Serial Verb Constructions in Ugaritic

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[The present paper analyses the status of serial verb constructions (SVC) in Ugaritic within the framework of a typological, dynamic, prototype-driven network of the SVC category. The authors demonstrate that in Ugaritic, SVCs form a reasonably robust category. When envisaged holistically, the Ugaritic SVC matches three types distinguished in the SVC dynamic network, which correspond to the three consecutive stages in the development of SVCs as postulated by linguistic typology: non-canonical, insufficiently cohesive SVCs; canonical SVCs; and non-canonical, excessively cohesive SVCs. The second type is the most prototypical in Ugaritic, being the most common and the most productive. Overall, the SVC category in Ugaritic seems to be a young category, and the Ugaritic language is a semi-advanced serializing language.]

Keywords: Ugaritic, serial verb constructions, radial categories, grammaticalization, typology.

1. *Introduction*

The topic of the present paper is the category of S(erial) V(erb) C(construction)s in Ugaritic – apparently a minor issue in Ugaritic scholarship, as it is barely mentioned in literature. Indeed, constructions that are typologically related to the category of SVC are usually presented as parts of other – broader and, therefore, less precise – phenomena, such as 'Koppelung' (Tropper 2012, 895), 'parataxis' (Tropper 2012, 895), or 'hendiadys' (Barré 1982, 181-182; Dahood 1970a, 175; 1970b, 312; Avishur 1984, 111; Watson 1994, 109; and especially Lillas 2012 and Pardee 2003/2004, 397). The relationship of certain Ugaritic structures with SVCs is only sporadically acknowledged, merely as subsidiary evidence in the analyses of other languages (Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 33-34), and often in a manner that is theoretically superficial, as far as the SVC category is concerned (Lillas 2012, 262).

To be exact, in his influential grammar, Josef Tropper (2012, 895) labels possible cases of SVCs in Ugaritic as coupling (*Koppelung*). He defines coupling as a syntactic structure of parataxis in which two consecutive finite verbs inflected in the same person, gender, number and mood, form together a coherent semantic unit. In Tropper's view, such structures are asyndetic in most cases, although this need not be universal. Tropper (2012, 895-896) identifies two semantic types of coupling: an asymmetrical type in which one verb specifies the meaning of the other verb; and a symmetrical type in which both verbs contribute relatively equally to the semantics of the verbal

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complex.[1] According to Pardee (2003/2004, 397), the coupling constructions should not be associated with any particular syntactic structure, such as the parataxis. Rather, they should be viewed as related to a broader class of verbal hendiadys, as discussed by Lambdin (1971, 238-239) for Biblical Hebrew, in which various types of syntactic arrangements are possible: whether syndetic or asyndetic, or whether involving finite or non-finite verbs (e.g. infinitive construct forms; Pardee 2003/2004, 397). In fact, this term (i.e. hendiadys) was used arlier by Watson (2004, 324-335) to refer to certain bi-verbal constructions in Ugaritic. However, Watson's understanding of hendiadys was broader than the hendiadic category postulated by Lambdin (1971). Accoridng to Watsion, hendiadys are expressions in which "one single but complex concept [is encoded by] two separated words", be they nouns, adjectives, or verbs. Crucially, Watson restricts his analysis to Biblical Hebrew, where this recourse is particularly common, mentioning Ugaritic only sporadically (Watson 1994, 109; 2004, 324-325). Drawing on the evidence provided by Watson (2004), Lillas (2012, 132, 163) argues that verbal hendiadys – or two-verb constructions forming a single meaning unit with one verb modifying the other in an adverbial manner – can be found in Ugaritic. As similarly observed with Watson (1994, 2004), Lillas (2012) studies all types of word pairing in Semitic languages – not only verbal but also nominal – and focuses on Biblical Hebrew, paying little attention to Ugaritic. The clearest – albeit indirect – proposal that relates certain bi-verbal constructions in Ugaritic to the category of SVCs may be attributed to Dobbs-Allsopp (1995). Inferring from his discussion on Biblical Hebrew, an asyndetic type of such constructions would be an example of an SVC, while its syndetic counterpart would belong to the category of pseudo-coordination (in his terminology "fake-*waw*" or hendiadys; *ibid*. 37-40; for asyndetic examples in Ugaritic see *ibid*. 33-34).[2] Again, Dobbs-Allsopp deals with Ugaritic in a brief manner (the main topic of his seminal study being Biblical Hebrew); moreover, his analysis concerns mostly the verb *qwm* and, in particular, its more grammaticalized, ingressive function. This ingressive value of certain verbs in bi-verbal constructions was also observed in Ugaritic, initially by Gordon (1965, 115, 119-120). In the case of the root *qwm*, it constitutes a standard view in contemporary Ugaritic studies (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 612).

While less studied in Ugaritic, SVCs have been analyzed extensively in other old and/or classical Semitic languages: in Akkadian (Kraus 1987; Wasserman 2003; Huehnergard 2005; Kouwenberg 2011; Streck 2014, 135-136), Biblical Hebrew (Lambdin 1971; Dobbs-Allsopp 1995; Isaksson 2009a; 2009b; Chrzanowski 2011; Lillas 2012; Andrason 2019a), (Classical and dialectal) Arabic (Hussein 1990; Isaksson 2008, 252, 257; 2009a; Drozdík 2008; Persson 2009, 269-270; Versteegh 2003-2005; 2009), and – sometimes in a more grammaticalized form – in Aramaic varieties (Nöldeke 1875; 1904; Macúch 1965; Krotkoff 1982; Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 35-36; Rubin 2005, 130-136; Bar-Asher Siegal 2016, 269-272). This constructional type has also been approached more generally from a comparative Semitic perspective (Edzard 2014). Such comparisons have focused on certain lexical and semantic similarities exhibited by SVCs in the different languages of the family, e.g. the use of similar verbs and the development of comparable meanings in determined types of SVCs (see also Dobbs-Allsopp 1995; Chrzanowski 2011; Lillas 2012).

1. Concerning the distinction between symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs, see section 2.

2. Contrary to Lambdin (1971), for Dobbs-Allsopp (1995, 37-40), the category of hendiadys would not include constructions composed of an auxiliary verb and an infinitive.

Given the commonness of SVCs in related Semitic languages, it is likely that SVCs envisaged as a coherent and distinct category also existed in Ugaritic. Moreover, like elsewhere in Semitic, it should not constitute a marginal and rare phenomenon, as could be inferred from its treatment in the scholarly tradition (cf. Tropper 2012, 895-896) – or, more commonly, the lack thereof (Bordreuil and Pardee 2004; 2009; Sivan 1997; 2001; Huehnergard 2012). The present paper aims to verify this hypothesis by studying possible instances of SVCs in the Ugaritic corpus and determining the degree of their canonicity in comparison with the typological prototype of an SVC (Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 2006).

In order to achieve its goal, this paper will be structured in the following manner: first, in section 2, we will present our framework – the dynamic typologically-driven approach to the category of SVCs. Next, in section 3, we will introduce empirical evidence presenting possible cases of SVCs in Ugaritic and analyzing their grammatical properties. In section 4, we will evaluate this evidence within the adopted framework: in other words, responding to the research question, we will determine the position of the Ugaritic SVCs in the dynamic map of the SVC category. Additionally, we will show how our research may contribute to the studies on bi-verbal constructions in Ugaritic and Semitic languages, more generally. Lastly, in section 5, we will draw our conclusions and offer new insights for future research.

2. *Framework – A Dynamic approach to the SVC Category*

The category of SVC(s) is a complex and inherently dynamic phenomenon. On the one hand, its prototype is defined by various, more specific phonetic, semantic, morphological, and syntactic properties, with which constructions attested across languages (i.e. the instantiations of that prototype) comply to a larger or lesser extent (Aikhenvald 2006; Andrason 2018a). On the other hand, the compliance with the prototype, and thus the exact profile of a given SVC found in a particular language, has a dynamic foundation – the SVC category being a stage in the evolution from multi-verbal analytical constructions to mono-verbal synthetic grams[3] (Aikhenvald 2011; Andrason 2018b).

To begin with, SVCs comprise two sets of properties: properties that demonstrate the construction's non-cohesive behavior (if compared to synthetic verbal grams) and properties that, on the contrary, attest to its cohesiveness (if compared to other analytical verbal expressions).

The non-cohesive traits involve the following: bi-verbiness, i.e. the presence of two verbs (V) – V_1 and V_2; their inflectional marking as finite categories; and a possible use as main lexical verbs outside SVCs. The first property differentiates SVCs from synthetic grams which consist of one verbal form inflected in categories available in a given language; the second property distinguishes SVCs from complex predicates, in which the main verb appears in a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial form, such as the infinitive, participle, or gerund; the third property sets SVCs apart from structures built around highly grammaticalized auxiliaries or finite markers that are found in complex predicates and auxiliary structures (Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 2006; Andrason 2018b; 2019a).

The cohesive facet surfaces through the following properties: the two verbs are not marked for clause combining, be it syntactic dependency (e.g. subordination, complementizers, consecutivization, and relativization) or coordination; the entire sequence is characterized by

3. The term 'gram' is used as a synonym of any grammatical construction or form (e.g. a tense, an aspect, or a mood).

cohesive prosody and intonation, typical of single clauses, thus disallowing a bi-clausal phrasing, contouring, and comma intonation (i.e. pause); the construction exhibits a single polarity value, meaning that although negation may be expressed only once, the verbs cannot convey opposite polarity values (polarity having the entire bi-verbal structure as its scope); the verbs do not govern duplicate roles which would be projected by the verbs individually, but rather share their arguments – in particular, the external subject argument holds jointly for V_1 and V_2, as is also the case for the internal arguments (e.g. direct and indirect objects) and adjuncts, if these are expressed; related to the previous point, the verbs share their operators of time, place, manner, and instrument, which thus apply to the entire construction rather than to the two verbs separately; an SVC necessarily exhibits a unitary TAM interpretation – the verbs either share their TAM markers or, at least, are not marked by grams that convey conflicting semantic interpretations;[4] lastly, the cohesiveness is visible in that the construction is treated jointly in answers, replies, and questions (Muysken and Veenstra 1995; Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 2006; Bisang 2009). The above-mentioned properties are responsible for the three abstract characteristics that are viewed as essential to SVCs across languages: mono-clausality, mono-predicativity, and mono-eventhood. That is, the bi-verbal chain constitutes a single clause and predicate, and expresses a single event (Aikhenvald 2006; Bisang 2009).[5]

The apparent conflict between the cohesiveness of SVCs and their non-cohesiveness stems from the diachronic origin of SVCs and their posterior grammaticalization stages. SVCs have their sources in analytical bi-verbal, fully bi-clausal, bi-predicative, and bi-event constructions and often develop towards mono-clausal, mono-predicative, mono-event grams that are furthermore synthetic and, thus, mono-verbal (Aikhenvald 2011; Andrason 2018b; 2019a). A prototypical SVC is located in the middle of this cline, namely in the stage where a structure is mono-clausal, mono-predicative, mono-event, but still bi-verbal (see Figure 1 below). As a result, the category of SVC can itself be viewed as an intermediate phenomenon – or a transitory stage – between two opposite poles: the absolute absence of cohesiveness and the full degree of cohesiveness.

