

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

UGARITIC INDEFINITE PRONOUNS:
LINGUISTIC, SOCIAL, AND TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

ANDREW BURLINGAME

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2021

Table of Contents

List of Figures	iii
List of Tables	iv
Acknowledgments.....	vi
Abstract	ix
1.0 Introduction: Objectives and Methods.....	1
2.0 Indefinite Pronouns in Linguistic Perspective	56
3.0 Indefinite Pronouns in Comparative Semitic Perspective	201
4.0 The State of the <i>Question</i> in Ugaritic Studies:	
Interrogative Pronouns and Bare Interrogative Indefinites.....	264
5.0 The Ugaritic Indefinite <i>m</i> -Series (<i>mnm</i>)	430
6.0 The Ugaritic Indefinite <i>k</i> -Series (<i>mhk, mnk</i>).....	544
7.0 Other Indefinites and Alternatives	614
8.0 Social and Textual Distributions: Productivity, Register, Genre, and Style.....	659
9.0 Conclusions.....	717
Abbreviations	719
References.....	721

List of Figures

Fig. 1.1: Number of Indefinite Items in Standard Reference Tools	12
Fig. 2.1: The implicational map	75
Fig. 2.2: The main functional distinctions.....	76
Fig. 2.3: Contexts for (non-)specific phrases and negative polarity.....	80
Fig. 2.4: Licensing conditions for items dependent on veridicality	102
Fig. 2.5: Provisional taxonomy of PIs	115
Fig. 2.6: Representation of the API–FCI–(strict-)NPI relationship	165
Fig. 2.7: Locating ANY within the featural landscape of polarity items	166
Fig. 2.8: The implicational map	170
Fig. 2.9: Semantic taxonomy of indefinites.....	173
Fig. 2.10: Haspelmath’s trough model	192
Fig. 3.1: Subclassification of the Semitic Languages.....	203
Fig. 3.2: Approximate subclassification of Akkadian	218
Fig. 6.1: Semantic taxonomy of indefinites with <i>m</i> -series and <i>k</i> -series pronouns	609
Fig. 6.2: The implicational map with <i>k</i> -series and <i>m</i> -series	610

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Selection of licensing contexts and examples.....	105
Table 2.2: Distributions of any, FCIs, and APIs.....	128
Table 2.3: Distributions of any, Greek nonemphatics (broad NPIs), and Greek FCIs	144
Table 2.4: Summary of indefinite and polarity items	163
Table 2.5: Comparison of the features of APIs, FCIs, and strict NPIs.	164
Table 2.6: Diachronic source constructions and their functions and tendencies	188
Table 3.1: Language Sample.....	209
Table 3.2: Semitic WH-morphological Indefinite Argument-Pronouns.....	259
Table 4.1: Synopsis of Past Readings	339
Table 4.2: Exclusions.....	387
Table 4.3: Deferrals.....	387
Table 4.4: The Empirical Foundation for Ugaritic Interrogatives (Summary)	388
Table 4.5: Syriac Demonstratives and Interrogatives	414
Table 4.6: Ugaritic Interrogative Pronouns.....	421
Table 6.1: Lexemes Incorporating Remote-Deictic (?) <i>k</i>	586
Table 6.2: Lexemes Incorporating Manner-Adverbial <i>k</i>	588
Table 6.3: Comparison of <i>m</i> -Series and <i>k</i> -Series Features (Synchronic)	606
Table 8.1: Spatial Distribution of <i>m</i> -Series Pronouns.....	662
Table 8.2: Spatial Distribution of <i>k</i> -Series Pronouns.....	663
Table 8.3: Individual Anchors for <i>m</i> -Series Pronouns.....	665
Table 8.4: Individual Anchors for <i>k</i> -Series Pronouns.....	666

Table 8.5: Chronological Anchors for <i>m</i> -Series Pronouns	667
Table 8.6: Chronological Anchors for <i>k</i> -Series Pronouns	667
Table 8.7: Textual Distribution of <i>m</i> -Series Pronouns	669
Table 8.8: Textual Distribution of <i>k</i> -Series Pronouns.....	670
Table 8.9: Generic Distribution by Lexeme.....	671
Table 8.10: Lexeme Frequency by Genre	672
Table 8.11: Series Frequency by Genre	673
Table 8.12: Frequency of Formulaic Usage.....	680
Table 8.13: Motifs with and without Indefinite Pronouns	682
Table 8.14: Distribution of <i>waw</i> of Apodosis with <i>m</i> -Series Indefinites.....	689
Table 8.15: Akkadian Letters Produced in Ugarit with Information Request	694
Table 8.16: Letters Employing <i>ṭêmu</i> + <i>turru</i>	695
Table 8.17: \emptyset + <i>šapāru</i>	696
Table 8.18: <i>šulum</i> + <i>šapāru</i>	696
Table 8.19: <i>ṭêmu</i> + <i>šapāru</i>	696

Acknowledgements

It is not possible to give proper acknowledgement to all of the individuals who have played a role, sometimes without knowing it, in the conceptualization and realization of this project over the last four years, but several require special mention here. First, my advisor, Dennis Pardee, has inspired this project by his consistent example of treating no question as too small for study, and he has made its completion possible in more ways than I have space to mention. His generosity with his time and expertise stands out in particular: whether an article draft or a dissertation chapter, I cannot remember ever having had to wait for even a week before the draft appeared in my inbox full of insightful and thought-provoking comments. As the completion of this study drew near, I was shocked to receive drafts back on several occasions in a matter of *hours*. His willingness to share his files, published and unpublished works, and general *savoir-faire* have not only made this work possible, they have defined my time at the University of Chicago.

Other members of my committee are likewise owed a tremendous debt of gratitude. Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee's unswerving example of methodological clarity and rigor figured centrally in the development of this project. Her willingness to provide frank and needed critiques early on in the project has saved me from more than one misstep. Whether in the classroom, in conversation, or in her published research, she has never hesitated to address tangled questions of morphology, and her success in doing so gives others of us greater confidence to proceed in similar investigations of our own.

The semantic orientation of this study is due in large measure to a course on semantics and pragmatics taught by Anastasia Giannakidou during the fall of 2015. Her enthusiasm for the

subject matter was contagious, and the precision of description she achieved in lectures and written work alike inspired much of the present study.

Finally, Carole Roche-Hawley has similarly shaped this study from the beginning. Her research devoted to the real-world components of the textual corpus recovered from Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani and, in particular, to reconstructing the networks of relationships existing among texts and the individuals who produced them and figure in them was a significant part of the impetus to attempt a linguistic description that also incorporated extra-linguistic parameters in the investigation. As the director of the team Mondes Sémitiques (UMR 8167, Orient et Méditerranée), she also extended warm hospitality to me during my time in Paris for the 2019-2020 academic year, inviting me to participate in the activities of the group.

Each of these readers has provided helpful feedback and encouragement along the way, and I feel certain that my good fortune in having such a committee is unique.

I am also glad to acknowledge others at the University of Chicago who, while not participating directly in my committee, have nevertheless shaped the way I approach these questions and have exhibited special generosity with their time and expertise, including Walter Farber, Petra Goedegebuure, Martha Roth, David Schloen, Matthew Stolper, Theo van den Hout, John Wee, and Stuart Creason. I could not have completed this project without the tireless help of Foy Scalf, whose ability to find even the most obscure publications continues to astound me, and it certainly would not have been as much fun without our regular conversations. Miller Prosser has also been a routine conversation partner, traveling companion, and friend.

I am especially grateful to the France Chicago Center, which made it possible for me to spend the 2019-2020 academic year in Paris through the Collège de France Research Fellowship. This was a time of unequalled excitement and fruitfulness of research. During this time, a

number of individuals showed me special hospitality, including Thomas Römer, Valérie Matoïan, Matthieu Richelle, and Robert Hawley. Robert has also been a generous and expert sounding board over the last three years, though the example he sets in his written research has been an inspiration for much longer.

Several fellow students and colleagues have kept this work—and life in general—enjoyable, among whom Mary Buck, Jessie DeGrado, and Stephen Sumner all stand out. Madadh Richey has to be mentioned separately. Her friendship over the last nine years has meant more than she knows, and her example of scholarly rigor and initiative is inspiring. Adam Miglio has similarly been a constant friend, and his interesting questions about Akkadian pronouns have caused more than one penny to drop.

Finally, I must acknowledge the encouragement, support, and genuine interest shown by my family in this project and in my chosen field of specialization. My parents, sister, and grandparents have exhibited a greater patience than most with tedious dinner conversations about Northwest Semitic epigraphy. My children are entirely too young to know the word *dissertation*, but know it they do. Their enthusiasm during our time in France, their patience with my writing schedule, and their cheers at each mile-marker along the way have made it worthwhile. More than anyone, though, Sarah has made this work and the years of study leading up to it possible. The completion of this project is due to her encouragement, the active interest she has taken in the topic, and her insistence—even at personal cost—that care be valued more highly than expedience. It is to her, whose friendship and good opinion I value most, that I dedicate this study.

Abstract

Indefinite pronouns (words like English *anyone*, *anything*, *someone*, *something*, etc.) have been recognized as components of Ugaritic grammar since 1934, but they have not yet been subjected to close semantic analysis. Their relative neglect in grammatical and textual studies is not surprising, as indefinite pronouns occupy a peculiar semantic area that places them somewhere between the grammar and the lexicon—a situation that has resulted in a similar neglect in grammatical treatments of many languages appearing over the last several centuries. Yet certain dimensions of their morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties have attracted significant attention among linguistic theorists over the last several decades, and a number of useful models and approaches are now available for their more thorough analysis. Simultaneous advances in the field of Ugaritology have now brought the opportunity to apply such linguistic models to the study of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns within reach. The formal diversity of Ugaritic Indefinite Pronouns (which are more numerous and varied than those found in any other Northwest Semitic language) and their literarily significant textual distributions render their study both appropriate and necessary.

In this study, I provide a linguistic description of the syntax, semantics, pragmatics, morphology, and diachrony of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns that is grounded in recent typological linguistic and formal semantic research. I situate this analysis against a diachronic (comparative Semitic) background and contextualize it by considering the social and textual distributions of Ugaritic indefinite pronominal use. The study is designed to contribute to our understanding of an important feature of Ugaritic (and Semitic) grammar and to our ability to describe the linguistic and literary contours of the Ugaritic textual corpus.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Objectives and Methods

1.0 Preliminary Remarks

The subject of the present study consists of the grammatical and semantic properties, the pragmatic behavior, and the textual and social distributions of Ugaritic *indefinite pronouns* (words like English *anyone*, *anything*, *someone*, *something*, etc., defined more precisely below in sec. 1.4.1.1). The identification of formal indefinite pronouns in Ugaritic has been established since 1934,¹ and such pronouns boast a much longer history of discussion in comparative Semitic studies (going back at least to the medieval Arab grammarians²), but these items have yet to receive a thorough linguistic investigation in more recent times. Apart from a single article (Faber 1988), the last detailed comparative discussions of indefinite pronouns in Semitic are those of Brockelmann (1908, 1913) and Barth (1913). These studies were written at a time when the existence of the Ugaritic language was not even suspected, and at which the cognate system in Phoenician had not yet been recognized.³ Currently available reference grammars and lexica have helpfully gathered most of the relevant pronouns,⁴ but even these tend not to offer detailed syntactic or semantic discussions of these items.

While indefinite pronouns have not received much attention in Semitic or Ugaritological studies over the last fifty years, they have been a subject of growing fascination in the fields of linguistic typology and formal semantics for about the same amount of time. The surge in

¹ Albright (1934: 26) and Ginsberg and Maisler (1934: 250).

² See, for example, Fleischer's discussion of Arabic *mā* and *man*, which draws extensively on the work of medieval Arab grammarians (1885-1888: 1:706-707).

³ I refer specifically to the Phoenician indefinite pronoun {mnm}, mistaken as a plural noun until its correct identification as an indefinite pronoun in an oral communication of Epstein appeared in print in Ginsberg and Maisler 1934: 25.

⁴ See especially Loewenstamm 1958-1959: 75-77 (= 1980: 60-62); Tropper 2000/2012: 242-246.

interest in indefinite pronouns among general and theoretical linguists in recent decades has generated a rich bibliography representing a wealth of new models and approaches to their description and analysis. This upswing in research has been motivated at least in part by the realization that these unassuming pronouns reveal much more about the faculty of human language and exhibit far more interesting features than previous generations of scholarship had suspected.

Motivated in part by the fruitfulness of these developments in linguistics and the current lack of a linguistically informed study of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, the present study is designed to offer a descriptive and diachronic analysis of the Ugaritic indefinite pronouns that is (1) grounded in current typological linguistic and formal semantic research devoted to comparable pronouns in other languages and (2) situated against a diachronic linguistic backdrop. Other—and equally important—reasons exist for taking an interest in Ugaritic indefinite pronouns as well, and I address these below.

In this introductory chapter, I begin by describing the interest of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns (sec. 1.1), both from the linguistic (sec. 1.1.1) and the Ugaritological (sec. 1.1.2) perspective. I then present the need for such a study in more detail (sec. 1.2), as well as several auspicious developments within the field of Ugaritology that encourage optimism regarding its feasibility (sec. 1.3). With these motivating factors in view, I turn to the specific research objectives (sec. 1.4) and methods (sec. 1.5) characterizing the project and provide an introductory overview of its organization (sec. 1.6).

1.1 The Interest of Ugaritic Indefinite Pronouns

1.1.1 The Linguistic Interest of Indefinite Pronouns

Linguistic studies of indefinite pronouns and related items have produced exciting results over the last several decades, touching on topics ranging from morphological composition and diachronic grammaticalization to the semantics of these items and their associated dependencies. In what follows, I discuss two areas of ongoing linguistic research related to indefinite pronouns. These two areas have been selected as particularly relevant both because they demonstrate the vitality and interest of the discussion in contemporary linguistic studies and because the present study will draw most heavily on the models associated with them for reasons outlined in sec. 1.5 below.

1.1.1.1 Typological Interest of Indefinite Pronouns

Linguistic typology is the field of linguistics devoted to the study of variation in human language, its patterns, and its limitations. I describe typological study in greater detail in sec. 1.5 below, but I note here that the observation and explanation of trends that hold across the world's languages comprise its most central research objectives. Crosslinguistic studies of indefinite pronouns, and especially Haspelmath's 1997 monographic treatment of this subject, have opened the way for more systematic discussion of indefinite pronouns across language. As descriptive linguists and typologists have continued to pool their resources, several noteworthy features of indefinite pronominal form and function have emerged as crosslinguistically prominent. Specifically, typological study of indefinite pronouns has facilitated the recognition of important constraints on their formal and functional variety. Regular links between indefinite pronominal morphology, semantics, and diachronic trajectories shed light on the processes driving their

semantic development and have the potential to aid the reconstruction and analysis of more poorly attested systems like that of Ugaritic.

The relevance of such observations can be illustrated with an example. Many Semitic indefinite pronouns are morphologically related to or identical to interrogative pronouns in the same language in a way that has led to the occasional undervaluation of their significance in comparative Semitic studies. It is for this reason that Gray could affirm so forthrightly that “[i]ndefinite pronouns, strictly speaking, do not exist in Semitic” (1934: 67), an affirmation reproduced much more recently by Lipiński (2001: 338). As we shall have occasion to observe, the use of bare interrogatives as indefinite pronouns constitutes a crosslinguistically prominent tendency (attended by some significant semantic problems⁵). Indefinite pronominal systems characterized by a morphological relationship to or even identity with interrogative pronouns are by no means to be disqualified as “strictly speaking” non-existent.

Typological study has also identified the semantic functions most frequently associated with indefinite pronouns crosslinguistically. Haspelmath (1997) identifies nine primary functions and uses typological methods to relate these functions to one another in terms of the semantic and diachronic relationships existing among them. The result is a model of indefinite pronominal semantics presented as an implicational map that makes powerful (and testable) predictions regarding the behavior of indefinites across language. I discuss these details in ch. 2 but mention them here as an illustration of the typological interest of indefinite pronouns.

⁵ Haspelmath 1997: 238; Bhat 2004: 226-249.

1.1.1.2 Semantic Interest of Indefinite Pronouns

Linguists working within the field of formal semantics over the last forty years have also uncovered previously unrecognized properties of indefinite pronouns,⁶ but few have sparked quite the interest garnered by the subclass referred to as *limited-distribution indefinites*. Such indefinites are not permitted equally in all contexts, instead seeming to require the presence of some feature—semantic or syntactic—to “license” their use (see ch. 2 for details). These items have attracted attention for a number of reasons, including their crosslinguistic prominence, the long-standing difficulty of identifying what precisely licenses their use, and the fact that they seem to instantiate cases in which semantics bears directly on grammaticality.

One of the most important theories to emerge in these discussions conceptualizes limited distribution in terms of *sensitivity* and explains that sensitivity as a semantic dependency relating to the semantic parameter of (non)veridicality (Giannakidou 1998). Ongoing research conducted within this framework has achieved remarkably detailed descriptions of language-specific pronouns that traditional studies simply failed to describe adequately. In particular, examinations of limited-distribution indefinites in terms of their distinct varieties of semantic and syntactic dependencies have resulted in a range of pronominal semantic profiles far exceeding the nine

⁶ Consider, for example, the relationship between indefinite pronouns and epistemic modality. Studies of the Semitic languages have not been insensible to general linguistic interest in modality, and a number of recent studies have pursued precisely this line of inquiry in attempts better to understand Semitic and non-Semitic languages of the ancient Near East (e.g., Cohen 2005; Callahan 2010; Gzella 2012; Wasserman 2012; Campbell 2015). But as Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito (2015: 1) have suggested in the first chapter of their edited volume, studies of modality have tended to take the verbal system as their starting point. In fact, however, modality is expressed in many different ways in language, including the use of different types of indefinites (the subject of their volume).

A further area of semantic research of particular relevance to the present study relates to the semantics of free relative clauses and parametric concessive conditional clauses—the most common host constructions for Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, based on an initial survey of the data. Linguistic treatments of these constructions can be found in, among others, König 1986, 1988, 1992; Dayal 1997; Haspelmath and König 1998; von Stechow 2000, 2005; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; Condoravdi 2015; Rawlins 2015.

Finally, I would call attention to the fact that semantic approaches to indefinite pronouns are being successfully applied to the study of *ancient* languages as well as modern. Take, for example, Gianollo’s work on Latin indefinite pronouns (Gianollo 2013; see also the general extension of formal semantics to address diachronic semantic change in Eckardt 2003; 2006).

functional categories identified in Haspelmath's (1997) study. I highlight this research program because it offers a much more granular analytical framework for describing and relating the distributions of individual indefinite items than those previously available. Such studies create a terminological and conceptual world in which researchers will find more than simple glosses and pre-theoretical definitions to guide the discussion. With such models available for consultation and, where appropriate, incorporation, the opportunity to pursue a deeper understanding of these significant linguistic items is an exciting one.

1.1.2 The Ugaritological Interest of Indefinite Pronouns

If these properties of indefinite pronouns make them interesting from a linguistic perspective, the particular distribution of *Ugaritic* indefinite pronouns makes them no less intriguing from an Ugaritological standpoint. As indefinite pronouns constitute graphically visible components of language (unlike intonation and stress and the often irrecoverable pragmatic situation in which the linguistic activity represented indirectly in the textual record took place), any study able to connect these items to the inner workings of the morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic topics noted above (both synchronically and diachronically) has the potential to shed considerable light on these related topics, which tend to be far less visible in epigraphically preserved material. Like flares fired by night, they mark out readily traceable trajectories and illuminate, however faintly, the otherwise darkened landscape below.

1.1.2.1 Ugaritic genre

Beyond facilitating our study of Ugaritic grammar, a detailed look at Ugaritic indefinite pronouns proves to be of literary and socio-historical interest as well. I have in mind the

suggestive textual and genre-related distributions of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, not discussed in previous studies. Taking up the latter of these first, it is surely significant that indefinite pronouns like *mnm* and *mnk* are attested in patterns that hug traditionally recognized genre lines neatly. While they constitute regular members of the cast in epistolary and juridical texts, they make not even a single clear appearance in mythological, ritual, or so-called “administrative” texts. Attempts to describe and define genre in Ugaritic have been numerous,⁷ and many linguistic features characteristic of one genre or other have been noted often enough.⁸ The distribution of indefinite pronouns has not been addressed in this connection, but if the ability of these pronouns to produce surprising new results in linguistics provides any indication of their potential relevance to literary study, then it may be time to take a closer look.

1.1.2.2 Ugaritic epistolary and juridical formulae

The textual distribution of indefinite pronouns within the two broad groups of texts in which they are best attested (epistolary and juridical texts) also demands comment. While exhibiting sufficient flexibility in their formulation and use to indicate their true productivity (as argued in ch. 8), indefinite pronouns nevertheless make most of their appearances in frequently recurring formulae or motifs. These motifs have each been subjected to varying degrees of investigation, with perhaps none enjoying such regular exposition as the “double formula of well-being” (Pardee 2003) so familiar to those who have studied the epistolary material from Ugarit. The pragmatic value of this formula within letter-writing and the geographical and chronological

⁷ E.g., Fisher 1975; Khanjian 1975; Knutson 1975; Smith 1975; Vita 1998; 2013; Márquez Rowe 2006; Pardee with Hawley 2010; Pardee 2012b. See also sec. 1.4.1.2 below.

⁸ These distinctions have been noted most often with respect to the delineation of poetry and prose. The line of demarcation has been addressed in terms both grammatical (Pardee 2003-2004: 268, 323; Gzella 2010: 59; Tropper 2012: 221, 238, 239-240, 531, 603) and lexical (Pardee 2003-2004: 375-376; Gzella 2010: 58; Tropper 2012: 239-240; Lam and Pardee 2012: 426).

distributions of the formula have already been treated from a comparative perspective.⁹

Nevertheless, an account of the grammar of this formula, which has not been discussed in the same detail, has been identified as a chief desideratum in the elucidation of the formula and the facilitation of further comparative work.¹⁰ Several studies have raised the question of the socio-historical origin of the formula, citing the possibility of Hurrian, Hittite, or West-Semitic starting points.¹¹ This question is at least in part a linguistic one, and a close study of the indefinite pronoun that stands at the center of the formula allows us to come closer to an answer.

1.1.2.3 Ugaritic and Akkadian

A third major question that has arisen in connection with these formulaic expressions pertains to the striking similarities between Ugaritic and Western Peripheral Akkadian formularies at precisely these points.¹² Since indefinite pronouns and the syntax of their host expressions constitute some of the most notable and noted isomorphisms between Ugaritic exemplars of epistolary and juridical texts and their Western Peripheral Akkadian counterparts, a close study of indefinite semantics and syntax may shed further light on the character of this isomorphism.

1.2 The Need for a Linguistic Study of Ugaritic Indefinite Pronouns

The preceding section outlines the linguistic and Ugaritological interest of indefinite pronouns, suggesting some of the potential gains to be had as a result of closer study. In this section, I

⁹ E.g., Pardee 2003; Hawley 2003: 758-786; and Pardee 2003-2004: 398-399.

¹⁰ “Of the grammatical questions which remain unresolved, the most significant for the overall interpretation of the motif involves the correct interpretation of the phrase « *mm šlm* » in the « I.R. » motif” (Hawley 2003: 781).

¹¹ See Loewenstamm 1980: 454; Pardee 2003: 466 n. 66, 466-467 n. 67; Hawley 2003: 779.

¹² This has led many to suggest varying degrees of literary and/or linguistic dependence of the Ugaritic formulary on Akkadian exemplars. See Rainey 1968: 133-136; Kaiser 1970: 11, 19-20; Ahl 1973: 130-140, 175-177 (with careful qualifications given on p. 560 n. 11); Kristensen 1977: 156; and Milano 1980 (one of the more balanced treatments, recognizing multiple directions of influence). See also Pardee’s detailed comparison of the Ugaritic and Akkadian data relating to one important epistolary formula and his well-argued denial of its Mesopotamian origins (2003).

discuss the deficiencies characterizing our current understanding of such pronouns in order to illustrate the necessity of such a study. Past scholarship has made a number of significant advances already: Ugaritic indefinite pronouns would have gone unrecognized were it not for the careful textual and comparative instincts of early pioneers of the field like Albright, Ginsberg, Maisler, Loewenstamm, and Virolleaud, in whose debt subsequent students of the language remain. Following these early gains, however, research into these pronouns and their grammatical features stalled, with relatively few new specifically linguistic insights appearing until the publication of Tropper's *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000). The principal merits of this study consisted of (1) the judicious and scientific rigor with which its author whittled down the pile of proposed indefinites, rightly excluding from consideration a number of putative indefinites that continue to appear in the literature elsewhere and (2) his preliminary attempts to connect the clauses in which some of these pronouns appear to their semantic and pragmatic effects. Up to the present, however, these initial gains have not been leveraged to achieve the sort of advances that I suggest are now within reach.

Of course, the field of Ugaritology has not remained idle during these periods of relative *linguistic* inactivity on the questions of indefinite pronouns, and the type of study pursued here could not even begin without many of the gains achieved elsewhere in the field over the last fifty years (discussed in the next section). Just the same, several shortcomings in our understanding of Ugaritic indefinites require mention here in order to illustrate the need for such a study and to indicate the shape such a study must take (a more detailed historical survey is offered in ch. 5 below).

First, in keeping with a long tradition of morphologically oriented treatments of indefinite pronouns in the comparative Semitic literature,¹³ grammarians treating Ugaritic indefinite pronouns in the past have been most interested in establishing the morphological composition of these pronouns. Unfortunately, such studies have typically been forced to stop at the level of first-order morphological description (e.g., *mnm* consists of $m + n + m$ or of $mn + m$), leaving relationships between the morphology of these pronouns and their synchronic semantics and syntax or their diachronic development in comparative perspective unexamined.

This deficiency can be explained in part in association with the second gap in our current understanding of Ugaritic indefinites: current treatments do not offer detailed descriptions of the semantics or syntax of these pronouns, either independently or in relationship to one another. The differences in word order observable between the pronouns *mnm* and *mhk* and their nominal associates go unremarked and unexplained. The fact that *mnm* can be used independently, with nominal complements, or with clausal complements is not discussed or related to other features of its distribution. The semantics of these pronouns are addressed only indirectly through a series of proposed glosses, without discussion of how, e.g., *mnm* differs from *mhk* or how either of these differs from simple free relative clauses.

The third deficiency relates to those just mentioned: no currently available study examines the contexts in which these indefinite pronouns appear in order to determine whether they exhibit evidence of limited distribution. For example, the fact that the indefinite pronouns *mhk* and *mnk* appear only in negated clauses has not previously been observed. Indeed, this important distributional fact has been obscured in many grammatical and lexical treatments that

¹³ See, e.g., Wright 1890: 125; Zimmern 1898: 77-80; Brockelmann 1908: 328-329; 1913: 81-86, 570-577; Barth 1913: 169-176; Bergsträsser 1928: 9; Moscati 1960: 110-111; 1964: 115; Garbini 1960: 108; Lipiński 1997: 330-331; 2001: 338-339; Kienast 2001: 55; Haelewyck 2006: 110-112; Goldenberg 2013: 113.

suggest that its use under negation represents a subset of an assumed broader usage that cannot actually be identified in any text. This inattention to limited distribution carries with it an obvious corollary: previous studies have not examined these pronouns with the goal of determining what features license their use. The importance of *licensing* in linguistic discussions of indefinite pronouns will be addressed further below (sec. 1.5 and ch. 2), but I note here that this area of research represents one of the most important developments in the linguistic study of indefinite pronouns to have emerged over the last fifty years, and its complete absence from discussions of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns accordingly represents a crucial omission.

The final deficiency requiring discussion here pertains to the lack of scientific controls currently employed in Ugaritological studies with respect to indefinite pronouns. The absence of a systematic linguistic study of these pronouns has resulted in a situation in which the boundaries of the indefinite pronominal system are undefined. A (non-exhaustive) survey of frequently cited grammars and lexica reveals conceptualizations of the Ugaritic system of indefinite pronouns running anywhere from two to thirteen different members:

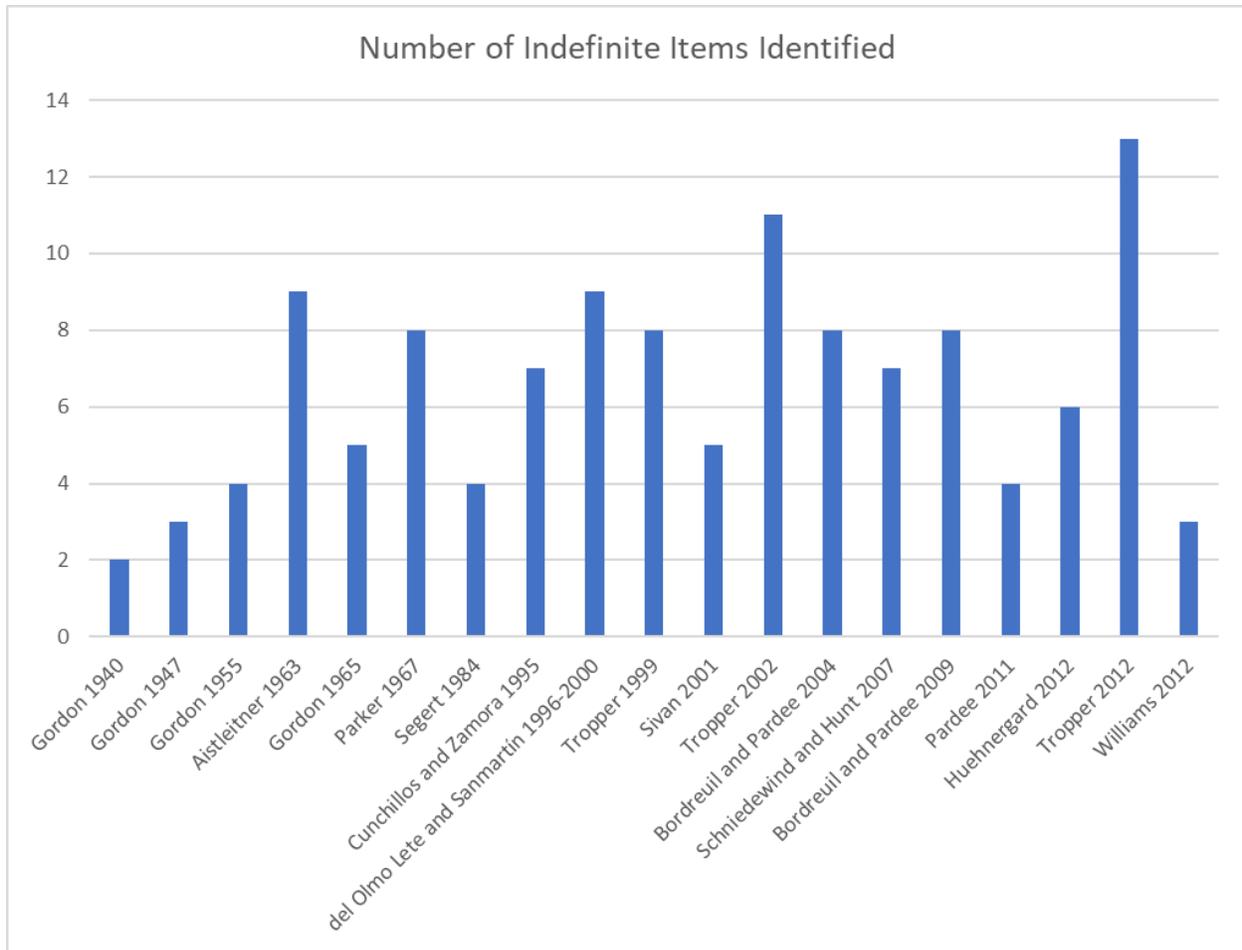


Fig. 1.1: Number of Indefinite Items in Standard Reference Tools

One might reasonably expect a certain artificiality to attend the lower end of this range, as the gradual augmentation of the system through time resulting from new textual finds required accompanying changes in the reference grammars,¹⁴ but even if we exclude all treatments appearing prior to 1980, the range still runs from three to thirteen pronominal items. Add to this the fact that the different sets of pronouns that have been proposed only partially overlap and that still further instances of indefinite pronouns have been suggested in a more occasional manner in

¹⁴ Consider Gordon's grammars, for example. He listed two items in 1940, three in 1947, four in 1955, and five in 1965.

the literature, and we arrive at a formidable list of items that have at some point been identified as indefinite pronouns (see sec. 1.4.2 below).

The challenge this scenario poses to an empirical approach to textual interpretation and linguistic description is particularly acute due to the similarly fluctuating boundaries imagined for the related system of Ugaritic interrogative pronouns. With some studies claiming Ugaritic interrogatives consisting of a single syllable /mV/, written {m}, and potentially having both interrogative and indefinite meanings including “who?,” “what?,” “anyone,” and “anything,” it is not difficult to understand the challenges that arise. A word consisting of one grapheme and capable of such a range of meaning can be *imagined* in most contexts, making appeal to interrogatives and indefinites a tempting means of handling *ms* that otherwise resist easy interpretation.

For these reasons, a comprehensive review of the relevant textual data is needed in order to establish the actual empirical foundation for the Ugaritic interrogative and indefinite pronominal systems. The present study is designed to provide such a presentation, together with a linguistic evaluation of the resulting systems. The interest of the latter has already been discussed, and its feasibility has been suggested in connection with the growing linguistic foundation for the study of indefinite pronouns. But even at the more basic level of empirical textual evaluation, there is reason to believe that a study conducted now is better positioned to succeed than were past examinations of these pronouns, as I show in the next section.

1.3 Reasons for Optimism: Recent Developments in Ugaritology

As noted above, linguists working within the fields of linguistic typology and formal semantics have developed remarkably nuanced and effective models for describing and explaining

indefinite pronominal form and function in human language. These models put tools at our disposal today that allow us—indeed, oblige us—to pursue a more refined understanding of these pronouns.

As these advances in the linguistic study of indefinite pronouns have been underway, another set of important developments has been unfolding simultaneously in the field of Ugaritology. Ongoing efforts to solidify the epigraphic foundation for study of the alphabetic Ugaritic corpus, pursued especially by Pierre Bordreuil, Robert Hawley, Dennis Pardee, and Miller Prosser, allow for better-informed study of the Ugaritic language and, as I hope to demonstrate in the following chapters, deliver more intelligible results. The empirical foundation for study has, in addition to these refinements, enjoyed a significant expansion thanks to the abundant new textual discoveries resulting especially from archaeological work devoted to the “House of *’Urtēnu*,” carried out between 1994 and 2002. The full publication of these new alphabetic Ugaritic texts (Bordreuil and Pardee with Hawley 2012) and the more recent publication of the Akkadian letters recovered during the 1994 season (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016) have augmented the corpus considerably, as has the complete publication of all epigraphic finds from the neighboring site of Ras Ibn Hani (Bordreuil, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2019).

The analytical tools available for the study of these texts have also continued to improve. With the publication of Tropper’s (2000) encyclopedic grammar, Pardee’s (2003-2004) similarly encyclopedic review of the same, and more recently the appearance of a second, heavily revised edition of *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Tropper 2012), researchers today are better situated than they have ever been to pursue more detailed and complex questions. A third edition of del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín’s *Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language* (2015) contributes to this trajectory as

well. Digital initiatives like the Ras Shamra Tablet Inventory (RSTI) project of the OCHRE Data Service of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago are similarly improving our collective ability to pose multi-factor questions that cross-reference grammatical features to extra-linguistic features like physical and chronological location. These resources are not only enhancing our ability to ask certain types of questions; they are helping us to ask *new* questions.

Finally, two studies of particular significance for the present work require mention. Pardee's exhaustive reedition of the corpus of Ugaritic epistolary texts—treating the nearly 120 letters written in alphabetic Ugaritic found at Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani—is now complete and forthcoming. Because most of the attestations of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns appear in letters, this new study and, in particular, its attention to matters of epistolographic formulary, structure, and other genre-specific conventions prepare the way for the reexamination of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns undertaken in the present work. The same is true of Hawley's 2003 study of Ugaritic epistolography, which has contributed to our understanding of epistolary function and structure and applied new methods to their study (such as the incorporation of speech-act theory as a classificatory framework).

Though we now stand at a ninety-year remove from the initial discovery of the site of Ras Shamra, developments such as these continue to make the field an exciting and fruitful one. We may legitimately expect that, equipped with such resources, efforts to pose more detailed research questions are likely to meet with success. The specific questions addressed in the present study are taken up in the next section.

1.4 Objectives

The present study has been designed to respond to the need for a more robust description of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns and to leverage the findings in order to address the related literary and historical questions outlined above. The study is intended first for Ugaritologists and those interested in better understanding the Ugaritic language and textual record. As the first large-scale study of indefinite pronouns in a Northwest Semitic language, it is also designed for comparative Semitists and linguists interested in the semantics and typology of indefinite pronouns as they appear in a Semitic language spoken at the end of the second millennium BCE. This orientation requires me to observe several discipline-specific conventions, which are discussed briefly in sec. 1.5.1 below, after which I will describe the specific linguistic methods informing the present study in sec. 1.5.2-1.5.5. First, however, I offer a description of the scope of the study (sec. 1.4.1) and the specific lexical items identified for study (sec. 1.4.2).

1.4.1 Scope of the Study

1.4.1.1 A Provisional Definition of Indefinite Pronouns

This study treats Ugaritic indefinite pronoun, defined provisionally in the following terms (further elaboration is offered in ch. 2):

(1) **Provisional definition of indefinite pronouns**

- a. indefinite pronouns are formally (morphologically and/or syntactically) identifiable as *pro-nouns* (excluding other pro-forms)
- b. indefinite pronouns exhibit the characteristics of indefinites (non-referentiality, intersective operation, and quantificational variability, defined and discussed in ch. 2)
- c. indefinite pronouns will be taken to include limited-distribution indefinites satisfying feature (a) above, even if their semantics do not satisfy (b) in all cases

For the purposes of the present study, I define the term *pronoun* narrowly, excluding indefinite pro-adverbs (e.g., *somewhere*, *somehow*, *sometime*). Such items are poorly attested in Ugaritic and are morphologically heterogenous, in contrast to the better attested and morphologically marked indefinite pronouns to be discussed in the following chapters. In Ugaritic-specific terms, such pro-forms can be defined both morphologically and syntactically. Morphologically, most pronouns do not exhibit standard nominal morphology relating to number and gender.¹⁵ This is true of the indefinite pronouns as well, which do not appear to inflect for gender or number. Syntactically, Ugaritic pronouns are not subject to attributive modification, though, like nouns, some pronouns can be modified by a following genitive.¹⁶

The designation *pronoun* should also be understood to refer specifically to fully grammaticalized pro-forms. This clarification is rendered necessary both typologically and

¹⁵ This is not to say that Ugaritic pronouns lack number and gender. The point is that the morphemes employed follow paradigms quite distinct from those of nouns.

¹⁶ Personal pronouns cannot be modified in any way. The determinative/relative pronoun can, however, be followed by a genitive.

Ugaritologically. In typological terms, the tendency for indefinite pronouns to arise through the grammaticalization of generic nouns raises the possibility of morphological identity between indefinites and regular nominal paradigms. In Ugaritological terms, potential cases of GENERIC NOUN > INDEFINITE PRONOUN suggested in the literature (e.g., *bnš*¹⁷, *mt*¹⁸) underscore the (theoretical) relevance of the typological trend. With Haspelmath (1997: 10), I suggest that the only way to identify indefinite pronouns that are identical to the generic nouns from which they developed involves isolating *syntactic* peculiarities that attend the semantic shift (e.g., distinct gender or number agreement properties). By limiting our discussion of generic nouns to those involving demonstrable morphosyntactic differences from their open-class, nominal counterparts, we avoid some of the ambiguity that induced Goldenberg’s (2013: 113) recent assertion that indefinites “do not really form a closed class, but rather a vaguely defined semantic category.” But we should not imagine that in so doing we are “carving nature at its joints,”¹⁹ as the *semantics* of indefinite pronouns in many cases differs little, if at all, from that of indefinite generic nouns (Haspelmath 1997: 10).

1.4.1.2 The Corpus

Having provisionally defined the term *indefinite pronoun*, I offer here a description of the corpus under investigation followed by a list of specific lexemes for study. The corpus, broadly defined, consists of the roughly two thousand texts and fragments written in the Ugaritic language and the alphabetic cuneiform script that have been recovered from Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani since

¹⁷ del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 230; 2015: 227.

¹⁸ I include this generic noun, which refers to a “man,” not because anyone has claimed indefinite status for its use (no one has, to my knowledge) but because its semantic proximity to such IPs has led to its translation with an English indefinite in at least one instance (Pardee 2002b: 131 [“someone (lit., “a man”)]).

¹⁹ To borrow Socrates’s famous metaphor (Plato, *Phaedrus* 265e).

1929. As in any epigraphic corpus, the state of preservation varies significantly, with many texts in pristine condition and many more in pieces. Recent studies of scribal colophons in association with an increased sensitivity to the archival situation of the Ugaritic texts have led to a general reassessment of the time-depth of the corpus. While past studies tended to situate the production of these texts in the fourteenth through the early twelfth centuries BCE, recent accounts suggest that the Ugaritic alphabetic texts were produced within a roughly seventy-five-year window stretching from the reign of 'Ammittamru III²⁰ in the mid-thirteenth century until the destruction of the city ca. 1185 BCE.²¹ Most of the texts that have been recovered appear to belong to the end of this period.

The texts themselves are recorded in an alphabetic cuneiform script, consisting of thirty signs that were produced by impressing a stylus into damp clay. The script does not indicate vowels, with the notable exception of the three alephs, {á}, {î}, and {û}, which represent the glottal stop followed by an a-class vowel (/ʾa/, /ʾā/), an i/e-class vowel or no vowel (/ʾi/, /ʾī/, /ʾê/ [< *ʾay], /ʾØ/), or a u/o-class vowel (/ʾu/, /ʾū/, /ʾô/ [< *ʾaw]), respectively. Vocalizations are reconstructed on the basis of these internal indicators, Ugaritic vocabulary lists and glosses written in syllabic cuneiform (which does indicate vowels), and comparison with other Semitic languages.

The texts have been classified generically in a number of different manners. The compendium to which reference is most frequently made by researchers, *KTU* (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976; 1995; 2013), organizes the texts into the following categories: literary and religious texts (*KTU* 1), epistolary texts (*KTU* 2), legal and juridical texts (*KTU* 3), economic texts (*KTU* 4), scribal exercises (*KTU* 5), inscriptions (*KTU* 6), and various unclassified,

²⁰ Following the numbering of the Ugaritic kings given in Arnaud 1999: 163.

²¹ See Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2015 for a recent summary with previous bibliography.

illegible, and unpublished texts (*KTU* 7-10). This classificatory schema pays greatest attention to content (note the hybrid category of “literary and religious texts”). The classic contributions of Caquot and Szyner to the *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* divide the texts into two overarching categories: literary texts (including myths, legends, ritual texts, divinatory texts, medical and hippiatric texts, and [surprisingly] letters) (Caquot 1979: 1361-1417) and administrative and economic texts (Szyner 1979: 1417-25). Hawley (2012) has recently applied Oppenheim’s (1977: 13) classic functional dichotomy in terms relating to the purposes and processes of textual production, with texts falling into the two overarching categories of traditional (school texts, learned compendia, literary and poetic texts [including mythological and para-mythological texts]) and ephemeral texts (including legal texts, letters, administrative lists and accounts, and cultic memoranda). No matter which criteria we elect to privilege in classifying the texts, the generic diversity characterizing the Ugaritic textual corpus astounds (Pardee 2012b: 30):

The existence of 2,000+ texts in the local language dating over roughly three-quarters of a century does not mean much in modern terms—but their very existence and the breadth of literary genres attested, particularly in contrast with other West Semitic sources where only a few very brief and often enigmatic texts are known for this period, make of them a veritable gold mine for the Late Bronze Age.

1.4.1.3 The Nature of the Evidence and the Challenge of Ugaritic Grammatical Study

The nature of this corpus as just described will already have suggested a number of the challenges and advantages associated with pursuing the linguistic investigation of its grammar.

The most obvious obstacle involved is that faced in the study of any extinct language: the absence of native speakers. But beyond this difficulty, attention must be called to three specific challenges. First, as noted above, the texts we possess are in many cases fragmentary or difficult to interpret. Since the meaning or even the actual graphemes present in a given text are often the subject of debate, a linguistic analysis must place the greatest weight on clear, well-preserved texts, with fragmentary and uncertain textual examples invoked only secondarily and for comparative purposes. For the same reason, textual interpretation cannot be taken for granted, making detailed and explicit presentations of the preferred interpretation in each case essential. Second, the writing system itself is far from transparent. The near absence of vowel indicators results in a situation in which homographs appear frequently in the texts, further encumbering interpretation. This problem is exacerbated by the inconsistent use of word dividers, rendering even so basic a matter as word segmentation an interpretive enterprise. Third, and perhaps most significantly for the present study, the number of attestations of a given phenomenon is often quite low, and indefinite pronouns are no exception in this regard. Each of these factors must be taken into consideration in selecting the methods most “appropriate to the task” (Hawley 2003: 7), and I attempt to do so in sec. 1.5 below.

In several important respects, however, the Ugaritic textual corpus offers the linguist more to work with than some of the closely related corpora in which linguistic investigation has been conducted. First, as noted above, the writing system *does* incorporate vowel notation in the use of the three alephs, and the locally produced vocabulary lists and glosses offer further insights into the vocalization of Ugaritic words. It is important to emphasize that these represent forms of linguistic testimony produced by speakers of the language. This situation contrasts with that of early Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew texts, in which vowels are rarely indicated, if it

all. While elaborate vocalization systems were subsequently developed for the representation of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, these systems arose at a time far removed from the historical contexts in which the texts were produced.

Of equal importance is the generic diversity of the textual finds at Ugarit. This diversity contrasts with what we find, for example, in Phoenician–Punic, a language attested primarily in monumental, dedicatory, and votive inscriptions, most of which are short and highly formulaic. The suggestion that such diversity constitutes an advantage may come as a surprise in light of the conventional restriction of linguistic studies in Semitic languages to prose texts. This tendency is an understandable one, insofar as it serves both to delimit a manageable corpus and to exclude the stricter stylistic constraints attending non-prose genres, which can interfere with analysis. While practical, however, this tendency does leave important areas of language unexplored, and diachronic²² and descriptive²³ linguists alike agree that full description requires the consideration of multiple genres. As the preceding discussion has already suggested, Ugaritic indefinite pronouns are restricted to epistolary and juridical texts. But this fact is itself of interest and would not be apparent if we did not possess a corpus as generically diverse as we do.

A final advantage associated with the Ugaritic corpus is to be identified in the possibility of locating its production in time and space. As described above, the corpus is chronologically restricted, leading us to anticipate very little analytical interference introduced by diachronic diversity. It is geographically circumscribed, coming from the territory of a single city-state. Furthermore, nearly all of the texts were recovered in controlled archaeological excavations, making it possible to view each text as a member within a group of texts collected and stored as

²² Consider Harris and Campbell's (1995: 9) appeal for "Intersystemic Comparison" in establishing diachronic syntactic change, an approach that "must take into consideration all styles and registers of language—literary language, oral literature, conversation, and others."

²³ Epps 2010: 639-640; Himmelmann 2016: 476.

such by the Ugaritians themselves. This last fact allows us to describe—sometimes in very fine detail—the circumstances and individuals associated with the production of specific texts. None of these characteristics can be affirmed for a text like the Hebrew Bible, produced, collected, and edited over centuries by unknown individuals in unknown locations for unknown purposes at unknown times, resulting in what amounts to an anthology of texts that has itself been subject to the dangers that always attend textual transmission. This has not hindered linguists who study Biblical Hebrew (nor should it!); it has simply required the creation and adaptation of fitting methods. The situation should be no different for linguistic studies of Ugaritic. The highly contextualized nature of the textual finds requires us to do a little less guesswork regarding the people and situations involved in the production of those texts, but their frustrating paucity requires that comparative, semantic, and typological approaches play an important role in facilitating the reconstruction of a plausible system.

1.4.2 Items for Study and Specific Research Objectives

Because the study of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns cannot be pursued without a clear picture of the system of interrogative pronouns—as the former are, by all accounts, closely related to the latter—I begin by treating forms identified in the past as interrogative pronouns (many of which have also been identified as indefinite pronouns): *m*, *mh*, *mhy*, *my*, and *mn*. As I argue in ch. 4, this necessary first step is also a useful one, as the state of our understanding of the Ugaritic language and textual record has reached a maturity that facilitates better informed and more meaningful results than those achievable in earlier studies. The primary focus of the study, however, rests on those lexical items that have previously been identified as indefinite pronouns:

áy, bnš, hmhkm, ind, kl, kkl, kll, klt, m, mdym, mh, mhk, mhkm, mm, mn, mdym, mnk, mnkm, mmm, mnmn, mnn, and mt.

For both the interrogative and indefinite pronouns, I offer an exhaustive review of the textual foundation for study, followed by a fine-grained grammatical description²⁴ of the pronouns concerned, identifying features of their syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and morphological composition (in both synchronic and diachronic/comparative terms). I aim to provide as clear a picture as the data allow of the constituents of the interrogative and indefinite pronominal systems and how each of these pronouns behave individually and in relation to one another. I additionally address related questions pertaining to the textual and social distribution of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns in order to assess the productivity of their use in the circles of those whose activities are recorded textually. The methods employed to achieve these objectives are discussed in the next section.

1.5 Method

The method selected for this study combines traditional approaches to textual analysis and linguistic description (discussed in sec. 1.5.1), including comparative/diachronic linguistic study (sec. 1.5.4), with linguistic models drawn from recent typological (sec. 1.5.2) and formal semantic (sec. 1.5.3) approaches to the study of indefinite pronouns. The role of each of these methodological and theoretical approaches in the integrated method pursued here is distinct and will be addressed in greater detail in the following subsections. Here I offer a brief, orienting overview.

²⁴ Bond (2010: 252-53) outlines the need for “fine-grained” descriptions of the sort proposed here.

As a study devoted to producing a fine-grained grammatical analysis of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, this study is a descriptive one. As such, the most central feature of the method involves collecting the relevant data and analyzing their distributions and morphologies—typically in that order. The nonexplicit orthography employed for recording the Ugaritic language in most cases makes the clause or sentence a more empirically accessible object of investigation than the lexeme or morpheme and, for this reason, a better starting point.²⁵ For each lexical item studied, therefore, I begin with syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Once I have described these in as much detail as possible, I address the morphological composition of the pronoun in question with reference to language-internal as well as comparative and typological data.

Of course, such descriptions can be situated at any number of different levels of abstraction; my aim is to generalize over the distributions as far as the data will allow, and this requires interaction with the other three approaches to indefinite pronominal study outlined in this section.

The first of these is provided by linguistic typology. Typology, as I discuss below, is the study of variation, its patterns, and its limitations in human language. Typological linguistic studies of indefinite pronouns are devoted to identifying a representative picture of how indefinite pronouns are formed, how they behave, and how they change through time *across* language. Because the Western grammatical tradition has largely failed to describe indefinite pronouns in careful linguistic detail (Haspelmath 1997: 1, 13-15), those of us working within that tradition begin the task of indefinite pronominal description at a disadvantage. We lack the vocabulary to describe distributional distinctions—even when we intuit them—and all too often

²⁵ To put this more concretely, it is far easier to determine whether a pronoun is functioning as the subject or the object of the main verb than it is to determine whether or not that pronoun was morphologically marked for case.

we simply fail to recognize the relevant distinctions altogether. A study like Haspelmath's (1997), which draws together data from 140 languages, provides researchers with a richer picture of how these pronouns can function and activates questions that would not otherwise have been likely to arise. Because such typological studies also observe patterned *limitations* on variation, they also set up a potential check for descriptive efforts. I do not endorse a typological determinism—a point I attempt to make clearly below—but if a researcher is entertaining multiple possible models for explaining language-internal data, it is useful to know if one of those models conforms to a trend observable in dozens of other languages.

Linguistic typology, however, must frequently operate at a more generalized level of comparison. A survey attempting to make sense of 140 indefinite pronominal systems cannot deal with every distributional distinction. Haspelmath's distillation of indefinite pronominal functions to a manageable list of nine is so useful because it abstracts intentionally away from the fine-grain details of specific languages in order to observe what is common across language. Language specific description, however, is a task properly concerned with just such fine-grain details, which typological study alone does not equip us to capture. For this reason, models developed within linguistic typology are augmented in the present study by models developed within the field of semantics.

