some uncertainty, though, about the first passage.

78. See Wesselius, *UF* 12 (1980) 449: "... also in the hand of *Tt*". The *-m* is not reflected in Ribichini - Xella, *Tessili*, 75: "e 3 vesti-*ktm* nelle mani di NP" or in Aartun, *PU* I, 55: "und drei Röcke (sind) in der Hand des *Tt*". Van Soldt, *UF* 22 (1990) 331, cites this passage and for parallels refers (ibid. n. 76) to his unpublished dissertation (*Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit*, forthcoming in the AOAT series).

79. MLC, 317f.: "expeliendo"; contrast Gibson, *CML*², 99: "(and) drive out".

80. Aartun, *PU* I, 53: "(und) spuckt". See MLC, 205: "y escupir(me)"; ARTU, 58: "and spat [on my daughters]"; Gibson, *CML*², 62: did spit (upon me)".

81. Cf. Del Olmo Lete, *UF* 7 (1975) 91-93.

82. Dahood, *UF* 1 (1969) 35: "*ʿršm*, to be parsed as accusative *ʿarša* plus enclitic *-mi*, balances suffixed *bth*, and should be rendered "his bed"". Tropper, *UF* 22 (1990) 385 argues - against Verreet's rendering (MU, 105 and 62) "den Kranken soll man auf sein Bett tragen/trug man auf sein Bett" - that *zbl* is the subject: "der Kranke soll sein Bett tragen etc." For the possible reading *ʿršm* in 1.19 iv 60 see Margalit, *VT* 36 (1986) 485-489.

83. S. E. Loewenstamm, "Prostration From Afar in Ugaritic, Akkadian and Hebrew", *BASOR* 188 (1967) 41-43 = *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures* (AOAT 204; 1980) 246-248. See also Kristensen, *UF* 9 (1977) 147-150 and 157.

84. So Rainey, *Or* 56 (1987) 401.

85. Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 100; cf. TOug II, 327, n. 4.

86. TRU I, 183; cf. Verreet, MU, 165 ("in die Ferne"); previously, M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, *Ugaritica VI*, 178. See Smith, *UF* 18 (1986) 321.

87. See MLC, 643. See also 2.72: 12.

88. J. C. de Moor, "The Peace-offering in Ugarit and Israel" in *Schrift en Uitleg* (Kampen 1970) 112-117, esp. 113 and 114 ("Probably *kmm* is an adverb ending in *-m* (cf. *UT*, § 11.4) which has been derived from *km* 'like'); de Moor, *UF* 2 (1970) 309 ("an adverb meaning 'likewise, ditto'"); cf. de Tarragon, *Culte*, 62 and 76, n. 24.

89. For occurrences in RIH cf. Aartun, *UF* 12 (1980) 2 and 6.

90. For this particle see von Soden, *GAG* #123e (p. 178); according to him it may be a form of the interjection *e*. See also Egyptian *m*, "behold", A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London 1957) 178 (§234); Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 269. See also Ug. and Egyptian *mk*.

91. A. D. Singer, "The Vocative in Ugaritic", *JCS* 2 ((1949) 1-12. R. De Langhe, "L'Enclitique Cananéenne *-m(a)*", *Le Muséon* 49 (1946) 89-111. However, cf. Pope, *JCS* 5 (1951) 124-125; Aartun, *PU* I, 39; cf. *PU* II, 168. According to Gibson, *CML*², 150 this is a survival of mimation (see above, note 2).

(57) 1.2 i 18

tn. 'ilm. dtqh.

Give up, O El, the one you are protecting.

It is not absolutely clear that there is a FM here. This translation⁹² comes with the following comment: “*'ilm* pourrait être également rendu par le pluriel, “(ô) dieux”, mais le verbe de la proposition relative qui suit est à la 2^e personne du singulier. C’est pourquoi nous préférons lire le nom propre du dieu El, suivi de la particule *-m* qui peut marquer le vocatif”⁹³. On the other hand, de Moor prefers “Give up, o gods, him whom you protect”⁹⁴.

(58) 1.2 i 36

'bdk.b'l yymm

Ba'alu is your slave, O Yammu.

The suffix shows the last noun to be in the singular.

(59) 1.2 i 36-37

*'bdk.b'l [nhr]m.*Ba'alu is your servant, O [Naharu]⁹⁵.

(60) 1.2 iv 8-9

ht. 'ibk b'lm

Now, O Ba'alu, your enemies, etc.

Again, in both (59) and (60) the suffix indicates that only one person is addressed and the FM does not indicate the plural.

(61) 1.4 v 3

rht. 'ilm. etc.

You(sing.) are great, O Ilu, etc.

Although there are problems of stichometry here with respect to the following lines⁹⁶, the meaning of the first two words is clear since the suffixes (in lines 4-5) are 2nd. pers. sing.

(62) 1.6 v 11-12

'lk. b'f'lm pht.qlt.

On your account, O Ba'alu, I experienced humiliation.

Once again, since the suffix *-k* (on *'lk*) is singular, *b'lm* must also be in the singular⁹⁷.

(63) 1.17 vi 34

*'al. tšrgn. ybtlm*Do not lie to me, O Virgin⁹⁸.

92. Taken from *TOug* I, 129: “Livre, ô El, celui que tu protèges”.

93. *TOug* I, 129, n.n.

94. ARTU, 31: and similarly, MLC, 170 (“dioses”), Verreet, MU, 133, 144 (“Götter”).

95. Quite plausibly Gibson, CML², 42 restores *[nhr]m* here.

96. Contrast MLC, 202 and ARTU, 54.

97. See also 1.10 ii 32-33 where *b'lm // hdd*.

98. Following Verreet, MU, 118. Other renderings: Margalit, UPA, 151: “Tell me no tales, O Maiden”; ARTU, 239: “Do not fabricate (lies), o Virgin”; MLC, 378: “No me embrolles, joh Virgen!”.

(64) 1.119: 28-29

*yb'lm. [ʿa]ll[.] tdy ʿz. tgrny.*Oh Ba'alu, do drive away the strong one from our gates, etc.⁹⁹.

In examples (58), (63) and (64) the redundant use of both vocative particles *y* and *-m* is evident. Somewhat similar are the next two with redundancy of the vocative *l*:

(65) 1.5 ii 11

lbn 'ilm mt

"O Motu, Son of Ilu".

(66) 1.24 25-26

lhnm. b'l

O son-in-law of Ba'alu!

If this is parallel to the previous line (*[l]n'mn. 'ilm. "[Oh] most handsome of the gods!"*¹⁰⁰ then the FM reinforces the vocative *l*¹⁰¹.

H: *SPEECH-INTRODUCTORY FM*

It would seem that in at least one passage *-m* marks the beginning of discourse¹⁰².

(67) 1.19 iii 46

*qr. my[m] mlk. ysm.**ylkm.qr. mym**d'[lk] mhš 'aqht*

The king cursed Qr-my[m]:

'Woe to you(sing.), Qr-mym,

responsible as you are for the slaying of Aqhatu, etc.¹⁰³.

Caquot -Sznycer comment: "Le *-m* final semble être un enclitique marquant la transcription directe d'un discours, comme *-mi* en accadien"¹⁰⁴. Both the parallel passages (1.19 iii 51 and 1.19 iv 3) have *ylk*, without the FM. Note also example (100) below.

I: *"EMPHATIC" OR FOCUSING FM*

For discussion see below (under O).

(68) 1.2 iv 32

*ym. lmt. b'lm. yml[k]*Yammu is truly dead! Ba'alu has indeed become king!¹⁰⁵.

99. For *al* as positive here see Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 34 and Miller, in Claassen, ed., *Text and Context. Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F.C. Fensham* (JSOTSS 48 Sheffield 1988) [= *FSFensham*], 142f. Contrast Verreet, MU, 128: "'Oh Ba'al, möchtest du nicht den Starken von unserem Tor vertreiben, etc.'", with no reference to either the *y* or the *-m*.

100. So ARTU, 144.

101. For a different interpretation cf. MLC, 459.

102. For Akkadian usage at Ugarit cf. Huehnergard, UVST, 209 (on *mi*). See further discussion below.

103. According to ARTU, 259 n. 222 the verb *ysm* means "struck". For very different stichometry and translation cf. Margalit, UPA, 424-427 (previously *UF* 16 [1984] 152-154); according to Margalit, *ylk* (sic!) = **yl* + *lk* "woe/calamity-to-thee". He makes no reference to the enclitic. For a critique of Margalit's rendering see Renfroe, *UF* 18 (1986) 69-71. Renfroe himself (ibid. 70) translates the first two lines "Water-source! May what you have be ruined/Woe to you, Water-source!".

