

CHAPTER XI

ENCLITIC PARTICLES

In the early stages of Amarna studies, the functions of the enclitic particles were recognized but not given too much attention (cf. e.g. Böhl 1909:74, §34n). The expanded use of the enclitics by the Mitannian scribes has now been duly treated (Adler 1976:82-91, §60). Of special note is the use of *-mē* by the Mitannian and North Syrian scribes (Adler 1976:82-86, nn. 1-3 on p. 83), an usage foreign to the Canaanite EA texts (except perhaps EA 137:14).

Basically, there are only two real enclitics in the epistles from Canaan, viz. *-ma* and *-mi/mi*. Böhl's *-u* and *-na* (Böhl 1909:74, §34o-p) were already analyzed correctly as the energetic *-una* by Ebeling (1910:69-73, §21). Although there would appear to be considerable semantic overlap between the *-mi/mi* and the *-ma*, the ensuing discussion will treat them separately, as morphological entities, rather than grouping the material according to functional categories.

ENCLITIC *-MA*

The enclitic *-ma* is not nearly as widely used as it is in normal Akkadian. The *-mi/mi* is far more common. A point of sharp contrast with older dialects is the entire absence of *-ma* as a conjunction between clauses (OB, GAG:177-178, §123a; OA, Hecker 1968:225-230, §135). On the other hand, *-ma* as a component in other adverbs is common and practically never supplanted by *-mi/mi* (the few exceptions are treated *infra*, pp. 243-244). Thus, one encounters the commonplace adverbs reinforced by *-ma*, such as *umma*, *anumma*, *inūma*, *šumma*, and such like. Sometimes the *-ma* closes the introductory syntagma that opens with *umma*, but such is not always the case (for examples with and without *-ma*, cf. *supra*, p. 175). It may also conclude the instructions for the address to the recipient, e.g.

a-na LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* ^dUTU-*ia* / *qí-bí-ma* "To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, speak!" (EA 363:1-2).

However, the enclitic was frequently omitted:

a-na ^lLUGAL BE-*ia* *qí-bi* "To the king, my lord, speak!" (EA 230:1).

The *-ma* may, on rare occasions, conclude the standard obeisance formula:

lu-ú am-qut-ma "Verily I have prostrated" (EA 299:10).

The real function of enclitic *-ma* in the text of the letters is for emphasis. That is to say, it marks the logical predicate of the clause (cf. Rainey 1976a). In verbal clauses, it may be that the verb is not only the grammatical predicate, but also the logical predicate, i.e. the main point (comment) of the clause. In such cases, it was sometimes given extra stress by the Canaanite scribes with the addition of *-ma*. Other components in the clause may have been the main point; if so, then they carry the enclitic *-ma*. The examples have been grouped accordingly in the ensuing discussion.

ON VERBS. Apart from the introductory phrase cited above, *lū amqutma* (EA 299:10), there are very few instances of enclitic *-ma* on the finite verbs. It is never a case of *-ma* as conjunction; the verbal state or action is deemed the central focus of the clause and thus gets special emphasis. Such emphasis is more frequent with imperatives. The relationship between a command and its fulfillment is stressed in the following excerpts from the same text. First the imperative:

ù LUGAL GAL *be-li-ia* / *iq-bi a-na ia-ši* / *ši-mé-ma a-na*
LÚMAŠKIM_x(_{<M>}AŠKIM) *ḥa-za-ni-ka* "But the great king, my
lord, said to me, 'Give heed to your commissioner!'"
(EA 317:19-21; Moran 1987b:541 n. 2; 1992:349 n. 2);

followed by the strong affirmation that the king's word has been obeyed:

a-na-^fku¹ iš-mé-ma da-ni-iš "I have obeyed explicitly" (EA 317:22);

and the writer further emphasizes his point:

ù šum-ma la-a / iš-mé a-na LÚ¹ha-za-ni / ù šu-ut i-de₄-ma "And if I have not obeyed my commissioner, then we will surely know" (EA 317:23-25).

The *-ma* on *ide* cannot be the conjunction because it ends the text of the letter. It could have the effect of making the verb a jussive. Another example will reinforce this view:

ù šar-ru i-de-^fma¹ / [a-]^fna¹ KUR.KI.MEŠ "And the king should know [a]bout the lands" (EA 304:22-23).

A multitude of parallels from other letters use one form or another of the injunctive or the Akkadian precative (e.g. EA 76:7-9; 243:21-22; 248:21-22; *et al.*).

A jussive may also be emphasized by enclitic *-ma*, if the proposed correction be accepted in the following clause:

ù [k]i-t[u] ti-in<-né-pu-uš>-ma / a-na ka-li KUR.KUR.KI "And let an alliance be m[ade] for all the states" (EA 74:36-37; Mendenhall 1947a:124; but cf. Gianto 1990:70 n. 2).

One scribe sought to emphasize the threat to all the king's lands — unless the commissioner, Yanḥamu, comes to take action within the year:

[ù ha-]al-qa-at-ma / [gá]b-bi KUR.ḪÁ "[then l]ost are [al]l the lands" (EA 215:13-14; for the passage, cf. *supra*, pp. 190-191).

Special emphasis is placed on the infinitive serving as finite verb in a conditional protasis:

al-lu / pa-ṭá-ri-ma LÚ.MEŠ *ḥu-up-ši ù / ṣa-ab-tu* LÚ.MEŠ
 GAZ.MEŠ / URU "Behold, if the serfs desert, then the *ṣapîrû*
 men will capture the city" (EA 118:36-39; Moran 1950a:31, 57).