Semantics is the appropriate choice for two reasons. First, it is semantics that animates Haspelmath's typological study—his nine functions are semantically defined, and his implicational map amounts to a hypothesized semantic proximity existing between adjacent functional ranges on the map (see ch. 2). Interacting knowledgeably with typological findings, in other words, requires attention precisely to the *semantic* elements of indefinite pronominal distribution. It is semantics, in other words, that provides the means of relating language-specific

features to typological findings. Second, semantic approaches to explaining the phenomenon of limited distribution among indefinites—a vital feature of their behavior that has been systematically underrecognized in studies of Semitic languages like Ugaritic—have proven to be the most successful and have produced an abundant literature providing just the sort of fine-grain analysis necessarily forgone in ambitiously crosslinguistic studies. Ongoing research conducted within this program has achieved remarkably detailed differentiations of language-specific pronouns that even native speakers often struggle to distinguish. This very struggle, I suggest, stands behind the tendency in descriptive grammars and lexica to assign a range of glosses to attested indefinite pronouns—including glosses that cannot be employed in any attested context. We are ill at ease when pressed to describe the difference between *something* and *anything*, and this interferes with our ability to recognize and describe the semantics and syntax of indefinite pronouns in other languages. Engaging with the research of those who have devoted themselves to identifying and describing these finer distinctions considerably improves our chances of recognizing distributional distinctions in the indefinite pronominal systems we wish to describe.

Typological and semantic study allows us better to recognize how Ugaritic indefinite pronouns behave syntactically and semantically, but such study is also relevant for our evaluation of pronominal morphological composition. As I noted above, linguistic typologists examine not only variation in human language but also patterns and limitations to that variation, with crosslinguistic trends in the relationship existing between form (morphology) and function (semantics) representing a primary object of study. Such study, therefore, may provide helpful suggestions concerning what diachronic sources are likely to stand behind the semantic functional ranges we are able to identify in our textual data. Analysis of Ugaritic morphology

cannot, however, rest on typological study alone. Instead, it must be conducted in conversation with the broader comparative Semitic picture.

Due to the specific challenges posed by the nature of the Ugaritic data as outlined above, Ugaritologists are not free to rely solely on internal linguistic data for grammatical and lexical analysis, but rather continue to be more heavily dependent on comparative data than are those working with better attested or more explicitly recorded languages. For this reason, analysis must proceed with an awareness of the situations obtaining in other related languages. This is not to suggest that Ugaritic was not free to go its own way, but to insist as a matter of disciplinary fact that Ugaritological analysis is as often as not *dependent* on comparative study. That fact should figure explicitly in a presentation of method and should be engaged intentionally as a type of check (even if not strictly a control) on proposed analyses.

In the following three subsections, I discuss each of the disciplines integrated in the proposed approach. I begin with a discussion of data collection and representation within the field of Ugaritology, followed by a discussion of typological linguistics, recent semantic approaches to the study of limited distribution, and diachronic linguistics. For the last three, I provide an introduction to relevant points of theory and method, describe in greater detail the contribution offered for the present descriptive study, and highlight methodological pitfalls to be avoided in integrating the findings drawn from these adjacent and complementary disciplines.

1.5.1 Data Collection and Representation

The primary audience of this work identified in sec. 1.4 and the nature of the evidence as described in sec. 1.4.1.3 require the following approach to data collection, representation, and linguistic argumentation. First, the textual review has been exhaustive. I have examined all

published Ugaritic materials²⁶ in order to identify all possible examples of indefinite pronouns in the textual record as it is known today. Second, textual data are presented in the following chapters according to discipline-specific conventions designed to represent the state of epigraphic preservation explicitly. The following conventions should be noted:

(2) **Conventions for Representing Ugaritic Textual Data**

- a. text citations will include an epigraphic representation of the text (transliteration), a vocalization (offered as a heuristic indicator of the intended interpretation), linguistic glossing (for non-specialist readers, as well as for the sake of explicitness, generally following the Leipzig Glossing Rules), and an English translation
- b. the epigraphic representation will indicate fully restored text in [square brackets], damaged but plausibly identifiable graphemes in ‘quarter brackets’, textual errors to be removed in {curly brackets}, and scribal omissions in <angle brackets>
- c. a hyphen in the epigraphic transliteration indicates the presence of an illegible grapheme; word dividers are represented by a period
- d. in the body of the text to follow, verbal roots will be preceded by the radical (√), while other parts of speech will be cited in italic script
- e. texts cited in the body of the argument will typically be represented in italic script, excluding word dividers and finer notations of the epigraphic state of

²⁶ For which, see Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, kept up to date online through the efforts of the Ras Shamra Tablet Inventory (RSTI) project of the OCHRE Data Service of the University of Chicago at <http://ochre.lib.uchicago.edu/RSTI/teo.html>. See further *KTU*³.

preservation; when these latter are deemed relevant, a true transliteration will be presented in {curly brackets}

The orientation and object of this study also require that each textual citation be discussed in some detail, offering an explicit presentation of the interpretation preferred and, in many cases, the evidence motivating these decisions. The resulting presentation of the data may, as a result, strike some readers as tedious, but such detail is simply required by the many factors introducing ambiguity into the interpretive process—far exceeding those attending the study of better attested languages like Akkadian, Hebrew, or Arabic—which frequently lead specialists to widely differing conclusions regarding the most appropriate identification of individual forms and the resulting interpretation of the texts they comprise.

Finally, while this study draws heavily on typological linguistic and formal semantic research, its primary audience cannot be expected to be acquainted with the formal models and associated symbolic apparatus of these disciplines. While I make regular reference to such models, especially in ch. 2, devoted to establishing a linguistic framework informing the analysis to follow, I attempt to explain such models, terms, and formal representations clearly. In the analysis of the Ugaritic data, I avoid formal semantic representation in favor of prose description except when the former is absolutely necessary for explicitly representing distinctions not otherwise easily captured. All symbols and abbreviations are registered in the list of abbreviations found at the end of this work.

1.5.2 Linguistic Typology

As noted above, linguistic typology is the study of variation in human language, its patterns, and its limitations. In this section, I provide a brief introduction to typological method and theory in order to facilitate an informed evaluation of and interaction with its findings in the next chapter. I then outline the relevance of typology to language description and identify specific methodological pitfalls to avoid.

1.5.2.1 Typological method

The study of linguistic typology has expanded at an extraordinary rate since its modern (re-)assertion in Greenberg 1963/1966, and the incorporation of typological method and findings in a growing number of studies devoted to ancient Near Eastern languages, including Semitic and specifically Northwest Semitic ones, has the effect of rendering methodological surveys like the present one increasingly unnecessary. Nevertheless, it is impossible to treat adequately the motivations and the means for integrating this linguistic sub-discipline into the present study without a brief methodological overview.

Croft's (2003) now classic introduction to language typology offers a succinct discussion of the different ways in which the term *typology* is used in current linguistic discourse, differentiating them by specifying *typological classification*, *typological generalization*, and *functional–typological explanation* as three discrete (though relatable) processes. The first involves classifying languages based on crosslinguistic comparison of particular features; the second refers to the “study of patterns that occur systematically across languages” (i.e., language universals); and the third refers to a theoretical approach to linguistic explanation (2003: 1-2). It is the second definition that will be of central concern in the remainder of this discussion, and the

compatibility of this approach with other linguistic approaches (like Chomskyan generative grammar) is helpfully treated in Croft's introduction (2003: 4-6).

The objectives of typological generalization consist of identifying patterns in linguistic diversity. As a researcher examines a given feature (e.g., adpositions, word order, case) across multiple languages, distinct functional roles begin to emerge that would not have been appreciable by considering only one language. For example, the identification of case-inflecting languages that exhibit an essive case leads a researcher to ask how similar concepts are expressed in languages without recourse to this particular morphological strategy. These different syntactic and morphological strategies to achieving a (more or less) common semantic end are compared in search of recurring patterns. The goal of typological generalization is to identify these patterns and to relate them to other patterns (via implicational universals, hierarchies, or semantic maps, to be discussed further below).

Naturally, comparison of this sort can only be achieved by identifying a specific *object of study*, and the nature of such objects has been the subject of considerable discussion among typologists. This is addressed by Croft as the "problem of cross-linguistic comparability" (2003: 13-19), and the problem is of central concern as we look to relate typological research to language-specific description. The difficulty lies in correctly identifying "the same grammatical phenomenon across languages" (Croft 2003: 13).

Given the considerable formal diversity of language, a purely formal definition is not likely to succeed and would in many respects prejudice the research from the outset (Croft 2003: 13). In spite of this formal diversity, however, languages are translatable, and this universal

translatability provides the foundation for the commitment to semantics (broadly conceptualized) as the conceptual anchor for establishing crosslinguistically valid categories for study.²⁷

Left unconstrained, however, purely semantic categories would require us to pursue unified accounts of what are arguably unrelated (or only distantly related) phenomena (e.g., adjectives and stative verbs or case, adpositions, and verbal valency), and for this reason typologists often incorporate a highly general formal level in their elaboration of a topic for consideration.²⁸ Crucially, these crosslinguistically comparable “entities” (called *comparative concepts*)²⁹ do not map directly onto language-specific descriptive categories. While typologists depend on language-specific descriptions for their data, the comparative concepts they take as their own object of study may involve carving up linguistic space in a manner quite different from that employed by those responsible for describing the individual languages that inform the larger typological study. This fact is a simple byproduct of the many-to-many relationship between form and function both within individual languages and (especially) across language, but its crucial upshot is that what typologists mean by a term like *indefinite pronoun* may differ in important respects from what a given descriptive linguist means by the same term. Differences of this sort must be taken into account if we are to work successfully in the space between the two disciplines.

The research method that emerges from such considerations can be presented in the following (simplified) fashion, after Croft (2003: 14):

²⁷ See Croft 2003: 13-14 with references to Greenberg’s discussions; Haspelmath 2007: 126, 128; 2012: 114-115.

²⁸ Haspelmath 1997: 9; 2010a: 665.

²⁹ Haspelmath 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2012.

- (i) Determine the particular semantic(-pragmatic) structure or situation type that one is interested in studying.
- (ii) Examine the morphosyntactic construction(s) or strategies used to encode that situation type.
- (iii) Search for dependencies between the construction(s) used for that situation and other linguistic factors: other structural features, other external functions expressed by the construction in question, or both.

Such investigation is carried out across a language sample designed with specific research objectives in mind.³⁰ The “dependencies” identified in step (iii) of the method as presented above can be expressed in a number of different manners, including implicational universals (e.g., if a language exhibits feature A, it will also exhibit feature B) or hierarchies (e.g., all languages exhibiting a given feature on this scale will also exhibit features to the left on the same scale), often modelled using semantic maps.³¹

1.5.2.2 Relevance of Typology to Linguistic Description and Reconstruction

What have descriptive and typological research to do with one another? The answer depends on the order of the conjuncts in this question. That descriptive linguistic research is relevant to typology is a methodological given: studies of crosslinguistic variation necessarily presuppose the availability of competent language-specific descriptions (Croft 2003: 3). But asking the question in the other order has a tendency to raise eyebrows. What, if anything, does linguistic typology contribute to descriptive efforts (and similarly, to reconstructive ones)?

³⁰ For one presentation of sampling method, see Croft 2003: 19-28.

³¹ See Croft 2003: 122-157 with bibliography cited therein; see also Haspelmath 2003.

Some insist that the two disciplines differ so basically as to constitute entirely different enterprises.³² I do not subscribe strictly to this view, though a number of the concerns that inform it are legitimate, and I will deal with these in the next section. In adopting the position I do, I stand in agreement with practitioners who insist on the symbiotic relationship that exists between the two approaches to language.³³ Such proponents of mutually-informing practice typically articulate the importance of typology to description by appeal to three points.

First, one of the principal challenges of grammatical description lies in offering explanations (i.e., generalizations) that focus on the appropriate level of generality (Haspelmath 1997: 7). The explanatory mechanism invoked with respect to a given distribution should align with the breadth of attestation of that distribution. A feature appearing in only one or two languages should not be explained by appeal to language universals or human cognitive processing constraints, while a feature common across a language family and even more broadly across human language should not be explained in terms of local historical developments. The only way to appreciate the breadth of attestation is to survey the broader crosslinguistic landscape before examining the specific situation obtaining in the language under study, and interaction with typological research allows us to do just that.

A second rationale for including typological considerations has emerged from a number of methodological discussions pursued over the last decade by descriptive linguists and typologists in an effort to assess the ways in which the two disciplines differ, as well as the cases in which their research objectives converge. The most important insight to have arisen from this discussion—for the purposes of the present study at least—is the fact that typology should be

³² See Himmelmann's summary (2016: 475), citing Lazard 2002, Croft 2001, and Haspelmath 2010a as prominent examples.

³³ See, e.g., Evans and Dench 2006; Bond 2010; Epps 2010; Chelliah and de Reuse 2011: 279-356 (with extensive bibliography); Himmelmann 2016; and Mithun 2016.

permitted to play an important role in sensitizing the descriptive linguist to possible grammatical configurations that may not have occurred to her otherwise. The danger of allowing typological studies to bias the language-specific description will be discussed below, but that danger has to be qualified by recognizing the equal and opposite danger associated with insufficiently sensitive grammatical description. In most cases, considering typological discussions of a given feature *expands* the researcher's models of possible system configurations rather than *restricting* them. That is, in describing a new language (especially a poorly preserved one like Ugaritic), the danger of failing to describe language-internal distributions accurately due to an impoverished sense of the possible is just as great as (if not greater than) the danger of forcing the language-specific data into a mold designed by typologists. By making themselves aware of a much fuller range of possible configurations, researchers dealing with individual languages improve their chances of achieving the “*Aha-Erlebnis*” described by Haspelmath (2008: 60) that occurs when one realizes that a peculiar distribution in a specific language participates in a broader and well documented crosslinguistic trend. Forewarned is forearmed,³⁴ as Mithun (2016: 467-68) illustrates helpfully:

It is unlikely that Boas first arrived on Baffin Island forewarned to watch for velar/uvular distinctions and ergativity. Now more than a century later, an awareness of what distinctions can be significant in languages and what kinds of systems recur can provide tremendous advantages, allowing us to spot potentially important features sooner and identify patterns on the basis of fewer examples.

³⁴ Bond 2010: 249-250; Epps 2010: 642-644; Himmelmann 2016: 475; Mithun 2016: 467-468.

Mithun’s reference to the role typology can play in facilitating our ability to recognize patterns “on the basis of fewer examples” is of obvious and even greater relevance for those studying partially preserved languages like Ugaritic. The potential value of bringing typological considerations to bear on the reconstruction and diachronic study of poorly attested languages has been helpfully summarized by Shields (2010),³⁵ and a number of studies in recent years have illustrated the principle in practice.³⁶

A final reason for pursuing typological compatibility in our approach is to facilitate *two-way* communication in this interdisciplinary endeavor. The study of extinct languages has the potential not only to benefit from typological studies but to contribute to them. One must bear in mind Goldenberg’s complaint against linguistic studies of the Semitic languages that “refrain from original linguistic thought, either reposing on achievements of the past, or—which is by no means better—embracing servilely whatever theory is in vogue” (2002: 23). He goes so far as to suggest that it is “not for applying general theories to Semitic that we need to keep constant connexion with the science of language, but rather for putting those theories to the test” (2002: 22). Similarly valuable in underscoring the importance of studying extinct languages for the typological enterprise is an important acknowledgment of Haspelmath’s (1997: 20 n. 4):

Note also that a typological approach that seeks to discover universal properties (like this book) is really interested in the notion of a POSSIBLE HUMAN LANGUAGE . . . , and we have

³⁵ For additional discussion representing a variety of perspectives on the role(s) of typology in historical linguistics and linguistic reconstruction, see Baldi 1990; Mithun 1990; Hock 1991: 617-626; Comrie 1989: 201-226; 1993: 74-97; Fox 1995: 247-274; Croft 2003: 232-279.

³⁶ Here I offer a selection of recent (and for historical purposes, not-so-recent) studies treating Semitic and/or ancient Near Eastern languages that advocate or illustrate the use of typological linguistics in linguistic reconstruction: Greenberg 1950; 1991; Gragg 1973 (see esp. p. 92); Miller 1996: 25; 2004; 2005; Deutscher 2000; Woods 2001; Gzella 2004; Rubin 2005; Hasselbach 2007; 2011; 2013 (and the reviews found in Kouwenberg 2015 and Khan 2017, relevant for their specific discussions of typological method); Kouwenberg 2010: 2; Cook 2012; Bekins 2014; and Holmstedt 2016.

no way of being sure that the existing diversity at the end of the second millennium CE is representative of the possible diversity. Inevitably, thus, our “representative samples” are only gross approximations.

We must therefore remain open to the possibility—even seeking it actively—that our study of the indefinite pronouns in Ugaritic may lend additional support to or problematize current models.

1.5.2.3 Cautions

Two methodological pitfalls must be carefully avoided in drawing on typological linguistic research as a part of language description: (1) the danger of a confused circularity (and an associated derailment of empirical method) and (2) the danger of flattening and obscuring language-specific data.

The first of these dangers is an epistemological and methodological one. Specifically, to the extent that researchers focusing on language-specific phenomena attempt to invoke typological findings in a manner that *constrains* description, they turn the research process on its head. Recall that typological research participates very intentionally in an empiricist program (Croft 2003: 5). Typologists gather information from language-specific descriptive grammars and organize that information in an attempt to discover and highlight patterns of crosslinguistic diversity. In other words, crosslinguistic trends (whether absolute or only statistical universals; see n. 39 below) ought to emerge through the collection of language-specific data. To permit those trends not only to inform but to constrain further language documentation is to build

circularity into the system.³⁷ Certainly good typological research is built on carefully selected language samples, but typologists are quick to alert readers to the fact that such samples are often qualitatively (even if not quantitatively) skewed in the direction of well-documented language groups and are furthermore unavoidably skewed in favor of languages spoken today.³⁸ The idea that such samples, even at their best, could exhaust possible linguistic variation represents an unfounded optimism not held by professional typologists. Furthermore, the growth of typological research has tended to illustrate that very few “universals” are actually exceptionless (absolute universals). Far more common are the statistical universals—strong trends.³⁹ Such trends do admit exceptions, and there is no reason to assume that a given language under study should conform to the trend rather than join the ranks of the minority to which the trend does not apply.

I described this first danger above as a *confused* circularity due to a second component of this methodological misstep. The application of typological findings to language-specific description often begins with the assumption that the categories employed by typologists not only “exist” in some way, but that they “exist” in all languages (including the language under

³⁷ In most cases, researchers are careful not to go this far, but two examples may serve to illustrate the danger as a real one. Comrie suggested typology as a valuable tool for reconstruction in these terms (1989: 202):

Another way in which the study of language universals can be of relevance to diachronic linguistics is in setting limits to the potential for variation among languages. Clearly, if research on language universals suggests that a certain language type, though logically possible, is not in fact an actual possibility, then any reconstruction that sets up a language of this type as ancestor to attested languages must be rejected (or, of course, the universal must be rejected).

His parenthetical qualification clears him of charges of the methodological fallacy under discussion, but this qualification seems not to be quite so enthusiastic as the prior endorsement of typology. In a similar way, Cook describes diachronic typology as “an ‘external’ means of validating” his theories regarding the Biblical Hebrew verbal system, adding, “for my theory to be valid, it should accord generally with what is known about verbal systems and the ways that they change over time” (2012: x). Depending on how much weight is placed on the qualifying adverb “generally,” a statement like this draws very close to allowing a governing rather than merely validating role to typology. Both of the scholars just cited are careful, and Cook’s study in particular generally remains on safe ground in practice, even if the principle just cited skates close to the line.

³⁸ See, e.g., Haspelmath 1997: 15, 20. This fact prompted Hock’s (1991: 626) cautionary warning to historical linguists: “Even the best typologies cannot possibly cover the evidence of all attested languages, not to mention their earlier historical stages or the many languages which have died out unrecorded. Under these circumstances it is premature to reject palpable comparative evidence simply because it does not agree with current typological findings.”

³⁹ See, e.g., Haspelmath 2004: 564.

study) and can be related directly to the language-specific categories of which they are the putative extension. In other words, direct applications of typology to description assume that language-specific categories relate to the crosslinguistic categories (better, *concepts*) employed by typologists in a subset–superset relationship, that the entities studied by descriptive linguists are nested within those studied by typologists in a transparent way. This is not the case. As Haspelmath has taken great pains to illustrate,⁴⁰ it is not only the scope of inquiry but even the *object* of inquiry that differs between descriptive and typological linguists. Comparative concepts cannot be equated with language-specific categories and should not be treated as prefabricated silos into which language-specific data can simply be poured.⁴¹

The second danger has been hinted at already and consists of the risk that descriptive and historical linguists run of flattening or distorting their record in order to accommodate typological observations. The success of typological research depends crucially on the accuracy of the language-specific data from which it draws. Each new language considered must therefore be treated as a potential source for new variety and examined carefully in its own right. A failure to do so, resorting instead to typological deduction (a contradiction in terms), not only runs the risk of obscuring the uniqueness of the language under study, but also deprives the typological research program of a potential source of new information.

These dangers all relate specifically to the model of typological-descriptive interaction in which typology constrains description (or reconstruction). Avoiding such dangers simply requires us to refuse an aprioristic typological determinism. As long as typological trends are

⁴⁰ See Haspelmath 2004, 2007, 2010a, 2010b.

⁴¹ Compare the remarks of Haspelmath (2007: 125):

Instead of fitting observed phenomena into the mould of currently popular categories, the linguist's job should be to describe the phenomena in as much detail as possible, using as few presuppositions as possible. Language describers have to create language-particular structural categories for their language, rather than being able to "take them off the shelf". This means that they have both more freedom and more work than is often thought.

regarded as hypotheses to be tested rather than as rules governing and constraining linguistic systems, these dangers can be safely avoided. They can also be avoided by intentionally interacting with findings drawn from alternative approaches, such as formal semantic and diachronic linguistic research, discussed in the following sections.

1.5.3 Formal Semantic Approaches to Polarity

1.5.3.1 Formal Semantics and Dynamic Semantic Theories

Formal semantics as a discipline takes as its object of study the *meaning* of linguistic items (words, sentences, discourse, etc.) but does so in terms of truth and felicity conditions with an eye toward examining the process of composition by which the meaning of a sentence can be derived from that of its constituent parts. This approach entails a commitment to the use of formal logic as a means of encouraging precision, explicitness, and applicational rigor in keeping with the Fregean research program as applied by Richard Montague. Most of the relevant models and concepts can be more conveniently introduced and explained as needed in the course of the discussion provided in the next chapter, but a few preliminary definitions are best provided here. Among these, the distinctions to be observed between semantic *assertion*, *presupposition*, *entailment*, and pragmatic *implicature* are especially vital, as these are invoked throughout the study.

(3) **Key terms and concepts for formal semantics⁴²:**

- a. **truth condition:** in truth conditional approaches to semantics, the meaning of a predication is understood as the set of conditions that must obtain for that

⁴² For useful introductions to formal semantics, see Kearns 2011 and Heim and Kratzer 1998. The definitions provided here are adapted from Kearns 2011.

predication to be true (an alternative to truth-conditional semantics is described below).

- b. **extension:** the extension of a predicate is the set of all entities for which the predicate is true in the real world (dubbed w_0); for example, the extension of the predicate **purple** is the set of all entities x for which “ x is purple” is a true statement in the actual world.
- c. **intension:** the intension of a predicate is the set of all entities for which the predicate is true in all *possible* worlds.
- d. **assertion:** the assertion of a sentence is defined as its actual semantic content—what it states; this is to be distinguished from the presuppositions, entailments, and implicatures of a sentence.
- e. **presupposition:** a presupposition of a sentence is something the truth of which is prerequisite to the interpretability of the assertion itself; it is not itself a part of the assertion, but it must be true in order for the truth value of the actual assertion (true or false) to be calculated. Presuppositions survive negation. For example, *The king of France is bald* presupposes the existence of a king of France, as does its negated counterpart, *The king of France is not bald*. If there is no king of France, the truth of the sentence cannot be evaluated in the actual world, and the presuppositional failure will evoke responses such as, *Wait—there isn't any king of France!*

- f. **entailment:** an entailment of a sentence is not asserted as part of its meaning, but is a necessary (and therefore indefeasible) logical concomitant of the assertion.⁴³
- g. **implicature:** an implicature of a sentence is an “invited inference” (Kearns 2011: 12); implicature belongs within the realm of pragmatics rather than semantics, though it interacts with semantics in many important ways⁴⁴; implicatures are built on the foundation of Gricean Maxims of communication (defined below); crucially, implicatures do not survive negation (unlike presuppositions) and can be cancelled without resulting in contradiction (unlike entailments).⁴⁵
- h. **Gricean Maxims of Communication:** the maxims of cooperative communication are concepts developed by H. P. Grice as a means of clarifying the assumptions of speakers and hearers in communication which often license implicatures/inferences; they can be summarized very briefly here: (1) the maxim of **quantity:** say as much as is needed and no more; (2) the maxim of **quality:** provide only true information; (3) the maxim of **relation:** say only what is relevant; and (4) the maxim of **manner:** say things as clearly as possible.

⁴³ For example, *Anna is faster than anyone* comes with the logical entailment *There is not anyone faster than Anna* as well as any number of specific entailments we could wish to spell out (such as *John is not faster than Anna*, *Elizabeth is not faster than Anna*, etc.).

⁴⁴ Further below I discuss how implicatures can in some cases even participate in licensing structures that are ordinarily strictly semantically defined (as in cases of “indirect licensing/rescuing” discussed in the next chapter). The boundary between semantics and pragmatics is, therefore, semipermeable.

⁴⁵ For example, a speaker who announces *Anyone can come!* to a room full of guests implicates the stronger assertion *Everyone can come!* This implicature can, however, be cancelled without contradiction: *Anyone can come—though not everyone!*

- i. **existential quantifier:** the existential quantifier is a logical operator (\exists) to be read “there is/exists.”⁴⁶
- j. **universal quantifier:** the universal quantifier is a logical operator (\forall) to be read “(for) all.”⁴⁷

A second point of introduction pertains to the semantic theory standing behind much of the work on which I draw most heavily in the following chapters, *dynamic semantic theory*. This label serves as a cover term for a group of related approaches that were developed in the late 1970s (Lewis 1975 and Stalnaker 1978) and that gained significant momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. Included within this program are such diverse initiatives as File Change Semantics, Dynamic Montague Grammar, Dynamic Predicate Logic, Update Semantics, and Discourse Representation Theory (Giannakidou 1998: 24).

The core notional motivation for these diverse approaches is to be found in the conviction that “the meaning of a sentence is not its truth conditions, as assumed in truth conditional semantics, but rather, the change it brings about in the context of conversation, its *context change potential* (CCP)” (Giannakidou 1998: 24). In particular, the notion of *context* and its incorporation into the computation of semantic meaning (and related dependencies determining well-formedness) is of special relevance for the treatment of indefinite pronouns and related items, as is the relativization of semantic truth conditions with respect to the speaker (a recognition that semantic well-formedness typically has more to do with what the speaker believes to be true than what is actually true in the real world). The discussion here follows

⁴⁶ For example, $\exists x[\text{boy}(x)]$ can be read, “There is an entity x such that x is a boy.”

⁴⁷ For example, $\forall x[\text{boy}(x)]$ can be read, “For all entities x , x is a boy.”

Giannakidou (1998: 24-38) very closely, and the reader is encouraged to consult this work for further bibliography.

For dynamic semantic theories, the *context* includes the *common ground* (information taken for granted by participants in the conversation), the speaker, the hearer, and the actual world in which the utterance takes place. The context also includes all possible worlds in which the common ground holds true.⁴⁸ As the conversation unfolds, new information is provided, and the common ground grows. The effect of this growth is that the number of worlds compatible with the common ground decreases (so that the amount of information present in the common ground in a given context and the number of possible worlds compatible with that common ground in the same context are inversely proportional).

An example will illustrate this more clearly. Suppose two individuals, Anna and Thomas, are describing a dog they have seen playing at the park. The possible worlds compatible with the common ground at this point include all worlds in which dogs play at parks (including dogs of all ages and breeds). As the conversation continues, Anna specifies that the dog was in fact a Labrador puppy. The result of this addition to the common ground is to diminish the number of possible worlds compatible with the common ground significantly. Worlds in which the dog playing at the park is an adult Labrador or a puppy of some other sort have all been excluded.

Evaluation of the semantic meaning (assertion) contributed by an item in terms of the potential that item has to change the context in this way more accurately responds to the way language is employed. A further addition to this picture of *context* indicated in Giannakidou (1998: 31), building on an observation of Farkas (1992), consists of the relativization of context

⁴⁸ In formal terms, context is presented as a set incorporating the common ground (*cg*), all worlds in which *cg* holds (*W*), the speaker (*s*), hearer (*h*), and the actual world of utterance (*w₀*), as well as a function *f* assigning values to variables. This is represented as follows (Giannakidou 1998: 25): **Context** = $\langle cg(c), W(c), s, h, w_0, f \rangle$.

to an individual anchor. That is, the assignment of truth values to utterances contributing to the common ground must be performed relative to some individual's *epistemic model* (beliefs about what is true in the real world). In other words, we need to be able to distinguish between the truth of an utterance conceptualized absolutely and conceptualized in terms of what the speaker believes about the world, as these may be very different.⁴⁹ This approach to modeling context plays a role in theoretically informing the approaches drawn upon in this study, though it will only rarely require explicit formal incorporation. The importance of conceptualizing meaning in terms of the potential to change the common ground within a given context will become clearer in the course of discussing free-choice expressions in the next chapter.

1.5.3.2 Relevance of formal semantics to linguistic description and reconstruction

The decision to incorporate formal semantics in the present work has been driven by a number of considerations. First, research carried out within this paradigm has, in my view, produced some of the most insightful and compelling results precisely on the topics under consideration in this study, especially with respect to the phenomenon of limited distribution (conceptualized in terms of semantic dependency, as described in the next chapter). Second, the discussion of typological method above has illustrated the central role played by semantics both in formulating crosslinguistically applicable comparative concepts and in explaining the way variation patterns across language (e.g., semantic maps). It stands to reason that a linguistic discipline that takes semantics as its principal object of study will provide results that are especially interoperable with typological findings and that may in fact move us toward more satisfying explanations of the patterns observable both language-specifically *and* crosslinguistically. As those tasked with

⁴⁹ This addition results in a revised definition of context, incorporating an epistemic model $M(x)$ (Giannakidou 1998: 31): **Context** = $\langle cg(c), W(c), M(x), s, h, w_0, f \rangle$.

mapping even the subtlest variations in the topography of the linguistic encoding of meaning, semanticists and the research they produce are uniquely positioned to aid descriptive efforts by enriching the descriptive categories available, on the one hand, and by exploring and explaining the ways in which those categories relate logically, on the other hand. As noted above, the fine-grain detail provided by semantic modeling offers a useful counterbalance to the generalizing tendencies of typological study. This combination of breadth (typology) and depth (formal semantics) offers an ideal preparation for those who wish to describe language-specific indefinite pronominal systems in terms more precise than those furnished by intuition.

1.5.3.3 Cautions

Incorporating the findings and models of formal semanticists is not entirely free of risk. First, because formal semantic modeling and method have still made relatively few inroads into Semitic studies, the danger of obscurantism lurks close at hand. In order to defuse this threat, I will define formalisms as explicitly as possible, offering prose interpretations wherever it seems necessary or valuable to do so. The threat is further mitigated, in this case, by the fact that this study is primarily a descriptive one. I draw on the findings of semanticists, but my objective is not to provide a formal account of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns. Formal representation can accordingly be kept to a minimum.

The second potential source of trouble consists of the temptation to convert an investigative apparatus into the object of study itself. As this study is not a study in theoretical linguistics designed to resolve formal modeling puzzles, but rather a linguistically informed and oriented descriptive undertaking, it is vital to maintain a focus on the actual objectives at hand. Adopting tortured analyses of the primary textual data in order to “get the math to work out” is

an inadmissible approach; the formal models adopted here should *aid* analysis and *clarify* interpretation, not encumber or confuse them.⁵⁰

1.5.4 Diachronic Linguistics

1.5.4.1 Diachronic Linguistics and the Comparative Method

The comparative method employed within the field of diachronic linguistics serves as a controlled means of pursuing explanations for diachronic diversity in human language and the processes of linguistic change that give rise to that diversity.⁵¹ Diachronic change can be recognized through the comparative study of related languages or of different periods of the same language. Both procedures facilitate the isolation of specific changes, which in turn provide the empirical foundation for attempts to describe the processes involved in language change. Diachronic linguistic study aims to identify and model these processes. These include phonological processes (sound change), morphosyntactic processes (e.g., analogy, reanalysis, levelling, extension), and semantic processes (e.g., generalization, specialization, metaphoric extension, metonymic extension). Superordinate developments such as grammaticalization and contact-induced change can further affect each of the modules of the grammar and lexicon individually or in unison (see Campbell 2013).

Whether a study has as its object phonological, morphological, syntactic, or lexical comparison, the establishment of the correct cognate set comprises the first stage of research.

Foundational to this step is some version of the principle of regular sound change. While studies

⁵⁰ A relevant example of this methodological misstep is arguably available in recent attempts to account for free-choice semantics by appeal to a Hamblin approach and through the invocation of two covert operators that are otherwise not empirically motivated. The problems with such approaches, which privilege theory-internal concerns over empirical ones, have been underscored by Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 135-136.

⁵¹ Baldi 1990; Hock 1991; Jones 1993; Fox 1995; Harris and Campbell 1995; Lass 1997; Hale 2007; Hock and Joseph 2009; Campbell 2013.

in grammaticalization have provided numerous examples of sound change that is anything but regular, this principle serves as a needed methodological control in the establishment of cognate sets among related languages. In the case of comparative Semitic studies, regular phoneme correspondences are already well established (for an overview, see most recently Huehnergard 2019), and the implication of this situation for the present study is two-fold. First, it should in most cases be fairly straightforward to identify cognates to individual indefinite pronouns in other related languages (even if those cognates do not behave as indefinite pronouns). The second implication is the corollary of the first: as we build up the set of indefinite pronouns *semantically* defined across the Semitic languages, we should be able to determine whether or not they are cognate to one another in historical linguistic terms.

This allows us to assess the degree of innovation involved in indefinite pronominal paradigms in each Semitic language we consider. If a paradigm in one language can be clearly related as a true cognate to similar paradigms in other languages, then we can establish the paradigm as an inherited feature (provided, of course, that independent development and borrowing can be excluded). If, on the other hand, paradigms incorporate morphemes that can be shown to represent internal innovations, or if inherited paradigms demonstrably represent functional innovations (e.g., an inherited generic noun used as a grammaticalized indefinite pronoun), then we can characterize the paradigm as innovative. As is routinely the case in comparative linguistics, similarities must be evaluated carefully to determine whether they represent inherited features, convergent innovations (especially when the similarities conform to crosslinguistically prominent trends), or areal phenomena.

1.5.4.2 Relevance of Comparative Study to Linguistic Description and Reconstruction

Arriving at these sorts of characterizations is one thing, but how do they relate to efforts at *synchronic* description? Does it matter, for example, whether an Ugaritic indefinite pronoun constitutes an inherited, innovated, or borrowed feature of the language if our primary concern lies in describing its form and function synchronically? Diachronic distinctions of this sort are in fact significant to descriptive studies for two reasons. The first reason applies equally to all descriptive efforts, while the second is peculiar to descriptive studies that treat poorly or partially preserved, extinct languages (like Ugaritic).

First, diachronic and comparative study plays an essential role in constructing a reasoned description built on an understanding (i.e., explanation) of the current state of the language (or language module) under consideration. This role can be appreciated by considering two varieties of morphological problems a descriptive linguist is likely to encounter. The first of these consists of situations in which synchronic irregularities cannot be accounted for in terms of synchronic morphological processes. Suppletion provides a ready example: there is no means by which the past tense *went* can be derived from *go*, and a linguist tasked with a description of the English language would search in vain for morphological and phonological processes capable of explaining this paradigm (which can only be understood in diachronic terms). Rankin has provided a similar example drawn from the highly irregular pattern of verbal ablaut in Dakotan dialects of Siouan (Rankin 2006). The response that explanation is not required of a descriptive grammar will not work in cases like these because the descriptive linguist *must* decide whether or not to treat “irregular” items as reflections of normal processes of inflection (and accordingly represented in the synchronic description of those inflectional processes) or as the products of diachronic processes. This decision can only be made with the diachronic picture in view.

Another type of problem descriptive linguists face pertains to the assessment of the productivity of certain morphological processes. This is of particular import for semanticists attempting a compositional analysis of individual lexemes and utterances. Examples drawn from the study of indefinite pronouns could easily be multiplied, but one clear instance is provided by indefinite pronouns incorporating a morpheme that resembles the synchronic scalar focus particle equivalent to English *even* (a widespread situation in indefinite pronominal forms crosslinguistically, as will be indicated in the next chapter). A synchronic description must determine whether such forms are the result of a synchronically available (i.e., productive) process of “EVEN-marking” or the grammaticalized product of a process no longer available to speakers. Giannakidou has illustrated, for example, that the semantics of Greek *kanenas*, which incorporates a synchronically available focus particle *kan* (“even”), cannot be derived directly from the current value of this particle. In other words, a synchronically compelling compositional analysis of *kanenas* cannot be achieved by attending only to the synchronic distribution of *kan*. As Giannakidou and Yoon (2016: 523) observe,

processes of semantic restructuring are the subject of great interest in the recent semantics literature . . . and they can yield insights into the relation between etymology and synchronic meaning, leading to a more refined view of compositionality that does not adhere to literal (but possibly inactive) meaning, but factors in potential meaning change by acknowledging a stage of weakening or nontransparency of literal meaning.

Descriptive linguists are required by the nature of their task to make decisions regarding the appropriate means of describing synchronic forms relative to the processes (synchronic or

diachronic) that produce them. These decisions determine the location of individual forms and paradigms within the grammar–lexicon complex and cannot be avoided. The only way to make such decisions accurately is to do so with an awareness of both synchronic and diachronic processes at work in the language.

The second respect in which diachronic study plays a role in description relates specifically to partially preserved languages like Ugaritic. Such languages provide an additional obstacle to description consisting of the underdetermination of the data available, of which the Ugaritic language, written in a script that does not, for the most part, record vowels, provides a particularly compelling example. In a number of instances in the following chapters, comparative considerations are invoked to shed additional light on the values individual morphemes are likely to have had when the internal data alone do not allow a clear analysis.

Naturally, diachronic considerations should not be allowed to overrule clear synchronic facts, nor should they be presumed to be equally relevant in all cases. But an attempt at synchronic description devoid of diachronic awareness amounts to deliberate ignorance. The relevance of the diachronic details must be handled with careful judgment, but this is only possible when they are clearly in view. As Rankin has stated so aptly (2006: 528),

[t]he excuse most often proffered for ignoring diachronic data and study is a Bowdlerized version of the Saussurian dictum. It runs something like this: “little children learning their native language don’t have access to comparative data, so we theoreticians no longer have to deal with such things, and grammars shouldn’t incorporate any such information.” This is nonsense, of course. The linguist’s understanding must be informed

from all available sources; how she or he may later choose to constrain a formal statement is a completely distinct matter.

1.5.4.3 Cautions

The final sentence of the quotation immediately above indicates an awareness of the fact that descriptive linguists will be required to exercise restraint in their dealings with and presentations of diachronic data. The dangers of facile appeal to or gratuitous display of diachronic data in what should be synchronically oriented descriptive grammars are well known. Unfortunately, this does not make them any easier to avoid. An overdependence on comparative considerations in descriptive attempts can be detected easily in many studies of the Ugaritic language, which, due to its poor state of preservation, often requires heavier engagement in comparative linguistic study. The skewing effect of this sort of dependence can arise by restricting the research agenda (predetermining which questions are worth asking) or the solutions pursued (predetermining the answers to the questions that are asked).

As an example of the first of these, at least part of the tendency to provide minimal descriptive accounts of indefinite pronouns in Ugaritic may find its explanation in the fact that these pronouns seem, at first glance, to have forms and functions comparable to their counterparts in other, better understood Semitic languages (like Akkadian). Indefinite pronouns constitute a feature of the language requiring every bit as much of an adequate description as, say, the causative Š-stem, but in the context of an approach to description that is oriented primarily toward expositing *problems*, appreciable as such only in comparative perspective, these pronouns are unlikely to excite the sort of cognitive dissonance required to provoke extensive study.

The second form of error can be identified in the predisposition (discussed in ch. 5, sec. 5.1 below) to appeal to the Akkadian syntactic situation as likely identical to (and therefore a point of evidence for) that obtaining in Ugaritic indefinite pronominal syntax. One may be forced to consider such forms of argumentation, but this should only be done as a supplementary or last resort and should be clearly identified as such. One must not allow the situation obtaining in other Semitic languages to prejudice the analysis of language-internal data.

1.5.5 An Integrated Approach

Integrating the findings drawn from typological, formal semantic, and diachronic linguistic (comparative Semitic) study of indefinite pronouns provides an ideal preparation for the descriptive task at hand. These three perspectives have been selected and combined intentionally as complementary approaches. Typology provides a maximally broad, though often very general account. Formal semantic approaches (especially to limited-distribution indefinites) add detail to the picture and facilitate the fine-grain analysis required in language-specific description.

Comparative study shows whether each Semitic language tends to employ inherited indefinite pronouns or innovate its own and, in the latter case, which morphological strategies recur most frequently. Yet, as should already be clear from the preceding discussion, none of these perspectives on indefinite pronouns can be treated as *given*. Typological trends, formal semantic models, and tendencies observable in closely related languages must not be permitted to constrain the descriptive task. They must rather be treated as *hypotheses* to be tested and as *analog*s exposing possibilities that may otherwise have been unlikely to occur to the researcher.

If the Ugaritic system of indefinite pronouns turns out to align with crosslinguistic tendencies

and formal semantic models—and I argue below that in many respects it does—this must be established inductively rather than deduced.

1.6 Organization of the Study

In the next two chapters, I provide the linguistic backdrop for the analysis of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns to be pursued. The first of these, ch. 2, reviews typological and formal semantic research pertaining to indefinite pronominal form, function, syntax, diachronic development, and limited-distribution-related dependencies. These findings are integrated to present both typological and semantic models (presented as maps) charting the linguistic landscape of indefinite pronouns. Chapter 3 presents a survey of WH-morphological indefinite pronouns across the Semitic language family. This survey is designed to identify which morphological strategies are employed in Semitic and whether these languages tend to employ innovative or inherited indefinite pronouns.

Once the crosslinguistic and comparative Semitic situations have been surveyed, language-specific analysis can begin. I start in ch. 4 with a study of Ugaritic interrogative pronouns and putative examples of bare interrogative indefinites in the language. I turn to the indefinite pronouns derived from interrogative pronouns in the next two chapters. Such WH-morphological pronouns bearing the final morpheme *-m*, which I dub the *m*-series pronouns, comprise the subject of ch. 5, while those with a final *-k*, the *k*-series pronouns, are treated in ch. 6. Remaining items and a number of alternative strategies for indefinite description are analyzed in ch. 7. The final analytical chapter, ch. 8, provides an assessment of productivity, considering the social and textual distributions of indefinite pronominal use. The conclusions of the study are summarized in ch. 9.

Chapter 2

Indefinite Pronouns in Linguistic Perspective

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the most relevant findings pertaining to indefinite pronouns derived from typological linguistic and formal semantic research, the importance of which has been defended in the preceding chapter. The survey is organized as follows: I begin by revisiting the question of definitions (sec. 2.1), arguing that a broad, typologically-oriented definition of indefinite pronouns provides the best starting point for exploratory purposes, though semantically refined definitions will be provided both further below and as a part of the results of this study. The remainder of the chapter is taken up with outlining the major descriptive topoi associated with indefinite pronouns (morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, register- and genre-related features, linguistic contact, and diachrony and grammaticalization). In each case, typological observations and formal semantic interpretations are, to the extent possible, integrated (sec. 2.2-5). The final section (sec. 2.6) outlines a number of lexical classes that are closely related to and/or in competition with indefinite pronouns and that have the potential to distract or confuse analysis if one is not aware of their discrete roles.

2.1 A Further Word on Definitions

The definition presented in ch. 1 is reproduced here for convenience.

- (1) **Definition 1:** indefinite pronouns
 - (i) indefinite pronouns are formally (morphologically and/or syntactically) identifiable as *pro-nouns* (excluding other pro-forms)
 - (ii) indefinite pronouns exhibit the characteristics of indefinites (non-referentiality, intersective operation, and quantificational variability [Heim 1982])
 - (iii) indefinite pronouns will be taken to include limited-distribution indefinites satisfying feature (i) above, even if their semantics fail to satisfy (ii) in all cases

What we find is that the class of items treated in traditional grammatical and typological literature under the heading of *indefinite pronouns* comprises what is from a formal semantic standpoint a very diverse group. If we restrict our study to items defined *formally* as true indefinite pronouns, we will find ourselves examining only a very small subset of the pronouns traditionally included in such investigations—and perhaps the least interesting subset at that! This is why point (iii) of the definition above is necessary, and it is for this reason that I will continue to employ this very broad definition in the course of gathering items for study. This will allow for the production of a study that is useful within its disciplinary context and that does not definitionally exclude some of the most interesting items in this class (such as polarity items). The required precision that the formal semantic perspective allows us to incorporate more successfully, instead of being built into the definition here, will be fleshed out in detail in the

course of the examination of crosslinguistically relevant functional distributions of indefinite pronouns offered below (sec. 2.4).

2.2 Morphological Profiles

An obvious point at which broad, crosslinguistic examination of indefinite pronouns can aid reconstructive and descriptive efforts like that undertaken here pertains to the morphological profile or composition of indefinite pronouns. Haspelmath's study of indefinite pronouns (1997), based on close examination of forty languages and more general review of an additional one hundred languages (1997: 17-20) offers a robust description of the array of forms taken by such pronouns in modern languages and thereby provides a useful backdrop for a treatment of the morphological profiles of indefinite pronouns attested within the Semitic language family generally (ch. 3) and the Ugaritic language specifically (ch. 4-7).

The first fundamental insight provided by Haspelmath's study consists of the recognition that indefinite pronouns can typically be identified in terms of a *base*, serving to signal the ontological category to which the pronoun belongs, and an *indefiniteness marker*, identifying the pronoun in question as an indefinite and distinguishing it from what would otherwise be homonymic lexemes in the language (1997: 21, 22). I address the second of these first.

Indefiniteness markers can be affixes or particles. Affixal indefiniteness markers ordinarily appear as the outermost morpheme in the indefinite pronoun, with nominal inflectional morphemes like case markers occurring inside the indefiniteness marker. This is evident in the paradigm of the Latin indefinite pronoun *quidam* ("somebody") (Haspelmath 1997: 22):

(2) Latin (“somebody”)

Nom. qui-dam

Gen. cujus-dam

Dat. cuj-dam

Acc. quem-dam

Abl. quo-dam

In each instance, the indefiniteness marker *-dam* appears at the outer extremity of the pronoun, though Haspelmath notes that “like all extrafixes, extrafixal indefiniteness markers show a tendency to be rearranged,” and the indefiniteness marker can accordingly appear between the base and its inflectional morphemes as well (1997: 23).

Indefiniteness can also be marked by the use of an indefiniteness particle. Such particles can stand immediately beside the base or appear at the edge of a phrase, in which case discontinuous indefinite phrases are produced as in the following examples (Haspelmath 1997: 23):

(3) Dutch

Ik lees dat liever als **wat voor** boeken **ook**.

I read that preferably than what kind books INDEF

“I read that with more pleasure than any books.”

(4) French

Tu n’es pas capable d’agir par **quelque** impulsion personnelle **que ce soit**.

“You are not able to act by any personal impulse.”

The specific diachronic sources for such indefiniteness markers are taken up in sec. 2.5.4 below, but several further alternatives require discussion prior to a consideration of the morphological profiles of indefinite bases. The two principal alternatives to marking indefiniteness through affixal inflection and particles consist of reduplication and stem modification (the latter described as “extremely rare”), illustrated in these examples (from Haspelmath 1997: 23-24):

- (5) Reduplication
 - a. Latin: quis-quis (“anyone”)
 - b. Malay: apa-apa (“something”)
 - c. Chinese Pidgin Russian: čego-čego (“something, anything”)

- (6) Stem modification (Chechen)
 - a. Person: mila (“who?”) > milla a (“someone”)
 - b. Thing: hun (“what?”) > hu’ a a (“something”)
 - c. Place: mičča (“where?”) > miččha a (“somewhere”)
 - d. Time: maca (“when?”) > macca a (“sometime”)
 - e. Manner: muxa (“how?”) > muxxa a (“somehow”)
 - f. Determiner: mülxa (“which?”) > mülxxa a (“some”)

As Haspelmath emphasizes, the morphological profiles just reviewed illustrate the fact that “indefinite pronouns are as a rule DERIVED forms,” most frequently constructed by means of the modification or augmentation of synchronically available WH-pronouns¹ or generic nouns (for

¹ I typically use the term *WH-pronouns* or *WH-forms* in this discussion in order to avoid suggesting that indefinites that are identical (or related) to synchronic interrogatives are actually derived from the interrogative function. As we

which see immediately below), though a number of prominent exceptions do exist, such as German *nichts* and *nirgends*, which cannot be synchronically derived from such items (1997: 25).²

The *base* of indefinite pronouns is in most cases derived from WH-pronouns, generic ontological-category nouns, or the numeral *one*. The first of these strategies is exemplified by the Latin examples cited above as (2) and (5a), and this is in fact the most prominent strategy attested crosslinguistically (Haspelmath 1997: 26-27). The second and third strategies are more familiar to speakers of English accustomed to pronouns like *some/any/no-body* (based on the generic noun *body*, to which indefiniteness markers are prefixed) and *some/any/no-one* (based on the numeral *one*).

All three strategies are attested in modified and unmodified forms. That is, WH-based indefinite pronouns can consist of a WH-pronoun modified by the addition of an indefiniteness marker or *unmodified* and thus identical to the synchronically available interrogative pronoun (Haspelmath 1997: 26-27). We similarly find generic-noun-based indefinites with and without modification (compare Persian *kas-i* [“someone”], consisting of the generic noun *kas* “person” and the indefiniteness marker *-i*, with the Modern Hebrew indefinite *’iš*, formally identical to its source, a noun meaning “man”³ [Haspelmath 1997: 27-28]). Finally, indefinites derived from the numeral *one* can also be modified (e.g., English *someone*, French *quelqu’un[e]*) or unmodified (Arabic *wāḥid* [“someone”]) (1997: 29).

shall see in sec. 2.5.4, they are not. References below to *bare interrogatives* should be understood comparably to refer simply to WH-pronouns.

² Haspelmath indicates that such exceptions are attested primarily in European languages, with non-European examples remaining very rare (1997: 26).

³ Support for recognizing two distinct Modern Hebrew lexemes in the word *’iš*—one generic, “man,” and one indefinite, “anyone, one”—is provided in Glinert 1982: 461.

As noted already, the base of a given indefinite pronoun signals the ontological category to which the pronoun refers. This is to be expected given the derivation of such forms from WH-pronouns (which are frequently marked for ontological category crosslinguistically [Bhat 2004: 153-57]) and generic nouns that indicate precisely such categories.⁴ The categories identified by Haspelmath as marked within his language sample include the following:

- (7) Ontological categories of indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997: 30)
 - a. person (“someone”)
 - b. thing (“something”)
 - c. property (“some kind”)
 - d. place (“somewhere”)
 - e. time (“sometime”)
 - f. manner (“somehow”)
 - g. amount (“some amount”)

Haspelmath observes that distinct pronouns are employed for human and non-human referents “practically everywhere,” while languages frequently differ in marking the other distinctions of the seven listed here (1997: 30).

The final general observation to make consists of the fact that indefinite pronominal paradigms very often relate to one another as a *series* defined by a shared indefiniteness marker (Haspelmath 1997: 9). English provides one of the clearest examples of this tendency, but the trend is widespread and is illustrated here (from Haspelmath 1997: 21-22):

⁴ Indefinites derived from the numeral *one* most frequently belong to the personal ontological category (Haspelmath 1997: 29, 183).