104. TOug I, 453, n.d.; they translate: "Malheur à toi, Qor Mayim".

105. Accepted by TOug I, 139, n. d (with references); Aartun, PU I, 51, esp. n. 4 (not plur!).

The parallelism between the asseverative *l* and the *-m* is significant: the focus is undeniably on Ba'alu.

(69) 1.17 vi 34-35

dm lǵzr šrgk. ḥḥm

Since to a 'hero' your lies are utter filth¹⁰⁶.

Note that Margalit, instead, proposes: "For to a Hero your tales are (like) thorns"¹⁰⁷. According to him any connection with Akk. *ḥaḥḥu*, "spittle, slime", is rejected (the word *ḥḥ* means "thorn") and here the *-m* is not enclitic but the plural morpheme¹⁰⁸.

(70) 1.17 vi 39-40

qštm. [] mhrm.

The bow is a warrior's [weapon]¹⁰⁹.

The problem here is not so much the missing word (*qšt* or *ntq?*) but whether the plural morpheme (*-m*) is present. Del Olmo Lete translates "los arcos [son propios] de guerreros"¹¹⁰ but Margalit opts for "The bow is [the weapon] of soldiers"¹¹¹. Since the Bow is so central to the plot, *qštm* can only be a singular noun with emphatic/enclitic *-m* and it seems preferable to analyse *mhrm* in the same way.

(71) 1.100: 64-65

ydy. bšm. ʿrʿr

wbšht. ʿš mt

He exorcises with tamarisk wood
and with a bush of 'death-wood'¹¹²

(72) 1.100 65-67

ʿrʿrm. ynʿrn(!)h

ssnm. ysynh.

ʿdtm. yʿdynh.

ybltm. yblnh.

With the tamarisk he causes it to go,
with the fruit stalk of a date palm he causes it to go away.
with the succulent part of a reed he causes it to pass away,
with the 'carrier' he carries it away¹¹³.

Pardee explains: "Rainey proposes that the *-m* here [i.e. on *ʿrʿrm*, *ssnm*, *ʿdtm* and *ybltm*] is equivalent to the Akkadian instrumental *-um*¹¹⁴. I have also translated as instrumental, but have simply vocal-

106. TOug I 432, n. a. According to Aartun, PU I, 51 *ḥḥm* is a noun in nom. + emphatic *-m* Cf. ARTU, 67, n. 309; also MLC, 378.

107. Margalit, UPA, 151.

108. Margalit, UPA, 306, n. 14.

109. ARTU, 239; Aitken, *Aqhat Narrative*, 47.

110. MLC, 379.

111. Margalit, UPA, 152; similarly Aartun, PU I, 51.

112. Verreet, MU, 52. For the first line contrast Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques*, 215: "Il rejette le tamaris (de) parmi les arbres" (discussion *ibid.* 216) and JANES 10 (1978) 94: "trees" and Levine – de Tarragon, *RB* 95 (1988) 492: "He pulls out from the trees – tamarisk".

113. So Pardee, JANES 10 (1978) 85; *Les textes para-mythologiques*, 216f. Cf. Levine – de Tarragon, *RB* 95 (1988) 492 and 499.

114. Rainey, *JAOS* 94 (1974) 190: "Every type of wood or plant bears a suffixed *-m*, evidently with instrumental force (**-um*), with reference to von Soden, GAG, §66e.

ized as accusative plus enclitic *mem*, remaining skeptical about a separate instrumental particle with *mem*¹¹⁵.

(73) 2.39+: 12

‘b[d]m.sglth. ‘at

A servant indeed, his possession are you.

The emphatic/enclitic may also be restored in line 7 (which corresponds to line 12) but there is no certainty. Pardee comments: “The /m/ at the end of the word in question [i.e. *‘bd*] is with all probability ‘enclitic”¹¹⁶.

J: FM ON REPEATED WORDS OR PHRASES

One function of enclitic *-m* is to mark a word or phrase as repetition¹¹⁷. On the repetition of *b^clm* in 1.148 11-12 Astour commented: “The final *-m* is rather an enclitic (with the meaning “also”, cf. UT, § 19.1402) to mark a repetition¹¹⁸ rather than the suffix of plural(sic)”¹¹⁹. According to Wesselius “the use of *-m* to indicate completely or partially identical entries” in commercial texts is illustrated by the following examples¹²⁰:

(74) 4.69 ii 20-23

<i>bn.kzn</i>	8
<i>w.nhlh</i>	2
<i>wnhlhm</i>	2
<i>wnh’lhm</i>	2
PN:	8
and his heir	2
and his other heir	2
and his further heir	2

Wesselius also cites 4.69 ii 9-11; vi 23-25; 4.232 ii 11-12); 4.581: 2-5; 4.704: 6-8. Yet another text is 4.71 iv 5-6 (unfortunately broken but the restorations are more than likely). This repetition marker can also be tacked onto prepositions (here *l + m*):

(75) 4.223: 8-9

[šd(?) ‘]bd’ilm l’iytlm

[šd(?) n]hlh lm’iytlm

[The field(?) of] PN₁ to PN₂.

[The field of] his heir also to PN₂.

b^cdm in 4.132: 1-2 has been cited above, example (56). Wesselius also quotes two further passages:

115. Pardee, *JANES* 10 (1978) 95.

116. Pardee, *UF* 13 (1981) 154.

117. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 7: “*m* marks members of a list with additive meaning”.

118. The expression *b^clm kmm* occurs six times in succession. On *kmm* see note 88.

119. Astour, *JAOS* 86 (1966) 279, n. 29. Similarly, on 1.47 6-11, Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 13 (1981) 68 comment: “In der Gleichung *b^clm = ^dIM II-VII* dürfte aus der Schreibung ^dIM zu entnehmen sein, daß *b^clm* keinesfalls als Plural aufzufassen ist, daß also nur *b^cl+m* “Baal noch einmal, noch ein Baal” in Frage kommen kann”. See also Layton, *Archaic Features*, 162.

120. Wesselius, *UF* 12 (1980) 449.

(76) 4.141 iii 7 (and 9)

ḫtm ḫzr

Six ḫ.-officers.

(77) 4.360: 6.7

ḫttm b'lm

Three workmen.

As he points out, in both these texts “the form with *-t* appears before suffixes *-m* with masculine nouns”¹²¹. It can be noted that in the letter 2.39 the enclitic *-m* is used when a previous phrase is repeated – see example (55)¹²².

K: FM AS A MARKER OF INDETERMINATION

According to Segert “the morpheme indicated by *-m* on a noun used as predicate in a nominal clause may be considered a marker of indetermination”¹²³ and “the nominal predicate can be provided with the marker of indefiniteness *-m*... especially if it precedes the subject”¹²⁴. His only example is:

(78) 1.23: 40 (// 43-44 // 46-47)

ymt. mt.

nḫtm. ḫtk.

mmnm. mḫ. ydk

O my husband, my husband

lowering your staff,

aiming your walking-stick, etc.¹²⁵.

However, in his review article, Rainey comments: “There is no basis for the assumption that *-m* signifies indetermination”; it is, instead, “the emphatic *-m* of predication”¹²⁶, but he gives no examples. In fact, there is strong evidence from comparative Semitics that one function of FM was to denote indetermination¹²⁷. Examples in Ugaritic are *mm* and *mnm*, “whoever”; *mḫm*, “whatever”¹²⁸.

L: QUESTIONABLE OCCURRENCES

Here some uncertain examples of FM are set out, with comments.

(79) 1.1 iv 8

hbl ḫtm. []

121. Wesselius, *UF* 12 (1980) 449. Examples from the ritual texts may be *ḫ^cm* and *dqtm* (1.39 1.4-5) according to Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 13 (1981) 78. However, see Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 5 (1987) 41-42 and 42, n. 5 (“la variante *ḫ^c/ḫ^m* va probablemente unida a la función del *-m* enclítico como determinativo”).

122. Similarly, perhaps, *dt // dtm* in 1.4 vi 36-38; (cf. Aartun, PU I, 55). Also *mnm* followed by *mnm* in 3.2. 12-15.