These evolutionary dynamics have bearings on the variation of SVCs attested across languages, motivating it and structuring it. That is, SVCs found in different languages and language families approximate the above-mentioned prototype to a larger or esser extent. Those constructions that comply with the prototype, thus constituting its canonical instantiations, occupy the intermediate status between non-cohesiveness and cohesiveness. In contrast, those constructions whose non-cohesiveness or cohesiveness is greater than what is postulated for the SVC prototype, diverge from the prototype, constituting less canonical instantiations of the SVC category. To be exact, the structures that are insufficiently cohesive reflect less advanced stages on the path, being located closer to its diachronic input. One of the most typical traits found in such less canonical constructions is the presence of the so-called 'juncture'– a remnant of original coordinating, subordinating, or consecutivizing patterns from which a given SVC has emerged. Although formally present, such 'junctures' are, however, "dummy" from a semantic or functional perspective – the true multiclausal relationships being weakened or entirely absent (e.g. Aikhenvald

4. An SVC is usually not limited to a specific few verbal categories, but rather is compatible with various tenses, aspects, moods, and voices.

5. Apart from drawing on the above-mentioned specific diagnostics, the mono-eventhood of SVCs can be confirmed by native speakers – both by their judgements and through psychological tests.

2006; 2011, 21-22; Johannessen 1998, 49-51; Ameka 2006; Andrason 2019a; 2019b).[6] On the other hand, structures that are excessively cohesive correspond to developmental phases located after the stage of a prototypical SVC, being closer to the final outcome of the path, e.g. synthetic tenses, aspects, or moods. In such cases, the individuality of one of the verbs is often weakened and its finite marking gradually reduced – the entity gradually evolves towards an auxiliary, clitic, or affix (cf. Aikhenvald 2006; 2011; Andrason 2018a; 2018b; 2019a; 2019b). A verb in SVCs may also develop into a particle, discourse marker, or interjection, again by losing its properly verbal characteristics, in particular the TAM and person-number-gender inflection.[7] Overall, the variation of less canonical instantiations attests to and stems from an unconcluded process during which a construction develops towards the SVC prototype; or the movement outside of the center of prototypicality to other categories, once the SVC prototype has been reached. Crucially, both canonical and less canonical instantiations (the latter of insufficiently or excessively cohesive profile) belong to the SVC category, which, in accordance with a cognitive model, is envisaged as a radial dynamic network of members of a varying canonicity extent.

The above discussion and the understanding of the SVC category as a dynamic grammaticalization-driven network refers primarily to asymmetrical SVCs (cf. Aikhenvald 2006; Bisang 2009). However, the same model may also accommodate the other main type of SVCs – the symmetrical constructions.

Asymmetrical SVCs are serialized structures within which the contribution of the two verbs is uneven. That is, one verb, which draws from a semantically or grammatically open class, expresses the lexical type of the event. This verb is referred to as a major verb. In contrast, the other verb, which draws from a restricted class, specifies the action in terms of aspect (and Aktionsart), tense, mood, direction, or argument structure (valency increase or reduction) – this verb is referred to as a minor verb (Aikhenvald 2006, 21-22). A subclass of asymmetrical SVCs involves structures in which minor verbs specify the manner in which the action expressed by the major verb is performed (*ibid*. 29). As explained above, minor verbs found in asymmetrical SVCs tend to undergo grammaticalization. During that process, they gradually lose their verbal status, becoming TAM, directional, or valency-changing markers and, eventually, morphemes (Aikhenvald 2006, 22, 30-31, 34). They may also develop into adpositions, comparative and superlative markers, conjunctions, and complementizers (*ibid*. 32-33).

In contrast to the asymmetrical type, in symmetrical SVCs, both verbs contribute equally to the meaning of the construction, such that "none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole" (Aikhenvald 2006, 22). Moreover, no verb draws from a semantically and grammatically restricted class (Aikhenvald 2006, 3, 22; Dixon 2006). Crucially, rather than undergoing grammaticalization, as is the case with asymmetrical SVCs, verbs in symmetrical constructions follow the process of lexicalization, thus developing towards a single lexical verb or an idiom (Aikhenvald 2006, 22, 30, 34). During their lexicalization, one of the verbs

6. One of the subtypes of such dummy-juncture constructions is pseudo-coordination – a bi-verbal sequence that contains an entity that is morphologically similar to (or even formally undistinguishable from) a coordinator (Johannessen 1998, 49-51; Andrason 2019a; 2019b).

7. However, this process also differs in certain aspects from the conversion of one of the verbs into a TAM affix. In particular, when used as a particle, discourse marker or interjection, the entity tends to exhibit less cohesive intonation prosody (e.g. it is marked by contouring and/or pause), structurally does not belong to the verb clause, and may be used outside the verbal frame, e.g. in nominal verb-less utterances.

loses their segmentability, becoming a root or a part of the root (*ibid*. 34). Symmetrical SVCs often relate to semantic domains such as cause-effect, result, accompaniment, and instrument (*ibid*. 15).[8]

Even though the distinction between asymmetrical and symmetrical SVCs is important in linguistic typology, the difference between them is not clear-cut, such that some semantic classes of SVCs may draw from the two types (Aikhenvald 2006, 36). Crucially, both construction-types dynamically converge. That is, at the end of grammaticalization and lexicalization processes applicable to SVCs, there is only one verb remaining. The other verb generally loses its verbal properties. In the asymmetrical type, it becomes a TAM affix or an uninflected particle/marker/interjection through grammaticalization. In the symmetrical type, it evolves into a non-segmentable part of the root, or a root itself, via lexicalization.

The model of SVCs depicted in Figure 1 below graphically encapsulates the foregoing discussion and the dynamics of the SVC category in the languages of the world. This model has both a diachronic and a synchronic dimension. It structures the SVC category as a directional, radial, prototype-based network, thus ensuring its representation as meaningful and coherent, on the one hand, and internally complex and varying, on the other hand (cf. Janda 2015). Accordingly, the model gives insight into the essence of the SVC – by which that construction differs from the other crosslinguistic classes – as well as its crosslinguistic variation, and ultimately its categorial fuzziness. That is, given the gradient nature of grammaticalization processes and a varying extent of canonicity, the borderlines separating the categories or stages posited on the path – i.e. the two categories distinct from SVCs, the two types of non-canonical SVCs, and the SVC prototype itself – are all arbitrary. The only "real" phenomenon is the evolutionary drift from the left edge of the cline to its opposite right edge, and the crosslinguistic variation that results from it (Andrason 2018b; 2019a; 2019b).

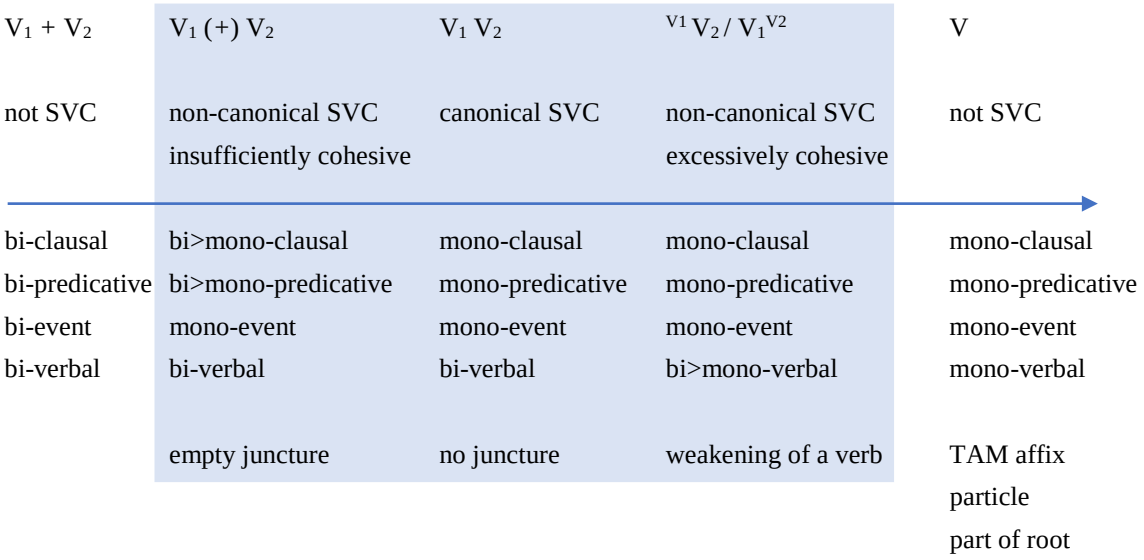

Figure 1: A dynamic model of the SVC category

8. Furthermore, in contrast to asymmetrical SVCs, the order of the verbal components in symmetrical SVCs may be iconic (Aikhenvald 2006, 15).

Given the theoretical framework adopted in our study, the method which will enable us to answer the research question consists of the following: we will test the possible cases of SVCs for the properties associated with the prototype of SVC exposed above, determining the degree of canonicity of each example. This will make it possible to locate the holistic SVC category in Ugaritic in the dynamic network of the SVC category, matching it with one (or more) evolutionary stages of the cline.

3. *Evidence – SVCs in Ugaritic*

The present section draws on an empirical study during which a large number of Ugaritic texts have been studied. Our method of search consisted of analyzing all instances where verbs typically found in symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs across languages (Aikhenvald 2006) and/or identified in other Semitic languages (Lambdin 1971; Dobbs-Allsopp 1995; Chrzanowski 2011; Edzard 2014; Andrason 2019a) appear in the available Ugaritic corpora. The verbal forms themselves were compiled through reviewing the concordance elaborated by Cunchillos, Vita, and Zamora (2003). Additionally, we have re-evaluated cases suggested previously in literature (Gordon 1965; Verreet 1988; Dobbs-Allsopp 1995; Tropper 2012; Watson 1994; 2004). At the end of this empirical study, a set of twenty possible cases of SVCs has been identified. These cases will be described in detail and analyzed below.[9]

The first class of examples involves constructions built around the minor verb *qwm* ‘rise, stand up’. The root *qwm* – as any other minor verb found in SVCs in Ugaritic – appears as V_1 with no exception. We have identified four cases of *qwm* SVCs in the analyzed corpus:

(1) ***qm*** . ***yṯ‘r*** *w* . *yšlḥmnh* (1.3:I:4; Ba‘lu Myth)[10]

(2) ***qm*** . ***ybd*** . *w yšr* (1.3:I:18; Ba‘lu Myth)

(3) **qm** . ***ydd*** . *w yqlṣn*
yqm . ***w ywpṯn*** . *b tk*
pḫr . *bn* . *ilm* (1.4:III:12-13; Ba‘lu Myth)

In (1), the verbal sequence *qm yṯ‘r* most likely consists of the suffix conjugation (SC) *qm* lit. ‘he arose’ (Gordon 1965, 115, 120; Tropper 2012, 648) and the prefix conjugation (PC) *yṯ‘r* ‘he prepared (the table)’ of the root *ṯ‘r* ‘set up (a table)’ (Tropper 2012, 110). As in other ancient or classical Semitic languages, PC itself could be short or long in Ugaritic. The short “indicative” PC (Tropper 2012, 695-696) has a preterital sense, functioning as a perfective past or simple past – the so-called preterit *yaqtul* (Tropper 2012, 697-701; Andrason and Vita 2017).[11] The long PC, in contrast, tends to introduce present or future actions, although it is also used to express the nuance of habituality or iterativity in the past (Tropper 2012, 684-691). It also expresses “subjunctive”

9. Unless indicated otherwise, we follow the readings proposed in KTU3.

10. The respective cases of SVCs will be marked in bold.

11. The occurence of the short PC in Ugaritic is not uncontested (see Greenstein 2006; Piquer Otero 2006). However, as demonstrated recently, “the presence of YQTL-Ø in Ugaritic poetry is highly plausible. In contrast, the opposite proposal, according to which Ugaritic poetry did not contain YQTL-Ø but used YQTL-u in the function of narrative foreground, is significantly less likely” (Andrason and Vita 2017, 382).