(8) English

	<i>some-series</i>	<i>any-series</i>	<i>no-series</i>
person:	somebody	anybody	nobody
thing:	something	anything	nothing
place:	somewhere	anywhere	nowhere
time:	sometime	anytime	never
manner:	somehow	anyhow	no way
determiner:	some	any	no

(9) Polish

	<i>nie-series</i>	<i>ś-series</i>	<i>-kolwiek-series</i>	<i>ni-series</i>
person:	niekto	ktoś	ktokolwiek	nikt
thing:	nico	coś	cokolwiek	nic
property:	niejaki	jakiś	jakikolwiek	nijaki
place:	—	gdzieś	gdziekolwiek	nigdzie
time:	niekiedy	kiedyś	kiedykolwiek	nigdy
manner:	niejako	jakoś	jakkolwiek	nijak
amount:	—	ilés	ilekolwiek	—
determiner:	niektóry	który	którykolwiek	żaden

These examples are representative of cases in which the series are internally highly uniform, though paradigms characterized by morphological diversity abound as well (in which cases the

series are defined exclusively in distributional/functional terms). Greek provides an example in what Haspelmath describes as the “very heterogeneous” *tipota*-series (1997: 265):

(10) Greek *tipota*-series

person:	kanenas, kanis
thing:	tipota
place:	puthena
time:	pote
manner:	(me kanenan tropo)

2.3 Syntactic Profiles

A full-scale typological study of indefinite pronominal syntax remains a desideratum within the field of linguistic typology. Haspelmath does not examine syntactic distributions except incidentally, and no comparably extensive crosslinguistic study treating indefinite pronominal syntax has, to my knowledge, been produced. This is no doubt in part due to the many different types of syntactic relationships that would require coverage in such a study. In this section, I intentionally abstract away from much of the more detailed syntactic discussion required in the evaluation of individual, language-specific indefinite pronouns, focusing instead on three topics emerging from the literature that are usefully presented *prior* to a consideration of the functions associated with indefinite pronouns crosslinguistically (in the following sections). These topics pertain to the selection features of indefinite pronouns, the relationship between syntax and lexical ambiguity, and the role of syntax in licensing limited-distribution indefinites (treated in more detail below).

2.3.1 Selection Features

The first syntactic question is perhaps the most immediately obvious to those attempting a basic descriptive account of indefinite pronouns and relates to the selection features associated with each pronoun. By *selection features* I refer to the range of constituent types that optionally or obligatorily accompany a given indefinite. The range of possibilities involved here is more easily illustrated than described. Consider the following English examples:

- (11) Obligatorily absolute: *someone*
- a. Indefinite + \emptyset : **Someone** came by yesterday.
 - b. Indefinite + NP: ***Someone person** came by yesterday.
- (12) Optionally accompanied by NP: *any*
- a. Indefinite + \emptyset : If you have **any**, let me know!
 - b. Indefinite + NP: If you have **any new books**, let me know!
- (13) Obligatorily accompanied by VP: *whoever*
- a. Indefinite + \emptyset : ***Whoever** came by yesterday.
 - b. Indefinite + NP: ***Whoever person** came by yesterday.
 - c. Indefinite + VP: **Whoever came by yesterday** will probably return today.

Similar distinctions are evident in other languages. The Greek free choice item (FCI) *opjosdhipote* can be employed independently, as a determiner with a following noun, or with a clausal complement, as in these examples (Giannakidou 1998: 74-76):

(14) Greek *opjosdhipote*

a. Bori na bike **opjosdhipote** mesa.

can.3sg subj entered.3sg anyone in

“Anyone may come in.”

b. **Opjadipote gata** kinigai pondikia.

any cat hunt.3sg mice

“Any cat hunts mice.”

c. **Opjosdhipote exi kamja erotisi,** na tin kani sto dhialima.

whoever have.3sg any question, subj her make.3sg in-the break

“Whoever/Anyone who has any questions may ask during the break.”

One could easily suggest a typology of the following sort to capture these different distributions:

(15) Syntactic typology of indefinite items

a. indefinite pronoun (obligatorily absolute)

b. indefinite determiner (\pm NP)

c. indefinite complementizer (\pm VP)

Such a straightforward typology, however, can only be invoked loosely and must not be allowed to obscure the morphosyntactically diverse means by which the relationship between indefinites and their NP or VP associates are related. To take an example relevant to the present study, the

Old Babylonian indefinite *mimma* can stand in an appositive relationship or in a genitive (construct) relationship⁵ to a following noun with which it appears to be semantically associated:

- (16) Appositive relationship (TLB 4 108:8; see CAD M/2, p. 76)

mimma **ḫišiḫtum** ... ul ibašši
 INDEF lack-NOM.F.SG.ABS NEG 3CS-be-G.IPFV

“There is not any lack.”

- (17) Genitive relationship (ARM 1 39:8; see CAD M/2, p. 78)

mimma **dūrim** šanîm ul īpušū
 INDEF wall-GEN.M.SG.ABS other-GEN.M.SG.ABS NEG 3CS-make-G.PFV

“They have not built any other wall.”

This distinction is not trivial and may have direct bearing on the propriety of employing the term *determiner* as a label for indefinites exhibiting such varied morphosyntactic distributions.⁶

In the same way, instances involving an indefinite item followed by an associated VP could be interpreted as true relative pronouns/complementizers (requiring a VP complement to satisfy

⁵ It would be tempting to suggest a contrast between the two constructions comparable to similar contrasts between the use of quantifiers in DPs and partitive expressions (e.g., English *all boys* vs. *all of the boys*). In some cases in Old Babylonian, such a suggestion could be entertained, as when the noun following *mimma* is a plural:

- (i) Genitive relationship (Scheil Sippar 10[= Scheil 1902: 98-102] r. 32-33; see CAD M/2 p. 78)

mimma **šībī** annûtim ina kunukkātīšunu ibrumū
 INDEF witness-OBL.M.PL.ABS DEM-OBL.M.PL.ABS with seal-OBL.F.PL=3MP 3MP-seal-G.PFV

“all (< “any”) of these witnesses sealed with their seals”

But this cannot be maintained consistently, as example (17) above illustrates, involving *mimma* followed by a singular genitive noun (*dūrim*).

⁶ Matthewson (2013) has recently suggested that crosslinguistic research focusing on non-European languages indicates that quantifiers (of which many indefinites are a subset) very often occupy a syntactic position distinct from that of determiners and that they should not, therefore, be universally analyzed as determiners. See further Giannakidou 2004.

their selection features) or as heads of zero-relative clauses (referred to as *asyndetic relative clauses* in the literature devoted to Semitic languages).

To the extent that it is possible to specify the syntactic relationship between indefinite items and their nominal or verbal associates, this will be done necessarily at the language-specific level. An attempt at reaching a more refined description of this sort will be offered for the Ugaritic language in ch. 4-7, but for the purpose of general syntactic overviews and crosslinguistic surveys of the sort offered in ch. 3, it may be more expedient simply to describe indefinite expressions as *simple/absolute* (consisting of the pronoun alone) or *complex* (consisting of the indefinite and an associated NP/VP/predicate).⁷ The point to register clearly here is that both are richly attested, and what appears synchronically to be a single lexical item may in fact occur in both distributions (as in (14) above). In some cases, however, there are good reasons to treat such instances as cases of lexical ambiguity, which leads to the next point.

2.3.2 Syntax and Lexical Ambiguity

One of the principal contributions of Haspelmath's 1997 study of indefinite pronouns—highlighted in the discussion of morphology above—consists of his observation and rich crosslinguistic documentation of the strong tendency for indefinite pronominal paradigms to develop in *series* (defined in terms of a shared indefiniteness marker with alternative bases for each ontological category encoded). As indicated above, English provides a clear example of this trend with its *some-series* (*some-one/body, some-thing, some-where, some-how*) and similar *any-* and *no-series*. It would be tempting to treat the indefinite determiner *some* and the free-choice

⁷ Compare Giannakidou's similar description of polarity items as *atomic* or *complex* (1998: 2; 1999: 370) and the distinction made between free-choice-nominals (those that are used independently or with a noun) and free-choice-free-relatives (free-choice items used with clausal complements) in Giannakidou and Cheng 2006.

determiner *any* as members of the *some*- and *any*-series, respectively—at least semantically and certainly diachronically. Yet to do so would be to overlook semantically significant distributional differences that may distinguish indefinite/free-choice determiners from the pronominal series that have arisen as their etymological offspring. English *some* provides a clear example of this with respect to its sensitivity to speaker knowledge regarding its referent. While the pronouns of the *some*-series can easily be used when the referent is known, the determiner *some* cannot be (Haspelmath 1997: 47-48):

(18) English *some*

- a. John is looking for **some** book on reserve (*and I know which one).
- b. Hortense is watching for **some** sailor who's due in port today. (*He is a friend of mine.)

(19) English *someone*

- a. **Someone** stopped by this morning (and I know who it was).
- b. John is looking for **something**(—a book on quantification, I believe).

A similar example is available in distributions associated with the phenomenon of *negative spread*. In some languages, negative indefinites (more appropriately labeled *n-words* in order to avoid, for the moment, any commitment regarding their semantic status as true Heimian indefinites; these items are treated below in sec. 2.4.2.4.4) can enter into negative concord relationships with other n-words in sentences lacking the sentential negative. German provides a clear example of negative spread (Giannakidou 1998: 185):

- (20) Hier hilft **keiner** **keinem**.
 here help.3sg nobody.M.SG.NOM nobody.M.SG.DAT
 “No one helps anyone here.”

This phenomenon is of relevance to the topic under discussion due to the fact that syntax appears to be related to a fascinating restriction on the availability of negative spread in languages that otherwise allow it. Specifically, n-words cannot enter into negative concord relationships of this sort if they are used as modifiers or determiners associated with another noun.⁸ Consider these contrastive examples from Italian (Giannakidou 2006a: 353-54):

- (21) Negative spread in Italian
- a. **Nessuno** ha letto **niente**.
 n-person have.3SG read n-thing
 “Nobody has read anything.”
- b. ??/***Nessuno studente** ha letto **nessun** libro.
 n- student have.3SG read n- book
 Intended: “No student has read any book.”

Similar examples are documented for Spanish and Catalan (Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017: 14), and when two such n-word phrases *do* co-occur in German, double-negation is necessarily the semantic result (Penka 2011: 107):

⁸ Manzotti and Rigamonti 1991; Acquaviva 1997; Giannakidou 2006a: 354; Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017: 14.

(22) ...dass **kein Gast kein Geschenk** mitbringt

that n-DET guest n-DET present brings

a. “that no guest brings no present” (i.e., every guest brings a present)

b. *“no guest brings a present”

I highlight these examples in order to illustrate that the semantics and licensing conditions of a given indefinite item may differ according to whether that indefinite is used independently or in association with another noun. The distinction should, therefore, be carefully identified and maintained, and the possibility of such variation should be included in descriptive efforts.

A related observation pertains to the role that syntactic distribution can play in aiding the linguist attempting to disambiguate indefinite pronouns from identical interrogative pronouns. Haspelmath illustrates this with examples from Classical Greek and German, in both of which interrogatives tend to occur sentence-initially, while indefinites occur at the end of the clause (1997: 170-71):

(23) Classical Greek

a. **Tís** ēlthen?

who come.PFV.3MS

“Who came?”

b. **Ēlthén tis.**

come.PFV.3MS INDEF

“Someone came.”

(24) German

a. **Wer** kommt da?

who come.PRES.3SG there

“Who is coming?”

b. Da kommt **wer**.

there come.PRES.3SG INDEF

“Someone is coming.”

Obviously, syntax need not be the only disambiguating factor. Suprasegmental stress and pitch patterns doubtless play a role as well, and in the case of the Greek example just given, morpho-phonological status is also involved (the interrogative *tís* bears its own stress, whereas the indefinite pronoun *tis* is a clitic).

Finally, syntactic properties—such as agreement features—can play a similar role in disambiguating bare interrogatives from homonymic generic nouns. French *quelque chose* provides a clear example. The difference between the generic and indefinite uses of the noun *chose* (and the justification for treating them as lexically distinct) lies in their contrasting agreement properties: this noun is feminine when used as a generic noun but masculine in its indefinite usage (Haspelmath 1997: 10):

(25) French *chose* (“thing”)

a. C’est **une belle chose**.

this is a.F.SG beautiful.F.SG thing

“This is a beautiful thing.”

b. Quelque **chose s’est passé**.

INDEF 3SG.REFL=be.3SG happen.PST.PTCP.M.SG

“Something happened.”

Similar distributional differences—including differences in licensing contexts—permit the distinction of Modern Hebrew *’iš* in its roles as a generic noun (“man”) and an indefinite pronoun (“anyone”) (Glinert 1982: 461; Haspelmath 1997: 28). The relationship between syntax and licensing, to which allusion has just been made, can now be addressed.

2.3.3 Syntax and Licensing

One of the most intensively studied subgroups of indefinite pronominal distributions discussed below consists of those items described as *limited-distribution indefinites* or *polarity items*. A fuller semantic explication of this class must be postponed to the discussion below, but the point to register here lies in the fact that the most successful attempts in recent research to explain the limited distribution of such items have sought an explanation for this limitation in terms of a semantic sensitivity/dependency that belongs within the lexical semantics of the items concerned. That is, in contrast to earlier attempts (like that of Klima 1964) to explain these distributional phenomena in terms of a syntactic licensing condition stipulating that the item be within the syntactic scope (defined in terms of c-command) of negation (whence the traditional term *negative polarity item*), more recent approaches have recognized that sensitivity to the

semantic property of veridicality stands behind the distributions observed (see further below). This means that the restriction cannot be defined in exclusively syntactic terms. The syntax of individual polarity items accordingly require language-specific treatment and can prove to be both highly complex and highly interesting as a point of access to the interfaces between semantics and syntax, on the one hand, and semantics and pragmatics, on the other (see Giannakidou 1998: 175-257). (I return to the linguistic characterization of licensing in sec. 2.4.2.2.2 below.)

2.4 Functional Distributions

Identifying the functional distributions and associated semantics of indefinite pronouns comprises the most important task of the present chapter, making the present section the most meaningful in building a linguistic framework capable of informing the descriptive efforts undertaken in ch. 4-7. For this reason, I allow the discussion here to enter into the details to a greater extent than in other sections. For the same reason, rather than integrating typological and semantic findings directly, I provided a separate treatment of both, beginning with a description of the functional landscape of indefinites as derived from typology (sec. 2.4.1) before moving to the picture that emerges from semantically oriented studies of the same items in specific languages (sec. 2.4.2).

2.4.1 Functional Distributions in Typology

For reasons discussed in ch. 1, a typological study of indefinite pronouns provides considerable advantages to those interested in recognizing and capturing the functional diversity of indefinite pronominal forms in human language. By considering a large number of unrelated languages,

typologists are able to recognize the types of semantic/functional distinctions that are encoded morphologically/lexically in indefinite pronominal systems. Points at which one language may lump several functions together under a single pronoun, several other languages may introduce lexical distinctions. These allow researchers to recognize the functional differences more readily and to compile a list of the major functions for which specific lexical distinctions are made crosslinguistically.

In keeping with the tendency discussed in ch. 1 for human language variation to exhibit a bounded character, the list of functions identified in this matter does not turn out to be infinite or even very large. In fact, Haspelmath manages to reduce the main functions for which indefinite pronouns are employed to only nine, which can be presented in two graphic arrangements. The first, reproduced here as fig. 2.1, relates the nine functions in terms of a typologically derived implicational map. The second, fig. 2.2, presents the same functions according to the logical hierarchy Haspelmath elaborates.

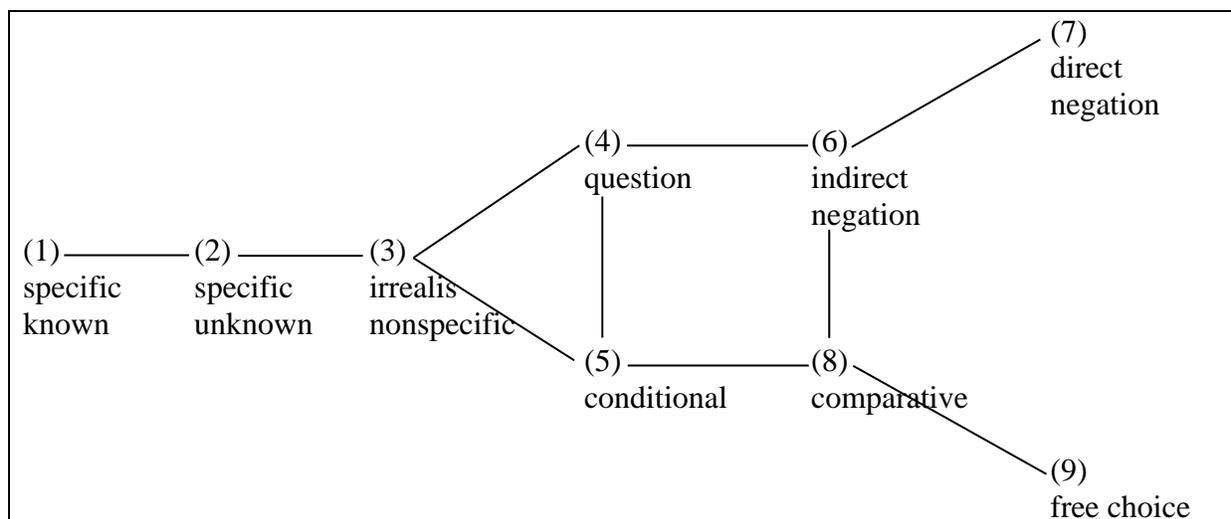


Fig. 2.1: The implicational map (Haspelmath 1997: 4).

specific	(1) known to speaker	
	(2) unknown to speaker	
nonspecific	(3) irrealis context	
	negative polarity	(4) questions
		(5) conditionals
		(6) indirect negation
		(7) direct negation
	(8) standard of comparison	
(9) free choice		

Fig. 2.2: The main functional distinctions (adapted from Haspelmath 1997: 52).

The question of functional classification will be treated in greater detail in sec. 2.4.3 below, but I present these models here in order to provide an outline for the discussion of the individual functions, to which I turn next.

2.4.1.1 Specific Indefinites

Many languages lexically differentiate indefinite pronouns attached to a specific referent (whether known to the speaker or not) from those lacking such a specific referent. English is not one of these languages, for which reason many English expressions remain ambiguous in this respect, as we see in this example:

- (26) English
- a. Anna is looking for **someone** who teaches French—his name is Thomas.
 - b. Anna is looking for **someone** who teaches French—anyone will do.

In the first sentence, the indefinite pronoun *someone* has a specific referent (and in this case, at least the name of the individual concerned is known to the speaker), while that appearing in the

second sentence does not. As Haspelmath documents, many languages encode this distinction lexically, as in this example from Russian (Haspelmath 1997: 39, after Padučeva 1985: 211):

(27) Russian

a. Ivan xočet spet' **kakoj-to** romans.

Ivan wants sing which-INDEF romance

“Ivan wants to sing some [specific] romance.”

b. Ivan xočet spet' **kakoj-nibud'** romans.

Ivan wants sing which-INDEF romance

“Ivan wants to sing some [nonspecific] romance.”

When a specific referent is known to exist, the speaker's knowledge or lack of knowledge regarding the identity of that referent may be indicated lexically as well. Russian again provides useful examples, as *-to* indefinites can only be used when the referent of the indefinite is both specific and unknown/unidentifiable to the speaker. When the referent is specific and *known*, *koe-* indefinites must be employed. Consider these examples (Haspelmath 1997: 45-46, after Padučeva 1985: 211).

(28) Russian, specific unknown

- a. Maša vstretilas' s **kem-to** okolo universiteta.

Maša met with who-INDEF near university

“Maša met with somebody near the university.”

- b. **Čto-to** ja tebe xotela skazat'.

what-INDEF I you wanted tell

“I wanted to tell you something.”

- c. ?Ja vstretilas' s **kem-to** segodnja v 19 časov.

I met with who-INDEF today at 19 hours

“I met with someone [unknown to me] today at 19 hours.”

- d. *Ja xoču spet' **kakoj-to** romans.

I want sing which-INDEF romance

“I want to sing some [specific, unknown] romance.”

(29) Russian, specific known

- a. Ja vstretilas' s **odnim** čelovekom segodnja v 19 časov.

I met with one person today at 19 hours

“I met with someone [known to me] at 19 hours.”

- b. Maša vstretilas' **koe s kem** okolo universiteta.

Maša met INDEF with who near university

“Maša met with someone [known to me] near the university.”

These data can be summarized as follows. In cases in which the identity of the referent is unavailable to the speaker, as in examples (28a-b), the *-to* indefinites are used. Their use in (28c),

however, is odd, as the implication would be that the speaker has already forgotten the identity of the person with whom she met earlier that day at the time of the utterance. The sentence given in (28d) is impossible as a grammatical utterance. In cases in which the identity of the referent is known, such as (29), Russian employs distinct indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997: 45-46).

These examples illustrate that referent specificity and speaker knowledge can enter the picture for indefinite pronouns not only at the level of pragmatics—where such parameters are expected—but at the level of lexical semantics as well. The reader should additionally observe that, for Haspelmath, the known/unknown distinction (his functions (1)-(2) in fig. 2.1 and 2.2, above) is an opposition subsumed beneath a (presumably) more basic specific/nonspecific opposition. This hypothesis will be reconsidered below in sec. 2.4.2.1 in light of more recent work on indefinites like these that show a sensitivity to speaker knowledge.

2.4.1.2 Nonspecific Indefinites

According to Haspelmath's classificatory schema (fig. 2.2 above), the remaining seven functions can all be understood as nonspecific functions. That is, in certain irrealis contexts, questions, conditions, the scope of indirect and direct negation, and free-choice contexts, the referent of the indefinite pronouns concerned will be nonspecific. In keeping with the hierarchy provided in fig. 2.2 above, I present these in the next three subsections.

2.4.1.2.1 Irrealis Contexts

Haspelmath groups contexts created by the modal verb *want*, future-tense verbs, distributives, and imperatives as those in which *irrealis nonspecific* indefinite pronouns are used. Of course, specific indefinites may be used in all but the last of these as well, a point illustrated in fig. 2.3.

perfective past, ongoing present	<i>want</i> , future, distributive	imperative	question, conditional	in the scope of negation
specific possible		(specific impossible)		
(nonspecific impossible)	nonspecific possible			
no negative polarity			negative polarity	

Fig. 2.3: Contexts for (non-)specific phrases and negative polarity (Haspelmath 1997: 45).

Irrealis contexts thus serve as a bridge between specific contexts, on the one end, and obligatorily nonspecific contexts, on the other: both specific and nonspecific indefinites may be employed with modal *want*, future tense, and distributives, while imperatives admit only nonspecific indefinites. Because imperatives allow the point to be illustrated most clearly, the examples presented here are taken from imperative contexts (Haspelmath 1997: 42):

(30) Russian

a. Kupi mne **kakuju-nibud**’ gazetu.

buy me which-INDEF paper

“Buy me some [nonspecific] newspaper.”

b. *Kupi mne **kakuju-to** gazetu.

buy me which-INDEF paper

“Buy me some [specific] newspaper.”

In the obligatorily nonspecific context created by imperatives, specific indefinites like Russian *-to* indefinites cannot be employed. One must rather make use of the nonspecific indefinites from the Russian *-nibud'* series.⁹

2.4.1.2.2 “Negative Polarity Items”

The next four functional distributions (Haspelmath’s (4)-(8) in fig. 2.1 and 2.2 above) are united under the rubric of “negative polarity” in Haspelmath’s presentation. Items appearing in such distributions are arguably among the most extensively investigated in the literature and will require much more detailed treatment below. For the moment, I restrict myself to a brief introduction to “polarity sensitivity” and a presentation of Haspelmath’s account and its practical motivations.

First, so-called “negative polarity items” (henceforth NPIs) are not exclusively pronominal or indefinite, though indefinite pronouns make up a significant subset of these items. The fundamental observation from which the investigation of these items derives its impetus can be summarized in these terms: NPIs are items that exhibit unexpected limitations on their

⁹ In addition to the Russian examples Haspelmath provides (just cited), Greek examples are given in support of the same claim (1997: 42, after Dhelverúdhí 1989: 413):

- (i) Pijene ke vres kanena nafti.
go and find any sailor
“Go and find some [nonspecific] sailor.”
- (ii) *Pijene ke vres kapjo nafti.
go and find some sailor
“Go and find some [specific] sailor.”

Sentence (ii) is reported to be ungrammatical as a result of the incompatibility existing between imperative contexts and specific indefinite pronouns. In reality, however, (ii) is perfectly acceptable (though it would not have the objectionable value suggested by the translation given). While the Greek indefinite determiner *kapjos* can certainly be employed as a specific unknown indefinite (in which cases it is what will be described as a *positive polarity item* below, with obligatory wide scope relative to negation and other operators treated as *nonveridical* below), it can be used in irrealis contexts as a nonspecific determiner as well (comparable to English *some X or other*). This is actually clear from the examples presented in Haspelmath’s appendix (see 1997: 266, no. (A92)), but further discussion of *kapjos* in its positive polarity and “referentially vague” uses can be found in Giannakidou 1998: 96; Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 139-41; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 539.

distributions—limitations that have proven quite difficult to explain. They are not grammatical in all contexts, but only in what appears at first glance to be a highly heterogeneous class of contexts. English examples of such NPIs include members of the *any*-series and minimizer expressions like *lift a finger*. The following examples illustrate the distributional restrictions for these English expressions:

- (31) Scope of direction negation
- a. Anna did not see **anyone**.
 - b. Anna did not **lift a finger** to help the scoundrel.
- (32) Polar question
- a. Did Thomas believe **anything** you said?
 - b. Did he **lift a finger** to help?
- (33) Conditional protasis
- a. If you see **anything**, let me know.
 - b. If the governor **lifts a finger**, I'll be surprised.
- (34) Past declarative sentence
- a. *Anna saw **anyone**.
 - b. *Thomas **lifted a finger** to help.

Examples (31)-(33) illustrate that NPIs can be grammatically used under negation, in polar questions, and in conditional protases, while (34) demonstrates their ungrammaticality in simple, past-tense assertions. Haspelmath characterizes environments licensing NPIs as downward entailing environments—an approach with certain shortcomings, as we shall see in sec. 2.4.2.2 below. More significant for present purposes, however, is a presentation of the four negative polarity contexts he selects for investigation and the reasons for which this selection has been made.

Haspelmath identifies NPIs as items that are licensed within the scope of negation as well as “in conditional and interrogative clauses, in the standard of comparison, and in some further environments” (1997: 33-34). His treatment intentionally abstracts away from the distributional complexity of such items, as evidenced in his reference to “some further environments” just quoted. He notes a number of these in passing, describing them as involving licensing via “a negative implication of some kind” (1997: 34), including use with *few*, *only*, *too*, verbs like *doubt* and in the restriction of the universal quantifier *all* (1997: 34-35). To describe these contexts as involving a “negative implication” is not entirely true to the evidence, as we shall see below, but Haspelmath’s objective is to establish a basic profile that will facilitate crosslinguistic comparison. He acknowledges this, stating that “in-depth research on negative polarity has shown that the various contexts usually regarded as negative polarity environments behave by no means uniformly,” but he focuses his attention on the “most important subtypes of negative polarity context,” which, in his view, comprise “questions, conditionals, the standard of comparison, indirect negation, and direct negation” (1997: 36). These five functions are those registered in the list of functional types and arranged as functions (4)-(8) on his implicational

map. Because these are the only five polarity contexts investigated crosslinguistically in his study, I illustrate them here with several of his own examples¹⁰ (1997: 34-36):

(35) Condition (function no. 4)

- a. If you **budge an inch**, I'll hit you.
- b. If you tell **anybody**, we'll punish you.

(36) Question (function no. 5)

- a. Would she **lift a finger** for you?
- b. Have you heard **anything** new about the ozone hole?

(37) Direct negation (function no. 6)

- a. He didn't **lift a finger** to help her.
- b. He didn't do **anything** to help her.

(38) Indirect negation (function no. 7)¹¹

- a. Noriko is getting by without **lifting a finger**. (“implicit negation”)
- b. Hannu is getting by without doing **anything**. (“implicit negation”)
- c. Non è necessario che venga **nessuno**. (Italian, “superordinate negation”)

not is necessary that come anybody

“It is not necessary that **anybody** come.”

¹⁰ The examples include both minimizers (like “budge an inch” and “lift a finger”)—known examples of NPIs—and limited-distribution indefinites like members of the English *any*-series (though these will receive refined discussion below).

¹¹ Haspelmath includes two separate licensing contexts under this rubric: implicit negation and superordinate negation (1997: 33). Both are illustrated here.

- (39) Standard of comparison (function no. 8)
- a. Cows fly more often than John **lifts a finger** to help Louise.
 - b. The boy can run faster than **anyone** in his class.

This simplifying approach is virtually obligatory in a crosslinguistic investigation treating 140 languages like Haspelmath's, especially given the fact that such items are not consistently documented in detail in language-specific grammars¹² upon which such crosslinguistic research depends. I attempt to balance this simplification by discussing polarity items in much greater detail in sec. 2.4.2 below.

2.4.1.2.3 Free Choice

The final function Haspelmath places on his implicational map is described as “free choice” (FC). Free choice items (FCIs) are most readily exemplified in permission-granting contexts, in which the speaker allows the addressee total freedom to select whichever member from the domain of selection she prefers (whence the name *free choice* [see Vendler 1962; 1967]):

- (40) You may have **any** item in this basket.

Haspelmath describes such items as “semantically similar to universal quantifiers like ‘every’” and observes (as have others) that “[i]n many environments, free-choice indefinites can be replaced by universal quantifiers without a noticeable change in the truth conditions” (1997: 48). This fact has produced considerable confusion in attempts to derive the semantics of FCIs and

¹² See Haspelmath 1997: 1; Giannakidou 2001: 667.

must certainly be held responsible for the widespread tendency to include English universal quantifiers (like *everyone* and *everything*) among the glosses for items with FC distributions in language-specific descriptive grammars. As Haspelmath illustrates, however, the two are not to be confused. Consider the following contrast (Haspelmath 1997: 48):

(41) You can take **any** apple.

(42) You can take **every** apple.

These two sentences are certainly not equivalent. In the course of his discussion, Haspelmath attempts to explain FC by appealing to scalar semantics (specifically, FCIs “express the low point on a non-reversed scale” [1997: 117]). A number of semantic refinements to this approach are offered below, but I register here his correct observation that FCIs, in spite of comprising a class appropriately distinguished from NPIs, nevertheless stand quite close to them from a typological standpoint (and as we shall see, from a semantic standpoint as well). Specifically, he estimates that roughly half of the languages in his forty-language sample allow free choice and negative polarity distributions to be covered by the same lexical item (1997: 117). Given the operative assumption that a crosslinguistic tendency to unite functions lexically points to the semantic proximity of those functions, this provides strong *prima facie* evidence for anticipating the possibility of a unified semantic account of polarity and free choice. With these typologically derived functions on the table, we may now turn to the results produced by research that takes as its starting point a slightly different set of concerns—formal semantics and language-specific modeling.

2.4.2 Functional Distributions in Formal Semantics

Formal semantic research into indefinite pronominal distribution has proven to be an immensely productive (and profitable) enterprise, especially over the last twenty years. The complexity and detail required of practitioners working within this analytical framework, however, has meant that they have only rarely extended their analyses beyond a restricted set of test-case languages. When such extensions do take place, they do so through collaboration and often over the course of a career—not of a single study. In other words, one will not find a formal semantic treatment of indefinites treating forty languages. The advantage of this approach is that it avoids some of the abstraction (and error; see n. 9 above) associated with typological study and can arguably be expected to arrive at “thicker” descriptions of the phenomena concerned. The implication of this approach, however, is that the descriptive profiles of each lexical item considered (represented as formal models) must be understood and treated as *individuals* rather than *classes*. The findings I present here amount to an introduction to a cast of specific characters. When we perceive similarities between Ugaritic indefinite items and one of the indefinites discussed here, we may describe it as comparable, but we must carefully avoid the premature hypostatization of individual lexical analyses and associated extrapolation to hypothetical classes on the basis of individual cases. To put it in more concrete terms, we may find that an Ugaritic lexeme is *any*-like or *some*-like, but we must avoid creating categories like ANY or SOME assumed to exist outside of English until we have a sufficient evidential basis for such extrapolation. The focus of this section is accordingly to be distinguished from that of the preceding section. This is not to say that such individual cases do not have any bearing on our constructions of lexical classes and our attempts at accounting for families of phenomena—they most certainly do! But the scale of

the investigation—at least at the start—must be clearly identified as more local in its orientation. The rationale for incorporating this perspective is presented explicitly in sec. 2.4.3 below.

2.4.2.1 Specificity and Speaker Knowledge: One Category or Two?

Just as in Haspelmath’s hierarchy (fig. 2.2 above), the specific/nonspecific opposition has played a foundational role in formal semantic approaches to indefinite pronouns and related items.

Particularly clear formal semantic discussions have been provided by Giannakidou and Quer 2013 and Giannakidou and Yoon 2016. In their 2013 study of free choice and referential vagueness, Giannakidou and Quer propose an identification of the indefinites concerned as either marked or unmarked with reference to specificity and suggest that *variation* comprises the crucial parameter for consideration in attempts to distinguish among a number of marked indefinites. As they put it, “not all indefinites are created equal. On the one hand, we have the run-of-the-mill indefinite with the indefinite article; on the other hand, we have the ‘marked’ indefinites with epistemic conditions attached to them” (2013: 141). In other words, indefinite noun phrases (English *a dog, a person, etc.*) are unmarked with respect to referential specificity—they can be uttered in contexts in which the speaker can identify the referent precisely, as well as in those in which they cannot. They can even be used when no specific referent is even intended. All three of these possibilities are exemplified here:

(43) **A man** stopped by this afternoon—Alex, in fact. (specific, known)

(44) **A man** stopped by this afternoon—I don’t know who. (specific, unknown)

(45) **A man** is never short on opinions. (nonspecific)

In addition to indefinite NPs, some indefinite pronouns may be similarly unmarked with respect to specificity. The English indefinite pronouns of the *some*-series (in their weak, narrow-scope distribution)¹³ provide an example of this, as the following sentences illustrate.

(46) **Someone** stopped by this afternoon—Alex in fact. (specific, known)

(47) **Someone** stopped by this afternoon—I don't know who. (specific, unknown)

(48) If you see **something**, say **something**. (nonspecific)

Unmarked items like these can be used in a broad range of contexts regardless of speaker knowledge, and they do not appear to exhibit any sensitivity to polarity (with the exception of indefinite NPs that have been grammaticalized as minimizers) (Giannakidou 2011: 1701; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 539 n. 15).

The counterpart to indefinites unmarked for specificity are those that are marked. Marked indefinites come in two varieties. Some are marked for specificity—they can only be used with a specific referent—while others are marked for antispecificity and cannot be used when a specific referent can be identified. This crosslinguistic phenomenon has already been observed in the presentation of Haspelmath's specific/nonspecific opposition above, but the presentation of this contrast in terms of referential variation is original to Giannakidou and Quer (2013). They

¹³ Discussion of narrow-scope *some* in English and its comparability to English indefinite NPs can be found in Giannakidou 2011: 699-701 and is taken up in sec. 2.4.2.3 below.

describe specificity in terms of “non-varying reference, a kind of rigid reference in the mind of the speaker” (2013: 141, including discussion of alternative approaches in the literature). This non-varying reference contrasts with marked antispecific indefinites, which can only be employed when the speaker cannot (or does not wish to) identify the referent of the indefinite, i.e., when possible referents number at least two. This varying reference can take on different forms (as we shall see below), but the point for the moment is that the distinction between specific and antispecific indefinites consists of whether possible referents are fixed or variable (2013: 141-42).

It is notable that Giannakidou and Quer construct a notion of specificity that is defined in terms of (and therefore fully interoperable with) the parameter of speaker knowledge. In fact, it is for this very reason that they resist the label “epistemic indefinites” for indefinites that are sensitive to speaker knowledge (a label that has gained some popularity in the literature, e.g., Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2015). As they observe, “specificity is also an epistemic constraint” (2013: 139; see further Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 540), which renders attempts to differentiate specific/antispecific and known/unknown oppositions suspect.

Of course, there is a certain intuitive appeal to Haspelmath’s hierarchy (fig. 2.2), as there would appear to be nothing implausible about recognizing that marked specific indefinites could be *further subdivided* into those useable when the specific referent counts as “known” and when the referent does not. The distinction may be worth preserving, but there is some reason to suggest it may better be left aside for the moment as a category too ill-defined to be useful crosslinguistically. Specifically, it appears that what type of speaker knowledge “counts” in determining when indefinites sensitive to speaker knowledge can and cannot be used is anything but uniform across languages and often requires considerable language-specific research to

identify in an even approximately satisfactory manner (see, for example, Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2015: 5-6 [general]; Aloni and Port 2015 [focusing on Romance and Germanic]; Slade 2015: 83-90 [Sinhala]).

To give but one example, Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito observe a significant contrast between English *some* and Spanish *algún*—both antispecific in Giannakidou and Quer’s terms (see 2013: 139-46)—regarding the kind of knowledge the speaker must lack in order to use the indefinite grammatically. If students observe a professor whom they have never seen before dancing on a table, they might utter the following (Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2015: 5 [after Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2003: 4]):

(49) Look! **Some** professor is dancing on the table!

Yet a comparable utterance in Spanish would be unacceptable (Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2015: 5 [after Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2003: 4]):

(50) # ¡Mira! ¡**Algún** professor está bailando encima de la mesa!
look.imp some professor be.3sg dancing on top of the table
Intended: “Look! Some professor is dancing on the table!”

The contrast is due to the possibility of pointing at the referent (ostension)—even though the students cannot *name* the dancing professor, the fact that they can point at him is sufficient to rule out *algún*, whereas English *some* remains acceptable. Comparable contrasts have been observed in other languages as well (Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2015: 6).

Findings like these suggest that a great deal of complexity remains to be explored and may not be adequately captured in surveys designed to determine whether a given indefinite is compatible or incompatible with a speaker’s “knowledge” of the referent. Haspelmath’s “guess who” test (1997: 2) may provide a useful tool for arriving at an approximate assessment of the role played by the known/unknown distinction across language,¹⁴ but the fact that such “unknown” indefinites may require further typological subdivision (e.g., the attempt to relate “epistemic indefinites” to a functional range including *specific unknown*, *epistemic unknown*, *negative polarity*, and *deontic free choice* functions [Aloni and Port 2015]) suggests the prudence of leaving aside the known/unknown opposition in attempts to sketch a broad, crosslinguistic classification of indefinites (though the opposition will naturally continue to play a potential role in language-specific description).

So far I have discussed the distinction between indefinites that are marked with respect to specificity and those that are unmarked in this particular. Unmarked indefinites like indefinite noun phrases and the weak, narrow-scope *some* in English have been discussed briefly. The remaining classes of indefinites requiring exploration all belong among those marked for (anti)specificity. Before I can address these items individually, however, the phenomenon of polarity sensitivity requires additional elaboration, and to this I turn in the next section.

2.4.2.2 Refining the Picture of Polarity

Haspelmath’s approach to polarity phenomena has been noted briefly already and situated in the typological discussion above. Formal semantic approaches, however, have proven the most

¹⁴ This test has been similarly deployed in related studies like Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 140 (citing an oral presentation of Aloni given in 2011); Aloni and Port 2015: 117; and Fălăuș 2018.

successful in accounting for these phenomena, and it is now time to spell out the theory that will inform my own descriptive efforts taken up in subsequent chapters.

The first point at which I depart from the presentation offered in Haspelmath 1997 is a terminological one. Rather than referring to these items using the traditional label *negative polarity items* (NPIs) I will describe them simply as polarity items (PIs) or limited-distribution items, reserving the label NPI for items licensed exclusively by negation and closely related contexts (following, therefore, the terminological stance of Giannakidou 1998). By reframing the discussion in these terms, I will also be forced (happily, as I hope to show) to treat free choice *together* with polarity phenomena. As we shall see, FCIs are certainly *not* NPIs, but they *are* items that exhibit limited distribution that appears to be conditioned by polarity-related features. An account capable of unifying what appear in most respects to be highly comparable phenomena is surely preferable to one that shears off free choice from other polarity phenomena.

Polarity items have attracted attention for a number of reasons, including their crosslinguistic prominence, the long-standing difficulty of pinning down the precise contexts that license their use, and the fact that they seem to instantiate cases in which semantics bears directly on *grammaticality* (sentences like (34a-b) above are not just false or infelicitous; they are ungrammatical). While researchers investigating individual languages and language families have long been aware of polarity phenomena,¹⁵ modern linguistic attempts to account for such phenomena only began in the 1960s. Klima designated the contexts that licensed such PIs as “affective” (1964), and the challenge addressed by subsequent studies has consisted of defining

¹⁵ For an early recognition of limited-distribution indefinites in comparative Semitic studies, see Brockelmann 1908-1913. He noted that the numeral *one* can be used as an indefinite pronoun in Arabic, but that this is “meist erst in negativen Sätzen der Fall . . . und so auch schon in hypothetischen und fragenden Sätzen, die negativem Sinn sich nähern.” In the same way, he observed that Akkadian *edu* (“one”) could be so used especially when accompanied by the negative (1908-1913: 2:84).

this “affective” property precisely. Giannakidou has summarized the research of the second half of the twentieth century devoted to PIs in these terms (1998: 1):

These expressions are known as *polarity items*, and although the term ‘affective’ is not precisely defined in Klima’s work, appeal to polarity implies that the expressions at hand are subject to some kind of dependency which is best conceptualized as polarization (negation or affirmation).

Giannakidou goes on to identify the two most important research objectives pertaining to the explanation of PI distributions and polarity phenomena as consisting of (1) the question of sensitivity—the “relation between PIs and the property they depend upon for grammaticality”—and (2) the licenser question, which “addresses the issue of what the formal property is that all affective environments share” (1998: 3). The latter of these has comprised the standard focus of research, while the former has received much less attention.¹⁶

Past approaches¹⁷ to defining the licenser, that is, of specifying what makes affective environments affective, have typically placed negation (Klima 1964; Baker 1970; Linebarger 1980; 1987) or downward entailment (Ladusaw 1979; Hoeksema 1983; Zwarts 1986; 1998; van der Wouden 1994; Dowty 1994) at the center of their explanatory efforts, attempting to derive each licensing environment from one of these more prototypical environments.

¹⁶ Though this trend has fortunately been reversed through a number of studies devoted precisely to this issue, such as Giannakidou 1998; 1999; 2000; 2001; 2006a; 2006b; 2011; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013; Giannakidou and Quer 2013; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016; Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017.

¹⁷ Giannakidou (1998: 2-11; see also Giannakidou 1999: 370-376) offers a clear and accessible overview of these approaches, and the present summary follows her discussion closely.

As noted already, the environments that license PIs cannot be explained in a unified manner as negative (even when “negative implications” are invoked). Polar questions, for example, cannot be regarded as negative environments, even in terms of implicatures or entailments, yet they license PIs routinely. The model that has received much more general support—including that of Haspelmath—identifies downward entailment (DE) as the licenser responsible for PI distribution. Downward entailing contexts are contexts in which a true assertion made with respect to a particular set of individuals entails the truth of the same assertion with respect to a subset of the individuals concerned. That is, the truth value of an assertion made in a DE environment survives domain restriction. Negation provides a classical DE environment:

(51) Alex does not like fish.

(52) Alex does not like trout.

Example (51) entails the truth of (52), and as *trout* comprise a subset of *fish*, the negated assertion of (51) is accurately described as DE. This can be expressed formally in the following terms (Giannakidou 1998: 8):

(53) **Definition 2:** Downward entailing function

A function f is downward entailing iff for every arbitrary element X, Y it holds that: $X \subseteq Y \rightarrow f(Y) \subseteq f(X)$.

That is, if X is a subset of Y, then a true statement made about Y is a subset of (and will accordingly entail the truth of) the same statement made about X; inference from supersets to subsets is invited.

The advantage of identifying the licensing of PIs with DE lies in the fact that DE extends well beyond the domain of classical negation, including (ostensibly) conditions and comparisons (two of the key PI contexts treated by Haspelmath):

(54) Conditional protasis

- a. If you see a dog, tell me! →
- b. If you see a Labrador, tell me!

(55) Standard of comparison

- a. Alex likes parakeets better than dogs. →
- b. Alex likes parakeets better than Labradors.

Labradors comprise a subset of dogs, so the fact that (54a) and (55a) seem to entail (54b) and (55b), respectively, suggests that conditions¹⁸ and standards of comparison set up DE environments (licensing inference from superset to subset).

The trouble with DE-based explanations of polarity phenomena, however, is of precisely the same sort as that which afflicted negation-based attempts at explanation: DE does not provide adequate empirical coverage for the phenomena concerned. One of the clearest examples of a licensing environment left unexplained in this approach is provided by polar questions. As we

¹⁸ Though there are in fact good reasons to question whether conditional protases are actually DE; see Giannakidou 1998: 12; Heim 1984.

have seen already, polar questions routinely license PIs, but they cannot be understood as DE environments. This failure of the DE model is a serious one in view of a strong crosslinguistic tendency: in most languages in which PIs can be identified, if their distribution exceeds negative contexts, they are at least licensed in questions. That is, questions are the “minimal extension” of PI licensing crosslinguistically and should accordingly be treated as a fundamental environment for understanding polarity phenomena (Giannakidou 2011: 1671). A model that cannot account for the use of PIs in questions is not a winning model! In fact, DE fails to account for a considerable set of the environments concerned (see Giannakidou 1998: 11-12 for discussion with bibliography; see further Giannakidou 2006b). An additional failure of this approach on the theoretical side lies in its exclusive focus on the licensing context. As a result, it “offers no grounds for addressing the issue of sensitivity, i.e. the relation between PIs and their licensors” (Giannakidou 1998: 14).

A more productive line of inquiry has emerged in veridicality-based¹⁹ approaches to polarity phenomena. The success of such approaches is two-fold: they provide superior empirical coverage in their characterization of the licensing environments (thus providing a more successful answer to the licenser question) while simultaneously addressing the sensitivity question by relating polarity sensitivity to a *semantic* dependency and thereby identifying a mechanism capable of accounting for the distributions observed. Connecting polarity sensitivity to a semantic sensitivity also allows us to explain the highly diverse distributional patterns associated with such items, insofar as semantic dependencies can be configured in terms of

¹⁹ Zwarts (1995) was the first to suggest the significance of (non)veridicality for PI-licensing (see Giannakidou 2006b: 588), but the idea has been most extensively developed by Giannakidou and her colleagues (Giannakidou 1998; 1999; 2000; 2001; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2010; 2011; den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013; Giannakidou and Quer 2013; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016; Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017).

licensing conditions as well as antilicensing conditions. That is, once we surrender the notion that a single property or syntactic construction should characterize all licensing environments, we are free to recognize different polarity items as licensed or antilicensed by different “species” of veridicality. This multi-variable approach builds in the flexibility that empirical evaluation appears to require of models designed to explain polarity phenomena, which are quite diverse. Here I offer a brief description of this approach to polarity, illustrating the variables involved. The theory cannot be spelled out in detail here—nor need it be, as it has been presented clearly in a number of excellent studies, including Giannakidou 1998, 1999, 2001, 2011 (in each of which helpful overviews are available)—but the more detailed components of the theory will be explained wherever invoked in the linguistic description pursued in subsequent chapters. The key points to address here include polarity sensitivity as a form of semantic dependency to (non)veridicality (sec. 2.4.2.2.1); the nature of licensing and its relation to scope (sec. 2.4.2.2.2); and the phenomenon of “indirect licensing” or “rescuing” (sec. 2.4.2.2.3). This will be followed by an introduction to some of the most important members of the “cast” of nonsensitive (sec. 2.4.2.3) and sensitive (sec. 2.4.2.4) items.

2.4.2.2.1 Polarity Sensitivity as (Non)veridical Dependency

The concept of *sensitivity* provides an intuitive way of describing polarity items in that they appear to be “sensitive” to some element within their context that is required for interpretability. In order to move beyond this descriptive notion to something more satisfactory from a theoretical standpoint, Giannakidou defines sensitivity more precisely as a semantic dependency: “PIs are sensitive and thus dependent on semantic features of the context for grammaticality. We can envision sensitive expressions as expressions with a semantic ‘deficiency’” (1998: 17). She

provides the following definition for such semantic dependency, which serves to highlight the parameters involved (1998: 16; see further 1999: 368):

(56) **Definition 3:** Semantic dependency

An expression α is semantically dependent on an expression β iff, for the proper interpretation of α , a certain relation R must hold between α and β .

This definition serves to expose the fact that at least two factors are involved in semantic dependency: the licenser (expression β in the definition above) and the relationship (R) between the sensitive item (α) and that licenser (β). According to this approach to polarity, the semantic dependency involved is a dependency on the semantic property of veridicality, and the nature of that dependency (the relation R) can be positive or negative (Giannakidou 1999: 368-69). A vital component of this theory is found in the position that neither the licenser nor the licensing relationship is a uniform entity. Let us consider each in turn.

First, what is meant by a “semantic dependency on veridicality”? The notion of veridicality has been invoked in formal semantic studies since Montague’s 1969 attempt to account for the behavior of verbs of perception like *see*, which appear to entail the existence of their complement, as in this example:

(57) I **saw** [Julia walking]. \rightarrow Julia exists.

Montague’s appeal to veridicality involved existential entailment. That is, if an operator Op is veridical, then when it is applied to a proposition p regarding an entity x , the existence of x is

entailed (that is: $Op p(x) \rightarrow \exists x$). A slight modification to this notion appears in Barwise 1981, for whom veridicality extends beyond existential entailment to cover a broader range of entailments. For Barwise, if an operator Op is veridical, then $Op p \rightarrow p$ (1981: 376), as in this modified version of example (57):

(58) I saw [Julia walking]. \rightarrow Julia was walking.

It is in this latter sense that Giannakidou invokes the concept of veridicality (see Giannakidou 1994; 1995; 1998: 106; 1999: 384).²⁰ Operators may be veridical, nonveridical, or antiveridical (Giannakidou 1998: 106):

(59) **Definition 4:** Veridicality, nonveridicality, and antiveridicality²¹

Let Op be a monadic propositional operator. The following statements hold:

- a. Op is veridical just in case $Op p \rightarrow p$ is logically valid. Otherwise, Op is *nonveridical*.
- b. A nonveridical operator Op is *antiveridical* just in case $Op p \rightarrow \neg p$ is logically valid.

²⁰ Though an existential entailment continues to play a role in defining veridicality for determiners: veridical determiners (DET) are defined as those for which the truth of the sentence within a context (c) entails a non-empty NP argument for the determiner, a notion that can be expressed formally thus (Giannakidou 1999: 398): “DET is veridical wrt its NP argument iff it holds that: $[[\text{DET NP VP}]_c = 1 \rightarrow [[\text{NP}]_c \neq \emptyset]$.” In a similar manner, determiners like *each* and *both* can be identified as veridical due to the existential presupposition associated with their referential (D-linked) character (see Giannakidou 1999: 399-400; 2006b: 591).

²¹ Giannakidou offers a clear prose description of this definition as well (2011: 1674-75):

Veridicality is a property of sentence embedding functions: such a function F is veridical if Fp entails or presupposes the truth of p . If inference to the truth of p under F is not possible, F is nonveridical. More specifically, veridical operators express certainty and an individual’s commitment to the truth of a proposition, but nonveridical expressions express uncertainty and lack of commitment.

In other words, we can recognize three possible orientations toward the parameter of veridicality. Veridical operators entail the truth of their arguments; nonveridical operators entail neither the truth nor falsehood of their arguments; and antiveridical operators entail the falsehood of their arguments. Conceptualized thus, antiveridicality is actually a subset of nonveridicality (Giannakidou 1998: 107). The notion can be exemplified in the following sentences (Giannakidou 1998: 107-109):

(60) Theodora left yesterday. \rightarrow Theodora left.

(61) Perhaps Roxanne left. \nrightarrow Roxanne left.

(62) Frank didn't bring flowers. \rightarrow \neg Frank brought flowers.

The adverb *yesterday* is shown to be a veridical operator in (60); *perhaps* is shown to be a nonveridical operator in (61), and sentence negation is shown to be antiveridical in (62).

Second, the licensing relationship between a sensitive item and veridicality, nonveridicality, or antiveridicality, can be positively or negatively configured. That is, a sensitive expression may depend on the presence (positive licensing) or absence (antilicensing) of a semantic property in its context. Positive licensing must be invoked when the grammatical examples form a natural class while ungrammatical examples do not, while antilicensing must be invoked when the ungrammatical examples form a natural class while the grammatical examples do not (Giannakidou 1998: 19). Given the points considered so far, licensing conditions for items dependent on veridicality can be calculated in terms of a two-dimensional relationship

characterized by the variety of veridicality serving as the licenser and the nature of the licensing relationship, as in fig. 2.4:

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality		
nonveridicality		
antiveridicality		

Fig. 2.4: Licensing conditions for items dependent on veridicality.