123. Segert, BGUL, §52.6; also §§ 62; 62.6; 73.21.

124. Segert, BGUL, §73.21 (p. 112). Also, §62(p. 84), §62.6(p. 86) §52.6(p. 51).

125. ARTU, 124; cf. Aartun, PU I, 51; TOug 1, 375; MLC, 444-560 (*ymmn* G/R + *m*) with further references.

126. Rainey, *Or* 56 (1987) 396 and 399. Less crisply, Marcus *JAOS* 107 (1987) 488 comments “Since the identification of such a marker is quite novel, one would have liked to have had more information and more examples of this grammatical feature”.

127. On FM as an “indefinitizer” see Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 132. For a possible Hurrian origin cf. S. Izre’el, “The Complementary Distribution of the Vowels *e* and *i* in the Peripheral Akkadian Dialect of Amurru – A Further Step Towards our Understanding of the Development of the Amarna Jargon” in H. Jungraithmayr and W. W. Müller (eds.) *Proceedings of the Fourth International Hamito-Semitic Congress Hamburg, 20-22 September, 1983* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1987) 525-541 (p. 526).

128. For references cf. Aartun, PU I, 56 – though he considers the FM to denote emphasis. For the occurrence in 2.30: 22 see TOug II, 323, n. 19.

A mess of mud.

At present, though, the translation remains somewhat conjectural¹²⁹.

(80) 1.2 i 32

'išt. 'išt. y'itmr.

The usual translation of this line is "A fire, two fires were seen"¹³⁰ but it is possible that *'išt. m* = *'išt + -m*: "yes, a fire" with FM on the repeated word (see above)¹³¹.

(81) 1.5 i 6

'isp'i. 'uṭm ḏrqm. 'amtm

Translations vary too much for any certainty¹³².

(82) 1.14 ii 31

mḡd[.] ṯḏ. yrḥm

Victuals for the sixth month¹³³.

(83) 1.14 iii 7-8 // iv 51

s't. bšdm ḥṯbt

Attack wood-collectors in the field(s?).

It is uncertain whether *šdm* here is singular (with enc. *-m*) or plural¹³⁴; the corresponding word in the parallel line is plural: *grnt* ("threshing floors").

(84) 1.14 vi 36-38

'idk. pnm lytn.

'mm. pbl mlk

Then they set out (lit. set face)

toward King Pbl.

Since this is an isolated case of the preposition *'m* with an enclitic *-m*, it could be a mistake for commoner *'mn* as suggested by Driver¹³⁵.

(85) 1.16 iii 2-4 (// 1.5 vi 3-5)

tr. 'arš. wšmm

sb. lqšm. 'arš

129. ARTU, 25; translated "de desperdicios fangosos [" in MLC, 158.

130. For the verb here – Gt imperfect 3rd masc. plur. – see Verreet, MU, 64-65 and contrast Dobrusin, *JANES* 13 (1981) 8, n. 12.

131. Margalit, *A Matter*, 22 posits an enclitic *-m* in *dbbm* (1.4 i 39) but opinion is as yet uncertain on the meaning of *dbb*.

132. See Verreet, MU, 105 and 204f; MLC, 213; ARTU, 70; etc. On [^h]gmm in 1.14 i 27 see my comments in *AuOr* 7 (1989)

131. The context for of *itm* in 1.5 iii 24 is too broken for the assumption that *it + m* is present (cf. Aartun, PU I, 58).

133. Cf. Aartun, PU I, 54. MLC, 293: "viandas (hasta) el sexto mes". Contrast S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Numerals in Ugaritic" in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem 1969) 172-179, who argues (p. 174) that in view of the *n // n + 1* pattern in Ugaritic verse "the numbers are best taken as cardinal forms and the *m* of *yrḥm* as the plural termination and not as enclitic *m*".

134. Sing.: TOug I, 521.532; plur.: ARTU, 196.200; Driver, CML, 31.35; Gibson, CML², 85.88.

135. Driver, CML, 36; contrast MLC, 601 and UT §10.14; Aartun, PU I, 60 (no reference to a possible scribal error). On MLC, 301 see Zurro, *Salmanticensis* 30 (1983) 395.

lksm. mhyt.

Search through earth and heaven,
turn to the end(s) of the earth,
to the edge(s)/cover(s) of the watery regions.

This tricolon, as translated by Parker¹³⁶ includes the suggestions that *qsm* is "construct singular or plural noun with enclitic *m*" and that *ksm* may also be "the construct plural (with enclitic *m*) of a noun *ks* meaning 'cover'"¹³⁷.

(86) 1.16 vi 6-7

°rm. td'u. mh

pdrm. td'u. šrr

To the city she flew...

to the town she flew...

The meanings of *mh* (or *mt*) in line 6 and of *šrr* (line 7) are uncertain¹³⁸ but clearly the FM on both line-initial nouns is adverbial. The same ending is evident in the next line:

(87) 1.16 vi 8

h̄tm. t°mt. ptr.

With a wand she struck...

Again, various translations (and stichometries) have been offered but it is generally accepted that *h̄tm* comprises *h̄t*, "stick" plus *-m*.

(88) 1.17 i 21-22

'uzrm 'ilm ylh̄m

'uzrm yšqy bn qdš

Clothed/With *u*.¹³⁹ he feeds the gods,

Clothed/With *u*. he gives the holy ones drink¹⁴⁰.

(89) 1.19 i 45

bl. šr. thmtm.

No flooding up of the underground water.

As explained in a recent study¹⁴¹ here *thmt* may well correspond to Heb. *thwm* and is neither dual nor plural but has an enclitic *m*¹⁴².

136. In his recent study, S. B. Parker, "KTU 1.16 III, the Myth of the Absent God and 1 Kings 18", *UF* 21 (1989) 282-296 (on p. 284).

137. Parker, [see previous note] 286-287 with discussion of other possible renderings. Elements of ambiguity and wordplay may well be present.

138. See MLC, 320; ARTU, 221; Gibson, CML², 101, etc.

139. The meaning of *uzr* is uncertain (see next note) but if it refers to clothing then a cognate may be Akk. *ziru*, Eblaite *zi-ri* (for which cf. Bonechi, *MisEb* 2, 143 and n. 46, with references) and *zi-ir-tu* (a ritual garment) in Emar VI 369:75. For a possible meaning, with etymology, of the term in the Emar text see Dietrich, *UF* 21 (1989) 85, n. 87.

140. Cf. Verreet, *MU*, 51f., 172. Contrast Tropper, *Kausativstamm*, 139, 167. For the radically different translation "(D)nil eats (i.e., offers to) the statue(s) of Il (or: of the god(s)/The son of Il(or: the offspring of divinity) drinks (i.e., libates to) the statue(s)", based on Hittite parallels, see M. Tsevat, *UF* 18 (1986) 345-350. Note also *°pmm* in 1.18 iv 42, plur. of *°p* + FM? See MLC, 603; Margalit, *UPA*, 343; *UF* 15 (1983) 103.

141. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Die Wasserflut Addus von unten", *UF* 21 (1989) 112-121.

142. "Eine Klärung der mit *thmtm* gestellten Fragen hängt in erster Linie von einer zuverlässigen Bestimmung der Funktion der Endung *-m* ab. Da ein Ansatz eines enklitischen *-m* nicht bei allen Belegen für *thmtm* zu einem überzeugenden Ergebnis führt,

(90) 1.19 iv 32

ltbrkn. 'alk. brkt[m?]

So that they [the gods] may bless me, consequently I may travel blessed¹⁴³.

Margalit considers the *m*, if correctly read, to enclitic and present for alliteration¹⁴⁴.

(91) 1.23: 3

ytnm. qrt. Fly[]

Though generally translated "who set a city on high"¹⁴⁵ in which case *ytnm* would be a plur. participle with "the gracious gods" as antecedent, the rendering "Let glory be given to the exalted ones" assumes *ytn* + FM¹⁴⁶.

(92) 1.23: 13 // 18

w. šd. šd. 'ilm.

And the field is the field of Ilu(?).

Various renderings are possible and the context does not make it clear whether "gods" or "Ilu" is correct here¹⁴⁷. However, the high incidence of FM in 1.23 may be indicative of the second alternative.

(93) 1.24: 22-23

'atn šdh krm[m]

šd ddh hrnq[m]

I will make her field into a vineyard,

the field of her love into a flower-garden!

Translations differ¹⁴⁸; although adopting a rendering in the plural Wyatt comments "The *m* may be enclitic, so that both terms have singular force"¹⁴⁹.

(94) 1.46: 9

lbbtm.

If this means "in the temple", as proposed by Freilich, then the adverbial or accusative *-m* is pleonastic since according to her it is preceded by the compound preposition *lb*, "within"¹⁵⁰. This usage is matched by *bqrb hklm* in example (4).