Likewise, the infinitive as direct object is stressed by the addition of the enclitic *-ma*:

LÚ.MEŠ / *ḥu-⟨up⟩-ši-ia pa-ṭá-ra-ma tu-ba-ú-na* "My serfs are seeking to desert!" EA 114:21-22; perhaps also EA 283:12).

Its position as direct object standing before its verb adds further emphasis and perhaps was the reason for adding the enclitic. Usually, an infinitive as direct object in these texts comes after its governing verb.

ON PRONOUNS. Now and then, the logical predicate (comment) of a clause is represented by a pronoun. In such cases, some scribes added the enclitic *-ma* to the pronoun in question. One example from Tyre seems to place stress on the pronominal suffix:

iš-mé-ni-ma e-nu-ma / i-ra-bu "He heard from me that I would enter in (to Egypt)" (EA 151:12-13).

And likewise in a passage from Byblos:

a-mur a-^fna¹-ku pa-nu-ia-ma / a-^fna¹ a-ra-ad LUGAL "Behold, as for me, it is my face that is set to serve the king" (EA 118:39-40).

It is not surprising that the pronominal predicate in a nominal clause should have the enclitic *-ma*; without the added particle, one would construe the pronoun as the subject, not the predicate:

i-nu-ma / a-bu ù be-lu at-ta-ma / a-na ia-ši "Because it is you who are father and master to me" (EA 73:35-37; cf. Gianto 1990:25, 155; Rainey 1992b:334).

The emphasized subject of an interrogative clause stands in contrast to the usual syntax of questions by which the interrogative phrase is the logical predicate:

a-^fna¹ / mi-ni at-ta-ma ti-iš-tap-ru-na / a-na ia-ši "Why is it you who constantly write to me?" (EA 117:7-9).

The subject of a declarative verbal sentence may also be marked as the logical predicate by the addition of *-ma*:

a-nu-ma a-na-ku-ma / er-ri-šu \ aḫ-ri-šu "Now, it is I who am cultivating" (EA 365:10-11); *u a-na-ku-ma / ub-ba-lu* LÚ.MEŠ *ma-as-sà^{M[EŠ]}* "And it is I who am bringing corvée workers" (EA 365:13-14); *a-na-ku-ma \ ya-ḫu-du-un-ni / ub-ba-lu* LÚ.MEŠ *ma-as-sà^{MEŠ}* "It is I, by myself, who am bringing corvée workers" (EA 365:24-25); *ù / a-na-ku-ma ù ʾR-ḫe-ba / nu-kúr-tu₄ i-na* LÚ.^fSA¹.GAZ "But it is I and ʿAbdi-Ḫeba who are fighting the ʿapīrū" (EA 366:19-21); *šu-ni-ma in₄-né-ri-ru* "It was they (two) who hastened to help" (EA 366:24; Moran 1973:51); *ù lu-ú ni-pa-aš gāb-bu-ma / nu-kúr-ti* "And that we, viz. all (of us), may make war" (EA 366:31-32).

ON ADVERBS. Inasmuch as adverbs can be said to be responses to questions, and in a question the interrogative element is normally the logical predicate, the adverb in the (hypothetical) question that stands behind every sentence and its response in the sentence itself will usually be the logical predicate. So it is not surprising that sometimes an adverb receives special emphasis by means of the enclitic particle *-ma*.

What is surprising in the Canaanite EA texts is that *-ma* is so rare in this function, while *mi/mi* is so very common (cf. *infra*, pp. 243-244).

Apart from the conventional adverbs on which the *-ma* has become a standard component without special emphasis, there are very few simple adverbs emphasized by *-ma*. In the case of *ki-šu-ma* (cf. *supra*, pp. 142-143), it is hard to determine whether the *-ma* is a component or a sign of special stress (cf. EA 74:47;

78:10; 79:37; 90:41; 96:26). On the other hand, *kinanna* is complete without *-ma* so the enclitic must be for special emphasis, e.g.

a-na mi-ni₇ / yi-iš-tap-ru ¹Ri-ib-^dIŠKUR *ki-na-an-na-ma / tu₉-pa a-na* É.GAL "Why does Rib-Haddi continually send a tablet *in this manner* to the palace?" (EA 106:13-15).

In two other passages, from the same text, *kinanna* is emphasized by the addition of *-ma*, in declarative statements, not questions:

ù al-lu-ú ki-na-na-ma yi-te₉-lu / i-na ¹lib¹-bi *a-ia-ba aš-šum ša-ba-at / GIŠMÁ.MEŠ-ia* "But, behold, this is why he goes out to sea, in order to seize my ships!" (EA 114:18-20); *ki-na-na-ma / ma-ri-iš ma-gal a-na ia-ši* "That's why it's so very miserable for me!" (EA 114:49-50).

Some temporal adverbial expressions have the *-ma*, but not necessarily to denote the logical predicate. Note the two following examples from Tyre and Alashia respectively:

i-na u₄-mi ù u₄-mi-ma "every day" (EA 147:7, 28, 67); *ša-at-ta ša-ta-ma* "year by year" (EA 38:11; cf. *supra*, p. 4).

The same may be said for locative *-um* reinforced by *-ma*, viz.

ù ka-ba-tu-ma / ù šú-ú²-ru-ma "On the stomach and on the back" (EA 282:6-7; also EA 64:7; 65:5; 213:9; 215:4-5; 232:10-11; 233:13-14; 282:6; 298:13-14; 299:11; 315:7; 316:9; 319:14; 323:8-9; 324:9; 325:9; 326:7-8; 366:10; 378:9-10).

