

The Postpositions in Semitic: The Case of Enclitic –m (with special attention to NWS)

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a) Introduction

This paper should be taken as a particular case of a more general subject, namely, ‘Post-positions vs. Pre-positions in Semitic’¹. The issue is framed within the agglutinative process peculiar to this linguistic family. Depending on the sort of agglutination² at work, we can distinguish different kinds of functional postpositions: inflexional, suffixed (pronominal), enclitic proper, adverbial and free-syntagmatic (relational or conjunctive).

Inflexional postpositions (taken in the specific sense of nominal case ending and verbal modal and personal ending), form a clear cut category, possibly the most characteristic of the agglutinant linguistic family. Its lexical origin is some times difficult to ascertain, but its morpho-syntactical and semantic values are apparent.

Suffixation is a clear agglutinative morph made out mainly of pronominal bases more or less transformed. It goes along with the inflexional category as peculiar of the agglutinant linguistic family. It has two series, nominal and verbal.

The mimation markers³ should be considered as enclitic proper. Leaving aside its lexical origin, they offer two different phenotypes: sing. /-(v)m/ (Akk., ES/NA, and Ar. /-an/) and pl. /-ma/⁴. This *enclisis* disappears in the *status constructus*. It indicates a semantic nuance of generic indefiniteness as against the definiteness implied by the construct syntagme⁵. Later on this complementary opposition will be applied to the (mimation/nunation vs. article, in languages which develop this morph, like Arabic, this time with the complementary opposition: indefinite /definite individuation⁶.

1. On the labelling ‘postposition’ cf. Sanmartín 1987:301; Lipiński 1997:459ff. *passim*. Postpositions like prepositions may be either enclitic or independent. The use of independent ‘postpositions’ is overwhelming in Amharic; cf. Leslau 2000:174f. On the general morphemic series, prepositive and postpositive as well, cf. Del Olmo Lete 1998:66-71.

2. See Robins 1975: 242-246, 341-348; Sapir 1921/1949:129f., 131-134, 138f., 142f., 145f.; a good, detailed exposition on the origin and development of the agglutinative category is offered by Amor Ruibal 1905/2005 II: 371-420.

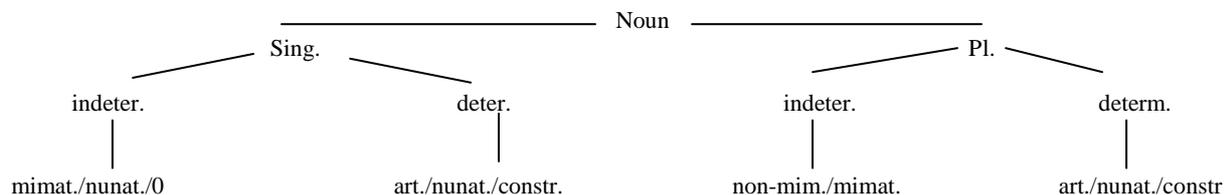
3. See Böhm 1986:33-67; Diem 1975:239-258; Dolgopolsky 1989: iii-vii; 1991 II: 328-339; De Langhe 1946:89ff. Maybe both mimation types (/–m/ and /–ma/) have the same lexical origin with loss of ending /–a/ in sing.; for the difficulty of distinguishing mimation from *enclisis* see Layton 1990:156 and n. 8. On *enclisis* in general see Zwicky 1985:283-305; Borer-Grodzinsky 1986:175-217; Shlonsky 1988:191-205.

4. Semitic languages, all but Akk., show this pl. morph. On its turn, the sing. mimation disappears in the developing Akkadian dialects.

5. Sometimes Arabic speakers do not drop the plural ending in construct chain, instead of stressing the final long vowel, in order to avoid confusion with the sing. syntagme: *muslimū(na)-l-medīnat(i) # muslimu-l-madīnat(i)* (private communication by Prof. F. Corriente).

6. We have to take also into account also the *status absolutus* (morpheme 0) in Akk. and NWS (Ug.?, Aram), which represents maybe the primary phenotype.

We could sketch out the morpho-syntaxis of the nominal determination feature of CS in this way (but without taking into account the internal plural that implies a doubling of the sketch); the scheme should be distributed by languages, taking into account late developments like in Syriac.



As adverbial can be taken certain invariable postpositions with a well defined semantic (adverbial) value and morpho-syntactic function, although the lexical origin remains obscure for some of those functions. Clear examples of this kind are Akk. /-iš/, NWS locative /-h/ [=/-ha/].

Finally, there is a category of postpositions or *encliseis* that have no clear semantic independent function, are free in use and are gathered many times under the heading ‘emphatic’, ‘paragogic’, ‘final’, ‘enhancing’, ‘focussing’, ‘focussing’⁷. They can be attached to any morphological category (noun, verb, particles) without apparent modification in its meaning and function. Some of them show up a syntagmatic or relational function, namely, they relate the joined lexeme to the previous ones to shape a syntactic unit or ‘phrase’ along with them (conjunction) or to characterise the following phrase(s) as belonging to a particular category, for instance Akk. *-mi* of direct speech.

Here we are going to analyse a peculiar case of this last category and to assess the different morpho-syntactic functions assigned to it, searching to extend the analysis to the whole range of the Semitic family. Enclitic *-m* seems to be a typical Northwest Semitic morpheme, more exactly ‘Canaanite’, but in fact is matched by similar phenotypes in the whole Semitic family⁸. In this regard, Amharic manifests an overwhelming use of the enclitic postposition *-m*, surpassing even the Akkadian prototype. Furthermore it must be dealt with within the more large frame of the mimation in general, with which it maintains close connexions⁹.

Nevertheless, the aim of this paper is not to collect all or the majority of occurrences of this morph in NWS or in any other Semitic sub-family and to distribute them by morpho-syntactic categories, a task already carried out¹⁰. We will pay attention to that, of course, but we will focus our interest into pinpointing the actual *semantic and functional bearing* of the morph¹¹ and into tracing as far as possible its *linguistic origin* within a comparative perspective. In this regard the syntactic context would to be taken into account constantly.

In dealing with this issue, W.C.E. Watson states: “There is no doubt about the widespread use of a final *-m* ... It is more difficult to assign a particular function to this particle (or particles) in every

7. For such labelling see Blejer 1986:240.; also Izre’el 1998:41,72 ... The designation ‘adverbial’, some time used for this morph, covers only partially its functions/uses.

8. Lipiński 1997:470, asserts on the conjunctive *-ma*: “is very likely its (postpositive /-wa/ f.i. in Bedja) phonetic nasalized variant *-m < -wa*”, what I find highly unlikely, given the coexistence of both elements in almost all the Semitic languages.

9. Cf. in this regard Aartun 1974:51 (“abwechselnde morphologische Struktur”) and n. 2 (bibliography); Tropper 2000:825 (“... getrennt ... zu behandeln”).

10. After the pioneering studies by Singer (1942-1943), Pope (1951), Hummel (1957) and Gordon (1940/1947/1955/1967), a thorough scrutiny of enclitic *-m* occurrences in the Ugaritic literature has been carried out by Aartun (1974), Watson (1992, 1994, 1996) and Tropper (2000); as for the Hebrew Bible, the studies of Dahood and his disciples (from 1952 onwards), as well as that of Emerton (1996) offer abundant though dispersed contributions; cf. *infra* n.103.

11. Tropper 2000:825ff, like many other authors suggests several functions for the same morph; Watson 1992 points out 9/11 functions supposedly attributable to the so called ‘enclitic *-m*’, which in his opinion could be reduced to 3/2, emphasis (Betonung, Hervorhebung) and different adverbial functions being the most generally accepted.

particular case” (Watson 1996:268). He goes on: “The question now remains whether there is a single enclitic particle *–m* with numerous functions or whether there are several distinct varieties” (Watson 1994:251). In principle I will lean towards the first supposition looking for an originally single morph (with two parallel allophonies in complementary distribution) with a generalizing and many-sided morpho-syntactic bearing, but as a mere neutral, optional lexical expansion without a particular grammatical function by itself, this character coming out precisely from the postulated lexical origin. In this connexion Gordon’s characterisation a ‘ballast variant’ is a good one, I think; also Seminara’s labelling - as ‘identificativo-anafórico’ seems fitting (Seminara 1998:521f), better in any case than the commonly endorsed ‘emphatic’¹². We will try to substantiate and nuance this suggestion in the following pages.

In this connexion, to posit the universals ‘emphatic’/‘hervorhebendes’ value of the morph, as is generally accepted, on the one hand, does not take into account the originally indefinite lexical value of the morph and, on the other, sounds rather like an unfounded and topical answer. How and why we do know the kind of emphasis/‘Hervorhebung’ involved in each case, supposing there is any at all, when in many cases there is the same wording with the same apparent meaning, but without the *–m* expansion?¹³ In my opinion this supposed emphatic character of the postpositional *–m* has to be rejected, as has been generally rejected, or at least questioned, its ‘adverbial’ function. This function is reached and yielded by the corresponding inflexional case ending, normally acc. *–a*, as Pope (1951) correctly posited in my opinion, with the *enclisis* serving as mere neutral and dispensable phonetic ‘sealing off’ such a grammatical function, whatever it is. This marker in itself has neither emphatic nor adverbial function; those functions lay with the noun according to its position and inflexion¹⁴.

b) Origin

As for the lexical origin of this morph, the evidence is ambiguous. In some cases at least (sing. nouns) one would see in the so called enclitic *–m* the persistence of mimation (/–m/, according to the Ak. and ESA pattern), with an indefinite semantic bias, in opposition to the determined *status constructus*, as was pointed out above. In fact, and despite their clear set apart function, it is a fairly common opinion that both morphs (mimation and the so called enclitic *–m*) have the same lexical origin, as we said¹⁵. But the appearance of the *enclisis* within constructed syntagmes in Ugaritic, and probably also in Hebrew and Phoenician, along with the general /-ma/ vocalisation in syllabic (Ak., AkEA and AkUg)¹⁶, to say nothing of its use with verbs and particles, seem to postulate a different origin or at least a different evolving

12. But even the authors who use this designation (Brockelman, Von Soden, Pope, Aartun, Tropper, etc.) are ready to accept the progressive weakening (lexicalisation, ‘Erstarrung’) of such emphasis up to its complete disappearance (Aartun, Tropper). Emphasis is a psychological semantic overtone expressed by either suprasegmental functions (stress, tone, pitch ...) or by specific lexical and grammatical morphs (interjection, vocative case, imperative mode, topicalising position ...); cf. Van der Merwe 1989; Slonsky 1988.

13. Cf. in this regard Hummel’s sound considerations: “Many times one might theorize that the enclitic had emphatic force or the like, but it is practically impossible to demonstrate either this or the opposite view the enclitics were meaningless. We rather suppose, however, that the original emphatic force (if any) of the enclitic gradually diminished ...” (Hummel 1957:06).

14. Tropper (2000:826) assumes also Pope’s (1951:128) opinion that the morpheme has mere emphatic function, no adverbial, that laying in the case ending, normally accusative. But if “there is no proof that the adverbial sense resides in the final *–m*” (Pope 1951:128), there is not either any hint about its ‘emphatic’ function. What means ‘emphasis’ in this case? *A priori* it seems awkward to charge so much emphasis on the Ugaritic and Semitic in general discourse and poetry.

15. Cf. the authors quoted in n.3.

16. Also apparently in Hebrew (*k^emô* and similars, ESA *kmw*); but cf. *yômam* and similars. Also Ak.Ug *šanam*; cf. DUL 509. Cf. also the pattern in Amharic/South Ethiopic negative verbal use and assevertative answer [/–m/].

stage. So the Ak. mimation (nominal and adverbial: $-Vm$)¹⁷ would remain as the phenotyp of this kind in lack of lexical explanation. But on its turn, the loose of final $-a/$ in the Ak. sing. could be another case of complementary distribution with the plural ending $-ma/$ in CS, both with a generalised, indeterminated, collective semantic bias and the same lexical origin ($< /-ma/$)¹⁸. In any case we had better setting apart (sing.) mimation from the morph here in question (enclitic/final/postponed $-m$); they are supposed to represent two different patterns not easy to put together for the moment. But both coincide in one aspect: none of them has, in my opinion, ‘emphatic’ value. Nobody will postulate it certainly in case of mimation. That could suggest maybe a common lexical origin for both morphs.

In the case of the enclitic $-m$, we are dealing with a postpositional morph¹⁹ of a supposed large functional and semantic range: it comes up in *enclisis* with nouns, verbs and particles as well, and can be labelled a CS *issoglose*²⁰. In this regard, its lexical connexion with the CS interrogative/indefinite pronoun $/-ma:\bar{a}/$, ‘what’²¹, recommends itself from the phonological as well as from the semantic point of view. Its function of truning the plurivalent interrogative into indefinite pronouns is the best and maybe the more original and apparent pattern of this *enclisis*, the postpositional non-enclitic Arabic use of $m\bar{a}$ being another case of the same pattern or ‘function’²². In this regard we could label this lexeme as a ‘(in)definising’ or ‘generalising/individualising’ marker (‘-what, -whatever’ [it is]). And once again we find this element in keeping with the role played by ‘mimation’. The so feeble and ‘generic’ semantic charge (indetermination) turns in the long run into a mere prosodic/phonetic expansion/reinforce and enables the element to function as a ‘lexicalised ballast variant’ in any kind of postpositions²³. Its original semantic bearing can even either disappear or assume other nuances in the interaction of complementary distributions.

This analysis is confirmed if attention is paid to the character of ‘Semantic Universal’ with general/indefinite bearing this Semitic element $/ma/$, ‘what(?)’ shows up²⁴. That means that whatever its lexical constituent may be, this Semantic Universal is bound to generate the same ‘semantic and morpho-syntactic parallel chain’²⁵ in other linguistic families. In fact, apart from the Semitic family, the same

17. Cf. Tropper 2000:311.

18. The Ugaritic evidence could be distributed according to this double pattern, but there is no compelling evidence in this regard. The supposed original sing. mimation in Ugaritic and its persistence in the vocalisation $/-mma/$ (Tropper 2000:826) lack textual support.

19. For the labelling ‘postpositional $-m$ ’ cf. *supra* n. 1.

20. Cf. Watson 1992:252, n. 251; 1994:102; 1996:267f. The morph is rare in Aramaic and its occurrence in Arabic is merely testimonial. In ESA we have rather the phenomenon of mimation, and only sporadically *enclisis* with some prepositions, pronouns, nouns and verbal forms; cf. Beeston 1984:47f.; Nebes 1991:133-151; Stein 2003:83, 228-230

21. Cf. Brockelmann 1961 I:326ff.; Moscati 1964:115; Gelb 1969:145f., 222; Lipiński 1997:328ff.; Farber 1988:221-228. On the complementary distribution ma/mi as probable apophonic allophones cf. *infra* n. 51.

22. Cf. Tropper 2000:825.

23. In fact many authors (De Langhe, Aartun, Segert, Blejer, Watson, Tropper) have hinted at ‘(in)determination’ as one of the functions of the enclitic $-m$. A systematic scrutiny of the occurrences of noun + enclitic $-m$ seems to confirm this suggestion in many cases. It could be seen as a secondary supplency of lost of mimation (as suggested long ago by De Moor), able to be set even into construct chains. Cf. in this connexion Buccellati 1996:351 (“The normal state followed by the enclitic $-ma$ is used regularly for a determinative predicate”). Once lexicalised, the morph was attached to other lexemes (prepositions and verbs) where this grammatical function cannot be applied, unless under other considerations. Were things so, one cannot speak either of emphasis or adverbial function, but the morph has to be taken merely as a so to speak free ‘splicitor’ of an implicit morpho-syntactic function still not developed in NWS and that very soon will give way to the pre-/post-positional system of articles. Cf. Watson 1994:102; 1992:239. On the indetermination value cf. also Blejer 1986:132; Segert 1984:112; and the contrary opinion of Rainey 1987:396, 399; cf. also Gelb 1969:146 (the Semitic languages did not express the category of definition/indefiniteness, determination/indetermination).

24. Cf. Wierwizcka 1995:434; also Wierwizcka 1996:114ff.

25. On this concept cf. Del Olmo Lete 2002:240f.

phenomenon can be seen, for instance, in postpositional non enclitic Greek particle /τε/ and in the postpositional enclitic Latin /que/ in its various lexical and syntactic uses. “It seems fairly certain that τε is related to Sanskrit *ca*, Latin *que*, Indogermanic *q̄e*. Indogermanic *q̄e* served to connect two parallel nouns or pronouns (perhaps also two parallel verbs) ... Further, it possessed a universalising sense in Sanskrit *kāś ca*, Latin *quisque* ...”²⁶. In fact the universalising (indefiniteness) and connective (easily derived from the former: ‘what’ > ‘that’ > ‘the same’ > ‘also’) functions are the most representative of this morph. On its turn, Greek particle τε shows a very probable relationship to the indefinite pronoun τις, like Latin *que* to *quis*²⁷, which also becomes a generalising marker of indefinite pronoun (/quisque/) or even a copulative postpositional ‘conjunction’ after the second or final element of an enumeration (*senatus [et] populusque*), just in the same way as we find that /-ma/ functions in Akk. The generalising-connective function, linked to its universal semantic value, spreads in Greek, and in Latin as well, in manifold syntactic (conjunction) and lexical (*enclisis* to pronouns and particles) postpositions as is the case in Semitic (Akkadian)²⁸.