(95) 1.100: 70-71

b^cdh. bhtm. mnt.

b^cdh. bhtm. sgrt

b^cdh. ^cdbt. tlt.

dürften sie in solche für Dual and für *thmt* plus enclitischen *-m* aufzuteilen sein. Folglich spitzt sich alles auf die Frage zu, ob eine oder mehrere Bedeutungen für *thmt* im Ugaritischen anzusetzen sind" – Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 21 (1989) 117.

143. For *ltbrkn* as part of a final clause see Verreert, MU, 171.

144. Margalit, UPA, 236; translation, 164.

145. CML², 123; ARTU, 118; TOug I, 369.

146. MLC 440.563. For the posited presence of FM in 1.23: 9-11 see Dobrusin, *JANES* 13 (1981) 11-12.

147. The translation "O Kraft! Kraft von Ilu!" – I. Schiffmann, "Nochmals '*rbm* in C 23 = KTU 1.23", *Semitica* 39 (1990) 163-166 (on p. 165) – is implausible.

148. The translation given here reproduces ARTU, 144 (with the references there). Alternatively, "Le daré como terreno suyo un carmen, como campo (don) de su amado un vergel (?)", MLC, 459.

149. Wyatt, *UF* 9 (1977) 290, n. 33.

150. Freilich, *JSS* 31 (1986) 126-127 and for the preposition, 129; contrast Dijkstra, *UF* 16 (1984) 72: "the Babeti's".

Behind her the mansion of incantation,
 behind her the mansion she locks,
 behind her she places the bronze bar(?)

It would seem that only one house is in question here because (a) in the lines which follow *bt* is used twice with reference to the *bhtm*, (b) she (the Mare?) can only shut herself into one house (c) by using a single locking device of bronze¹⁵¹.

(96) 1.112: 12

The cluster *'iynm* is rendered by Xella "(come) offerte apotropaïche(?)"¹⁵² and although the meaning of *'iyn* is uncertain¹⁵³ there may be an enclitic *-m* here.

(97) 1.115: 9

š l 'il bt. šlmm

A sheep to the god of the palace as a peace-offering.

Although *šlmm* is usually considered to be in the singular (the *-m* may be adverbial)¹⁵⁴, some scholars translate it as a plural¹⁵⁵.

(98) 1.119:6

gdlt. lb^clm

A cow to (the) Ba'alu.

Scholars are divided as to whether *b^clm* here is singular or plural. For example, del Olmo Lete translates "una vaca a (los) Ba'lu(*ma*)", but provides no comment¹⁵⁶. In the ritual 1.148 *b^clm* occurs several times (lines 3.[3].4.[4].[4].11.11.[11].11.12.12.44) although the reference is always to Ba'alu in the singular¹⁵⁷.

(99) 2.33: 27-28

w. hn., 'ibm. šsq. ly. p. l. 'ašt 'atty. n^cry. th. lpn. 'ib

But if the enemy causes me distress then I shall place my wife (and) children in GN in the face of the enemy.

151. Of course all these elements can be called into question; cf. Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques*, 219f.; Levine – de Tarragon, *RB* 95 (1988) 492.499., etc. See also 1.91:14 *k.tdd.b^clt.bhtm*, "When the Mistress of the Temple(s?) moves etc." (cf. TOug II, 176; Xella, TRU 1, 340; de Tarragon, *Culte*, 162-165). Another example of FM may be *tkm*, "que se reuna" in 1.111 22 as read and translated by del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 8 (1990) 28 and n. 49.

152. Xella, TRU, 1. 44; cf. 46.

153. For a survey cf. del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 2 (1984) 198, n. 9; the meaning "mourning" is supported by Egyptian *iv*, "lament" (R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford 1962] 12). No translation is provided in TOug II, 198; see *ibid.*, n. 169.

154. J. C. de Moor, "The Peace-offering in Ugarit and Israel" in *Schrift en Uitleg* (Kampen 1970) 112-115; Freilich, *JSS* 31 (1986) 129 ("as a *šlmm*-offering"); del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* (1989) 183ff. ("en sacrificio de comunión"); see, too, KTU 1.14 iii 26-27 (and par.) on which cf. TOug I, 523, n.y.

155. TOug II, 202; TRU I, 382. It also occurs in 1.109: (//1.46:2.7.15.etc.) 10.15.23.37; 1.148:10 and RIH 77/2B+: 8; RIH 77/10B+: [6].7; RIH 78/4: 11; RIH 78/11: [4].7; RIH 78/16: [2]. De Tarragon, *Culte*, 60 comments: "*šlmm* est sans doute une forme du pluriel, mais souvent ce *-m* final sera enclitique, de sorte que le pluriel n'est pas prouvé"; see *ibid.* 75, n. 19. See Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 13 (1981) 77-88, with full discussion and further references.

156. *AuOr* 7 (1989) 29; See Xella's long note, TRU I, 29. Miller, *FSFensham*, 144 notes: "The plural *b^clm* appears several times in ritual texts, and several Baals associated with particular places are named".

157. Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 6 (1988) 11-17. On *zlm* in 1.161: 1, T. J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* (Atlanta 1989) 11 comments: "I propose to read "nocturnal sacrifices," literally "sacrifices of darkness". In such a case *zlm* could be viewed as from *z*l "shadow, darkness" with an enclitic *m*; but it is more appealing to posit a root *zlm* meaning "darkness". In fact, *zlm*, "darkness" is well attested in Ug.; cf. Loretz – Xella, *MLE* 1 (Rome 1982) 43.

Although *'ibm* could be plural¹⁵⁸ the occurrence of *'ib* at the end of the same sentence may indicate the presence of an enclitic *-m*. As we have seen, though, it is usually the *second* occurrence of a word which is so marked.

(100) 2.36+: 15-16

'ušbtm n[ʔ]bt. mšrm. b. hwt. 'ugrt

Am I permitted to stop the passage of caravans of Egypt through the land of Ugarit?

This is Dijkstra's translation¹⁵⁹. It would seem that here the words of the Ugaritic king are being quoted (so Dijkstra). If so, the FM would mark direct speech (see section I, above).

(101) 3.9: 6-8

km. 'agrškm b. bty

In the event that I expel you from my house, etc.

Fenton argues that here *km* means "if, when" – corresponding to the simple form *k* with the same meaning, plus *-m*¹⁶⁰.

(102) 4.710: 9

ʕ₂rm ʔ₂ʔ₂ kdʔtm

23 jars as a gift, etc.

Bordreuil, who recently edited this difficult text¹⁶¹, comments: "Le /-m/ final est à rapprocher de celui de *šlmm* (CTA 14 : 130[= KTU 1.14 iii 26]) <<en échange de >>"¹⁶². On *šlmm* see example (97), above¹⁶³.

M: TEXTS WHERE FM HAS BEEN INCORRECTLY IDENTIFIED

(103) 1.3 iii 39

nhr 'il rbm

River, the great god/the god of the Big Ones¹⁶⁴.

(104) 1.3 iii 40

l' ištbn. tnn.

Did I not muzzle(?) Tunnanu?

158. So Lipiński, *OLP* 12 (1981) 105: "Et, voici, les ennemis me pressent"; cf. Watson, *SEL* 7 (1990) 79; TOug II, 336, n. 32 (with bibliography). See also Tropper, *Kausativstamm*, 55.

159. Dijkstra, *UF* 21 (1989) 144 and n. 19.

160. Fenton, *UF* 9 (1977) 73-74, though he does not explicitly mention enclitic *-m*. In his study K. Aartun, "Ein Zeugnis ugaritischer Rechtsprechung (702 [KTU 3.9]: 1-21)", *SEL* 7 (1990) 59-73, esp. 64f., rejects the reading *km* (preferring *wm*). For another solution (*him* > *ʔim* and *wm* < *w + hm*) cf. J. Tropper, "Ugaritisch *wm* (KTU 3.9:6) und der Schwund von anlautendem *h* im Semitischen", *UF* 21 (1989) 421-423.

161. P. Bordreuil, "Cunéiformes alphabétiques non canoniques. I) La tablette alphabétique senestroverse RS 22.03", *Syria* 58 (1981) 301-310.

162. Bordreuil [see previous note] 309. For *ʔt*, "bribe", he refers (ibid.) to AHw, 1382 [incorrectly given as p. 382] who cites Ug. Akk. *ʔa-a-tu* (PRU 4 127[RS17.396] 8) and Nuzi Akk. *ʔatu*.