values, being found in several types of subordinate or dependent clauses, e.g. final or temporal (Tropper 2012, 691-694). Sporadically, the long PC may appear with a meaning similar to a simple "general" past (Tropper 2012, 688-689). Additionally, there is another short PC that exhibits a range of modal values, especially deontic and volitive (Tropper 2012, 883-684, 695; cf. *yiqtol* jussive in Biblical Hebrew or Arabic). In the analyzed example, the orthography does not make it possible to determine whether *yṯ'r* is a long or short PC (Tropper 2012, 691). However, given that *qm* is inflected in SC – a gram typically associated with past values (e.g. perfective past, present perfect, pluperfect; Andrason and Vita 2017) – and given the general context of the scene where a sequence of punctiliar events is described – setting up the table (or serving), giving to eat, cutting the breast(-cut) and slices of fatling (cf. Pardee 1997, 250; Wyatt 1998, 70; del Olmo Lete 1998, 67) – it is likely that the short PC preterite is employed. This interpretation harmonizes with the translations proposed by Wyatt (1998, 70): "[H]e arose and served, and gave him to eat"; del Olmo Lete (1998, 67): "[A]lzándose preparó (la mesa) y le dio de comer"; and Smith and Pitard (2009, 95): "He stood, arranged and offered him food". This past-perfective interpretation of *yṯ'r* is also evident in other less literal translations (Gordon 1965, 120; Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 32; see further below).[12]

According to the above interpretation of V_1 and V_2, the two verbs of the sequence would be marked for the morphological categories that are semantically compatible. That is, both SC (*qm*) and the indicative short PC (*yṯ'r*) may express consecutive punctiliar past events – the semantic ranges of the two categories are overlapping in Ugaritic (Tropper 2012; Andrason and Vita 2017). Inversely, V_1 and V_2 do not appear in conflicting TAM categories. The external arguments of the two verbs also coincide, as V_1 and V_2 are inflected in the 3rd person ms.sg., both having the same subject referent 'the servant of Baal' (cf. del Olmo Lete 1998, 67). No duplicate arguments or adjuncts can be found, explicit objects and adjuncts being absent. Crucially, no markers of clause combining are present, be it clausal dependency or coordination – the two inflected verbs form an asyndetic and contiguous sequence. The polarity value is unitary – the event occurred. Operators of time, place, instrument, and manner are absent such that their scope cannot be evaluated. The phonetic properties cannot be tested either since the Ugaritic writing does not indicate intonation (e.g. comma or pause). Moreover, being a poetic text governed by determined versification rules, the phenomena of pause, contouring, intonation – even if hypothesized – may reflect not the actual pronunciation but rather the artificial needs of the verse.[13]

Complying with various diagnostics of SVCs specified in the previous paragraph, it is likely that *qm yṯ'r* could be understood as a single event rather than as a sequence of two separate

12. Moreover, within an alternative analysis, *qm* could be an active participle 'he (is) arising, he arises', since, in the Ugaritic writing, the ms.sg. active participle of the root *qwm* is undistinguishable from its 3rd ms.sg. PC form (Tropper 2012). This interpretation has indeed been proposed by Piquer Otero (2006), who reads *qm* as a predicative participle. Similar interpretations of *qm* could be inferred from del Olmo Lete's (1998, 67) translation, cited previously, and the rendering *alzándose* 'arising', as well as from the translation proposed by Pardee (1997, 250), who renders *qm* as 'he arises'. Furthermore, *yṯ'r* is sporadically translated by means of present tenses (see *prepares* in "He arises, prepares, and gives him food"; Pardee 1997, 250), which could suggest the interpretation of that form as the long PC. It is, however, difficult to be certain how the respective scholars analyze such forms, because the proposed translations need not correlate with the actual understanding of the Ugaritic forms, especially their TAM parsing. Instead, they may stem from idiosyncrasies of the target language, reflect the style of the author, or be driven by other contextual factors.

13. Overall, versification rules found in poetry make phonetic analysis speculative and no indices of bi-clausal/bi-predicative or mono-clausal/mono-predicative pronunciation can clearly be identified (cf. Tropper and Vita forthcoming). This remark holds true for all the remaining examples.

(consecutive or simultaneous) events. Under a mono-event interpretation, the lexical type of the event is conveyed by V_2 'setting up (the table)' or 'serving', while V_1 specifies it in terms of aspect, mood, or Aktionsart. Given the pervasive function of *qwm* as a marker of inception in SVCs in other Semitic languages, such as Biblical Hebrew (Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 31; Chrzanowski 2012, 390; Andrason 2019a) and Arabic (Hussein 1990, 349), it is plausible that *qm* in *qm yṯ'r* exhibits such an ingressive value. Accordingly, the Ugaritic construction could be understood as 'he began to set up / serve'. This inceptive reading has indeed been proposed by Gordon (1965, 115, 120), Verreet (1988, 200), and Dobbs-Allsopp (1995, 34).[14] However, apart from its ingressive value when used as the minor verb in SVCs in Semitic, *qwm* also expresses emphasis, strengthening the action communicated by the major verb, urging its instantaneous execution, and/or highlighting the importance of carrying it out – all translatable by 'now', 'do + verb', 'immediately', and/or 'at once' (Hussein 1990, 349; Drozdik 2008, 11-12; Chrzanowski 2011, 390-392, 394).[15] As a result, *qm yṯ'r* could – at least theoretically – be rendered as 'he now / immediately / at once set up (served)…' – even though no standard translation reflects his possibility.

A similar situation is found in (2), where SC of the root *qwm* (Gordon 1965, 120; Tropper 2012, 648) and PC of *bdd* (cf. Tropper 2012, 673) appear in the sequence *qm ybd*. Again, V_2 *ybd* is ambiguous and can be interpreted as the short PC or the long PC (Tropper 2012, 691). If *ybd* is inflected in the short PC, the two verbs would appear in fully compatible TAM grams – being possibly marked for a perfective past. If, however, *ybd* is inflected in the long PC, the semantic compatibility of V_1 and V_2 would be less evident. As explained above, the prototypical function of the long PC is present and future (Tropper 2012, 684-687). In the past, the gram is typically used with a habitual-iterative function, contrasting with the perfective nature of the short PC (Tropper 2012, 689-690). Nevertheless, in certain contexts, the long PC can appear with a general (simple) past sense (Tropper 2012, 688-689). Whatever the exact morphological interpretation of *ybd* is, the form is generally understood as a punctiliar event, consecutive one on a narrative timeline. This is patent in the following translations: "He arose, intoned and sang" (Wyatt 1998, 71); "Alzándose entonó y cantó" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 67); "He stood, chanted and sang" (Smith and Pitard 2009, 96), and "[S]tanding up he intoned and sang" (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 692).[16]

If the prevalent reading of *ybd* in terms of a past punctiliar event is correct, both verbs in the construction would have an identical TAM interpretation, being marked by compatible morphological categories. The subjects of V_1 and V_2 coincide – the two verbs are inflected in the 3rd person ms.sg. and are co-indexed with the same referent, namely the servant of Baal (del Olmo

14. Gordon (1965, 115-120) and Dobbs-Allsopp (1995, 34) translate the analyzed sequence as 'he began to serve' and 'he began serving' respectively – with *qm* as a marker of "ingressive aspect" or inception. Verreet (1988, 200) translates this passage as 'Er began, den Tisch zu decken' with an objective subordinate clause introduced by, in his terms, an auxiliary, *qm* (*ibid*. 198-199).

15. However, as correctly noted by Chrzanowski (2011, 391), English does not include in its repertoire a single construction (an adverb, a particle or an auxiliary) that matches *qwm* in SVCs. Indeed, often, the best choice is to translate only the major verb and omit *qwm*. Crucially, *qwm* does not communicate the ideas of speed and urgency associated with the English adverbs 'immediately' or 'at once' (*ibid*. 392, 397).

16. Tropper (2012, 673, 691) sees the interpretation as the long PC as more probable, analyzing *ybd* in the sequence discussed here in terms of logic dependency or goal: 'he stood up (in order) to recite'. It should also be noted that Pardee (1997, 250) translates the two verbs in the present tense, which suggest the underlying long PC present-future, and possibly a participial reading of *qm*: "He arises, chants, and sings". A similar interpretation of *qm* in terms of an active participle may be inferred from its translations, such as 'standing up' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 692) and 'alzándose' (del Olmo Lete 1998, 67). As mentioned, the writing *qm* may represent both the ms.sg. of the participle and the 3rd mas.sg. of SC.

Lete 1998, 67). No internal arguments (direct or indirect object) or adjuncts are present; nor do we find operators of time, place, instrument or manner. The two verbs occur contiguously with no dependency or coordination markers. The connector *w* appears after the sequence *qm ybd*, linking it to the other verb *yšr* of the root *šyr* 'sing' (Tropper 2012, 646). The polarity value is uniform in the entire construction – the two verbs being marked for the affirmative. As a result, a mono-event reading of the example is plausible, with *qwm* exhibiting an ingressive meaning or values of emphasis, urge(ncy), and the importance of executing an action. The former option has already been hypothesized by Gordon (1965, 120) and Dobbs-Allsopp (1995, 34), who render *qm ybd* as 'he began singing / chanting' with *qm* marking an inception (Gordon 1965, 115, 119) or ingressive aspect (Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 34).

In example (3), two potential instances of SVCs built around *qwm* as V_1 can be identified: *qm ydd* and *yqm w ywpṯn*. In the former case, the likely SC *qm* is linked to the short PC *ydd* (Tropper 2012, 626, 674) of the root *ndd* 'stand, stand up'. Although the writing *qm* could also stand for a participle, its morphological interpretation as a SC form seems to be more plausible given the parsing of similar cases proposed by Tropper (2012, 648) and the analysis of *qm* when followed by PC forms, argued by Gordon (1965, 115, 120). This reading is also patent in various translations illustrated by the following rendering "He rose, stood and abased me" (Smith and Pitard 2009, 462).[17] The sequence *qm ydd* is significant because the minor verb V_1 *qm* is linked to a verb whose lexical meaning is nearly synonymous to *qwm* itself – both predicates expressing the idea of standing (up). Therefore, a literal, purely lexical reading as two asyndetically coordinated verbs is unlikely. Indeed, the use of minor verbs along with major verbs whose semantics are comparable to the original lexical value of the minor verb (e.g. motion and postural meaning as is the case of *qwm* 'stand up') is one of the diagnostics that demonstrates that the minor verb of the original sequence has lost, or at least weakened, its original literal sense. Instead, in accordance with grammaticalization tendencies of minor verbs in SVCs, the verb would have acquired aspectual, modal, or Aktionsart-related functions (Aikhenvald 2006; Andrason 2018a; see also Dobbs-Allsopp 1995; Chrzanowski 2011; Andrason 2019a). Furthermore, V_1 and V_2 are marked for morphological categories that are semantically compatible in Ugaritic, namely SC and the short PC. As explained above, both types of grams can be used to express punctiliar (perfective) past actions (Tropper 2012; Andrason and Vita 2017). Both verbs also share their subject argument. They are inflected in the 3rd ms.sg. and refer to the same agent – the god Yam (del Olmo Lete 1997, 81). As a result, the literal reading in terms of two separate events – a sequence of two consecutive, overlapping, or simultaneous events, e.g. 'he stood up (*qm*) [and] stood up (*ydd*)' – is unlikely. Instead, one is rather dealing with a single, albeit internally complex event – the ingression of an action ('he began to stand up') or its emphatic performance ('he now / at once stood up', 'he did stand up', or simply 'he stood up' with *qm* omitted in the translation) (Wyatt 1998, 95-96; see also del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 612; cf. Chrzanowski 2011, 391). The other event in the scene is thus not *ydd* 'he stood up', but rather *yqlṣn* 'he abased me' (Smith and Pitard 2009, 462) or 'he insulted me' (Wyatt 1998, 95-96), linked to the SVC *qm ydd* by means of the connector *w*.