Leaving aside for the moment this last morph, the semantic charge of the postpositional –m in general can be defined accordingly as a lexicalisation (with 0 semantic charge, as mere prosodic/stylistic variant and as such used mainly in literary texts) of an original general indefinite reference to reality, maybe in complementary distribution with /mî/, as an apophonic alternance (/ma/ # /mi/) applied to humna/non-human beings. This distribution, primary in CS and based on the same phonetic simple element (/m-/), is predictably bound to appear also in the postpositional use we are dealing with. In fact, so it is, as we will see later on.

The generic-indefinite semantic value (‘what’) and the original interrogative function of the morph, definite in character (‘what?’), enables it to play a very flexible role in the semantic field of definiteness/indefiniteness, mainly in languages which have not developed the ‘articulation’ (also on the base of indefinite pronouns) as a way of solving this problem, as it is the case with Akkadian, Ugaritic and Ge‘ez. So it is possible to find this marker functioning both ways: as an indefinite and as a definite marker, according to the consideration given the item in question: as “one” category (definite, specific category) or as “a” category (indefinite, common to all its members)²⁹. The same can be said to some extent also of the ‘article’ as a marker of definiteness/indefiniteness. For instance, the sentence: “the king has to accomplish that ...”, can be viewed as defining a specific category of actants (kings), but without defining at the same time which individual of the category will act (this king). So, in translating nouns that bear attached an enclitic –m, the authors proceed in a free and uncompromised way, using indistinctively definite (‘the’) and indefinite (‘a, some’) articles.

In consequence I find the trend to analyse this element according to its ‘functions’ (locative, terminative, vocative...) unsuitable. Such functions are defined in keeping with the apparent sense of the clause. The actual function of the morph has to be deduced from the whole syntactical complex of elements, whatever the morpho-syntactical pattern of the word to which is attached may be. On the other

26. Cf. Deniston 1954:496; Kühner 1914:10.

27. The enclitic conjunction –ma is also present in Hittite with adverbial and syntactic functions of text distribution similar to those of Greek /μεν/ and /τε/ and Latin /que/; cf. Watson 1994:103; Gütterbock-Höffner 1989:91-99 (–ma enclitic conj. relates words or clauses to each other through pairing or apposition”, p. 91). For Lycian cf. Carruba 1969:74ff: “Thomsen... unterscheidet drei me: me¹, koordinierend (= gr. δε) und leicht subordinierend (vgl arab. fa); m², leit einen Satz, der einem Reativsatz folg, oder in gleicher Weise nachgestellte, andere Sätze; wenn andere Wörter als das Subjekt den Satz einleiten, vertritt me³ das Subjekt selbst und steht nach diesen Wörter vor dem Verb” (p.76).

28. Cf. Denniston 1954:497ff.; Kühner 1914:10ff., 33ff.

29. Cf. Hummel 1957: 86, who quotes Barth 1967:169-176 (particularly p.170).

hand, the Akkadian model is not the best one to uncover the specific uses of the NWS branch. We are faced with two contrasting as much as converging models.

c) *Language distribution*

1.- **Akkadian** is the language where the *-m(a) enclisis* seems to show up more systematic and defined syntactic functions. Starting from its original value as a Universal Semantic, I think we can explain their genesis easily, for instance, the conjunctive/connective value: ‘something’ > ‘what’ > ‘this’ > ‘the same’ > ‘also’ > ‘and’, implying originally always a certain ‘logical’, i.e., contents connexion, not mere juxtaposition or ‘copulative’ value (‘and’) ³⁰. This concrete use however remains restricted to Ak. and South Ethiopian (Amh. and Har.). The intent to uncover it also in Ug. will be later rejected. In this case as in the following ones no emphasis whatever can be detected. That is also the case with the optional *enclisis* to the predicate of nominal clause, where it plays the role of a copula like the personal 3 p.p., a common Semitic *issoglosse*: ‘what’ > ‘this what (= is)’ > ‘namely’ ³¹. A similar derivation can be found in the quotation value, exclusive of Ak., again, not be found in Ug.: *enma/umma ... -ma/-mi: ‘ecce ... what (is/says)’* ³², very similar to the former conjunctive function. The pretended ‘hervorhebendes’ value, when *-ma* is ‘enclitised’ to any word (pronoun, noun, verb, even particles!), better characterised as ‘identifizierendes’ (‘something’, ‘that’ > ‘just that’, cf. *supra*), if there is at all, comes from the syntaxis (f.i. position) or semantics of the clause, not from the *enclisis*, as we have pointed out repeatedly ³³. Such a universal use excludes emphasis and plays better in favour of a lexicalised sentence organiser like was the function of similar element in Greek (cf. *supra*). It operates at syntactic not at lexical level. Above all, to speak of a ‘betonendes *-ma*’, when joined to different particles, is completely out of place, to my opinion ³⁴. In the interrogative constructions the emphasis lies within the suprasegmental element (tone) and the interrogative lexis (interrogative either pronouns or adverbs), themselves variants of this primitive universal (*mannu, mīnu ...*), the *enclisis -ma* serving only as an ‘adverbialiser’, namely, almost as a marker of classe or ‘determinative’ of function. To speak then of “Verstärkung der Frage” by *-ma* in this case seems rather unnecessary ³⁵.

The transfer also from interrogative to indefinite pron./adv., through a sort of reduplication or addition represents a secondary construction that presupposes the primacy of the simple form ³⁶. Such duplication of elements can be seen also in the *enclisis* of *-man/min* even to previous *-ma* (*šumma-man > šumman*) ³⁷. In the case of the vocative *enclisis -mē*, lexically in this case a transformation of *-mi*, the emphatic value of the nominal inflexion or the use of well define prepositions makes useless to speak of such postposition as ‘Verstärkung des Vokatives’.

The function of enclitic *-ma* as sentence organiser is actually very much apparent in its manifold usage in syntactic patterns of any kind: interrogative, conditional, coordinative, in conjunction with (or as

30. Cf. Von Soden 1995:221f.; Reiner 1966:104 (*-ma*: “sentence connective or emphasis”); Buccellati 1996:480; Hasselbach 2005:176ff. (“In Sargonic letters, *-ma* is regularly used to connect logical or temporal sequences”). For the semantic gliding cf. Wierzwicka 1996:144ff. And for the general use of this *enclisis* in Ak. cf. also Gelb 1969:xx, 95, 107, 145, 159, 222.

31. Cf. Von Soden 1995:221f., 224; Gelb 1969:145 (“Taking *ma* and *mu* to be the signals marking the absence of certain morphemes, it is tempting to assume that there two markers originally represented a word with the meaning ‘anyone’, ‘anybody’, or ‘anything’”).

32. Cf. Von Soden 1995:219, 221f., 224.

33. Cf. Von Soden 1995:221, 224.

34. Cf. Von Soden 1995:221.

35. Cf. Von Soden 1995:221.

36. Cf. Hummel 1957:88.

37. Cf. Von Soden 1995:221.

an implicit alternative to) specific particles like /u/ or /šumma/, usually in the protasis³⁸. This universal syntactic capability comes out from its originally semantic indefiniteness of which its neutral copula function is the best pattern. By itself such an *enclisis* cannot cover such a large syntactico-semantic field, were not for the presence of specific markers or syntagmes which it just seals off³⁹.

2.- Within this frame the **Ak.Ug.**⁴⁰ shows some peculiarities that betray the Canaanite *substractum*, apart from the common Ak. elements⁴¹; for instance, in the peculiar use of *-ma* and *-mi* in direct speech. Van Soldt singles out also the use of *-mi* “as a suffix with obscure connotations in other contexts”: attached to adverb/interjection *anumma* and to verbal forms (probable under Hurrian influence). Furthermore we have the indefinite pronouns *mannu* and *minû* expanded with *-ma:ē*⁴². The coordinative *-ma* appears also, according to Van Soldt, in this dialect after a topicalised word, after predicate, in the last item in repetitive series of two or three items: “in most of the examples cited a meaning ‘also’ or ‘likewise’ would fit the context”⁴³; it appears suffixed also to adverbs and adverbial expressions⁴⁴.

3.- As for the **Ak.EA**⁴⁵, the use of enclitic *-ma* covers all the possible positions recognised by the Ak grammar. It can so accompany the independent as well as the suffix pronoun⁴⁶; also it may be added to adverbs and adverbial expressions⁴⁷, to conjunctions⁴⁸, verbs⁴⁹ and the direct object of the verbal clause⁵⁰; it shows up also the combined use of *-ma/-mi* of direct discourse. Peculiar of this dialect is the

38. Cf. Von Soden 1995:224, 254ff.; Lambert 1967:29ff. registers the variant *-em* in the Ak. of Mari (< *-i-am*); Worthington 2006:334-358.

39. Cf. Gelb 1969:222 (“The use of enclitic is lexical, and therefore optional”). We do not dispose of updated study on the Akkadian of Mari that enables us to assess its peculiarities in this connexion: cf. Finet 1956:224ff. Lambert 1967, Limet 1975 and Westenholz’s 1978 grammatical studies do not touch on this subject. For the Akkadian of Boghazköi cf. Labat 1932, pp. 48-50 (mimation), 62f. (indefinite pronouns), 72f. n. 12 (adverbial accusative): “à l’époque d’Hammurapi, l’emploi de l’acusatif pour marquer le lieu, le temps, la matière, était encore très vivant », 78ff. (conjunctive and coordinative functions ; particle *šumma, ki-ma, ki-mē*).

40. Cf. Van Soldt 1991:459ff. (Ugaritic influence), p. 469f; Huehnergard 1989:203-210, 280f.

41. Cf. *aššum, šumma, kīma; ayyakamma, amnaka, anumma/ē, ammīni(m), appūna(ma), assurri(m), kīam, kīamma, kīšūma, urra(m) šera(m), pīqamma, šaddaqdim*; particularly *šanam(ma), šanītam*, ‘furthermore’ (< ‘in the second place’); see Van Soldt 1991:463 for the distribution *kī/kīma*. – The following references and quotations send back to Van Soldt’s grammar of the Akkadian of Ugarit (pp. 469f.).

42. Cf. *mamman, mamma, mannumma, mannummē*; Van Soldt 1991:408f.

43. Cf. Van Soldt 1991:514f.; also Huehnergard 1989:205; but cf. *infra* 23f.

44. Cf. *appunama, dannišma, ana daritimma, urra šeramma, assurimma* ...; see Van Soldt 1991:515. – For the respective use of the enclitic *-m* at Alalakh cf. Giacomakis 1970:59f.; Arnaud:1998 does not touch on this subject; he deals only with the demonstrative pronoun *anamû* (p. 185s.). PPNN may freely take enclitic *-m* (*Ammitaqum-ma*; cf. Zeeb 1992:452ff.) and adverbial forms like *balṭum-ma* (*ibid.*, p. 452) are also witnessed.

45. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:227-248; Izre’el 1991:323-337; 1998:41-72 (the material is limited to letters coming from the kingdom of Amurru).

46. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:230ff. per. *anaku-ma, atta-ma, miya-mi, panuia-ma, išmeni-ma*; ind. *mimma*; also with confusion between interrog. pronouns *mi-* and *man*.

47. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:232; Izre’el 1991:327: *anum-mma, appūna-mma, ašrānu-mma, šurru-mma, kinanna-ma; kabatu-ma u šu’ruma, ḥaia-ma, ūmiša-mma, ina umi u umi-ma, šata šata-ma, ištu pānānu-mma, ina pānī pānī-mma, ina šatti šattī-mma*. To figure out any emphatic value beyond the adverbialising function of the morph in those examples seems to me complete out of place.

48. Cf. *šum-ma, šumma-mi, allu-mi, kī-ma, enu-ma, anā-ma* ...

49. Cf. inf. *paṭāri-ma, ašī-mi, dagāli-ma* ...; few cases with finite forms: *ibaššaku-mi, yīpušu-mi, yuppašu-mi, nikšudu-mmi., maḥsirā-mu, duku-mi, līdē-mi* ...

50. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:231ff.

supplantation of *-ma* by *-mi*, “far more common”⁵¹, and the absence or rarity of *-ma* as a conjunction, mainly copulative⁵². The explanation of those uses as ‘emphatic’, as Rainey holds⁵³, are rather unsatisfactory and he is obliged to nuance constantly this assessment. The enclitic element simply functions either as marker or ‘sealer’ of an emphasis already syntactically obtained⁵⁴ or as an adverbialiser of modal accusative (*kita-ma*). Its role is rather more syntactical (clause organizer) than semantic.

As for the enclitic *-mi* and its variant *-me*, beside its extensive use supersiding *-ma*, one must bear in mind its feasible dependence on the Ug. enclitic *-m*, of unknown pronunciation⁵⁵. In this regard its use in the middle of a construc chain (with nouns, prepositions, infinitives and clauses)⁵⁶ is to be pointed out, a typically Ugaritic morph (cf. *infra*). It appears also as a quotation mark in letters, attached to different words⁵⁷. Finally Rainey records the possible uses of *-mi* to which also an emphatic value is accorded: with verbs, adverbs and particles and infinitive complements⁵⁸. In all those cases, not to speak of interjections, another element carries already the emphasis, as was pointed out formerly in regard to *-am*.

In this connexion it is interesting the treatment Izre’el accords to the peculiar morph *-mē* as a ‘nominalising’ and ‘adverbialising’ particle, either generalising or least⁵⁹. It seems that there is a difference in the use of *-ma* and *-mē* as could be ascertained from the use of *kīma* and *kīmē*, before nouns and phrases respectively, some times in the same text. “The nominalising force of the enclitic *-mē* in these cases (when we have other nominalising elements) is redundant when attached to a pronoun”. The peculiar character of this variant morph is probable due to its Hurrian origin. “Similarity in usages and in form would indeed result in the replacement of a genuine Akkadian particle *-ma* by a Harrian one”⁶⁰.

4.- The **Ak.Em.** offers a series of functions similar to those of the Ak.EA according to the analysis carried out by Seminara. Interesting is the recognised value of *-ma* as ‘anaphoric-identificative’ particle

51. Izre’el 1998:42, 73 assess in this way the use of this morph in the Ak.EA: “The use of *mi* by some scribes seems to be more stylistic than gramatical ... The Akkadian cognate *ma* is used instead of *mi* by some scribe ...”. But he adds: “The particles *ma* and *mi* may be distinct for some scribes... The majority of the CanAkk scribes, however, maintain only one of these practices, in which case the particle utilized is to be regarded as an EMPH, *although* (underlining is mine) it may be added to focalized constituents all the same. This systematic reduction is the result of contamination between the two components of CanAkk: in Akkadian, *ma* is used only as FOC marker, *mi* being as DS (direct speech) marker. Canaanite, on the other hand, uses *mi* as an EMPH marker. Another use of Akkadian *ma* is as a conjunction, a use which was not assumed by CanAkk. Few CanAkk scribes mark direct speech by *mi*”. Cf. also Garbini 1960:163f. (“non è possibile stabilire il valore esatto di *-ma*, *-mi*”)

52. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:227f; Izre’el 1991:323ff. (in some cases in the combined morph *-ma u*).

53. Cf. Rainey 1996 III: 228, 240. Cf. also Izre’el 1991:325ff. (‘focussing’); cf. n. 50. The liberty shown by the Canaanite-Amorite scribe as for the place and element of the phrase to which this morph is added turns out to be a good case in favour of its merely syntactic function (clause distribution), without any ‘emphatic’ (semantic) bias.

54. In this regard a clause like *amur anaku panuiama*, “behold, as for me, it is my face ...” (Rainey 1996 III:230), shows enough emphasis already by the redundant use of the pronoun to need any characterisation as such because of the ‘emphasising’ *-ma*.

55. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:234ff. “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*” (Rainey 1996 III:248).

56. Cf.: *ana-mi* LUGAL, *šusu-mi* abiia, *ubili-mi* KASKAL.ĤÁ šarri, *abat-mi* ^{URU}Magidda^{ki}, *aše-mi* ERÍN.MEŠ piṭati, *awat-mi* tišteme ...

57. On *-mi* as marker of direct speech in relation to its position in the clause cf. Izre’el 1991:330ff. As pointed out above, this function is in perfect agreement with the basic value of the original /ma/: as marker of specification of the clause, not of emphasis.

58. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:240ff.

59. Cf. Izre’el 1991:333ff.: *mannumē*, *mīnummē*, *immatīme*, *kīmē*, *kī mašīmē* ...

60. Cf. Izre’el 1991:336f. Rainey takes it to a simple variant of *-mi*; cf. *supra* n. 54.

(< “that cited”, “the same”) added to nouns in posterior position⁶¹. The same usage can be found in adv. *ašriš-ma* and the pron. *šâšu-ma* (cf. Ug. *km-m*). Variants of this identificative, non copulative, usage are the restrictive (“that only”), in anterior position this time, and the correlative (“l’uno ... l’altro”)⁶². The indefinite value enters in the normal semantics of this morph (*šanû-ma*, “un altro”, *matima-ma*, ‘mai’, *ša-ma*, “chiunque”). We would have also with possessive pron. an ‘emphatic’ value of *-ma*, but in all the examples adduced the emphasis is already shown by the position of the pron., the topicalisation of the nouns or their semantics (“all”). In any case Seminara’s uniform translation by “(lo) stesso” implies a very low emphasis, better characterised as ‘identification’ according to his previous labelling.