However, an adjective with adverbial *-umma* may very well be the logical predicate:

ù TIL.LA-nu-ma \ ha-ia-ma / nu-ub-ba-lu-uš-šu a-na šār-ri EN-nu "But *alive* we must send him to the king, our lord" (EA 245:6-7; cf. *supra*, pp. 4, 6-7).

Note that the gloss, an adverbial accusative, is also reinforced by *-ma*. It was because of so many instances of enclitic *-ma* on WS words such as *ṣuhrumma*, *baṣnumma* and *ḥayyama* that Dhorme (1914:345-347 = 1951:457-460) and De Langhe (1948) thought it must be the true Canaanite particle. But it seems equally probable that the Akkadian *-ma* was at play here just as it serves to emphasize the adverbial accusative, which is a perfectly good Akkadian word in the next example; here the adverbial accusative is evidently the logical predicate:

ù pu-ia a-wa-te^{MEŠ} aq-bu / a-na šār-ri ki-ta-ma "It is truthfully that I speak words to the king from my mouth" (EA 107:10-11; cf. *supra*, p. 3).

An adverbial complement containing the infinitive may also have similar stress:

ù gāb-bi KUR[.MEŠ-k]a / ú-ša-aḥ-li-iq¹Bir₅-ia-wa-za [. . .] / a-na ḥa-ba-li-ma "But with violence Biryawaza has destroyed [. . .] all [your] land[s]" (EA 189:24-26; cf. CAD H:3b).

ON THE DIRECT OBJECT. It would seem that the author of the following passage wished to stress the seriousness of a certain political act by emphasizing the kinds of fighting men turned over to the rival power:

ù / na-ad-nu LÚ.MEŠ ŠĪR \ ši-ir-ma / ù LÚ.MEŠ wi-i-ma a-na / >a-na< KUR Su-<ba>-ri i-na lu-qi "And they have even given *maryannū* and *wi^cū* troops as hostages(?) to Su<ba>ru" (EA 108:14-17; Moran 1950a:166; 1987b:306-307 n. 2; 1992:182 n. 2; CAD L:253a; AHw:564b; cf. also EA 85:26 and Moran 1950a:158).

A contrast on the rhetorical level may be realized by using the enclitic. In the following text, there is no doubt that the direct object is being stressed in contrast to the direct object in the previous clause:

š[um!-ma] LÚ ša-a yu-ba-ú / lum-na a-na [EN-š]u šum-ma du-na
 du-na-ma / ʾú¹-baʾú¹ a-na-ku a-[n]a EN-ia "w[hether] (I am) a
 man who seeks evil for h[is lord] or whether it is *only strength*
 that I seek for my lord" (EA 109:53-55; cf. *supra*, p. 185-186).

ON THE SUBJECT. The following passage is a questionable example of *-ma* on the subject because the form might be a WS masculine plural in *-ūma* rather than the simple enclitic:

[i]-ba-šu LÚ.MEŠ ŠĪR / mar-ia-nu-ma a-na ia-ši / ù ia-nu
 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ / a-ʾna¹ ia-ši "I have *maryannū(ma)* but I do
 not have horses" (EA 107:42-45; Schroeder 1918).

Stress should be on the fact that he had qualified chariot warriors but no horses for them.

SUMMARY. The evidence does not necessarily favor the assumption that *-ma* was also the WS enclitic. The arguments by Dhorme (1914:345-347 = 1951:457-460) and De Langhe (1948) were based on the use of *-ma* with obviously Canaanite adverbials (cf. *supra*, pp. 231-233). However, it is still not impossible that the original particle was *-ma*; however, the fact that *-mi* has replaced *-ma* (cf. the ensuing discussion below) need not be an indication that the original WS enclitic was *-mi*. One possibility, which cannot be proven from the material at hand, is that the vowel of the unaccented WS enclitic might have varied between *ǎ* and *ĭ*.

ENCLITIC -MI

In contrast to the somewhat limited use of enclitic *-ma*, the EA texts from Canaan make extensive use of enclitic *-mi*. It has been suggested that the enclitic *-m* of Ugaritic may be identical with the *-mi* of the EA letters (Albright 1934:121 n. 188; 1943:32 n. 27; 1944a:219 n. 83; 1944d:30 n. 5; 1950:387). The problem, of course, is that Akkadian has an enclitic *-mi* used exclusively as a marker for direct speech (GAG:178, §123c), and, as will be amply demonstrated below, the *-mi* in the Canaanized EA letters does

frequently have just this function. The approach to a possible solution may be found by grouping the various examples according to function and scrutinizing those which seem to be clearly unrelated to direct speech (Moran 1950a:9-10).

But first, the problem of orthography must be dealt with. The particle in question is written by both the *mi* and the *me* signs, the latter of which is transcribed herein as *mì* when it appears in the enclitic position. The reasons for this are as follows: (1) the values of *mé* for MI and *mì* for ME in the EA texts are indisputable and need no documentation; (2) the *me* sign is also used as a marker for direct speech where it must represent Akkadian *-mi*; (3) a group of texts use the *me* sign profusely for the enclitic (EA 244, 245, also EA 131, 132, 185), and in one of them, it alternates with the *mi* sign (cf. *la-a-mi*, EA 244:13, and *la-a-mì*, EA 244:15); (4) the *mi* and the *me* signs partake of all the syntactic positions but *me* signs are definitely in the minority. Of all the occurrences treated herein, only ca. 26% have the *-mì*, and of the total, 23% are on direct quotations with 3% of these being *-mì*; of the 44% attached to verbal forms, 16% are *-mì*; of the remaining 33% used to emphasize adverbs and other parts of speech, only 7% are *-mì*. So everything is solidly in favor of taking the *me* sign in enclitic position as a graphic variant for *-mi* to be transcribed *-mì*.