163. Note also RIH 77/25 r.3': *kn. nʕmm*, "...a linen cloth of good quality" (so van Soldt, *UF* 22 [1990] 331, cf. Ribichini-Xella, *Tessili*, 44).

164. MLC, 622, Gibson, *CML*² 157; ARTU 11 and n. 58.

Gibson comments "The form is 3 masc. sing. perfect Gt and the -*m* is enclitic"¹⁶⁵ but de Moor states "The translation of *šbm* by "to muzzle" is practically certain"¹⁶⁶.

(105) 1.5 vi 18 (// 1.6 i 2)

psltm by^cr

Translated (i) "with a flint as a razor"¹⁶⁷; (ii) "both side-locks with a razor"¹⁶⁸; (iii) "... like a carving/ with a stone..."¹⁶⁹. Only in (i) and (iii) would there be an adverbial -*m* but the sequence of events portrayed in (ii) – scraping skin, cutting off hair, gashing face – is suitably dramatic and fits in with known mourning rites. Hence, there is no FM here.

(106) 1.17 i 16

The reading '*abynm* which had been explained as '*abyn* with a FM¹⁷⁰ is now superseded by the reading '*abyn* 'at established by KTU¹⁷¹.

(107) 1.19 iv 28

pḡt tkmt mym

Although the parallel passages have *my*, it would seem that here *mym* is simply the plural form as in Hebrew¹⁷².

(108) 1.105: 3-4

b^cl rkm

Ba^calu of the 'buildings'.

The passage has been fully discussed elsewhere¹⁷³

(109) 1.109: 31

p'amt tltm š

Thirty times a sheep, etc.

This is the accepted translation¹⁷⁴; previously de Tarragon surmised "Il se peut que *tltm* soit *tlt* avec un -*m* enclitique, car trente moutons est un sacrifice d'une ampleur inhabituelle pour Ugarit; on comprendrait: <<A trois reprises, un mouton...>>"¹⁷⁵.

(110) 1.161: 2-3//9-10

qr'itm rp'i 'arš

165. Gibson, CML², 50, n. 5, following Barr, *JSS* 18 (1973) 17-39; the root is *šby*. Alternatively, if either of the Akk. verbs *šapû* "to wrap, fasten with laces, thongs" (CAD Š/I, 490; AHw, 177b) or **šapû* (also **šapa'u* and **šebû*), "to be silent (Gt), to silence, subdue (D)" (CAD Š/I, 490-491; AHw, 1177b) is cognate then there is an FM here.

166. ARTU, 11, n. 59. See MLC, 627 with references and Pardee, *UF* 16 (1984) 251-255. However, see J. Barr, "Ugaritic and Hebrew *šbm*", *JSS* 18 (1973) 17-39.

167. De Moor, *UF* 1 (1969) 227; Spronk, *Afterlife*, 245.

168. MLC, 222; followed by Tropper, *UF* 22 (1990) 377 ("die Koteletten(?) mit einem Schermesser(?)").

169. O. Loretz – I. Kottsieper, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry* (Münster 1987) 36, with very different stichometry; see 34-35 for a survey of translations.

170. Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín, *UF* 4 (1972) 34; Dijkstra-De Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 34.

171. Cf. Watts, *UF* 21 (1989) 447; also Margalit, UPA, 170; *JNSL* 9 (1981) 78ff; *UF* 16 (1984) 69-70. On the alleged *qmm* in 1.19 i 9 see del Olmo Lete, IMC, 129, n. 291.

172. Contrast Aartun, PU I, 52.

173. Full discussion by del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 6 (1988) 190, n. 8 – contrast Miller, *FSFensham*, 143.

174. Xella, TRU 1,51; del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 184; TOug II, 190.

175. De Tarragon, *Culte*, 164. See Xella's comment in *UF* 13 (1981) 329.

qb'itm qbš ddn

You are summoned, O 'heroes' of the underworld,
you are invoked, O 'gathered ones' of Didanu.

This rendering, by Lewis, is representative of common opinion¹⁷⁶; only Pitard assumes an enclitic *m* here¹⁷⁷ but as Levine – de Taragon point out there are no other 1st sing. perfect forms with FM¹⁷⁸.

hlm occurs in 1.2 i 21; 1.3 iii 32; 1.4 iv 27; 1.16 i 53; 1.100: 6.11.17.22.28.33.38.43.48.54¹⁷⁹. Pardee terms *hlm* in 1.100: 6, etc. a "particule démonstrative" and translates it "ci-après"¹⁸⁰. Levine – de Taragon analyse *hlm* as *hl* + enclitic *-m* and render "Let, may (he), indeed"¹⁸¹. However, Verreet has a different view: "M.E. trifft vielmehr eine bestimmte Verwandtschaft mit dem akkadischen *hūman*, >>kaum als << oder *lām(a)*, >>bevor, ehe<<, zu; ersteres kommt bedeutungsgemäß dem ugaritischen *hlm*, >>sobald als <<, wohl am nächsten. Das Element *h* = *ha* (cf. has hebräische *ha-lô'* und das arabische '*a-lâ'*) ist dann sekundär dem tragenden *lm* vorgesetzt worden"¹⁸².

špšm (1.14 iii 3.14; iv 32-33.46; v 6), neutrally: "with the sun"¹⁸³.

However, according to Pope "It is possible to construe *špš-m* as the subject of a nominal sentence, "the sun (was) in the third (day)". But even if the meaning is "at sunrise", there is no proof that the adverbial sense resides in the final *-m*"¹⁸⁴. In fact, it has been demonstrated recently that the expression probably means "(between) the two suns", with *m* marking the dual¹⁸⁵.

Note also that if Rendsburg's etymology is correct, in *hlqm*, "thoat, neck" (1.3 ii 14.28) the *m* is "an integral part of the word" not an ending or enclitic¹⁸⁶.

N: PNN WITH FM

The final *-m* of most names belongs either to the whole name (as in *ynhm*, root *NHM* or to the second component (e.g. *šdqšlm* = *šdq* + *šlm*). In many others, though, the last *-m* seems to be optional, as in *ydnm*, with the variant *ydn*. This group will be discussed here¹⁸⁷. It should be noted that some apparently contrastive pairs are in fact quite different names, for example, *'ilym*, "Yammu is god" and *'ily*, "My god"¹⁸⁸. It is not always easy to differentiate such ostensible variants from real final *-m* variants of the same name¹⁸⁹. Of the Ugaritic personal names ending with *-m* the following can be listed¹⁹⁰.

176. Lewis, *Cults*, 7; see 12-13 for survey and discussion.

177. W. T. Pitard, *BASOR* 232 (1978) 68.

178. Levine – de Taragon, *JAOS* 104 (1984) 652. See also Lewis, *Cults*, 13. For the possibility (which is rejected) that there is an FM in *elm* in the first line of this text, see Lewis, *ibid.*, 11-12.

179. In 1.2 i 23: mistake for *ilm*; in 1.19 iv 52 *bhlm* is a mistake for *bahlm*.

180. Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques*, 300 and 209 respectively; see his comments, 209.

181. Levine – de Taragon, *RB* 95 (1988) 496; Kottsieper, *UF* 16 (1984) 104 (and 106): "Siehe!", following Aartun, *PU* I, 73. See, in general, *PU* I 72-73 and *PU* II, 57.

182. Verreet, *MU*, 235; the texts are set out *ibid.* 235-237.

183. As Gibson notes, *CML*², 85 n. 2 "It is uncertain whether this phrase means at sunrise or at sunset". *MLC*, 295: "al alba"; *ARTU*, 196: "at sunset". Additional examples may be 1.20 i 5 and 1.22 ii 24 (restored).

184. Pope, *JCS* 5 (1961) 128. Cf. *MLC*, 632.

185. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, "Die ugaritischen Zeitangaben *šbu špš* // *rb špš* und *špšm*", *UF* 22 (1990) 74-77; cf. Xella, *UF* 16 (1984) 339-349.

186. Rendsburg, *JAOS* 107 (1987) 628. A further example may be *urm*, "in the morning" in 1.119 12 (// 1.39 8) if B. A. Levine, "The Descriptive Ritual Texts from Ugarit: Some Formal and Functional Features of the *Genre*", *FS Freedman* (Winona Lake 1983) 467-475 (esp. 472) is correct.

187. See Pope, *JCS* 5 (1961) 123 and n. 8; also Berger, *WO* 5 (1970) 280f. Gordon comments (*UT* §8.2): "If the proper names *abm*... and *šdqm*... contain mimation, they are archaistic or borrowed".