As this figure suggests, polarity items could theoretically be characterized by up to six different licensing configurations (represented by each of the empty cells in this table). In fact, however, there is no reason to restrict these configurations to six. Veridicality and nonveridicality stand in a complementary relationship to one another, but nonveridicality and antiveridicality do not—the latter is a subset of the former. It is possible, therefore, that both licensing and antilicensing could be operative at once (Giannakidou 1998: 19). For example, we could imagine an item licensed or antilicensed by all nonveridical operators (including antiveridical ones), as well as those licensed by nonveridical operators but antilicensed by antiveridical ones. This increases possible configurations to seven, illustrated in these tables:

(63) Licensed by veridicality

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality	+	
nonveridicality		
antiveridicality		

(64) Antilicensed by veridicality

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality		+
nonveridicality		
antiveridicality		

(65) Licensed by nonveridicality (including antiveridicality)

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality		
nonveridicality	+	
antiveridicality	+	

(66) Antilicensed by nonveridicality (including antiveridicality)

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality		
nonveridicality		+
antiveridicality		+

(67) Licensed by nonveridicality but not antiveridicality

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality		
nonveridicality	+	
antiveridicality		+

(68) Licensed by antiveridicality

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality		
nonveridicality		
antiveridicality	+	

(69) Antilicensed by antiveridicality

Licenser	Licensed	Antilicensed
veridicality		
nonveridicality		
antiveridicality		+

The picture will actually become even more complex when we consider still further factors that can be involved in the sensitivities of certain limited-distribution items. Some of this complexity is entailed in the definition of polarity items as items sensitive to (non)veridicality *or subproperties thereof* offered by den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002: 37; see also Giannakidou 2001: 669; 2006b: 591)²²:

(70) **Definition 5:** Polarity item

A linguistic expression α is a polarity item iff:

- a. The distribution of α is limited by sensitivity to some semantic property β of the context of appearance; *and*
- b. β is (non)veridicality, or a subproperty thereof: $\beta \in \{ \text{veridicality, nonveridicality, antiveridicality, modality, intensionality, extensionality, episodicity, downward entailingness} \}$

Having identified (non)veridicality (broadly construed) as a key feature of licensing contexts, I present here a list of PI licensing environments for reference (from Giannakidou 1998, 2001, 2011). Not all of these are in fact nonveridical, as we shall see below (sec. 2.4.2.2.3).

²² This definition elaborates on the subproperties of (non)veridicality more explicitly than the earlier definitions provided in Giannakidou 1998: 17 and 1999: 367.

Table 2.1: Selection of licensing contexts and examples

<i>Environments</i>	<i>Example</i>
1. Episodic negation	Lucy didn't see anyone.
2. Episodic yes/no question	Did Lucy see anyone?
3. Conditional (<i>if</i> -clause)	If you see anyone, tell me.
4. Restriction of <i>every/all</i>	Everyone who saw anything should speak.
5. (Non-antiadditive) Downward entailing Q	Few students saw anything.
6. Modal verbs	Anyone can answer that question.
7. Future	I will accept anything.
8. Directive attitudes (<i>want, insist, suggest, allow</i>)	He insisted that we admit anyone.
9. Imperatives	Press any key to continue.
10. Habituals	John usually talks to anyone.
11. Generics	Any cat hunts mice.
12. Disjunctions	[no English examples ^a]
13. <i>perhaps</i> (Gk. <i>isos</i>)	Perhaps someone came. ^b
14. Stative verbs	He knows anyone in the department. ^c
15. <i>before</i> -clauses (Gk. <i>prin</i>)	He died before he saw any of them.
16. <i>without</i> -clauses (Gr. <i>xoris</i>)	He left without anything.
17. <i>too</i> -clauses	She is too tired to talk to anybody.
18. NP Comparatives	Ann is more intelligent than anyone here.
19. <i>only</i> (Gk. <i>monon</i>)	Only John saw anything.
20. Emotive factive verbs	He regrets he said anything.
<p>^a A Greek example is provided by Giannakidou (2011: 1673):</p> <p>(i) I bike mesa kanenas i afisame to fos anameno. either entered.3sg NPI or left.1pl the light on ??/#“Either anybody came in or we left the light on.”</p> <p>The marking of the English translation with “??/#” indicates that disjunction does not license <i>anybody</i> in English (or does so only marginally).</p> <p>^b English <i>someone</i> here is not a polarity item, but the corresponding item used in such contexts in Greek is (Giannakidou 1998: 60):</p> <p>(i) Isos na irthe kanenas. perhaps subj came.3sg anybody “Perhaps somebody came.”</p> <p>^c I would consider this English sentence marginal. Greek FCIs, however, are fine with stative predicates (Giannakidou 2001: 714):</p> <p>(i) I Ariadne gnorizi opjondhipote sto tmima. the Ariadne knows FC-person in-the department “Ariadne knows anybody in the department.”</p>	

What a list like this illustrates clearly is that polarity phenomena cannot be safely reduced to the five licensing environments treated in Haspelmath's survey (which nevertheless retains its

usefulness due to its breadth of linguistic coverage). Before considering the items licensed in such contexts, however, I must define the licensing relationship more carefully.

2.4.2.2.2 Licensing and Scope

Up to this point I have considered the licenser and the relationship between the licenser and the sensitive item, but the notion of licensing has remained only vaguely defined. How should we understand licensing linguistically? To say that the licenser β (from (56) above) must simply “be present” is too imprecise. One possibility involves defining licensing in terms of syntactic scope. This possibility would be expressed thus (Giannakidou 1998: 21):

(71) **Definition 6:** Licensing as involving scope

A polarity item α is licensed iff:

- a. the context provides some expression γ which supplies the semantic property β , on which the proper interpretation of α depends, and
- b. α is found in the scope of γ .

In many cases, semantic licensing does appear to map onto a syntactic be-in-the-scope-of condition, but this is not necessarily the case. In fact, there are some PIs that must actually escape the syntactic scope of their operators in order to be interpreted correctly (Giannakidou 1998: 21). Because licensing is a semantic phenomenon, there is no theoretically motivated rationale for assuming that the semantic dependency will be reflected directly/isomorphically in a comparable syntactic dependency. As indicated above, semantic licensing can be positive (licensing) or negative (antilicensing), and related syntactic dependencies can be comparably

conceptualized as positive (be-in-the-scope-of) or negative (escape-the-scope-of). Crucially, “[n]othing in the theory entails that a positive semantic dependency will map onto a positive syntactic condition, and a negative semantic dependency onto a negative one” (Giannakidou 1998: 21). For this reason, prudence requires that licensing remain very generally defined and that syntactic conditions be defined as independent factors that can be involved and that will play a separate role in defining the distributions of sensitive items. These factors can be defined in the following terms (Giannakidou 1998: 22-23):

(72) **Definition 7:** Licensing

- a. A polarity item α is licensed iff the context provides some expression γ which supplies the semantic property β , on which the proper interpretation of α depends.
- b. γ is the trigger (i.e., licenser) of α .

(73) **Definition 8:** Direct scope

An expression α has direct scope over an expression β iff β is in the scope of α , and α c-commands β at s-structure.

(74) **Definition 9:** Inverse scope

An expression α has inverse scope over an expression β iff α has scope over β , and β c-commands α at s-structure.

To summarize, the main point to carry into the work of linguistic description is this: licensing is a semantic property and can be defined independently of associated syntactic conditions (see further Giannakidou 2000: 464).

2.4.2.2.3 Rescuing (“Indirect Licensing”)

To complicate matters still further, it appears that even the fairly generic (71) requires modification. In spite of the far greater empirical coverage provided by veridicality-based approaches to PIs, there remain a number of cases in which such items appear to be licensed without any licenser/trigger present. Such cases of “triggerless licensing” are referred to as involving *indirect licensing* (Giannakidou 1998: 22) or (better²³) *rescuing* (Giannakidou 2006b, 2011) and typically involve a pragmatic implicature. A clear example of such indirect licensing is afforded by the behavior of the English *any*-series, which can appear within the complement of some emotive factive verbs like *regret* and *be surprised* (Giannakidou 1998: 150; see further Giannakidou 2006b):

(75) Alex regrets that he spoke to **anybody**.

(76) Alex was surprised that **anybody** attended.

As factive verbs, *regret* and *be surprised* are veridical—(75) and (76) entail the truth of their complementizer phrases (i.e., that Alex did speak to somebody and that someone did attend). Yet

²³ Describing this situation as *rescuing* rather than *indirect licensing* avoids potential confusion with C-mediated approaches to licensing like those presented by Laka 1990 and Progovac 1994 (which can also be described as “indirect licensing” [e.g., den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 48 n. 18]).

these particular emotive factive verbs carry with them a conventionalized negative implicature. *Regret* can be paraphrased as *wish that not*, and *be surprised* can similarly be paraphrased as *expect that not*. Both paraphrases *do* incorporate a nonveridical (in fact, antiveridical) operator: the negative *not*.²⁴ Similar cases involving *too*-clauses, *as if*-clauses, comparatives, superlatives, rhetorical questions, counterfactual conditions, and some quantifiers (like *few* and *only*) behave in much the same way (Giannakidou 1998: 145-55; 1999: 404-10). A related case of licensing in which a feature other than a semantic trigger appears to rescue free choice items (a phenomenon referred to as *subtriggering*) will be discussed in the treatment of free choice below.

In spite of the clear attestation of such phenomena, however, indirect licensing appears to constitute an auxiliary licensing option that is not available equally in all languages. For example, indirect licensing via negative implicature appears to play a more restricted role in Greek than it does in English, and no known PI is licensed exclusively indirectly (Giannakidou 1999: 408-410; den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 38).

With these features of the theory of polarity as a sensitivity to (non)veridicality summarized, we are now in a position to turn to individual items—nonsensitive (sec. 2.4.2.3) and sensitive (sec. 2.4.2.4)—that have received discussion in the literature. This will provide much of the semantic nuance required for a more adequate assessment and more informed application of Haspelmath's typologically-derived findings.

2.4.2.3 Nonsensitive Items

As noted already above (sec. 2.4.2.1), indefinite expressions can be classified according to their markedness with respect to specificity. All unmarked indefinites (like English *a* NP and, as we

²⁴ For further discussion, see Giannakidou 1998: 169-73; 2001: 722-25; and especially 2006b.

shall see, narrow-scope *some*) are nonsensitive items.²⁵ Among marked indefinites, only marked antispecific indefinites are nonsensitive. To defend this claim, I discuss a potential counterexample in sec. 2.4.2.3.1 and provide an explanation in sec. 2.4.2.3.2. I then turn to addressing marked indefinites that are nonsensitive (all of which are marked antispecifics) in sec. 2.4.2.3.3.

2.4.2.3.1 English *some*?

English pronouns in the *some*-series could at first glance give the impression of comprising a marked specific, nonsensitive item. Consider these examples:

(77) **Someone** came by to ask you a question—Thomas, to be specific.

(78) Let me tell you **something**...

Sentence (77) involves *someone* with a specific referent (as the continuation makes clear), yet its appearance in a simple past assertion rules out any sensitivity to nonveridicality. Example (78) provides an interesting case of what looks like a specific indefinite employed with an imperative—something Haspelmath claimed to be pragmatically impossible (1997: 42). There is a strong intuitive basis for regarding cataphoric *some* in discourse contexts like that illustrated in (78) as specific—the speaker certainly knows already what she intends to relay.

In reality, however, both of these examples serve to illustrate the need (recognizable on other grounds) to distinguish two *somes* in English: a stressed, specific *some* that *is* sensitive

²⁵ The only indefinite NPs that exhibit polarity phenomena are members of the class of items referred to as *minimizers* and discussed in sec. 2.4.2.4.4.

(and will accordingly be discussed below) and an unstressed, narrow-scope²⁶ *some* that is not sensitive and that can appear freely in specific and nonspecific contexts. In this respect, narrow-scope *some* behaves identically to simple indefinite NPs, and the possibility of replacing *someone* in (77) with *a student* and *something* in (78) with *a story* illustrates the point clearly (see Giannakidou 2011: 699-701 for further discussion).

2.4.2.3.2 Other Marked Specific, Nonsensitive Items?

If this narrow-scope *some* is not in fact marked for specificity, we may ask whether there are any other indefinites that are marked specific indefinites but that fail to exhibit sensitivity. The answer appears to be negative (see Giannakidou 2011: 1701). From a formal semantic standpoint, this is to be expected. If an indefinite can only be employed when a specific referent can be identified, then it will also necessarily exhibit certain veridicality-based constraints on its distribution. For example, under negation, a specific indefinite will only be interpretable as such if it escapes the scope of negation in the logical form of the sentence. If it does not, then existence is not asserted and specificity is ruled out. Consider these examples involving indefinite NPs.

(79) He didn't see **a dog**. (nonspecific)

²⁶ I refer to this as *narrow-scope some* (following Giannakidou 2011) because it takes narrow scope with respect to operators like negation, in contrast to its stressed, specific counterpart, which always takes wide scope with respect to the same operators. Consider these examples:

- (i) He didn't see **someone** today. (specific)
- (ii) I wonder why he didn't say **something**. (nonspecific)

The specific reading of *someone* in example (i) involves obligatory wide scope: there is a specific individual (i.e., *a certain someone*) identifiable to both speaker and hearer that the speaker did not see. In (ii), on the other hand, there is no suggestion that a certain expected utterance—the contents of which are known to speaker and hearer and make up part of their common ground—went unsaid.

(80) He didn't see **a (certain) dog** (he was looking for). (specific)

The first of these sentences simply asserts that no dog-seeing took place—it says nothing about whether a particular dog *should* have been seen or is in the mind of the speaker. The second sentence, on the other hand, clearly indicates that a specific dog is under discussion, the existence of which is required for the sentence to be interpretable. A traditional formal representation of the two would capture this contrast in terms of relative scope:

(81) $\neg\exists x[\text{dog}(x) \wedge \text{see}(\text{he},x)]$

(Read: “there is no entity *x*, such that *x* is a dog and he saw *x*”)

(82) $\exists x[\text{dog}(x) \wedge \neg\text{see}(\text{he},x)]$

(Read: “there is an entity *x*, such that *x* is a dog and he did not see *x*”)

The nonspecific reading involves an existential quantifier that takes narrow scope relative to negation (as in (81)), while the specific reading requires that the existential outscope negation (as in (82)). For this reason, we do not expect to find indefinite pronouns that are marked as having a specific referent and yet fail to exhibit veridicality-based dependencies (such as the requirement that specific *some* escape the scope of negation, representable as antilicensing by negation [and discussed further below]).²⁷

²⁷ This mutual dependence existing between specificity and wide scope, on the one hand, and antispecificity and narrow scope, on the other hand, is not unique to these items. It has been invoked in addressing a host of related phenomena in a broad range of languages (see Giannakidou 2011: 1695 for examples with bibliography).

2.4.2.3.3 Marked Antispecific, Nonsensitive Items

There are, however, cases of marked *antispecific* indefinites that show no such dependencies.

Such items have been referred to as *referentially vague* (Giannakidou and Quer 2013; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016) and are exemplified by English *some NP or other*, Spanish *algún*, and Greek *kapjos*.

(83) English

He met **some doctor or other**. #It was Dr. Smith, to be specific.

(84) Greek (Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 140)

Thelo na miliso me **kapjon** glosologo. #Ine aftos o kirios eki.

want subj meet some linguist it's that guy there

“I want to meet some linguist (or other). ??It's that guy over there.”

(85) Spanish (Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 140)

Tengo que leer un artículo de **algún** profesor. #Es aquel señor de allí.

have to read an article by some professor it's that man there

“I have to read an article by some professor (or other). ??It's that guy over there.”

In each of these examples, the addition of a continuation forcing a specific reading of the indefinite in question results in semantic failure.²⁸ These items are correctly identified, therefore,

²⁸ The continuation is completely out in the English example. However, as the marking of the English translations of the Greek and Spanish examples with “??” rather than “#” suggest, the use of *some* appears to be marginally acceptable when the referent can be identified by pointing (though not, as we saw in (83), when the referent can be named). This point of contrast has already been noted above (see sec. 2.4.2.1).

as marked for antispecificity. Unlike many antispecific indefinites, however, these items are not sensitive to nonveridicality (Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 141; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 539). We see this clearly in (83), where *some NP or other* appears in a simple past assertion, and similar examples can be produced for other languages.²⁹

2.4.2.4 Sensitive (Polarity) Items

We can now turn to an overview of the (much better studied) sensitive items. These items all satisfy the definition of polarity items provided in (70) above and repeated here for convenience:

(86) **Definition 10 (= Definition 5):** Polarity item

A polarity item α is licensed iff:

- a. The distribution of α is limited by sensitivity to some semantic property β of the context of appearance; *and*
- b. β is (non)veridicality, or a subproperty thereof: $\beta \in \{\text{veridicality, nonveridicality, antiveridicality, modality, intensionality, extensionality, episodocity, downward entailingness}\}$

In an effort to organize this introduction as clearly as possible, I will employ the taxonomic framework suggested by Giannakidou 2011, according to which PIs can be divided into two large classes, positive polarity items (PPIs) and negative polarity items (NPIs), with the latter category further divisible into “strict” NPIs (i.e., NPIs licensed only by negation) and “broad”

²⁹ See Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 141 for Greek and Catalan examples and Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 539 n. 15 for Greek and Spanish examples.

NPIs (i.e., NPIs licensed by nonveridical operators other than/in addition to classical negation [and referred to as APIs in Giannakidou 1998]). This structure can be visualized thus:

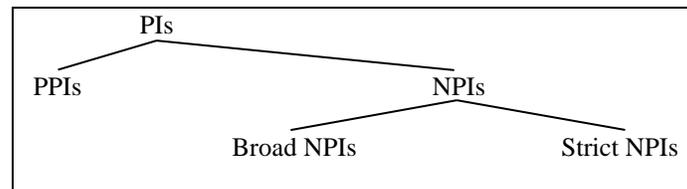


Fig. 2.5: Provisional taxonomy of PIs (after Giannakidou 2011).

This taxonomy is a provisional one and will undergo significant revision in sec. 2.4.3.2 below, but it will serve to provide a straightforward outline for the present discussion. Two additional classes of items—free choice items (FCIs) and minimizers—also require discussion and will be treated below.

2.4.2.4.1 Referential Indefinites (PPIs)

In the terms of the discussion as it has been elaborated up to this point, indefinite PPIs³⁰ are marked specific indefinites exhibiting sensitivity to (non)veridicality. In keeping with their specific reference, it is perfectly appropriate to describe them as *referential* indefinites and to contrast them in this particular with indefinites incapable of referring directly (like those discussed in the next section).

The key elements of PPI behavior have already been noted in the treatment of narrow-scope *some* above but will be repeated here briefly for convenience. Specifically, PPIs are

³⁰ I stress here that this discussion pertains to only a part of the class of PPIs, which, in addition to such indefinites as English wide-scope *some*, include a number of expressions that are neither indefinite nor pronominal (such as speaker-oriented adverbs like *unfortunately*). For a discussion of the class of PPIs with earlier bibliography, see Giannakidou 2011: 1698-1704.

elements that, unlike other PIs, *cannot* occur under negation. They have been defined as “expressions that are ‘repelled’ by negation and tend to escape its scope” (Giannakidou 2011: 1665). The latter feature of this definition is required by the fact that PPIs *may co-occur* with negation, but this will only happen if the semantic interpretation of the sentence involves the PPI taking wide scope relative to the negative. Consider this example and its formal semantic representation:

(87) She didn’t see (a certain) **someone**.

(88) $\exists x[\text{person}(x) \wedge \neg \text{see}(\text{she}, x)]$

On the intended reading, there is a particular person known to both the speaker and the hearer whom the individual described in this sentence did not see. For this reading to arise, the variable x introduced by this indefinite and the associated existential quantifier must outscope negation (even though *someone* is within the scope of [i.e., c-commanded by] negation in the surface syntax of (87)).

The language of “repelling” suggests a model of PPIs based on antilicensing (e.g., *PPIs are antilicensed by negation*), and such models have typically been preferred in studies produced in the past (e.g., Giannakidou 1998: 219; 1999: 368-69). More recent attempts to capture this variety of sensitivity in terms of a positive dependency (e.g., Szabolcsi 2004) require further investigation (see Giannakidou 2011: 1698-1702). Whether the licensing relationship is conceptualized as a positive (licensing) or negative (antilicensing) relationship, the involvement

of the parameter of (non)veridicality flows directly from the characterization of PPI indefinites as highly referential (specific) indefinites (Giannakidou 2011: 1698-1702).

2.4.2.4.2 Dependent/Referentially Vague Indefinites (Broad NPis)

If PPIs can be characterized as highly referential, then the class described here as *broad NPis* can be understood, by way of contrast, as referentially vague. Rather than begin with the formal models proposed for such items, it will prove more expedient to start with a description of the distributions concerned. Three particular subclasses of “individuals” requiring introduction are (1) the class of NPis treated variously as affective polarity items (APIs; Giannakidou 1998) or broad/non-referential indefinites (Giannakidou 2010; 2011); (2) items like English *WH-the-hell* expressions (of interest because of their morphological composition and pragmatic particularities); and (3) items like English *any*, which appear to combine NPI and FCI properties. These items will be introduced in each of the following subsections, with distributional descriptions followed by formal semantic accounts designed to explain those distributions.

2.4.2.4.2.1 APIs (Greek Nonemphatics)

The first subclass of broad NPis consists of those items described as *nonemphatic APIs* in Giannakidou 1998. These items exhibit limited distribution (like all PIs), but occur in many contexts that cannot be described in strict terms as *negative* (unlike strict NPis). Such items stand at the center of attempts to extend the early accounts of PIs in terms of negation or DE, and they figure importantly in Giannakidou’s veridicality-based account as well. Examples in Greek include members of what Haspelmath describes as the *tipota*-series (1997: 265), exemplified by

kanenas (“anyone”), *tipota* (“anything”), *pote* (“ever”), *puthena* (“anywhere”), and *katholu* (“at all”) (Giannakidou 1998: 56).

Greek nonemphatics are licensed in a broad range of nonveridical contexts. These contexts have been presented more extensively elsewhere (Giannakidou 1998: 61), but a representative sample is offered here (examples from Giannakidou 1998: 57-60):

(89) Negation

O papus dhen idhe **kanenan** apo ta egonia tu.
the grandpa not saw.3sg any from the grandchildren his
“Grandpa didn’t see **any** of his grandchildren.”

(90) Constituent question

Pjos pije **pote** sto Parisi?
who went.3sg ever in-the Paris
“Who has **ever** been to Paris?”

(91) Antecedent of conditional (conditional protasis)

An dhis tin Elektra **puthena**, na tis milisis.
if see.2sg the Electra anywhere subj her talk.2sg
“If you see Electra **anywhere**, talk to her.”

(92) Future

Tha vro **kanena** filo na me voithisi.

fut find.1sg any friend subj me help.3sg

“I will find a friend to help me.”

(93) Imperative

Pijene se **kanenan** jatro.

go.imp.2sg to any doctor

“Go to a doctor!”

Each of these examples illustrates the use of Greek nonemphatics in a context that can be described as nonveridical. This distribution suggests that such items have a veridicality-based sensitivity, specifically, that they are licensed by nonveridicality (including antiveridicality, as we see in (89)).

To leave matters here, having addressed only the licensing question without consideration of the (arguably more fundamental) question pertaining to how this sensitivity relates to the lexical semantics of these items, has been shown to be theoretically inadequate (Giannakidou 1998). In fact, this dependency can be accounted for by modeling the semantics of Greek nonemphatics (and similar items in other languages) as *dependent indefinites* or *referentially deficient/vague indefinites*. In other words, whereas ordinary indefinites (like indefinite NPs) introduce a variable into the discourse, APIs are not capable of providing this sort of introduction. The fact that they cannot refer or introduce a variable in this way accounts directly for their exclusion from veridical contexts, in which they would be forced to do precisely what they cannot do (Giannakidou 2010: 865).

In other words, their need for licensing by nonveridical operators is not to be viewed as a stipulated oddity of these items; it rather flows directly out of their inability to introduce new variables in a discourse. This in turn has important (and expected) implications for their syntax and pragmatics—it will come as no surprise that items incapable of referring cannot be employed as information-structural Topics and cannot, as a result, undergo topicalization (as we shall see below). The semantic deficiency of these items, in other words, has direct bearing on the syntactic configurations in which they may appear.

Veridicality-based approaches to such items have pursued two related lines of modeling these items formally. In earlier work, Giannakidou presented these items as representing an existential quantifier incapable of introducing a variable—what she referred to as a dependent existential represented as $\exists x_{ni}$ (where *ni* = *no introduction*) (1998: 69-71, 138-40). In more recent work, Giannakidou and her colleagues have preferred to refer to such items as dependent indefinites (2001: 724; 2011: 1696; den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 39-40) that involve “non-deictic” variables (represented as x_d , where *d* = *dependent*) (see Giannakidou 2011: 1694-1698). These different designations lead to different predictions. If an item is described as a dependent existential, then we should observe consistently existential readings (not the quantificational variability characteristic of Heimian indefinites). This does in fact appear to describe the situation accurately for Greek APIs like nonemphatic *kanenas* (Giannakidou 1998). Yet by designating the deficiency as one inherent in the variable itself (rather than positing a unique “type” of deficient quantifier), Giannakidou’s presentation leaves open the possibility for true dependent *indefinites*, i.e., for items that do exhibit quantificational variability (like English *any*, as we shall see momentarily).

2.4.2.4.2.2 *WH-the-hell* Expressions

The class of expressions referred to as *WH-the-hell* expressions (English *what the hell*, *who the hell*, related items like *what on earth*, and comparable items in Spanish, Catalan, French, Hungarian, and Greek [see den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 32 for bibliography]) merit brief discussion simply in order to underscore the diversity of the class of referentially vague indefinites attested in human language. An initial glance at such items would likely lead one to the conclusion that these expressions are basic interrogatives. Note the comparable interpretation of regular WH-interrogatives and *WH-the-hell* in basic root questions (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 32):

(94) **Who** bought that book?

(95) **Who the hell** bought that book?

Both of these questions are equally interpretable as basic requests for information—the speaker presupposes that someone purchased the book in question and demands the identity of the buyer. The second example, however, is distinguished by introducing a negative expectation: (95) is only likely to be uttered if the speaker had thought it unlikely or inappropriate that anyone would buy the book in question (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 32).

The peculiarities of *WH-the-hell* do not stop here. They differ from basic WH-interrogatives—and pattern with PIs—in four further respects. First, when used with modal verbs, they can only be interpreted as participating in rhetorical questions expecting a negative answer.

(96) **Who would** buy that book?

(97) **Who the hell would** buy that book?

The question uttered in (96) can be understood as a true request for information, and an answer like “Thomas would” would be perfectly expected. The second question, (97), on the other hand, amounts to a rhetorical question, effectively offering the negative assertion, “Nobody would buy that book” (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 32-33).

A second distinction shared by *WH-the-hell* expressions and PIs is found in their behavior when functioning as complements to veridical predicates like *know*. Specifically, *WH-the-hell* is ruled out as a complement to a veridical predicate, unless that predicate is negated (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 33-35):

(98) I know **who** would buy that book.

(99) *I know **who the hell** would buy that book.

(100) I don't know **who the hell** would buy that book.

The contrast between (98) and (99) illustrates the fact that *WH-the-hell* cannot be treated as a simple case of interrogative WH.

Third, while WH-interrogatives allow both single-pair echo answers and pair-list answers, *WH-the-hell* interrogatives allow only the first of these options (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 35). Consider these examples:

(101) Q: **Who** is in love with who(m)?

A1: John is in love with Margaret. (single-pair echo)

A2: John with Margaret, Alex with Ann, and Dmitri with Alice. (pair-list)

(102) Q: **Who the hell** is in love with who(m)?

A1: John is in love with Margaret. (single-pair echo)

A2: #John with Margaret, Alex with Ann, and Dmitri with Alice. (pair-list)

The final point of contrast arises in connection with quantifiers. Simple WH-interrogatives allow for variable scope assignments with quantifiers, while *WH-the-hell* has obligatorily wide scope relative to other quantifiers, a fact observable in these examples (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 35):

(103) **What** did everyone buy for Max?

(104) **What the hell** did everyone buy for Max?

The first of these questions has two readings, identified in the following representations.

(105) $\forall x$, what is the thing y such that x bought y for Max?

Paraphrase: “What (different gift) did each person buy for Max?”

(106) What is the thing y such that $\forall x$, x bought y for Max?

Paraphrase: “What (single gift) did every person buy for Max?”

The question uttered in (104), however, has only one reading—that expressed in (106), in which the referent of the *WH-the-hell* expression outscopes the universal quantifier (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 35-36).

These distributional peculiarities provide the empirical foundation for pursuing an account of *WH-the-hell* expressions that does not reduce them to basic WH-interrogatives. In fact, they appear to be most successfully handled as PIs (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002). The key insight offered by consideration of such items for present purposes rests in the realization that PI status can be accompanied by *additional distribution limiting features*. Specifically, while *WH-the-hell* expressions are *like* other APIs in their failure to assert existence and, to a certain extent, in the domain extension associated with their use, they are *unlike* other APIs in their introduction of a presupposition of a negative attitude (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 36, 40, 41-44). It is this presupposition that would render it inappropriate to subsume *WH-the-hell* expressions beneath the class of APIs as defined in the preceding section. In the interest of clarity, both the domain extension and negative presupposition of these expressions will be discussed briefly here (fuller treatment available in den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002).

First, regular WH-interrogatives involve a presupposition of existence and familiarity that is lacking in *WH-the-hell* expressions. The presuppositional character of regular WH-interrogatives is most clearly seen in cases involving the interrogative determiner *which* when used with an NP or partitive complement (examples from den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 41):

(107) **Which students** talked to Ariadne?

(108) **Which of the books** did Ariadne buy?

A question like that uttered in (107) clearly assumes that a number of students have spoken with Ariadne, but more important is the fact that it assumes the existence of a set of students—a familiar or salient set, not the full set of all students in the known world—who could reasonably be expected to speak with Ariadne. This latter presupposition is not cancelled even if the answer to the question is a negative one (“No students talked to her”). Example (108) assumes the existence of a salient set of books in precisely the same way. One way of understanding this behavior is by noting that WH-interrogatives carry “a novel referential index”—that is, their specific referent is one that is not known/familiar within the discourse (which is why it has to be requested!)—even while “their descriptive content seems to be presupposed” (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 42 n. 15). *WH-the-hell* expressions are not presuppositional in the same way. They do not presuppose the existence of a salient/familiar domain from which an individual is expected to arise that will satisfy the predicate of the question. Instead, they *extend* the domain to

include unfamiliar and even unexpected individuals. Den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002: 43) provide this example as a point of contrast with (107) above.

(109) **Who the hell** talked to Ariadne?

In contrast to the domain of *which students* in (107) the domain of *who the hell* in (109) is broadened or extended. It is “the open set including all persons in the universe, and all possible values are available ..., even less likely or prototypical ones” (2002: 43).

While this domain extension distinguishes *WH-the-hell* expressions from regular WH-interrogatives, it actually constitutes a feature shared in common with many PIs (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 43). In contrast to other PIs, however, *WH-the-hell* expressions are also accompanied by a negative presupposition. Specifically, the utterance of (109) presupposes that it is unexpected for anyone to have spoken to Ariadne. This negative presupposition has been formalized thus (den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 43):

(110) Presupposition of negative attitude of *WH-the-hell*

In the actual world w : If $\exists x[P(x)(w) \wedge Q(x)(w)] \rightarrow \text{SHOULD } \neg Q(x)(w)$, for all possible values of x (where x is the variable of *WH-the-hell*, P is the property denoted by the *WH-the hell* phrase, and Q is the property denoted by the VP).

This presupposition sets *WH-the-hell* expressions apart from “regular” APIs like those discussed in the preceding section and serves as a useful reminder of two points: (1) items that initially appear to be basic interrogatives may in fact turn out to exhibit distributional peculiarities

characteristic of PIs and (2) PIs themselves are remarkably diverse and can be characterized not only in terms of what they assert semantically, but also in terms of what they presuppose (see especially Giannakidou 2011: 1697). This second observation will play a critical role in the description of items like English *any*, to which I turn in the next section.

2.4.2.4.2.3 *Any*

The English *any*-series has been the subject of intense debate within discussions addressing indefinite and free-choice semantics as well as limited-distribution phenomena. The challenge this item poses rests in its functional range, which appears to cover *two* roughly delineated areas within the landscape of polarity. Specifically, *any* behaves in some cases like a FCI, in others like an API (broad NPI). Consider these examples:

(111) FCI (apparent free choice function)

- a. Pick **any** card. (permissive imperative)
- b. You may invite **anyone**. (modal)

(112) API (Broad NPI)

- a. I didn't see **anyone**. (negation in simple past assertion)
- b. She's smarter than **anyone**. (comparative)

This functional bifurcation has given rise to one line of reasoning that identifies in English *any* not one word but two—a FCI *any* and a NPI *any* (the “two-*any* hypothesis”). While some have continued to maintain this position (Dayal 1998), others have expressed skepticism toward this

view (e.g., Haspelmath 1997: 93; Giannakidou 1998: 169-73; Giannakidou 2001; Horn 2000), especially in light of the fact that items combining these functional ranges appear to be quite common crosslinguistically. Haspelmath estimates that items like *any* are attested in roughly fifty percent of the languages represented in his forty-language sample (1997: 117), a fact that would force proponents of the *two-any* hypothesis to suggest (and to explain) what would amount to a remarkably widespread case of homonymy.

If the hunch that a uniform account of *any* should be available is suggested by the crosslinguistic situation, it receives confirmation when viewed from the semantic angle. Studies like Giannakidou 1998 (revised in 2001) and Horn 2000 have provided semantic grounds supporting the univocal analysis of *any* and its semantic kin in other languages. I take this analysis for granted and present it here in its most recent form. Before providing the formal account, however, a few additional comments regarding the empirically observable distribution of *any* and the contrasts in this distribution relative to FCIs and APIs are in order (as these in no small part motivate the univocal analysis). These distributions are presented in a tabular summary here (adapted from Giannakidou 2001: 677 [see similarly Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 143; Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 123-24]).

Table 2.2: Distributions of *any*, FCIs, and APIs (OK = grammatical; * = ungrammatical; % = varying speaker judgments; from Giannakidou 2001: 677)

Environments	<i>any</i>	FCIs	APIs
1. Episodic negation	OK	*	OK
2. Episodic questions	OK	*	OK
3. Conditionals	OK	OK	OK
4. Restriction of universal	OK	OK	OK
5. Future particle/will	OK	OK	OK
6. Modal verbs	OK	OK	OK
7. Directive intensional verbs	%	OK	OK
8. Imperative	OK	OK	OK
9. Habituals	OK	OK	OK

Table 2.2 (continued)

10. Disjunctions	*	OK	OK
11. <i>isos/perhaps</i>	*	OK	OK
12. Stative verbs	OK	OK	*
13. Generics	OK	OK	*
14. NP-comparatives	OK	OK	*
15. <i>monon/only</i>	OK	*	*
16. Negative factives	OK	*	*
17. Affirmative episodic sentences	*	*	*
18. Existential constructions	*	*	*
19. Epistemic intensional verbs	*	*	*
20. Progressives	*	*	*
21. Factive verbs	*	*	*

Space precludes a full exposition and exemplification of each of the environments identified in this list, but such a presentation can be conveniently accessed in Giannakidou 2001. As should be readily appreciable even from this summary presentation, the distribution of *any* cannot be described as a simple sum of FCI and API distributions (yet another challenge for the two-*any* hypothesis). This distributional difference carries with it implications for attempts to model the semantics of *any* formally. For example, the possibility of using *any* in negated past assertions (i.e., *episodic negation*, environment no. 1 in the table above) excludes an intensional analysis like that offered for FCIs below. Yet the distributional differences between *any* and APIs and the fact that *any* is often attended by free-choice-like interpretations suggest that *any* should not be analyzed as a dependent indefinite the way APIs were above—at least not exclusively.

A first pass at accounting for these facts is found in Giannakidou 1998, where *any* is described as an item *antilicensed* by veridicality. By appealing to antilicensing, Giannakidou was able to account for the absence of *any* from veridical contexts (like environments 17-21 in the table above) and to account (in part) for the fact that the environments in which *any* does actually appear do not clearly form a natural class (see further Giannakidou 2001: 723). This position was

augmented in 2001 and further refined in Giannakidou and Quer 2013 in order to provide a more satisfactory explanation of why *any* appears where it does.

According to this approach, *any* can be understood as a dependent indefinite (like APIs/broad NPIs) that additionally comes with two conversational implicatures: (1) the availability of alternative referents within the speaker's conceptual framework and (2) the "exhaustification" of the domain of such alternatives. In other words, an example like (111b) can only be felicitously uttered if the speaker believes (1) that multiple possible referents are available for *anyone* (availability of "identity alternatives") and (2) that the utterance will remain valid for every member of this set of alternative referents one chooses to consider (domain exhaustification). This description can be captured in formal terms as follows (Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 132):

(113) *Any*

- a. *Any P* is an extensional indefinite of the form $P(x)$, where x is an individual variable.
- b. The x variable is *dependent*: it cannot be bound by a default existential, unless there is another nonveridical operator above the existential. If the nonveridical operator is a Q[quantificational]-operator, then the Q-operator binds the x variable, as is standardly the case with indefinites (resulting in quantificationally variable readings for *any*).
- c. It is conversationally implicated that there are *i*-alternatives ("identity alternatives") such that $\forall w_1, w_2: \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w_1} \neq \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w_2}$, where α is the *any* phrase.

(114) Domain exhaustification implicature of *any*

If *any* is in the scope of an operator contributing a set of worlds W :

$\forall d \in D_{any}. \exists w \text{ in } W. Q(d)(w)$ and no other member of the domain d' is such that $Q(d')(w)$; where D is the domain of *any*, and Q is the main VP predicate.

Feature (114) is offered in Giannakidou and Quer 2013 as a replacement for the earlier formation suggested in (113c). I retain both statements as the two appear to achieve distinct (though related) formal objectives. The feature described in (114) ensures (1) that all members of the domain of *any* satisfy the truth conditions of the utterance in some situation/world and (2) that there is one (and only one) referent available for *any* in every situation/world we consider that will satisfy those truth conditions. Feature (113c) guarantees that the referent of *any* will differ in each of these situations/worlds. These together account for the fact that (111) can be uttered if the speaker can conceive of a number of situations in which the hearer could invite *different* individuals, but *not* if the speaker conceives of only one situation or of several situations, all of which involve inviting the *same* individual.

Furthermore, making the domain exhaustification described in (114) an *implicature* rather than, for example, a presupposition, means that it will be cancelled under negation, accounting for the fact that the free-choice-like readings ordinarily available for *any* disappear under negation (making them more API-like in such contexts; Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 132). An important exception to this tendency, however, appears to be in evidence when *any* receives heavy prosodic stress or is augmented with *at all*:

(115) Emphatic *any*

- a. I didn't see **ANYONE**.
- b. I didn't see **anyone at ALL**.

In both of these statements, the sense is stronger than a simple negated existential (*no person-seeing happened*); it seems that the speaker is making a stronger statement (*no matter who you think of, I didn't see them!*). This universal-like character resulting from domain exhaustification seems to survive, even though negation ought to have cancelled it as an implicature. It is for this reason that Giannakidou and Yoon (2016) have identified *ANY* and *any-at-all* as distinct items, which, in this respect, behave more like a group of emphatic NPIs discussed further in sec. 2.4.2.5 below.³¹

2.4.2.4.3 Strict NPIs (Greek Emphatics)

Leaving APIs/broad NPIs behind, I turn now to the class of PIs that depend on a more narrowly defined subset of nonveridical environments for their licensing—specifically, antiveridical contexts. In crosslinguistic perspective, items like these very often associate with prosodic stress (Giannakidou 2010: 861, 863; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 523 with n. 3). This is certainly the case in Greek, where the broad NPI *kanenas* has an identical strict NPI counterpart that is distinguished only by stress, *KANENAS* (illustrated phonetically in Chatzikonstantinou 2016 and Giannakidou and Yoon 2016). Giannakidou (1998) accordingly referred to these items as *emphatic APIs*, though in more recent studies she has described them as *strict* or *strong NPIs* (see Giannakidou 2011; Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017). The contrast between broad and strict

³¹ The distinction between emphatic and nonemphatic *any* has been observed by Krifka (1995) and Haspelmath (1997) as well.

NPIs can be demonstrated with particular ease in Greek. Both varieties are grammatical with negation, in clauses introduced by *before* (Greek *prin*), and in clauses introduced by *without* (Greek *xoris*). These contexts are antiveridical, as they entail the falsity of their content (the Greek examples are those provided by Giannakidou 1998: 57):

(116) Antiveridical contexts

- a. I did not speak to anyone. → I did not speak to anyone.
- b. I came before speaking to anyone. → I did not speak to anyone.
- c. I came without speaking to anyone. → I did not speak to anyone.

(117) O papus dhen idhe {kanenan/KANENAN} apo ta egonia tu.
 the grandpa not saw.3sg any from the grandchildren his
 “Grandpa didn’t see **any** of his grandchildren.”

(118) O papus pethane prin na dhi {kanenan/KANENAN} apo ta egonia tu.
 the grandpa died.3sg before subj see.3sg any from the grand. his
 “Grandpa died before seeing any of his grandchildren.”

(119) O papus pethane xoris na dhi {kanenan/KANENAN} apo ta egonia tu.
 the grandpa died.3sg without subj see.3sg any from the grand. his
 “Grandpa died without seeing any of his grandchildren.”

In other nonveridical contexts, however, that are *not* antiveridical, the emphatic *KANENAS* is ungrammatical, while the nonemphatic *kanenas* remains acceptable, as this example illustrates (Giannakidou 1998: 60):

(120) *Isos na irthe {kanenas/*KANENAS}*.

perhaps subj came.3sg anybody

“Perhaps somebody came.”

As antiveridical contexts constitute a subset of nonveridical contexts, the grammaticality of both broad and strict NPIs in antiveridical contexts but only of broad NPIs in non-antiveridical nonveridical contexts is expected.³²

So far I have illustrated that strict NPIs are licensed in antiveridical contexts and have suggested in the organization of this section that NPIs are marked antispecifics and therefore presuppose referential variation. Two issues remain to be considered: (1) the quantificational status of strict NPIs and (2) the role of scalarity and exhaustivity in their semantics.

The first of these topics has figured centrally in the discussion since Giannakidou (1998) illustrated persuasively that PIs are not exclusively existential in their quantificational force.

³² The foregoing description illustrates that sentential negation actually forms only one of several antiveridical operators and, given the prominence of negation within natural (and non-natural) languages, it would not be surprising to find some hyper-strict NPIs that are licensed exclusively by negation. Such items do seem to exist: Giannakidou identifies a class of Serbian/Croatian *n*-words as such items, referring to them as *hyperstrong* NPIs (1998: 162). The topic of *n*-words is taken up further below.

At the same time, it would not be surprising for some languages to rule out broad NPIs in the subset of antiveridical contexts where strict NPIs are used. Such morphological blocking is exemplified in Korean, where unstressed *-rato* items (which are broad NPIs) are fine in nonveridical contexts but cannot be employed in antiveridical contexts, where only strict NPIs (Korean *-to* items) can be used. Korean contrasts with Greek in this respect (Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 535). This is likely a straightforward case of morphological blocking (so Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 535) rather than of antilicensing. That is, it is not the semantics of antiveridical contexts that is incompatible with Korean broad NPIs. They are rather excluded from such contexts on morphological grounds due to the availability of a specialized set of strict NPIs that must be used in such cases (for a concise definition of morphological blocking, see Crystal 2008: 57).

Drawing on the empirical foundation provided by a number of tests (*almost/absolutely* modification, *even* [Greek *ke*] modification, predicate nominal distribution frames, fragment answers, and differences in syntactic binding), she demonstrated that Greek nonemphatics (broad NPIs) exhibit a dependent existential force (discussed above), in contrast to the emphatics (strict NPIs), which behave in nearly every respect like universal quantifiers. The only difference between emphatics and universal quantifiers resides in the fact that the emphatics can only be used with negative predicates (1998: 63-73). The variable introduced by this quantifier is not dependent in the same way as that of nonemphatics, for which reason Greek emphatics can easily serve as topics—something nonemphatics are unable to do (1998: 71, 242-56). Giannakidou represents the quantificational value of emphatics thus (1998: 69):

$$(121) \quad \llbracket \text{KANENAS} \rrbracket = \lambda P \forall x [\text{person}(x) \rightarrow P(x)]$$

This analysis leads to the conclusion that negated sentences involving an emphatic express universal negation rather than existential negation, as in these two examples and their formal semantic representations (1998: 243):

(122) Nonemphatics

a. Dhen agorasa kanena vivlio.

not bought.1sg any book

“I didn’t buy any book(s).”

b. $\neg \exists x [\text{book}(x) \wedge \text{bought}(I, x)]$

Read: there is no entity x such that “ x is a book” and “I bought x ” are both true.

(123) Emphatics

a. Dhen agorasa KANENAN vivlio.

not bought.1sg every book

“I bought no book(s).”

b. $\forall x[\text{book}(x) \rightarrow \neg \text{bought}(I,x)]$

Read: for all entities x , if x is a book, then I did not buy x .

Analyzing these strict NPIs as universal quantifiers obviously entails a fixed quantificational force for such items. They cannot, therefore, be described as quantificationally variable and do not qualify as Heimian indefinites.

This analysis has further implications for the second question identified above relating to scalarity and exhaustivity. If strict NPIs are (at least in some cases) universals, then exhaustivity comes as a matter of course. Universals exhaust the domain from which values for the free variable x are chosen by definition (which is why *any*, which implicates domain exhaustification, has so often been mistaken for a universal; see discussion above).

Scalarity, on the other hand—i.e., the ordered *ranking* of the members of the salient domain—is *not* entailed by this analysis. One can easily utter sentences like the following with or without implicating the statements added in the parenthetical continuations:

(124) All cats hunt mice(—even the oldest and slowest of cats).

(125) All indefinites are interesting(—even the most obscure ones).

In the right context—for example, if someone has just claimed that only young cats hunt mice or that only some indefinites are of interest—these parenthetical implicatures will inevitably arise (due to Grice’s maxim of relevance), but this *need* not be the case. Universals are not necessarily scalar.

As it turns out, however, the semantics and syntax of strict NPIs can be understood to affect the pragmatics of their usage in such a way that they are only used in contexts in which precisely these sorts of implicatures arise. Giannakidou formulated this point of contrast between Greek nonemphatics and emphatics as a *pragmatic non-uniformity hypothesis* (1998: 245):

- (126) The pragmatic non-uniformity hypothesis
- a. Sentences with a strong negative dependency (i.e., emphatics/strict NPIs) are partitioned into topic and comment.
 - b. Sentences with a weak negative dependency (i.e., nonemphatics/broad NPIs) have no such information structure.

This non-uniformity is responsible for the “general feeling that sentences with a strong negative dependency cannot be uttered out of the blue” (1998: 245). Instead, emphatics can only be used when their referent is already established and pragmatically accessible (1998: 246). I suspect that it is this condition that ensures that, whenever used, emphatics appear in sentences that reshape the common ground, giving rise to the sorts of scalar implicatures exemplified in (124) and (125). Or perhaps even better, it is a scalarity feature in the semantics of these NPIs that results

in the pragmatic restriction on their use (i.e., this pragmatic restriction is the evidence—not the source—of their scalarity).³³

This scalarity of strict NPIs, however, has only been explicitly identified in more recent studies (see especially Giannakidou 2007; 2011 [providing additional bibliography on p. 1679]; and Giannakidou and Yoon 2016). While certainly not the only source standing behind polarity phenomena, scalarity has been identified as one key component in accounting for limited distribution—one that appears to characterize strict NPIs as a rule (Giannakidou 2011; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016).

To summarize this discussion, strict NPIs like Greek emphatics can be described as universal quantifiers that require antiveridical operators to be licensed. They are not referentially deficient the way nonemphatics are and can accordingly serve as information-structural Topics. They are furthermore scalar and exhaustive, making them like *any* (though for *any* these latter features are pragmatic implicatures rather than lexical semantic features).

2.4.2.4.4 Two Problematic Paradigms: Minimizers and *n-words*

In this section I treat very briefly two sets of items that, while highly relevant to the study of polarity phenomena, intersect with the concerns treated in this study only partially. These items are grouped here not because of their similarity to one another (they are in fact distinct) but because of their comparably orthogonal relationship to the present discussion.

³³ In other words, if pragmatics were responsible for the observable scalarity of such items, then (1) scalarity would be an implicature (as it is with *any*) and would only arise in cases where the pragmatics allowed, and (2) there would be no clear reason that strict NPIs should not be just as easily employed in contexts that do *not* give rise to such implicatures. The fact that strict NPIs can *only* be employed in such cases, however, suggests that we must view the distribution of strict NPIs the other way around: it is not pragmatics occasionally giving rise to a scalar implicature but a scalar semantic feature resulting in a restriction on the pragmatic environments in which strict NPIs can be felicitously employed.

Minimizers have already been introduced and exemplified in section 2.4.1.2.2 above. Such items often take the form of indefinite noun phrases combined with specific, idiomatically required verb phrases (e.g., *lift a finger*, *give a care*, *budge an inch*) and serve to identify an extreme low point on a particular scale. They exhibit a clear sensitivity to polarity, as the following examples illustrate:

(127) He didn't **lift a finger** to help them.

(128) *He **lifted a finger** to help them.

(129) She wouldn't **budge an inch** without being asked nicely.

(130) *I think she would **budge an inch** if you asked nicely.

(131) Do you think they even **give a care**?

(132) If he even **lifts a finger** to help, I'll be shocked.

In fact, this polarity-sensitive distribution for English minimizers is characteristic of comparable items crosslinguistically (see Haspelmath 1997: 226-227 and Giannakidou 1998: 36-38 for discussion). The examples just provided further illustrate that English minimizers are fine in a range of nonveridical contexts and are accordingly comparable to Greek nonemphatics (APIs/broad NPIs) (Giannakidou 2011: 1685). This situation, however, does *not* obtain

universally. Greek minimizers, for example, show a much tighter distribution—they are virtually restricted to antiveridical contexts and are in this respect much more similar to strict NPIs (like the Greek emphatics) (Giannakidou 1998: 96; 1999: 410), and a comparably restricted distribution can be observed in Japanese and Korean as well (Giannakidou 2011: 1680-1681). In fact, the distributions of minimizers may vary even within a single language.³⁴

This distributional diversity renders it impossible to “locate” minimizers as a class within the landscape of polarity items. They must instead be investigated individually (though crosslinguistic trends will certainly aid in their recognition and description). What is of immediate interest, however, is the fact that these items appear to belong within the space occupied by APIs and NPIs in terms of their licensing environments, though their uniformly scalar character makes them more like strict NPIs or *any* than APIs.

The description of minimizers just offered applies in like measure to the class of items referred to as *n-words* in the literature since Laka coined this term in 1990. These items are more easily illustrated than explained, and Romance languages offer particularly clear examples.

Consider these Spanish sentences:

³⁴ See, for example, the contrast between the Greek minimizers *leo leksi* (“to say a word”) and *dino dhekara* (“to give a damn”). The former can be rescued in counterfactual conditions but not in rhetorical questions, while the latter can appear in rhetorical questions but not in counterfactuals (Giannakidou 1999: 405).

(133) *Nadie* (“no one”)

a. **Nadie** vino.

no one came.3sg

“No one came.”

b. No vi a **nadie**.

no saw.1sg no one

“I didn’t see anyone.”

(134) *Nada* (“nothing”)

a. No te preocupes; **nada** te va a pasar.

no yourself worry.2sg nothing you go.3sg to happen

“Don’t worry; nothing is going to happen to you.”

b. No me dijo **nada**.

no me said.3sg nothing

“He didn’t say anything to me.”

In these examples, we see the pronouns *nadie* and *nada* used without any accompanying negatives in (133a) and (134a). They appear to contribute the sentential negation by themselves (just as their English counterparts *no one* and *nothing* routinely do). Yet when either of these pronouns appears post-verbally, sentential negation is obligatory, as in (133b) and (134b), yet negation is interpreted only once. Romance languages like Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian provide these baffling cases in which the same word can be required to appear with or without the sentential negative, and they comprise the intermediate situation between Germanic languages (like English and German), which never allow n-words to co-occur with the sentential

negative, and some Slavic languages (like Serbian-Croatian and Polish), which exhibit strict “negative concord” (NC), with n-words always accompanied by the sentential negative.