The suffixation of *-ma* to adverbs, adverbial locutions and formulae of direct speech is that of normal Ak., central and peripheric⁶³. In this connexion Seminara points out wisely: “Talvolta è difficile determinare l’essata connotazione semantica aggiunta da *-ma* ...”, given its alleatory presence in similar phrases. “Preferisco sospendere il giudizio intorno al valore semantico di *-ma*, piuttosto che ricorrere ad un generico significato enfatico”⁶⁴. In some cases the usage of *-mi* seems aberrant, but even there “più che una funzione enfatica, mi pare di avervi riconosciuto un valore di coordinazione simile a quello dell’enclitica *-ma*”⁶⁵.

This coordinative function of *-ma* in the Ak.Em. shows up a profound influx of the West-Semitic *substratum* with its own coordinative conjunction /*wa/*, Ak. *u*. Both share and exchange syntactical functions in a type of language used to reproduce traditional formulae more than to follow grammatical correctness⁶⁶.

Endly, the seemingly fixed Ak. way of introduction of direct discourse by *-ma* and its determination by *-mi*, as far lexical constituents and position in the phrase go, shows in Ak.Em. a large diversity of variants as a result of a ‘scholastic’ use of the morphs, already lexicalised and which the Emariote scribes search to employ in a free and approximative way⁶⁷.

5.- For **Ug.** we send to the later detailed treatment⁶⁸.

6.- The presence of enclitic *-m* in **Heb.** was first pointed out in enlarged prepositions and adverbial expressions that will be adduced later on⁶⁹. Nowadays the grammatical issue has drawn the attention of

61. Cf. Seminara 1998:521f. “Un smile impiego di *-ma* à attestato anche nelle ‘genealogie’ reali dei testi redatti a Karkemish” (n. 98, sending back to J. Huehnergard’s dissertation: *The Akkadian Dialects of Carchemish and Ugarit*, Harvard Univ. 1979, p. 116).

62. Cf. Seminara 1998:523f.

63. Cf. *akiama*, *urra šerama*, *šertama*, *ginama*, *akanama*, *ištu umi annima* ... *umma X-ma*, *ana X qibi-ma*, *ummā ana en-ia-ma* ...; and conj. *e:inūma*, *šumma*, *kimē*, *kīma*, *lāma* ...

64. Cf. Seminara 1998:525.

65. Cf. Seminara 1988:526.

66. Cf. Seminara 1998:546ff, 549f, 554.

67. Cf. Seminara 1998:576ff.

68. Tropper 2000 has been used as the reference grammar; cf. its review on-line by D. Pardee (<http://www.univie.ac.at/orientalistik/Afo.html#pardee>).

69. Cf. Bauer-Leander 1962 I:529, 639, 641; Modern Hebrew grammar accepts this morph even inside the construct chain; cf. Meyer 1969 II: 299; 1972 III:26, 31 cf. 1996 I:21 (*-ma* as determinative); Joüon-Muraoka 1993 I:341f. Muraoka in his book on the *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem/Leiden 1985), ignores enclitic *-m* as an emphatic particle. Even dealing with adv. *’omnām* and *gam* he does not develop this issue. Driver manifested a clear reticence in this connexion, although he sees rests of it in Hebrew. But even in those cases other explanations are possible, f.i. prolativ suffix; cf. Driver 1956:129, n. 16, 130 n. 2 cf. Driver, CML:130 n. 2; cf. *infra* (Dahood).

several scholars⁷⁰. We will below take into account with detail all the adduced cases of this morph in Hebrew. In any case it turns out to be a basically poetic/stylistic maker, whence its restricted use/survival in Biblical Hebrew prose, frequent in Psalms with some remains in wisdom and postbiblical Hebrew.

7.- **Phoen.**, inspite its small textual literary corpus, exhibits examples of some of the uses of enclitic *-m* typical of NWS: with prepositions/conjunctions, nouns, construc chain, adv. expressions, pronouns ...⁷¹. These examples will be taken in and commeted below. In the case suf. *-m* of 3 p.s.m./f. Krahmalkov speaks of ‘excrecent consonant’: *ndr-m*, ‘his vow’, *bini-m*, ‘his son’⁷².

8.- On the contrary **Aram.** retains, in all its dialects, but left-overs of this morph: with prepositions/conjunctions and some adv. expansions⁷³. Futhermore, some adverbs like *twbn* and *ywmn*’ may be transformations of original *-m* endings (?).

9.- In the **Ar.** language the use of the postposition /ma/ is attested also with prepositions, as an enclitic or independent particle, called by Arabic grammarians ‘the redundant *mā*’ (*mā* ‘azzā’*idat*)⁷⁴, thus maiking clear the lexical origin of the *enclisis* better than in any other Semitic language and certifying at the same time its opaque semantic function. Wright deals with it as the ‘indefinite pronoun’ simply, specifying all its prepositive and postpositive enclitic usages after adverbs, nouns, particles and certain verbs of time: “...if added to certain adverbial nouns, it gives them a conditional and general signification, as the Latin termination *cumque* ...; if appeded to ‘*inna*, ‘*anna* ... hinders their regimen (see later) ...; in apposition to an indefinite noun, it has a vague intensifying force (as a reiteration of indefinitness, already in the semantics of the noun and of the verb [*mā* ‘*addaymūnat*, ‘*azzamāniyyat*], then ‘redundant’) ...; added to the affirmative *la* it serves to strengthen the affirmation (the ‘strength’ goes with the particle)...; it is often inserted after the prepositions ... without affecting their regimen ...”. That last phenomenon, common to other Semitic languages, may well illustrate the mere phonetic nature of that *enclisis* and its consequent compatibility within the construct chain, the prepositional syntagme functioning as a construct chain; while the ‘hiderning of the regimen’ when added to certain conjunctions reflects a different syntactic structure.

10.- Leaving aside the function of mimation for absolute (and even in some cases definite) state, the usage of enclitic *-m* is in **ESA/Sabaic** limited to some common enlarged prepositions and to some personal and place names⁷⁵, along with some obscure examples attached to verbal forms. But regarding

70. Cf. the bibliography (also of Dahood’s pupils) and notes accompanying the different categories adduced of enclitic *-m* in Hebrew; also Emerton 1996:321-328; Ch. Cohen 2004:231-260.

71. Cf. *km*, *lm*; *hl-m*; *hn-m* ...; Krahmalkov 1991:259, 268, 285f., 289 (“The archaic accusative ending *-am* is retained in the Punic adverb *ḤNM*, ‘gratis’ (?)”); Segert 1976:162 (*km*: “extended form”).

72. Cf. Krahmalkov 2001:26f. The Phoenician grammar takes this ending as suffix. pronoun of 3.p.s.; cf. Friedrich-Röllig 1999:66 n. 1 (& 112), while KAI 5:2 (*rb khnm* ‘*lm nrgl*) is taken as “eine vereinzelte falsche Genetivkonstruktion” (p. 216 [&308]). On his turn Driver, who in a first moment was favourable to the acceptance of this morph in Hebrew and Phoenician, later on manifested a clear reticence; cf. Dahood *Biblica* 49,1968, 89f.; cf. n. 69.

73. Cf. *l^emā*, *k^emā*, *b^emā*; *y^emām*, syr. *īmām*; Brockelmann 1961 I:474; Dalman 1960:215, 239; Segert 1990⁴:234 (*br-m*), 236 (*ky-m*, *kn-m*), 357 (*zk-m*), 538 (*k^emā*, *l^emā*, ‘verstärktes /l/’); Muraoka-Porten 1998:337f. (‘*p-m*, ‘*-m*).

74. Cf. *ba^cda mā*, *mimmā*, *kammā*, *bimmā*, ‘*ammā*; *rubbamā*, ‘*indamā*, *laytamā*, ‘*allamā*, *la^callamā*; ‘*aynamā*, *ḥayṭumā*, *wayhamā*, *ḡayru mā*, ‘*ayyumā*, *šāta mā*, *kulli mā* ... (Wright 1967 I:277f; II:178, 192f., 224, 276).

75. Cf. *bn-m*, *bn-mw*, *kn-mw* (?), *-b-mw* (?); Brockelmann 1908/1961 I:473f.; Beeston 1984:30f., 47-49, 54 (“...*-m* or *-mw* which is facultatively attached to the end of a word, without perceptibly modifying the sense of the word in the sentence ... The arbitrary nature of this insertion can be seen from contrast between (forms with and without it) ... But ... one could assign some degree of emphasis to its use ...”; Höfner 1943:56ff., 114ff. For this author too “die hervorhebende Funktion des *mw* ganz

Qatabanian Beeston points out: “Enclitic in the form *–m*, *–mw* and *–y* are common to a particularly noteworthy degree, and attached to all parts of speech, including (which seems no to be the case in Sab) nouns and adjectives (Beeston 1984:67).

11.- As for the **MSA**: “In all the MSAL (except Soqotri for demonstratives), there are deictic forms with an *–m* or *–n* ending”⁷⁶. Nor even the simple prepositions (/b,l, k/) exhibit the common Semitic *–m* expansion.

12.- On the contrary, in classic Ethiopic/**Ge'ez** enclitic *–m* is omnipresent: with prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, pronouns, pronominal suffixes ...⁷⁷. Interesting is the presence of a particle like *mi-mma*, with disjunctive nuance ‘or’ (< **mi*, ‘what’ + *–mma*), *y 'əsmā*, as introducer of the direct discourse. Both recall similar usages in Ak. *–ma*. On the contrary, the presumed ‘Hervorhebung’ function of this *–mma* must be understood as simple lexical expansion (indef. pronouns) or syntactical organisation (*kə-mma*)⁷⁸.

13.- In the two other Northern Ethiopic dialects, closer to Ge'ez, namely, **Tigre** and **Tigrīña**, the usage of enclitic *–m* is basically limited to the lexicalised formation of indef. pronouns and particles⁷⁹. *am(ma)* is also used in Tigrīña to form adjectives, while in Tig. ending *–am* of pl.m. of adj. represents rather a case of mimation. Interesting is in both languages the remains of coordinative functions of this morph: Tig. postpositive *–ma*, ‘also, even’ and *ma*, ‘or’ (in alternative)⁸⁰; while coordinative *–(ə)n*, ‘and’, in Tigñ. may be a phonetic transformation of *–m* (cf. *supra* this function in Ak), like the verbal negation *'ay ... –n* would correspond to an original morph with *–m*, like in Amh. (cf. *infra*)⁸¹.

14.- As pointed out above, **Amh.** is the Semitic language, along with Ak, in which this *enclisis* is used in the most general way. It enters not only in the shaping of indef. pronouns, starting from the interrogative, “the enclitic *–(ə)mm ...* may be suffixed to any word” as well: verbs, nouns, pronouns, adverbs... Sporadically some adj. may be formed with suf. *–(ə)mma*. In addition to the pref. *al-* marks, enclitic *–m* rounds up the negation in the perfect and imperfect verbal forms⁸². It also a marker of coordination in enumerations (‘and, as well as ...’) and alternative answer (‘me, too...’); reinforces, or better said, precises, calls the attention to (‘that’) the suffixed word; serves as proleptic value (‘as for’), as a transformation of its consecutive function⁸³. In the same way and as a phonetic variant, “the particle *–mma* may be attached to any part of speech”, namely, verbs, nouns, pronouns and adverbs, with similar values: ‘as for, well, indeed ...’ as a marker of identification or contrast. In this way it serves to organise the discourse.

natürlich ist”, what I do not find proved: see also Stein 2003:228ff.: “... deren Funktion in eine Verstärkung der Aussage des betreffenden Satzteilens zu suchen ist”; but “überdies müssen wohl zahlreiche mit den enklitischen Partikel verbundene Konjunktionen bereits als lexikalisiert gelten ...” (n. 169). For a complete treatment of the topic see Nebes 1991:133-151.

76. Cf. Simeone-Senelle 1997:393f.

77. Cf. Brockelman 1908/1961 I:474; Dillmann-Bezold 1907:118f, 378f., 381; Tropper 2002:142, 145f, 147, 252: *'əm-ma, ke-mma, ka-ma; temāl-em, gēša-m; we'ətu-mma, mannu-mma, 'aytē-un-ma, mā'zē-un-ma*.

78. Cf. Tropper 2002:151f., accordingly brought under the heading “Logische Satzpartikeln”.

79. Cf. Tigr.: *man-ma* (‘nobody!’), *mən-ma, ka-ma, ke-m*; Raz 1983:33, 44, 84, 87, 92f.; Tigñ.: *ka-may, kə-mzə*; Kogan 1997:433, 441, 443; Yohannes 2002: 77f., 122, 124,

80. Cf. Raz 1983:87, 89

81. Cf. Kogan 1997:442.

82. Cf. *infra* n. . But *–m* is not by itself a negative particle; Bejer, W 92:251; 96:267f;

83. Cf. *mann-əmm, mən-əmmm, yät-əmm ...*, *antä-mm, ziyya-mm, ahun-əmm, zare-əmm ...*, *ənnässu-mma* ; Leslau 2000:25, 174f. ; Cohen 1936:100, 125f., 150, 164, 170f, 312, 316.

15.- Southern Ethiopic Semitic, **Gur.** and **OSE** (Outer South Ethiopic), reflects a situation similar to that of Amh., though not so well witnessed. So we have enclitic $-(\emptyset)m(ma)$ affixed to pronouns (indef.), adverbs, nouns (enumerations) and verbs in any pattern, specially to the so called ‘converbs’ (not to simple prepositions), with indefining value in some cases (‘any...’) and the usual coordinative in others (‘again, also, and ...’); with negative verb it assumes also this sense (cf. *supra* Amh.), at noun and clause level ($-m \dots -m, mi \dots -mi$, ‘neither ... nor’)⁸⁴. “With the *discourse suffix* $-m$ (underlining is mine) the meaning (of the conditional functor *ba-* ... $-m$) is ‘even if/though’, asserts Gutt⁸⁵, while Hetzron, talking about enclitic particles in Gunnän-Gurage languages (“preceding all other suffix”) says: “the most important one is $-m(-)$, a multifunctional particle (converb, past tense, conjoining) which, after the first phrasal element may stand for a contrastive topic ‘as for’, and some other kind of emphasis”⁸⁶. As can easily be ascertained, ‘emphasis’ bears here a rather detracted value. I find Gutt’s assertion more felicitous in order to define the function of the enclitic $-m$ ⁸⁷.

Development

Given the bearing of this morph in NWS and its prevalence in Ugaritic, the texts of this language will be the starting point for our analysis, but we will pay heed to occurrences in other Semitic languages, with special attention paid to the Akkadian of Ugarit as well as to that of the Amarna letters. In this connexion Van Sold asserts: “Although the problem of $-ma$ in Ugaritic needs further clarification, at least the phenomenon appears to be attested in this language (Ak.Ug.) as well”⁸⁸.

To begin with we will deal with lexemes in which the lexicalised nature of the enclitic $-m$ is more apparent (with prepositions, suffixed pronouns, verbal forms) to pass afterwards to consider the occurrences of postpositional $/-m(a)/$ with nominal independent and constructed lexemes to which either functional/adverbial or emphatic functions are applied. For us, the mentioned morph merely shows a redundant generic duty in all cases, as stated above.

1) Indeclinable Particles

It is impossible to ascertain any either emphatic (or adverbial, of course!) bearing in the postpositional phonetic expansions of *prepositions*: Ug. $/b-m/, /l-m/, /k-m/$ ⁸⁹ and their parallels in almost all Semitic Languages⁹⁰.

84. Cf. *əmmat-əm, əmmant-me, att-em, attə-mā*, and with desimilation *mən-ən, man-ən* (<-əm); Leslau 1979:53, 105, 385, 407. Interesting is the use in those languages of *balä* in direct speech quotations (cf. Ak- *-ma/-mi*).

85. Cf. Gutt 1997:514, 531.

86. Cf. Hetzron 1997:546f., 549.

87. In the *12th Italian Meeting of Afroasiatic Linguistics* held at Ragusa (Sicily) on June 6-9, 2005, where he called attention to the function of $-ma$ as the ‘true’ state/movement postposition, adversative and clause modifier in Cushitic Gawwada.

88. Cf. Van Sold 1991:515. Also Huhnergard 1989:281: “The frequent use of non-coordinative $-ma$ and some of the unexplained instances of enclitic $-m$ my reflect the still obscure Ugar. Enclitic $-m$ ”.