In the next verse in example (3), it is possible to discern another case of an SVC built around the minor verb V_1 *qwm* – the sequence *yqm w ywpṯn*. This time, the root *qwm* is inflected in PC (Tropper 2012, 646) and is connected to the short PC of the major verb *wpṯ* 'spit' by means of *w* (Tropper 2012, 548). Although the writing *yqm* could stand for both the short and the long PC

17. It should be noted that Tropper (2012, 739) reads *ṯm* /ṯamma/ 'there' instead of *qm* as postulated in KTU3 (2013, 20).

variants, it is likely that the form attested in this example is the former (i.e. the short PC) in harmony with *ywpṯn*, which is a short form (*ibid*.). In such a case, both verbs would be marked for the same TAM grams – the short type of PC. The TAM interpretation of *yqm* as the short PC – typically associated with the meaning of a perfective past – is reflected in most translations: "[E]r erhob sich und beschimpfte mich" (Tropper 2012, 548); "He stood up and spat on me" (Smith and Pitard 2009, 462); and "[H]e arose and spat upon me" (Wyatt 1998, 95-96). As in the other SVC found in example 3 (and analyzed previously), the external argument (i.e. subject) is identical for V_1 and V_2. Specifically, the two verbs appear in the 3rd ms.sg. and refer to the same agent – the god Yam (cf. del Olmo Lete 1997, 81). Crucially, given that the sequence *yqm w ywpṯn* immediately follows the SVC *qm ydd* 'he [now / at once] stood up', discussed above, the subject referent was already standing. Therefore, a literal motion-postural interpretation of the form *yqm* in *yqm w ywpṯn* (i.e. 'he stood up and spat') is unlikely. It seems more plausible that the verb *qwm* modifies another verb, thus functioning as a minor verb in an SVC, adding an ingressive reading or a nuance of urge(ncy) and emphasis to the major verb. As is common of SVCs built around intransitive motion-postural verbs such as *qwm* (Aikhenvald 2006, 22; Andrason 2018a; 2019a), the argument structure of the entire construction draws on the valency pattern of the major verb, in this case *wpṯ*, which projects an internal object argument *-n* 'me'. Furthermore, the locative operator *b tk pḫr bn ilm* 'in the midst of the assembly of the sons of the gods' (cf. Pardee 1997, 258; del Olmo Lete 1998, 81) seems to apply to the entire construction, not only to the major verb, as accurately rendered by del Olmo Lete (1998, 81): "[S]e alzó a escupirme en medio de la asamblea de los dioses". The positive polarity is also uniform. Overall, the interpretation in terms of mono-eventhood is more likely than the reading in which *yqm w ywpṯn* would encode a chain of two separate and independent events. However, one should note that, contrary to the examples analyzed thus far, in the present case, *yqm* and *ywpṯn* are linked by *w* – a potential marker of syntactic clause combining in terms of dependency or coordination (Tropper 2012, 782-787). Nevertheless, given the likely mono-event interpretation of the sequence *yqm w ywpṯn*, the lexeme *w* seems to be devoid of a genuine coordinating or subordinating function. Rather, it acts as an empty juncture. In other words, although a formal marker of clause combining is present, its true clause-combining grammatical function is compromised or absent – coordination or subordination is not genuine.

SVCs in Ugaritic may make use of another minor verb whose lexical meaning refers to a motion-postural idea of standing up or rising – the root *nš'*, specifically its Gt stem 'rise, stand/go up' (Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 33; Tropper 2012, 623; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 649).

(4) ***ytšu*** **.** ***yṯb*** **.** *b ap . ṯġr* (1.17:V:6; 'Aqhatu Legend)

In the example above, both *ytšu* and *yṯb* are forms of PC. The former is analyzed by Tropper (2012, 522, 623, 628) as the long variant, while the latter is ambiguous, being compatible both with the long and the short types (*ibid*. 634). Although the writing of the final *alif* in Ugaritic is a complex matter, and various writing patterns and their interpretations are admissible (Tropper 2012, 695-597; see also Andrason and Vita 2017, 353), no clear cases of the short (preterite) PC of roots 3-' are attested (Greenstein 1998, 410; 2006, 90; Tropper 2012, 695-597; Andrason and Vita 2017, 352). If V_2 is also inflected in the long PC, the two verbs would be marked for identical TAM categories. This is possible not only given their attested morphology. It is also compatible

with reference to their semantic interpretation. That is, the event is portrayed as durative, thus presenting a situation – not a punctiliar action – occurring in the past, i.e. 'he sat'.[18]

While in the sequence *qm ydd* in (3) studied previously, the lexical meaning of V_1 (*qwm*) and V_2 (*ndd*) are synonymous, which suggests a non-lexical value of the former verb, in the case discussed here, V_1 – Gt of *nš'* 'rise, stand up' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 649) – is employed with V_2 whose lexical semantics is antithetic (cf. *wṯb* 'sit down'; Tropper 2012, 634; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 978-979). In studies on SVCs, the combination of such two semantically conflicting verbs is often regarded as an indication that motion-postural verbs (or other types of verbs) used in a bi-verbal sequence are no longer employed as such, but have rather acquired a more advanced grammaticalization stage, typical of their use as minor verbs in asymmetric SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006; Andrason 2018a; 2018b). In other words, a genuine coordinated bi-clausal expression 'he stood up and sat down' is semantically less likely as the direction of the two actions is opposite. Indeed, as correctly noticed by Dobbs-Allsopp (1995, 33), in this passage, there is no element suggesting that Daniel (Dani'ilu) was prostrated or sitting, which could justify a more literal reading of *qwm*. It is doubtful that the agent, i.e. Daniel, raised himself from a position adopted previously, and then immediately sat down again. Rather, an ingressive or emphatic interpretation seems to be more natural. Even though an ingressive reading is proposed by Dobbs-Allsopp (1995, 33), the interpretation in terms of urge(ncy) or emphasis is more plausible, e.g. '[Now] he sat'. This is evident given the durative meaning of the verb(s), inflected in the long PC form(s), which favors an emphatic interpretation of the SVC instead of its ingressive value.[19] Overall, the reading of the sequence *ytšu yṯb* in terms of mono-eventhood and the interpretation as an SVC (see Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 33-34) is highly plausible. It is furthermore supported by the shared argument structure of V_1 and V_2, the unitary positive polarity of the construction, and the fact that the scope of the locative operator *b ap ṯġr* 'at/by the entrance of the gate' extends over both verbs, not only over V_2.

The root *nš'* yields another possible instance of SVCs in Ugaritic (see example 5 below). This case, however, is uncertain due to the problems of interpreting and/or reading the actual Ugaritic scripture and the signs used.

(5) ***šu*** . **'b$^{?}$x** . *tk* . *mdbr* . *qdš* (1.23:65; The Gracious Gods)

In example (5), *nš'* appears in the imperative masculine plural *šu* (Tropper 2012, 428). In contrast, the form of the second verb is debatable. KTU^3 (2013) reads the root as *'db*.[20] However, this word is damaged (cf. the copy in Herdner 1963b, fig. 68). This led Tropper (2012, 772, 896;

18. If, however, V_2 appears in the short PC, the analysis is more troublesome. As mentioned above, to be analyzable as an SVC, V_1 and V_2 may not be marked by conflicting TAM grams. This is, at least theoretically, possible if the long PC exhibits a less common sense, typically associated with the long PC, namely a general (simple) past value (Tropper 2012, 688-689). Crucially, both the long and short PC may refer to past events, which is correctly captured by most translations: "[He] arose and sat by the entrance to the gate" (Wyatt 1997, 267); "[H]e went up (and) sat down" (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 649); "(Dani'ilu) sich erhob (und) sich am Toreingang niedersetzte" (Tropper 2012, 522, 896); and "[S]e alzó y se sentó a la entrada de la puerta" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 222). Overall, the TAM semantics of *ytšu* and *yṯb* need not be contradictory.

19. It should be noted that Dobbs-Allsopp (1995, 33) omits in his translation the verb *nš'*: "he sat down" – despite his ingressive hypothesis (*ibid*. 34) – as the expression 'he began to sit down' seems semantically awkward in this context. That is, most likely, the agent did sit down.

20. See also Herdner (1963a, 100), and Bordreuil and Pardee (2009, 181).

2008, 15) to read it as a root with the radical *b*, thus as *ʻbx*, which allows for its interpretation as *ʻbr* 'pass, go through'. If this latter reading is correct, V_2 could be another imperative. Both verbs would thus agree in their TAM marking. They would also be inflected in the same person, number and gender, sharing their 2nd ms.pl. referent. This interpretation is indeed postulated by Tropper (2012, 772, 896) as is evident from the following translation: "Auf! Zieht fort (?), mitten hinein in die heilige Steppe" (*ibid*. 896). There are no internal arguments that would be separately projected by V_1 and V_2. Furthermore, the operator of place *tk mdbr qdš* 'right in the middle of a holy step' may extend its scope over the entire SVC – it need not operate only over V_2 by which it is headed. Given the typical TAM values that are grammaticalized in SVCs built around the motion/postural verb 'stand up', interpretations in terms of ingression/inception or emphasis are possible. However, the latter (i.e. emphasis) seems to be more likely given the overall context of the passage: "Now/come on, pass right in the middle of a holy step". According to Tropper (2012, 896), in this example, V_1 functions as an interjection or particle comparable to 'auf!' in German. It would thus attest to a further stage on the grammaticalization path of SVCs, in which minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs develop towards non-verbal entities such as discourse markers, particles, or interjections. Indeed, one of the most common contexts of this relatively common evolution concerns imperatives. One should, however, note that during that process, original minor verbs gradually eliminate their inflections, adopting one invariant form, often the one that is identical (or similar) to the morphologically simplest form (Andrason 2018a).[21] Since in (5), *šu* is inflected in the plural (Tropper 2012, 428), thus maintaining the original person, number and gender marking – clearly distinct from the morphologically simplest form, the 2nd ms.sg. – it is unlikely that the stage of a particle, discourse maker, or interjection has already been reached.[22]

A different class of SVCs in Ugaritic is built around yet another motion-postural verb as their minor verb. The verb in question is the root *ndd* 'go, move; hurry, rush, launch oneself' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 611-612).

(6) … ***ndd***
yʻšr . *w yšqynh* (I.3.I:8-9; Baʻlu Myth)

(7) *l pnnh* . ***ydd*** . ***w yqm***
l pʻnh . *ykrʻ* . *w yql* (1.10.II.17-18; Baʻlu and ʻAnatu)

In example (6), a possible SVC contains the minor verb V_1 *ndd* inflected in the SC of the N stem (*naddada* < **nandada*) (Gordon 1965, 115, 120; Tropper 2012, 534, 677), and the PC (either short or long) of *ʻšr* (Tropper 2012, 691). The literal meaning of the N stem of *ndd* is debated although most analyses (or translations) relate it to some type of motion (cf. 'sich hinstellen' in Tropper 2012, 534, 691; 'arise' in Pardee 1997, 250), possibly accompanied by a nuance of rushing, hurrying up or being busy (cf. 'launch oneself, hurry, rush' in del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 612; 'aprestarse' in del Olmo Lete 1998, 67; and 'busy oneself' in Wyatt 1998, 70). There is more in agreement with regard to the lexical semantics of the major verb *ʻšr*, which means 'serve (drink), offer drink, give a banquet' (Gordon 1965, 120; Pardee 1997, 250; Tropper

21. Such a form can also be used outside SVCs (Andrason 2018a).

22. Another criterion could involve prosody. That is, particles, discourse markers, and interjections are usually separated from the major verb and its clause by a pause (or other prosodic means), which stands in contrast to SVCs where the two verbs tend to exhibit a more coherent prosodic pattern (Andrason 2018a).