As to the question of WS enclitic *-mi* with semantic functions wider than the Akkadian *-mi* (i.e. more parallel to Akkadian *-ma*), one may note at the beginning that in the Ugaritic language there is an enclitic *-m*, though its vocalization is unknown (Ginsberg 1932-33:388; 1935:46-47; Albright 1934:121 n. 88; Singer 1942; 1948; Pope 1951; Hummel 1957:69). Furthermore, there are some striking instances of *-mi* in the EA texts where Akkadian *-ma* is expected. Note, e.g., introductory *qí-bi-mi* (EA 362:1; Moran 1950b:153 n. 4), also the imperative *qí-ba-mi* (EA 73:33; 83:39; 85:48; 93:10) and *am-qú-ut-mi* (EA 228:9), *am-qut-mi* (EA 239:7; 286:4; 288:4, 64), *am-qú-ut-mì* (EA 224:5; 244:8). These latter can be compared with *am-qut-ma* (EA 299:10).

Particular note must also be taken of a syntactic peculiarity typical of the enclitic *-mi* in the Canaanized texts, but

foreign to normative Akkadian, viz. the ability to separate a construct from its dependent genitive, a feature shared by *-m* in Ugaritic (cf. Gordon 1965:104, §11.8) and apparently also in very ancient Hebrew (Moran 1950:54). This practice is not limited to the *nomen regens* and the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain; it also occurs on some prepositions, which also govern a word in the dependent case. Here are two examples:

a-na-mi LUGAL *gáb-bu* "(It is) to the king (that) everything belongs" (EA 197:6; cf. *supra*, p.12, *infra*, p. 245); *ba-li-mi / ur-ru-ud* LUGAL EN-*ia* "Not to serve the king, my lord?" (EA 191:9-10; cf. *supra*, p. 24; *infra*, p. 245).

Construct nouns, including infinitives, in the nominative and the accusative with enclitic *-mi* have been noted, e.g.

šu-sú-mi a-bi-ia "The plunderers of my father" (EA 252:30; Albright 1943b:32 n. 27; cf. *infra*, p. 247); LÚ.MEŠ *ú-bi-li-mi* KASKAL.ĤÁ *šà[r-ri]* "The porters for the kin[g's] caravans" (EA 287:55; Albright 1944a:219 n. 83); *a-ba-at-mi* URUMa-gid₆-*da*[^{KI}] "to destroy Megiddo" (EA 244:42; Albright 1944a:219 n. 83; cf. *infra*, p. 247); *a-šé-mi* ERÍN.MEŠ *pt-tá-ti* "the going forth of the army" (EA 73:12-13; Moran 1950b:154 n. 7; but cf. *infra*, pp. 238-239).

For this intrusive *-mi* on a construct followed by a clause, cf. EA 145:23-26, *supra*, p. 113,

ù i-nu-ma taq-bu / a-na KUR.ĤÁ *A-mur-ri a-wa-at-mi / ti-iš-te*9-mé *iš-tu aš-ra-^lnu^l-^lum^l / tú-te-ra-am a-na ia-a-ti* "And when you say concerning the lands of Amurru, 'The word that you have been hearing from there, send to me!'" (EA 145:23-26; Moran 1987b:376 n. 6; 1992:232 n. 6).

Even though the *-mi* in this text indicates direct speech (Moran 1987b:376 n. 6; 1992:232 n. 6), it intervenes in the the construct chain.

DIRECT QUOTATIONS.

The widespread use of *-mi* in the EA letters from Canaan might be explained by the assumption that the scribes considered every epistle to consist of direct speech. After all, does not the standard opening contain the instruction to "speak" to the recipient and the declaration that the sender has "spoken"? Be that as it may, there are still numerous passages within the text of a letter which are themselves direct quotes on the part of the sender himself, and they are denoted by enclitic *-mi* as in other Akkadian dialects. Perhaps the most noteworthy are the quotations taken from a letter previously received from Pharaoh:

a-na mi-ni yi-iš-ta-pa-ru / 'šār¹-ru EN-li a-na ia-ši / ú-šur-mi lu-ú na-šir-ta "Why does the king, my lord, write continually to me, 'Guard! May you be on guard!'" (EA 112:7-9; cf. 1987b:312; 1992:186; also EA 117:84; Thureau-Dangin 1922b:380-381; Moran 1950a:172).

Even the original statement is documented in Pharaoh's own messages (EA 99:8; 367:4; 370:5). A variation on the king's command is:

ú-šur-mi ra-ma-an-ka "Protect yourself!" (EA 119:9; also EA 122:10; 123:30-31; 125:9; 130:16-17; 337:25); also the plural [ú]-ša-ru-¹mi¹ / ^{URU}Ir-qa-ta "Guard ye the city of 'Irqata!" (EA 100:14-15).