89. Cf. Aartun 1974:59-60; Watson 1992: 229s; 1996:260-261, 264; Gordon 1998:93, 103; Tropper 2000:780-81, 828-29, 830, 832; DUL I 2004:443-45. Questionable instances: *b-m ty ndr* (KTU 2.13:14-15); *k-mhm* (KTU 1.15: III 22-25); *km mrm* (KTU 1.12 I 11); *k-m-t* (KTU 2.19:2-4; cf. Aartun 59-60; DLU 447); *km aht* (KTU 1.16 VI 50s) (cf. Watson 1996:263). Cf. in NWS: **Heb.** *k^emô, b^emô, l^emô*, Heb.Mish *k^emô, k^emôt*; **Phoen.** *k-m*; **Aram.** *l^e-mā, k^e-mā*; **Syr.** *’ayk-mā*; - Contrast $/lm/ < /la-mā/$, ‘why’ (Amor., Ug., Heb., Aram., Syr., Ar.; cf. Tropper 2002:754; DUL 499), where $/-mā/$ maintains its pronominal original bearing.

90. Cf. **Ak.** *kī-ma, kī-mū, kū-mu, kū-m*, as phonetic variants; cf. Von Soden 1952:165), *lā-m(a)*; also *ē-m(a), šu-mma, ištu-m, elu-m, balu-m, aššu-m* (see Von Soden 1995:204ff., 212; // *ki*); **Ak.Ug.** *kī-ma, kī-mē, kīmu* (Van Soldt 1991:460); also **Ak.EA**

All those forms, go back to common primitive /ba-mā/, /la-mā/, /ka-mā/. The definitive confirmation of the lack of semantic bearing is offered by the frequent parallelism of those morphs with the simple ones in Ug. and Heb. (// /b-, l-, k-/) ⁹¹. The entire semantic charge lays in the prepositional marker, the postposition serving only to release it as a lexeme. The sometimes presumed emphatic value of those forms as second variant in poetry, in parallel with the simpler morph, is pure speculation: the ‘emphasis’ or ‘focussing’ lays in the parallelism itself not in this ‘ballast variant’ ⁹².

The mentioned original semantic value of this postposition (definiteness/indefiniteness) maybe originated in this lexical system, as a sort of mimation of mono-consonantal nouns/prepositions. In this case we would have to presume that the system of Semitic prepositions made up a primary monosyllabic nominal category, a presupposition that nevertheless cannot be proved ⁹³. It could be also probable, on the contrary, that this enclitic postposition came in here as a later development, starting from its widespread use with nouns and verbs. The non-expanded phenotyp seems primary. On the nominal pattern of the prepositional ‘construct’ chain and its possible phonetic ‘raison d’être’ cf. *infra* p. 41f.

Lest frequent is this ‘ballast variant’ with other prepositions, but in principle any of them could have it. The frequency hangs basically on the large semantic range covered by the three adduced prepositions that displaced the rest. See, for instance, Ug. /^lm-m/, /bn-m/, /bd-m/ ⁹⁴.

The same can be said of *subjunctions/conjunctions*: Ug. /hl-m/ ⁹⁵, /k-m/; /^ld-m/ ⁹⁶; *adverbs*: Ug. /aḥr-m/(?), /ik-m(y)/, /^ll-m/, /b-k-m/ (< */b-kn-m/), /h-m/, /ht-m/, /km-m/, /lbd-m/, /mid-m/ ⁹⁷; and *existence and deictic particles*: Ug. /d-m/, /in-m/, /inn-m/, /inm-m/, /d-m/, /h-m/ ⁹⁸.

a-na-mi, qa-du-mi (cf. Rainey 1996 III:11ff); **Ar.** *bi-mā, ka-mā*; also ^c*am-mā* < ^{ac}*an-ma, mim-mā* < ^m*min-mā* (for the vocalic variant /bi-/ cf. Ak. /ki-/ : conditioned apophones; **ESA** /b-m/, /b-mw/; **Ge** *ka-ma; kə-mma*; **Tig.** *kə-m*; **Tigñ.** *käm*; **Amh.** *kämä*; **Gu.** (yā) ... *kā-ma, (yā) ... ko-m*. For **Ebla**. cf. Pagan 1998:81f: (*a(:i:u)šta-ma*); on Ak. ‘prepositional expressions’, cf. Von Soden 1995:207f.: “Substantive, die mit adverbialen Endungen oder im Adv. Akk. oder in Verbindung mit eigenlitchen Prp. im präpositionalem Sinn gebrauchen werden”.

91. For new readings of this morph in Heb. cf. *b-m(y) mdmnh* (Is 25:10), *k-m ’klt* (Is 9, 18), *wytn l-m-w zhb* (Ps 72:15), *’yn b-m-w tm* (Is 1:6); *btwk-m ym* (Ez 26:12); *mbly-m šm* (Job 4:20), *k-m mšnh* (Is 61:7). The particle /gam/ is left out, given its obscure etymological parsing. To avoid overloading this paper, we omit the reference of the authors who proposed each example supposedly found in the Ug. texts and in the Hebrew Bible, unless in special disputed cases. The quotations will lead easily the reader to the adequate bibliographical item.

92. In this regard Tropper (2002:825ff) is right when he speaks of enclitic –m as “Erweiterung von Nomina”, “Stilmittel der Poesie”, “Variation im Parallelismus”, “längere Ausgeltaltung”, namely, as mere phonetic/prosodic variant, semantically neutral. On the contrary, its ‘emphatic’ functions (‘Hervorhebung’, ‘Betonnung’, ‘Steigerung’), in any position of the clause, I do not find proved. On the other assigned functions (distributive, copulative) we will talk later on; they must be assessed from the syntactic construction itself (cf. Tropper 2002: 830-31).

93. Cf. del Olmo Lete 1998:38f.

94. Cf. KTU 1.14 VI 37: ^c*m-m pbl* (Aartun 1974:53, 60: < ^c*an-ma* (?); Tropper 2000:781, 830; Watson 1992 :240); KTU 1.5 VII 16: *kṯr bn-m ^cdt / bn ym* (Watson 1992 :231), KTU 4.123:1f.: *bd tt w / bd-m tt* (Watson 1992:233, 238). For examples from Ak.EA, Syr. and Ar. cf. nn. 45, 73-75.

95. As a deictic particle (*hl*, ‘look’), this morph has correspondences in other Semitic languages: **Ak.EA** *allū-mi* (EApassim); **Heb.** *halō-m*, **Phoen., Pun.** *hl-m, alu-m*, **Ar.** *halu-mma*; cf. Tropper 2002:332. Cf. also following n. Ak. *an(n)nu-mma* (< Ug. *hn*, Heb. *hinneh*).

96. Cf. Tropper 2000:747, 797, 800ff, 832; Aartun 1974:58-59 (although /hl-m/ non as a conjunction), 61; Watson 1992:244, 246;1996:263. Dietrich-Loretz’ analysis of /kmt-m/ as an adverb in 2.10:12 (“und das (is) so!”) I take as very unlikely (Cf. Watson 1992:230). For other languages see **Heb.** ^c*dy-m y^czr* (Jer 48:32), ^c*d-m hrh* (Ps 147 :15) and for seeming cases of *w-m* (cf. Michel 1987:172), **Ak.** *kī-ma, akkī-ma, aššu-m, ullānu-m, a(n)nu-mma, šum-ma(n), en-ma, um-ma, šum-ma ... x-ma, um-mā-mi, um-mā, am-ma, lū-man, ra’ī-ma, qīša-m, qīšam-ma, idū-m, appitti-mma, mindē-ma, ana šurrī-ma, tušā-ma, ultā-man, ammā-min, lū-mā, lūman, lā-mā, lā-man* (Von Soden 1995:207ff., 219f); **AkUg.** *supra* nn. 40-44 (Van

In all those morphs the semantic bearing lays in the simple element and its original, maybe non-inflexional⁹⁹, ending, the *enclisis* *-m* functioning only as a general marker of a verbal/lexical, mostly adverbial function, but not of a specific semantic-functional category by itself¹⁰⁰.

1) Pronouns

Another case where the neutral semantic bearing of this postposition comes out clearly is the *enclisis* to pronouns, either personal or indefinites, independent or suffixed. This grammatical use is common in almost all the Semitic languages. Any precise semantic bearing remains uncertain and the presumed emphasis is also here merely hypothetical. Its generalised use plays rather in favour of a lexicalised morph. In case of the indefinite pronouns indefiniteness is apparently underlined¹⁰¹, as a primitive and homorganic semantic result: Ug. /at-m/, /d-m/, /dt-m/, /mnk-m/, /mhc-m/, /mn-m/, /asr-k-m/, /^ln-k-m(?), /aḥ-y-m/, /npš-h-m/, /brlt-h-m/, /b-h-m/, /y-l-k-m/, /nbšr-k-m/¹⁰².

Sold 1991:463; Aartun 1974:61; Tropper 2000:747, 801); **AkEA**, *supra* nn. 45-60 (Rainey III:67ff, 183ff); **Ar.** 'id-mā, 'idā-mā, tum-ma, ḥaytu-ma (Wright 1976 I:291; Aartun 1974:61; Tropper 2002 :326).

97. Cf. Tropper 2000: 331, 743, 754, 745 (< b-km/), 832, (sobre /b-km/ p. 745, 749); Aartun 1974:57-58 (para *šbcd-m*, p. 58), but in my opinion *al-m* (KTU 1.82:8) does not exist in Ug. as an expanded negative adverb ; Watson 1992:264; 1994:97-98, 101; 1996:264 (*km-m* (...)) (lat/it. 'communque', ac. ... ar.). Cf. in **Ak.** adv. endings /am/, /-um/, /-a/ < /-am/ ..., *ān-um*, *-Ūn-um*, *-išam*, *-alt-am*, *ayyikī'a-m*, *ēkī'a-m*, *ayyānu-m*, *ayyiša-m*, *ayyakam-ma*, *ayyišam-ma*, *alum-ma*, *annikī'a-m*, *annikē-m*, *annaka-m*, *annānu-m*, *a(n)nummānu-m*, *anniša-m*, *ullikī'a-m*, *ulliša-m*, *ašrānu-m*, *ammaka-m/allānu-m*, *ammānu-m*, *lašrakī'a-m*, *elēnu-m*, *imitta-m*, *šumēla-m*, *aḥīta-m*, *aḥītam-ma*, *aḥulamma*; *ištū-ma*, *matī-ma*, *matē-ma/matim-mu*, *immatī-ma*, *immatim-ma*; and variants and compositions: *pīqam lā pīqam*, *enna-m*, *pāniša-m*, *lū-mā*, *a(n)num-ma*, *ullu-m*, *aḥarru-m*, *ḥaram-ma*, *ḥaram-me*, *warkānu-m*, *urkānu-m*, *warkata-m*, *urkata-m*, *pānānu-m(ma)*, *pānā-(ma)*, *pānī-ma*, *pānītam-ma*, *ullimitta-m*, *ana mīni(-m)*, *ammīni(-m)*, *miššu-m*, *aššu mīni-m*, *minā-m*, *immīni-m*, *mim-ma*, *kī'a-m*, *kē-m*, *kā-m*, *kī'am-ma*, *apputtu-m*, *ullānu-m*, *ullānum-ma*, *elēnu-m*, *ellānum-ma*, *itti'im-ma*, *qātu-m*, *qātam-ma*, *rēdu-m*, *šahātu-m*, *kayyānta-m*, *kayyāna-ma*, *kayyamānam-ma*, *purqida-m*, [*ba-mā*] (Von Soden 1952:202f., 215-221); also **AkEA**. Rainey III 1ff. [suffixes: *-am*, *-um(ma)*, *-um*, *-išam*], 109ff, 115ff137ff, 151ff; **Ar.** , the negation *la-m* (< /lā + m(V)/), *la-mmā* (< /lā + m(v) + mā/) (Wright 1976 I:287; for **Heb.**, **Aram.**, **Ar.**, **Eth.** cf. nn. *supra* about those languages. – For Heb., apart from the well known 'adverbs' *šilšōm*, *ḥinnām*, *yōmām*, *rēqām* (cf. EA *rēqa-mi*) cf. *infra* nn. 18f. the nominal adverbialisation.

98. Cf. Aartun 1974: 58f, but *aph-m* (KTU 1.2 I 13) is very dubious, also *it-m* (KTU 1-5 III 24); Tropper 2000: 793f, 798 [him(ma)/, two functions], 809, 822, 832. Neither does a postposition /w-m/ seems to exist in Ug. [cf. KTU 3.9:6, and n. 96 for Heb.]; Tropper 832; Watson 1992:230; Moran 1961:61 [*hm(h)* 'deictic particle']. The same may be said of *al-m*, 'nay!' (cf. Gordon 1998:357, 359; Dahood 1965:50). Cf. also **Ak.** *en-ma*, *allū(-mV)* (Von Soden 1995:219); **Heb.** *hnh-m* (2Sam 16:5); **Ar.** *inna(-mā)* (Wright 1976 I:284). Cathcart 1975:68 reads *hwy-m lmwt* in Sir 41:1 (with the manuscrit B and the Masada Scroll), namely, interj. *hwy* + enclitic *-m*.

99. Cf. Del Olmo Lete 1998:48ff.

100. For criticism of Akkadian functionalism cf. Von Soden 1995:220f.; *supra* p. 5.

101. Cf. Von Soden 1952:171-175..

102. Cf. Tropper 2000:228 ("Selbständige Personalpronomina und Pronominal suffixed sind bisweilen zur besonderen Betonung durch enklitische Partikeln erweitert, im einzelnen durch *-n*, *-m* und (wahrsch. Auch) *-y*. Häufig steht das betreffende Wort betont am Satzanfang"). The emphasis, if there is any, comes from the redundant use of the pronoun with the, mainly imperative, verbal form and from the topicalised position in the clause (cf. Tropper 2000:228, 832; cf. above Buccellati 1996:215, 383ff, the only author, to my knowledge, who pays enough attention to this fact, enumerating all the grammatical and lexical ways of expressing emphasis, among them 'enclitic particle'). In this case the 'Betonung' comes from the redundant use of the pronoun also. For the Ug. examples cf. Aartun 1974:55f.; Tropper 2000:242-244, 832; Watson 1992:229, 236; 1994:96; 1996:265. On the contrary the quoted interpretation of *yblh-m* (KTU 1 4 I 36f.) seems dubious (Watson 1994:98; the quotation function is unknown in Ug.). For other languages: **Ak.** *ayyu-m*, *mannu-m*, and other indef. + *-ma* (Von Soden 1995:61ff.: "etrstarrte Kombinationen"); **AkEA** *a-na-ku-ma*, *a-na-ku-mi-/*, *šu-ni-ma*, *pa-nu-ia-ma*, *iš-mé-ni-ma* (Rainey 1996 I:103-124; sometimes *miya*, 'who', *mannu*, 'what' < WS); IndP + *-m(ā)* also in Heb. (*hemmāh*, *m'ūmāh*), **Ar.**, **ESA: Sab.**, **Meh.** (*dō-me* < *dāmV*, *dī-me* < *dī-mV*), **Eth.** (*mannū:i-ma*), **Tig.**, **Tigñ.**, **Amh.**; cf. Aartun 1974:51 n. 2, 56, 58 for the bibliography. For **Ebl.** pronouns cf. Pagan 1998:75ff. A few cases of suff. pronoun with enclitic *-m* can be found also in **Pun.** (Freidrich-Röllig

A number of suffixed pronouns with enclitic –m have been suggested in the Hebrew Bible:

<i>w'tw-m rbbt qdš</i> (Dt 33:2)	<i>'p ḥbb ^cmw-m</i> (Dt 33:3)
<i>wd'g lk-m</i> (1Sm 10:2)	<i>ngšyw-m ^cwll</i> (Is 3:12)
<i>^cmd ldyn ^cmw-m</i> (Is 3:13)	<i>wntn lk-m 'dny</i> (Is 30:20)
<i>kbdw-m š'h</i> (Is 30:27)	<i>my mdd bš^clw-m ym</i> (Is 40:12)
<i>k'yn ngdw-m 'ps ...</i> (Is 40:16-17)	<i>^cl kpy-m / ngdy</i> (Is 49:16)?
<i>wbšw mtbw'tk-m</i> (Jr 12:13)	<i>š'y ^cnk-m wr'y</i> (Jr 13:20)
<i>wnblh-m ynpšw</i> (Jr 48:12)	<i>^cbry lk-m ywšbt</i> (Mic 1:11)
<i>r^chw / m^crw-m</i> (Hab 2:15)	<i>ntth šmḥh blby-m ^ct ...</i> (Ps 4:8)
<i>phw / qrbw-m</i> (Ps 5:10)	<i>byšw^ctk-m ygyl</i> (Ps 21:2)
<i>wlšwny-m dbq</i> (Ps 22:16)	<i>ḥytny-m yrdy br</i> (Ps 30:4)
<i>wlškny-m 'yd</i> (Ps 31:12)	<i>ḥyy-m ^cšmw</i> (Ps 38:20)
<i>'lhym lngdy-m</i> (Ps 44:5)	<i>pdywn npšw-m</i> (Ps 49:9)
<i>pdh bšlw m npšy-m qrb ...</i> (Ps 55:19)	<i>lw' šmk lngdy-m</i> (Ps 68:14)
<i>lšn klbk-m</i> (Ps 68:24)	<i>p^clt lnw-m hyklk ...</i> (Ps 68:29)
<i>p^clta lnw-m hyklk</i> (Ps 68:30)	<i>klmh pny-m wzr ...</i> (Ps 69:8)
<i>bydw-m ḥqr(y)-'rš</i> (Ps 95:4)	<i>tplt h^cr^cr / plt(w)-m</i> (Ps 102:18)
<i>'ḥrytw / šmw-m</i> (Ps 109:13)	<i>wykrt m'rš zkrw-m</i> (Ps 109:15)
<i>yr't yhw / ^cšh-m</i> (Ps 111:10)	<i>tš^ch lmlky-m</i> (Ps 114:10)
<i>l'dny-m(i) šmry m lbqr</i> (Ps 130:6)	<i>šyrw lnw-m šyr</i> (Ps 137:3)
<i>gly-my / klm</i> (Ps 139:16)	<i>lmlky-m</i> (Ps 144:10)
<i>'m-bstr pny-m tš'wn</i> (Job 13:10)	<i>nṭmnw b^cynk-m</i> (Job 18:3)
<i>w^cth bny-m šm^c</i> (Pr 5:7; cf. Pr 7:24; 4:10 ...) ¹⁰³	

The Ugaritic grammars limit themselves in this case to register the morph, unable to suggest any convincing semantic function attributable to the *enclisis*, above all in case of suffixed pronoun. At the most the currently adduced 'emphatic' nuance, if actually there is any, lays in the redundant use and position of the same pronoun.