2012, 556; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 185). If *y‘šr* is a short PC form, both verbs would be inflected in non-conflicting TAM grams, referring to a perfective past event. This punctiliar past reading of *ndd* and *y‘šr* – as well as that of the following PC *w yšqynh* verb (which is indeed, most likely, a short PC variant; Tropper 2012, 222) – is evident in various translations: “he busied himself and poured and gave him to drink” (Wyatt 1998, 70), and “Se aprestó a convidarle y le ofreció de beber” (del Olmo Lete 1998, 67). As is typical of SVCs, V_1 and V_2 appear in the same person, number, and gender, namely, the 3rd ms.sg. (Tropper 2012, 222), sharing their subject argument too. The positive polarity is unitary – the event occurred. The verbs appear contiguously, with no overt marker of clause combining, whether those of syntactic dependency or coordination. Overall, rather than involving two separate events – going/launching-oneself/positioning-oneself/arising and serving (cf. ‘he arises, serves…; Pardee 1997, 250), the construction likely depicts a single event, presenting it as ingressive (‘he began to serve’; Gordon 1965, 115, 120; see also del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 612), or tinting it with a nuance of urge and rush (“he rushed to invite him” in del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 612; and “Se aprestó a convidarle’ in del Olmo Lete 1998, 67). In its inceptive function, *ndd* would be synonymous to *qwm* and *nš’* discussed above (for this view, see Gordon 1965, 119). In the sense of rushing and hurrying, *ndd* would yield SVCs similar to those built around the minor verb *ḫwš* (see further below in this section).

Example (7) contains another possible case of SVC built around the root *ndd*. This time, however, the minor verb appears in a PC form *ydd*. As in all examples analyzed thus far, the major verb (the root *qwm* ‘stand up’) is also inflected in PC, appearing as *yqm*. Both forms could be the short type of PC (cf. the comparable form *tdd* analyzed by Tropper as the short PC; 2012, 626). The interpretation of *ydd* and *yqm* as the short PC can also be deduced from several translations where both verbs are rendered through the simple past grams in English, German, or Spanish, fully compatible with a perfective reading typical of that Ugaritic form: “he hurried and stood” (Wyatt 1998, 157), “…trat er hin und richtete sich auf” (Tropper 2012, 779); and ‘…se apresuró…’ (del Olmo Lete 1998, 132). Accordingly, V_1 and V_2 are marked by the same TAM gram. The two verbs also concord in person, number and gender. They share the external subject argument, referring to the same agent – Ba‘lu. The locative phrase *l pnnh* ‘before her / before her face’ (cf. Tropper 2012, 778) may be interpreted as operating over both verbs, not only over V_1, as is patent in the following translations: “before her he prepared to stand up” (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 612); “Ante ella se apresuró a alzarse” (del Olmo Lete 1998, 132); and “Vor ihr Angesicht trat er hin und richtete sich auf” (Tropper 2012, 779).[23] Crucially, given the motion-postural meaning of V_1 *ndd* (i.e. ‘go/position-oneself’) – or its alternative value of harrying, which also involve a motion element of going, walking, and changing place – the subject referent was already standing at the moment where he appeared in front of Virgin ‘Anatu, if *ydd* were understood lexically and not as a part of an SVC. Therefore, the use of *qwm* ‘stand’ as an expression of a subsequent event would be implausible. The referent would need not stand up as he was already standing (cf. a similar argumentation for example (3) above). As a result, the more likely interpretation is in terms of mono-eventhood, with the main action expressed by V_2 *qwm* ‘stand’ and its aspectual (ingressive or inchoative) or modal (urgency, rapidness) modification provided by V_1 *ndd*. Such reading in terms of mono-eventhood may indeed be captured by several translations: “he prepared to stand

23. Contrast the translation “to her he hurried and stood” proposed by Wyatt (1998, 157), where the scope of the locative extends only to the first verb.

up" (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 612) and "se apresuró a alzarse" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 132). Alternatively, if the nuance of harrying is more relevant, one could propose the following rendering: "he hastily stood up in front of her". On the other hand, even though the analyzed structure complies in many aspects with the prototype of SVCs, it also exhibits an overt marker of clause combining – *w*. Nevertheless, if the above analysis is correct, and the construction conforms with the requirement of mono-eventhood, this marker would be empty. In other words, the sequence *ydd w yqm* is, most likely, not a case of true coordination, but rather a less canonical SVC in which the clause-combining marker is a dummy, atavistic remnant, and the whole structure a pseudo-coordination (cf. Dobbs-Allsopp 2009) – as was also the case in example (3).

The passage in (7) can also be interpreted in a different manner. Instead of analyzing the sequence *ydd w yqm … ykr‘ w yql* as composed of an SVC (with the minor verb *ndd* and the major verb *qwm*) and two following full lexical verbs, it is possible to read it as a full verb *ndd*, followed by an SVC (composed of the minor verb *qwm* and the major verb *kr‘* 'fall down') and another full lexical verb *qyl* 'fall down' (Tropper 2012, 645). The entire chain would again involve four PC forms – arguably, all of the short type. The SVC would be *yqm… ykr‘*, connected to the two other verbs by means of two coordinators *w*. The SVC itself would thus fail to exhibit any overt marker of clause combining. However, in contrast to all the examples analyzed thus far, this SVC would be discontinuous – V_1 being separated from V_2 by the locative phrase *l p‘nh* 'at her feet', which would operate over the entire SVC. The idiomatic translation would read accordingly: "to her he hurried / and at once (now) he bowed at her feet and fell down". As a result, the three events would be overtly coordinated in a sequential manner – the two *w* being true coordinators. Under this interpretation, instead of an SVC built of *ndd*, we would be dealing with a new case of the *qwm* SVC. This interpretation seems less plausible than the one discussed in the previous paragraph. It has not been reflected in the translations developed by other scholars.

Another group of SVCs draws on the most common – and perhaps the most general – predicate of motion in Ugaritic, the verb *hlk* 'go'. We have identified three possible cases of SVCs with this verb:

(8) *b‘l* . ***ytlk*** . ***w yṣd*** (1.12:I:34; The Devourers)

(9) ***tlk*** . ***w tr*** . b[ ] (1.10:III:17; Ba‘lu and ‘Anatu)

(10) ***lk*** .
hrg . *a*r[*b‘* .]*ymm* (1.13.4; Hymn to ‘Anatu)

In example (8), the root *hlk* is likely inflected in the long PC of the Gt stem (Tropper 2012, 520, 689), thus conveying an iterative sense typical of that gram, literally translatable here as 'he went around'. This V_1 *ytlk* is linked to another verb inflected in the long PC, *yṣd* of the root *ṣw/yd* 'go around hunting, wander around hunting' (Tropper 2012, 645), which, like the previous form, expresses, in this example, an iterative past meaning 'he hunted'. The same past durative interpretation was postulated by Verreet (1988, 43; see also 34-42). Thus, both verbs are marked for the same TAM gram. They are also inflected in the same person, number, and gender – specifically, the 3rd ms.sg. – sharing their subject argument, Ba‘lu. Even though the sequence is composed of two inflected verbs linked by *w* – as mentioned previously, a typical clause-combining marker in Ugaritic – it does not represent two individual and separate events, whether consecutive or overlapping: 'he went around and (then / at the same time) hunted'. Rather, we are

dealing with a single iterative or durative event of going around hunting. This interpretation is accurately captured by several scholars: "Baal went a-hunting" (Watson 2004, 325); "Baal went out hunting" (Wyatt 1998, 164); and "Ba'al geht herum auf die Jagd" (Verreet 1988, 43). The unlikelihood of a bi-event reading in terms of coordination further stems from the highly similar lexical values of the two verbs. As usual, the unitary polarity is positive. Moreover, V_1 and V_2 do not host separate internal arguments or adjuncts, including operators of time and place. It is possible that, being the minor verb of the sequence, *hlk* encodes the iterative nuance of the expression, as is the case of SVCs and periphrases built around *hlk* in Biblical Hebrew, which express continuity (Lambdin 1971, 232-233). This would agree with the semantics of the long PC used in this example. Indeed, the SVC with the minor verb *hlk* would prompt the iterativity in a more explicit – perhaps redundant – manner. A possible translation could be: "[As] he was (going) hunting, he «came to the edge of the desert»" (the latter part of the translation draws on Wyatt 1998, 164; see also del Olmo Lete 1998, 139).

An SVC found in example (9) is less canonical than the cases discussed thus far. The sequence *tlk w tr* contains two verbs: V_1 *tlk* – i.e. the root *hlk* inflected in the 3rd fm.sg. of PC, meaning literally 'she went' (Tropper 2012, 625); and V_2 *tr* which, violating the criteria of verbal serialization, appears in a nominal form – the infinitive of *twr* 'turn' (Tropper 2012, 483-484). However, as in Biblical Hebrew, Phoenician, and Canaano-Akkadian (van der Merwe and Andrason 2014; Piquer Otero 2013) the Ugaritic infinitive absolute can be used fientively – not only nominally.[24] In such cases, even though not inflected morphologically, and failing to concord in person, number, and gender with an external argument, the infinitive absolute appears with its nominal or pronominal subject (Gordon 1965, 80; Segert 1984, 93; Sivan 1997, 123-126; Tropper 2012, 491-493). Overall, the infinite absolute used in such a manner is understood as a (semi) finite form in Semitic (van der Merwe and Andrason 2014; Piquer Otero 2013), which, as a result, does not rule out its presence in SVCs. In other words, being a semi-fientive verbal form, the infinitive absolute may yield "semi" – i.e. less canonical – SVCs. One common type of the finite uses of the infinitive absolute (be it in Semitic in general or in Ugaritic specifically) involves its presence in narrative, where the infinitival form introduces comments, digressions, and specifications, functioning as 'complementation units' (van der Merwe and Andrason 2014, 279; Piquer Otero 2013).[25] In such cases, the temporal reference of the infinitive is past. This would harmonize with the TAM interpretation of the verb *tlk*, in terms of a past tense, which is reflected *à la lettre* in most translations: "She went and turned" (Wyatt 1998, 159); "she went and escaped" (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 331); "Marchó y escapó" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 134); and "…ging los und zog umher" (Tropper 2012, 484). As a result, although the morphological marking of V_1 and V_2 is different, the two verbs would appear in compatible TAM grams – PC in a past sense, and the infinitive in a narrative (and, hence, past) function. Furthermore, as is typical of SVCs, the verbs *tlk* and *tr* share their subject referent – the Virgin 'Anatu – even though the latter is not morphologically marked for subject. The polarity is also unitary or positive, to be exact. Additionally, the two roots (i.e. *hlk* and *twr*) exhibit nearly overlapping lexical semantics: both involving motion. This may further motivate the interpretation of this example in terms of mono-eventhood – rather than as two separate events. It should, again, be noted that the sequence exhibits

24. This use of the infinitive (absolute) in fientive functions (narrative and/or modal) is relatively common in ancient and classical Semitic, being attested in Akkadian, Phoenician, Ugaritic, Canaano-Akkadian, and Biblical Hebrew.

25. Inversely, in Ugaritic the narrative infinitive absolute usually fails to introduce narrative foreground or the events of the main story line.

w – a possible clause-combining marker. As was the case with the other examples of *w* discussed above, *w* is not a true coordinator or dependency marker. Instead, it acts as an empty or dummy element that does not contribute to the meaning of the construction.