188. References: *ilym*: 4.116 13; *ily*: 4.63 ii 22; 4.347 5; 4.625 22; [4.227 ii 11; 4.334 3; 4.432 21; 4.488 2; 4.583 1; *ilyy*: 4.244 24; also for both *ily* and *ilyy* the unpublished texts cited by Bordreuil, *SEL* 5 (1988) 28 (22 and II 18 respectively).

189. Note also internal *-m* e.g. *b'lmtp* (4.214 ii 5) on which cf. *PTU*, 32f.116.200.

190. The text references for Ugaritic, unless otherwise indicated, are to *KTU*. See already *PTU*, 53 for a few of these names

'*abm* (4.63 ii 2; 4.75 iii 1; 4.75 vi 2; RIH 83/24+84/2: 1) – cf. *a-bi-ma* PRU 6 79 13¹⁹¹. It would appear to be a variant of '*ibm* (see below)¹⁹².

'*ansrm* (4.204 2), comprising Hurr. *an* + *šr* (cf. '*inšr*'; so PTU, 207.223.249) + *-m*.

'*arm* 4.232 5; (PTU, 26.219f271); cf. '*irm* below.

'*aršm* 4.153 2 = '*arš*¹⁹³ + *-m*.

'*ibm* (4.350 12; 4.610 8; RIH 83/28+84/15: 1.8); cf. '*abm* (above).

'*ibrm* (4.607 20) cf. EN^{ri}-*mu* PRU 6 104 4 (PTU, 87.182), *ibr*, "lord" + *m*.

'*idrm* (4.69 ii 2; 4.377 8; PTU, 53.90)¹⁹⁴.

'*illm* (4.93 iv 24); '*i-la-la-[ajm](?)* PRU 6 149 ii 6 -- '*ill* (4.214 ii 8), probably the name of a Hittite-Luwian deity (cf. PTU, 273)¹⁹⁵.

'*iltm* (4.86 16; PTU, 45.96.201.423) -- '*ilt* (4.35 i 19; [4.512 3]; PTU, 98).

'*irm* (4.399 5); *ir(?)*-*m[u?]* PRU 6 70 5 - cf. '*arm*.

'*ulrm(?)* (4.759 6); - cf. PN *Ulluri* in the Chagar Bazar texts¹⁹⁶.

bdlm (4.116 20; 4.724 5); [DU]MU-*bi-da-la-ya* PRU 3 195(RS15.09) B i 22.

blym (4.272 7) -- *bly* (4.65 10; 4.69 i 2; 4.76 6; 4.93 ii 3; 4.116 9; 4.356 13; 4.377 10; 4.386 2; 4.681 3; PTU, 20.117.288); DUMU *bu-lu-ya* PRU 3 169(RS16.145) 20.

b^clmf (4.262 4) -- *b^cl* (4.63 iv 17; [4.725 3]; PTU, 20.56.116).

bršm (4.69 ii 19; 4.106 11); *bur-zu-mi*-Syr 18 (1937) 246 (RS8.145) 28¹⁹⁷ -- *brš* (4.759 8)¹⁹⁸.

gnym (4.55 13) -- cf. *gny* (4.54 12; PTU, 30.129)¹⁹⁹.

hbm (4.313 1; PTU, 310) - if *tghb* (4.658 22) = *tg* + *hb*.

hrm (4.69 9; 4.75 i 1; RIH 78/19 14) corresponding to DUMU *ħa-ra-nù* PRU 3 187(RS15.43) 4; -- *ħr* (4.110 8; PTU, 35.136)²⁰⁰.

ħlbym (4.7 7; 4.93 i 2) -- *ħlb* (4.337 6; PTU, 27.138)²⁰¹.

ħtym (4.687 4) -- *ħty* (4.343 5), *ħu-ti-ja-nu* PRU 3 148(RS16.182+) 8.11.18, etc. (PTU, 276.301).

zrm (4.283 7) and *zrm* (4.314 5; PTU, 183)²⁰²; cf. *zry* (4.63 i 30; 4.628 1)²⁰³.

ydnm (4.407 2) -- *ydn* (4.16 11; 4.219 9; 4.347 7; 4.617 42.45; [*y*]a-a-du-na PRU 6 72 4' (PTU, 50.59.63.123.142)²⁰⁴.

ydrm (4.102 6; PTU, 53.90.204)²⁰⁵.

and the table, 54 (§91). A shorter list of 8 names is provided in Layton, *Archaic Features*, 165. For Phoenician and Punic cf. Benz, PNPPI, 235 and 242-244. For Hebrew cf. R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (Leuven 1988) 158-159 (§§22211-22214). For OSA cf. A. Avanzini, "L'onomastica sudarabica antica del III secolo dopo Cristo" in idem. (ed.) *Problemi di onomastica semitica meridionale* (Pisa 1989) 89-118, esp. 116-118.

191. Compare *abmu* (4.33 40; 4.63 ii 31; 4-115 6; etc.), syllabic spelling *a-bi-ma-nu* PRU 3 203(RS16.257+)iv 14 etc. See also *a-abu-i-mu* PRU 4 189 (RS17.314) 27.

192. So Bordreuil, *SEL* 5 (1988) 26.

193. See my comments in *AuOr* 8 (1990) 115 and note the name *aršm* in Benz, PNPPI, 68-69.

194. Cf. *adrm* (4.4 2) and the well-known but unexplained name Idrimi (cf. Dietrich – Loretz, *UF* 13 [1981] 208).

195. See Ribichini – Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 159 and n. 43.

196. On which cf. Loretz, *AOAT* 1, 249.

197. PTU, 289.299.381; cf. Bordreuil, *Semitica* 35 (1985) 22; Caquot-Masson, *Semitica* 37 (1987) 9.

198. Also, *gmm* (4.55 10; PTU 128); cf. Benz, PNPPI, 296 – cf. *gmf* (4.214 iii 1); *gmn* (4.280 8; 4.410 29).

199. Richardson, *JSS* 23 (1978) 300.315.

200. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 91 n. 4.

201. Also, perhaps, *ħmrm* (4.244 22) which may be a PN – see Heltzer, *UF* 22 (1990) 125, n. 52.

202. Segert, *UF* 20 (1988) 297.

203. Perhaps to be explained by *zurri*, *zurru*, (meaning unknown), GLH, 309. Compare also *ydlh* (4.103 9, etc.) and *ydlm* (4.506 2; 5.1 7) with the spelling *ya-ad-la* (PRU 4 164[RS17.68] 5.8).

204. M. C. Astour, "The Merchant Class of Ugarit", *CRRA* 18 (Munich 1972) 11-26 (p. 17).

205. Cf. Punic *ydr*, Benz, PNPPI, 322.

yntm (4.75 v 16)²⁰⁶.

yrhm (4.360 4; PTU 53.145)²⁰⁷.

ytrm (4.214 2); *ja-tar-mu* PRU 3 68(RS16.269) 7; *ja-tar-mi* PRU 3 58(RS15.2) 7; 139(RS16.131) 20.26 (PTU, 53.148) -- *ytr* (4.611 15; 4.710 13); *ja-ti-r/i?* PRU 3 162(RS16.286) 5; DUMU-*ja-ta-ri* PRU 3 196(RS15.42+) i 13 (PTU, 50.62.147f).

kprm (4.611 8)²⁰⁸.

lgynm (4.44 28).

ssm (4.170 18) -- *ss* (4.75 ii 9)²⁰⁹.

pg'am (4.117 1; PTU, 312)²¹⁰; -- *pg'i* 4.721 1; [4.192 3?].

pdm (4.643 13; 4.748 3; PTU, 244) and *ptm* (4.153 6)²¹¹, -- *pd* (4.683 3); cf. *spi-id-[da(?)]* PRU 4 128 (RS17.348) r.4²¹².

pm (4.31 8)²¹³.

sdqm (4.63 ii 6; 4.124 13; PTU, 53.188).

sqm (4.635 51) cf. *sqn* (4.69 iii 7; PTU, 188).

srym (4.122) -- cf. *sry* (4.69 ii 4; 4.338 5; [4.124 11]); *š[ú]-r[i]-ja* PRU 6 39 14'; (PTU, 27.190).

ghm (4.240 4)²¹⁴.

qn'um (4.371 1)²¹⁵.

š'im (4.181 7; PTU, 313).

šmrm (4.35 ii 10; 4.103 26; 4.170 24; 4.635 29; [4.655 4]).