2) Personal names

The third case in which the *enclisis* of this postposition becomes semantically neutral is that of PNN, including also DNN. Neither determination nor emphasis can be called in cause, both aspects being already bound to them. Only starting from the syntactical structure of such lexemes and from their position in the clause can this problem be put in some cases. But the alternation of names with and

1999:30, 66, 154 (> /u/ [?]); with relative pronouns enclitic -m is found in **ESA: Qatab**. (Beeston 1984:67) and **Amh.**, which also uses -m as an article (cf. Kaye 1990 I:134).

103. Most of those texts will be found in Singer 1942-1943; 1948; De Langhe 1946; Pope 1951; Hummel 1957; McDaniel 1968 (Lam); Dahood 1965 (UHP), 1974 (Psalms); Van Dijk 1968 (Ez 26-28); Tromp 1969; Blommerde 1969 (Job); van der Weiden 1970 (Prov.); Del Olmo Lete 1971 (Jer 14-17), Sabottka 1972 (Zeph.); Cathcart 1973 (Nah.); Kuhnck 1974 (Hos); Aartun 1974:51-61; Penar 1975 (Sir); Viganó 1976; Irwin 1977 (Is 28-33); Ceresco 1980 (Job 29-31); Boadt 1980 (Ez 29-32); Althann 1983 (Jer 4-6); Michel 1987 (Job 1-14); Zurro 1987; Cohen 1990; Watson 1992/1994/1996; Emerton 1996; Tropper 2002.

without this postposition points to consolidated phenotyps, independently from their grammatical inner construction. The *enclisis* functions as a merely discretional phonetic expanded phenotyp.

To my knowledge, Watson is, for the moment, the only author who has paid attention to this question in Ugaritic and has listed the most complete series of such expanded PNN¹⁰⁴. The names witnessed in Ak.Ug. are also offered by him. This list will be implemented with PNN from the onomastic elencha of other Semitic languages.

To visualise the situation in Ugaritic the instances with and without enclitic *-m* are set out by Watson himself; to which, as pointed out above, the DNN must be added, quoted by Watson also when they come out in the texts¹⁰⁵:

<i>arš / arš-m</i>	<i>b^cl / b^cl-m</i> ¹⁰⁶	<i>ḥty / ḥty-m</i>	<i>pt/d / pt/d-m</i>
<i>ill / ill-m</i>	<i>brś / brś-m</i>	<i>zry / zr-m</i>	<i>šry / šry-m</i>
<i>ilt / ilt-m</i>	<i>gny / gny-m</i>	<i>ydn / ydn-m</i>	<i>špš / špš-m</i>
<i>ulluri / ulr-m(?)</i>	<i>ḥr / ḥr-m</i>	<i>ytr / ytr-m</i>	<i>td/tġl / td/tġl-m</i>
<i>bly / bly-m</i>	<i>ḥlby / ḥlby-m</i>	<i>pgi / pga-m</i>	<i>tty / tt-m, tty-n</i>
<i>ktr/ ktr-m</i> ¹⁰⁷	<i>il/il-m</i> ¹⁰⁸	<i>mt /mt-m</i> ¹⁰⁹	<i>bbt/bbtm</i> ¹¹⁰
<i>ḥss/ḥss-m</i>	<i>ittbn-m MN</i> ¹¹¹		

This impressive list rules out any attempt of attributing to the morph *-m* any specific semantic bearing; the lexicalised variants appear simply optional and semantically neutral. On the other hand, the syllabic transcription confirms the state of the art, only the vocalisation of the morph is ambiguous: /-ma/, /-mi/, /-mu/¹¹². This situation points to the inflexional state of those PNN, as it is the case in the Ugaritic king lists involving the ‘determinative’ /DINGIR:il/¹¹³.

<i>abm / a-bi-ma</i>	<i>brśm / bur-zu-mi-</i>
<i>ibrm / EN^{ri}-mu</i>	<i>ḥrm / DUMU-ḥa-ra-mù</i>
<i>illm /^fi-la-la[a]m (?)</i>	<i>ḥtym / ḥu-ti-ja-nu, DUMU-ḥa-at-ti-ya/-ḥa-at-ti-ya-ma</i>

104. Cf. Watson 1992:246-249, 342; 1994:97; 1996:261, 265. The classical elenchus of Ugaritic PNN is that of Gröndahl 1967, that naturally needs to be completed.

105. Cf. for instance Watson 1992:220, 224; 1994:95, 101; 1996:265 – Other dubious DNN remain aoutside the list: /add-m/ (KTU 1.70:5: Ak. (!)) (Watson 1994:99 < /Adad-ma/), /lim-m/ (Watson 1994:95); /bclmḏr/ (KTU 4.172:3) (Watson 1996:264). – Cf. also Layton 1990:164ff.

106. In *ym l mt // b^cl-m yml[k]* (KTU 1.2 IV 32) (Tropper 2002:827) we have double duty /l/ with *-m* as balance variant, with a certain stylistic nuance; the real emphasis lies in the particle /l/; cf. Gr. μεν / δε. Cf. Watson 1992:236; 1996:267 – The six *b^cl-m* in KTU 1.118:5-10 (and par. are interpreted in the Ak. version as a simple numerical series; the reading *b cl-m*, ‘am folgenden Tag’, has no verisimilitude whatever, in my opinion, *pace* Tropper 2002 332, 832.

107. Cf. Tropper 2002: 827, 830; Aartun 1974:39.

108. Cf. Ar, ‘*allāhumma* (Tropper 2002:827). *Il-m* is some times ambiguous (‘God’/‘gods’); cf. *yd ilm* (KTU 2.12:12) (Watson 1992:225, 230, 242); not in the case of *rbt il-m* (KTU 1.4 V 3) (Watson 1996:265). For the same problem with Phoen. *il-m*, cf. Benz 1972:243.

109. Cf. *k mt-m^cz mid* (KTU 2.10:12f), but see above n. 99 (Watson 1992:220, 225 (?); 1994:101).

110. Cf. Watson 92:242; Del Olmo Lete 2004:614f.

111. KTU 4.269:30; cf. Watson 1994:100 (?).

112. Cf. Watson 1992:251. It is difficult to ascertain whether we have two different particle *-ma // -mi* or just two variants of the same, according to the central Ak. and Ak.EA (Tropper 2002:825). On the other hand cf. loc. Ak /-u(m)/ and the ending EA /-uma/ (Tropper 2002:326). In the Ak.EA the usual variant *-mi* with PNN may have been induced by the NWS personal pronominal /mī/, ‘who’, as could also be the case with its variant /-mē/ (i.e. with PNN; cf. Aartun 1974:39; Watson 96:267). On the vocalisation *ma/-mi* Humme 1957:195, n. 83.

113. Cf. Del Olmo Lete 2006:168; Arnaud 1999:154f. Cf. also Huffmon 1965:104ff., 118; Streck 2000:255ff., 284ff.

<i>irm / ir(?) -m[u(?)]</i>	<i>ytrm / ja-tar-mu, ja-tar-mi, ja-ti-r[i (?), DUMU-ja-ta-ri</i>
<i>ulrm(?) / Ulluri</i>	<i>pd / ^fpi-id-[da(?)]</i>
<i>blym / bu-lu-ya</i>	<i>šry / š[ú]-r[i]-ja</i>
<i>Ba^calmi-išlam/Da-adá-mi¹¹⁴</i>	<i>^cbdmlk-m / IR₃-LUGAL-ma (abdi-milku-ma/abdi-šarruma)¹¹⁵</i>

A peculiar instance present the names in vocative¹¹⁶ case, where the postpositional –m seems to have an emphatic value. But anew this value is inherent to the case ending, emphatic by itself, and when there is a will of more emphasis a real emphatic prepositive particle is used (/y-/ /l-/). Cf. *y ym-m*, *y b^cl-m* (4), *y btlt-m¹¹⁷* vs. *il-m* (4),¹¹⁸ *b^cl-m*, [*nhr*]-m,

At Ebla we find some examples of the use of postpositional –ma, already at variance with –mi, with PNN, which Pagan understands, according to the current trend, as ‘asseverative in function’, that is to say, ‘emphatic’ (‘truly, indeed ...’)¹¹⁹. After nouns and verbs: *abu-ma*, *adam-ma*, *ḥanna-ma-Dar*, *pū-ma*, *yiddi(n)-ma-’Il*, *šar-’ilum-ma*, *’ūla-ma*, *bu^cdu-mi*, *šar-mi-(’i)lu*, probably by euphonic reasons; also affixed to independent pronouns: *ši-na^cmaqu-ma*, *ši-ma-Kura*, *šu-ma-ṭāb*, *šu-ma-’Il*, *šuwa-ma-wabar*, *šu-ma-Kura*, probably to avoid unsuitable phonetic sequences, as will be substantiated later on; and to suffixed pronoun as well: *mut-ī-ma*, *’uzzī-mi*. On the contrary, the only example of –ma between *nomen regens et rectum* I find rather suspect: *pū-ma-’Il*, ‘truly the word of ’Il’ (?), better ‘the word is he, El’, unless we considered as such the *encliseis* to prepositions: *’ašta-ma-’Il*, *’ašta-ma-Kura*. But expanded prepositions were maybe not felt as nouns, as was the case with Ug. /lm, bm, km/.

Also in ‘Amorite’ (Mari, Ugarit), already in plain NWS sphere, we find this kind of *enclisis* of –ma, grammatically accepted (?) already, in PNN: *bi-in-ma-a-ḥi-im*, *bu-nu-ma-^dIM*, *bun-na-ma-AN(?)*, *milku-ma-’el*, *qāmu-ma-’aḥum*, *qāmu-ma-’el*, *aḥum-ma-’el*, *aḥum-ma-dāri*; *ilu-ma-ila¹²⁰*. There is apparently a tendency to avoid the encounter of the sequence /u:’i/ or the joining of the non-vocalic absolute form of the *regens* with the *nomen rectum*; but cf. *aḥu-’el*, *ḍimru-aḥu*, *abu-ḥalum*, *ammu-ḥalum*. The phonetic condition seems, then, free and alleatory. In a case like *ḥa-ab-du-ma-^dDa-gan*, the avoidance of the sequence of similarly beginning syllables (/du-da/) was maybe decisive (?). Apart from those compounded PNN with *enclisis* in construct chain, a great many lexical units either including or ending in –ma are also extant from this linguistic area, with and with out –ma: *šumi-yam-am*, *anāku-’ila-ma*, *’amta-’ila-ma*, *’ilu-ma-’ila*, *’iš^cī-’ila:u-ma*, *šadī-ma-’el*, *rāpī-m-’el*, *bānī-m-’el*, *ḍimrī-’ilu-ma¹²¹*. From Alalah a few cases are extant: *abi-ma*, *iatira-ma*, *bin-qašira-ma*, *aštar-mu*, *nuri-el-mu*, *uri-el-mu¹²²*.

114. Cf. Watson 1996:267.

115. Cf. Watson 1992:249; also Layton 1990:165: *bin-ili-ma-rakub*, *balu-ma-šeri*, *iatar-mu*; is the second one a case of *enclisis* within the construct chain?

116. Cf. Tropper 2002:317; Watson 92:234-236 - In *lḥtn-m b^cl* (KTU 1.24:15f (Watson 1992:234-36; Aartun 1974:52; Tropper 2000:826), we do not have a vocative: *Yarḥu* does not get married to any of Baal’s daughters, he even refuses it, so he cannot be called *lḥtn-m b^cl*; also the parallelism rules out this version. Translate then: “make yourself a son-in-law of Baal”

117. Watson 1992:234236; Tropper 2000: 313-19, 826-27.

118 Cf. Watson 92:235 (1.2 I 18) (?).

119. Cf. Pagan 1998:83, 229. The PNN are normalized in NWS transcription. See also Zurro 1981:487f.; Krebernik 1988:99, 348 (*šar-ma-i-lum*, *šar-me-il* ...); Fronzaroli 1988:13.

120. Cf. Huffmon 1965:118ff. Streck 2000:141, 170f., 279, 304.

121. Cf. Streck 2000:266, 277, 279; cf. also Gelb 1980:415-423, for the ‘Amorite’ PNN including or ending in –ma, left aside the ending –um.

122. Cf. Layton 1990: 159f.

Also a small group of PNN with enclitic *-ma/-mi* are found in Ak.EA, of either WS (*addu-mi*, *baalu-ma*, *balum-me*, *bin-azi-mi*, *bin-eli-ma*, *bahlum-me*, *mut-bahlum-me*, *rahmanu-ma*) or Egyptian extraction (*haya-ma*, *manie-ma*, *maiati-ma*, *naphurria-ma*, *nibmuaria-ma*, *teie-ma*)¹²³. No example of *enclisis* within a construct chain is quoted.

In Hebrew some twenty six occurrences can be ascertained, more or less sure, but without no possibility to distinguish whether they carry ‘mimation’ or enclitic *-m*, what as we have already pointed out does not make much difference. Those belong to the most ancient layer of the language, here normalised: ‘Ulam, ‘Onam, ‘Ahuzzam, Bil‘am, Ga‘tam, Horam, Zetam, Hupnam, Husham, Kimham, Malkam, Mish‘am, ‘Iram, Pir‘am, Shuham, Shephupham, Gershom, Hoham, Hemam, Ya‘lam, Miryam, ‘Amram, Shim‘am; also with internal *enclisis* ‘*abi-ma-’el*, *le-mo-’el*, ‘*al-mo-dad*¹²⁴.

Also in Phoenician we met this *enclisis* in PNN, but those are some times difficult to analyse: ‘*d-m*, ‘*rš-m*, *bd-m*, *bšr-m*, *grgš-m*, *drdš-m*, *ytn-m*, *knš-m*, *mgn-m*, *mtr-m*, ‘*z-m*, ‘*kbr-m*, ‘*rš-m*, *šrb-m*, *qnz-m*, *ššp-m*. Neo-punic PNN of Semitic origin involving an enclitic *-m* are extremely rare; some of them are among the Phoenician just quoted¹²⁵.

Ancient Aramaic PNN (including Hatra, Palmyre, Nabatea and Egypt) that carry a *-m* ending are almost non extant and the few ones could be easily be parsed as pl. or as foreign names¹²⁶.

Epigraphic (Thamudean) Nord-Arabic offer a certain amount of PNN ending in *-n* which could be seen in some cases as an allomorph of the *enclisis* *-m*. This is practically non extant¹²⁷.

The examples of PNN with enclitic *-m* in the ESA Sabaic inscriptions have been gathered by Tairan ‘*mnm*, *bglm*, *tymm*, *ghmm*, *hdkm*, *hlfm* and many other of the *mf^el(m)* and *mh^fl(m)* noun patterns¹²⁸.

3) Verbs

The new set of lexemes to which *-m* is postponed is that of the verbal forms, not very frequent in Ugaritic: some three dozens with /yqtl/ and only a couple of examples with /qtl/¹²⁹, in contrast with the common usage in Ak., central and peripheric. Tropper comments in this connexion: “Es ist damit zu rechnen, dass die EP *-m* dabei keine einheitliche Funktion besitzt”¹³⁰. In fact, it appears attached to verbal forms either in indicative or volitive mode, namely, semantically undifferentiated. Both modes have in the inflexional verbal system their own markers. As pointed out above, also here the expanded form comes out some times in parallel (second position) with forms without such expansion (as it is

123. Cf. Hess 1993:202, 217; Layton 1990:160ff.

124. Cf. Layton 1990:1167ff., 236f).

125. Cf. Benz 1972:242ff.; Jongeling 1984:17ff.; Hoftijzer-Jongeling 1995.

126. Cf. Maraqten 1988; Abadi 1983; Stark 1971; Kornfeld 1978 (p. 133, ‘Reversindex’. Names like *šlwmm*, *šlmm* [p. 73] could be parsed as /šlm-m/). Cf. also Al-Khraysheh 1986.