It is unlikely that, in (9), the minor verb *hlk* contributes to the major verb by profiling its continuity and duration, which was the interpretation proposed in (7) above. Rather, *hlk* exploits another common value associated with the verb 'go' in SVCs across languages. This value is the expression of instantaneity, ingression, or inception. In those functions, a minor verb 'go' adds nuances of urgency and insistence, "emphasizes the telicity, completeness, and perfectivity of the event expressed by V_2" (Andrason 2018b, 38), or as far as inanimate subjects are concerned, suggests that "the action was performed willingly, on purpose, or against the interest of the speaker or the addressee" (*ibid.*). This value is also attested in Semitic languages, e.g. in Arabic where sequences with *rāḥ* express an instantaneous, ingressive, or inceptive aspect (Hussein 1990, 349). All such aspectual and modal interpretations are plausible in the discussed example. To conclude, to translate this example, a periphrasis with 'go and + verb' in English is a useful option, since this structure may exhibit properties of pseudo-coordination or less canonical SVCs, and often offers similar aspectual and modal connotations as those postulated for the Ugaritic construction.

Example (10) illustrates one of the most common uses of the motion verb 'go' in SVCs across languages – its presence in imperative chains (see example 5 analyzed previously). In this example, the form *lh* is the imperative of the root *hlk*, 'lit. go!'. It heads another imperative form – *hrg* 'kill!'. The two verbs are marked by the same TAM gram and are inflected in the same person, number and gender, being directed to the 2nd person masculine singular. Their referent is thus identical. The two verbs are linked asyndetically with no overt marker of clause combining, such as *w*. This inflectional congruence (cf. Tropper 2012, 896) and asyndetic profile are visible in the translation offered by del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2015, 332): "go, kill". Tropper (2012, 896) suggests, however, that in examples like this one, *lk* approximates an interjection 'los!', translating the fragment in question as: "Los! Töte vie[r] Tage hindurch". In fact, the grammaticalization of minor verbs found in SVCs as a discourse particle, including verbs of motion such as 'go' and thus *hlk* – which could then be used outside SVCs – is a common crosslinguistic phenomenon. It is especially pervasive in an imperative context. That is, the imperative of a minor verb in SVCs tends to develop into a particle, discourse marker, or interjection. In cases where it occurs with another imperative verb, an example may be ambiguous, i.e. as an SVC or as a major verb accompanied by a particle. Usually, the particle is uninflected (the same form being employed with all the persons, while in a canonical SVC the minor verb is inflected) and separated by a pause (or other prosodic means) from the major verb and its clause (contrary to an SVC where the two verbs tend to exhibit a more coherent prosodic pattern; cf. Andrason 2018a). In cases where the imperative is formally undistinguishable from the particle (e.g. masculine singular in Ugaritic) and prosody is not reflected in writing, the example is ambiguous. As a result, (10) can be interpreted both as an SVC or – its more advanced evolutionary stage – a particle heading a main verb.

The last possible case of Ugaritic SVCs built around motion and/or postural verbs is more problematic as the minor verb allows for two interpretations (Tropper 2012, 634, 646): either as a motion/postural verb *yṯb* < **wṯb* 'sit down, sit, be sitting' (e.g. Wyatt 1998, 238) or a motion verb *ṯwb* 'return, come back' (e.g. Verreet 1988, 200).

(11) *w* ***ṯṯb*** . ***trḥṣ***{.}*nn* . *b d't* (1.16:VI:10; Kirta Epic)

In example (11), V_1 can be the PC either of the two roots mentioned above (Tropper 2012, 634, 646) used in a simple past sense, lit. 'she sat down' (Wyatt 1998, 238; cf. Pardee 1997, 250) or 'she came back' (Verreet 1988, 200). The major verb V_2 is also inflected in the PC with a past tense meaning 'washed' (Verreet 1988, 200; Wyatt 1998, 238; del Olmo Lete 1998, 203; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 882; Tropper 2012, 896). Accordingly, both verbs appear in compatible – likely identical – TAM grams. They are also inflected in the same person, number and gender – the 3rd person singular feminine (Tropper 2012, 634, 646), sharing their external, subject argument. No overt marker of clause combining is found – V_1 and V_2 appear asyndetically and contiguously. In fact, the marker *w* appears at the beginning of the line, thus heading the entire SVC, which is accurately preserved in several translations: "And she sat down" (Wyatt 1998, 238); "Und wiederholt wäscht sie ihn" (Verreet 1988, 200); and "y repetidamente le lavó del sudor" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 203). The marker *w* therefore operates over the entire SVC, relating it to the previous passage. The two verbs do not host separate object arguments or adjuncts, including operators of time and place. Even though the suffixed direct object *-nn* 'him' (Verreet 1988, 200; Tropper 2012, 222-223) is projected by V_2 and marked only on that verb, and the prepositional phrase *b d't* 'of [his] perspiration/sweat', seems, at least literally, to apply to V_2, both may also operate over the entire SVC. For such a scope of governance to be grammatical, the first verb cannot be understood in its literal sense but must be read as a minor verb in an SVC. In any case, there are no operators or adjuncts that would extend only over V_1. The polarity is unitary – and positive. Furthermore, as is common in asymmetrical SVCs, the valency pattern is determined by the major verb.

Overall, in light of the above, it is likely that the two verbs (i.e. *tṯb* and *trḥṣ*) do not represent two independent events, 'sitting down/returning' and 'washing',[26] but rather form a single event of washing, which occurred repetitively or continuously. This would agree with the common grammaticalization pattern of postural verbs such as 'sit' and motion verbs such as 'return' in SVCs and other verbal structures. The former commonly develop into markers of a progressive and continuous aspect, subsequently generalized for iterative and habitual activities. The latter yield iterative and habitual constructions (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). Indeed, in Semitic, the verb 'return' has often been used to derive a repetitive or frequentative meaning, including in SVCs, e.g. in Arabic where *'āad* as a minor verb encodes continuity and iterativity (Hussein 1990, 349). Such a continuative or iterative nuance has correctly been captured by most translations: "Und wiederholt wäscht sie ihn ja vom Schweiß" (Verreet 1988, 200); "Wiederholt wusch sie ihn vom Schweiß (rein)" (Tropper 2012, 896); "and repeatedly she washed him" (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 882); "y repetidamente le lavó del sudor" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 203).

A different class of potential cases of SVCs in Ugaritic involve bi-verbal sequences with the root *ḫwš* 'hurry up, hasten'. There are four possible examples of this type, occurring in four consecutively verses:[27]

26. See the translations proposed by Pardee (1997, 250) and Wyatt (1998, 238), respectively: "She comes back (or: sits down), washes him of his perspiration" and "And she sat down and washed him free of sweat".

27. We follow the readings proposed in KTU3, with the exception of line 54. In their description and analysis of the tablet, Smith and Pitard (2009, 530) read that line as *ḫš trmmn px*[ ] and comment the following (*ibid*. 534): "px[The first letter is composed of only two horizontal wedges, making it a /p/. This, of course, might be a scribal error for the three-wedged /h/, as proposed by CTA and CAT, and followed here". The last word in line 54 could thus be read in parallel to the last word of line 52.

(12) a. **ḫš** . *bhtm* . **[t]b[nn]**

b. ***ḫš*** . ***rmm*** . *hk*[lm]

c. ***ḫš*** . *bhtm* . ***tb*n[n]**

d. ***ḫš*** . ***trmmn*** . *hˡkˡ*[lm] (1.4:V:51-54; Ba'lu Myth)

In each of the above cases, V_1 appears in the imperative *ḫš*, lit. 'hurry up!' (Verreet 1988, 120; Tropper 2012, 647, 896), which is followed by V_2 of the root *bny* 'build' (12.a, 12.c) or *rym* 'erect, construct' (12.b, 12.d).

In (12.a) and (12.c), V_2 *tbnn* is most likely inflected in the modal type of PC, the so-called 'energicus I' (Verreet 1988, 120; Tropper 2012, 499). However, the damaged text in (12.a) could also stand for the imperative of the same root, i.e. *bn-(n)* (Tropper 2012, 663), reconstructed by analogy to the pair *rmm – trmmn* in (12.b) and (12.d), instead of the reconstruction *tbnn* proposed in KTU[3] (2013, 20) by analogy to (12.c).[28] As a result, V_1 and V_2 would be marked by either an identical TAM category (i.e. the imperative) or by compatible TAM grams – V_1 by the imperative and V_2 by the modal PC, which can be used in deontic and directive functions as is typical of a genuine imperative. The two verbs also share their subject referent: the imperative appears in the masculine singular form directed to the 2nd person, while the modal PC is inflected in the 2nd sg.ms. In other words, the command is addressed to the same person. In both instances, V_1 and V_2 do not appear contiguously but are separated by the noun *bhtm* 'houses' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 244) – the direct object projected by the argument structure of the major verb *bny*. As is common across languages, the valency pattern of the entire SVC draws on the valency of the major verb. The positive polarity is unitary. There are no temporal, locative, or instrumental operators whose scope would be limited to one verb – whether V_1 or V_2. No formal markers of clause combining, either dependency or coordination, are present – the two verbs appear asyndetically.

The structure of the examples (12.b) and (12.d) is highly similar to the structure of (12.a) and (12.c) analyzed above. The only difference is that in (12.b), the root *rym* appears in the sg.ms. imperative (Tropper 2012, 580), thus fully agreeing with the TAM gram of the heading minor verb *ḫš*. In (12.d), the modal PC ('energicus I') of *rym* is used (Verreet 1988, 120; Tropper 2012, 498) in harmony with (12.a) and (12.c). The other difference is the contiguous structure of the sequence, with V_2 following V_1 immediately – i.e. *ḫš rmm* (12.b) and *ḫš trmmn* (12.d). This means that, contrary to (12.a) and (12.c), the nominal objects *hk*[*lm*] 'palaces' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 330) – projected by the major verb – appear after V_2. Again, the argument structure of the SVC is determined by the valency of the major verb.

In all the four cases presented in (12.a-d), rather than constituting a separated command, coordinated asyndetically to the commands encoded by the verbs *bnn*, *tbnn*, *rmm*, and *trmmn*,[29] the imperative *ḫš* modifies each verb and forms with it a single command – and thus a single event. Accordingly, functioning as a minor verb in an SVC, *ḫš* specifies the subsequent directives,

28. Smith and Pitard (2009, 530) read it as *ḫš* . *bhtm* . [ ], providing the following comment (*ibid.* 534): "We see no traces beyond the word divider. This is likely because the adhesive securing the modern reconstruction of the broken column has come over the broken edge here".

29. See the translation proposed by Wyatt (1998, 104): "Hasten! [Build] a house indeed; hasten! Construct a palace[e]! Hasten! [Let] them build a house; Hasten! Let them construct a pala[ce]".

determining the manner in which these directives should be carried out. Given the lexical semantics of the root *ḥwš*, it most likely conveys the nuance of rapidness, immediacy, or urgency, similar to the adverb 'quickly' or the expression 'come on' in English. This interpretation is correctly captured in most translations: "Quickly, the house [build]. Quickly erect the pal[ace]. Quickly shall you buil[d] the house. Quickly shall you erect the pal[ace]" (Smith and Pitard 2009, 540); "[De prisa] una casa, Kothar, de prisa alza un palacio; de prisa una casa has de construir, de prisa has de alzar un palacio" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 86); "quickly erect the palace" (Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 370); "B[aue] eiligst ein Gebäude! Richte eiligst einen Pa[last] auf! Eiligst sollst du ein Gebäude bauen! Eiligst sollst du einen Pa[last] erreichen!" (Tropper 2012, 895-896); and "Schnell, baue doch Häuser. [D]u sollst fürwahr Häuser bauen […] du sollst fürwahr Paläste errichten! (Verreet 1988, 120).