I cannot elaborate further on the specific theories that have been developed to account for these interesting items (for which see Haspelmath 1997; Giannakidou 1998; 2000; 2006; Penka 2011; Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017), but I must note that the descriptions just provided suggest that it may be a challenge to determine whether a lexeme that always co-occurs with negation is a strict NPI licensed by antiveridicality or an n-word in a strict NC language (see Giannakidou 2011: 1682). Attempts to provide a uniform semantic or syntactic account for all n-words (e.g., Penka 2011) are arguably unnecessary. Semantic evaluation suggests that such items may represent existential, universal, or negative quantificational force and may in fact be ambiguous between two of these quantifier values within a given language/paradigm (Giannakidou 2006a; Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017). In terms of the quantificational force, therefore, n-words may behave more like APIs (dependent existentials) or like strict NPIs (universals). N-words in strict NC languages therefore provide us with another example, together with minimizers, of a class of items exhibiting some fluidity/non-uniformity but that seem to belong approximately within the API–NPI space.

2.4.2.4.5 Free Choice Items (FCIs)

The final items requiring introduction within the formal semantic framework under discussion here have been described (and briefly introduced above) as *free choice items*. The distributional peculiarities of such items are arguably the most difficult to describe and explain among polarity-sensitive expressions. The challenge they offer is an enticing one given their semantic and syntactic non-uniformity, their crosslinguistic ubiquity, and their high frequency of use. The

importance of free-choice semantics and associated syntactic issues warrants a more detailed exposition of FCIs than has been offered for other PIs above. The present section is accordingly divided into the following subsections. First, I offer a description of FCIs in terms of their distribution(s) and morphology (sec. 2.4.2.4.5.1). Second, I present the formal semantic account of such items that I will assume throughout the remainder of the study (sec. 2.4.2.4.5.2).

2.4.2.4.5.1 An Introduction to Free Choice Items: Distributions and Morphology

In sec. 2.4.1.2.3 above, I described FCIs as items that make some of their clearest appearances in contexts of permission granting (*You may pick **any** card*, etc.). I noted that Haspelmath took a scalarity-based approach to accounting for these items and that FC functions are quite frequently covered by a lexeme also used for other NPI functions crosslinguistically—a fact suggesting that FC should be describable in terms that intersect with the account of polarity that we have been pursuing over the last several sections if such an account is to be successful. I now turn to elaborating on these initial observations, drawing on the rich literature devoted to FC and FCIs in formal semantics.

The first point to register will likely already have occurred to the reader. Specifically, as *any* was addressed in sec. 2.4.2.4.2.3 above as a variety of API, it is clear that I do not treat it as a FCI. Why, then, is it employed in illustrations of FCIs like that offered in the preceding paragraph? And what distinguishes *any* from “true” FCIs? The first of these questions is the easier to answer: *any* will continue to be employed in English illustrations of FC semantics for two reasons: (1) the semantics of *any* truly does approximate that of FC (as we shall see) and (2) English lacks any “true” FCIs of the sort to be described immediately below.

Turning to the second question—what makes a true FCI—allows us to move to the matter of distribution. Modern Greek provides us with an excellent example of a specialized FCI—a pronoun paradigm that is used *only* in FC environments (in contrast to *any*, which, as we have seen, can be used in what appear to be FC contexts as well as negative polarity contexts). The paradigm in question is provided by the pronoun *opjosdhipote*. The distribution of this pronoun is summarized in the following table and contrasted with that of the Greek nonemphatic API (= broad NPI) and the English API *any* (adapted from Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 124).

Table 2.3: Distributions of *any*, Greek nonemphatics (broad NPIs), and Greek FCIs (from Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 124)

Environments	<i>any</i>	APIs	FCIs
1. Negation	OK	OK	*/#
2. Questions	OK	OK	*/#
3. Conditional (if-clause)	OK	OK	OK
4. Restriction of every/all	OK	OK	OK
5. (Non-antiadditive) Downward-entailing quantifier	OK	??	??
6. Modal verbs	OK	OK	OK
7. Directive attitudes (e.g., want, insist)	OK	OK	OK
8. Imperatives	OK	OK	OK
9. Habituals	OK	OK	OK
10. Disjunctions	*	OK	OK
11. <i>perhaps</i> clauses (Greek <i>isos</i>)	*	OK	OK
12. <i>before</i> clauses (Greek <i>prin</i>)	OK	OK	OK
13. Future	OK	OK	OK
14. <i>as if</i> clauses	*	*	*
15. Progressives	*	*	*
16. Episodic perfective past sentences	*	*	*
17. Affirmative existential structures	*	*	*
18. Epistemic attitudes (e.g., believe, imagine, dream, say)	*	*	*

This summary suffices for present purposes,³⁵ as it illustrates the most meaningful points of distributional contrast between English *any* and Greek FCIs: negation, questions, disjunctions,

³⁵ Readers who wish to see full illustration of the distribution of *opjosdhipote* are referred to Giannakidou 2001 and Giannakidou and Quer 2013 (see further Giannakidou 2006b; 2011; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013; and Giannakidou and Yoon 2016).

and *perhaps* clauses. The last two of these are nonveridical contexts in which we would expect *any* to be licensed; its exclusion from these contexts probably reflects the tension between its own referential deficiency and scalarity (see Giannakidou 2011: 1697) and has no immediate bearing on our understanding of FC. It is the first two cases of grammaticality contrast—in negative and interrogative contexts—that are in fact the most significant. The contrast is illustrated here (examples from Giannakidou 1998: 78):

(135) Negation

- a. *I Roxani dhen idhe **otidhipote**.
the Roxanne not saw.3sg anything
- b. Roxanne did not see **anything**.

(136) Questions

- a. *Aghorases **opjodhipote** vivlio?
bought.2sg any book
- b. Did you buy **any** book?

As the (a) sentences illustrate, Greek FCIs are excluded from negated assertions and questions (the nonemphatic APIs would have to be used in these contexts; the emphatic could also be used under negation), whereas *any* is fine in such cases. These exclusions suggest immediately that a simple sensitivity to nonveridicality cannot be the sole feature responsible for FCI distributions, as both of these contexts are clearly nonveridical (even antiveridical in the case of negation). The feature that these two ungrammatical contexts share in common appears to be episodicity, which is to say that they are “about exactly one event that happens at a particular time” (Giannakidou

and Cheng 2006: 141; see also Giannakidou 2001: 713). A successful account of FCIs must therefore explain not only its licensing in many nonveridical contexts (making it much like broad NPIs) but its exclusion from episodic contexts, even when those contexts are nonveridical.

Before presenting the model that, in my view, successfully accounts for these distributional challenges, a further word on crosslinguistic tendencies in the formation of FCI paradigms is required. First, it is perfectly possible for a language to have *multiple* paradigms that can be employed in FC contexts (see Haspelmath 1997: 68-75). Mandarin Chinese provides a particularly striking example, as it boasts three separate paradigms (bare WH, *nǎ*-CL NP, and *rènhe* NP) employed in FC contexts, each with its own distributional peculiarities (see Cheng and Giannakidou 2013: 124; Korean provides another nice example with its two FCI paradigms, *nwuku-na* and *amwu-na* [see Giannakidou and Quer 2013]). This has an obvious implication for both descriptive and formal studies. Descriptive linguists, on the one hand, should not imagine that the identification of one paradigm as a FC paradigm within the language under study rules out the same classification for another paradigm in the same language (though distributional differences between the two paradigms are to be expected). Formal semanticists, on the other hand, must develop a broad enough view of free choice to accommodate multiple, distinct sets of distributions (like those observable in Mandarin Chinese and Korean).

Second, the morphological composition of FCIs can be evaluated in crosslinguistic perspective. Specifically, there is a strong tendency for FCIs to include WH-morphology further augmented by a modal marker, an additive focus particle, a disjunction, or even a definiteness marker (for discussion see Giannakidou 2001: 661, 691; 2010: 872-873; den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002: 39; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 135-136; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013: 133; Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 122; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 534). A number of FCI (or

FCI-like) paradigms incorporate what appears to be a universal quantifier in their morphology (possible examples available in Hebrew [*kol*], Turkish [*herhangi*; see Haspelmath 1997: 286], Chinese [*dōu*; traditionally, though not necessarily, analyzed as a universal (Haspelmath 1997: 307; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013: 124, 138)], Swahili [CL-*o* CL-*ote*; see Haspelmath 1997: 302], and Greek [*katholu*]). Some of these examples are apparent rather than real, and their relevance to formal approaches to FC is taken up below.

2.4.2.4.5.2 A Semantic Model of Free Choice

The model that provides the greatest empirical coverage currently available is that related to veridicality-based approaches to polarity phenomena presented in work by Giannakidou over the last twenty years (see Giannakidou 1998; 1999; 2001; 2006b; 2011; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013; Giannakidou and Quer 2013; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016). For the history of the discussion and alternative approaches, readers are referred to the publications just cited. My purpose here is simply to present the approach that will be assumed in the following study.

This model is designed to cover the following facts: (1) FCIs like Greek *opjosdhipote* appear to receive different quantificational readings depending on the context—sometimes existential (*press any key to continue* \approx *press a key* [not every key!] *to continue*), sometimes universal (*anyone can come* \approx *everyone can come*); (2) FCIs like Greek *opjosdhipote* are licensed in nonveridical contexts unless those contexts are also episodic; (3) FCIs exhibit not only a limited distribution (as noted in (2)) but also come with a “free choice effect” in their interpretation; (4) in spite of what has just been said, FCIs appear to be licensed in some episodic contexts when they are followed by a relative clause; and (5) FCIs can appear in a variety of

syntactic distributions (alone, with a nominal [NP] complement, or with a clausal [CP] complement), and their interpretation can vary in these different contexts. Each of these is taken up in the following subsections.

2.4.2.4.5.2.1 FCIs and Quantification

The first of these facts is perhaps the most significant in ensuring that an account begins in the right place. A number of approaches have attempted to explain FCIs as universal quantifiers, but the varying quantificational readings available show that this cannot be the case. Rather, FCIs appear to be quantificationally variable (q-variable), and as such, they can be identified correctly as Heimian indefinites. In this particular they are distinct from Greek nonemphatics (dependent existentials) and emphatics (universals) (Giannakidou 2001). An obvious implication is that universal quantifiers that are incorporated into FCI morphology (like those mentioned in the final paragraph of sec. 2.4.2.4.5.1 above) are not functioning as true universals.³⁶

2.4.2.4.5.2.2 FCI Licensing: Constraints on Grammaticality

Second, the allergy to episodocity evident in FCI distribution suggests that FCIs are not only indefinites but *intensional* indefinites. This means that unlike *any*, which has a dependent individual variable (x_d), FCIs come with a dependent *world* variable (w_d). In order for a FCI to be grammatical, it must appear within the scope of some operator capable of binding such world variables, which episodic contexts simply lack (Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 127-29).

³⁶ Their incorporation in FCI morphology suggests that they are either (1) historically FC markers, not universals, and that their synchronic universal values are secondary (a common development, for which see Haspelmath 1995), or (2) that an original universal has been grammaticalized secondarily as a FC marker and has in this capacity been incorporated into the FCI. The relationship between universal quantification and free choice is taken up in particularly close detail by Giannakidou and Quer 2013.

Intensionality, however, is not sufficient to cover the constraints on grammaticality, as there are intensional environments that still fail to license FCIs (e.g., epistemic and directive attitudes [Giannakidou 2001: 676]). The incompatibility FCIs show toward veridicality cannot, therefore, be collapsed with their similar incompatibility with episodicity. They are instead indefinites that are at once *intensional* (and thus nonepisodic) and *sensitive* (requiring nonveridical operators to license them). These requirements are importantly prerequisites for FCI *grammaticality*. A FCI appearing in a context lacking a nonveridical operator capable of binding world variables is not simply semantically odd or pragmatically infelicitous; it is ungrammatical. It is for this reason that at least part of a satisfactory account of FC must treat limited distribution in terms of licensing (Giannakidou and Quer 2013).

2.4.2.4.5.2.3 FCI Interpretation: The “Free Choice Effect”

Third, although these semantic features of intensionality and sensitivity can account for the limited distribution of FCIs, we must further account for the “free choice effect” so perceptible in their interpretation. Consider this example:

(137) The hiring committee may select **any** candidate for the job.

The “free choice effect” in this sentence can be captured in terms of what many have perceived as a quasi-universal force: *every* candidate is a live option. No matter which candidate is considered, the viability of a hire remains in force. Of course, this is not to say that a universal quantifier is actually involved (as we have indicated already in discussing the q-variability of FCIs; for a detailed refutation of the universal analysis of FCIs, see Giannakidou 2001 and

Giannakidou and Quer 2013). In the present example it cannot be, as the hiring committee is certainly not being licensed to hire *all* of the candidates.

Beginning at an impressionistic level, we can suggest that FCIs are employed when multiple alternative scenarios are equally imaginable/valid within the context of evaluation. That is, if three candidates have applied for the job (say, *Thomas, Anna, and Charles*), then the three possible outcomes (Thomas is hired, Anna is hired, Charles is hired) are all presented as permissible outcomes. One way of formalizing this impression is by appealing to multiple worlds that differ from one another only with respect to who gets the job and that are all compatible with what the person who utters (137) believes to be true. This was the approach taken in Giannakidou 2001, where the case was made that FCIs presuppose the availability of such worlds (called *identity alternatives* or *i-alternatives*) and the exhaustive consideration of all such worlds. Both features are, of course, required. The fact that alternatives must be available is immediately recognizable: the utterance of (137) in the context of a job search that has identified only one eligible candidate could only be interpreted as sarcasm. Yet it is equally crucial that all of the alternatives be evaluated and judged compatible with reality. Again, a speaker cannot utter (137) felicitously if (1) she is aware that some of the candidates cannot, in fact, be hired or (2) she knows that she has not actually considered all possible outcomes and therefore believes that there may be candidates on the list whom the company would not consider hiring. In other words, “the FCI variable must be assigned distinct values in each world or situation we consider, and we must consider all possible worlds” (Cheng and Giannakidou 2013: 128; see also Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 152).

This approach to defining FC semantically led Giannakidou to offer the following formal representation of FCIs (2001: 706-707; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 153):

(138) **Definition 11:** Free choice item (to be revised)

Let W_i be a non-empty, non-singleton set of possible worlds. A sentence with a free choice item $\llbracket OP \text{ DET}_{\text{FC}} (P, Q) \rrbracket$ is true in W_0 with respect to W_i iff: (where OP is a nonveridical operator; P is the descriptive content of the FC-phrase; Q is the nucleus of the tripartite structure; W_0 is the actual world):

- a. Presupposition: $\forall w_1, w_2 \in W_i: \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w_1} \neq \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^{w_2}$, where α is the free choice phrase.
- b. Assertion: $\llbracket OP_{w, x} [P(x, w); Q(x, w)] \rrbracket = 1$ where x, w are the variables contributed by α .

The thrust of this presentation remains valid today, but a formal refinement is offered in Giannakidou and Quer 2013. Specifically, in order to ensure that the individuals making up the domain of evaluation (in our example, the candidates eligible for the job) remain clearly in focus, Giannakidou and Quer replace the notion of *i*-alternatives with a condition requiring domain exhaustification. The updated formal representation is provided here (Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 129):

(139) **Definition 12:** Free choice item (revised)

Let W be a non-empty, non-singleton set of possible worlds. A sentence with a free choice item $\llbracket \text{OP DET}_{\text{FC}} (P, Q) \rrbracket$ is true in w_0 with respect to W iff (where OP is a nonveridical operator; P is the descriptive content of the FC-phrase; Q is the nucleus of the tripartite structure; w_0 is the actual world):

- a. Presupposition of exhaustive variation: $\forall d \in D_{\text{FCI}}. \exists w \in W. Q(d)(w)$, and no other member d' of the domain is such that $Q(d')(w)$; where D is the domain of the FCI, and Q the VP predicate.
- b. Assertion: $\llbracket \text{OP}_{w,x} [P(x, w); Q(x, w)] \rrbracket = 1$ where x, w are the variables contributed by the FCI.

To summarize, therefore, FCIs can be understood as intensional indefinites that require a nonveridical, world-variable-binding operator to be grammatical (the licensing condition) and that presuppose exhaustive variation within the domain of evaluation (responsible for the free choice effect). Their “ingredients,” in other words include intensionality, indefiniteness, and exhaustive variation (Cheng and Giannakidou 2013: 126-29).

2.4.2.4.5.2.4 Licensing in Veridical/Episodic Contexts: Rescuing (*Subtriggering*)

Fourth, if FCIs are intensional indefinites, then why does it appear that they *can* in fact appear in some episodic contexts? Specifically, we can observe situations in which the use of a FCI modified by a relative clause produces a universal-like reading. This phenomenon has been labeled *subtriggering* (Giannakidou 2001, after LeGrand 1975) and is found in some contexts

where FCIs would be perfectly acceptable. Consider this imperfective example (an environment hospitable to FCIs; examples from Giannakidou 2001: 718):

- (140) Ekino to vradi, o Janis miluse me **opjandhipote** jineka
that the night the John talked.impf.3sg with any woman
(epidi itan poli monos).

“That night, John talked to any woman (because he was lonely).”

The imperfective verb *miluse* here creates a non-episodic environment that readily hosts the FCI. Yet we find FCIs followed by a relative clause in hostile environments as well (Giannakidou 2001: 719):

- (141) *Ekino to vradi, o Janis milise me **opja(dhipote)** jineka.
that the night the John talked.perf.3sg with any woman
*“That night John talked to any woman.”

- (142) Ekino to vradi, o Janis milise me **opja(?dhipote)** jineka
that the night the John talked.perf.3sg with any woman
ton plisiase.
him approached.perf.3sg

“That night, John talked to any woman who came up to him.”

As we see in (141), *opjosdhipote* and *any* are both ungrammatical in a perfective (and thus episodic) assertion. With the addition of a relative clause in (142), however, both suddenly become allowable (at least marginally).

This peculiarity is not unique to FCIs—a number of other PIs appear to become licensed in veridical contexts that ought to exclude them in view of their sensitivity features (discussed in detail in Giannakidou 2006b and above in sec. 2.4.2.2.3)—and appears to represent a case of *rescuing* (see sec. 2.4.2.2.3 above). For Giannakidou (2001: 721), Quer’s unpublished³⁷ analysis of subtriggering as involving an “underlying conditional structure” provides the needed means of accounting for the unexpected licensing of FCIs in what otherwise appear to be veridical, episodic contexts. The underlying (nonveridical) conditional structure is responsible for rescuing the FCI (Giannakidou 2001: 721-22). To put this more concretely, we can paraphrase (142) above as a conditional: “If a woman came up to John that night, he talked to her” (Giannakidou 2001: 721-22; see further Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 166-71).³⁸

2.4.2.4.5.2.5 FCI Syntax and Subclassification: Definite and Indefinite FCIs

Fifth and finally, recent studies drawing on data from Greek, English, and Mandarin Chinese have shown that a full, crosslinguistically applicable account of FCIs must address a variety of syntactic and morphological considerations that appear to point in the direction of at least two subclasses of FCIs: indefinite FCIs and definite FCIs. The importance of this discussion for present purposes is threefold. First, it allows us to pursue a more refined picture of FCIs, which may be useful for descriptive purposes. Second, it provides a place for English *WH-ever* and free relatives within the landscape of polarity phenomena. Locating *WH-ever* within this formal

³⁷ For the citations, see Giannakidou 2001: 721.

³⁸ Formally (Giannakidou 2001: 721): $\forall w, x[[\text{woman}(x, w) \wedge \text{came-up}(x, \text{John}, w)] \rightarrow \text{talk-to}(\text{John}, x, w)]$.

semantic framework is especially important in light of the fact that Haspelmath's fairly exhaustive study does not treat these so-called "indefinite relatives." Third, and related to the preceding point, this line of research allows us to address the diverse syntactic complementation patterns attested for FCIs (even within a single paradigm).

First, let us consider the empirical motivation for extending the analysis of FCIs offered above to include a second, definite facet. The model just elaborated was developed to account for the behavior of FCIs like Greek *opjosdhipote* and (*mutatis mutandis*) items like English *any* (not FCIs, but sharing some of their properties). Significantly, however, the Greek pronoun *opjosdhipote* can occur in three syntactic distributions. It can be used independently, with a following noun phrase, or with a following clause (as what amounts to a free relative). The analysis offered above applies to and effectively covers the first two of these distributions, but not the third (as we shall see).

A similar gap in the account is evident for the contrast between English *any* and English *WH-ever* free relatives. While some cases of *WH-ever* free relatives in English exhibit no free-choice effect, others do. This requires that our account of FC be capable of incorporating the semantic and syntactic models developed independently in research devoted to free relatives.

The desire to provide an account for *opjosdhipote* + CP and for *WH-ever* free relatives led to closer examination of these items, and a morphosyntactic peculiarity evident in Mandarin Chinese helped to catalyze the approach that produced a workable result. Before presenting these results, I offer several examples that illustrate the need to extend the model described above (examples from Giannakidou and Cheng 2006).

(143) Greek

a. **Opjosdhipote** bori na lisi afto to provlima.

any can subj solve this the problem

“Anyone can solve this problem.”

b. **Opjosdhipote** fititis bori na lisi afto to provlima.

any student can subj solve this the problem

“Any student can solve this problem.”

c. **Opjosdhipote** irthe sto parti efxaristithike.

any came.3sg to-the party was.happy.3sg

“Whoever came to the party had a good time.”

d. **Opjos** irthe sto parti efxaristithike.

who came.3sg to-the party was.happy.3sg

“Whoever came to the party had a good time.”

The examples given here as (143a-c) illustrate the three syntactic distributions of *opjosdhipote*, of which only the first two received treatment in Giannakidou 2001. The contrast between (143c) and (143d) illustrates that Greek free relatives (FRs) can be formed with either a bare WH-pronoun (*opjos*) or the FC pronoun *opjosdhipote*. The semantic difference between the two (difficult to capture in English) lies in a sense of scalarity or “domain extension” associated with (143c) but absent from (143d).

Specifically, the FR in (143d) will refer only to individuals who actually attended the party in the real world, while the FR in (143c) refers to actual as well as *possible* individuals who attended the party (generating the scalar effect) (Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 165). The examples here, in other words, illustrate two things: (1) *opjosdhipote* can also be employed with

a clausal complement and still comes with a FC-effect, for which reason such FC-FRs must be accounted for in models of FC, and (2) the FC-FR differs semantically from a simple FR formed with bare-WH. Analogous contrasts are evident in the English *any/WH-ever* opposition.

(144) English

- a. **Anyone** can solve this problem
- b. **Any** student can solve this problem.
- c. **Whoever** can solve this problem will qualify for the competition.
- d. **Whoever** solved this problem must be very intelligent.

We see here that while *any*-items can be used independently, as in (144a), or with a NP complement, as in (144b), *WH-ever* occurs with clausal complements, as in (144c-d). In other words, the *any/WH-ever* distributional contrast mirrors that found within the *opjosdhipote* paradigm in Greek. It is accordingly worth considering whether a similar semantic contrast is evident in English. First, however, one must note that English *whoever* has a different value in (144c-d). Example (144c) has an open-ended meaning comparable to the FC-effect identified in example (143c) above, but (144d) does not. It rather refers to a specific individual and simply indicates the speaker's ignorance regarding the identity of that individual. In other words, the contrast between Greek *opjosdhipote* FRs (FC-FRs) and *opjos* FRs (plain FRs) is obscured in English, which employs *WH-ever* FRs in both cases (Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 167). Focusing on cases that exhibit the FC-effect, however, we can observe an additional contrast between *any* and *WH-ever* regarding existential commitment (or better, existential *bias*) (examples from Giannakidou and Cheng 2006).

(145) English

- a. If **any** student calls, I am not here.
- b. **Whichever** student calls, I am not here.
- c. **Any** beer there is in the fridge is mine.
- d. **Whatever** beer there is in the fridge is mine.
- e. The beer in the fridge is mine.

Consider first the contrast between (145a) and (145b). The first of these does not presuppose that a student will actually call, while the second does. To put it differently, only the second of these can be uttered if the phone is actually ringing. In a similar manner, (145c) does not seem to presuppose the presence of beer in the fridge and can be paraphrased as a conditional (“If there is any beer in the fridge, it is mine”). Example (145d), on the other hand, would only be uttered by someone who expects beer to be in the fridge (though she may not be certain of this—a point of contrast with the definite expression in (145e), which comes with a stronger existential commitment). Mandarin Chinese exhibits exactly the same contrast between sentences involving the FCI *nǎ-CL* with and without the particle *dōu*.

(146) Mandarin Chinese

- a. Rúguǒ (yǒu) **nǎ-ge** rén dǎ-diànhuà lái jiù suǒ wǒ bù zài.
if have which-CL person telephone come then say I not be
“If anyone calls, say that I’m not here.”
- b. (Wúlùn) **nǎ-ge** rén dǎ-diànhuà lái, wǒ **dōu** bù zài.
no-matter which-CL person telephone come I all not be
“Whoever calls, I’m not here.”
- c. Tā bù xiǎng mǎi **nǎ-běn** shū.
he not want buy which-CL book
“He doesn’t want to buy any book (in particular).”
- d. Tā **nǎ-běn** shū **dōu** bù xiǎng mǎi.
he which-CL book all not want buy
“He does not want to buy any book at all.”

The first set of examples—(146a-b)—involves the same contrast with respect to existential bias. The first sentence cannot be uttered if the telephone is actually ringing, while the second can. The contrast evident in (146c-d) pertains to the presence of the FC-effect of domain extension clearly present in the second sentence. The addition of *dōu*, in other words, appears to have an effect comparable to the addition of *-dhipote* in Greek FRs (producing the FC-FR/plain-FR contrast) and an effect comparable to the use of *WH-ever* and its attendant existential bias in English. How can these phenomena be accounted for in a manner that takes into consideration both the FC-effect associated with these items and the FR syntactic entities with which they interact?

The innovative solution suggested by Giannakidou and Cheng in 2004 (published as Cheng and Giannakidou 2013) and 2006 unites the effects associated with the Greek FC-FR, English *WH-ever*, and Mandarin Chinese *dōu* with the idea of semantic definiteness. The impetus for this analysis is drawn from Jacobson's earlier treatment of free relatives as semantically definite entities, with definiteness construed in terms of maximalization (formally represented as the iota-operator ι). Jacobson (1995) argued that FRs refer to the maximal set of individuals that satisfy the predicate denoted by the clause itself. If FRs can be understood as definite creatures, then this, argue Giannakidou and Cheng, may account for the contrast of FC-FRs with FCIs that are used independently or with nominal complements (which, as we have seen, are *indefinites*). On this analysis, the remnant of the definite article *o-* in *opjosdhipote* and the Mandarin Chinese particle *dōu* are understood as the natural-language morphological counterparts to the formal iota-operator. Furthermore, the fact that FC-FRs by definition come with a clausal complement means that they can always be rescued (via *subtriggering*). It is for this reason that definite FCIs (FC-FRs) are virtually auto-licensing and can occur in episodic contexts where regular indefinite FCIs could not ordinarily survive (Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 156).

Accounting for the difference between FC-FRs and plain FRs then becomes a simple matter of adding the FC-effect to FR semantics. As we have seen, the FC-effect in regular FCI indefinites is the result of a presupposition of exhaustive variation in association with the intensional quality of the indefinite. In the same way, the FC-FR involves an *intensionalization* of the plain FR, adding a world-variable, so that FC-FRs, unlike plain FRs, refer to the intension of the FR predicate (the set of all individuals in *all possible worlds* that satisfy that predicate). When employed in an episodic context that forces reference to the real world, the individuals populating the domain of the FC-FR must all come from the real world (mitigating the effect of

intensionalization), but unlike plain FRs, those individuals will include not only actual but also possible individuals satisfying that predicate in the real world. The FC-FR can therefore be thought of as a modalized FR (Giannakidou and Cheng 2006). On this analysis, the Greek morpheme *-dhipote* corresponds to formal intensionalization.

The resulting model of FC allows for two species of FCI: indefinite FCIs, which are often syntactically independent or take NP complements, and definite FCIs, which often take clausal complements. The distinction *need* not be syntactic, however, as Mandarin Chinese illustrates by employing a morphological/lexical means of rendering a FC expression “definite.”

2.4.2.5 Summary

The preceding sections have each sketched a separate corner of the landscape of indefinites and their intersections with polarity phenomena. I summarize the findings here in an intentionally simplified manner for ease of reference before turning in the next section to relating these distributional regions typologically and taxonomically.

Central to the approach employed here is the nonveridicality theory of polarity. This empirically derived theoretical stance can be summarized in terms of its three most central claims (Giannakidou 2011: 1679):

(147) The nonveridicality theory of polarity

- a. PIs are licensed by the property of nonveridicality (broadly defined).
- b. Differences in PI distributions are due to the unique lexical semantics and morphosyntax of each individual PI. The two lexical semantic features of greatest importance in governing distribution comprise scalarity and referential deficiency.
- c. PIs can actually be sanctioned by two distinct means: licensing (point (a) above) and rescuing (a secondary, parasitic option dependent on pragmatics).

The specific varieties of indefinites and polarity items considered are presented here in tabular form together with their most salient features (refer to the sections above for discussion and bibliography).

Table 2.4: Summary of indefinite and polarity items

Specificity	Sensitive?	Item	Definition	Dependency
unmarked	no	indefinite NP	q-variable indefinite	∅
unmarked	no	narrow-scope <i>some</i>	q-variable indefinite	∅
specific	yes	PPIs	∃	–negation
antispecific	no	referentially vague expressions (<i>algún, some or other, kapjos</i>)	∃	[–speaker knowledge of referent]
antispecific	yes	APIs (Greek nonemphatics)	dependent ∃	+nonveridicality
antispecific	yes	<i>WH-the-hell</i>	dependent ∃ +domain extension +negative attitude presupposition	+nonveridicality
antispecific	yes	<i>any</i>	q-variable, dependent indefinite +implicature of exhaustive variation	–veridicality [+rescuing]
antispecific	yes	strict NPIs (Greek emphatics)	∀	+antiveridicality
antispecific	yes	FCIs	q-variable, intensional indefinite +presupposition of exhaustive variation	+nonveridicality +world-variable-binding operator

Minimizers and n-words also received treatment above, though their fluid nonuniformity makes it impossible to locate them any more precisely than by a gesture toward the API–NPI region of the landscape.

One of the points that this table (and the discussion it summarizes) helps to underscore is the disproportionate representation of sensitive items among indefinite pronouns and related expressions. To say that indefinites are either noun phrases or sensitive expressions would be to overstate the matter—but not by much. Related to this observation is another: the discussion above has illustrated at a number of points the semantic tension existing among broad NPIs (APIs), strict NPIs, and FCIs, with items like *any*, minimizers, and n-words floating within the space delimited by these three profiles, often combining and rearranging their features. In an effort to summarize the foregoing, to distill some of the important insights gained, and to prepare the way for the development of a relational taxonomy below, I explore the API/strict-NPI/FCI

network in greater detail here. The key features identified in the discussion above are presented here, with points of similarity highlighted.

Table 2.5: Comparison of the features of APIs, FCIs, and strict NPIs.

Feature	API	FCI	NPI
<i>Q-value</i>	Q (\exists_{ni})	Q-variable	Q (\forall)
<i>episodicity</i>	episodic	nonepisodic	episodic
<i>dependent variable</i>	dependent (x_d)	dependent (w_d)	nondependent
<i>sensitivity</i>	+nonveridical	+nonveridical	+antiveridical
<i>referential variation</i>	variation	variation	variation
<i>scalarity</i>	nonscalar	scalar	scalar
<i>exhaustivity</i>	nonexhaustive	exhaustive	exhaustive

These points of featural overlap can be arranged in a Venn diagram as a heuristic means of mapping the semantic space they occupy.

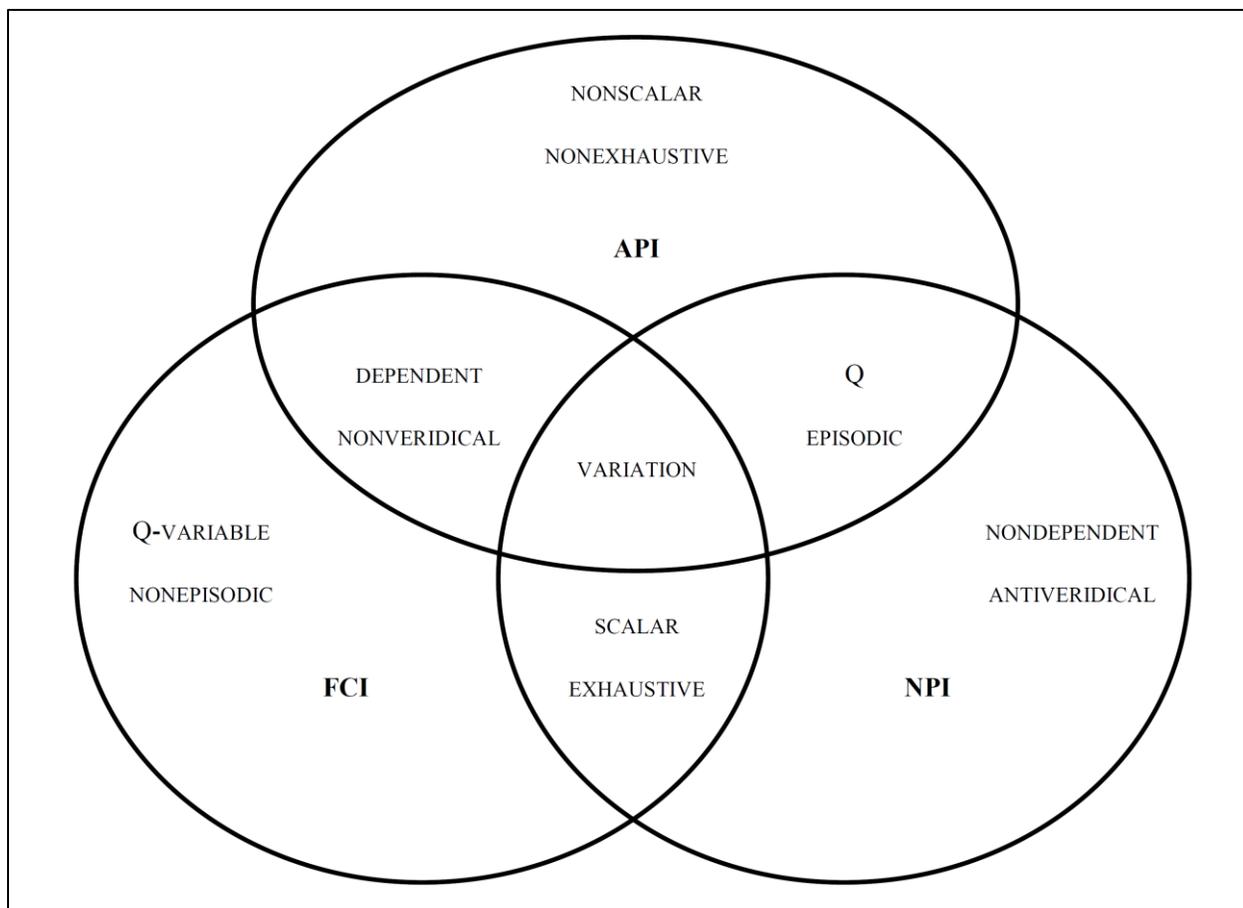


Fig. 2.6: Representation of the API–FCI–(strict-)NPI relationship.

Two of the items discussed above must now be related to this diagram: *any* and prosodically stressed APIs (like Korean emphatic *-rato* items). As noted above, one distribution of *any* (unstressed) is a basic, nonscalar API. The other variety (to which we usually refer in discussions of *any*) can occur in unstressed as well as stressed (*ANY*) and augmented (*any-at-all*) varieties. Where does this latter variety of *any* belong in the schema presented here? Giannakidou and Yoon liken emphatic *any* to other emphatic NPIs (2016). Here a point of clarification is required. Because the term *emphatic* is used in their study to refer both to prosodically stressed, scalar NPIs (which may have broad, API-like distributions) and to the Greek emphatics (which are strict NPIs), it is crucial to point out that their identification of emphatic *any* as an “emphatic”

(and their comparison of this item to Greek emphatics) is not intended to suggest a strict-NPI distribution for the intensified *any*. This should be obvious from the possibility of using *any-at-all* in a range of contexts outside of the antiveridical territory occupied by strict NPIs (e.g., *if you say anything at all...*).

If we think of *any* as a q-variable, dependent indefinite that is fine in episodic contexts, antilicensed by veridicality, and expressing referential variation that is, by implicature, exhaustive and scalar, then we can locate *any* approximately within the intersectional space of the three sets, indicated in gray in this figure:

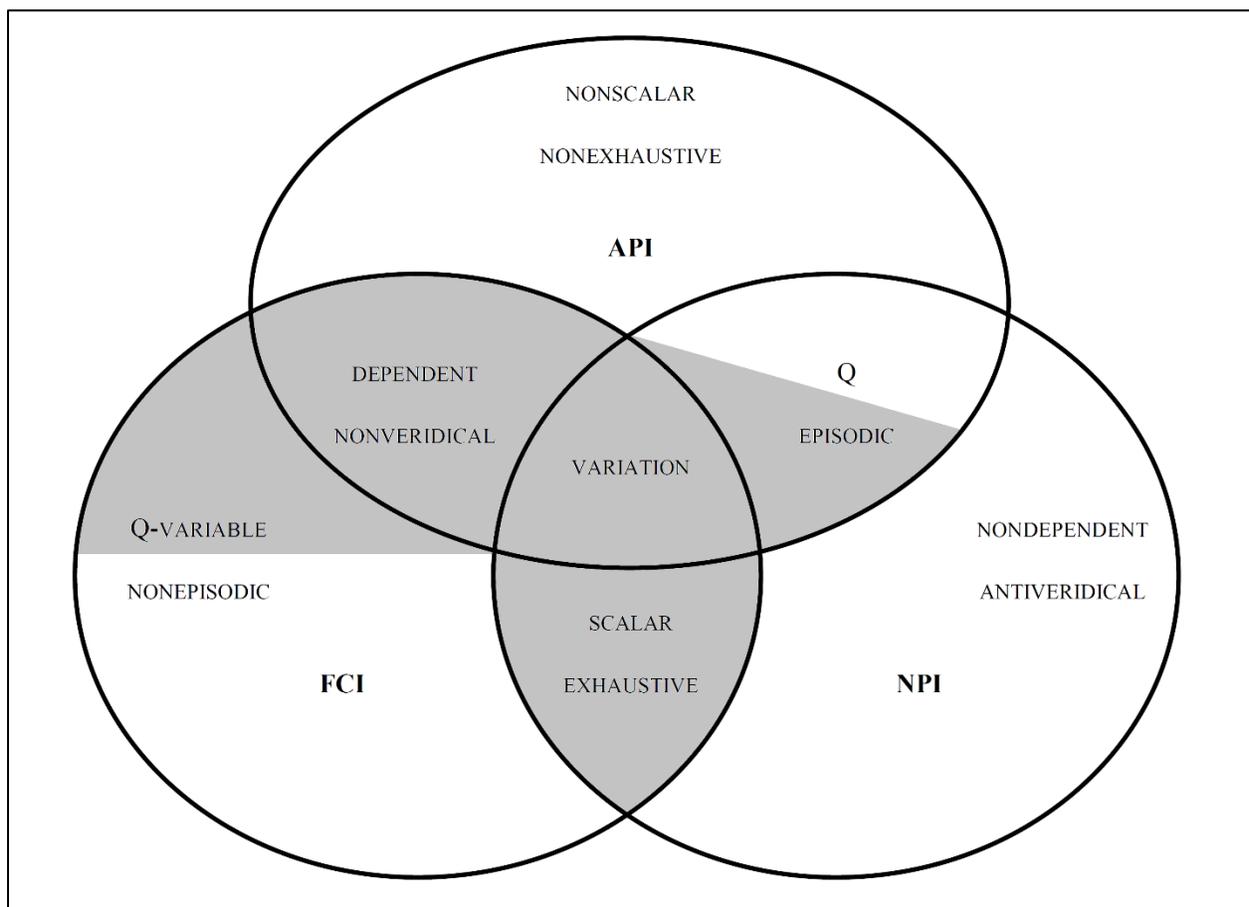


Fig. 2.7: Locating ANY within the featural landscape of polarity items.

This representation is, of course, approximate. Strictly speaking, *any* is antilicensed by veridicality (not licensed by nonveridicality), but the point that this representation *does* capture is the fact that the application of prosodic stress or lexical augmentation to a basic, nonscalar API (nonemphatic *any*) results in an item existing at the API/FCI/NPI interface, exhibiting a broad distribution most comparable to that of APIs and FCIs, q-variability like FCIs, a dependent variable like APIs (and similar to FCIs, though the dependent variable involved is a different one), and exhaustivity and scalarity comparable to that of FCIs and NPIs. We can christen this intersectional space the “ANY-space.”

In fact, the same appears to hold for other cases of prosodically stressed APIs treated in the foregoing discussion. Note, for example, that Korean *-rato* items exhibit a broad-NPI distribution (like APIs). When stress is applied, their distribution remains broad (and in fact, they *cannot* be used in antiveridical contexts as a result of morphological blocking—this point clearly distinguishes them from Greek emphatics), but they pick up scalarity and exhaustivity (Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 537-38). In other words, the addition of prosodic stress appears to convert API-*any* into “ANY-*any*”³⁹ and API-*rato* into “ANY-*rato*” in highly similar ways. Since this transformation amounts to the addition of scalarity and exhaustivity—the former of which can be easily related to the pragmatic effects of prosodic stress (Giannakidou and Yoon 2016)—we have a fairly straightforward account of how such *any*-like items arise.

³⁹ This should not be misunderstood as an endorsement of traditional varieties of the “two-*any* hypothesis.” I am not distinguishing between an NPI-*any* and an FCI-*any*. Rather, I am suggesting the existence of one *any* that conforms to the description offered in Giannakidou 2001 and other works cited above (occurring in both FCI and NPI contexts and dubbed *ANY* here) and a non-scalar *any* that is basically synonymous with narrow-scope *some* (though additionally marked for antispecificity and exhibiting limited distribution), as in the following example:

- (i) If you see **something**, say something.
- (ii) If you see **anything**, say something.

I suspect speakers of English would be hard pressed to identify any semantic difference between these two sentences.

This proposed process, however, raises an additional question. If the addition of prosodic stress in the case of English *any* and Korean *-rato* items results in movement from API-space to ANY-space (chiefly through the addition of scalarity and exhaustivity), then why does the same modification in Greek result in a *strict* NPI paradigm (*kanenas* [broad NPI = API] > *KANENAS* [strict NPI]) and a distinct quantificational value (dependent $\exists > \forall$)? There is no clear reason that the addition of scalarity to an item should suddenly restrict its distributions to the antiveridical subset of nonveridical space. For this reason, it is tempting to view the behavior of the Greek emphatics as the result of a longer, more involved process of semantic change. That the Greek emphatics might represent the end result of a trajectory of diachronic change may in fact find a nice parallel in the behavior of Dutch *enig*, which exhibits a similar diachronic transition from a broad NPI (licensed by nonveridicality) to a strict NPI (licensed mainly in antiveridical contexts) (Hoeksema 2010; Giannakidou 2010).

Whether or not this is the case (and only close diachronic study informed by the formal semantic framework outlined here will be able to offer a more definitive answer), these illustrations suggest the close relationship obtaining among APIs, FCIs, NPIs, and *any*-like items. The fact that what seem to be modest forms of prosodic and pragmatic modification can result in a shift in location on this map is, therefore, entirely predictable. The same situation serves to account for the remarkable variety in item-specific distributions and feature combinations one encounters in engaging the polarity items attested in individual languages. I turn now to two approaches to modeling this variety for the purpose of recognizing meaningful patterns and generating useful generalizations.

2.4.3 Relating the Distributions: Two Approaches to Classification

The foregoing discussion has considered the results of typological and formal semantic research treating indefinites and related items, and the result has been the establishment of two functional taxonomies: the nine-function typological taxonomy provided by Haspelmath (1997) and the substantial cast of language-specific items (and their conservative taxonomic extensions into classes like “APIs,” “NPIs,” etc.) addressed from the perspective of formal semantics. Such taxonomies provide a useful place to begin for those attempting to describe indefinite pronouns in a given language, but the utility of such taxonomies grows considerably if they can be arranged in a reasoned manner reflecting significant relationships obtaining among the functions concerned (whether semantic, diachronic, or of still further sorts). In keeping with the focus of this chapter, I offer here the results of typological semantic mapping (sec. 2.4.3.1) and semantically-derived taxonomic classification (sec. 2.4.3.2), followed by an exposition of the insights that become available when we consider the two together (sec. 2.4.3.3).

2.4.3.1 A Typologically-Derived Semantic Map

The first approach to producing an organized taxonomy is offered by the method of typological semantic mapping. The method employed has already been explained in greater detail elsewhere (see Haspelmath 1997: 59-63; 2003) but can be summarized as the geometrical representation of form–function relationships. Basic to the method is the presupposition that if two functions can be covered by a single lexeme in a given language, then those two functions must be proximate to one another semantically in some meaningful way. In the context of a large, crosslinguistic survey, therefore, functional proximity can be gauged in terms of how frequently two functions occupy the same space within the lexicon. If two functions are expressed by a single lexeme in

language after language, then those two functions should appear in close proximity to one another in a geometric map. As proximity for each set of functions is calculated incrementally, a map can be developed in such a manner that functional proximity is represented geometrically. Optimal representations of this sort naturally entail an adjacency principle: if a lexeme covers two non-adjacent functions on a correctly arranged map, it must also cover all the functions appearing between those two. This is precisely the sort of map created for indefinite pronouns in Haspelmath's study (1997), reproduced here.

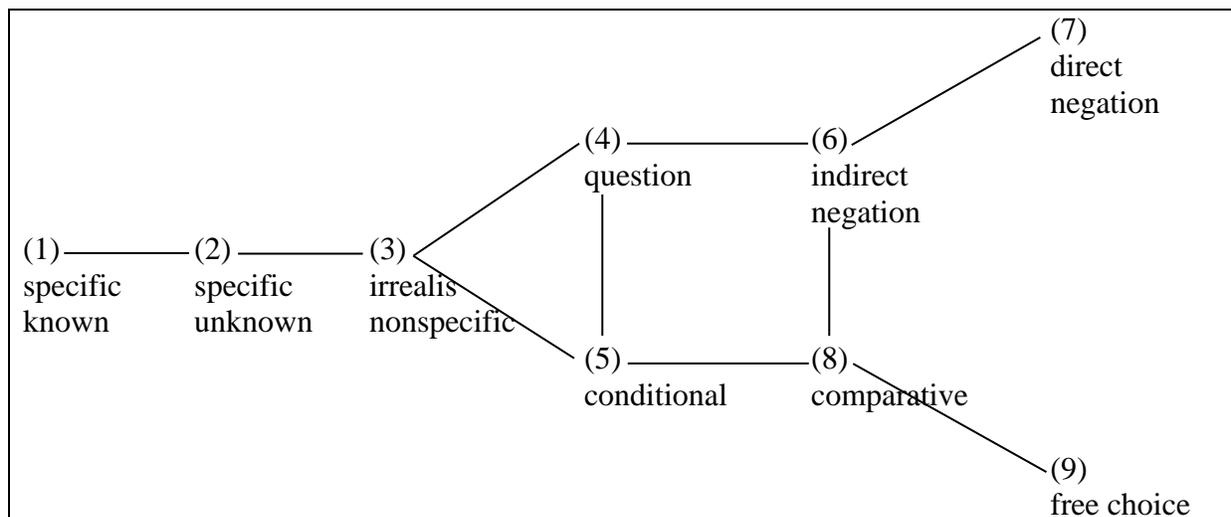


Fig. 2.8: The implicational map (Haspelmath 1997: 4).

Haspelmath's map predicts, for example, that if an indefinite pronoun can appear under direct negation (function (7)) and in questions (function (4)), it will also be attested in conditions and indirect negation (functions (5) and (6)). Not all have been pleased with the simplicity of this map. Wirth, for example, offered the following critique (1999: 155):

Since the locations of functions on the map purport to characterize their locations in “semantic space,” the nature of which we have no overt basis for assuming a priori, the map space could be one, two, three, or any number of dimensions. His assumption is that the map space is two-dimensional, and no explicit justification is given for the assumption.

Others, however, recognize and appreciate Haspelmath’s contribution, which, even if simplifying somewhat, certainly achieves an elegant model that can be manageably tested (see Dahl 1999: 665). Provided that these points of simplification are taken into consideration, the hypothesis represented by this map can be usefully employed and refined. One way to promote an awareness of these simplifications and to make up for the deficiencies they introduce is taken up in the next section.

2.4.3.2 A Semantically-Derived Taxonomy

The second approach to producing an organized taxonomy of indefinite pronouns takes the language-specific semantic picture as its starting point. Based on a more restricted set of languages that have been subjected to much closer scrutiny, the “cast” of indefinites can be set up and evaluated in terms of the semantic features of each of its members. These features can then be employed as the criterial foundation for a reasoned taxonomy. Explicit taxonomies of this sort are not often offered within the literature devoted to the formal semantic study of indefinites and polarity items, and the model offered here is one constructed on the basis of the positions and organizational principles endorsed (and occasionally amended) in the literature reviewed above (Giannakidou 1998; 1999; 2000; 2001; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2010; 2011; den

Dikken and Giannakidou 2002; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013; Giannakidou and Quer 2013; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016; Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017).

The primary organizational criteria consist of specificity and exhaustiveness, with other distinctions figuring at lower levels of the taxonomy.

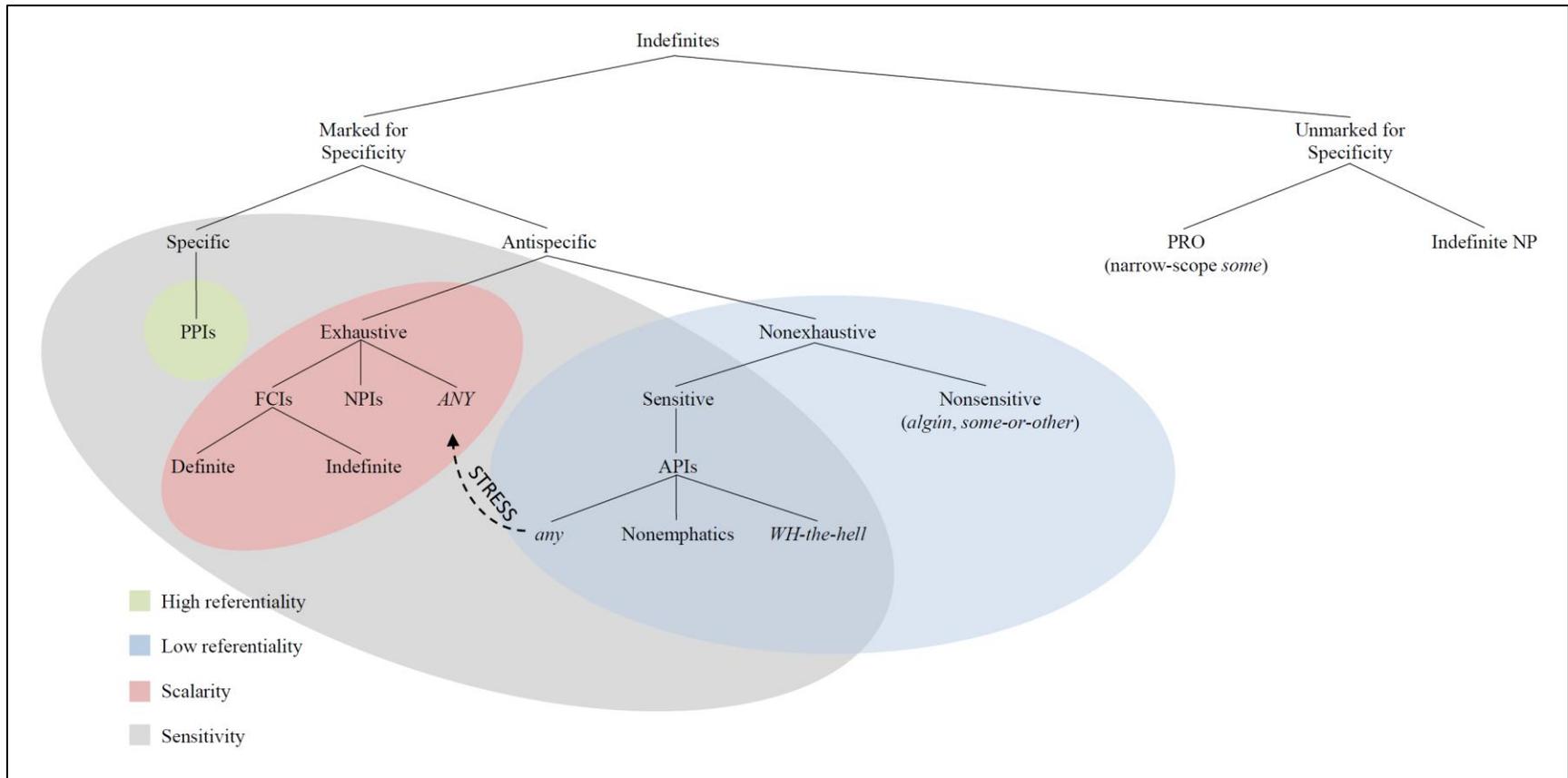


Fig. 2.9: Semantic taxonomy of indefinites.