The enclitic is attached in all these quotes to the first word in the direct speech. It may be deferred to a later word when the latter is part of the first semantic phrase as in the following example:

i-nu-ma ta-aš-tap-ra a-na ia-a-ši / a-na mi-nim-mi la-a tu-wa-ši-ra / LÚDUMU ši-ip-ri-ka a-na maḥ-ri-ia "Since you wrote to me, 'Why didn't you send your ambassador to me?'" (EA 34:8-10); *a-qa-bi a-na* ^{LÚ}MAŠKÍM LUGAL EN-[ia] / *am-mi-nim-mi ta-ra-ia-¹mu¹ / LÚ*ḥa-pí-ri ù LÚ.MEŠ ḥa-zi[-ia-nu-ti] / *ta-za-ia-ru* "I say to the

commissioner of the king, my lord, 'Why do you love the *‘apîrû* and hate the city[-rulers]?' (EA 286:17-20).

It may also be attached to the first word of each of the clauses within the quote:

a-na-ku a-qa-bi e-ru-ub-mi / it-ti šâr-ri EN-ia ù la-mur-mi / 2
 IGI.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia "I say, 'I will enter in to the king, my lord, and may I see the two eyes of the king, my lord!'" (EA 286:39-41).

As with this last example, the quotes may be articulated thoughts or reflections of the author himself, e.g.

ù im-lu-uk iš-tu / ŠÀ-ia a-li-ik-mi a-na-ku / i-pu-ša!(MA)-am
 DU₁₀.GA \ tu.ka / it-ti-šu ša ¹*Am-mu-ni-ra* "So I took counsel in my heart, 'Go! I will make an alliance with him, namely *‘Ammunira*'" (EA 136:26-29).

The presence of the enclitic *-mi* on the adverb in the next passage assures that it is the first word of the quote and not a complement to the preceding verb:

ù aq-ta-bu / pu-uḫ-ri-iš-mi / yi-il-te-qú šâr-ru / mim-mi-ia "And I have been saying, 'Altogether, the king has been taking my property'" (EA 254:24-27; cf. Moran 1975a:150 and n. 3).

Again, the *-mi* suggests that the following is also a quote, in which case the first word will be an infinitive serving as a finite past tense, rather than a construct with its subject as dependent genitive:

šum-ma / ti-iš-mu-na a-šé-mi ERÍN.MEŠ / *pí-tá-ti ù i-zi-bu*
 URU.MEŠ-š_u-nu / *ù pa-aṭ-ru* "If they hear, 'The army has gone forth,' then they will abandon their towns and depart" (EA 73:11-14; contrast Moran 1950a:10; 1987b:248; 1992:141; Youngblood 1961:112).

And if the *-mi* is the sign of a direct quote in the passage cited next, then a different tone is given to the text as a whole:

a-nu-ma ki-i-ia-am / qa-la-ta a-di-mi / yi-ìl-ma-du šàr-ru / be-lí-ia a-wa-ta₅ an-ni-ta₅ "Now, thus you are keeping silent, (saying) 'Until the king, my lord, looks into this matter'" (EA 251:7-11; cf. *supra*, p. 70; Rainey 1989-90:68b; *contra* CAD A/1:112b and A/2:33a; also contrast the translation by Moran 1987b:478; 1992:305).

There is some room for variation in the placing of the enclitic. It may appear not only on the opening particle but also on the first and subsequent verbs:

šum-ma-mi yi-pu-uš-mi / DINGIR.MEŠ-nu ša šàr-ri EN-nu / ù ni-ik-šu-du-um-mi / ¹La-ab-a-ia "If the god(s) of the king, our lord, will act so that we catch Lab³ayu" (EA 245:3-6; cf. EA 364:24-25).

Or it may come on the second word in the quote, e.g. on the verb preceded by its subject:

i-ka-lu ka-ar-ši-ya \ ú-ša-a-ru / i-na pa-ni LUGAL EN-ri(sic!) ¹IR-Ḫé-ba / pa-ta-ar-mi a-na šàr-ri EN-šu "I am being slandered before the king <my> lord, 'Abdi-Ḫeba has deserted the king, his lord'" (EA 286:6-8).

Likewise, it may be appended to the subject, which is itself preceded by its verb:

ù yu-qa-bu / a-na ia-ši / ma-a-¹di¹(sic!) ¹ŠE¹.MEŠ-mi / a-na [KUR^A-mu]r-ri "and it is said to me, '[Amu]rru has lots of grain'" (EA 178:21-24).

It may even appear only on the verb of the second clause within the quotation, in this case at the end of a result clause. Note that the verb seems to have a lexical ventive:

ti7-iq-bu-na / la yi-iš-pu-ra-am ù / nu-ul₁₁-qa-am-mi "They are saying, 'Let him not write that we be taken!'" (EA 362:21-23; contrast EA 362:17, 25, 47).

EMPHASIZING PARTICLE

Such is the evidence for direct speech. It remains to review the extensive number of cases where the context does not appear to be a quotation. The weight of that evidence and its parallels with functions of the enclitic *-ma* should substantiate the claim that Canaanite did have its own enclitic and that its pronunciation was *-mi*.

ON VERBS. The attachment of an enclitic *-mi* to the verb has its parallel in the similar function of *-ma* which has been treated in the previous section (cf. *supra*, pp. 228-230). The purpose is to drive home the significance of the verbal action or state; in such clauses, the verb is both the grammatical and the logical predicate. One must admit, however, that certain texts appear to attach the *-mi* (or *-mi*) to every verb, almost as a kind of punctuation, especially EA 185 and EA 245, e.g.

ù i-ša-la-lu-mi ù uš-šu¹ru¹-ši-mi / i-na IZI \ i-ša-ti "And they plundered *it* and sent it up in flames" (EA 185:18-19 *et al.*);
ša-ni-tam du-ub-bu-ba-ku-mi "Furthermore, I (verily?) said . . ."
 (EA 245:1 *et passim*).