špšm (4.215 6; 4.261 3; PTU, 53.195) -- *špš* (4.63 iv 6; 4.194 18; 4.227 i 11; 4.628 5; 4.666 4; [4.422 43; 4.746 7]).

tdglm (4.609 21; PTU, 268.296) -- *tdgl* (4.264 9) and *ttgl* (4.147 4).

ttm (4.572 11; 4.658 11; PTU, 314) -- *tty* (4.55 23; 4.80 5) -- *ttyn* (4.432 20; PTU, 299).

Note also *mr'm* (4.165 6; 4.344 1, PTU, 44.109.160): although "Ammu is strong/has blessed" (i.e. **m + mr*) is very plausible²¹⁶ the alternative *mr'*, "Cheery" + *m* cannot be excluded²¹⁷.

+ *m* // -*m*

<i>'illm</i>	<i>'ill</i>
<i>'iltm</i>	<i>'ilt</i>
<i>blym</i>	<i>bly</i>

206. Unless to be explained as an N form *Tmy*, "to be stupid" (cf. Job 18:3).

207. Cf. Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 163.

208. Cf. *kpr*, Benz, PNPPI, 334.

209. As. J. Wansbrought, "Antonomasia: the Case for Semitic 'TM' in M. Mindlin et al., eds., *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* (London 1987) 103-116 points out (p. 110) neither *ss* nor *ssm* has yet been explained. For *ssm* see Ribichini - Xella, *SEL* 8 (1991) 166.

210. Ribichini - Xella, *Tessili*, 38 and n. 28.

211. Both are forms of Hurr. **fa/ent* according to Dietrich - Loretz, *UF* 1 (1969) 213. However, *pdm* could also be explained by Arab, *fadm*, "stammerer" (on which cf. Conti, *MisEb* 3, 94).

212. Cf. D. F. Kinlaw, *A Study of the Personal Names in the Akkadian Texts from Ugarit* (unpub. thesis 1967) 93.

213. See Dietrich - Loretz, *UF* 6 (1974) 45.

214. Root QHH, "to be blunt" (cf. BDB, 874) + *-m*?

215. See Neo-Punic *qn'm*, "whoever" for which cf. R. S. Tomback. *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, Montana 1978) 290, with cognates. See also J. F. Healey, "Phoenician and the Spread of Aramaic" in *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* Vol. 3 (Rome 1983) 663-666 (p. 666 under E 18) and Pardee, *AJO* 29-30 (1983/84) 329.

216. See Pardee, *UF* 10 (1978) 250 n. 8.

217. For Ammonite *mr'* see W. E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscription* (Lewiston/Queeston/Lampeter 1989) 21. It is also possible, if unlikely, that Ug. names such as *yrb'm* and *kn'm* may derive from the verbs *rb'* and *kn'* respectively.

<i>b'lmf</i>	<i>b'ł</i>
<i>brśm</i>	<i>brś</i>
<i>gnym</i>	<i>gny</i>
<i>ħrm</i>	<i>ħr</i>
<i>ħlbym</i>	<i>ħlby</i>
<i>ħtym</i>	<i>ħty</i>
<i>ydnm</i>	<i>ydn</i>
<i>ytrm</i>	<i>ytr</i>
<i>pg'am</i>	<i>pg'i</i>
<i>šrym</i>	<i>šry</i>
<i>špšm</i>	<i>špš</i>
<i>tdglm</i>	<i>td/tgl</i>

Enclitic *-ma* is also added to syllabically spelled names in the texts from Ugarit²¹⁸. Examples are (i) IR₃(*abdi*)-LUGAL(*milku*)-*ma* PRU 3 74(RS16.283) 6.10.13 - whereas the spelling IR₃.LUGAL (without *-ma*) occurs several times²¹⁹; (ii) DUMU-*ħa-at-ti-ya-ma* PRU 3 77(RS16.142) 5; 78(RS15.Y) 5- 'DUMU-*ħa-ti-ya-ma* PRU 3 139(RS16.131) 15.19 - contrast simple DUMU-*ħa-ti-ya* PRU 3 195(RS15.09) B 14²²⁰. Hurrian personal names end with FM in differing guises - simple *-m* as well as *-ma*, *-ma*, *-mi* and *-mu* - described variously as Anatolian, Indo-European and Hurrian²²¹.

O: DISCUSSION

In sections E to K various functions for FM have been specified but it is difficult to assign functions in sections A to D. Some help may be gained from consideration of the corresponding enclitic(s) in Ugaritic Akkadian and in Semitic generally.

Ugaritic Akkadian: On the use of *-ma* in Ugar 5:22 (= RS 20.18) 5 *-a-na ku-a-ša KUR^lka₄-ma* and 9 G¹⁵MÁ (*elippati*)MEŠ-*ka₄-ma* Nougayrol comments "Cet emploi de *-ma*... à la façon du *-que* latin, c'est à dire: en fin extrême d'énumération, paraît caractéristique. Faut-il y voir une influence de la langue locale? Hourrite et hittite pourraient, d'ailleurs, s'y prêter"²²².

Huehnergard²²³ terms the enclitic *-ma* used in Ugaritic Akkadian (which he does not consider to be a conjunction) a "focussing morpheme" which functions (a) at clause level (with focus on a word) and (b) at higher levels (where the focus is on a clause). At these two levels it has the following functions:
(a) At clause level *-ma* topicalizes, emphasizes contrast, emphasizes continuity (identity) and in many

218. For two example of *-ma* within a syllabically spelled name see Layton, *Archaic Features*, 165.

219. Listed in PRU 3, p. 341 and PTU, 317. Further discussion in Layton, *Archaic Features*, 165 (he opts for reading the second element as the Hurr. deity Sharruma). As R. Hess pointed out to me in a letter it cannot be excluded that in some names IR₃ was read **purame*. However, as noted by Layton, op. cit., 114, the spellings IR₃^{di}*ir-ši* (PRU 3 203[RS16.257+] iv 8) and *ab-di-ħa-ma-ni* (PRU 3 64[RS16.200] 3) point to **abd*.

220. Note also the two sets *Ia-ri-im-mu* (PRU 3 61[RS16.156] 21) and *Ia-ri-mi* (PRU 3 137[RS15.190] 9) and *Ia-ri-im-na-mu* (PRU 6 51:10') and *Ia-ri-ma-nu* (PRU 6 82:13) quoted by Sivan, *UF* 18 (1986) 303 who comments: "We cannot know whether gemination of *m* replaces lengthening or whether this is the enclitic element *ma/mu* added to the verbal form". Further, the pair *'a-ħa-tum*-LUGAL (PRU 3 53[RS15.89] 11) and *'a-ħa-ti*-LUGAL (ibid. lines 8.18) cited by Layton, *Archaic Features*, 113; note especially his comment on the *-tum* ending as "a sort of historical spelling", 44, n. 24. For a list of 12 divine names with and without final *-m* see de Moor, *UF* 2 (1970) 226; an additional name is *'ntm* (1.43:18.20) for which cf. TOug II, 163, n. 75. On (*aliy*) *qrđm* see now N. Wyatt, "A Further Weapon for Baal?", *UF* 22 (1990) 459-465.

221. On *-m* and *-ma* see Purves in I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, A. A. Macrae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (Chicago 1943) 190.192 and 232b; on *-mu*, ibid 235 a and, in general, Sasson, *UF* 6 (1974) 380.

222. Nougayrol, Ugar. 5, p. 83, n. 4; see already Astour, *JAOS* 86 (1966) 282, n. 57. Huehnergard [see next Note] does not mention these passages.

223. J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (Atlanta 1989) 203f.

cases can be rendered "also, likewise". In addition, it may denote the predicate in a verbless clause. (b) At levels beyond the clause *-ma* marks the beginning of thought at (or close to) the beginning of a clause (when it should be translated "also") or marks the end of a thought at the end of a clause²²⁴.

The recent dissertation by Blejer on discourse markers in early Semitic²²⁵ deals principally with the particles *m* and *š*. Both these particles occur, according to Blejer²²⁶, in connectives, as focus markers (which includes use with tautological infinitives), in interrogatives, indefinites, comprehensive expressions ("all of"), negatives and imperatives, as conditionals and in concessives. Of these two "competing focussing particles", *š* is more marked than *m*²²⁷. The three functions of enclitic *m* are emphasis, conjunction and the formation of indefinites²²⁸. In Ugaritic the functions of FM are similar to those in Akkadian²²⁹.