This presentation highlights several of the distributional asymmetries discovered in the course of formal semantic research. Note, for example, that marked specific indefinites are—by definition—sensitive, while marked antispecific indefinites can be sensitive or nonsensitive. Also of interest is the fact that all exhaustive antispecific items are both scalar and sensitive (and conversely, all scalar indefinites appear to express exhaustivity [whether via direct assertion or presupposition]). The geometric (and therefore featural) proximity between sensitive, nonexhaustive antispecifics and exhaustive antispecifics allows us to illustrate the ease with which *any* can transition into *ANY*-space through the application of prosodic stress. The peregrinations of minimizers and n-words within the API–NPI–FCI region of the taxonomy can additionally be generalized as a tendency toward expressing sensitive varieties of antispecificity.

2.4.3.3 Advantages of this Dual Approach

I have suggested above that the typologically derived implicational map and the semantically derived taxonomic map can be put into useful and productive conversation. This two-pronged approach derives its value from (1) the necessary restrictions involved in both approaches (which are complementary) and (2) the tensions it exposes for review and further testing—something the present study provides an opportunity to do.

Specifically, the strength of the implicational map lies in the impressive number of languages studied in the course of its production, though its applicability is limited by the functional simplification it necessarily incorporates. The formal semantic taxonomy, on the other hand, offers a higher resolution of functional distinctions, though its crosslinguistic basis is (at present) much narrower. The two approaches complement one another, together providing a more adequate domain (functional variety) and range (languages considered) for charting the

function of linguistic variation. The fact that these maps are produced through independent methods—consideration of wide-scale homonymy in typology and of carefully investigated distributional differences in formal semantics—allows us to make use of them as separate witnesses to the landscape of indefinite items in human language.

This independence means that the two approaches occasionally stand in tension. For example, the two grant different roles to the parameter of speaker knowledge: is this simply an element figuring into the calculus of specificity (as assumed in the formal semantic taxonomy above) or does it merit its own place (as in the typological map)? The typological map does not build in space for indefinites that are not marked for specificity (like narrow-scope *some*), while the formal semantic taxonomy does. Similarly, insofar as the typological map identifies negative-polarity space with the contiguous functions (4)-(8), it tends to exclude specific known indefinites (like PPIs) from its representation of polarity—a result one might wish to avoid. At the same time, the formal semantic taxonomy makes no predictions regarding possible multifunctional extensions of the semantic range of individual lexemes (i.e., it does not come with an adjacency principle like that associated with Haspelmath's map), nor does it predict necessary diachronic trajectories (though it certainly illustrates points of semantic proximity that would predictably give rise to such trajectories).

The strengths and weaknesses of the two models complement one another, providing a sort of binocular vision. Using the two together allows us to keep one eye on the crosslinguistic situation (the broad landscape) and the other on the details of language-specific phenomena (the local micro-ecology). This dual approach to indefinites provides an ideally balanced, informed, and informative backdrop for the descriptive efforts undertaken in the following chapters and

should help to ensure that the descriptions pursued are enriched (though not constrained) through careful preparation.

2.5 Further Relevant Parameters

The foregoing presentation of indefinite pronominal morphology, syntax, and functional distributions has provided most of the preparatory framework needed for the purposes of the present study. Before turning to the diachronic backdrop in the next chapter, however, a few related parameters require consideration. These include pragmatics, genre and register, language contact, and diachrony. These topics will be dealt with in greater detail in the relevant discussions appearing later in this study (especially ch. 3 and 8), but several points merit mention at the outset.

2.5.1 Pragmatics

Indefinite pronouns can naturally be expected to interact with pragmatics. This is true for all word classes, but indefinites—and especially *sensitive* indefinites—can be related to well-studied pragmatic effects in a number of significant manners. These can be distilled into two categories: information structural interactions and various pragmatic “effects” (associated largely with Gricean maxims). The discussion here is intentionally succinct.

2.5.1.1 Information Structure

Models of information structure that recognize the relevance of Topic (the given information; the item/entity/situation about which a predication is made) and Comment (the new information provided by the utterance) or logical Subject and Predicate (comparably defined) necessarily

predict semantic constraints on the information-structural uses to which given indefinites may be put. This is due to the fact that—as I have indicated above—a significant number of indefinite pronouns are *referentially vague/deficient*. Dependent existentials like Greek nonemphatics cannot refer (they incorporate dependent/non-deictic variables [x_d]). One would not expect such items to be deployable as logical Subjects/Topics, insofar as they are incapable of introducing new referents within a discourse, and this leads to the related prediction that such items will not appear in topicalization structures. (These “predictions” are in fact already earned conclusions, at least for some languages: the facts have been carefully described for Greek in Giannakidou 1998: 242-56).

2.5.1.2 The “Effects” of Indefiniteness

A related nexus of interaction between indefinite semantics and pragmatics arises in association with Gricean maxims (discussed in ch. 1) and the sorts of inferences they license. A number of the “effects” associated with indefinite use in the literature can be grouped under this rubric. I have already mentioned the “quasi-universal” effect associated with the use of *ANY* and FCIs (due to the exhaustive scalar implicature and presupposition associated with these two, respectively). The result when such exhaustive indefinites are employed in, e.g., imperative contexts is a strong, open-ended invitation, described by some as a “betting/challenging” effect (Lee 1999; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016): “Try *anything at all!*” In contrast, the use of a nonexhaustive indefinite in the same context lacks this scalarity and exhaustiveness and results in a weaker imperative with a “begging” effect (Lee 1999; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016): “At least try *something!*” This is but one example, and others could easily be added (e.g., familiarity effects [Giannakidou 2006a: 348]; appreciative/depreciative effects [Haspelmath 1997: 187-

192]; and ignorance/indifference/indiscriminacy effects [Horn 2000; von Fintel 2000; Giannakidou 2001; den Dikken and Giannakidou 2002; Aloni and Port 2015; Condoravdi 2015; Fălăuș 2015]) and viewed together with the social ends such effects can be created to achieve (such as impersonalization [León-Castro and Repede 2018] and the expression of politeness [Toyota 2005]).

In one case, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics routinely join forces in a crosslinguistically prominent manner. Specifically, the FC-FR (free-choice free relative) with its accompanying indifference effect can be identified in many languages as a standard means of constructing a *parametric concessive conditional* (also referred to as a *universal conditional clause*⁴⁰ or *irrelevance conditional clause*⁴¹).⁴² As König noted in his seminal work on the topic, concessive conditional clauses have often been grouped together with either basic conditional clauses or concessive clauses due to the properties they share with both (1986: 231). Concessive conditional clauses, like regular conditions, relate a protasis to an apodosis/consequent. Unlike regular conditions, however, concessive conditionals (among them the parametric concessive conditional) relate a *series* of protases to an apodosis (Haspelmath and König 1998: 565). Like concessive clauses, they include among these protases a situation assumed to be unfavorable for or incompatible with the realization of the apodosis—and yet they still *entail* their apodosis.

⁴⁰ Haspelmath and König 1998: 563.

⁴¹ König 1986: 231.

⁴² Notably, both König and Haspelmath have distinguished three subclasses of concessive conditionals. These receive fullest treatment in Haspelmath and König 1998, but see also König 1986 and 1992. As stated rather succinctly by Haspelmath in his 1997 study of indefinite pronouns (1997: 136 n. 6):

There are three types of concessive conditional clause, analogous to the three types of question (polar, alternative, parametric): (i) (polar concessive conditional clause) *Even if it rains, we will go out*; (ii) (alternative concessive conditional clause) *Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go out*; (iii) (parametric concessive conditional clause) *Whatever the weather will be, we will go out . . .*

Unlike concessives, however, they *do not* entail their protases, making them semifactual (Haspelmath and König 1998: 567).⁴³

Haspelmath and König draw a distinction between parametric concessive conditionals (PCCs), which are syntactically unintegrated, and free relatives (FRs), which serve as constituents within the matrix clause, as in the following contrastive examples (Haspelmath and König 1998: 577):

(148) Free relative (English, German)

- a. I'll buy **whatever you're selling**.
- b. Wo immer du hingest bist du steuerpflichtig.
where ever you go.2sg are.2sg you taxable
“Wherever you go, you are liable to taxation.”

(149) Parametric concessive conditional (English, German)

- a. **Whatever you're selling**, I'll buy it.
- b. Wo immer du hingest, du bist (überall) steuerpflichtig.
where ever you go.2sg you are.2sg (everywhere) taxable
“Wherever you go, you are liable to taxation (everywhere).”

In English, this contrast is evident through the presence of pronominal resumption in (149a), absent in (148a). In German, the nonembedded status of the PCC in (149b) is clearly indicated by its failure to trigger the subject–auxiliary inversion operative in (148b). These constructions

⁴³ Both of these features can be understood semantically in terms of the foregoing discussion of free choice: a series of protases is generated by the intensionalization/modalization of the FR, and the non-entailment of the protasis is ensured by the fact that FCIs heading FC-FRs require nonveridical operators to license their employment.

are of interest due both to their role as a frequent landing site for FCIs (discussed already in association with “definite” FC-FRs above) and to their tendency to constitute diachronic sources for the development of new indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath’s *it-may-be* type [1997: 135-40]).

2.5.2 Genre and Register

Closely related to these pragmatic matters are the topics of genre and register, which also constitute parameters relevant to indefinite pronominal distribution. One of the primary observations motivating the present study consists of the genre-specific distribution of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, and this situation seems not to be unique to the Ugaritic language. Matters of genre and register (including the definitions of both assumed in this study) will receive more detailed exposition in ch. 8, but as a preliminary presentation, I suggest the methodological value of distinguishing between genre and register in the terms outlined by Biber and Conrad 2009.

The approach has its limitations and should certainly be balanced by insights drawn from competing models (like that endorsed by Agha 2015), but its clarity (even if somewhat artificial) makes it a useful starting point. Genre features are presented as specific features that serve to structure or identify a particular type of text as such. Such features may appear only once in the text (e.g., an opening salutation in a letter), and their usage is conventionally dictated. Register features, by contrast, are pervasive linguistic features that occur throughout a text, the use of which is functionally motivated by the situational context in which the text (whether written or spoken) is produced (Biber and Conrad 2009).

The parameters of genre and register are not treated in Haspelmath’s typological study, but one might reasonably expect ignorance and indifference effects to be more appropriate to some genres and registers than others. Consider, for example, instructional texts and legal texts,

which one expects to make use of indefinites in referring to future eventualities or in providing “catchall clauses” (e.g., *any/whatever other property the undersigned shall acquire...*). Nor have literary studies been insensitive to the effects associated with the careful deployment of indefinites. Lénárt-Cheng’s evaluation of Gertrude Stein’s *Everybody’s Autobiography* emphasizes the role played by the titular indefinite as one that “create[s] a space of intimate indefiniteness, which challenges our notions of autobiographical unsubstitutability” (2015: 275). A preliminary examination of the Ugaritic corpus appears to suggest a comparable genre/register-specific preference for indefinite pronominal deployment, and comparable cases of register-related competition between different paradigms have been noted in the literature as well (e.g., Giannakidou 2000: 487 [Greek]; 2006a: 364 [Greek]; Sideltsev 2018 [Hittite]).

2.5.3 Language Contact

In situations characterized by linguistic contact, indefinite pronouns turn out to exhibit unexpected patterns of behavior. One ordinarily expects grammatical items like pronouns to resist the effects of contact-induced change, yet indefinite pronouns appear to be quite susceptible to such change. This may be due to their frequent proximity to (if not derivation from) simple nouns—easily borrowed—or to the fact that they express information gaps (a fact that Matras believes makes them “likely candidates for borrowing in situations of unidirectional bilingualism with weak normative support of the recipient language” [2009: 198]).

Whatever the reason, study has shown that indefiniteness markers and even entire indefinite pronouns can be directly borrowed and calqued in contact situations. Haspelmath has gathered a number of instances in which the indefiniteness marker alone is borrowed (e.g., the Hungarian indefinites *né-mi* “some” and *né-hol* “here and there” incorporate the element *né-*, an

indefiniteness marker borrowed from Slavic *ně*, e.g., Russian *ně-čto* “something” [1997: 184-85]; see similarly the borrowing of Arabic *šayyūn* “thing” as an indefiniteness marker in Turkish *bir şey* “something” [Matras 2009: 198]). Calquing can also be involved, as in Yiddish indefinites incorporating the indefiniteness marker *-(s')-nit-iz* (literally, “not is”), likely replicated based on Slavic patterns (e.g., Ukrainian *-nebud'* or Polish *nie bądź*, both originally meaning “not be”) (Haspelmath 1997: 185). Entire indefinites can be borrowed, as in the Maltese free-choice determiner *kwalunkwe* (< Italian *qualunque*) (Haspelmath 1997: 55), and even whole paradigms can be taken over, as in Otomi, which has borrowed a whole host of indefinites from Spanish, including *kada kyen* (“everybody” < Spanish *cada quien*), *en kwalkyer parte* (“anywhere” < Spanish *en cualquier parte*); *nunka* (“never” < Spanish *nunca*); *syempre* (“always” < Spanish *siempre*) (Matras 2009: 198). Romani dialects provide a particularly rich evidential base for examining patterns of indefinite borrowing, as they borrow indefinite morphemes and lexemes from Slavic, Romanian, Turkish, Hungarian, and Greek (Matras 2009: 198-199). In other words, the movement of indefinite markers and lexemes across language boundaries is by no means an unusual development. Haspelmath suggested that clear cases—which were relatively few in 1997—“may well represent the tip of the iceberg” (1997: 186), and subsequent studies have tended to confirm this hunch (see, among others, Matras 2009: 198-199; Knooihuizen 2015; Kozhanov 2015).

At the same time, the surprisingly constrained crosslinguistic variation in the diachronic sources standing behind indefinite pronouns forces us to consider putative instances of contact-induced change very carefully. The possibility of convergent/parallel development appears to be particularly viable in the case of indefinites, which means that it may be difficult in individual cases to determine with certainty whether a formal similarity between the indefinite paradigms in

two areally-proximate languages is due to independent developments along crosslinguistically common trajectories or to linguistic contact (Haspelmath 1997: 186).

2.5.4 Diachrony

The final parameter pertaining to indefinite pronominal form and function to receive attention in this chapter relates to their diachronic sources and grammaticalization trajectories. My purpose here is simply to note several tendencies that are particularly widespread. The identification of such tendencies once again sensitizes the researcher to possibilities that would perhaps have gone unconsidered otherwise, but they must not be viewed as laws capable of constraining the analysis pursued. They rather amount to hypotheses to test. In this section, I take up three principal concerns: common diachronic sources for indefinite pronouns (sec. 2.5.4.1), crosslinguistically prominent trends in diachronic change in the distributions of individual indefinite paradigms (sec. 2.5.4.2), and the relative diachronic (in)stability of indefinite pronouns and its implications for comparative study (sec. 2.5.4.3).

2.5.4.1 Common Sources

Because the diachronic sources from which indefinite pronouns develop have a direct bearing on their synchronic morphology, this discussion will partially overlap with the treatment of morphological profiles above (sec. 2.2), though hopefully without unnecessary redundancy. As indicated there, the base of indefinite pronouns is in most cases derived from “interrogative” pronouns, generic ontological-category nouns, or the numeral *one* (Haspelmath 1997: 26). The first of these strategies—derivation from interrogatives/WH-forms—requires further elaboration here and a closer analysis in the next section. Haspelmath has identified four particularly

common source constructions for indefinite pronouns related to interrogatives: (1) the “dunno” type; (2) the “want/please” type; (3) the “it may be” type; and (4) the “no matter” type (1997: 130-41). The labels he employs are fairly transparent, but several examples will serve to illustrate these source constructions (examples from Haspelmath 1997: 130-41).

(150) “Dunno” indefinites

- a. Middle High German *neizwer* “somebody” (< *ne weiz wer* “(I) don’t know who”)
- b. Old English *nāthwā* “somebody” (< *ne wāt hwā* “(I) don’t know who”)
- c. Lithuanian *kažkas* (*kažinkas, kažnokas*) “somebody” (< *kas žino kas* “who knows who”)

(151) “Want/please” indefinites

- a. Latin *quivis* “anybody” (*vis* “you want”)
- b. Spanish *cualquiera* “any” (*quiera* “wants (subjunctive)”))
- c. Albanian *kushdo* (*do* “wants”)

(152) “It may be” indefinites

- a. French *qui que ce soit* “anyone” (lit. “whoever it may be”)
- b. Hebrew (Modern) *mišehu* “anyone” (lit. “who that it (is)”))
- c. Lezgian *wuž xajit’ani* “anyone” (lit. “whoever it may be”)

(153) “No matter” indefinites

- a. French *n’importe qui* “anyone” (lit. “it does not matter who”)
- b. Dutch *onverschillig wie* “anyone” (*onverschillig* “indifferent”)
- c. English *no matter who*

Given the emphasis placed on parametric concessive conditionals (PCCs) as common hosts of as well as diachronic source constructions for FCIs and comparable indefinites above (see sec. 2.5.1.2), other features commonly appearing in such clauses are worth noting, as these elements very frequently end up among the morphological features appearing in the end result. Haspelmath identifies eight features frequently employed in PCCs: (1) subjunctive mood; (2) pleonastic negator; (3) focus particle (*also, even*); (4) conditional marker; (5) a temporal adverb (*ever*); (6) an additional general subordinator (*that*); (7) an expression meaning “want”; and (8) other emphatic particles like *now, only* (1997: 137-38).

Many indefinite pronouns bear an indefiniteness marker that appears to have originated as a scalar focus particle (Haspelmath 1997: 157-64), though in some cases it can be demonstrated that the particle concerned had already been reanalyzed as an indefiniteness marker at the time of its incorporation into the indefinite pronoun (Haspelmath 1997: 157-64; Giannakidou and Yoon 2016: 531-34).

Other indefinites incorporate a morphological element comparable or identical to the synchronic disjunction *or* in the language under consideration (Haspelmath 1997: 164-69). Haspelmath suggests that many (or most?) of these cases involve homonymy between the synchronic disjunction and indefiniteness markers, both having developed independently from “want” and “may be” expressions (common sources for both indefiniteness markers and

disjunctions). This move does not appear to be a necessary one, and the frequency with which what looks like (and in some cases *must* be) a synchronically available disjunction is built into indefinite morphology points in a different direction (consider English *some X or other*, discussed above; *or* in this expression is nothing other than the disjunction). The considerations that led Haspelmath to make this move related to (1) a view of FCIs as expressing something akin to universal quantification, and (2) an expectation that *or*-marked indefinites should express existential quantification and stand in a routine opposition to *even*-marked indefinites expressing universal quantification (see 1997: 165-166). Neither assumption is necessary, and there appears to be no reason not to admit disjunction as a source construction for indefinite expressions and (eventually) pronouns.⁴⁴

One of the most common “sources” of indefinite pronouns, however, consists of the bare (unmodified) interrogative/WH-pronoun (Haspelmath 1997: 170-79). In western Indo-European languages, such pronouns “are generally excluded from past or current present affirmative declarative clauses” (1997: 173), a situation highly suggestive of a tendency for bare “interrogative” indefinites to incorporate sensitivity to veridicality within their lexical semantics. Here I simply note the frequent identity obtaining between synchronic indefinites and interrogatives in the world’s languages. The nature of this relationship—which will turn out not to be one of derivation but rather one of widescale homonymy—is taken up below.

Already noted in the discussion of morphological profiles above (sec. 2.2) is the development of indefinites through reduplication of an interrogative or generic noun, the grammaticalization of generic nouns representing a salient ontological category, or the grammaticalization of the numeral *one* as an indefinite (Haspelmath 1997: 179-84).

⁴⁴ Relevant discussion of the relationship between disjunction, referential vagueness, and free choice can be found in Giannakidou 2010; Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; and Giannakidou and Quer 2013.

Finally, Haspelmath identifies several sources that frequently stand behind his “negative indefinite pronouns” (a category including both NPIs as traditionally understood and n-words participating in negative concord relationships). These include the following (reproduced with examples from Haspelmath 1997: 229-30):

(154) Diachronic sources of negative indefinites

- a. Non-negative scalar focus particles, e.g.,
Selkup *ämtä kuty* “nobody” < “even who”
- b. Negative scalar focus particles, e.g.,
Hungarian *sem-mi* “nothing” < “not even what”
- c. Diachronic negative absorption, e.g.,
Yaqui *ka-abe* “nobody” < **kaa habe* “not anybody”
Latin *nemo* “nobody” < **ne homo* “not a man”
- d. Minimal-unit expressions (i.e., minimizers), e.g.,
Irish *dada* “nothing” < “tittle”
French *personne* “nobody” < “person”
Maltese *ħadd* “nobody” < “one”
- e. Maximal-unit expressions, e.g.,
Spanish *en mi vida* “never” < “in my life”

2.5.4.2 Trends in Grammaticalization

The preceding section presents common sources without much concern for derivational relationships and trends in diachronic phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic change in indefinites. These latter concerns are taken up in the present section.

First, several observations regarding the distribution and semantics typical of the major source constructions identified above in (150)-(153) are in order (citations refer to Haspelmath 1997).

Table 2.6: Diachronic source constructions and their functions and tendencies

Source	Functions	Other tendencies
“Dunno”	<i>only</i> specific-unknown (1997: 133)	-rare outside of Europe; perhaps areal feature typical of Europe (?) (1997: 132) -high level of phonological erosion common (1997: 143)
“Want/please”	free choice (1997: 135)	—
“It may be”	free choice (1997: 139)	-often originate as parametric concessive conditionals, incorporating elements common to such constructions (1997: 137)
“No matter”	free choice (1997: 141)	-typically only weakly grammaticalized (1997: 140)

Haspelmath observes several trends related to the sources presented in this table. First, he suggests that the tendency for indefinites other than the *dunno* type to undergo less phonological erosion can be related to their propensity to produce free-choice expressions. Since such expressions typically incorporate scalarity and, accordingly, serve as sites for prosodic stress, they are often shielded from extensive erosion (1997: 143-144).

Second, whatever the source of the indefiniteness marker involved, there is a strong crosslinguistic tendency for the marker to stand as close to the indefinite base as possible. This means that if the base was originally inflected for case/gender/number, these inflectional

morphemes may over time switch places with the (originally external) indefiniteness marker in the following manner:

- (155) BASE-INFLECTION + INDEF >
BASE-INFLECTION=INDEF >
BASE-INFLECTION-INDEF >
BASE-INDEF-INFLECTION

A clear example of this tendency comes from Georgian (Haspelmath 1997: 145, from Vogt 1971):

(156) Georgian

	Old	New
Nom.	<i>ra-me</i>	<i>ra-me</i>
Dat.	<i>ra-s-me</i>	<i>ra-me-s</i>
Instr.	<i>ra-it(i)-me</i>	<i>ra-me-ti</i>
Adv.	<i>ra-d-me</i>	<i>ra-me-d</i>

Third, one of the more important questions related to diachronic trends requiring consideration pertains to the relationship between homonymic interrogatives and indefinites. Haspelmath suggests that true interrogatives may stand behind some indefinites in cases involving the grammaticalization of what began as an interrogative expression (1997: 147). In many cases, however, no such construction can be posited, and other considerations suggest that

indefinites are not in fact “derived” from interrogatives. Haspelmath notes, for example, the widespread tendency for indefinites to arise from what look like interrogatives bearing a scalar focus particle. A description of such items as derived from interrogatives faces the difficulty of explaining why a scalar focus particle comes to be associated with an interrogative in the first place. Much easier, says Haspelmath, to assume that the focus particle was attached to an item that was itself already an indefinite. Cases of “INTERROGATIVE” + FOCUS > INDEFINITE are accordingly to be analyzed as INDEFINITE + FOCUS > INDEFINITE (1997: 163-64). Furthermore, in view of the considerable frequency with which “bare interrogatives” are used as indefinites⁴⁵ and the fact that no evidence is yet available to suggest that these have been derived from truly interrogative source constructions, Haspelmath argues that the frequent cases of interrogative/indefinite homonymy must be understood in other terms, such as a basic “ignorative” value associated with such items (i.e., indicating an information gap) (1997: 174-76). Formal semantic research confirms this typologically-derived hypothesis. Of particular importance is the fact that attempts to derive indefinite semantics based on a Hamblin approach to interrogatives (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002) fail to predict or account for the strong tendency for such indefinites to exhibit polarity sensitivity (see Cheng and Giannakidou 2013; related discussion in Giannakidou and Cheng 2006), lack a clear empirical motivation, and create a clash between indefinite syntax and semantics (Giannakidou and Quer 2013). For the time being, therefore, it is better to avoid descriptions of indefinites as being “derived” from interrogatives (and the interchangeable use of the terms *bare interrogative* and *bare WH* in the following chapters should not be understood to imply a commitment to such a derivation).

⁴⁵ Haspelmath indicates that his 100-language sample includes 64 languages with interrogative-based indefinites, of which 31 employ bare interrogatives (almost one third of the entire sample and almost half of the languages incorporating interrogative-like items in their indefinites) (1997: 174).

Fourth, indefinite pronouns derived from generic nouns are not, according to Haspelmath, used for the expression of free choice. Instead, they tend to be used in negated contexts, as do pronouns derived from the numeral *one* (1997: 182-183).

The discussion so far has focused on the relationship between source constructions and the indefinites that arise from them. Once an indefinite is grammaticalized as such, what can we say about tendencies/directions of semantic change over time? For Haspelmath, semantic change in association with further grammaticalization is conceptualized in terms of *desemanticization*, i.e., the loss of semantic features over time. He notes the tendency of leftward drift from free-choice functions to question/conditional functions (via the loss of focusing and scalarity; this drift can actually continue all the way to the far left of the implicational map through the loss of nonspecificity and unknownness⁴⁶) and of rightward drift from specific unknown functions to question/conditional functional roles. Rather than conceptualize these trajectories as running in opposition directions, he prefers to model them as moving in the same direction along a perpendicular cline of emphasis/strength, resulting in this trough model:

⁴⁶ Haspelmath's appeal to a "loss" of "nonspecificity"/"unknownness" lacks a certain intuitive appeal. It seems to cast what looks like a pronoun *gaining* specificity as a case of desemanticization/bleaching (not accepted as duly motivated by all; see Campbell 2013: 284) by treating a semantic gain as the loss of a negative feature. This difficulty can be avoided by characterizing "nonspecificity" differently. If we adopt the framework of Giannakidou and Quer 2013, according to which nonspecificity is defined in terms of the positive feature of referential variation (specific = -variation; nonspecific = +variation), then Haspelmath's shift can be modeled as the loss of the feature [+variation].

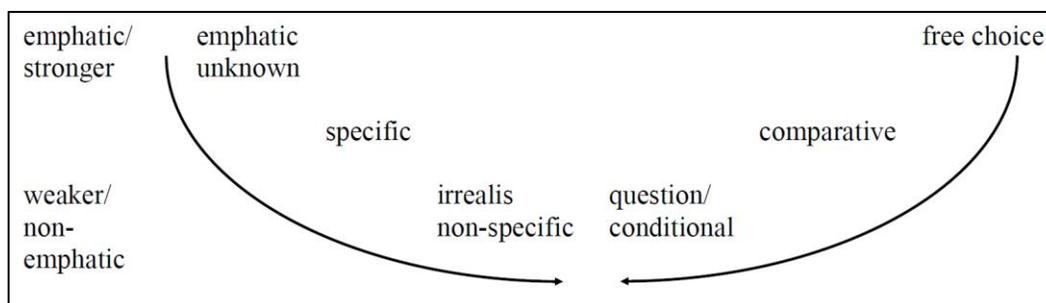


Fig. 2.10: Haspelmath's trough model (1997: 154).

It is difficult to understand how this avoids some measure of multidirectionality in diachronic change. If items can move leftward from FC functions all the way to the far left extreme of the map, then the trough model suggests that items can develop not only “downhill” (as in fig. 2.10), but uphill as well (continuing through the bottom of the trough and up the other side). Still, the implicational map does predict that diachronic change will progress successively along the chain of functions according to the adjacency principle.

A prediction of this sort may help to explain why, for example, the shift of Dutch *enig* from a nonveridical to an antiveridical item (Giannakidou 2010) seems to come with a simultaneous growth in the use of this item in comparatives (Hoeksema 2010; Giannakidou 2010). This growth is unexpected when the shift is viewed exclusively in terms of polarity (as a move from nonveridical licensing to strict antiveridical licensing), but if viewed in conjunction with the implicational map, it can be accounted for in terms of rightward expansion of the functional range of *enig* (with increasing use in negated contexts [functions (6) and (7)] and comparisons [function (8)]), though the reason the comparative function seems to occupy this place on the map is not entirely clear, even in Haspelmath's presentation (1997: 151-152).

The case of Dutch *enig* offers a glimpse into the diachronic development of an indefinite pronoun along the functional map and in terms that have implications for the polarity sensitivity

of the item as well. In other words, shifts in semantic function can be attended by shifts in sensitivity. This is entirely to be expected if sensitivity is understood to be a result of the semantics of the items concerned, as is assumed in the veridicality-based theory of polarity endorsed here.

A final observation pertains to the diachronic development of negative indefinites. The model presented above suggests that many types of indefinites can undergo semantic weakening, resulting in shifts in their distribution. Haspelmath suggests that this is not the case for negative indefinites. He claims that indefinites that “are used only in the negation functions are never extended to other functions” (1997: 230).

Each of the tendencies discussed in this section should be viewed as hypotheses regarding the possible dimensions and directions of diachronic linguistic change. These hypotheses must be examined carefully and put to the test against new data, including those derived from extinct languages like the one under consideration here.

2.5.4.3 Diachronic (In)stability

A final point, which should have become abundantly clear in the preceding two sections, is how susceptible indefinite pronouns are to diachronic change. Not only do languages seem to manufacture new indefinites readily from a wide variety of common source constructions, but even those already in use tend to shift semantically through time. A lexical/grammatical class that is this prone to change can only be described as diachronically unstable—and this is precisely how it has been described (Haspelmath 1997). Studies like Hoeksema 2010 illustrate how rapidly such changes can take place. Corpus-based statistical data show a five-percent drop in the use of Dutch *enig* in positive contexts from the first half of the twentieth century to the

second (at least in part in response to the development and spread of newer indefinite expressions and determiners like *WH dan ook* and *een of ander*) (Hoeksema 2010).

The implications of this tendency toward a high degree of diachronic instability for comparative study must be set forth explicitly: to the extent that the picture derived from the typological study of the world's modern languages is representative of past states of human language, one may reasonably expect instances of inherited indefinite pronouns continuing in use in related languages separated by significant chronological gaps to be relatively few. Comparative study remains useful, of course, due to the fact that (closely-)related languages share more in common with one another structurally and lexically than do unrelated languages (Evans and Dench 2006; Rankin 2006).

Nevertheless, this tendency suggests that comparative data should be consulted with caution, as their relevance may be more attenuated for indefinite pronouns than for other grammatical features. They should not be unduly privileged in informing reconstruction or analysis, as it is perfectly plausible that each individual language will prove to be highly innovative with respect to its indefinite pronominal paradigms. This hypothesis will naturally require testing, and it is the purpose of the next chapter to provide just this sort of evaluation for Semitic. Before turning to the comparative picture, however, one further matter requires attention. Insofar as language-internal innovation is often motivated by the development of competing items within the grammar and lexicon (as in the case of *enig* just noted), a word on items comparable to or in competition with indefinite pronouns is in order.

2.6 *Varia*: Relations and Rivals

The descriptive analysis of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns undertaken in the present study faces an order taller than the mere enumeration and analysis of “clear” indefinite pronouns in the language. The task of description is not complete without a differentiation of such pronouns from closely-related items (which, due to their similarity, threaten to derail careful classification) and a comparison of pronouns with their primary competitors. The present section offers a brief linguistic backdrop on both counts.

2.6.1 Indefinite-like Items

In this section, I treat a group of items that often muddy the waters of language-specific description due to their formal similarity—even identity—to synchronic indefinite pronouns. Specifically, many languages exhibit *fillers* and *placeholders* derived through the lexicalization of indefinites (or of other items closely related to indefinites, such as interrogatives and demonstratives). Linguistic filler expressions are expressions employed by a speaker who is attempting to retrieve a momentarily unavailable word/expression in a discourse (such as English *um*, *uh* and Spanish *este*). Fox has noted that “because English and other western European languages tend to use fillers lacking morphology and syntax (preferring instead pause vowels), linguists have tended to ignore the significance of these forms for syntax” (2010: 2). Some fillers, however, belong to the more restrictive class of *placeholders*. Such items are not mere vocalized pauses but actually fill a morphosyntactic slot in the sentence, pending the retrieval of the intended element. English *whatchamacallit* provides an example (from Fox 2010: 2):

(157) I wanted to know if you found a **whatchamacallit**, a parking space.

In this example, we see the placeholder employed following the indefinite article—a classic nominal distribution frame—and subsequently “filled in” with the intended noun phrase (“a parking space”). In languages with a higher degree of nominal inflection it is not uncommon to see such placeholders inflected for case and number, as in the following example from Russian (from Podlesskaya 2010: 12):

- (158) *On kupi-l vsjacie et-i... pirožny-e*
he buy-PAST.SG.M various PH-ACC.PL cakes-ACC.PL
“He bought various PH [whatchamacallit]...cakes.”

The relevance of such placeholders to the present study will become clearer in the comparative Semitic survey and Ugaritic-specific analysis to follow, but the proof of concept can be readily illustrated through an English example like the following:

- (159) He was fooling around with a **whatever**—a knife—when he cut himself.

English freely allows the use of *WH-ever* pronouns as placeholders—a fact that tends to complicate the analysis of *WH-ever* expressions.

Comparable lexicalizations can even be employed *without* the speaker/writer going on to fill the lexical gap. For example, the *Oxford English Dictionary* includes an entry under *whatever* parsed as a *noun* that is “Substituted for a word, name, title, or category which is not known or cannot be recalled; chiefly used as a perfunctory designation of anything a speaker is reluctant or

unable to describe specifically.”⁴⁷ One particularly noteworthy example comes from the May 17, 1963, issue of the *Times* (London) and exhibits a form not only used in nominal distribution but inflected as a plural:

(160) “Astronomical quantities of flawlessly printed **whatevers** must come fast and fabulous from the press, colour rich and accurate, type crisp and sparkling.”

English *whatever* can in fact be used not only as a substitute for noun phrases, but even for an entire sentence/discourse constituent, as in this example, in which *whatever* serves as a member of a disjunction and corresponds to the VP of the preceding relative clause (*investigated the Senator*):

(161) You know that guy who investigated the Senator or **whatever**?

Placeholders like these have the potential to complicate attempts at analysis by smuggling in unexpected distributions (like those just illustrated). Such contexts must be recognized and distinguished if true indefinite pro-forms are to be correctly described.

A similar distributional phenomenon is evident in association with a set of pragmatic effects noted in passing above: the appreciative and depreciative/indiscriminative uses to which certain indefinites may be put. Consider the following examples:

⁴⁷ Additional discussion of lexicalized *whatever* and its contrasts with other *WH-ever* items in English can be found in Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 155 n. 8.

(162) English

He's **a nobody** who thinks he's **a somebody**.

(163) Greek (Giannakidou 2001: 692)

Dhen ine **enas opjosdhipote daskalos**.

not be.3sg a FCI teacher

“He is not just any teacher.”

(164) Catalan (Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 135)

El Barça no és **un equip de futbol qualsevol**.

the Barça not be.3sg a team of soccer any

“Barça is not just any soccer team.”

Note that in English, Greek, and Catalan, indefinite appreciatives/depreciatives are construed with the indefinite article (English *a*, Greek *enas*, Catalan *un*) (see Giannakidou and Quer 2013: 135), raising the possibility that these actually constitute full lexicalizations to be distinguished from the indefinites from which they are derived. This is not always or necessarily the case—Giannakidou and Cheng have in fact argued that the indefinite article present in examples like the Greek sentence just cited actually reveal an important piece of FCI syntax (see Giannakidou and Cheng 2006; Cheng and Giannakidou 2013). The possibility of such lexicalizations must nevertheless be born in mind in the process of linguistic description.

2.6.2 Common Alternatives/Competitors of Indefinites

Of equal importance are items that do not qualify as indefinite pronouns but that do share semantic territory in common with such pronouns. Items like this will exhibit distributions comparable to those of indefinites, and the criteria governing the decision to employ an indefinite rather than one of its competitors can only be hypothesized when such competitors are clearly in view.

Haspelmath summarizes the alternative strategies for expressing the functions he assigns to indefinite pronouns under four headings: (1) generic nouns; (2) existential sentences; (3) nonspecific free relative clauses; and (4) universal quantifiers (1997: 52-57). The first of these offers no surprises (consider the interchangeability of *someone* and *a person* in many English sentences). Examples of the second alternative strategy come from Tagalog, which employs an existential expression (lit. “There is (one) having come yesterday”) where English employs an indefinite (“Someone came yesterday”) (Haspelmath 1997: 54):

(165) Tagalog

May dumating kahapon.

exist come:AG yesterday

“Someone came yesterday.”

Haspelmath’s third alternative—free relative clauses—have already been discussed above and are in many cases better handled as definite FCIs and viewed together with other indefinites. The final strategy can be seen at work in the preference to employ a universal rather than a FCI in comparisons in Swedish (Haspelmath 1997: 56):

(166) Pojken kan springa fortare än alla i sin klass.

the:boy can run faster than all in his class

“The boy can run faster than anyone/everyone in his class.”

Languages that appear to employ a universal quantifier rather than an indefinite in such contexts must, however, be subjected to especially close scrutiny in view of the *diachronic* tendency for “universals” to originate as FCIs (discussed above and in Haspelmath 1995). A case of a synchronic universal in a FC context may turn out to be an original FCI, with the FC use constituting a relic rather than an innovation.

2.7 Conclusions

This chapter has presented a selection of the most important findings of typological and formal semantic research treating indefinite pronouns in order to provide the necessary preparation for the pursuit of an informed and precise description of Ugaritic indefinites. The scope of the present chapter has been human language (at least as we know it presently), the breadth of which provides the sort of survey required to distinguish local from universal phenomena. I hope to have illustrated that while indefinite pronouns vary significantly in the forms they take, the functions they serve, and the relationships they exhibit toward one another and other items within the lexicon and grammar, this variation is not infinite. The significant crosslinguistic trends and the specific formal semantic models offered above must now be brought into conversation with the data drawn from the specific languages under study here. The next chapter, which will also comprise the final chapter of the preparatory phase of the investigation, will provide an opportunity to begin this task, as our focus—broad up to this point—will be narrowed to a single language family.

Chapter 3

Indefinite Pronouns in Comparative Semitic Perspective

3.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I presented a typologically and semantically informed model of indefinite pronouns in human language. The purpose of the present chapter is far more narrowly defined. Here I offer a morphological survey of interrogative and interrogative-derived indefinite pronouns in the Semitic language family. Haspelmath's (1997: 1, 13-15) characterization of Western grammatical studies and their typical neglect of indefinite pronouns applies equally to studies of individual Semitic languages and of the larger language family that have appeared over the last three centuries.¹ While auspicious signs of greater attentiveness to these important pronouns have begun to appear over the last few years,² a full study of Semitic indefinite pronouns remains a major desideratum for the field. This chapter is not designed to fill this gap, which can only be addressed through rigorous, corpus-based study of each individual language. Simply collecting data regarding the semantics and syntax of these pronouns from the reference grammars and lexica will not suffice, precisely because most of these tools were produced at a time when the importance of indefinite pronouns was underappreciated and when models for their more precise description and analysis had not yet been developed to the extent that they have today.

¹ With a few important exceptions (Wright 1890; Zimmern 1898; Brockelmann 1908; 1913; Barth 1913; Goldenberg 2013), comparative treatments of Semitic indefinite pronouns have tended to be cursory (Brockelmann 1908: 152-53; Bergsträsser 1928: 9; Gray 1934: 67; Garbini 1960: 108; Moscati 1960: 110-111; 1964: 115; Lipiński 1997: 330-331; 2001: 338-339; Kienast 2001: 55, 451; Haelewyck 2006: 110-112, 167) or non-existent (Brockelmann 1906; Zetterstéen 1914; O'Leary 1923; Kramers 1949; Grande 1972; Garbini 1988).

² See, for example, Goldenberg 2013: 113-115, the detailed treatment of Old Assyrian interrogative and indefinite pronouns found in Kouwenberg 2017: 345-360, or the lexeme-specific Biblical Hebrew studies of Moshavi 2018 and 2019.

It is for this reason that the present chapter is designed to serve primarily as a morphological survey.³ I note syntactic and semantic features of interest at a number of points along the way, but the purpose here is to collect the inventories of personal and impersonal indefinite argument-pronouns that are based on WH-interrogative pronouns⁴ in each major branch of the Semitic language family. As this is a survey, exhaustive coverage is not the objective. The goal is rather to identify the principal morphological strategies for incorporating WH-morphology into indefinite pronouns evident in other Semitic languages. This will provide a helpful comparative backdrop for the treatment of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns comprising the focus of this study and will, in turn, facilitate the incorporation of the Ugaritic data into the comparative tableau.

I begin with an overview of the subclassification of the Semitic languages assumed in the present study. This is followed by a brief presentation and discussion of the WH-interrogative pronouns attested in the languages surveyed here (a necessary prerequisite to considering WH-interrogative indefinites). I then offer a survey of WH-indefinite pronouns in each language addressed, evaluating the morphological composition of each. I close with a discussion of the distribution and relative frequency of morphological strategies employed.

³ This survey, in other words, is largely (and admittedly) in keeping with the predominately morphological orientation of previous studies (Wright 1890: 125; Zimmern 1898: 77-80; Brockelmann 1908: 328-329; 1913: 81-86, 570-77; Barth 1913: 169-176; Bergsträsser 1928: 9; Moscati 1960: 110-111; 1964: 115; Garbini 1960: 108; Lipiński 1997: 330-331; 2001: 338-339; Kienast 2001: 55; Haelewyck 2006: 110-112; Goldenberg 2013: 113).

⁴ I restrict this presentation, furthermore, to indefinites based on true *pronouns*, i.e., excluding indefinites based on d-linked or otherwise adjectival interrogative bases like reflexes of *'ayy- (except in the case of Arabic, where *'ayy- is combined with the interrogative pronouns *man/mā*).

3.1 Subclassification of the Semitic Language Family and Its Methodological Implications

Different approaches to the subclassification of the Semitic languages have produced an abundant literature in recent years.⁵ In what follows, I depend on the historical-linguistic principles applied to the study of the Semitic languages by Hetzron,⁶ whose conclusions have been refined in a number of studies⁷ to yield the following basic⁸ classificatory schema (Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 263):

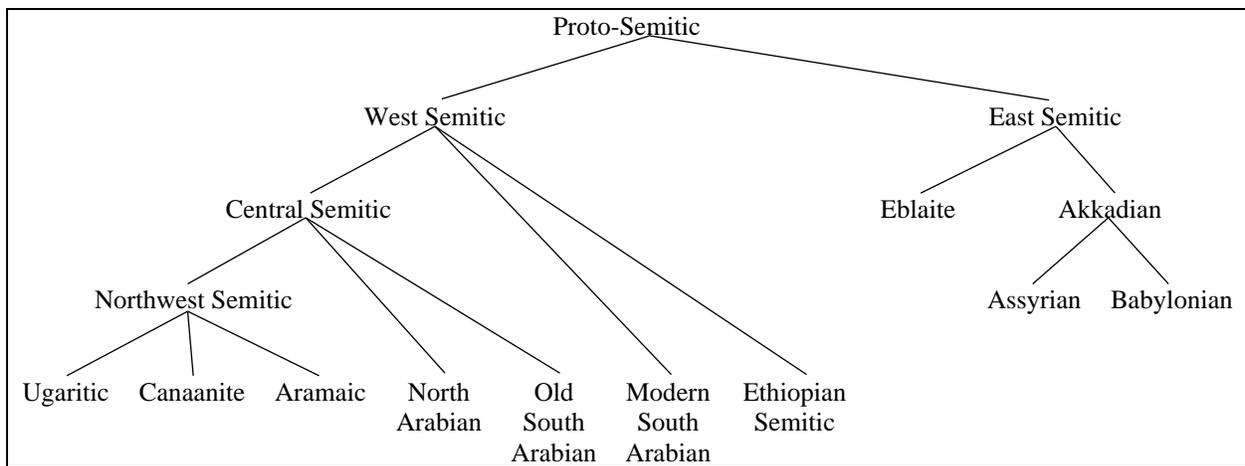


Fig. 3.1: Subclassification of the Semitic Languages

⁵ See most recently the surveys of Huehnergard and Rubin 2011 and Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019 and bibliography cited therein.

⁶ See Hetzron 1972, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977. Hetzron’s critique of earlier models was grounded in his methodological conviction that subclassification should be guided by the principles of “archaic heterogeneity” and “shared morpholexical innovation” (Hetzron 1976; similarly Faber 1997: 4; Huehnergard 2002: 124; Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 260-61). These principles are now regarded as foundational by many comparative Semitists, though alternative criteria—especially lexical criteria—continue to receive attention in some circles (e.g., Mazzini 2009: 506; Kogan 2015: 1-25 [who criticizes the “Rössler–Hetzron” model on empirical rather than theoretical grounds; that is, Kogan maintains that while this model should be employed wherever possible, it makes a poor tool for the subclassification of Semitic, where precisely the data needed are those in shortest supply (a point acknowledged by Faber 1997: 4)]; for a methodological critique of such approaches, see Huehnergard 2002: 124 n. 2; Hackett and Pat-El 2010; Pat-El 2017b; though note the fairly warm reception Kogan’s 2015 study is enjoying even among those working within the “Hetzron” camp [Pat-El 2017b; Butts 2018]).

⁷ E.g., Huehnergard 1987, 2005; Voigt 1987; Nebes 1994; Rubin 2008b; Porkhomovsky 1997.

⁸ A more detailed presentation of the language family is now available in Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 3, though I am not yet persuaded that an “Aramaeo-Canaanite” sub-branch of Northwest Semitic can be identified (for which, see Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2018). The classification of Sam’alian also remains disputed (see Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2019 for recent discussion with earlier bibliography). For the time being, I maintain the traditional tripartite division of Northwest Semitic indicated in Fig. 3.1, though I will treat Sam’alian and Old Aramaic separately below.

A number of morphological, phonological, and syntactic features have been proposed for distinguishing East and West Semitic (reviewed in Huehnergard 2006). The best known and most frequently cited of these include the innovative **qatala* perfective verbal form found in West Semitic (originally—and still in East Semitic—a conjugated noun or adjective).⁹ East Semitic innovations are more numerous (Huehnergard identifies fifteen [2006: 17]).

Within West Semitic, the clearest innovations distinguishing Central Semitic languages from the Modern South Arabian and Ethiopian Semitic languages¹⁰ can be found in their innovative use of the inherited **yaqtulu* as an imperfective verbal form, replacing in this function the Proto-Semitic imperfective form **yaqattal* (retained in both East Semitic as well as in the Modern South Arabian and Ethiopian Semitic sub-branches of West Semitic), the Central Semitic forms for the “tens” (derived by external plural inflection of the corresponding units), and the Barth-Ginsberg Law of regressive vowel dissimilation.¹¹

⁹ Hetzron 1976; Faber 1997: 8; Huehnergard 2006: 18; Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 261; Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 7. Huehnergard (2006: 18) notes several additional characteristics of West Semitic: the innovation of the **qatv̄l* adjectival base, the loss of the dative “case” (except in the so-called directive *-h*), internal passive prefix-conjugation forms (**yuqtal*), and two sound changes (**x > *h* across West Semitic; **s > *h* in some West Semitic languages, diffusing areally across most of the West Semitic language area). He also suggests that a realignment of prefix-conjugation preformative vowels can be reconstructed as a West Semitic feature (2006: 13, 18). This latter feature can only be asserted for West Semitic if it is assumed that the application of the Barth-Ginsberg rule of preformative vowel dissimilation (discussed as a Central Semitic innovation below) is reconstructed for West Semitic, with secondary leveling of the preformative vowels taking place outside of Central Semitic. Huehnergard does not suggest this, stating instead that the heterogeneous preformative vowels of East Semitic (inherited from Proto-Semitic) have simply been realigned differently in, e.g., Ethiopian and Central Semitic (2006: 18). But such a claim seems to entail heterogeneous preformative vowels in the earliest stages of West Semitic, so that East Semitic and proto-West Semitic would have been identical in this respect.

For Faber (1991; 1997: 8), West Semitic is further characterized by the prohibitive particle **'al(a)* (< **'ayy* + asseverative **la*). Her specific claims regarding the origins of *'al* have been criticized by Pat-El (2012: 18-19), though the latter acknowledges that the West Semitic negative *'al* may or may not be inherited from Common Semitic (the chief outstanding question lying in the relationship, or lack thereof, between West Semitic *'al* and Akkadia *ul[a]*) (2012: 21-22, 41).

¹⁰ For the division of Modern South Arabian and Ethiopian Semitic, see Porkhomovsky 1997; Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 262-63. Key innovations of each are also surveyed in Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 8-9.

¹¹ These and other possible innovations that would set Central Semitic apart are discussed in Huehnergard 2005 (surveyed more recently Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 9-10). In his 2005 study, Huehnergard identified the three innovations listed above as well as two others as fairly certain examples of shared innovations of Central Semitic. The two features not listed above include reflexes in Central Semitic of a proto-Central Semitic demonstrative **han-la-ḏv̄* (described as DEFINITE ARTICLE + ASSEVERATIVE **la-* + Common Semitic DEMONSTRATIVE/RELATIVE **ḏū* and

Central Semitic, in turn, can be subdivided into the three sub-branches of Old South Arabian, North Arabian, and Northwest Semitic. Several innovations distinguish the last of these from the first two.¹² One of these involves an innovative sound changes (*w > y / #_), while the

attested in Biblical Hebrew *hallāz(e)* and Arabic *allaḏī* as well as the use of the impersonal interrogative *mah- + DEMONSTRATIVE in certain interrogative constructions (2005: 186-89).

The first of these should be excluded for the time being in light of more recent developments in our understanding of the etymology of the definite article in Central Semitic. If Rubin (2005: 72-80) and Hasselbach (2007: 20-21) are correct in suggesting that the definite articles in Central Semitic are derived from two sources rather than one, with Canaanite, Aramaic, Ancient North Arabian (in some cases; see Al-Jallad 2015a: 16-17), and Old South Arabian exhibiting reflexes of *han-, while Arabic exhibits a reflex of *ʿl-, the latter being the plural base of the West Semitic demonstrative, then attempts to provide a unified etymology of Biblical Hebrew *hallāz(e)* and Arabic *allaḏī* as both deriving from DEFINITE ARTICLE + ASSEVERATIVE *la- + Common Semitic DEMONSTRATIVE/RELATIVE *ḏū (Huehnergard 2005: 186) run aground. The two pronouns in question must constitute reflexes of two different demonstrative chains: *han-la-ḏv̄ (Biblical Hebrew) and *ʿal-la-ḏv̄ (Arabic). Of course, if we surrender Huehnergard’s formulation, according to which the first element of these pronouns is the “definite article,” simply suggesting a deictic particle *han- for both, then the two may yet be related, though only by assuming two ad hoc sound changes: (1) *h > ʿ (not particularly problematic [see Rubin 2005: 75; Tropper 2003]) and (2) *n > C₁ / _C₁, a sound change *not* attested elsewhere in Classical Arabic. (Note, however, that Al-Jallad has recently suggested that the Arabic article may be interpreted as a reflex of *han by an assumption of irregular assimilation of *n* to following coronals and dissimilation to *l* elsewhere, a process he believes may similarly account for the distal demonstratives *ḏālika* and *tilka*, reflexes of *ḏā-n-ka [cf. Aramaic *znk*] and *t-n-ka, respectively [Al-Jallad 2020: 61-62]). This innovation has been reformulated in Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 10, where the authors identify “the use of a presentative particle as an incipient definite article” as a shared Central Semitic innovation.