Sometimes the stress on the verb gives a strong, dramatic flavor to the clause:

ù a-na-ku ŠEŠ-ia la-a i-de₄-mi "But I did not know, my brother!"
 (EA 38:15); *ʿša¹-bat-mi šu-nu URU.⟨MEŠ?⟩.KI Gub-li* "They really have seized town⟨s⟩(?) of Byblos" (EA 362:28).

This often implies the notion of asseveration, especially on forms of the WS imperfect, and perhaps also on those the Akkadian present:

a-nu-ma / ¹*a¹-na-ša-ru-mí a-šar* LUGAL EN-*ia* "Now I *am* guarding the place of the king, my lord" (EA 378:10-11); *ù ur-ru-du-mì* / LUGAL EN-*ia* "And I *am* serving the king, my lord" (EA 189:r. 21-22); *a-na-ku it-ti₇-š[i]* / *il₅-la-ku-mì* "With 'it' (the army) I will go" (EA 193:15-16); *ù a-šar nu-kùr-tu₄ a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia* / *a-na-ku al-la-ak-mì* "And wherever there is hostility to the king, my lord, I will go" (EA 189:rev. 4-6).

In the next example, the emphasis is on the apodosis of a second conditional clause expressing an alternative course:

ù šum-ma ia-ti-ia¹ 'ù¹ / *i-pa-tá-ra-ni-mi* "But if it is me (that he hates), then I will get me away" (EA 126:46-47; cf. Moran 1950a:175; Rainey 1989-90: 61a; contrast Moran 1987b:341 n. 7; 1992:206-207 n. 7).

A large number of injunctives are reinforced by the enclitic, both affirmative and negative. In the same text one finds the enclitic on a precative in the first clause and on the negative particle (to heighten the contrast on the rhetorical level) in the second clause:

ù lu-ú-mi / *li-ik-ki-im-mi* / *šar-ru* URU.KI-*šu la-a-mi* / *yi-iš-bat-ši* / *¹La-ab-a-yu* "May the king deliver his city; let not Lab²ayu seize it!" (EA 244:26-29; cf. *subra*, 198, *infra*, p. 244).

The negative jussives so emphasized all seem to have a sense of urgency; they also tend to emphasize the particular type of action which the writer wants to avoid, e.g.

ša-ni-tam / *at-ta* EN GAL *ú-ul* / *ta-qa-al-mi iš-tu* / *ši-ip-ri an-nu-ú* "Furthermore, you are the great lord; please don't ignore this message!" (EA 76:43-46; also EA 68:14-15, 30-31).

Most of the affirmative examples are some injunctive form of *idû* "to know," such as the precative (a form typical of these texts but not of classical Akkadian):

li-de-mi / šār-ru EN-ia "May the king, my lord, be apprised!"
(EA 244:7-8; also EA 174:18; 175:14; 176:14; 182:6; 248:9, 21;
363:15; 364:24-28; 365:8, 30);

and also the jussive, usually with *lū*:

ù lu-ú yi-de-mi / šār-ru EN-ia "And may the king, my lord, be
apprised!" (EA 245:46-47; also EA 226:6; 307:6-7, 10; 330:9, 17).

That this may well be a Canaanite practice is seen in the double entry where the Akkadian precativ and its Canaanite gloss in the jussive both take the *-mi* enclitic:

[ù] *li-iḫ-šu-uš-mi / \ ia-az-ku-ur-mi / ¹šār-ri EN-ia* "[So] may the
king take thought for . . . !" (EA 288:18-19; CAD E:234b; H:123b;
Z:22b).

The precativ in the following example was given special stress commensurate with its optative function in the protasis of a conditional sentence:

*lu-uk-šu-da-am-mi / ERÍN.MEŠ pí-tá-a LUGAL / ù MAŠKÍM.
MEŠ-šu ù a-na-¹ku¹ / šu-ši-ra-ku gāb-ba* "Should the king's army
and his commissioners arrive, then I have prepared
everything" (EA 191:11-14).

Of particular interest is the role of enclitic *-mi* on the verbal predicates of questions, e.g.

ki-i qa-bi-mi / i-na pa-ni-ka "How is it said in your presence . . ."
(EA 256:4-5; cf. Albright 1943a:11; Albright, Mendenhall and
Moran 1955:486b; and *supra*, pp. 91-92, 137-138).

Note the next two examples, from the same text, in which the second passage confirms that the first is also a question, as already suggested *supra*, p. 214, because of the use of the negative particle *ul*:

ú-ul ta-qa-al-mi a-na ÌR-ka "Have you not ignored your servant?" (EA 74:13); *am-mi-ni ta-qa-al-mi a-na KUR-ka* "Why have you ignored your land?" (EA 74:48-49).

The predicate of the question may also be a stative augmented by the enclitic *-mi*:

ša-ni-tam da-mi-iq-mi / a-na pa-ni LUGAL BE-ia i-pí-iš /
ÌR-^dA-ši-ir-ti UR.GI₇ "Furthermore, is it good in the sight of the king, my lord, the deed of 'Abdi-Ashirta?" (EA 84:6-8, also 36; EA 92:30).

Finally, there is an emphasized verb in a relative clause, but the reason seems to be the desire to stress the antecedent, which is the direct object of the clause. The passage is the continuation of the double injunctives in EA 228:18-19, cited *supra*, p. 242. Pharaoh is urged to take thought for:

mi-im-ma ša / in₄-né-pu-uš-mi / UGU^{URU}Ha-šú-ra^{KI} / URU.KI-ka
ù / UGU ÌR-ka "everything that has been done against Hazor, your city, and against your servant" (EA 228:20-24).