The following functions can be suggested for FM in Ugaritic:

- *focus marker*: examples (1), (2), (36), (68) – (73). Possibly also in *dm*²³⁰ and *hlm*.
- *to mark the vocative*: examples (57) – (66)²³¹.
- *to indicate resumption (repetition)*: examples (3), (9), (12) (15), (55), (56), (74) – (77), (80), (82) and (98)²³². See also (96) and (99).
- *with the imperative*: examples (25) and (26)²³³.
- *in concessives*: principally in the conditional *hm*, "if" which comprises *h + m*²³⁴.
- *to denote indetermination*: example (78)²³⁵. Also in *mnm*²³⁶, *mm*²³⁷, etc.
- *with interrogatives*: as in *ikm* (1.16 i 20) and *mnm*, *mm*, etc. See also example (10).
- *to introduce speech*: examples (67) and perhaps (100)²³⁸.
- *as adverbial/accusative*: examples (38) – (55); (82); (86) – (88); (93), (94), (97) and (102). It also occurs in *gm*, *gršm*, *špšm*, *mrhqt* and *mrhqm*. In example (4) it appears to reinforce the preceding preposition.

224. Similarly, van Soldt, *UF* 22 (1990) 331 and n. 76.

225. Blejer, *Discourse Markers* [see Note 4]. In his study "Il culto degli angubbu a Ebla", *MisEb* 2 (Florence 1989) 1-26, P. Fronzaroli notes that in Eblaite the scribes used different conjunctions "per stabilire una gerachia fra le porzioni di testo" (p. 2).

226. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 85.

227. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 476.

228. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 131. For Qatabanian see S. D. Ricks, *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian* (Rome 1989) 94-95, under MW).

229. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 144. Cf von Soden, *GAG*, 177-178.

230. See Aartun, *PU* II, 67-68; Margalit, *UPA*, 187, n. 79.

231. Here can be mentioned E. de Moor, "Le vocatif comme élément déictique", *OLP* 21 (1990) 213-240.

232. According to Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 7.17.527.552 and 573, n. 1 FM was a list-marker in early Semitic and only later became a focussing particle. It originally denoted inclusion, then what she terms "additive focussing" (glossed "too"), then unexpected inclusion ("even").

233. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 50. An *-m* with imperatives is found in Ethiopian Semitic, certain Arabic dialects, and in Amarna Akkadian (for this last cf. E. Ebeling, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 8 [1910] 58-59). Blejer does not discuss Ugaritic in this connection. Whether or not biblical Heb. *-na* with imperatives is related (on which cf. Blejer, *op. cit.*, 237ff.) is uncertain.

234. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 113-114.

235. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 222-234. Note that *ay* in Ugaritic (1.17 vi 3 [preceded by word divider]; 1.23 6 [twice, once with word divider]; 1.24 44) is also an enclitic denoting indetermination, corresponding to the indef. encl. *-y* in Qatabanian (for which cf. Ricks, *Lexicon* [see note 125], 10).

236. See especially Liverani, *RSO* 39 (1964) 199-202 [cited above note 4].

237. According to A. Faber, "Indefinite Pronouns in Early Semitic" in Y. L. Arbeitman, ed., *Fucus. A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 1988) 221-238, in KTU 2.41: 16-18 *mm* is "an indefinite relative pronoun" which she renders "whatever" (p. 228).

238. Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* #224, p. 174.

Although *-m* does occur with the negative (*'alm* in 1.82: 8; *'inm* in 2.41: 13)²³⁹ it does not *express* the negative as in several other Semitic languages²⁴⁰ and in fact Blejer rejects any connection between FM and the negative particle *m*²⁴¹. As for FM on proper names, Layton concludes: "Since mimation fell into disuse by 1500 B.C., the final *-m* on Ug. PNN, unless an archaism, is more likely the enclitic morpheme than a remnant of mimation"²⁴².

P: VOCALISATION

The vowel associated with FM is uncertain. Syllabic spellings of the proper names indicate *-ma*. Speech-introductory *-m* may possibly be vocalised *-mi* (as in Akkadian)²⁴³ and with the vocative, *-m* may be *-me* (see above).

Q: OCCURRENCE

In certain texts enclitic *-m* occurs several times, indicative perhaps of stylistic preference. For example in 1.119: 6.25'.28-29 (three times)²⁴⁴; in 1.24: 18f. 22f. 25f. 47 (four times); in 1.23: 10.16.33.40.43f.46f. (six times)²⁴⁵; in 1.2 i 18..19(= 35); 36f.; iii 14; iv 8f. 28. 32 (eight times); and in 1.100 (fifteen times). Although found most often in verse (the literary texts) it does occur in prose (rituals, commercial texts, letters, etc.); see examples (5) – (7), (23), (24), (32) – (37), (52) – (55), (73) – (77) and perhaps (94) – (102)²⁴⁶. The fivefold occurrence in the letter 2.39+: 3-4.7(?).12.13-14.33-34 is noteworthy.

R: USE OF WORD-DIVIDER

As far as can be ascertained from available editions FM occurs most frequently with a word-divider²⁴⁷ but often enough without. At least three times FM has the word-divider in one line but not in the other – examples (27), (43) and (46). There is evidently no rule determining its presence²⁴⁸.

S: CONCLUSIONS

Here an assortment of *-m* endings (excluding the masc. plural and dual endings and forms of the pronominal suffix) has been considered together without differentiation. The question now remains whether there is a single enclitic particle *-m* with numerous functions or whether there are several distinct varieties. In the light of comparative Semitics and with all due reserve three types can be identified:

- 1: focus marker
- 2: speech-introductory
- 3: (locative-) adverbial

It may well be that the speech-introductory function is in effect a focussing device so that (2) would be subsumed under (1). If so, then there are only two types in Ugaritic: a focussing particle and an adver-

239. See Aartun, PU I, 58.

240. For details see Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 85, 233 and *passim*.

241. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 282f., n. 20. For the opposite view cf. Faber [cited above note 237].

242. Layton, *Archaic Features*, 168.

243. Cf. CAD M/2, 46b. However, see *mā*: with the same function, CAD M/1, 1 and note the comments of Pardee, *JNES* 49 (1990) 364-465.

244. Possibly also in line 13; see above.

245. Or even nine times if *ytnm* in 1.23:3 and the twofold occurrence in lines 9-11 are included.

246. See also above under *mrhqm* and *mrhqm*.

247. Examples (1), (3ac), (4a(b?)), (6) – (10), (13) – (17), (19), (20), (22), (26), (27b), (28), (31), (33) – (35), (38) – (40), (41ab), (43a), (44) – (46a), (48) – (52), (55) – (57), (61), (64), (66) – (68), (70), (71a), (72abcd), (73), (78bc), (79), (80), (84b), (86ab), (87), (89), (91), (92), (94), (95ab), (99) and (104).

248. Note the uncertain use of the word-divider in examples (27), (40b), (75) and (84) and the restoration in (4b).

bial ending²⁴⁹. Other functions remain unexplained (in particular, use with the verb and on proper names) which may indicate either that there are additional types of the enclitic (as indicated above, the *-m*-endings on personal names are probably non-Semitic) or that the range of functions already assigned to the two or three types recognised should be extended²⁵⁰. It may be significant that although sharing many features of FM as used in several Semitic languages²⁵¹, in Ugaritic the enclitic is never used as a connective²⁵².

249. Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 240 states that adverbial *-m* is not the same as the conjunctive, focussing enclitic. If she is correct then "FM" is an appropriate abbreviation for "focus marker" instead of the rather colourless "final *m*".

250. The significance of FM for the classification of Ugaritic cannot be considered here for reasons of space but the coexistence of two productive particles (*p* and final *-m*) would have to be accounted for (contrast Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, 123). Note that FM is only mentioned with reference to mimation in W. Randall Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine 1000-586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia 1984) 91.

251. For a good survey with particular reference to East Semitic and Arabic see Blejer, *Discourse Markers*, passim. It now seems that, contrary to accepted opinion, FM also occurs in Aramaic, in Sefire III 4.7.16.23 (*sqrtm*) – for which cf. Fitzmyer, *JAOS* 86 (1966) 295-296 – and in the Tell Fekherye inscription line 11 (*šmym*, corresponding to AKK. *šumī-ma* of line 16) – so Fitzmyer, *JBL* 103 (1984) 267. For Phoen. cf. del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 1 (1983) 289.

252. For Semitic Faber [above note 237] 231 lists four similar final *-m* morphemes (excluding the indefinite relative pronouns and the "semantically opaque enclitic uses of *-m(a)*"): interrogative, negative, conjunction and topicalization.