Although relatively problematic due to an uncertain interpretation of V_2, the subsequent case (see example 13 below) may attest to Ugaritic SVCs built around a minor verb with the meaning 'know' and 'be able' – another type of SVCs common across languages (Aikhenvald 2006).

(13) *b*l *nmlk* ***yd‘ ylḫn*** (1.6:I:48; Ba'lu Myth)

The possible SVC in (13) consists of V_1 *yd‘* and V_2 *ylḥn*. The former verb, *yd‘*, is likely the PC of the root *w/yd‘* 'know' (Tropper 2012, 633), albeit it could also be a participle of the same root (*ibid*. 896). The parsing and meaning of the latter verb are even more uncertain, although *ylḥn* (or *ylṯn*) is probably the PC of the root *lḥn* 'verständig sein', 'eng, nahe verwandt sein' (Tropper 2008, 64) or 'be shrewd, astute' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 497, 949). Overall, V_1 and V_2 would (or could) be marked by the same TAM grams. On the one hand, they could be inflected in the short PC expressing a present stative meaning, in Semitic typical of stative and adjectival roots such as *w/yd‘* and *lḥn*. On the other hand, they could stand in the long PC, which tends to convey a general present, and epistemic modal, sense, among many other uses (see above in this section; cf. Tropper 2012, 684-694).

The two verbs agree in person, number, and gender, being inflected in the 3rd ms.sg., and are correlated with the same general referent 'someone' (cf. Pardee 1997, 269; del Olmo Lete 1998, 112; Tropper 2012, 896) – the one who must or should be made king. Moreover, the verbs *yd‘* and *ylḥn* form a contiguous chain. They are also linked asyndetically with no overt marker of clause combining. Although most translations render the sequence a coordination of two qualities, which constitutes a stative equivalent of bi-eventhood,[30] an interpretation in terms of mono-eventhood, crucial for an SVC to occur, is also possible. In such a case, the minor verb V_1 would modify the major verb conveying the lexical type of event, in modal terms, as for the ability or capacity, as is typical of verbs of knowing or being able in SVCs crosslinguistically (Aikhenvald 2006). Accordingly, the bi-verbal sequence in (13) would read "one who can/knows how to be *x* (or do *x*)". This reading harmonizes with the translations proposed by Pardee (1997, 269) and Tropper (2012, 896): "Must we not appoint someone as king (who) knows (how) sap flows?" and "Wollen wir nicht jemanden zum König machen, der sich auf ...(?) versteht?", respectively.

Two further cases of SVCs in Ugaritic involve the root *bky* 'cry' (see examples 14 and 15 below) – a verb that is uncommon in SVCs across languages, which, rather than contributing to the

30. See Wyatt (1998, 269): "one who has knowledge and wit"; and del Olmo Lete (1998, 112): "uno inteligente y perspicaz". See also the composite noun phrases "the Know-all and the Shrewd" in del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2003, 963), or "the Savant Shrewd" (2015, 949).

specification of tense, aspect or mood, specifies the manner of the action conveyed by the other verb. Indeed, verbs of crying and weeping are not listed by Aikhenvald (2006) as one of the typical classes of minor verbs found in asymmetrical SVCs.[31] However, SVCs expressing manner, to which 'cry'-verbs belong, are generally classified as asymmetrical, since one of the verbs specifies the way with which the lexical type of action is performed (see section 2).

(14) …***tbkynh***
w tqbrnh… (1.6:I:16-17; Ba'lu Myth)

(15) *'zm* . ***ab*[[p]]*ky*** . ***w*** . ***aqbrnh*** (1.19:III:5; 'Aqhatu Legend)

In example (14), *tbkynh* is a PC form of the root *bky* (Tropper 2012, 222), as is *tqbrnh* (*ibid*.). Both are likely short forms (Verreet 1988, 92), with a past meaning, literally 'she wept' and 'she buried', respectively (cf. Watson 2004, 325; del Olmo Lete 1998, 111; Wyatt 1998, 130). Both verbs are inflected in the same person, number, and gender – the 3rd fm.sg. – sharing their subject referent, the goddess 'Anatu. The other, internal object argument – the 3rd ms.sg. – is also shared by the two verbs, being overtly marked both on V_1 and V_2, lit. "she wept (for) him and buried him" (Watson 2004, 325; see also del Olmo Lete 1998, 111; Wyatt 1998, 130) or "bewept him and buried him' (Pardee 1997, 250). As is the case of all the examples analyzed thus far, the positive polarity value is unitary for the entire construction. All of this suggests that, rather than representing two separate events – be they consecutive or overlapping – the situation encoded by *tbkynh w tqbrnh* depicts a single, albeit complex, event: 'bury a person in tears / crying'. This interpretation is compatible with the translation proposed by Watson (1994, 109; 2004, 325), for whom this construction is an example of a verbal hendiadys, where V_2 is specified by V_1 used adverbially: "Weeping she buried him".[32] In contrast to canonical SVCs, the studied structure exhibits an element that is formally undistinguishable from a clause-combining marker in Ugaritic – the coordinator *w*. If the proposed interpretation in terms of mono-eventhood is correct, *w* found in example (14) would not, however, coordinate V_1 and V_2 – the coordination being apparent, not genuine, and the marker being empty or dummy.

A similar use of the root *bky* in an SVC is found in (15). In this example, V_1 (*abky*) and V_2 (*aqbrnh*) are inflected in the modal 'energicus' variant of the PC (Verreet 1988, 217; Tropper 2012, 426, 505, 659). Accordingly, both verbs appear in the same TAM category, a gram whose semantic potential mainly pertains to the ideas of modality and futurity. V_1 and V_2 also agree in person, number and gender, thus sharing their subject referent – the 1st person singular (Verreet 1988, 217; Tropper 2012, 426). This agreement in tense/mood and person/number is reflected in all the translations: "So that I may weep, so that I may bury him" (Pardee 1997, 250); "Lloraré y le enterraré" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 235); "I shall weep and I shall bury him" (Watson 1994, 109; Wyatt 1998, 304); "ich will (be-)weinen" (Tropper 2012, 451), "ich will ihn begraben" (*ibid*. 450); "…verde ich weinen und ihn ja begraben" (Verreet 1988, 217). No individual operators of time or place accompany V_1 or V_2 separately. Even though the 3rd person sg.ms. object 'him' appears only on V_2 (*aqbrnh*), it likely operates over V_1 as well, such that *abky* is a transitive form, possibly a D

31. Sometimes, 'cry'-verbs appear in symmetrical SVCs as illustrated by Chinese (Matthews 2006, 75-76).

32. Most translations, however, opt for renderings in terms of bi-eventhood: "fürhwahr sie beweint ihn, ja begräbt ihn" (Verreet 1988, 94); "le lloró y le sepultó" (del Olmo Lete 1998, 111); "she wept for him and buried him" (Wyatt 1998, 130).

stem, with an implicit direct object – the whole structure is therefore literally translated as: "I will beweep him" (Pardee 1997, 250) or "ich will (ihn) beweinen und ich will ihn begraben" (Tropper 2012, 505). As in the previous example, the two verbs are linked by *w*. Although an analysis in terms of two separate events is possible – indeed, this is the main manner of rendering found in all the translations – given the morpho-syntactic properties explained above, it is also possible to understand this example in terms of mono-eventhood, and thus as a (at least, non-canonical) SVC. The clause-combining function of *w* might thus have been empty or at least weakened – the sequence being a pseudo-coordination rather than genuine coordination. As in (14) above, V_1 would specify the action conveyed by V_2 in an adverbial sense of manner: "I will bury him in tears / weeping" (cf. Watson 1994; 2004 who analyzes this construction as one of the hendiadys).

The remaining case of SVCs in Ugaritic, presented in (16) below, is best understood as a symmetrical SVC, although an asymmetrical reading is also possible. As explained previously, according to typological studies, in symmetrical SVCs, both verbs contribute to the lexical meaning of the expression in a relatively equal manner; neither of the verbs draws on restricted classes; and neither of them grammaticalizes as a marker of tense, aspect, mood, direction, or valency change (Aikhenvald 2006; Dixon 2006; Matthews 2006).

(16) *ilm* ***tġrk tšlmk*** (2.11:7-9; a letter)

The sequence in (16) consists of the modal PC of the root *nġr* 'protect, guard' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 624; Tropper 2008, 87) and the similar modal PC of the root *šlm* of the D stem 'restore, preserve health' (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, 624; see also 'Heil schenken; in heilem Zustand erhalten'; Tropper 2008, 119). V_1 and V_2 are thus marked for the same TAM gram – a modal jussive short PC (Tropper 2012, 555), which is accurately rendered in several translations by the use of modal expressions such as "mögen …bewaren" and "mögen… beschützen" respectively (Tropper 2012, 893). The two verbs are inflected in the same person, number, and gender – the 3rd ms.pl. – being governed by the same overt nominal subject, namely *ilm* 'gods'. Furthermore, both V_1 and V_2 share their internal argument, the direct object, which is marked on both verbs by the suffixed pronoun *-k* 'you': *tġr-k* and *tšlm-k*. The verbs appear continuously and asyndetically with no overt marker of clause combining, in particular *w*. Although the two verbs could be understood as asyndetic coordination, they may also yield a complex mono-event as proposed by Tropper (2012, 896), who translates them with a single verb and a prepositional phrase used adverbially: "Die Götter mögen dich in Frieden bewahren". This mono-event could itself be analyzed in two ways: first, following Tropper (*ibid.*), the sequence could be viewed as an asymmetrical SVC in which the minor verb specifies the major verb in terms of manner. Since in Ugaritic minor verbs are invariably V_1, in (16), *nġr* would need to express the manner in which *šlm* is performed, e.g. '(while) guarding you, I will restore you(r health)'. Alternatively, V_1 could express the cause of the action conveyed by V_2: "by protecting you, the gods may restore/preserve your health". Such a cause-result relationship is typically associated with symmetrical SVCs (Matthews 2006, 75). Given this fact, and because neither of the verbs draws from restricted lexical or grammatical classes, nor grammaticalizes into grammatical markers, nor is either one of them semantically more relevant than the other, example (16) should be analyzed as a symmetrical type in our opinion, rather than an asymmetrical type of manner.