Therefore, one may usually expect some special nuance in clauses where the verb is strengthened by enclitic *-mi*.

ON ADVERBS AND PARTICLES. Especially frequent are presentation particles with enclitic *-mi*. Since this is a typical function of enclitic *-ma* (cf. *supra*, pp. 232-233), it represents a significant parallel in function between the Akkadian particle and its presumed Canaanite counterpart. Note *a-nu-um-ma-mi* (EA 228:13; E. Gordon cited by Moran 1987b:456 n. 2; 1992:290 n. 2); also *al-lu-mi* (EA 85:30; 112:47; 118:24, 28; 132:29), *al₇-lu-ú-mi* (EA 198:27; 242:9, 14; 245:15), as well as *al-la-mi* (EA 83:38) and *al-le-mi* (EA 83:53). The ubiquitous imperative serving as a presentation particle is often augmented by the enclitic, i.e. *a-mur-mi* (EA 84:37; 174:8; 175:7; 176:7; 179:14, 28; 185:42, 64; 187:9; 189:r. 9; 198:10; 211:7; 228:10; 241:9; 264:5; 330:13).

Although the conditional particle *šumma* contains enclitic *-ma* (Speiser 1947), there are three instances when a Canaanite scribe augmented it with *-mi*, viz. *šum-ma-mi* (TT 6:10; EA 245:3) and *šum-ma-mì* (EA 244:30).

Once the optative particle has enclitic *-mi*, *lu-ú-mi* (EA 244:25) in the lone instance where it precedes a precativ (cf. *supra*, pp. 198, 241)!

In the same passage, the following clause, which is a negative jussive, the negative particle also bears the enclitic *-mi*, *la-a-mì* (EA 244:27). There are several other examples but only two from injunctive contexts (EA 126:62; 244:37), the rest being indicative (TT 6:6, 8, 13; EA 126:17, 27; 131:28; 244:13, 15, 19).

The addition of the enclitic to the subordinating conjunction suggests that it may, in fact, be meant for an adverb, especially since it precedes a precativ verb form (cf. *supra*, p. 70, 119-122):

a-di-mi li-de-mi / LUGAL EN-ia / ù LUGAL EN-ia / li-im-lu-uk-mi
/ a-na ÌR-šu "Yet may the king, my lord, be apprised and may
the king, my lord, take counsel concerning his servant!"
(EA 364:24-28).

The enclitic *-mi* may also emphasize the adverbial accusative. The following example is particularly striking in that the emphasized adverbial idea is further elaborated upon by the addition of an asyndetic circumstantial clause:

i-nu-ma yi-mur LÚŠEŠ-ia i-nu-ma / a-ší LÚDUMU šip-ri-ia ri-qa-mi
/ i-ia-nu ERÍN.MEŠ ma-ša-ar-ta₅ it-ti-šu / ù ia-an-aš-ni "When my
brother saw that empty-handed my ambassador came forth
(from Egypt), no garrison troops being with him, then he
scorned me" (EA 137:20-23; cf. *supra*, p. 75; Albright 1950:387).

Finally, the existential negative particle, which is often augmented by *-ma*, appears from time to time with *-mi*, *i-ia-nu-mì* (EA 198:21) and *ia-a-nu-mi* (EA 286:33, 52, 58; 288:13, 51, 57; 289:36; all of them from Jerusalem).

ON PREPOSITIONS. In a few rare cases, the enclitic *-mi* is attached to a preposition. One unique passage where it is clearly for emphasis is:

a-na ia-ši-ia a-na-mi LUGAL gáb-bu "(As for what is) mine, it is to the king that it all belongs" (EA 197:6; cf. *supra*, pp. 12, 236).

Two other examples of emphasis have *qadu* plus *-mi*; they stress the contrast between being alone and being accompanied by important support troops:

ù uš-ši-ra-šu qa-du¹-mi / ERÍN.MEŠ *ri-šú-ti* "So send him (not alone but) with support troops" (EA 126:43-44); *ur-ru-da a-na-ku qa-du¹-mi¹* / *gáb-bi ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ia* "I am serving you (not alone but) with all of my colleagues" (EA 189:r. 3'-4').

And the lone instance of the negative preposition plus *-mi* is a rhetorical question:

ù i-ma-la-ku ba-li-mi / *ur-ru-ud LUGAL EN-ia* "But would I consider not serving the king, my lord?" (EA 191:9-10; *contra* CAD B:71b; M/1:155b; cf. *supra*, pp. 24, 236).

ON INTERROGATIVES. Since the interrogative particle or phrase in a question is usually the logical predicate of its clause, the addition of an enclitic for emphasis is only by way of reinforcement for the natural syntactic logic. Perhaps the stress was felt to be necessary when another adverb was present, as in the following:

am-mi-nim-mi / *te-ep-pu-šu ki-šu-ma* "Why is it that you behave thus?" (EA 96:25-26; Youngblood 1961:397; 1962:25; cf. *supra*, p. 143)

Otherwise, it is evidently just to strengthen the impact of the question. It seems a logical procedure to place an emphasizing particle on the interrogative expression:

am-mi-ni-mi qa-la-ta / iš-tu URUŠu-mu-ra "Why is it that you ignore Šumur?" (EA 98:3-4); *am-mi-nim-mi a-na-ku e-pu-uš / \ ar-na a-na LUGAL EN-ri*(sic!) "For what reason would I commit a crime against the king, my lord?" (EA 286:14-15; cf. line 18, where the same form is in a direct quote).