127. Cf. Shatnawi 2002:635. For the whole *corpus* of Epigraphical North- and South-Arabic PNN cf. Harding 1971.

128. Cf. Tairan 1992:9f. Cf. also Al-Said 1995; Hayajneh 1998; Avanzini 1989; and the classical work of Ryckmans 1934-1935.

129. Cf. Tropper 2000: 829-30, Aartun 1974:57; Watson 1996: 226-229; Gordon 1998:104. Participles and infinitive are considered as nominal forms. For enclitic *-ma* with verbal forms cf. above on particular languages, mainly Ak.

130. Cf. Tropper 2000:829.

rightly pointed out by Aartun), underlining in this way its semantic neutrality and its function of mere stylistic variant¹³¹. Some times the interpretation is disputed as far as the verbal form is concerned.

/qtl/

ktms-m (KTU 1.6 I 53)

qry-m ab dbḥ (KTU 1.19 IV 29)¹³²

verbal nominals

b yrd-m arṣ (KTU 1.4 VIII 8f ...)¹³³

grš-m zbln (1.16 V 21 and par.)

nḥt-m ḥṭk/mmnn-m mṭ ydk (KU 1.23:40...)¹³⁴

bk-m y^cny (KTU 1.107:12/41)¹³⁵

l b^cl yrd-m b^cmḡ (KTU 1.151:13)(?)¹³⁶

šlm-m (KTU 4.370:45)¹³⁷

/yqtl/: indicative mode¹³⁸

tlk-m rḥmy (KTU 1.23:16)

tirk-m yd il (KTU 1.23:33)

b šm tg^cr-m^c ttrt (KTU 1.2 IV 28)

yṣq-m l rbbt (KTU 1.4 I 26-28)

qdš yuḥd-m šb^cr (KTU 1.4 IV 16)

[*ym*]*r-m n^cm[n]* (KTU 1.15 II 19f.)

w tmn tt{t}mn-m (KTU 1.15 II 23-25)

l arṣ ksh tšpk-m (KTU 1.17 VI 15f.)

*b^cl ḥmd-m yḥmd-m*¹³⁹

// *bn dgn yhr^rr-m* (KTU 1.12 I 38s)

tšpk-m (KTU 1.17 VI 15f.)

l tbrkn alk brkt-m (KTU 1.19 IV 32)

w/ttld-m dt ymt-m (KTU 1.25 :2-4)

hm tḡr-m l mt (KTU 1.82:5)

yšḥm-m (KTU 1.175:7)

bk-m y^cny (KTU 1.177:12)

w lh y^cl-m (KTU 2.14:14)(?)¹⁴⁰

tšmḥ-m ab (KTU 2.16:10f)

ušbt-m n[t]bt (KTU 2.36:15f.)

tad-m atr it (KTU 2.39 :33-34)¹⁴¹

tšm^c-m (KTU 2.71:9)

kd tt-m (KTU 4.710:9)¹⁴²

yqtl : volitive mode

arṭ-m pdh (KTU 1.2 I 18s)

at-m w ank ibḡyh (KTU 1.3 III 28)¹⁴³

lḥm hm šty-m (1.4 IV 35)

ašt-m kṭr (KTU 1.4 VII 15s.)

w lḥm-m^c m aḥy lḥm

// *w št-m cm a[ḥy] yn* (KTU 1.5 I 24-25)

ytn-m qrt (KTU 1.23:3)

ib t^crb-m b bhth (KTU 1.24:18-19)

l ḥtn-m bcl (KTU 1.24:25f) (W 92:236)¹⁴⁴

131. As pointed out, it recalls the function of the Greek particles /μεν-δε/ as an 'ordering' devise without semantic bearing. Cf. Watson 1992:226 n. 25, who quotes Margalit's felicitous labelling of *bn-m il* as "a metrically elongated version of *bn il*" (Margalit 1980:64).

132. Cf. Aartun 1974:57; Tropper 2002:829f.; Watson 1992:226.

133. Cf. Aartun 1974:55; Watson 1992: 225, 226.

134. Cf. Aartun 1974: 39; Watson 1992:239.

135. Cf. Watson 1992:229.

136. Cf. Tropper 2002:830 (?).

137. Cf. Watson 1996:264 (?).

138. For those examples cf. Aartun 1974:57; Watson 1992:226-229, 242, 244; 1994 :96f.; 1996:261f, 264; Tropper 2002:334, 827, 832.

139. Here the possible emphasis comes from the rhetoric figure 'Semitic infinitive'; cf. *infra*.

140. The case is dubious; cf. Watson 1992:228 (Verret); but DUL 158 (</clm/); KTU *w l iyilm*.

141. Cf. Watson 1992:228; but DUL 18. (</adm/ II)

142. Dubious text: KTU 1.169:10; 2.16:10f; 3.8:9; Watson 1996:262ff..

143. Cf. *supra*, interpreted as a pronoun. (Tropper 2002:827; cf. Watson 1992:228).

Paronomastic inf.

rgm- argm(n/k) (KTU 1.3 IV 31f)

ḥmd-m yḥmdm (KTU 1.12:I:38, II 9)

w an mt-m amt (KTU 1.17 VI 38)

yd^c-m lyd^ct (KTU 2.39 :13f)

ywpt^c-m [ywp^ctn] (KTU 1.4 VI 13f)

rk-m ybrk (KTU 1.15 II 18f)

lak-m ilak (KTU 2.30 :19f)

pk-m ahpk lbš (RS 92.2016:36')¹⁴⁵

Many examples of this kind have also been found, or rather presumed, in Hebrew:

qtl

w'klt-m ^cmy (1 Sm 9:19)

wns-m mrḥq (Is 17:13 and similar)

ky śmt-m ^cyr lgl (Is 25:2)

wktw[w]-m nws nsw (Jr 46:5) (?)

nhrsw-m mgrwt (Joel 1:17)

rš^cty-m 'lhy (Ps 18:22 // 2 Sm 22:22)

w^cšmy ^cššw-m (Ps 31:11-12)

hzw-m p^clwt (Ps 46:9)

hšbwt-m ḥrn 'pk (Ps 85:4)

wyšry kšl klw-m (Job 17:7)

hpk-m šrš hrym (Job 28:9)

-m 'rš (Is 9:18)

y šdd-m byt (Is 23:1)

r-gml-m (Is 63:7)

tḥw-m 'bsyh (Jr 50:26)

mty-m lthlh (Zeph 3:19)

hbty-m ^cwn (Ps 26:8)

'gty-m nhmt lby (Ps 38:9)

yrwty-m sbl škmw (Ps 81:7)

'kḥdw-m 'bwt-m (Job 15:18) (?)

rp'ym yḥllw-m (Job 26:5)

yqtl

tml'-m ... twryš-m (Ex 15:9) (?)

yd-m(w) k'bn (Ex 15:16) (?)

yš'-m dbrtyk (Dt 33:3)

yššw-m mabr wšyh (Is 35:1)

bmqbwt yḥzqw-m (Jr 10:4) (?)

wykšlw-m bdrkyhm (Jr 18:15)

^cth y'kl-m ḥdš 't-ḥlqhhm (?) (Hos 5:7)

w^cmy tl'w-m lmšwbt (Hos 11:7)

lw' yzr^c-m šmk ^cwd (Nah 1:14)

wmš'ny 'šmyt(y)-m (Ps 18:41)

wyrq(y)d-m kmw-^cgl (Ps 29:6)

'dd-m ^cd-byt 'lohym (Ps 42:5)

b'rš tnh-m (Ps 67:5) (?)

yšb^cw-m hlm (Ps 73:10)

'th tšbh-m (Ps 89:10)

ydy-m ^cdwtk (Ps 119:152)

ydk'w-m lpry ^cš (Job 4:19)

yšb^cny-m mrrym (Job 9:18)

'ḥz-m (Ex 15:15) (?)

yrd-m y^cqb (Nm 24:19) (?)

šk yd-m(w) (1 Sam 2:9) (?)

'yhyh-m šm (Is 65:20)

'ny lw' 'šty-m r^ch (Jer 17:16)

'yšḥbw-m š^cyry š'n (Jer 49:20)

tšyg-m bgb^ch mlḥmh (Hos 10:9) (?)

rgzw-m msgrwtyhm (Mic 7:17)

šmr-m tšrnw (Ps 12:8)

yḥrgw-m msgrwtyhm (Ps 18:46)

d(w)-m(w) lš'l (Ps 31:18) (?)

šm^c 'l wy^cn-m (Ps 55:20)

yšyšw-m ^cyr k^cšb (Ps 72:16)

šr šmnw wnd^c-m (Ps 78:3)

šḥw-m ^csr r^ch (Ps 107:39) (?)

špṭym bl-yd^cw-m (Ps 147:20)

l^cw-m mqwmw (Job 8:18)

t^c(w)-m kškw (Job 12:25)

144. Cf. *supra* n. 116. In *yšlḥm* (KTU 1.100:6 and par.) no enclitic *-m* is to be accounted for (< /ḥm/); Watson 1996:261).

145. Cf. Aartun 1974:55; Watson 1992:232-234; Tropper 2002:334f.

hrp'ym yħllw-m (Job 26 :5)
wyšyb-m lnšh (Job 36:7)
ytgl^c-m ħrp (Pr 20:3-4)
yr' 'l ysyg-m (Sir 6:15)

h ^cšh ky-yqw-m (Job 31:14) (?)
^c*ym tht--m* (Job 40:12)
znħ-m šalwm npšy (Lam 3:17)

Verbal nominals and imp.
lhwt-m dyn dlym (Is 10:2)
kħdwš-m tbn (Is 25:10)
^c*t-mw l spr ħqh* (Is 30:8)
sqlw-m 'bn (Is 62:10)
^c*k'yš ndh-m* (Jer 14:9) (?)
^c*rħq-m šw ty* (Ps 22:2)
^c*wr'w-m p'lw* (Ps 66:5)
^c*wgw^c-m n^cr* (Ps 88:16)
^c*lišgw^c-m 'mry d^ct* (Pr 19:27)
^c*wyhyl wdw^c-m* (Lam 3:26)

^c*(h)-m rwħw* (Is 11:15)
^c*p(y)-m wbknrwt* (Is 30:32) (?)
^c*wm nhr(y)-m (bw)* (Is 33:21) (?)
^c*mth wbk-m nħtk* (Jer 17:4)
^c*nšl-m kp r^c* (Hab 2:9)
^c*hym špt-m* (Ps 58:12) (?)
^c*yt-m(w) ndbmw* (Ps 83:12)
^c*mkh-m 'šwr* (Pr 3:18)
^c*ll-m mlkh* (Lam 2 :2)

In no other case the attribution of emphatic value to the postpositive /-m/ turns out to be more redundant than in case of paraphrastic infinitive (*alias* Semitic infinitive!), itself an emphatic morph by nature¹⁴⁶.

For the rest this morph is to be found in all the Semitic languages¹⁴⁷. But in this connexion the peculiar situation in Amharic has to be taken into account. There is in the morpho-syntaxis of this language the negative 'existence' morpheme *aldolläm ...-m*, and the more general negative verbal pattern, *al-... -m*, with perfect and imperfect as well¹⁴⁸. Here the original semantic bearing of *-ma*, 'what, whatever' (cf. Latin *res*) is maybe preserved and its function as mere lexicalised sealing of the negative particle (/al-/) is apparent¹⁴⁹. It could be a good sample of the origin of this enclitic morph. In any case its presence in the periphery of the Semitic family could represent another confirmation of the 'edges law'. We may conclude that taking into account its general regularity, the *enclisis* /-m(a)/ does not have any peculiar semantic bearing (nor 'prolative' either) in case of being postponed to verbal forms. It appears as a lexicalised morph, the semantic nuance depending on the verbal modal system.

This verbal use of enclitic *-m* could be considered either as a secondary generalisation of *enclisis* starting from a peculiar grammatical function or as a primitive morph which has been lost or weakened in other languages (like 'mimation'). It could be so a linguistic phenomenon preserved in the linguistic edge (enclitic /-ma/ in general) and introduced into the verbal system by the generic/universal bearing of negation ('no... whatever may be'). In Ugaritic, and other later Semitic languages in general, it may imply hypercorrection, therefore used almost exclusively in poetry and 'solemn' texts.

4) Nouns

146. Cf. Meyer 1972 III: 63; Joüon 1947:348ff.; Solá-Solé 1956:355-363: the pointed out 'modalidades' have nothing to do with the *enclisis -m*. For the paranomastic infinitive in Ak.EA cf. Rainey 1996 II:389f.

147. Cf. *supra* 'Language distribution'; Aartun 1974:57, n. 7. On the use of the 'word-divider' in this case in Ugaritic cf. Watson 1992:251.

148. Cf. Cohen 1936:164ff., 170ff, 332f; Leslau 1995:150; 164, 170.

149. Cf. Cat. 'no res' > 'res', 'nothing'. From this enclitic use would probably derive the value of /ma/ as a proclitic/prepositive negative particle in Ar. and other languages?; *supra* n. 82.

But the real difficulty comes out in the apparently *multiform* uses¹⁵⁰ of this postposition with nouns. We are going to consider the different functions attributed to this morph by the various authors, taking into account only the *status absolutus* and the *status constructus* of the nouns, independently from their case ending determined by the syntactical function.

In case of nouns with adverbial function, this is indicated by the inflexional *-a* accusative morph¹⁵¹, the postpositional *-m* functioning just as a dispensable and neutral phonetic variant ('Erweiterung'). The kind of adverbial function is irrelevant for us, as far as the use of *enclitic -m* goes. Precisely, the multiplicity of such functions is the clearest argument against the attribution of any specific adverbial value to this postposition. Its function is merely lexically expansive and syntactically organising suffixed to adverbial accusatives or prepositional syntagmes:

a) Adverbial sealing

Modal, 'material', etc.:

[ašhlk] šbth dm-m	// šbt dqnh [mm ^c -m] (1.3 V 10-11, 32f.) ¹⁵²
g-m (KTU 1.6 I 10f)	dq an-m (KTU 1.6 I 22)
nḥlm tlk nbt-m (KTU 1.6 IV 13)	špš-m (KTU 1.14 III 3, 14 and par.)
ktr-m (1.14 I 16f.)	zbln-m (KTU 1.14 I 16s)
ksp-m / hrš-m (1.14 IV 42f.)	^c ry-m (KTU 1.16 II 29)
uzr-m (KTU 1.17 I 21s) ¹⁵³	tn-m (KTU 1.18 IV 22)
krm-m / ḥrnq-m (KTU 1.24 :22f.)	ur-m (KTU 1.39:8 and par.) (?)
p ^c n-m (KTU 1.43 :24-25)	šlm-m (KTU 1.46 :15 and par.)
mḥtrt ptt-m (1.92:25)	^c l-m (KTU 1.105:25f)
šrp-m (KTU 1.111 :6)	iy-m (KTU 1.112 :12) (?) ¹⁵⁴

Similar, although no so numerous examples can be found in other languages:

Ak : *urra(m) u mūša(m)*, *an(n)umma*; more abundant in the **Ak.EA**: *ḥa-ia-ma* (EA 245:6), *ki-ta-ma* (EA 107:11), *ur-ra / [ù] mu-ša-am* (EA 73 :20f.), *mu-ša ur-ra-am* (EA 362 :33), *l[èl]la / le-lá-ma* (EA 243 :13 / 195 :13)¹⁵⁵.

Also in this case Hebrew provides some clear and repeated examples: *pit'om*, ^c*êrom*, *'umnā-m*, *ḥinnā-m*, *rēqā-m*¹⁵⁶; some new examples have been provided: *lhywt 'lmmwt šll-m* (Is 10:2); *rbym lḥmym ly mr-m* (Ps 56:3).

150. Cf. in this regard Tropper's distribution; already Ginsberg (1945:6, n. 13) accepts Singer's observation that ending 'm' is many times adverbial, maybe in keeping with Heb. /-ām/ (*ḥinnām*, *rēgām*, *yōmām*). But he does assert also that such ending, when is not a plural or dual ending, is *always* an adverbial or vocative ending.

151. Cf. Pope 1951:128; Watson 1992:251 ('stylistic'); Gordon 1998:103f. Tropper 2002:826 ('Erweiterung'). The concept 'adverbial' is rather imprecised.

152. This couple of examples and some others could be taken as objective accusatives.

153. Cf. Tropper 2000:827, for an alternative (ac. objet) cf. *infra*.

154. For those texts cf. Aartun 1974:52f.; Watson 1992:146, 232-234, 240-243; 1994:97f., 101; 1996:261, 265, 267; Tropper 2002:311-313, 322, 327, 331, 333. On *iy-m* cf. Watson 1992:243; *ur-m* is ambiguous, Watson 94:101; Del Olmo Lete 2004:252ff.; so it is *uṭ-m drq-m amt-m* (Watson 1992:240).

155. Cf. Tropper 2002:311, 326, 332f., 826 – For a discussion of the 'adverbial' function of this morph and in general of the *-m* enclisis see Pope 1951; Aartun 1974:51, nn. 5 and 7; Watson 1992:231.