For similar reasons, the second of Huehnergard’s additional Central Semitic innovations noted above must be excluded, this time due to changes in his own views on the matter. Specifically, the analysis offered in his 2005 study of constructions like Biblical Hebrew *ma-zzō(ʿ)t ʿāsīʿtā*, “What have you done?!?” and Arabic *mā-ḏā taṣnaʿu* “What are you making?” assigned a demonstrative value to Biblical Hebrew *ze^h/zō(ʿ)t* and Arabic *ḏā*, on which basis such constructions were distinguished from constructions transparently consisting of an interrogative followed by a *relative* in other Semitic languages (e.g., Akkadian [Old Babylonian] *mannum ša uqniam ana šimim inaddin-šu* “Who (is it) that will sell lapis?”; Gǝʿəz *mānta-ni za-wal<a>dku* “What (is it) that I have borne?” [examples from Huehnergard 2005: 188]). Such examples can be augmented for completeness’s sake with similar personal examples from Mehri (Modern South Arabian) discussed by Rubin (2008a: 77): *mōn ḏ-yəḥōm yəwtāgəh* “Who wants to kill him?” But the functional similarity shared among these examples as well as, from an etymological perspective, their formal identity (Biblical Hebrew *ze^h/zō(ʿ)t* and Arabic *ḏā* both being reflexes of the Proto-Semitic determinative/relative *ḏū, which has vestigial reflexes in Biblical Hebrew and remains a productive feature of Arabic) led Huehnergard, together with Pat-El (2007: 338), to reconsider the analysis of such examples, now classifying them as cases of an interrogative followed by a reflex of the determinative/relative pronoun and identifying the resulting constructions as a cleft construction that should be reconstructed for Proto-Semitic. This unified analysis of the construction in question naturally removes it from consideration in discussions of innovations unique to Central Semitic.

Note further that Huehnergard and Rubin (2011: 270-71) identify only the innovations associated with the verbal system (especially the innovative use of *yaqulu as an imperfective form) and the Barth-Ginsberg Law as shared innovations of Central Semitic. Appeals to “geminat” verbal morphology have similarly enjoyed a shifting fate, noted as a Central Semitic innovation (Huehnergard 2002: 133), later rejected (Huehnergard 2005: 171-176, 192), and more recently reintroduced (Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 10).

¹² Innovations and further subclassification of Old South Arabian and North Arabian are discussed in Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 10-11.

second is morphological in nature (*a*-insertion + secondary external marking of plurals for **qVtl* nouns [e.g., **malku* ~ **malakīma*]).¹³

Researchers have long recognized that a genetic tree of the sort just described does not tell the whole story, and a number of apparently innovative features shared in common among Arabic, Old South Arabian, Modern South Arabian, and Ethiopian Semitic (such as the sound change **p* > *f*, heavy use of internal [“broken”] plurals, and regular use of the L-stem¹⁴) highlight the importance of augmenting any such representation with a healthy awareness of the constant reality of areal diffusion and related contact-induced phenomena, as well as of the fact that what appear initially to constitute shared innovations may in fact result from independent, parallel developments (see Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 263-74, with literature cited there).¹⁵

These latter possibilities merit consideration in the present study in particular. Indeed, the extent to which a comparative analysis of Semitic indefinite pronouns requires an accurate organization of the branches and sub-branches of Semitic is a bit unclear in light of the crosslinguistic observations offered above. The diachronic instability of indefinite pronouns suggested by Haspelmath (1997: 16) and the fact that many unrelated languages appear to develop indefinite pronouns along strikingly similar morphological lines lead me to suspect that even where indefinite pronouns exhibit similar forms and functions in the various languages

¹³ See Huehnergard 1991, 1992; Faber 1997: 9; Hasselbach and Huehnergard 2007; Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 11-13. For further subclassification and the innovations distinguishing Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Canaanite, see Faber 1997; Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2016; and Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019: 11-13, though, as noted above (see n. 8), I refrain from adopting the recently proposed union of Aramaic and Canaanite under a single “Aramaeo-Canaanite” node.

¹⁴ All of which have been cited as grounds for grouping Old South Arabian, Modern South Arabian, Ethiopian Semitic, and, for some, Arabic under the heading of “South Semitic” (see the discussion in Faber 1997: 12-13; Huehnergard 2002: 129 [responding to Ratcliffe 1998]; Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 263-274).

¹⁵ This awareness gives rise to an important methodological principle: “if one or more of the languages of a proposed subgroup exhibits vestiges of an earlier state of a given feature that has otherwise been replaced, that feature should not be considered to constitute evidence of genetic subgrouping” (Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 268).

surveyed below, they may very well constitute parallel, convergent developments rather than shared retentions. Of course, this possibility must always be considered in comparative discussions, but its probability may be slightly greater than average in this case. To the extent that this is true, the Semitic data assume a typological rather than a comparative role in the argumentation to be developed in the course of this investigation. To put it differently, the more diachronically unstable indefinite pronouns are, the less likely it will be that genetic proximity can play an active role in analysis, and forms and functions of indefinites in genetically proximate languages (like Hebrew or Arabic) may be no more or less relevant than those attested in genetically removed languages (like Akkadian or Gə'əz).

Nevertheless, the preparatory value of subclassification for comparative morphosyntactic and/or semantic analyses of the sort undertaken in this chapter has to be underscored,¹⁶ as the classificatory model outlined above is attended by important methodological consequences. While questions of the finer subclassification of Northwest Semitic or Akkadian may remain unanswered (and quite possibly irrelevant for this study), the fact that the Semitic languages can be analyzed in terms of a binary East–West divide carries significant implications related to the constituency of each of these two branches. Specifically, while West Semitic is represented by a host of individual languages, East Semitic is known from only two, of which one (Eblaite) is very poorly understood. This situation necessitates the devotion of especially careful attention to the Akkadian situation. Huehnergard summarizes this point aptly (2006: 3):

Akkadian (or Akkadian and Eblaite) must, in a real sense, be given weight equal to the rest of the languages, because the latter only constitute a single branch: a feature present

¹⁶ I am thus in agreement with Huehnergard's assessment of the importance of such subclassification as an indispensable component of responsible comparative philological work (2002: 130).

in Akkadian but absent everywhere else may simply have been lost once, in Proto-West Semitic; a feature absent in Akkadian but present everywhere else may be a once-only innovation of Proto-West Semitic. It is in this light that we must evaluate discrepancies between East and West.¹⁷

This basis for weighting the Akkadian data heavily is accompanied by a second, which is more specific to the nature of the present study. I note below the important place occupied by Western Peripheral Akkadian in the study of the West Semitic languages spoken at sites where Western Peripheral Akkadian was used (a point to which I return in the following chapters). Depending on one's understanding of the relationship of the two, Western Peripheral Akkadian data may shed light on the substrate language in highly informative ways. But identifying substrate influence presupposes a clear sense of how Western Peripheral Akkadian differs from the contemporary (or ancestral) "standard" dialects spoken in Mesopotamia.

For both of these reasons, I include several representatives of the Akkadian branch of East Semitic. Northwest Semitic—as the sub-branch to which Ugaritic belongs—is likewise more heavily represented in the language sample, while other sub-branches are more modestly represented or, in the case of Modern South Arabian, not represented at all. The language sample employed here includes the following:

¹⁷ See also his similarly directed remarks made a few years earlier in the context of a discussion of the broader field of comparative Semitic linguistics (2002: 132).

Table 3.1: Language Sample

Branch	Sub-branch	Representatives
East Semitic	Eblaite	(1) Eblaite
East Semitic	Akkadian	(2) Sargonic Akkadian (3) Old Babylonian (4) Old Assyrian (5) Ras Shamra Akkadian
West Semitic	Ethiopian Semitic	(6) Gə'əz
Central Semitic	Old South Arabian	(7) Sabaic
Central Semitic	North Arabian	(8) Classical Arabic
Central Semitic	Northwest Semitic	(9) Old Aramaic (Aramaic) (10) Sam'alian (Aramaic?) (11) "Amarna Canaanite" (Canaanite) (12) Biblical Hebrew (Canaanite) (13) Phoenician–Punic (Canaanite)

3.2 Interrogative Argument-Pronouns (“Who?” and “What?”) in Semitic

A frequently cited observation regarding the morpho-semantic opposition of the interrogative pronouns in Semitic appears in Brockelmann's opening remarks on the topic (1908: 326 [sec. 110]):

Während die semit. Sprachen sonst beim Nomen und Pron. nur zwei ideelle Rangklassen, Genera, unterscheiden, ist bei den substantivischen Fragewörtern ein Gegensatz zwischen Person und Sache ausgebildet; doch fällt diese Unterscheidung erst in die Periode des einzelsprachlichen Lebens, daher dieselben Elemente in den verschiedenen Sprachen z. T. in entgegengesetzter Bedeutung auftreten.

From a typological perspective, the presence of an animacy-based opposition of interrogative pronominal forms occasions no surprise (Bhat 2004: 153-55), though this is only part of the picture, both in typological terms and in terms of the Semitic situation. It would be more

appropriate to recognize that the interrogative pronouns in Semitic, as in many languages, distinguish classes of entities based on *multiple* generic concepts, in this case, PERSON, THING, LOCATION, TIME, MANNER (resulting in the pronouns translated as “who?”, “what?”, “where?”, “when?”, and “how?” [the interrogative “why?” is derived secondarily in most Semitic languages, using a prepositional phrase meaning “for what?”]). The fact, however, that the animate and inanimate (or, better, personal and impersonal) interrogatives in Semitic exhibit a closer morphological relationship to one another than to other members of the class and both tend to manifest a higher degree of diachronic stability than other interrogatives has resulted in the tendency to consider them together, a tendency that is followed here as well.

The remarks of Brockelmann (1908) and Barth (1913) are representative of early comparative discussions of these pronouns. Brockelmann assumes a basic impersonal interrogative form **mā*, which has undergone various phonological and morphological modifications to yield the various attested interrogatives with *a*-vocalisms. He treats **mī* as a “Nebenform” of **mā*, citing the attestation of demonstratives with bases **dā* and **dī* as an analogous pronominal opposition (1908: 326). Though he observes that reflexes of **mī* can have both personal and impersonal uses in the individual languages (1908: 327), he does not offer any additional explanation for this situation beyond that quoted above, namely, that the distinction was confused or reassigned in the individual languages. One final point requiring emphasis lies in Brockelmann’s presentation of interrogatives as fundamentally defined along morpho-syntactic lines as “Substantivische Fragepronomina” and “Adjektivische Fragepronomina,” the former comprising the forms just discussed and the latter consisting of the reflexes of **’ayyu*.

Barth begins his discussion with precisely the same syntactic distinction (1913: 137), moving on quickly to catalogue attested forms. He relates the argument-pronouns to two basic

personal interrogative bases, **mī* and **man*, and two basic impersonal interrogative bases, **mā* and **mī* (1913: 137-43). Again, no attempt is made to account for the opposite uses to which reflexes of **mī* are put in the individual languages.

More recent treatments have tended simply to list the forms attested in the various languages with even less in the way of historical reconstruction (Kienast 2001: 55; Goldenberg 2013: 100-101).

Moscatti (1964: 114) offers something closer to an historical account, suggesting that personal interrogatives all derive from **man*, while impersonal interrogatives derive from **mā*. While the author refers to the interrogative *my*, “peculiar to a large part of North-West Semitic” as “secondary from a comparative point of view,” no attempt is made to account for similarly vocalized interrogatives in Akkadian (*mīnum* “what?”) or Ethiopian Semitic (Gə‘əz *ment* < **mi-nt* “what?”; *mi* < **mī* “what?”).

Lipiński suggests an interrogative element *m-*, which was extended by different morphemes in the individual branches of Semitic (2001: 336):

The pronoun referring to animate subjects is characterized by two different morphemes: *-an* in East Semitic, Amorite, Aramaic, Arabic, and South Semitic; *-iy(a)* in Palaeosyrian, Ugaritic, and in the “Canaanite” languages. The pronoun referring to inanimate subjects is likewise marked by two distinct morphemes: *-in* in East Semitic and Ethiopic; *-ah(a)* > *-ā* in the other Semitic languages. Tuareg *ma* and *mi* correspond to the situation in North Semitic and in “Canaanite” languages.

This approach may initially seem to have the advantage of recognizing a bipartite morphological structure to these interrogatives, in keeping with well documented typological tendencies (Bhat 2004: 153-57), but Lipiński’s decision not to explain how the suffixes identified relate historically to the classes of entity with which they are associated and his failure to discuss in any detail the distribution of such forms in historically meaningful terms renders this discussion less valuable.

Idiatov (2007: 215) proposes a system in Proto-Semitic in which **mān* functioned as an exclusively personal interrogative (“who?”), while a second set of pronouns, *mi* and *ma*, could be used for “who? what?” and “what?” respectively. The latter, he suggests, could be more clearly marked for animacy by the addition of further deictic elements (“deictic reinforcement”), yielding the language-specific forms *mi-ya* (“who?”) or *mi-na* (“what?”). His presentation situates Semitic in its Afro-Asiatic context more intentionally, but the details of the reconstruction remain too speculative to assess directly.

In the list below, I present the forms of the interrogatives preferred for “who?” and “what?” in a slightly larger sample of Semitic languages.¹⁸ The sources for the information gathered are indicated in the footnotes provided in the list.

<i>East Semitic</i>	Semitic Interrogative Pronouns	
	“Who?”	“What?”
Eblaite ¹⁹	ma-na (/manna(m)/)	mi-na (/mīna(m)/)
Sargonic Akkadian ²⁰	(man, manum) ²¹	(mi-num [mīnum/]) ²²
Old Babylonian ²³	mannum	mīnum
Old Assyrian ²⁴	mannum	mīnum

¹⁸ Comparable presentations can be found in Lipiński 2001: 337; Idiatov 2007: 212-213; Goldenberg 2013: 100-101.

¹⁹ Catagnoli 2012: 88.

²⁰ Hasselbach 2005: 164-165.

²¹ Only attested in personal names. See Hasselbach 2005: 164-165.

²² Only attested with the meaning “why?”; see Hasselbach 2005: 164-165.

²³ Von Soden 1995: 60.

²⁴ Kouwenberg 2017: 345-347, 348-350.

Ras Shamra Akkadian ²⁵	mannu	mīnu(/minû ²⁶)
West Semitic, MSA	“Who?”	“What?”
Mehri ²⁷	mōn ²⁸	hēsən ²⁹
Jibbali ³⁰	mun	’iné
West Semitic, Ethiopian	“Who?”	“What?”
Gə‘əz ³¹	mannú ³²	mənt, ³³ mi
Amharic ³⁴	ma(n) ³⁵	mən, məndər, məndən ³⁶
West Semitic, Central	“Who?”	“What?”
Arabic ³⁷	man	mā, mah ³⁸

²⁵ Huehnergard 1989: 136; van Soldt 1991: 407-408.

²⁶ This is van Soldt’s (1991: 407) preferred normalization, reflecting the tendency to incorporate *plene*-spellings of this interrogative (e.g., *mi-nu-ú*, *mi-na-a*).

²⁷ Simeone-Senelle 2011: 1084; Rubin 2008a; 2010: 225-28, 231-32.

²⁸ The personal interrogative *mōn* “presents no problems” from an etymological perspective (Rubin 2008a: 76) and has been identified as a cognate to the various reflexes of **man(n)* attested in West Semitic and East Semitic at least since Brockelmann’s discussion (1908: 326 [sec. 110c]; Rubin 2008a: 76).

²⁹ For fuller discussion of the form and function of this interrogative, see most recently Rubin 2008a: 78-80; 2010: 226-228; 2014: 70 n. 18. This pronoun derives from *hē* (< *’ayy-) + *šī* (“thing”), and thus corresponds formally to Arabic *’ayyu šay’in* (“what thing?” > “what?”; “anything”) and likely constitutes a Mehri calque on or borrowing of the same (Rubin 2008a: 79-80, with earlier bibliography).

³⁰ Simeone-Senelle 2011: 1084; Rubin 2014: 293.

³¹ See Dillmann and Bezold 1907 (trans. of 1899): 118-19 (sec. 63); Tropper 2002a: 48; Leslau 2006: 323, 348, 352; Weninger 2011: 1130; Tropper and Hasselbach-Andee 2021: 59-60; cf. Lambdin 1978: 36.

³² The personal interrogative *mannu* can be explained as consisting of **man(n)*- + INTERROGATIVE ENCLITIC *-nu* (Leslau 2006: 348).

³³ The Gə‘əz interrogative *mənt* must derive from a form with the vowel /i/, and older attempts to derive it from **ma* (Dillmann and Bezold 1907 [trans. of 1899]: 118-119 [sec. 63]; cf. Eitan 1928: 255) must be rejected on phonological grounds. Proto-Semitic **a* is retained in all environments in Gə‘əz (cf. the 2ms independent personal pronoun *’ánta* < **’anta*), whereas **i*, **u* > *ə* in all environments, so that *mənt* must reflect earlier **mint-* or **munt-*. Only the former possibility can lay claim to plausibility, and the attestation of an alternative impersonal interrogative *mi* (< **mī*) only strengthens that claim (see Brockelmann 1908: 327; Leslau 2006: 352).

³⁴ See Leslau 1995: 68-78; 2000: 22-24; Meyer 2011: 1189.

³⁵ Demeke (2017: 202) claims that *mann* is also attested as an impersonal interrogative in Old and Modern Amharic (citing Guidi 1889: 55, unavailable to me). This is likely simply a reference to the fact that the *personal* interrogative *man* can be used in parametric questions regarding inanimate/impersonal referents in two instances in Amharic. The first of these involves asking for a name, e.g., *səməh man nāw* (lit. “who is your name?”) (Leslau 1995: 70). This occasions little surprise and is attested in a number of other Semitic languages. A bit more peculiar is the use of personal *man* to ask for the day of the week, e.g., *qānu man nāw* “what day is it?” (lit. “who day is it?”). Leslau has suggested that this usage may have arisen through asking for the name of the saint associated with a given day/holiday (1995: 70).

³⁶ The second and third of these consist of an inherited Semitic interrogative base *mən* augmented by *-dər/dən*, a loaned Agaw (Central Cushitic) morpheme (Tubiana 1963:15-17; Appleyard 1977: 58 n. 24).

³⁷ Wright 1896-1898: I:274-276; Fischer 1997: 201-202.

³⁸ The form *mah* is typically described as a pausal form (Wright 1896-1898: I:274; Brockelmann 1908: 326; Fischer 1997: 201).

Sabaic ³⁹	(mn) ⁴⁰	(mh, mhn) ⁴¹
West Semitic, Northwest	“Who?”	“What?”
Ugaritic ⁴²	my (/mīya/), mn (/mīna/)	mh (/mah/), mn (/manna/)
Sam’alian ⁴³	(mn) ⁴⁴	(mh, mz [< *mh z]) ⁴⁵
Old Aramaic ⁴⁶	(mn) ⁴⁷	mh ⁴⁸
Syriac ⁴⁹	man	mɔ(’), mɔn, mɔnɔ(’)
“Amarna Canaanite” ⁵⁰	ma-an-nu (/mannu/)	mi-na (* /mīnu/ ⁵¹)
	mi-nu (/mīnu/)	ma-an-nu (/mannu/)
	mi-ia (/mīya/)	
Biblical Hebrew ⁵²	mīy	mā ^h , ma ^h =CC (< *mah) ⁵³ ; mān ⁵⁴
Phoenician ⁵⁵	my (/mīyā/ < *mīya)	m (/mû/ < mō < *mâ/mah)

This survey of the data permits the following observations. First, East Semitic shows an invariable contrast of *mīn-* (“what?”) and *mann-* (“who?”). The former of these is also represented in the Ethiopian Semitic sub-branch of West Semitic, while the latter appears in all branches of West Semitic except Ugaritic⁵⁶ and Canaanite. Second, a personal interrogative **mīya* can be

³⁹ Stein 2003: 151.

⁴⁰ Attested primarily/only as an indefinite relative. See next note.

⁴¹ Stein (2013: 75) states simply that these two words “werden zumeist als Indefinitpronomen gebraucht” and cites no examples of interrogative use. Kogan (2015: 178 n. 496) describes them more definitively as “not attested as direct interrogatives, but only with the meanings ‘what’ (relative), ‘whatever,’ and ‘nothing.’” He may be correct in his initial negative assertion, but his following restrictive assertion may obscure one significant datum. The example drawn from J 720 = M. Bayhān 2/12-14 (presented as example (310) in Stein 2003: 151) exhibits a case of indefinite *mn*, but it is also conceivable that *mh-n* in the same sentence is employed as an indirect interrogative (“no one knows *k-mh-n h’ hgr-hw* what its prevention is”; see Stein 2003: 151 n. 136).

⁴² This presentation anticipates the conclusions drawn at the end of ch. 4.

⁴³ Tropper 1993: 193.

⁴⁴ Only attested as an indefinite relative (see Tropper 1993: 193).

⁴⁵ Only attested as indefinite relatives (see Tropper 1993: 193).

⁴⁶ Tropper 1993: 193; Degen 1969: 60.

⁴⁷ Only attested as an indefinite relative (see Tropper 1993: 193; Degen 1969: 60).

⁴⁸ Attested primarily as an indefinite relative, but as an interrogative in Sefire I B 26 (see Degen 1969: 60).

⁴⁹ Nöldeke 1904: 47.

⁵⁰ Rainey 1996: I:103-113. Note that the forms listed here include true Canaanite forms, correct Akkadian forms, and misused Akkadian forms.

⁵¹ Rainey (1996: I:109) states, “Whether by chance or by conscious practice on the part of the scribes, the standard declinable impersonal interrogative pronoun is not attested in the nominative case.” The transliterated form given here is the accusative.

⁵² Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 105-107.

⁵³ An original **mah* can be reconstructed on the basis of the gemination of non-guttural consonants following this interrogative (see Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 106).

⁵⁴ Only as a frozen interrogative in the etymology for the term *mān*, “mannah” (Exod 16:15).

⁵⁵ Friedrich, Röllig, and Amadasi Guzzo 1999: 72.

⁵⁶ Ugaritic *mn* is no exception, as I will argue in ch. 4.

reconstructed for Northwest Semitic, as it appears in Ugaritic and Canaanite. Third, an impersonal interrogative **mā/mah-* appears in all branches of Central Semitic. The contribution of Ugaritic and Sabaic for understanding the latter is significant, as they raise the possibility that Arabic *mah* may not simply represent a pausal phenomenon.⁵⁷ The origin of the final *-h* and the presence or absence of a following vowel (**mah* or **mahV?*) remain open questions, to which I return in ch. 4 (sec. 4.7.2). With this survey in place, I turn to the WH-morphological indefinite pronouns found in the sample of Semitic languages selected for study.

3.3 WH-morphological Indefinite Pronouns in Semitic

3.3.1 East Semitic

While the difficulties associated with interpreting Eblaite data must be acknowledged,⁵⁸ I have adopted the model according to which Eblaite and (proto-)Akkadian are recognized as distinct branches of the East Semitic node.⁵⁹

3.3.1.1 Eblaite

Catagnoti has underscored the fact that the indefinite pronominal paradigms can be established with some confidence—unusual for Eblaite—due to the healthy representation of these paradigms in the textual record at our disposal: “Nei testi di cancelleria il pronome indefinito è ben attestato” (2012: 89). The attested personal and impersonal indefinite forms are derived from the corresponding personal and impersonal interrogatives (described above) and are characterized by the regular addition of an enclitic morpheme *=ma*, which, according to

⁵⁷ See Faber 1991: 412; Huehnergard 2005: 189; and Kogan 2015: 178 n. 497.

⁵⁸ Succinctly surveyed in Streck 2011b: 350-352.

⁵⁹ Argumentation for this position is provided by Huehnergard 2006. Others, however, continue to support alternative classifications (e.g., Streck 2011b, for whom Eblaite is a branch of Babylonian).

Catagnoti, “ha in eblaita varie funzioni,” among which figures “quella di sottolineare una singola parola” (2012: 106). These pronouns are declined for case and are attested in the following forms (the normalizations are Catagnoti’s) (2012: 89):

Personal

nom. *ma-nu-ma* /mannumma/

acc. *ma-na-ma* /mannamma/

Impersonal

nom. *mi-nu-ma* (*me-nu-ma*) /mīnumma/

gen. *mi-ne-ma* (*me-ne-ma*) /mīnimma/

acc. *me-na-ma* /mīnamma/

Of the three versions of the bilingual lexical list attested at Ebla,⁶⁰ source D includes an entry (LL 84) in which the indefinite appears as *me-na-ma-ma* (glossing Sumerian *níg-nam*) (Civil 1984: 285; Catagnoti 2012: 90). While the form in question could provide evidence for the repetition of the enclitic morpheme (Civil 1984: 285, citing Akkadian *mimmama* as a comparandum), others view this as an orthographic means of rendering the gemination of the final consonant explicit, thus representing /mīnamma/ (Fronzaroli 1982: 101; Catagnoti 2012: 90). Deciding the matter must be left to the specialists, but as Catagnoti makes this suggestion on the strength of an appeal to Fronzaroli, and as Fronzaroli himself makes it due to the attestation of the impersonal accusative form as *me-na-^ˀma^ˀ* in one damaged context, one is led to believe

⁶⁰ For an overview, see Archi 2006: 108-109.

that it is only the conviction that Eblaite is unlikely to exhibit both /mīnamma/ and /mīnammama/ as allomorphs that has resulted in the exclusion of /mīnammama/ from consideration. If the Akkadian situation sketched below is to instruct us, this assumption cannot be maintained, and until more decisive arguments against a straightforward interpretation of the orthography in the lexical list are put forward, Civil's interpretation should be accepted.

3.3.1.2 Akkadian

The subclassification of Akkadian has been the topic of a number of studies⁶¹ and in large measure lies beyond the scope of empirical diachronic research—the earliest stages of the language remain too poorly attested to allow us to establish with certainty the relationship between the various dialects that begin to surface in the late third and early second millennia BCE. The key question pertains to the relationship obtaining among the dialects attested in the various pre-Sargonic corpora,⁶² Sargonic Akkadian, Ur-III Akkadian,⁶³ (Old) Babylonian, and Assyrian (as well as the various *periods* of Assyrian, which may not relate to one another in terms of linear descent [Huehnergard 2006: 12 n. 57]). The present study will proceed along the lines suggested persuasively by Hasselbach (2005: 234-235), which result in an approximate subclassification that can be schematized as **Fig. 3.2**.

⁶¹ See Hilgert 2002; Sommerfeld 2003; Fronzaroli 2005; Hasselbach 2005: 234-235; Huehnergard 2006: 4-5; Kouwenberg 2011: 330-332; 2017: 10-13; Streck 2011b: 359.

⁶² Early Dynastic (ED) IIIa (Fara-Period) attestations are restricted to personal names from Abu-Salabikh, Adab, Fara, and Kish (Hasselbach 2005: 7). The textual basis deepens in the ED IIIb, with kudurrus from Dilbat, Nippur, and Kish (Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting 1989; for Kish, see further Grégoire 1996, 2000), personal names from Fara, economic texts from Mari (Charpin 1987; Gelb and Kienast 1990), and economic, legal, and school texts from Tell Beydar (Ismael et al. 1996).

⁶³ For which see Kraus 1976 and Hilgert 2002.

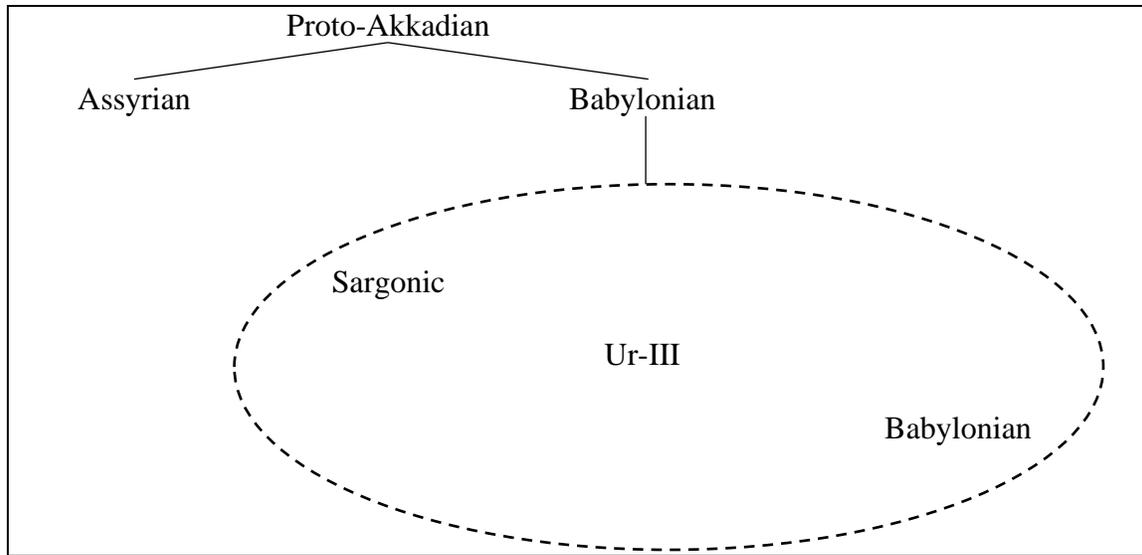


Fig. 3.2: Approximate subclassification of Akkadian, following Hasselbach 2005.

The facts that (1) the subclassification of Akkadian proves so difficult and (2) that those who have made the attempt have tended to recognize a closer relationship between Sargonic Akkadian and Babylonian than between the former of these and Assyrian⁶⁴ both point to the importance of considering, minimally, the data from Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, and Sargonic Akkadian. I also include Ras Shamra Akkadian as an example of (North-)Western Peripheral Akkadian (and, more obviously, as the corpus of most direct relevance for understanding the West Semitic language spoken in the city located at what is today the site of Ras Shamra, Ugaritic).

3.3.1.2.1 Sargonic and Pre-Sargonic Akkadian

The boundaries of the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic corpora have been variously assessed in the literature, but this presentation will follow the delineation suggested by Hasselbach (2005), whose study treats some Pre-Sargonic (ED IIIb) material while focusing on the Sargonic

⁶⁴ See e.g., Hasselbach 2005: 234-235; Streck 2011b: 359; Kouwenberg 2017: 10-13.

material, most of which comes from the Diyala, Aššur, Southern Babylonia and Susa and dates to the reigns of Narām-Suen and Šar-kali-šarrī (with some going back to Sargon, Rimuš, and Maništušu) (2005: 10-11). The material in question includes royal inscriptions (107 originals, 21 of which are pre-Sargonic, all published in Gelb and Kienast 1990), incantations (few in number [see Hasselbach 2005: 14-15 for the bibliography]), letters (numbering 66, published in Kienast and Volk 1995), and about 4700 administrative and legal texts (Hasselbach 2005: 17).

Hasselbach's study is based on a corpus of 13 seals, 19 date formulas, 62 original royal inscriptions, 10 literary texts and school exercises, 66 letters, and 548 economic texts (a total of 718 texts) (see Hasselbach 2005: 251-262), and her results form the foundation for this presentation.

The Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Akkadian inventory of indefinite pronominal items includes the following forms:

Personal

ma-ma-na = traditionally /mammanā/⁶⁵ (to be excluded from consideration below)

ma-[na-ma] = traditionally /manāma/⁶⁶

ma-núm = /mannum/⁶⁷ (to be excluded from consideration below)

⁶⁵ Gelb 1952: 183; 1957: 178; 1961: 137; Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 240; Hasselbach 2005: 165.

⁶⁶ Gelb 1952: 183; 1957: 178; 1961: 137; Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 240; Hasselbach 2005: 165.

⁶⁷ Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 240.

Impersonal

mim-ma = /mimma/⁶⁸

mim-ma-su = /mimmasu/⁶⁹ (to be excluded from consideration below)

mi-sum₆ = /missum/⁷⁰

The forms given above are given first in terms of their epigraphic representation, with the normalization following. This is an especially important measure in the case of Sargonic Akkadian, as consonantal gemination is not typically indicated in the orthography (Hasselbach 2005: 228).⁷¹

The personal indefinite pronoun *ma-ma-na* is only attested in Old Babylonian copies of Sargonic texts—it does not appear in any original Sargonic texts, where the single attested personal indefinite is a badly damaged instance of *manāma* (*ma-[na-ma]*; cited below) (Hasselbach 2005: 165). The indefinite pronoun *mannum*, given by Kienast and Sommerfeld (1994: 240) is identical to the corresponding personal interrogative but occurs in only one uncertain context in an Old Babylonian collection from Nippur.⁷² For methodological reasons outlined by Hasselbach (2005: 11-13, with earlier bibliography), forms deriving from later copies will be excluded (though the two forms thus removed from consideration for the moment will be readmitted to the discussion below, as both are in incontrovertible use in later periods).

⁶⁸ Gelb 1952: 183; 1957: 179; 1961: 137; Kienast and Volk 1995: 271; Hasselbach 2005: 165, 277.

⁶⁹ Gelb 1952: 183; 1961: 137; Hasselbach 2005: 165, 277.

⁷⁰ Kienast and Volk 1995: 271; Hasselbach 2005: 165, 277.

⁷¹ Though we do find sporadic indications of consonantal length. Note, for example, the 3ms D preterite of *kalāmu* (Old Babylonian *ukallim*), which is spelled both *u-gal-lim* (Sks 1:2 Nip) and *ú-ga-lim* (BIN 8 144:26 UeJ) (see Hasselbach 2005: 212).

⁷² The authors cite the text as *Nar C 21, which derives from HS 1954+, a “Tontafel mit Inschriftensammlung” from Nippur (1994: 343).

The remaining form, *ma[-na-ma]*, can be understood morphologically in a number of ways and has been presented with a variety of normalizations. We find the form given as /*manāma*/ (*AHw*, p. 602; *CAD M/1*, p. 207; Hasselbach 2005: 165), /*mannāma*/ (Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 240), and /*manama*/ (Gelb 1952: 183; 1957: 178; 1961: 137), and this variety reflects a similar diversity of opinion regarding the morphological composition of the form. The principal explanations of the pronoun put forward in the past are three: (1) the form consists of an interrogative base *man*, followed by a connecting vowel of indeterminate function *ā*, followed by the enclitic =*ma* (*AHw*, p. 602); (2) the form is made up of interrogative *man* followed by two enclitic particles, =*na* and =*ma*, thereby constituting a form derived quite similarly to the later *mammanā* for those who understand this latter form to reflect an original **man=ma=na* (von Soden 1995: 61; cf. Hasselbach 2005: 165); or (3) the form is simply the interrogative augmented by the enclitic =*ma*, as in Eblaite,⁷³ and should therefore be normalized as /*man(n)amma*/⁷⁴ (Gelb 1952: 183; 1957: 178; 1961: 137).

The first explanation is offered only in von Soden's dictionary and is not maintained in his grammar, so I will set it aside for the moment. The second explanation requires either an *ad hoc* simplification of what should be a geminated /n/ or a widespread tendency not to represent the gemination explicitly in the orthography (with rare spellings indicating this gemination thereby constituting precious glimpses of the actual phonological situation [see von Soden 1995: 61 and cf. *CAD M/1*, p. 207]). In the case of the Sargonic datum under discussion at the moment, all three suggestions are plausible interpretations of the orthography (though as the element =*na*

⁷³ Note that Hasselbach (2005: 165 n. 50) cites the Eblaite comparanda in connection with the Old Akkadian form.

⁷⁴ The presentation as /*man(n)ama*/ rather than /*mannama*/ is intended to reflect the varying positions taken on the antiquity of the gemination within the interrogative itself. In later periods, the personal interrogative is uniformly *mannu(m)*, but in earlier periods, in which gemination is not explicitly represented in the orthography, specialists fluctuate in the representation of the interrogative (compare Kienast and Sommerfeld [1994: 240] *mannum* and Hasselbach [2005: 164] *man/manum*).

is difficult to explain, at least in synchronic terms,⁷⁵ appeal must be made to deictic particles of greater antiquity in the Semitic language family [on which see Hasselbach 2007: 15] and can in many cases not be identified with any otherwise productive enclitic/suffixal element in the language⁷⁶). Because the data that allow for the formulation of firmer conclusions do not appear until the Old Babylonia period, I note the options here and save the more detailed discussion for the next section. To anticipate the arguments that will be made there, however, I think that *ma-na-ma* can be very plausibly normalized as either /mannāma/ or /mannamma/ and understood as either a case involving clitic-stacking (**man=na=ma*) or as a non-inflecting counterpart to Eblaite /mannumma, mannamma/⁷⁷ with a slight preference for the latter approach.

The impersonal form *mim-ma* can with a high degree of certainty, be identified as an interrogative base **mīn-* augmented with the enclitic =*ma* (so Hasselbach 2005: 165), and the orthographic representation of gemination in this case makes this explanation virtually necessary.⁷⁸ As no case vowel is present, inflection for gender, case, and number can be excluded.

Unexpected are the second and third attested forms. The second form, *mim-ma-su*, is perhaps better excluded from grammatical paradigms, as it has been plausibly identified as a simple token of the form *mim-ma* with the 3ms suffix (Gelb 1952: 183; 1961: 137; Hasselbach

⁷⁵ There is no productive enclitic =*na*; the nunation of the dual, as in other dialects/periods of Akkadian, lacks a final vowel (Hasselbach 2005: 180); the deictic particle *-na-* appearing in the morphological composition of a number of deictic pronouns and adverbs across Semitic has become entirely obscured at the synchronic level in the Sargonic Akkadian demonstrative *hannūm* (< **han-na-i-um*); and the ‘energetic’ morpheme **-VnnV/-nVn/m* (for which see Hasselbach 2006) has already assumed the shape *-nim* in Sargonic Akkadian (Hasselbach 2005: 203).

⁷⁶ See the examples cited in Hasselbach 2007: 15. Note, for example, the Aramaic demonstrative *dnā* (**ḏinā*), which maintains the final vowel, thus leaving this *-nā* without morphological parallel elsewhere in the language.

⁷⁷ In view of the fact that the accusative case (*-a*) could be used as a citation form already in Proto-Semitic (Hasselbach 2013: 326), it may not be surprising to find a frozen accusative interrogative *mannam* serving as a non-inflecting base for an indefinite pronoun.

⁷⁸ Provided, naturally, that we read MUNUS as /mim/ (see Labat 1988 [6th ed.]: 229 [no. 554]; Borger 2010: 450 [no. 883]; Hasselbach 2005: 33) rather than as /mí/ (Kienast and Volk 1995: 90).

2005: 165), with both elements retaining their independent force, as one can appreciate from the sole attestation of the form (OAIC 8: 14 Di = Gelb 1955, no. 8, ll. 14-15).⁷⁹

The third form is more difficult to assess. Some studies list *mi-sum*₆ (/missum/)⁸⁰ as an indefinite pronoun meaning “whatever,”⁸¹ the sole cited attestation of this form stands in a context that has been described as “obscure” (CAD M/2, p. 130, *miššum*), and the operative lexeme has been glossed not only as an indefinite⁸² but as an interrogative, “why?”⁸³

The difficulty lies in the fact that this pronominal form (and its allomorph without final /m/, represented in the Sargonic Akkadian corpus as *me-su*₄ [Hasselbach 2005: 165]) ordinarily means “why?”—a value much more easily derived from its apparent morphological composition than “whatever.” Yet its use together with a subjunctive verbal form /’ašuru/ in the text concerned (Di 3:4-5 = Gelb 1955, no. 53) is difficult to account for if the leading pronoun is interpreted as an interrogative.⁸⁴

3.3.1.2.2 Old Babylonian

The “Classical Old Babylonian” corpus dates ca. 1800–1500 BCE and consists of approximately 45,000 texts.⁸⁵ Its geographical spread renders its description especially difficult: the corpus includes texts from Babylonia, Mari and the broader Middle Euphrates, the Diyala region, and Elam.⁸⁶ One cannot expect such a broad “corpus” to exhibit homogeneity, but the production of a textured presentation of indefinite pronominal forms, sensitive to geographical and diachronic

⁷⁹ See also Gelb 1957: 157, 159.

⁸⁰ Probably to be derived from **min* + terminative-adverbial *=*is* + locative *=*um*. See von Soden 1995: 111 and Hasselbach 2005: 180-181.

⁸¹ Kienast and Volk 1995: 271; Hasselbach 2005: 165.

⁸² Kienast and Volk 1995: 271.

⁸³ Michalowski 1993: 40.

⁸⁴ For the forms and uses of the subjunctive in Sargonic Akkadian, see Hasselbach 2005: 204-209.

⁸⁵ Streck 2010: 44-47; 2011a: 360-361.

⁸⁶ Streck 2011a: 360.

factors, is beyond the scope of this survey. What is offered here is a necessarily flattened overview, drawing on the principal reference tools. The forms traditionally identified as personal and impersonal indefinite pronouns in Old Babylonian include the following⁸⁷:

Personal

1. *ma-an-ma-an* = /manman/
2. *ma-ma-an*, *ma-am-ma-an* = /mamman/
3. *ma-am-ma* = /mamma/
4. *ma-am-ma-am* = /mammam/
5. *ma-na-ma*, *ma-an-na-ma* = traditionally /man(n)āma/; preferred /mannamma/ (or /mannāma/; see discussion below)
6. *ma-ma-na* = traditionally /mammāna/; preferred /mammanna/ (see discussion below)
7. *ma-ma-na-an* = traditionally /mammānan/; preferred /mammannan/ (see discussion below)

Impersonal

1. *mi-im-ma* = /mimma/
2. *mi-im-ma-an* = /mimman/
3. *mi-mu-u* = /mimmû/
4. *mi-im-ma-ma/i* (CAD M/2, p. 79) = /mimmāma/

The editors of the CAD (M/2, p. 197) also identify the form *mummu* as a “[v]ariant of *mamma* or *mimma*,” glossing it “someone, something.” Bare interrogatives (*mannum* and *mīnum*) are not

⁸⁷ For the spellings listed here, see the respective entries in the CAD.

typically used to head free relative clauses in Old Babylonian, a usage that becomes more prominent in Middle Babylonian (Old Assyrian bears witness to a similar usage).⁸⁸ A further feature requiring mention is found in the use of certain deictic forms as *placeholders* (see the linguistic discussion in ch. 2 above). Specifically, we find the pronoun *annanna* (fem. *annannītu*) used for “so-and-so” beginning in the Old Babylonian period.

The first point that should become clear from this presentation of Old Babylonian WH-morphological indefinites is the deficiency of traditional presentations of these indefinite pronouns in comparative surveys as consisting of *mamman*, *mamma*, and *mimma* (see, e.g., Lipiński 2001: 338; Goldenberg 2013: 113). The attested forms considerably exceed these three and complicate their morphological analysis.

The first three personal indefinite pronominal forms listed above can be normalized as *manman*, *mamman*, and *mamma*, respectively. The first two are allomorphs ($\pm *n > C_1 / _C_1$) of a reduplicated interrogative base: **man=man*.⁸⁹ The third represents either the augmentation of that same interrogative base with enclitic *=ma* (**man=ma*)⁹⁰ or, less likely, the same reduplicated base **man=man* with *ad hoc* apocope of the final /n/.⁹¹

The situation becomes more complicated with the remaining four forms. Of these, the fifth (*ma-na-ma*) and sixth (*ma-ma-na*) are the best attested and most frequently discussed forms. As noted already in the discussion of Sargonic Akkadian forms above, traditional explanations have presented these two as *man(n)āma* ($< *man=na=ma$)⁹² and *mammāna* ($< *man=ma=na$),⁹³

⁸⁸ Though see Cohen’s (2012: 9 n. 11) translation of Old Babylonian Anzu A:9-10 (*mannum anzam līnerma*, “Should anyone kill Anzu . . .?”); contrast Foster (1996: 460), “who will slay Anzu?”

⁸⁹ Von Soden 1931: 201-202.

⁹⁰ This is the explanation one finds in *GAG* 48b (p. 61). It constitutes a departure from von Soden’s earlier proposal (see next note).

⁹¹ So von Soden 1931: 202.

⁹² Von Soden 1931: 202; *GAG* 47c (p. 61); cf. Hasselbach 2005: 165.

⁹³ Von Soden 1931: 202; *GAG* 47c (p. 61).

both deriving from the interrogative base augmented by two enclitic morphemes in varying order.

The normalizations proposed reflect both phonological and orthographic exigencies, but they are not neutral and should be subjected to closer scrutiny. For the first of these pronouns, the indication of a long *a*-vowel /ā/ results from two intersecting considerations. The first of these is potentially nothing more than an artifact of alternative normalizations: because the most frequent orthography of *man(n)āma* is *ma-na-ma*, the tendency has been to assume a non-geminated /n/ (the form is accordingly listed under *manāma* in the *CAD*). The fact that the second *a*-vowel has not undergone Babylonian vowel syncope (we expect **manama* > *manma* > *mamma*) therefore requires the proposal of a long vowel, whence *manāma*. But if the /n/ was geminated, as von Soden's etymological suggestion would suggest and as occasional spellings like *ma-an-na-ma*⁹⁴ would require, then no such length would be necessary (unless as a secondary [and therefore etymologically irrelevant] stress-related phenomenon), as *mannama* would constitute a perfectly acceptable Babylonian form. The second consideration derives from later orthographies. Specifically, we encounter Standard Babylonian *plene* writings like *ma-na-a-ma* from a foundation stele inscription of Sennacherib from Aššur (Luckenbill 1924: 136 l. 19; *CAD* M/1, p. 207). Such spellings must, however, be viewed together with alternative Standard Babylonian spellings like *ma-nam-ma* occurring in comparable and contemporary contexts like Sennacherib's annals as recorded on the Oriental Institute Prism Inscription (A2793 = Luckenbill 1924: 109, col. vi l. 92; *CAD* M/1, p. 207). If these spellings do indeed bear witness to later allomorphs *mannāma* and *mannamma*, then—provided that /n/ was originally geminated—the fact that there was never any reason for *mannāma* to arise may lead us to reconstruct

⁹⁴ For which see *GAG* 48c (p. 61); *CAD* M/1, p. 207.

mannamma, with *mannāma* constituting the result of a quantitative metathesis ($\check{v}CC > \bar{v}C$).⁹⁵

Nothing precludes the possibility that /mannamma/ stands behind the Sargonic Akkadian and Old Babylonian orthographies, as in neither period is consonantal length obligatorily represented orthographically. This leads us to recognize two etymological possibilities. Either (1) the form in question represents /mannāma/⁹⁶ < **man=na=ma*; or (2) it represents /mannamma/ < **mannam=ma* (cf. Eblaite *mannumma*, *mannamma*). I provisionally prefer the second of these in view of the clear Eblaite (and as I show below, Ras Shamra Akkadian) parallels available, though we cannot exclude the first option.

In the case of the second of these common forms, *ma-ma-na*, there is of course no phonological reason to normalize *mammāna* rather than *mamma* (and one will, in fact, find the form normalized in the latter manner in the *CAD*). Nor can appeal be made to orthographic considerations in favor of the former reading, for where we encounter *plene* writings in other dialects it is, curiously enough, the *final* vowel that is lengthened (see the Middle Babylonian spelling *ma-am-ma-na-a* recorded in the *CAD* M/1, p. 200, to which an Old Assyrian example can also be added [*ma-ma-na-a* in Michel and Garelli 1997: 159:12, cf. Kouwenberg 2017: 348]).⁹⁷ But regardless of the normalization preferred, accounting for the final syllable remains

⁹⁵ See *GAG* 20d (p. 24); Kouwenberg 2017: 53. For comparable cases in Ras Shamra Akkadian and the challenges associated with interpreting such allographic presentations, see Huehnergard 1989: 48-50.

⁹⁶ I give the form with long /ā/ as a secondary, stress-related feature.

⁹⁷ These spellings may reflect a tendency better attested for interrogative pronouns to lengthen the final vowels—at least orthographically—due to suprasegmental features (see *GAG* 47b [p. 60]; Kouwenberg 2017: 90). A similar explanation likely accounts for the *plene* spelling of *mimma* when used in an interrogative sentence like that appearing in the Old Babylonian letter TIM 2 129:36 (*mi-ma-a*; see *CAD* M/2, p. 74), though instances in non-interrogative sentences, like the form *šu-um-šu-ú* in BIN 7 38:28 (see *CAD* Š/3, p. 294) may point to prosodic features not necessarily strictly associated with questions. They may, on the other hand, simply constitute instances of dialectal variation with respect to vocalic length (see *GAG* 15d [p. 19]).

quite difficult, though not impossible, without making appeal to an otherwise unattested (or minimally preserved⁹⁸) enclitic morpheme =*na*.

Four possible morphological explanations require consideration: (1) **man=ma=na*, the traditional explanation of the form; (2) **man=man=na*; (3) a secondarily “inflected” accusative citation form of *mamman*, thus **man=man-a*; or (4) an analogical extension of *mamman* (< **man=man*) under the influence of *mannam(m)a* and/or *mimma* (cf. the possibility that the preposition *ina*, originally **in*, gained its final vowel under the influence of the semantically proximate preposition *ana* [Hasselbach 2005: 168]).

The first of these, preferred tentatively by von Soden (1931: 202; *GAG* 48c [p. 61]), mainly has the associated explanatory economy—certainly not any synchronic, diachronic, or typological linguistic evidence—to commend it.

I raise the second possibility in part to signal the fact that the vagaries of syllabic cuneiform disallow the exclusion of a normalization *mammanna* (noted as a possibility by Kouwenberg 2017: 348) and in part because such a derivation would eliminate this tenuous case of clitic stacking,⁹⁹ though we would still be required to posit the existence of enclitic =*na*. The forms spelled *ma-am-ma-an-ni* in two separate instances in one Old Babylonian letter (Fish Letter 4:29, 43; see *CAD* M/1, p. 212; *H*, p. 12), alongside the much later and much more indirect evidence provided by an extended form spelled *mam-ma-an-na-ma* (*CAD* M/1, p. 201, citing a form from the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic) leads me to suspect that the /n/ of these forms was in fact geminated.

⁹⁸ This qualification is necessary due to the possibility, however uncertain, that the deictic element **n(a)* is related to the phenomenon of nunation (for which see Hasselbach 2007: 21 n. 97), which is preserved in the dual in Akkadian.

⁹⁹ Because clitic ordering tends to follow strict principles both typologically (Zwicky 1985: 288; Gerlach 2002: 7; Spencer and Luís 2012: 314) and in Akkadian in particular (note the obligatory ordering of dative and accusative enclitic morphemes [*GAG* 84h (p. 137)]), the coexistence of **man=na=ma* and **man=ma=na* is unexpected. If the former of these is evaluated along the alternative lines considered above, the tension is eased somewhat.

The third possibility strikes me as unlikely but must be considered in light of later alternative forms *mammanu* and *mammani* (see *CAD* M/1, p. 200). In view of the regular use of the form with final /a/, regardless of case, in the earliest attestations (already in Old Babylonian copies of Sargonic texts; see discussion above) I think it more likely that the forms *mammanu* and *mammani* constitute either secondary analogical forms or scribal hypercorrections based on *mamma* after the restructuring and eventual dissolution of the Akkadian case system following the loss of mimation¹⁰⁰ was well underway (the only cited example in the *CAD* entry comes from a Standard Babylonian text of Nabopolassar). Even more important is the fact that an “accusative citation form” should appear with final *-am* not *-a* in Old Babylonian and comparably early textual material.

The fourth possibility has not been suggested in past studies, and I raise it mainly in order to dismiss it. The older or dialectal form *ma-na-ma* was well known in Old Babylonian scribal circles—even though *mamman* was by far the preferred Old Babylonian form (von Soden 1931: 203)—and was employed when copying Sargonic Akkadian literary texts (though the form spelled *ma-ma-na* was also used in such copies [Hasselbach 2005: 165 with n. 50]), and when producing archaizing compositions.¹⁰¹ In such a situation—one in which the preferred form *mamman* and the “learned” form *ma-na-ma* are both in use—one could easily conceive of an analogical extension of *mamman* on the basis of the older form. This solution has not been suggested in the past, and for good reason. The principal situation that stands against such an explanation and which finally compels us to accept either (1) or (2) above is the breadth of attestation that the form spelled *ma-ma-na* enjoys. If it were restricted to Old Babylonian scribal

¹⁰⁰ For which see Hasselbach 2013: 18-20.

¹⁰¹ Von Soden (1931: 203) cites an “archaisierende Hammurabi-Inschrift UM VII 133,48” to which we may add the example from a clay-nail inscription from the reign of the same king held at the Oriental Institute (A 24645), published by Gelb 1948 (see, p. 269 B ii 21).

circles at Nippur, an explanation like that proposed as (4) would be more attractive, but this is simply not the case: the form is attested in Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian, Middle Babylonian, and Standard Babylonian (*CAD* M/1, p. 200, s.v.); von Soden claims that it appears in Ur-III Babylonian as well (1931: 202). Within Old Babylonian, it seems to have enjoyed wide use, as von Soden (1931: 202) could refer to it as a feature of the “Ḫana-Dialekt.” This breadth likely requires us to reconstruct the form behind the spelling *ma-ma-na* back to proto-Akkadian (especially if attestations in Old Babylonian copies of Sargonic Akkadian literary texts accurately reflect their *Vorlagen*).