The same effect is achieved when the interrogative is in the adverbial case. In the following example, the orthography does not permit us to determine whether the enclitic was preceded by mimation of the adverbial:

mi-nu-mi la-a yu-da-¹nu¹ / iš-tu ¹É¹.GAL mi-im-¹mu¹ / a-na ia-ši
 "Why is it that provision is not given to me from the palace?"
 (EA 126:49-51; contrast CAD M/2:79a, 94a).

The interrogative may also be the direct object, like the pronoun in the following:

ša-ni-tam mi-na-am-mi ep-ša-ku-mi / a-na šār-ri EN-ia
 "Furthermore, what is it that I've done to the king, my lord?"
 (EA 245:36-37).

Likewise, the Canaanite interrogative personal pronoun, *miya* (Loewenstamm 1959:72-73 = 1980:56-57) almost always has enclitic *-mi*; note e.g.

mi-ia-mi / a-na-ku UR.GI₇ I-en / ù la-a il-la-ku "Who am I, a dog, that I should not go?" (EA 202:12-14; also EA 85:63-66; 323:17-18; 324:16; 325:12); *mi-ia-mi yi-ma-ge-er / ur-ru-ba it-ti ¹šār-ri EN-ia*
 "Who would agree to go in to the king, my lord?"
 (EA 283:10-11).

ON GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT. The traditional grammatical subject may also be the main point of a clause, i.e. its comment. This applies alike to both verbal and non-verbal clauses and is perhaps more crucial to the former. The stress on the subject as logical predicate of the next passage is obvious:

a-na-ku-mi ep-ša-ti / i-mu!-I ta¹ a-na URUŠur-ri "It was I who made connubium with Tyre" (EA 89:17-18; following Albright and Moran 1950:164:166).

Compare also the identical use of *-ma* in EA 365 and EA 366, cited *supra*, p. 231.

In the following passage, there is a contrast between the actions of Rib-Haddi and his younger brother. The particle affixed to the personal pronoun, *a-na-ku-mi-e*, can either be read *a-na-ku-mé-e* or *a-na-ku-mi-i₁₅* (with Gianto 1990:84, §5.3). Note in the same text *a-na KUR.MEŠ Mi-iš-ri-i₁₅* (EA 137:28). If the former, then this would have to be the only example of the N. Syrian particle *-mē*. However, that seems rather unlikely.

ša-ni-tam a-na-ku-mi-i₁₅ / al-ka-ti a-na ma-ḥar-ri ¹Ḫa-mu-ni-ri / *ù ŠEŠ-ia* TUR *iš-tu ia-ti / i-na-kar₅-mi* URUGub-la^{K1} / *a-na na-da-ni* URU.KI-li / *a-na DUMU.MEŠ* ¹IR-¹A-ši-ir-ti "Furthermore, when I myself had gone to ^cAmmunira, my brother, who is younger than I, alienated Byblos in order to give my city to the sons of ^cAbdi-Ashirta" (EA 137:14-19; Rainey 1992b:340-341).

The personal pronoun does not seem to be the logical predicate. In this instance it may be helpful to apply a suggestion of Huehnergard (1986:228-229) that, when a personal pronoun is employed with an Akkadian stative (in the present case, a WS-style suffix form of a verb of motion) that contains a person marker, the pronoun is actually a kind of "suspended subject," i.e. it is in extraposition. Thus, "Furthermore, as for me, I having gone to ^cAmmunira"

In the following passage, the logical predicate of a nominal clause is marked directly by the enclitic even though it is itself a participle in construct with its own direct object:

šu-sú-mi a-bi-ia / ù ú-šur-ru-šu-nu "(They are) the plunderers of my father and I will surely keep watch on them" (EA 252:30-31; cf. Albright 1943b:32 n. 27; Rainey 1974:306; 1975b:417; cf. *supra*, p. 236).

This last example may be especially relevant since the word being emphasized by the enclitic is itself a true Canaanite word.

ON INFINITIVE COMPLEMENTS. The infinitive as object or adverbial cognate accusative (paronomastic) may also take the enclitic. An example of the latter is:

ù la-ḡéḡ-ḡmi¹ ti-il-qú-na-ši "Then surely they will capture it"
(EA 131:17).

The following infinitive is direct object of the verb and is in construct with its own direct object, yet the *-mi* is attached to it and not to the dependent object. The intention is to stress the action of the infinitive as a potential danger to Megiddo:

a-ba-at-mi^{URU}Ma-gid₆-ga^{IKI1} / yu-ba-á-ú. "It is the absolute destruction of Megiddo that he is seeking" (EA 244:42-43).

SUMMARY. The wide range of examples in which enclitic *-mi* is employed *not* as a marker of direct speech shows that at least some scribes from Canaan viewed this particle as the equivalent of the Akkadian *-ma*. Does it also mean that the WS enclitic was closer in form to *-mi* than to *-ma*? The question is impossible to answer. There are enough passages with enclitic *-ma* in convincing contexts to indicate the many of the scribes understood its function. That they sometimes chose to employ *-mi* in such emphasizing functions is, by any interpretation, an important feature of the peculiar dialect employed in the EA texts from Canaan. The phenomenon of "confusion" between enclitic *-ma* and *-mi* is not paralleled elsewhere in the contemporary peripheral dialects.