156. Cf. Tropper 2002:326

A particular set of examples in Hebrew with this ‘adverbial’ sealing presumes the presence of enclitic –*m* instead of the classical intensive plural:

<i>whdl</i> ‘yš- <i>m</i> (Is 53:3, cf. maybe Ps 141:4)	<i>rš mrḥq-m</i> (Jr 8:19, cf. Is 33:17)
<i>hgl</i> šlwm- <i>m</i> (Jr 13:19)	<i>sk</i> ^c <i>bq-m</i> (Ez 26:10)
<i>hk</i> ^c <i>ym tmrwr(y)-m</i> (Hos 12:15; cf. Jr 6:26; 31:15)	<i>yšyr-m tšpṭw</i> (Ps 58:2; cf. Ps 75:3)
<i>’grh b’hlk</i> ^c <i>wlm-m</i> (Ps 61:5, and many others)	<i>yd</i> ‘dwn(y)- <i>m qšh</i> (Is 19:4) ¹⁵⁷

Locative

<i>barš</i> // <i>b</i> ^c <i>pr-m</i> (KTU 1.3 III 14f)	<i>bht-m</i> / <i>bqrb hkl-m</i> (KTU 1.4 VII 17f. and par..)
^c <i>lk pht ḡly b šd-m</i> (KTU 1.6 V 17f) (?)	^c <i>r-m tdu</i> / <i>pdr-m tdu</i> (KTU 1.16 VI 6f.)
<i>kqṭr urbt-m</i> (KTU 1.169:3)	<i>kbṭn</i> ^c <i>md-m</i> (KTU 1.169:3)
<i>mrḥqt-m qlny</i> (KTU 2.11:6 and par.) ¹⁵⁸	

The use of this morph is present in central Ak.(–*m*, –*m-ma*) and also manifestly in the Ak.EA.: *ka-ba-tu-ma* à šú-ú’-*ru-ma* (EA 282 :6-7), *ba-aṭ-nu-ma* (EA 232:11), *šh-uḥ-ru-ma* (EA 232 :11)¹⁵⁹.

Instrumental

<i>mṭ-m tgrš</i> (KTU 1.3 II 15 and par.)	<i>št b krpn-m</i> (KTU 1.4 IV 36f. and par.)
<i>kltan-m</i> (KTU 1.14 II 15 and par.)	<i>rḥ[t-m rṭ] ymll</i> (1.16 V 28) (?)
^c <i>nt šrz-m</i> (KTU 1.82:11) ?	<i>ylm nb</i> ^c <i>nk šmd-m</i> (KTU 1.82:16) (?)
<i>lšn-m tllḥk</i> (KTU 1.83:5) (?)	<i>t^crp ym dnbt-m</i> (KTU 1.83:6f) (?)
^c <i>r^cr-m yn^crn^ch</i> (KTU 1.100:65)	<i>ss-m ysynh</i> (KU 1.100:66)
^c <i>dt-m y^cdynh</i> (KTU 1.100:66)	<i>yblt-m yblnh</i> (KTU 1.100 :66f.) ¹⁶⁰

temporal

^c <i>l-m</i> (KTU 1.41:8 and similar)	<i>ḥdṭ-m</i> (KTU 1.91:13f) (?)
<i>aḥr šapš-m</i> (KTU 1.14 IV 37) ¹⁶¹	

b) No adverbial bearing

With absolute/attributive forms

157. Cf. Hummel 1967: 100f.

158. For the those examples cf. Aartun 1974:54f; Watson 1992:224, 234, 241; 1994:97-99, 101; 1996:259, 267; Tropper 2002 :327, 331, 830. *š^ct b šd-m ḥṭb* (KTU 1.14 III 7f.) and *w b grn-m ḥpšṭ* (Krt 214-215, 111-112) are ambiguous (= ? m. pl.); cf. Aartun 1974:53; Watson 1992:240.

159. Cf. GAG 87f; Tropper 2002:326. In other Semitic languages this adverbial meaning is taken up by the corresponding preposition.

160. Cf. Aartun 1974 :52ff.; Watson 1992:230, 237f., 241; 1994:99f.; 1996:266 (!); Tropper 2002:327f., 331, 333. Pardee is right, I think, in being sceptic about the ‘instrumental’ value of this morph (cf. Watson 1992:238).

161. Cf. Tropper 2002:328, 322, 332. In other NWS languages: **Heb.** *yômā-m* (*leḥem yômām wālāylāh* [Ps 42:5]); **JArām.** *yēmā-m*; **Syr.** *īmā-m* (Brockelmann GVG I, 474). See also *hšhry-m* in Meša^c ‘s inscription (Blau 1980:143-145).

<i>nhr il rb-m</i> (KTU 1.3 III 39)	<i>mgd tdt yrh-m</i> (1.14 II 31) ¹⁶²
<i>zbl c^{rš}-m yšu</i> (KTU 1.14 II 45)	<i>špn hl-m qdš / hl-m adr</i> (KTU 1.16 I 7-9)
<i>b šb^c ym-m</i> (KTU 1.17 I 15)	<i>šgrk h^h-m</i> (KTU 1.17 VI 35)
<i>m^ltn rgm-m argmn</i> (KTU 1.17 VI 39) (?)	<i>qšt-m [kl] mhrm</i> (KTU 1.17 VI 39f) (?)
<i>lpn ll c^{šrm}-m</i> (1.132 :16f)	<i>ib-m ššq ly</i> (KTU 2.33:27f.) (?)
<i>lg yn-m</i> (KTU 4.44:28) ¹⁶³	

In Hebrew many examples have been put forward of this particular morph, independent, in balance with suffixed pronouns or in their place:

<i>yqww hmym ... 'l-mqw(h)-m</i> (Gn 1:9)	<i>qr' ym-m</i> (Gn 1:10)
<i>ygd c^{qb}-m</i> (Gn 49:19-20)	<i>š^cqt-m šm^cty</i> (Ex 3 :7) (?)
<i>whnš'rym bkm ... blbb-m</i> (Lv 26:36)	<i>bm^hqq bms^cnt-m</i> (Nm 21:18) (?)
<i>'l mšy'(w)-m</i> (Nm 23:22, cf. 24:8)	<i>kš^cyr-m c^{ly} dš'</i> (Dt 32:2)
<i>mšn'yw-m(n) yqwmwn</i> (Dt 33:11) (?)	<i>ym wdrw-m</i> (Dt 33:23)
<i>l'dyr-m ... k gbwr-m</i> (Judg 5:13) (?)	<i>c^l sws wprš(y)-m</i> (1 Re 20:28)
<i>'m-yhyw h^t'ykm kšny-m</i> (Is 1:18; 1QIs ^a : kšny)	<i>šdq^t šdyq(y)-m</i> (Is 5:23)
<i>wnš ns lgwy-m mr^hq</i> (Is 5:26)	<i>'y-m 'pw'</i> (Is 19:12, cf. 2 Re 19:13)
<i>msgr-(w)m rb ymym</i> (Is 24:22)	<i>hyh zr^c-m lbqym</i> (Is 33:2)
<i>mqw(h)-m-nhrym</i> (Is 33:21) (?)	<i>bl-yh^zqw trn-m</i> (Is 33:23)
<i>k'yn ngdw-m 'ps</i> (Is 40:17; 1QIs ^a : ngdw)	<i>'yn-gh^lt l^hm-m</i> (Is 47:14)
<i>wl' y^hsr l^h-m</i> (Is 51:14)	<i>'kn lšqr-m gb^cwt</i> (Jr 3:23)
<i>zqn c^m-ml' ymy-m</i> (Jer 6:11)	<i>hš šwh^t lšn-m</i> (Jer 9:7)
<i>c^{yr}-m l' nwšbh</i> (Jr 22:6)	<i>šlhym 't-hzmwrh 'l 'p-m</i> (Ez 8:17)
<i>bš't c^{zbnk} mym-m</i> (Ez 27:33)	<i>bqhl c^{mym} rby-m</i> (Ez 32:3) (?)
<i>'l gylk c^{my}-m</i> (?) (Hos 9:1)	<i>l^h-m-k yšymw mzwr</i> (Ob 7)
<i>bywm c^d-m</i> (Ob 13)	<i>c^{wntnw} / kl h^t't-m</i> (Mich 7:19)
<i>wksb'-m sbw'ym</i> (Nah 1:10)	<i>hbnhr(y)-m hrh</i> (Hab 3:8)
<i>wygdw c^l-gbwl-m</i> (Zeph 2:8)	<i>whdk rš^c(y)-m</i> (Job 40:12)
<i>lm^cn hby^t al-m^cryh-m</i> (Hab 2:15)	<i>c^{wrh} 'l-m špt šwyt</i> (Ps 7:7) (?)
<i>tkyn lb-m / 'zkn</i> (Ps 10:17)	<i>'th yhw^h tšmr-m / tšrn</i> (Ps 12:8)
<i>bny 'l-m</i> (Ps 29:1, cf. Ps 82:1)	<i>blb ym(y)m</i> (Ps 46:3)
<i>pdywn npšw-m</i> (Ps 49:9)	<i>lblwt š'l-m zbl lw</i> (Ps 49:15)
<i>l' šmw'lhym lngd-m</i> (Ps 54:5)	<i>wym rhqy-m</i> (Ps 65:6)
<i>tkyn dgn-m / tkynh</i> (Ps 65:10)	<i>'dny-m bšn 'šyb</i> (Ps 68:23)
<i>š^cyr rd-m</i> (Ps 68:28)	<i>ybq^c šwr-m</i> (Ps 78:15, cf. vs. 20)
<i>h'klt-m / wtšqm</i> (Ps 80:6) (?)	<i>w'šl^hh/bšryrwt lb-m</i> (Ps 81:13)
<i>lw / mslwt blbb-m</i> (Ps 84:6)	<i>nkbdwt-m dbr</i> (Ps 87:3)

162. Those two examples could be mere m.p; cf. Watson 1992:240.

163. Cf. Aartun 1974:39, 52f.; Watson 1992:225, 231, 234, 237, 243; 1994:95; 1996:260, 265; Tropper 2002:228, 331 (*c^{rš}-m* alternatively adverbial), 827 (*qšt-m* could be n.pl.).

<i>kyrh^cwn^cwl-m</i> (Ps 89:38)	<i>^cz-m lk</i> (Ps 90:4, cf. Ps 62:12-13)
<i>pnk / tsp rwḥ-m</i> (Ps 104:29)	<i>wymrw^cly-m bym swp</i> (Ps 106:7: MT ^c l ym)
<i>ḥrytw / šm-m</i> (Ps 109:13)	<i>hbṯḥ-m byhwh</i> (Ps 125:1)
<i>ḥš-m p^cl(y)-'wn</i> (Ps 141:4)	<i>^cbd ḥpšy-m</i> (Job 3:19)
<i>wmyd^cryšy-m</i> (Job 6:23)	<i>mwt-m^cšmty</i> (Job 7:15)
<i>lḥqr 'bwt-m</i> (Job 8:8) (?)	<i>w'yn mlk-m</i> (Job 11:3)
<i>wl' y^crw mšnt-m</i> (Job 14:12)	<i>y^crw mšnt-m</i> (Job 14:12)
<i>lw' kḥdw-m 'bwt-m</i> (Job 15:18) (?)	<i>wl'-yṯh l'rš mnl-m</i> (Job 15:29)
<i>lmšl^cmy-m</i> (Job 17:6)	<i>gm 'wr rš^cy-m ydk</i> (Job 18 :5)
<i>hn l' byd-m ṯwbm</i> (Job 21:16)	<i>h'rḥ^cwl-m</i> (Job 22:15)
<i>why' ^cwn plyly-m</i> (Job 31.11)	<i>wtqrb ... lm mwt-m</i> (Job 33:22)
<i>b^cnyw / 'zn-m</i> (Job 36:15)	<i>mkl-m šmr</i> (Pr 4:23) (?)
<i>wṯḥlt 'ny-m 'bdh</i> (Pr 11:7) (?)	<i>mlk-m 'wr</i> (Pr 15:29-30)
<i>t'bt mlk(y)-m</i> (Pr 16:12)	<i>dbry yšr-m</i> (Pr 16:13)
<i>wšdyq-m kkp^cyr ybṯḥ</i> (Pr 28:1) (?)	<i>ksp swg-m .. šptym dlq-m</i> (Pr 26:23)
<i>'nšy dm(y)-m</i> (Pr 29:10)	<i>dwr-m(h) rmw^cnyw</i> (Pr 30:13)
<i>m^cšrh šlṯ(y)-m</i> (Ecl 7:199 (?)	<i>^cml hksyl-m</i> (Ecl 10:15)
<i>b^cšlt(y)-m ymk hmqrh</i> (Ecl 10 :18) (?)	<i>š^cq lb-m</i> (Lam 2:18)
<i>wl' ḥlw bh ydw-m</i> (La4:6)	<i>uḥ / bšḥytw-m</i> (Lam 4:20)
<i>w'l t^clm bgwy^ct-m</i> (Sir 38:16)	<i>hbl 'dm bgwy-t-m</i> (?) (Sir 41:11)
<i>bg'wn lb-m</i> (Sir 48:19) ¹⁶⁴	

c) Within the construct chain

A peculiar case of enclitic –m in Ugarit is offered by the *enclisis* of this morph between the *nomen regens* and the *nomen rectum* of the construct chain. The morpheme seems to be restricted to the NWS area. So besides in Ugaritic we find it in the Canaanite of EA in different kinds of morpho-syntactic structures (nouns, infinitives and clauses): *šusu-mi abiia*, “the plunders of my father”, LÚ.MEŠ *ubili-mi* KASKAL.ḤÁ *šarri*, “the porters of the king’s caravans”, *abat-mi* ^{URU}*Magidda*^{ki}, “the destroying of Megiddo”, *aše-mi* ERÍN.MEŠ *piṯati*, “the going forth of the army”, *awat-mi tišteme ištu ašranu-um*, “the word that you have been hearing from there”; even with preposition: *ana-mi* LUGAL *gabbu*, “(it is) to the king (that) everything belongs”¹⁶⁵. In contrast, it is not present in the Ak. from Mari, Alalah and Emar outside PNN, to my knowledge. For Northwest Semitic languages this construction can be traced from Ebla to the Aramaic dialects. The same can be said of the expanded prepositions /bm, lm, km/ (cf. *supra*).

Ugaritic in turn provides a fairly large amount of occurrences, all of them in literary texts:

<i>b mry-m špn</i> (KTU 1.3 IV 1)	<i>ṯhr-m iqnim</i> (KTU 1.4 V 19, 34f)
<i>lbi-m thw</i> (KTU 1.5 I 14f)	<i>il-m arš</i> (KTU 1.5 V 5f ;1.19 III 35)
<i>^cnt šd-m il</i> (KTU 1.6 IV 2)	<i>ṯkm-m ḥmt</i> (KTU 1.14 II 22)
<i>bn-m il</i> (KTU 1.16 I 9f.)	<i>qš-m arš / ks-m mhyt</i> (KTU 1.16 III 3f)

164. For those texts cf. n. 103. In the Yabne inscription *yônê-m* is read (Vogt 1960:183-84: < *yānā*, ‘opress’).- For other languages cf. *supra Language distribution*.