4. *Discussion – The Position of Ugaritic SVCs in the SVC Categorial Network*

The evidence suggests that Ugaritic includes in its verbal system an SVC category. Both asymmetrical and symmetrical types are found, although the asymmetrical type of SVCs is attested to a significantly larger extent. It involves eight different roots (*qwm*, *nš'*, *ndd*, *hlk*, *yṯb*/*ṯwb*, *ḥwš*, *w/yd‘*, and possibly *bky*) used in nineteen cases identified by us in the corpus. The symmetrical type is less visible, appearing once in combinations of the roots *nġr* and *šlm*. Even this example could be analyzed as an asymmetrical SVC of manner, similar to the sequences composed of *bky* and *qbr*. In all the cases discussed in this paper, the verbal components of each sequence are marked for in identical or, at least compatible, TAM grams. They are also inflected in the same person, number, and gender, invariably sharing their subject argument. In no example does an internal argument or adjunct (including operators of time, place, and manner) operate over one verb only. In cases where such elements are found, their scope may always extend to the entire construction. Indeed, in some examples, the object marking is concordant, appearing on V_1 and V_2. In most cases, the verbal sequence is contiguous. Only in two instances, found with V_1 *ḥwš*, are the verbs separated by an object. Additionally, another non-contiguous structure emerges in an alternative reading of example 7, as *yqm l p‘nh ykr‘*. In the majority of the examples, overt markers of clause-combining, in particular the multi-functional connector *w*, are absent. However, in six cases, such a connector is found. It occurs after V_1 *qwm*, *ndd*, *hlk*, and *bky*. All such verbs, with the exception of *bky*, also allow for asyndetic structures without *w*. Inversely, it is only the structure built of the root *bky* that is consistently syndetic. Nevertheless, in all such instances, *w* seems not to be a true coordinating conjunction (or a dependency marker) – with its clause-companying function appearing empty or dummy, and the entire structure approximating a pseudo-coordinating pattern. In any case, all the examples can – and, in our view, should – be analyzed in terms of mono-eventhood, as they depict a single event or situation. In asymmetrical SVCs, the lexical type of the event is always expressed by V_2, which is the major verb in the construction. In contrast, V_1 functions as the minor verb, specifying the event as far as its, broadly understood, aspect, mood and manner are concerned. The largest semantic category of minor verbs pertain to the domains of motion and posture, with six roots being attested: *qwm* ‘rise, stand up’, *nš'* ‘rise, stand up, go up’, *ndd* ‘go, move; hurry, rush, launch oneself’, *hlk* ‘go’, and *yṯb* ‘sit down’ / *ṯwb* ‘return’. The root *ḥwš* ‘hurry up, hasten’ may also contain a motion component, although its main value relates to a rapid performance of an action. Other semantic domains are expressed by the roots *w/yd‘* ‘know, be able’ and *bky* ‘cry, weep’. When used in SVCs, all those verbs provide the specifications of V_2 in terms of aspect (ingression/inception, continuity, duration, iteractivity), mood (emphasis, insistence, urge(ncy), ability), and manner (rapidness (haste), immediacy, crying). In several cases, aspectual, modal and manner nuances intermingle. Once, V_1 may have been grammaticalized as an invariable particle or discourse marker. In contrast to asymmetrical SVCs, in the symmetrical pattern, both verbs contribute to the lexical interpretation of the event, being interpretable in terms of a cause-effect relationship iconically correlated with the sequence of verbs: V_1 expressing the cause and V_2 the result.

As a result, the SVC category in Ugaritic would match three points in the dynamic-radial network of SVCs or three stages on their grammaticalization path, as described in Section 2. In the majority of examples, Ugaritic SVCs exhibit a canonical (or relatively canonical) profile, complying with the diagnostics postulated for the SVC prototype. This canonical structure is also the most productive, involving the greatest semantic and morphological variety of verbs. It is, therefore, the prototypical type of SVCs in Ugaritic. However, certain examples correspond to a

less advanced stage in which the profile is less cohesive than expected of the SVC prototype – these less canonical structures invariably contain the element *w*, albeit its function is empty or dummy. Although attested, such structures are less common than canonical SVCs, as well as less varied semantically and morphologically. This suggests that, in Ugaritic, these serilizing structures are semi-prototypical.[33] In extremely rare cases, less canonical SVCs attest to an excessively cohesive profile and thus to more advanced stages on the grammaticalization path. The most evident example is the possible use of a minor verb as an uninflected discourse marker, particle, or interjection. There is only one such example in our corpus, which may also be interpreted as a canonical SVC – the structure thus being ambiguous. In general, such examples are non-prototypical as they are rare and probably much less productive.

The results of our study presented above are graphically represented in Figure 2 below. In this figure, the SVC category in Ugaritic is mapped onto three consecutive stages of the typologically driven dynamic network of SVCs: an insufficiently cohesive, non-canonical stage; a canonical stage; and an excessively cohesive non-canonical stage. The profile associated with a canonical stage is prototypical (P) in Ugaritic. The insufficiently cohesive, non-canonical profile corresponding to a less advanced stage of the path is semi-prototypical (SP). The excessively cohesive non-canonical profile that matches a more advanced stage on the path is non-prototypical (NP). The correlation of the qualitative map (types of SVCs attested) with its range of prototypicality (P, SP, NP) delivers a wave of the SVC category in Ugaritic, with its peak in the canonical stage of SVCs (on the wave model see Andrason 2016a; 2016b). This suggests a semi-advanced profile of the SVC category in Ugaritic in general, or its status as a "young" gram – even though well grammaticalized, the construction preserves certain traits of its origin, in the case of SVC, a less cohesive structure.[34]

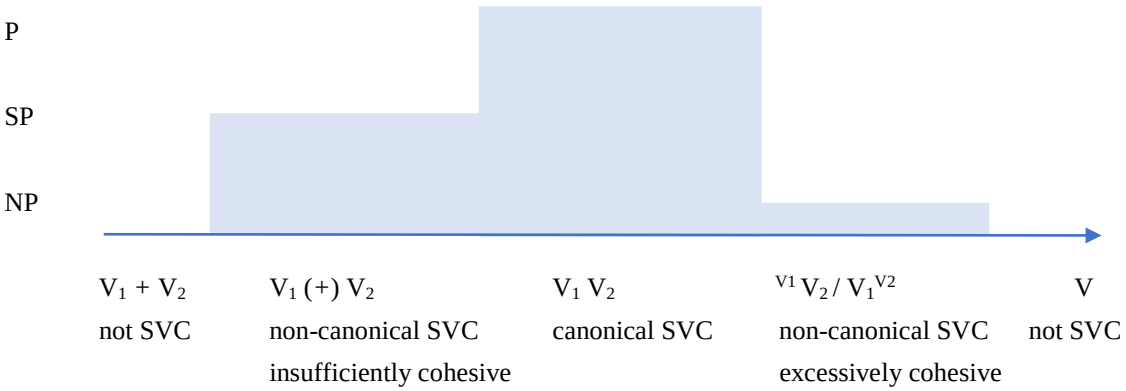

Figure 2: A dynamic model of the SVC category in Ugaritic

Overall, Ugaritic would be a language with a relatively productive verbal serialization, complying with several features hypothesized by Aikhenvald (2006, 45-46) and Dixon (2006) as crucial for the so-called serializing languages, i.e. systems in which verbal serialization is an

33. Possibly, non-contiguous sequences could also be viewed as, at least, slightly less cohesive, and thus less canonical.

34. Concerning the concept of young/old grams, see Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) and Andrason (2016b).

important grammatical device. First, in Ugaritic, SVCs are not restricted in their TAM semantics. On the contrary, they are compatible with various categories available in Ugaritic: SC, the short indicative PC ('preterit'), the long PC, the short modal PC, and the imperative, as well as the semi-finite category of the infinitive absolute. They are also inflected in a variety of persons, numbers, and genders: 3rd ms.sg., 3rd fm.sg., 3rd ms.pl., 2nd ms.sg., 2nd ms.pl., and 1st sg. Second, SVCs in Ugaritic are not limited to certain registers, typically spoken or more colloquial (e.g. letters in Ugaritic), as they are (in fact, most commonly) attested in narrative and epic poetry. However, the serialization is also, at least to an extent, constrained. Although SVCs in Ugaritic are derived from a variety of verbs belonging to several semantic types, including verbs of knowing, hurrying up, and crying, and allowing for both asymmetrical and symmetrical constructions, the majority of verbs used are verbs of motion and posture, and the preferred structure is the symmetrical type. Moreover, even though the main bulk of cases involve structures with no overt clause-combining markers, connectives can be inserted between the verbal components with no change in meaning. The polarity is also exclusively positive – no negative constructions are attested. Furthermore, no non-human subjects are attested in SVCs in Ugaritic.

All of this enables us to determine the dynamic relationship of the Ugaritic SVCs – and Ugaritic as a serializing language – to the other ancient Semitic languages and their SVC categories. Being a semi-advanced serial language with a young SVC category, Ugaritic could be viewed as more advanced than Akkadian, yet slightly less advanced than Biblical Hebrew, and visibly less advanced than later Aramaic varieties. In Akkadian, verbal serialization seems to be a peripheral device of a more lexical than core-grammatical status. To be exact, although asyndetic cases are attested, SVCs are commonly syndetic; even though the chain may be contiguous, the objects and the other complements often appear between the verbs; the literal (e.g. postural and motion) interpretation is frequently possible (Moran 1969, 26; Kraus 1987; Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 34; Kouwenberg 2011, 148, 273; Huehnergard 2005, 125-126; Streck 2014, 135-136). In contrast, in Biblical Hebrew, the serializing procedure becomes a more central grammatical mechanism. Overall, it is common and productive, with various types of profoundly grammaticalized functional meanings (especially in terms of aspect and mood) instead of the original lexical (e.g. motion and postural) senses (Lambdin 1971; Dobbs-Allsopp 1996; Chrzanowski 2011; Andrason 2019a). For instance, as far as the *qwm* SVC is concerned, the gram exhibits both the discontinuous and continuous structures, although the latter is by far more common; the asyndetic and non-overtly syndetic type predominate, while the overtly syndetic type is rare;[35] the gram is fully productive with respect to roots, the set of major verbs being open; and it appears both in prose (narrative, personal narrative and direct discourse) and poetry. However, the construction is also constrained: its subjects are limited to human (and divine) referents, and its polarity is invariably positive (Andrason 2019a). Lastly, in later Aramaic varieties (e.g. Aramaic of Babylonia Talmud and Mandaic), certain SVCs – such as those built around the minor verb *qwm* – have acquired an excessively cohesive profile, with the minor verb developing towards an uninflected aspectual or modal particle (Nöldeke 1875; Dobbs-Allsopp 1995, 36).[36]

35. The asyndetic (non-*waw*) type is by far the most frequent with the imperative. The non-overtly syndetic type always appears with *wayyiqtol* and *weqatal*, where *waw* is "invisible", being grammaticalized as a part of the verbal gram. The overtly syndetic type is present only in a few examples with *yiqtol*, cohortative, and even more sporadically with the imperative.

36. In such cases, it is extrapolated from an SVC context and used with participles.

This position of the Ugaritic SVC within the cloud of SVCs found in ancient and classical Semitic languages would be consistent with these languages' chronology and their overall dynamics. Having less time to travel the path, more remote languages (e.g. Akkadian) possess less advanced SVCs and exhibit a less serializing profile. SVCs found in less remote languages (e.g. Ugaritic) are more advanced and such systems attest, in general, to a more serializing profile as they have spent more time traveling along the path. Languages such as Biblical Hebrew, which are posterior to Ugaritic, are even more canonical with respect to verbal serialization. Lastly, more recent languages (e.g. Mandaic and Arabic dialects) reach more advanced sections of the path, including its final sections, where serialization cedes place to TAM markers or particles. Even though this dynamic relationship linking Ugaritic to the other ancient and classical Semitic languages constitutes a plausible hypothesis emerging from the results of this paper, it should be viewed as provisional. It requires a careful verification by an in-depth comparative study.

5. *Conclusion*

The present paper discussed the status of SVCs in Ugaritic within the framework of a typologically driven dynamic network of the SVC category. The study demonstrates that SVCs constitute a relatively robust category in Ugaritic. In Ugaritic, the SVC category matches three qualitative types distinguished in the SVC network, which in turn correspond to the three consecutive stages in the evolution of SVCs in the languages of the world: the non-canonical, insufficiently cohesive; the canonical; and the non-canonical, excessively cohesive. The second stage, which comprises canonical SVCs, is the most prototypical in Ugaritic. Overall, the SVC category in Ugaritic is a young category, and the Ugaritic language is a semi-advanced serializing language. As far as serialization is concerned, in the Semitic family, Ugaritic is likely more advanced than Akkadian but less advanced than Biblical Hebrew and later Aramaic varieties. This comparative observation remains, however, a working hypothesis that needs to be corroborated by a more in-depth comparative study.

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