165. Cf. Rainey 1996 III:236.

<i>grš-m zbln</i> (KTU 1.16 V 12, 21) ¹⁶⁶	<i>pr^c-m šdk</i> (KTU 1.17 V 37f),
<i>b qrb-m asm</i> (KTU 1.19 II 18, 25)	<i>pd-m rišh[m]</i> (KTU 1.19 II 31)
<i>zbr-m gpn / šmd-m gpn</i> (KTU 1.23:9) ¹⁶⁷	<i>b^cdh bht-m mnt</i> (KTU 1.100:70s)
<i>mrqd-m dšn</i> (KTU 1.108 :4-5)	<i>kl-m dr^c</i> (KTU 2.81 :17) (?)
<i>psl-m šnr</i> (KTU 4.370:45) (?) ¹⁶⁸	

Following in the footsteps of Ugaritic, certain Hebraists have found hundreds of examples in the Hebrew Bible, many of which can be explained in other ways. Here is a selection:

<i>bhrry-m š^cyr</i> (Gn 14:5)	<i>hnhly-m 'rnwn</i> (Nm 21:14)
<i>gwy-m šryw</i> (Nm 24:8: *gewê)	<i>kwkb-m y^cqb // šbt-m yšr'l</i> (Nm 24:17)
<i>gwy-m ^cmw</i> (Dt 32:43)	<i>mtny-m qrnyw</i> (Dt 33:11)
<i>mn-hrmty-m šwpym</i> (1 Sm 1:1)	<i>yd^c-m ngn</i> (1 Sm 16:16, cf. vs.18)
<i>my-m lhš</i> (1 Re 22:27; Is 30:20; 2 Cro 18:26)	<i>k šny-m kšlg</i> (Is 1.18)
<i>mktb-m ^cml</i> (Is 10:1)	<i>byd-m z^cmy</i> (Is 10:5)
<i>^cry-m ^czw</i> (Is 17:9)	<i>wḥrb y'ry-m šōr</i> (Is 19:6)
<i>'rgy-m ḥwry</i> (Is 19:9)	<i>mbw'-m 'rš</i> (Is 23:1)
<i>'rbwt-m mrwm</i> (Is 24:18)	<i>šmny-m hlwmy yyn</i> (Is 28:1)
<i>gmwly-m ḥlb ^ctyqy-m šdym</i> (Is 28:9)	<i>k'wb-m 'rš</i> (Is 29:4)
<i>my-m lhš</i> (Is 30:20; 1QIsa my lhš)	<i>kplg(y)-m ym</i> (Is 32:2)
<i>mqw-m nhrym</i> (Is 33:21)	<i>kl y'ry-m šōr</i> (Is 37:25b)
<i>bš^clw-m ym</i> (Is 40:12; 1QIs ^a bšw ^c lw my ym)	<i>wm^cmy-m 'yn 'yš 'ty</i> (Is 63:3; 1QIs ^a : m ^c my)
<i>'lhy-m 'mt hw' 'lhy-m ḥyym</i> (Jr 10:10)	<i>btwk-m ym</i> (Ez 26:12) (cf. <i>supra</i> n. 91)
<i>nwšbt-m ym(y)-m</i> (Ez 26:17)	<i>ḥrbwt-m ^clm</i> (Ez 26:20)
<i>bm^cmqy-m ym</i> (Ez 27:34; cf. Is 51:10; Ps 69:3, 15) <i>hmt-m yyn</i> (Hos 7:5)	<i>ktbn-m ^cšbm</i> (Hos 13:2)
<i>kmrym(y) ^cl ^cl ḥy(h)-m</i> (Hos 11:4)	<i>wnšlmh pry-m šptnw</i> (Hos 14:3)
<i>lhm hm 'mry-m zbḥ</i> (Hos 13:2)	<i>lmny 'šwr w^cry-m šōr</i> (Mi 7:12)
<i>bty-m rbym</i> (Am 3:15)	<i>mšmry-m ḥbl šw'</i> (Jon 2:9)
<i>wlmny-m šwr w^cd nhr</i> (Mic 7:12)	<i>'pyqy-m ym</i> (Ps 18:16, cf. 2 Sm 22:16: 'pyqy-ym) <i>^cyny-m rmym</i> (Ps 18:28)
<i>'pyqy-m ym</i> (Ps 18:16, cf. 2 Sm 22:16: 'pyqy-ym) <i>^cyny-m rmym</i> (Ps 18:28)	<i>'lhy-m šb'wt</i> (Ps 59:6)
<i>mhr(y)-m š^cr</i> (Ps 42:7)	<i>hry-m gbnnym</i> (Ps 68:17)
<i>^cyr-m šwr</i> (Ps 60:11=2Chr 11:5; Ps 31:22)	

166. Maybe ac. object of p.p.; Watson 92:234.

167. A reverse paraphrastic construction, itself emphatic.

168. For those texts cf. Watson 1992:225, 226 n. 25, 240, 242; 1994:96; 1996 :264; Tropper 2002:828. I leave aside a long list of dubious or even improbable cases quoted by Watson in his three articles: *thmt-m* (KTU 1.19 I 45), *ḥlq-m* (KTU 1.3 II 14, 28), *ydy dbb-m* (KTU 1.169:1), *mizrt-m* (KTU 1.5 VI 16f.), *l zt-m* (KTU 1.169:10f), *tr-m* (KTU 1.16 II 25f.), *tt-m* (KTU 1.16 II 52), *hn mt-m* (KTU 1.6 VI 48), *ym-m* (KTU 1.9 I 9), *ḡr-/ḡr-m* (KTU 1.16 VI 43f.), *qš-m* (KTU 1.16 VI 47f), *š-m b^cl* (KTU 1.16 VI 56), *mḥn-m* (KTU 1.83:4), *^cšr-m* (KTU 4.392:3), *nḥš-m* (KTU 1.100:73), *(b) ^cl-m* (KTU 1.148 :3 ...), *w grnn ^cr-m šrn pdr-m* (KTU 1.14 III 6f...), *l mt-m* (KTU 1.15 V 16), *lbu-m* (KTU 1.2 III 20), *^cd mt-m* (KTU 1.117 :7'), *^cšr-m* (KU 1.119 :20f), *mtk mlk-m* (KTU 1.119:25), *^cb[d]m sglth at* (KTU 2.39:12), *ttt-m ḥzr* (KTU 4.141 :7, 9), *ttt-m b^clm* (KTU 4.360:6f), *l ahl-m* (KTU 1.19 IV 49f), *šb^c b-ym-m* (KTU 1.17 V 3; but cf. 1.17 I 15: *b šb^c ym-m*), *tkmt my-m* (KTU 1.19 IV 28, 37), *dt rbt-m* (KTU 1.4 I 30), *r^ct-m* (KTU 1.169:20), *pslt-m* (KTU 1.5 VI 18 and par.), *[k]mt-m tbknn* (KTU 1.15 V 14f.), *kbd-m tbqrn* (KTU 1.78 :5f), *hbl tt-m* (KTU 1.1 IV 8), *mlth-m* (4.778:7; cf. Tropper 2002 832).

'alpy-m šnan (Ps 68:18)	mlky-m qdm (Ps 74:12)
ymy-m qdm (Ps 77:6)	my-m ^c bwt (Ps 77:18)
rby-m ^c mym (Ps 85:51)	bmḥšky-m (b)mšlwt (Ps 88:7)
mrḥm-m šḥr (Ps 110:3)	hšmy-m šmym (Ps 115:16)
yhwh-m šywn (Ps 128:5)	wyš ^c mḥrb-m pyhm (Job 5:15)
mwt-m ^c šmwty (Job 7:15)	^c mqh-m š'wl (Job 11:8)
wghw-m gbr yksh (Job 33:1)	'mry-m 'mt (Pr 22 :21)
'hbh-m bnwt yrwšlym (Song 3:10)	bḥdry-m byt (Sir 4:15)
yswr-m lbw (Sir 10:12)	^c l zbh-m ^c šq (?) (Sir 35:12)
hmwry-m ^c wlm (Sir 16:7)	bdrk-m ḥtp (Sir 32:21)
ymy-m mspr (Sir 37:25) ¹⁶⁹	

A couple of examples can be found in Phoenician-Punic as well: the Pirgi text *hkkbm il* seems too transgressive (article and –m ending) and liable to another interpretation (cf. *hbtm il*, “those houses”; but *lkwkby-’l* Is 14:13); nevertheless a text like *rb khnm ’lm nrgl*, “Chief Priest of the god Nergal” (KAI 59:2) leaves no doubt on the use of the *enclisis*¹⁷⁰.

So as for the nominal construct chain the morph seems limited to NWS¹⁷¹. Leaving aside its assessment as an ‘emphatic’ particle, which has no support whatever in the texts, the explanation of this construction has to be sought outside the syntactical and semantic field, maybe as a phonetically bound phenomenon. In this connexion the large proportion (approaching 75%) of Ugaritic and Hebrew *nomina recta* beginning with a glottal /ʔ/ or glottalised stops (‘emphatic’) and preceded by *nomina regentia* ending in vowel is interesting. Maybe the *enclisis –m(a)* serves in this position to ease the correct delivery of the construct chain (glottal phonemes)¹⁷². Being a free and dispensable morph it could be extended to other phonemes and at the same time, be omitted in many others. Maybe too this was the reason for the genesis of the expanded prepositions (morphologically also a ‘construct chain’) from which the pattern extended to other syntagms.

d) Special syntactic patterns

Another point linking the Akkadian with the Ugaritic syntax, although this time in the opposite direction to my way of thinking, has also attracted the attention of Semitists in relation to the morph –ma. This is its well attested value as a coordinative particle or marker in Ak.¹⁷³ Van Soldt notes, as a specific feature of Ak.Ug that “the enclitic –m appears ... after a word is used for a second or third time in the

169. For those texts cf. *supra* n. 103.. Ps 115:16: *haššāmayim šāmayim lyhwh*, is translated ‘caelum caelorum’ by Jerome (cf. 1QIsa: Is 1.18; 30:20; 40:12, 17; 63:3), assuming a reading *haššāmē-m šāmayim*. For its assumption in the modern Hebrew grammar of Classical Hebrew cf. Joüon-Muraoka 1993:341f. (prepositions), 473 (construct chain); Meyer 1969 II:117, 180f.; 1972 III:25f., 31

170. Cf. Krahmalkov 2001:215f., 268; Dahood 1966:412; McDaniel 1968:203-05. Even if *ilm* could be taken as n.s.m. ‘god’ (Krahmalkov 2000:52), there remains yet the first *enclisis khn-m*.

171. For the few examples in other Semitic languages cf. on the particular languages *supra*.

172. Tropper 2002:160 in relation to the enclitic –wn asserts: “man beachtet, dass *wn* gerade vor Wortformen bezeugt ist, die mit /ʔ/ und /^c/ anlauten ... Es könnten somit euphonische Gründe für die Verwendung der erweiterten Konj. *wn* anstelle der einfachen Konj. *w* verantwortlich sein”. I thank Dr. Watson for calling my attention to Tropper’s suggestion of which I was unaware.

173. Cf. Von Soden 1995:257ff.

same clause or context”¹⁷⁴. And he provides examples of *enclisis* with verbs, nouns and names. Till now authors were rather reluctant to accept such a function in Ugaritic (Pope, Aartun, Hummel, Watson in principle), even though it may not be alien to its original meaning as a Universal Semantic, as we said above. But given its sporadic appearance in accordance with the examples put forward and the well attested conjunctive-coordinative particle /w/ in Ug. it seems sensible to reject it¹⁷⁵.

Now, the examples adduced from Ugaritic do not fit this pattern. The two put forward by Van Soldt reproduce a prosodic parallelism. The first (*yšq ... yšq-m*, KTU 1.4 I 26-28) is preceded by two other *yšq... yšq...* and followed by another, in different verses certainly. This kind of parallelism is normally paratactic or asyndetic, so the *-m* in this structure has the usual function of ballast variant. It would be strange if this construction appeared only once in the whole of Ugaritic poetry. The second example does not fit the pattern since the words are not the same (*barš / b^cprm*, KTU 1.3 III 14f.) nor is it even sure that this is an enclitic *-m*.

Similar examples are proposed by Tropper also with the meaning “ebenfalls, noch(mals), noch ein...”¹⁷⁶, basically from the administrative and cultic sphere in this case. The one taken from the mythological realm (KTU 1.23:14f) already presents the copulative conjunction /w/, so that the *-m* is redundant in this sense (*šb^cd ... w ... šb^cd-m*). The other three cultic texts are controversial in their interpretation: *yrh-m kty* (KTU 1.123:7) probably has a gloss or copula character ([“*ksa*, who] is the *yrh* kassite”¹⁷⁷; for *^cntm*, “the two Anats”, dubious to the author himself (?), cf. my own explanation¹⁷⁸. In the case of *ilh/ilhm/ilhm* (KTU 1.41:13f.; cf. 1.39:5), the repetition “for ... and also for ... and also for... (the same deity)” makes little sense in an administrative cultic record¹⁷⁹. Once more we are dealing with an isolated case which must correspond to specific cultic reasons¹⁸⁰. In the administrative lists dealing with *nhl* (*nhl/w nhlm/w nhlm ...*) (KTU 4:66:4ff and par.) again the presence of the copulative conjunction makes the enclitic *-m* (?) a simple redundant marker, unless we are dealing with a specific legal formula implying for instance successive generations of heirs (?). The other examples which imply the postpositional ballast variant are not relevant.

The case of sequentially repeated words belongs to the well known distributive pattern in Semitic (cf. Sp. ‘*día a día*’), so the *-m* just seals here off this function through a sort of adverbialisation:

<i>ym ym-m</i> (KTU 1.1 V 2f ...)	<i>išt išt-m</i> (KTU 1.2 I 32f) (?)
<i>skn-m / ^cdn ^cdn-m</i> (KTU 1.12 II 52f)	<i>kmr kmr-m</i> (KTU 1.19 I 12) (?)
<i>mnk mnk-m</i> (KTU 3.2 :12f)	<i>bnš bnš-m</i> (KTU 3.516f) ¹⁸¹

On the other hand *npš-m npš* (KTU 1.133:2-3) is a scholarly exercise, amended by the canonical text 1.5 I 14f and going counter to the postulated pattern (in first position) To presume here a case of ‘topicalisation’ would be to go too far away. To atmost it could be a case of 1. p. suffixed pronoun (/i/) with enclitic *-m*.

174. Cf. Van Soldt 1991:514f. (‘also, likewise’).

175. The asyndetic use is also well attested in Ugaritic: *l ašt atty n^cry* (KTU 2.33:28f.) and in lists (cf. KTU 4.147 and similar).

176. Cf. Tropper 2000:831f.

177. Cf. in this sense the ‘anaphoric/identificative’ function of *Seminara*, *supra* p. 7.

178. Cf. Del Olmo Lete 1999:282ff.

179. Cf. also my explanation: Del Olmo Lete 1999:107ff, add *l^c/l^cm/l^cm*, *ibid.* p. 213ff; and Del Olmo Lete 2004:348ff.

According to the Akk. use the *-m* is set after the last item.

180. Maybe it answers to a sporadic/unique cultic practice reflected in KTU 1.161:1ff where the royal divinised ancestors are called on in three instances: the last dead sovereign, he and (one of) his predecessor(s), all the others (?).

181. Cf. Watson 1992:240; 1996:260, 267; Tropper 2002:830f.

Finally they appear to be some Ak. loans in peripheral Ak.EA and Ak.Ug.:

<i>ša-at-ta ša-ta-ma</i> (EA 38:11)	<i>i-na</i> MU.KAM MU.KAM- <i>ti-ma</i> (RS 20.33 :26')
<i>u₄-mi ú u₄-mi-ma</i> (EA 147 :7.28.67)	<i>du-na du-na-ma</i> (EA 109:54) ¹⁸²
<i>lum-na lum-na-ma</i> (EA113 :13;116:41)	

In these frozen wordings the –*ma* also seals off the distributive meaning meant by the repetition, implying a sequential unity more than a coordination of items ('one after another', more than 'one and the other').

In case of b) distant repetition, the examples adduced do not fit Van Soldt's pattern either, but some runs counter to it; in any case they are to be viewed from the same parallelistic pattern mentioned:

<i>dt / dt-m</i> (KTU 1.4 VI 33ff)	<i>b / b-m</i> (KTU 1.10 III 29f; 1.19 II 18, 25)
<i>ḥl-m qdš / ḥl-m adr / ḥl rḥb</i> (KTU 1.16 I 7-9)	<i>pr^c-m / pr^c-m / pr^c-m</i> (KTU 1.17 V 3ff)
<i>ib-m / ib</i> (KTU 2.33:27f)	<i>[y]d^f / yd^f-m</i> (KTU 2.39 :10, 14)
<i>bd / bd-m</i> (KTU 4.132:1f.)	<i>l / l-m</i> (KTU 4.223:6-9) ¹⁸³

Summing up, we support the common opinion that rejects the conjunctive function of the enclitic –*m* in Ugaritic, a typically Akkadian morph that did not have clear reflections in Ugaritic texts.

Conclusions

Enclitic/postpositional –*m* must be considered as a prosodic enlargement/expansion with an *original* generalising semantic value ('whatever [it may be]'). As such it had an indefinite nuance at the semantic level but definite at the syntagmatic/syntactic level. Attached to verbs that could take a certain reassumptive/prolative bias (depending on the place of the verbal predicate in the phrase), mostly related to the object complement; attached to nouns its indefinite/generalising value could suppose a sort of 'explicitation' (or 'focussing' or call of attention not of intention) of either the individuum (definite value) or the category/species (indefinite), leaving aside its function as a mere stylistic 'ballast variant' without any semantic value whatever. This can be ascertained particularly in the so called 'adverbial' function of this morph. Its original indefinite semantic value as a 'Universal Semantic' enabled it to 'explicit' the nominal adverbial function, signified already by the inflexional ending, whatever it may be. And so we cannot speak of 'modal, locative, instrumental, vocative, etc. enclitic –*m*', because the morph has not any of those values, nor any general emphasising force. For this function the language has its either own pre- and postpositional morphs or suprasegmental pitch. On the contrary, its value is rather 'generalising', that being the reason why it can function as a general postpositive *enclisis*.

Very soon however the original value was lost and the postpositional –*m* became *lexicalised*, a phenomenon that appear clearly in its attachment to particles and PNN. At the present level of grammatical reading of our texts this morph does not have a semantic relevance, only a prosodic /phonetic redundancy. The morph has more a phonetic value (rounding off of the word sound and clause rhythm) than a semantic one. It appears as optional and dispensable as a mere lexicalised postposition, of euphonic-stylistic expansive nature without a semantic value of its own, almost as a deictic particle of

182. Cf. Van Soldt 1991:515; Tropper 2002:831.

183. Cf. Tropper 2002:828, 832; Watson 1992:225, 227, 238, 242-244; 1994:96; 1996:260; Van Soldt 1991:515. In the case of particles (b, l, bd, dt,) the expansion –*m* is simply a ballast variant; cf. *supra*.

second degree that ‘points out’ semantic and syntactic functions already embedded in the morpho-syntaxis of the discourse.

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