Drawing these considerations together, I believe that (1) and (2) above constitute the only viable morphological accounts for the form spelled *ma-ma-na*, and, in light of the admittedly rare (and not entirely direct) orthographic evidence for the gemination of the final /n/, I suggest the normalization /mammanna/, reflecting **man=man=na*. This has the added benefit of removing the putative case of alternate orderings of =*na* and =*ma* and thereby leaving both interpretive possibilities open for the morphological composition of *ma-na-ma* (viz., **man=na=ma* or **mannam=ma*; the latter of these was tentatively preferred above).

The two remaining forms—the fourth (*ma-am-ma-am*) and seventh (*ma-ma-na-an*) in the list above—likely constitute analogically developed by-forms of forms already discussed. The pronoun *mammam* can be understood as the form *mamma* to which mimation has been added by analogy to the interrogative *mannum*. The pronoun spelled *ma-ma-na-an* is attested in a single Old Babylonian text (not attested in other periods), YOS 10 17 (ll. 49, 50, 51). The editors of the *CAD* observe that the parallels in RA 44 33 (= MAH 15874 = Nougayrol 1950: 33-34) ll. 2, 5, 8 exhibit the expected form *mammam*, so the possibility of a local idiosyncrasy has to be considered. If the form is not simply an error (and its treble repetition makes one leery of

blaming the scribe), then perhaps it arose through a learned analogy such as the following:

mamma : *mamman* :: *mammanna* : *X > X = mammannan*.¹⁰²

Turning to the impersonal indefinite pronouns, we find a simpler scenario. The forms are repeated here for ease of reference:

Impersonal

1. *mi-im-ma* = /mimma/
2. *mi-im-ma-an* = /mimman/
3. *mi-mu-u* = /mimmû/
4. *mi-im-ma-ma/i* (CAD M/2, p. 79) = /mimmāma/

The first of these forms was attested already in Sargonic Akkadian and has been discussed above as the reflex of **min=ma*. The second is likely the result of analogy: *mamma* : *mimma* :: *mamman* : *X > X = mimman*.

The long vowel of the third is etymologically unexpected, as is the inflectional status of the resulting pronoun. It is perhaps surprising to find an inflecting impersonal indefinite when a corresponding personal indefinite does not exist, but it seems to reflect the possibility of deriving a generic placeholder noun from the indefinite pronoun proper.¹⁰³ In Akkadian, we can suggest

¹⁰² Even though indefinite pronouns are occasionally augmented by other derivational morphemes (as in the Syriac grammatical neologism *medm̄yō*('), "indefinite" [< *medem* + what was historically a gentilic -*yō*('), though this adjective-deriving morpheme is put to wider use in Syriac (Nöldeke 1904 sec. 135)]; see Sokoloff 2009: 715), an explanation by appeal to *mamman* + *-ān* is not likely to persuade, as the latter derivational morpheme ought to be followed by case inflection. The proposal would therefore be required to assume that the derivational affix was added but that, in keeping with broader patterns of usage, the resulting form was used only in the zero-marked absolute "case."

¹⁰³ Compare the non-pronominal uses to which English *whatever* can be put. In fact, the 1993 draft additions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* include an entry under *whatever* parsed as a *noun* that is "Substituted for a word, name, title, or category which is not known or cannot be recalled; chiefly used as a perfunctory designation of anything a speaker is reluctant or unable to describe specifically." One particularly noteworthy example comes from the May

**min=ma* > *mimma* + case vowel > *mimmā* 'u/i/a¹⁰⁴ > *mimmû/ê/â*.¹⁰⁵ The likelihood of this development is enhanced by the Old Assyrian data discussed below under *mimmā* 'um.

The fourth form was once cited by von Soden (1931: 208; *GAG* 48f [p. 62]) as *mimmāmu*, but this citation form gives the impression of another fully declined form. In fact, the attested forms end in final *a* or *i* (never *u*). In the forms cited in the *CAD* (M/2, p. 79-80) we find a typically invariable *mimmama* with what appears to be a correctly inflected genitive form appearing in only one cited example (RA 22 170: 14 [= Thureau-Dangin 1925: 170, 172]). These forms appear, therefore, to consist of *mimma* + the (re-)addition of the (still productive) enclitic =*ma*, the application of which would be comparable to the phenomenon of renewal common in grammaticalization cycles¹⁰⁶ (**min=ma* > *mimma* > *mimma=ma*). The form *mimmami* would then constitute a secondarily inflected form of the same, generated along lines comparable to those involved in the case of *mimmû* discussed immediately above.

3.3.1.2.3 Old Assyrian

In comparison with the Old Babylonian corpus, which exhibits substantial geographical, generic, and chronological diversity, the diachronic and generic homogeneity of the Old Assyrian corpus is striking. The majority of this sizeable corpus—approximately 22,300 texts¹⁰⁷—comes from a two-hundred-and-ten-year window (1930–1720 BCE) at a single site (Kaneš), with particularly heavy activity associated with the even narrower window of 1890–1860 BCE (Kouwenberg

17, 1963, issue of the *Times* (London) and exhibits a form not only used in nominal distribution but inflected as a plural: “Astronomical quantities of flawlessly printed **whatevers** must come fast and fabulous from the press, colour rich and accurate, type crisp and sparkling.”

¹⁰⁴ The /' / is not etymological, serving rather as a glide/Vokalträger for the following case vowel.

¹⁰⁵ For the forms see *GAG* 48f (p. 62). The secondarily lengthened /ā/ in the preceding form is reconstructed simply to account for the genitive form *mimmê*, as ***mimma* 'i > ***mimmî*.

¹⁰⁶ See Hopper and Traugott 2003: 122-24.

¹⁰⁷ Streck 2011a: 368; Kouwenberg 2017: 2.

2017: 1). While the period of Old Assyrian textual production extends outside of these parameters both chronologically (ca. 1970–1720) and geographically (with texts coming from Boghazköy, Alişar Höyük, Kayalıpınar, Assur, Gasur [Nuzi], Tell Leilan, and Tell Arbid), the restriction of the bulk of textual production to a narrow chronological window in association with trading activity at a single site constitutes a significant aid to grammatical description (Kouwenberg 2017: 2-4). The fact that most of this documentation consists of prose texts associated with mercantile activity—letters and juridical texts as well as contracts and other varieties of private records (Kouwenberg 2017: 7-9)—only increases its value and interest from a linguistic standpoint. While the majority of the texts (approximately 17,000) remain unpublished, Kouwenberg has recently published a comprehensive reference grammar of Old Assyrian based on the texts available to him for study (2017: 2 with n. 7).¹⁰⁸ The presentation of indefinite items appearing in this grammar (2017: 345-360) is so thorough and detailed that it will form the foundation for the presentation appearing here. Attested indefinite pronouns and determiners belonging to personal and impersonal ontological categories include the following:

Personal

ma-ma-an = /mamman/

ma-ma-na(-a) = /mammannā/

ma-ma-na-ma = /mammannāma/

¹⁰⁸ Published texts number approximately 4,500 (see Kouwenberg 2017: 2); his list of unpublished texts from Kaneš quoted in the grammar (2017: lii) includes, by my count, 227 texts.

Impersonal

mì-ma = /mimma/

mì-ma-ma = /mimmāma/

mimmā'um (spellings vary)

mì-ma-ša-ma = /mimmāšāma/

There appear to be no attested cases of the interrogatives *mannum* acting as a free relative (Kouwenberg 2017: 346),¹⁰⁹ though Kouwenberg (2017: 350) suggests that the interrogative *mīnum* can display indefinite semantics when co-occurring with *mannum*. If he is correct, the three examples he cites constitute not multiple-WH questions (e.g., “who will say what to you?”) but questions involving an indefinite argument (“who will say something to you?”).

The personal indefinite spelled *ma-ma-an*, like its Old Babylonian counterpart, derives from a reduplicated interrogative base (**man=man*) and does not inflect (Kouwenberg 2017: 347). The morphological composition of *mammanna/ā* (**man=man=na*) has also been addressed already in the discussion of Old Babylonian above, and the form *mammannāma* (**man=man=na=ma*) is in all likelihood to be understood—like *mimmāma* in Old Babylonian—as a case of an indefinite pronoun to which the enclitic particle =*ma* has been reapplied (thus **mammanna/ā + ma*).

The impersonal indefinite *mimma* (**min=ma*) and *mimmāma* (**min=ma=ma*) have already been discussed above, as has the derived noun *mimmā'um* (cognate to Old Babylonian *mimmû*). The latter of these can still be used as a true indefinite, as well as a term referring to one's property (see Kouwenberg 2017: 353). In fact, the Old Assyrian spellings were noted

¹⁰⁹ There is one possible exception appearing in OIP 27, 13:16' if the reading of Dercksen (2001: 44 n. 27) is accepted over that of the editor (Gelb 1935: 33) (Kouwenberg 2017: 346 n. 2).

above as a point in favor of seeing forms of *mimmû-* in Old Babylonian as deriving (like *mimmā`um*) from the simple indefinite pronoun *mimma* to which case endings and mimation have been added secondarily with a non-etymological glottal stop inserted between the two components. For a similar suggestion, see Kouwenberg (2017: 353).

One of the most striking morphological innovations observable in Old Assyrian appears in the rare forms spelled *mì-mì-šu-um-ma*,¹¹⁰ *mì-ma-šu-ma*, and the more common *mì-ma-ša-ma* (see Kouwenberg 2017: 353). Given the alternation between forms with *-šu-* and forms with *-ša-*, Kouwenberg’s analysis of these as forms of the derived noun *mimmā`um* + 3m/fs pronominal suffix + enclitic =*ma* is probable.¹¹¹ While the spelling *mì-mì-šu-um-ma*, suggesting gemination of the final /m/ could problematize this view, it should be recalled that the addition of enclitic =*ma* produces a penultimate stress that can trigger either vocalic or consonantal lengthening in the affected syllable (for the Old Assyrian situation, see the circumspect position of Kouwenberg 2017: 53 [sec. 3.2.3.4]). For this reason, we can imagine *mimmVšu=ma* > *mimmVšúma* > *mimmVšúmma*. We can also cite the Sargonic Akkadian form *mim-ma-su*, discussed above, as a potential comparandum. Presumably, a form of *mimmā`um* (“anything”) with pronominal suffix (“any of it”) has undergone semantic loss (“bleaching”) and can now function as a simple indefinite pronoun meaning “anything.”

¹¹⁰ The spelling with *mì-mì-* is unexpected. Note, however, that there are cases of unexpected spellings of *mimma* as well (*mì-mì* and *mì-im*), both of which Kouwenberg regards as errors (2017: 351: n. 7). Perhaps the form *mì-mì-šu-um-ma* should similarly be taken as a representative of *mimmašum(m)a*.

¹¹¹ The use of both *-šam* and *-šum* on certain adverbs in Old Assyrian offers an enticingly similar case, but I can conceive of no means to relate the two phenomena. For these adverbial morphemes, see Kouwenberg (2017: 393).

3.3.1.2.4 Ras Shamra Akkadian

Huehnergard (1989: 136-140) identifies the following repertoire of WH-morphological indefinite pronouns employed in documents produced at Ugarit and written in the Akkadian language:

Personal

mamman (cf. discussion of Old Babylonian *mamman* above)

mamma (cf. discussion of Old Babylonian *mamma* above)

mannumma (cf. discussion of Old Babylonian *mannamma/mannāma* above)

mannummê

Impersonal

mimma (cf. discussion of Old Babylonian *mimma* above)

mimmam (cf. discussion of Old Babylonian *mimmāma* and/or(?) *mammam*)

mimmamma (cf. discussion of Old Babylonian *mimmāma* above)

minummê

The morphology of most of these pronominal forms can be recognized as reflecting Old Babylonian forms already discussed above. This may apply even to examples like *mimmam* and *mimmamma*, both of which are remarked by Huehnergard (1989: 139) as highly unusual forms (the former is identified as a hapax).¹¹² The latter form can be explained either by appeal to Old Babylonian *mimman* to which *-ma* has been added (**mimman=ma* > *mimmamma*) or by appeal

¹¹² The editors of the *CAD*, following Nougayrol's edition (1955: 66), identify *two* examples of *mimmam* in RS 16.252 (ll. 6, 9). Huehnergard (1989: 139 with nn. 74, 79) suggests that the second of these two instances, read by the editor as [mi-i]m-ma-am, should instead be read [ú'-ba'-qar'].

to Old Babylonian *mimmāma*, with *mimmamma* involving the exchange (either phonetic or simply orthographic) of the sequence *-ām-* for *-amm*.¹¹³ The form *mimmam*, on the other hand, represents an “absolute” form of the same (perhaps formed by analogy to other indefinites lacking a final vowel, like *mamman*) or a simple error (given its status as a hapax).

The only forms completely lacking Old Babylonian parallels are the forms ending with the morpheme *-mê*, characterizing Akkadian indefinite pronouns in much of the “Western Periphery.” Various interpretations of this particle have been offered in previous studies (conveniently summarized by Izre’el 1991: 337). Although the particle *-mê* appears in distributions highly comparable to those of *-ma*, grammarians treating “peripheral” corpora in the past have recognized distinctions between the two (see, e.g., Adler 1976: 82-86; Izre’el 1991: 333-337) that suggest a situation other than that of simple allomorphy.¹¹⁴ For the texts from Ras Shamra, Huehnergard (1989: 208) observes that “the northern WPA enclitic particle *-mê* is relatively rare,” employed predominately in forming indefinite pronouns.

Unlike Adler (1976: 85), Izre’el (1991: 337) believes that the geographic and chronological distribution of this particle suggested the possibility of a Hurrian origin pursued just such an account in his treatment of the Akkadian of Amurru. He suggests that *-mê* serves primarily to introduce clausal complements (what he describes as a “nominalizing” function) and notes the availability of a Hurrian morpheme *me* believed at the time to play a similar role:

Indeed, Hurrian has a morpheme *-me-*, which has a nominalizing (or rather substantivizing) force. Goetze has shown similarity in usages between Hurrian *iye-me-nin*

¹¹³ See Huehnergard (1989: 49-50) for the challenges of accounting for cases involving $\check{v}CC$ where we expect $\bar{v}C$.

¹¹⁴ Kühne (1973: 6 n. 34) understood *-ma* and *-mê* to be phonetic allomorphs, a position van Soldt (1991: 409, 412) seems to share.

and PA *mīnummē*. It is rather surprising that no one has hitherto seen that the PA particle *-mē* is essentially the same as the Hurrian morpheme *-me-*. Similarity in usages and in form would indeed result in the replacement of a genuine Akkadian particle *-ma* by a Hurrian one.

Huehnergard (1989: 208 n. 458) considered this account more plausible than von Soden's (*AHW*, p. 639) assumption that this particle represented a Northwest Semitic (specifically, Ugaritic) loan into Western Peripheral Akkadian. Yet the Hurrian morpheme in question can no longer be understood as a "nominalizing" morpheme, as it is now recognized as an enclitic third-person singular pronoun (Wegner 2007: 78, 116; Campbell 2015: 286, 295).

Kouwenberg's (2017: 349) recent treatment of the Old Assyrian form *a-mī-ni-me* as the interrogative *am(m)īnem* ("why?" < **ana mīnim*) to which the Old Assyrian irrealis marker *-me(n)* has been added raises a new possibility. This irrealis marker (corresponding to Old Babylonian *-man*) is typically spelled *-me-en₆* or *-me-en*, and "exceptionally *-me-e . . .* or *-me*" (Kouwenberg 2017: 739). If this irrealis marker could be added to the interrogative *mīnum*, might a hypothetical combination *mīnum=men/mê* account for the Western Peripheral forms?

In fact, the form *ammīnem=me/ê* just cited is not the only instance of such a suggestive combination. The editors of the *CAD* (M/2, p. 79) note an Old Assyrian example of the expression *balum mimma=men* (*mī-ma-ma-me-en*) found in TCL 14 44:9 (= Thureau-Dangin 1928, no. 44). Kouwenberg (2017: 427) cites this text (as TC 2, 44:9) as an example of *balum mimma(ma)*, "without anything," but he does not note the presence of the irrealis *-men*, nor is the form discussed in his treatment of either the indefinite pronouns or the irrealis marker *-men*. Yet

the fact that the irrealis marker *-me(n)* could be added to the interrogative *mīnum* (in the form *ammīnem=mê*) and to an indefinite pronoun (*mimmama=men*) forces us to consider the possibility that this Assyrian morpheme stands behind the (North-)Western Peripheral use of the *-mê* to mark indefinite pronouns.

This line of argumentation must assume that the irrealis marker was actually employed to mark indefinites (thus *mīnum=mê*) in a manner not currently attested for Old Assyrian or that it was simply confused by western scribes with the standard enclitic *-ma* (perhaps as a result of cases like *ammīnem=me/ê*; the probability of this position is inversely related to the successful identification of distributional differences between *-ma* and *-mê* in western corpora). In favor of the hypothesis, however, is the fact that, where a difference is discernible between items to which *-mê* has been added and those to which *-ma* has been added, the distinction pertains to the preference of the former for clausal complements (see Izre’el’s appeal to a “nominalizing” function, cited above). If *-mê* does represent an Assyrian irrealis marker, such a distribution would be understandable—note that Old Assyrian *-men* frequently has as its host the conditional conjunction *šumma* or the presentative *amma* and in both cases, therefore, figures immediately prior to clausal complements (see Kouwenberg 2017: 739-742 for examples).¹¹⁵

The widespread use of an Assyrian morpheme in Western Peripheral dialects of Akkadian (which are otherwise closer to Babylonian) is not expected, though we should recall that Mitanni Akkadian does exhibit a mix of Babylonian and Assyrian features (Adler 1976:

¹¹⁵ Such a development from an irrealis marker to an indefiniteness marker affixed to indefinite pronouns taking clausal complements finds a ready parallel in Classical Greek (see Smyth 1920: 398-400), where the irrealis clitic *an* was frequently employed with (among others) interrogatives and the conditional conjunction *ei*. It appeared following the latter to mark conditional protases with subjunctive verbs that the two were joined through a process of grammaticalization resulting in the conjunction *ean* (< **ei=an*). The same particle is placed after the relative pronoun *hos*, resulting in *hos an*, “whoever VP,” as well as relative adverbs like *hote* (“when”), resulting in *hotan* (“whenever”). The parallel resulting between *ean* (< **ei an*), “if,” and *hos an* (“whoever”), on the one hand, and Old Assyrian *šumma=men* (“if”) and the hypothesized *mīnum=me(n)* (“whoever”), on the other, is suggestive.

115). Still, the fact that the Assyrian morpheme itself functions predominately as a true irrealis marker (Kouwenberg 2017: 739-742) and is typically spelled with a final /n/ makes this source for the Western Peripheral Akkadian *-mê* less than straightforward, unless we wish to invoke the sort of contact-induced adaptation suggested by Adler's second imagined scenario, quoted above: "so darf man dennoch . . . auch auf einen Gebrauch einer akkadischen Partikel nach hurritischer Syntax, nicht schließen."

For the present, the geographic and chronological distribution of *-mê* strongly suggests that Mitanni may have played a role as a vector for its expansion, but whether this item reflects a Hurrian linguistic feature or an (Assyrianizing?) idiosyncrasy of Mitannian scribal norms remains impossible to determine.

3.3.2 West Semitic

3.3.2.1 Ethiopian Semitic: Gə'əz

Personal and impersonal indefinite pronouns are formed in Gə'əz by the addition of enclitic morphemes to the corresponding interrogative pronouns. For the forms presented below, see Praetorius (1886: 35), Chaîne (1907: 85-86), Lambdin (1978: 128-129), Tropper (2002a: 49), and Tropper and Hasselbach-Andee (2021: 60-61).

Personal

mannu (only when negated as *'i=mannu*)

mannu=hi

mannu=ni

Impersonal

mənt (only when negated as *'i=mənt*)

məntə=hi

məntə=ni

Note further the placeholder noun *'əgale* (f. *'əgalit*), “so-and-so,” which also has an adjectival form (*'əgaleyāwi*) that can be used as an indefinite determiner with personal or impersonal referents.

The personal indefinite pronouns *mannu=hi* and *mannu=ni* and the impersonal pronouns *məntə=hi* and *məntə=ni* each consist of what is synchronically the corresponding interrogative (*mannu* “who?”; *mənt* “what?”) followed by an enclitic particle. Both interrogatives exhibit diptotic case inflection (*mannu, mənt* [NOM/GEN]; *manna, mənta* [ACC]), and this is maintained in the indefinite pronouns. The enclitic particle *=hi* can be described as a focus particle used to express additive (“also, and, further, even”)¹¹⁶ and identifying (“the very”)¹¹⁷ focus, though it can be used to topicalize discourse participants as well.¹¹⁸ The particle *=ni* is used similarly, with both additive focus and topicalizing roles; it seems to exhibit a topicalizing function more frequently than *=hi*.¹¹⁹ The personal indefinite *mannu* and impersonal indefinite *mənt* are simply the bare interrogatives, which can be used as indefinites under negation.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Chaîne 1907: 107 (classifying it as a conjunction); Lambdin 1978: 233; Tropper 2002a: 151-152 (with examples); Leslau 2006: 213; Weninger 2011: 1134; Tropper and Hasselbach-Andee 2021: 197-198.

¹¹⁷ Lambdin 1978: 233; Leslau 2006: 213; Tropper and Hasselbach-Andee 2021: 197-198.

¹¹⁸ See Leslau 2006: 213.

¹¹⁹ See Tropper 2002a: 151-52 (with examples); Leslau 2006: 380. Note especially the use of *=ni . . . =ni* for contrastive Topics in an example like that drawn from *'Āmda Ṣəyon* 11c in Tropper’s presentation (2002a: 151; see now Tropper and Hasselbach-Andee 2021: 198):

(i) *bəzuḥə=ni yəkl* *'awḥədo* *wa=ḥədātə=ni yəkl* *'abzəḥo*
many=TOP be.abl-G.IPFV.3MS be.small-CG.INF and=little=TOP be.abl-G.IPFV.3MS be.great-CG.INF
“He can make MUCH into LITTLE, and he can make LITTLE into MUCH.” (the form *'awḥədo* involves guttural confusion; we expect *'awḥədo*)

¹²⁰ For examples, see Lev 16:17 and Exod 10:26 (Dillmann 1865: 187-188).

The noun *ʿəgale* functions as a filler noun, “so-and-so,” and its adjectival form can be applied to impersonal referents as well (see Leslau 2006: 11). It is unique to Ethiopian Semitic, and a Cushitic etymology has been suggested (again, see Leslau 2006: 11).

3.3.2.2 Central Semitic

3.3.2.2.1 Old South Arabian: Sabaic

As Sabaic constitutes the best attested of the Old South Arabian languages (Stein 2011: 1046), it will serve here as a representative of the Old South Arabian branch of Central Semitic (though a good number of indefinite constructions are also preserved in Qatabanic [see Avanzini 2004]).

The attested indefinite pronominal items include the following (Stein 2003: 151; 2013: 75):

Personal

mn

mn=m

mn=mw/y

Impersonal

mh

mh=m

mh=mw

mh=m’y

mh=myw

mh=n

The forms *mn* and *mh* represent the bare interrogative, though most (or all?) attested instances of both are actually cases of indefinite rather than interrogative use.¹²¹ The related forms *mn=mw/y* and *mh=myw*¹²² are simply cases of the interrogative augmented by the enclitic particle =*m(w/y)*, for which an original focus-marking function seems to be well established (see Stein 2003: 228-230; 2013: 113-114). This applies equally to the more recently discovered forms *mn=m*, *mh=m*, *mh=mw*, and *mh=m'y*, found in minuscule texts inscribed in wood (see Stein 2010: 727 for a list of occurrences). The status of the *-n* of *mh-n* is less certain. Stein refers to it in noncommittal fashion as an expanded form (2003: 151) but does not include this in his discussion of the enclitic particle =*n*, which is typically attached only to prepositions (2003: 231-38; 2013: 114). Kogan (2015: 178 n. 496) has suggested connecting this form to Syriac *mʿn* and seeing an original **mah-(h)an* behind both.

3.3.2.2 North Arabian: Classical Arabic

Wright (1896-1898)¹²³ and Reckendorf (1898, 1921) identify the following indefinite pronominal forms for Classical Arabic¹²⁴:

¹²¹ See n. 41 above.

¹²² For this odd and perhaps erroneous form, see Stein 2003: 151 with n. 139.

¹²³ This third edition is the edition that must be consulted, as De Goeje substantially reorganized the treatment of indefinite pronouns in this edition, published after Wright's death (see De Goeje's prefatory note on p. ix of the first volume). Earlier editions followed the organization of Caspari's grammar and did not adequately reflect Wright's own thinking on indefinite pronouns (evidenced in his [likewise posthumously published] lectures [1890: 125-127]).

¹²⁴ Dependence on a linguistic construct such as Classical Arabic—a term I use to refer to the form of the language codified by Arab grammarians working in Iraq during the ninth and tenth centuries CE (see Retsö 2011: 782)—certainly brings with it a number of risks. It must suffice for present purposes, but I am aware of the importance of modern dialects from a diachronic linguistic standpoint, recognized by many practitioners (see Blau 1969, 1985; Huehnergard 2002: 128; Pat-El 2017a), even if not always successfully applied (see Wilmsen 2014 and the very negative reviews of this work to be found in Al-Jallad 2015b and Pat-El 2016).

Personal

man

ʾayyuman

Impersonal

mā

mahmā

ʾayyumā

The pronouns *man* and *mā* are bare interrogatives (“who?” and “what?” respectively), while *mahmā* constitutes a reduplicated interrogative (which may actually preserve the historic form of the Central Semitic impersonal interrogative, **mah* [Kogan 2015: 178 with n. 497]). The pronominal forms *ʾayyuman* and *ʾayyumā* are simply instances of the interrogative/indefinite determiner *ʾayyu* applied to the bare interrogative/indefinite pronouns (finding semantic parallels in Akkadian *ayyumma*, syntactic ones in other determined or quantified indefinites like *kl mnm* [Phoenician] and *kōl mə ʾū^wmā^h* [Biblical Hebrew]). Classical Arabic also makes use of the placeholder *fulānun* (f. *fulānatun*). This placeholder is cognate to items with the same function in Biblical Hebrew (*pəlōnî^v*) and Syriac (*plɔn*).¹²⁵

¹²⁵ This item has also, interestingly enough, made its way into Spanish, where *fulano* is similarly employed (see Casado Velarde 2000; Roque Amaral 2017). An Arabic etymology has also traditionally been asserted for the Spanish placeholder *mengano* (Arabic *man kāna*, “whoever it was”), but its earliest attestations come late enough to render the etymology open to some question (Casado Velarde 2000: 184-185).

3.3.2.2.3 Northwest Semitic

3.3.2.2.3.1 Aramaic

In order to provide an initial sketch of the system of indefinite pronouns in Aramaic, I will focus on the so-called “Old Aramaic” corpus of the first millennium BCE. I understand the distinctive language (“Sam’alian”) found in a number of texts from the environs of ancient Sam’al as representatives of an archaic dialect of “Old Aramaic,”¹²⁶ though I keep these data distinct in the following subsections, as indefinite pronominal syntax does differ between the two corpora.

3.3.2.2.3.1.1 Old Aramaic

For present purposes, I use the term “Old Aramaic” to refer to the relatively consistently employed dialect of Aramaic found in epigraphic material dating to the ninth and eighth centuries BCE (with 700 BCE as an approximate *terminus*).¹²⁷ For texts of this period, there are no morphologically marked indefinite pronominal elements attested as of yet. Rather, it is the bare interrogative of both personal (*mn*) and impersonal (*mh*) categories that are used to head free relative clauses (and in other related constructions).¹²⁸ In fact, as noted by Martínez Borobio, these interrogatives are currently attested primarily with their indefinite value.¹²⁹

Also noteworthy is the fact that the personal indefinite *mn* can co-occur with the cardinal numeral *ḥd* (“one”), though whether the resulting *mn ḥd* represents an indefinite expression or

¹²⁶ I do this for the reasons presented in Pardee 2009.

¹²⁷ The following remarks are based on the treatments of this phase of the Aramaic language offered by Degen 1969; Tropper 1993; Fitzmyer 1995; Martínez Borobio 2003; and Fales and Grassi 2016.

¹²⁸ Whence the assertion of Fales and Grassi (2016: 49): “L’AA non presenta pronomi indefiniti, ma gli interrogativi possono essere impiegati in tal senso.”

¹²⁹ He states, “En aram. ant. se usan estas dos palabras únicamente con su valor de pronombre indefinido, tanto solas como formando conjuntos con otras palabras” (2003: 55). This is to overstate the case, however, as we do find *mh* used as an interrogative in Sefire I B 26 (cf. Degen 1969: 60).

consists simply of *mn* followed by *ḥd* + NP remains a matter of debate.¹³⁰ Of similar interest is the application of the universal quantifier *kl* to the impersonal indefinite, resulting in *kl mh*.¹³¹ The personal indefinite *mn* is not followed by the relative *zy* in Old Aramaic, though the impersonal *mh* can be (see Sefire III 27-29).

3.3.2.2.3.1.2 Sam'alian

As in Old Aramaic, the indefinite pronouns in Sam'alian¹³² are restricted to bare interrogative forms, *mn* for personal referents and *mh* (appearing as *m* when followed by the relative/determinative *z*) for impersonal referents. The latter can head free relatives independently or followed by the relative pronoun *z* (resulting in the form *mz*, just mentioned).

3.3.2.2.3.2 Canaanite

3.3.2.2.3.2.1 “Amarna Canaanite”

Among the logo-syllabic letters sent from various Levantine polities to Egypt in the mid-fourteenth century, many of those coming from the Southern Levant exhibit unusual features recognized as reflections of the local Canaanite substrate language(s) of the region. Debate continues regarding the most appropriate designation for the language found in these letters (for helpful surveys of previous positions, see Márquez Rowe 2006: 139-174; Mandell 2015: 3-7),

¹³⁰ It has become conventional to refer to *mn ḥd* as a composite indefinite item unique to Sefire (see Donner and Rölli 1968: 268; Fitzmyer 1995: 203; Martínez Borobio 2003: 55; for additional bibliography and history of the discussion, see Degen 1969: 119 n. 1 and Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 648). Degen, however, has contended that the syntax of the construction has been misinterpreted: *ḥd* for him stands in a construct relationship to the following noun phrase, which together constitutes the predicate of a verbless clause of which *mn* is the subject (1969: 62 with n. 39; 119 with n. 1). He accordingly translates a phrase like *mn ḥd bny* not as “anyone of my sons” but as “wer eine meiner Söhne ist” (1969: 119).

¹³¹ In fact, eight out of ten cases of indefinite *mh* in Sefire (Sefire I A 25-26, 30; I B 2-3, [26], 28-29; III 16-17, 27-29[x2 with a third case reconstructed]; for the text, see Fitzmyer 1995) and the sole instance of indefinite *mh* in the non-Sam'alian Old Aramaic texts from Zincirli (*KAI* 216:14-15; for the text, see Tropper 1993) appear as *kl mh*.

¹³² For grammatical presentations, see Dion 1974 and Tropper 1993.

but the ability of these letters to shed even indirect light on the Canaanite language(s) spoken in the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age requires their inclusion in this survey. The indefinite pronouns represented in these letters include the following (Rainey 1996: I:114-124; Tropper and Vita 2010a: 44):

Personal

unattested

Impersonal

mimma (in some instances inflected for case, *mimmu*, *mimmi*, *mimma*)

These data in fact contribute very little to our effort to reconstruct the Canaanite system of indefinite pronouns, as *mimma* simply reflects the expected Akkadian indefinite. Tropper and Vita (2010a: 44) further register an indefinite *mi-am-ma*, which they suggest may be cognate to Biblical Hebrew $m\bar{a} \text{ } \bar{u}^w m\bar{a}^h$. This hypothesis is treated below under discussion of the Hebrew form, where it is noted that these forms likely represent misspellings rather than authentic indefinite pronouns. Notable is the absence of the Western Peripheral Akkadian indefinites *mannummê* and *minummê* (discussed in connection with Ras Shamra Akkadian above).

3.3.2.3.2.2 Biblical Hebrew

Biblical Hebrew WH-morphological indefinite pronouns include the bare interrogatives $m\bar{i}^y$ (“who?”) and $m\bar{a}^h$ (“what?”). Another indefinite item requiring discussion in this connection is the indefinite $m\bar{a} \text{ } \bar{u}^w m\bar{a}^h$, used only with impersonal referents and recently described as a

negative polarity item (Moshavi 2019, elaborating on this identification suggested in earlier literature). Whether or not this item incorporates WH-morphology depends on which etymological account of the form one prefers, of which several have been proposed in the past.

Earlier attempts to understand this pronoun are conveniently surveyed in the standard lexica (see, e.g., BDB; *HALOT*; Gesenius¹⁸), as well as in Moshavi's (2019: 73-75) recent study. Most treatments in the past have pursued one of three lines of argumentation. The first of these treats this item as a form of the noun *mə'ū^wm* "blemish, defect, speck," with the final, unaccented vowel to be compared to that found on nouns like *lāylā^h*.¹³³ The second approach hypothesizes a conjunct/reduplicative source construction consisting of **mah wa=mah > mah=ū=mah > mə'ū^wmā^h*.¹³⁴ The third approach identifies the final element *-mā^h* as enclitic *-ma* (Faber 1988: 226-227) or an indefinitizing use of the interrogative *mā* (Barth 1913: 171), while the first element of the item consists of a nominative interrogative *mahū* (Faber 1988: 226-227) or remains unidentified (Barth 1913: 171).¹³⁵ A variant of this third approach is suggested by Tropper (2012: 243), for whom an original *mīnu=ma* gave rise to *mV'ū=ma*, involving a proposed sound change of **n > ' / V_V*. For support, he cites instances in which the El-Amarna indefinite *mimma* is spelled *mi-am-ma*, suggesting that these represent a form */mi'amma/ < *mīnam=ma* (similarly to Ebeling 1915: 1469). Youngblood (1961: 281), on the other hand, plausibly attributed these spellings to the independently identifiable tendency for the AM-sign to be used where one expects the IM-sign in letters from Rib-Haddi of Byblos, and Rainey (1996: I:115, 119) likewise treated these as simple misspellings.

¹³³ See GKC (1910), p. 250 (sec. 90f); Bauer and Leander 1922: 528 (sec. 65s); Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 258-259 (though a qualification is offered in n. 6); see further BDB, and Gesenius¹⁸, Moshavi 2019: 73.

¹³⁴ See BDB, Gesenius¹⁸, Moshavi 2019: 73.

¹³⁵ See further Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 258-259 n. 6; BDB, *HALOT*, Gesenius¹⁸.

Only the first of these approaches can readily account for the placement of stress on the resulting form ($mə'ūmā^h$), but more recent discussions¹³⁶ have moved away from this traditional explanation. Moshavi (2019: 73) outlines this shift in thinking most explicitly, claiming that the traditional approach “is open to doubt because it derives מַאֲמָה, a word occurring only as a *ketiv*, from מַמָּה, rather than the other way around, and depends on both having a meaning that may not actually be attested in the Bible.” This statement misrepresents the etymological assumptions of the proponents of this view. Past scholars have not attempted to derive $mə'ū^w m$ from $mū^w m$, but $mū^w m$ from $mə'ū^w m$. That is, none of those cited above suggest secondary glide insertion to account for the glottal stop of the form $mə'ū^w m$. They have rather uniformly recognized $mū^w m$ as a contracted form of $mə'ū^w m$ (compare similar cases such as $tə'ō^w mī^w m$ alongside $tō^w mī^w m$; $rə'ēm$ alongside $rē^y m$ and, in the plural $rə'ēmī^w m$ alongside $rē^y mī^w m$). BDB registers both forms of the noun under a putative root $\sqrt{m}^w m$, noting the possibility that they in fact represent a mem-preformative form of a root $\sqrt{w} m$ —on either account the /' / is treated as etymological. Still, the longer form is attested only twice (Job 31:7 and Dan 1:4).

The alternative approaches identified above—both based at some level on an appeal to WH-morphological elements—may appear to be stronger on comparative and typological grounds, but the resulting morphology must be understood to represent *ad hoc* sound changes. Currently available data do not permit a final decision, but I argue that we should not too quickly set aside the traditional explanation. While Moshavi is correct to call attention to the crosslinguistic tendency to incorporate WH-morphology in indefinite pronouns, it is equally true from a typological perspective that many polarity items and indefinites originated as minimal unit expressions (see Haspelmath 1997: 34, 115-116, 226-228), of which a word meaning “spot,

¹³⁶ Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 258-259 n. 6; Moshavi 2019: 73-74.

blemish,” might be expected to serve as an excellent example. The application of the directional morpheme *-ā^h* may, in such a case, find ready explanation, as the resulting phrase would mean “to a spot,” and could be compared semantically with the adverbial expression of degree *‘ad mē ‘ōd* (literally, “up to exceedingly”) and morphologically with the form *m ‘wdh* (*/mē ‘ō^wdā(h)/*) of the same adverb (attested at Qumran; *DCH* 5:103; Qimron 1986: 69). Support for such an original value for *mē ‘ū^wmā^h* as a minimal unit expression may be discernible in the one case in which it appears in the pre-exilic epigraphic record, namely, in l. 13 of the letter Lachish 3 (intentionally excluded from Moshavi’s treatment, which was devoted to Biblical Hebrew). A number of interpretations of ll. 8-13 have been offered, but that enjoying broadest support¹³⁷ is presented here (the vocalization follows Tiberian Masoretic norms and is, accordingly, offered for heuristic rather than historical purposes):

Lachish 3:8-13

(08) wky ‘mr . ‘dny . l’ . yd‘th .	<i>wākī^y ‘āmar ‘adōnī^y lō(‘) yadā ‘tā^h</i>
(09) qr’ spr ḥyhwh . ‘m . nsh . ‘	<i>qārō(‘) séper ḥayyahweh ‘im nissā^h ‘ī</i>
(10) yš lqr’ ly spr lnšḥ . wgm .	<i>‘š liqrō(‘) lī^y séper lānéṣaḥ wəgam</i>
(11) kl spr ‘šr yb’ . ‘ly ‘m .	<i>kōl séper ‘āšer yābō(‘) ‘ēlay ‘im</i>
(12) qr’ ty . ‘th w[‘ḥ]r ‘tnnhw	<i>qārā(‘)tī^y ‘ōtō^h wə[‘aḥ]r ‘ettānénhū^w</i>
(13) ‘l . m’wmh	<i>‘el mē ‘ū^wmā^h</i>

Now regarding the fact that my lord said, “You don’t know how to read a letter!”—As Yahweh lives, no one has ever tried to read a letter for me!

¹³⁷ See, e.g., de Vaux 1939: 189, 191-193; Lemaire 1977: 101, 103; 1981: 14; Pardee et al. 1982: 84, 86; 1990: 92-93; Renz 1995: 414-415, 418; Lindenberg 2003: 126; Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005: 309, 312.

What's more, any letter that comes to me, once I read it, I can repeat it down
to the finest detail!

Significantly, this interpretation treats the form $m'wmh$ in l. 13 as the object of the preposition $\prime l$ ¹³⁸ and functioning as a true minimal unit expression.¹³⁹ Also supporting this etymological approach is the fact that the noun $m\bar{u}^w m$, “blemish,” appears predominately in negative contexts, such that contexts comparable to what would have provided the source construction for the eventual development of the indefinite as a negative polarity item are both synchronically available and comprehensible.¹⁴⁰

The facts above lead me to maintain the viability of the traditional approach. The typological prominence of WH-derived indefinites should not be allowed to overshadow the similarly important role played by minimal unit expressions in the generation of indefinite expressions (especially negative polarity items). Until proponents of the second and third etymological approaches outlined above attempt a more detailed explanation of the sound changes required to arrive at $m\bar{a}'\bar{u}^w m\bar{a}^h$ from $*mah=wa=mah$ (why not $**m\bar{a}'\bar{u}^w m\bar{a}^h$ or, even more plausibly, $**m\bar{a}'\bar{u}^w m\bar{a}^h$?), the possibility that $m\bar{a}'\bar{u}^w m\bar{a}^h$ represents a grammaticalized minimal unit expression cannot be set aside. The implication of this position is that this Biblical Hebrew item cannot be identified as a cognate to Ugaritic mnm or Phoenician mnm with any certainty. Nor need it even represent a case of a WH-morphological indefinite. On the other

¹³⁸ The only biblical texts in which this indefinite item functions as the object of a preposition (1 Kgs 10:21 // 2 Chron 9:20) are equally amenable to an interpretation involving a minimal unit expression: “silver was not considered as *anything/even a speck*.”

¹³⁹ See de Vaux 1939: 192, appealing directly to the sense of $m\bar{a}'\bar{u}^w m$; see further Pardee's (1990: 92) “to a point,” i.e., “down to the smallest detail.”

¹⁴⁰ Compare Dan 1:4 with 1 Kgs 18:43; Ecc 5:13; and Jer 39:10. Compare further Job 31:7 and Deut 13:18—as Moshavi (2019: 73-74 n. 19) observes, the similarity of these two passages has actually resulted in confusion of the indefinite and the common noun in some textual witnesses.

hand, it is noteworthy that this indefinite can be used with the quantifier *kōl* (*kōl mə 'ū^wmā^h*, “anything at all”; compare Old Aramaic *kl mh*, discussed above, and Phoenician *kl mnm*, below).

3.3.2.2.3.2.3 Phoenician–Punic

Phoenician–Punic displays an interesting indefinite pronominal repertoire with one enticing isogloss with Ugaritic. Attested indefinites include the following:

Personal

my = /miyā/

qnm_y = /qanūmmiyā/

Impersonal

mnm = /mannōm/(?)

The personal indefinite *my* is simply the inherited Canaanite bare personal interrogative. The longer form *qnm_y*, on the other hand, constitutes a serious morphological challenge. The challenge is exacerbated by the fact that this pronoun—if such it is—is attested in only one text: the sarcophagus inscription of *'Eshmun 'azor* (*KAI* 14). The word appears twice on the pectoral surface of the inscription (*KAI* 14:4, 20) and once in the inscription appearing on the head of the sarcophagus. The interpretive approaches taken by previous scholars in their attempts to clarify this graphic sequence can be grouped into three main categories, the second of which requires substantial internal division.

The first line of argumentation (and the oldest) identifies {qnmy} as a noun referring to an “oath” or “curse” bearing a pronominal suffix. This interpretation has been advanced on the basis of Talmudic Aramaic *qonem* and Mishnaic Hebrew *qwnm*, and its proponents see in this utterance an adjuration intended to prevent the reuse or disturbance of the sarcophagus.¹⁴¹

The second main interpretive trajectory has received the greatest scholarly support in numerical terms, but the diversity of the internal contours of this overarching interpretive approach results in a situation in which each constituent view enjoys only a small minority of support. This approach consists of all analyses dividing {qnmy} into two separate lexical items, {qn} and {my}. One such approach involves interpreting {qn} as an imperative directed to the individual who is then identified by the expression {my 't}. The imperative has been understood as a warning and derived from \sqrt{qwm} (“stand,” i.e., “halt!”),¹⁴² \sqrt{wqy} (“beware!”),¹⁴³ or \sqrt{qny} (“to acquire”).¹⁴⁴ Others have preferred to identify {qn} as a vocative term referring to the addressee as a “possessor” (i.e., from \sqrt{qny}).¹⁴⁵ Still others have eliminated {qn} by means of textual re-division or emendation, leaving only {my 't}.¹⁴⁶ One scholar has identified {qn} as an indefinite element loaned either from Greek or Persian.¹⁴⁷ Finally, {qn} has been understood as a noun referring to *'Eshmun 'azor*'s “nest”/“niche” in l. 4 of the text.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ Stade 1875: 223; Silverman 1974: 268; Greenfield 1976: 60; Avishur 2000: 139-140 (with additional bibliography, 2000: 139 n. 38). Cooke (1903: 33-34) held this view as well, though unlike others listed here, he also appeals to Syriac *qwnm* to ground his analysis. He assumed that an expression meaning “my person” acted as an elliptical self-imprecation in oath contexts (1903: 34).

¹⁴² Clermont-Ganneau 1880-1897: 2:197 n. 1.

¹⁴³ Clermont-Ganneau 1905: 207; Poebel 1932: 19 with n. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Clermont-Ganneau 1880-1897: 2:197 n. 1; Rosenthal 1952: 173.

¹⁴⁵ Praetorius 1904: 198; 1906: 167-168; von Landau 1905: 44-47; Dussaud 1927: 365-366; Krahmalkov 2000: 428; 2001: 109.

¹⁴⁶ Bruston 1903, available to me only via Clermont-Ganneau’s comments (1905: 205-206); Hirschfeld 1927: 104 (for l. 20 alone); Dahood 1979: 434 (for l. 20 alone).

¹⁴⁷ Torrey 1912: 83-85; 1937: 407-408.

¹⁴⁸ Hirschfeld 1927: 103; Dahood 1979: 434.

Yet it is the third interpretive approach that appears—with only occasional recent voices of dissent¹⁴⁹—to have achieved the status of a consensus among philologists and grammarians. This interpretation identifies in {qnmy} a noun cognate to Syriac *qnwm* (for which a possible Neo-Punic reflex is occasionally cited) followed by the Phoenician interrogative/indefinite pronoun {my}. The entire pronoun is thought to act as an indefinite pronoun (**person of who > whoever*).¹⁵⁰

This third option is the one provisionally preferred in the present study, in part due to the possible support to be found in later Punic inscriptions. Specifically, several scholars have claimed to find instances of precisely the noun in question in two Neo-Punic texts. Already in 1927, Levi della Vida had identified a putative instance of {qn`m}, meaning “self,” in a text from Leptis Magna.¹⁵¹ The identification was accepted by Février (1952: 223), who suggested that it was also to be found in the first line of the Micipsa text, an edition of which he had published the year prior, though without recognizing the noun at that time (1951: 139). Février’s corrected interpretation was adopted by Donner and Röllig in their notes to the Micipsa text, appearing as *KAI* 161 (1968: 151). The attestation of this noun in Punic also settled the identification of {qnmy} for the latter two scholars, allowing them to reject Rosenthal’s (1952: 173) proposal of a grammaticalized pronoun arising from an imperative of √qny and the pronoun {my} as “gegenstandslos” (1968: 151, cf. 21). Grammars, lexica, and textual studies appearing

¹⁴⁹ Avishur 2000; Krahmalkov 2000; 2001.

¹⁵⁰ Lidzbarski 1908: 164 (though he does not make explicit his analysis of {qnm}); Donner and Röllig 1968: 151; van den Branden 1969: 62; Segert 1976: 172, 181; Tomback 1978: 290; Fuentes Estañol 1980: 222; Amadasi Guzzo 1981: 6 with n. 22; Gibson 1982: 98; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 1017; Friedrich, Röllig, and Amadasi Guzzo 1999: 74; Holmstedt 2013: 85 n. 2.

¹⁵¹ The text in question appears as text 10 in Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo 1987 and as Labdah N 2 in Jongeling’s 2008 monograph. Unfortunately, Levi della Vida’s article is not available for me to consult. Note, however, that Jongeling has indicated that Renan had already suggested a similar interpretation of the same word (connecting it to Syriac *qnōm*), appearing in the first line of a text from Cherchel (*KAI* 161:1) in a comment appearing in Berger’s 1888 publication of the text (1888: 39 n. 1).

in the following years often cite these Neo-Punic data as support for their interpretation of Phoenician {qnmy}.¹⁵² If these two texts do indeed exhibit a noun {qn'm} = /qanūm/ (“person, self”),¹⁵³ then the proposed interpretation of {qnmy} rests on much firmer ground.

The impersonal indefinite pronoun *mnm* presents a series of challenges of particular relevance for the present study, insofar as this lexeme is now generally recognized as a cognate of the Ugaritic indefinite pronoun *mnm*. This fact was not always recognized, however. The earliest scholars to address the lexeme {mnm} appearing in a number of Phoenician texts interpreted it as a masculine plural noun. The putative singular, {mn}, was thought to be cognate to Aramaic {m'n} (“vessel”).¹⁵⁴ Stade offered another early proposal, interpreting {bn mnm} in *KAI* 14:5 as a construct phrase meaning, “*Sohn der Minen*,” presumably functioning as an idiomatic description of a wealthy person (1875: 223).¹⁵⁵

However, at a fairly early date, the similarity of Phoenician {mnm} and “Western Peripheral” Akkadian *minummê* was recognized, a connection facilitated by the discovery of the Ugaritic material at Ras Shamra, which boasted an indefinite pronoun {mnm} of its own. The identification appears first in an article by Ginsberg and Maisler (1934: 250) and is attributed to an oral communication from Epstein.¹⁵⁶ This interpretation of {mnm} as an indefinite pronoun

¹⁵² E.g., Segert 1976: 181; Gibson 1982: 98; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 1014, 1017; Friedrich, Röllig, and Amadasi Guzzo 1999: 74 [§ 124a] (Friedrich, Röllig, and Amadasi Guzzo do not cite the Neo-Punic texts explicitly, but their presentation of {qnmy} as an expansion of {my} by an addition of *qn()m* suggests their conviction that the nominal element represented as {qnm-} in the pronoun under review is to be identified with Neo-Punic {qn'm}).

¹⁵³ Note that Levi della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo (1987: 35) have suggested that the orthographic representation of this noun with {'}, presumably functioning as a *mater*, may indicate that the final syllable was pronounced with /ō/.

¹⁵⁴ This view was held by Lidzbarski 1898: 305; Cooke 1903: 29; Harris 1936: 120; Slouschz 1942: 17; and, more recently, Tomback 1978: 187 (though only for its occurrences in *KAI* 81).

¹⁵⁵ He translates the entire line thus: “*er suche keinen Reichen, denn hier ist kein Reicher*” (1875: 223 n. 2; emphasis original). While he acknowledged the uniqueness of the expression (Biblical Hebrew never describes a rich man as a “son of minas”), he nevertheless identified a similar expression in the Talmud, citing Erubin 85b *ben mē'ā^h māne^h* and 80a *ben mā()tayim māne^h* (1875: 223 with n. 3).

¹⁵⁶ See also Ginsberg 1937: 140, though Ginsberg there quite surprisingly left open the possibility of an etymological connection to Aramaic *m'n*.

now constitutes the consensus in the field and enjoys an abundant representation in the literature.¹⁵⁷

Of course, the recognition of the cognate relationship among Akkadian *minummê*, Ugaritic {mnm} (/mannama/), and Phoenician {mnm} only serves to push the etymological question back one level. The identification does support a semantic evaluation of this pronoun as an indefinite pronoun of some sort, but it does not immediately clarify its morphological composition. I discussed the morphological composition of *minummê* above, suggesting that, as has long been recognized, this pronoun consists of the basic WH-interrogative *mīnum* to which a morpheme *-mê*, of less certain derivation, has been added as an indefiniteness marker. The Ugaritic form {mnm} is the subject of ch. 5, but I note here that Ugaritic exhibits a synchronically available interrogative *mn* as well as a productive enclitic *-m*, which are together able to account for the Ugaritic pronoun as an authentic Northwest Semitic form (argued in ch. 5 below).

The situation in Phoenician is different in two important respects: Phoenician does not possess an impersonal interrogative *mn*, nor does it make use of (or show other vestiges of) an enclitic *-m*. In Phoenician, the only attested impersonal interrogative appears as {m} (presumably /mû/¹⁵⁸) and corresponds to BH *mā^h* (< **maha*). At least at the synchronic level, therefore, we cannot speak of an “indefinitizing” *-m* that has been added to the *standard* interrogative.¹⁵⁹ This means that the Phoenician indefinite {mnm} must have developed (or been borrowed) at a much earlier period. The breadth of the attestation of the pronoun in Phoenician

¹⁵⁷ Loewenstamm 1958-1959: 75 (= 1980: 61); Amadasi Guzzo 1967: 181; van den Branden 1969: 62; Segert 1976: 109; 1997: 178; Tomback 1978: 187; Avishur 1979: 2:174; 2000: 119; Fuentes Estañol 1980: 162; Friedrich, Röllig, and Amadasi Guzzo 1999: 74 (§ 124bis); Krahmalkov 2000: 296; 2001: 118.

¹⁵⁸ I.e., **mah(a)* > *mā* > *mô* > *mû*.

¹⁵⁹ For this position, cf. Amadasi Guzzo (1967: 181), who cites with approval Liverani’s description (1964: 199) of the “*-m* finale come element di indeterminazione.” A similar analysis is to be found in Blejer (1986: 131); cf. Watson (1992: 250).

supports this hypothesis as well, as it is attested not only in Levantine inscriptions (Sidon [KAI 13, 14]) but in inscriptions from Carthage as well (KAI 74, 81). These attestations all date to the Persian Period¹⁶⁰ and later (a fact suggesting the considerable tenacity of this pronoun in the history of the language).

This scenario leaves us with two explanatory possibilities. First, the existence of an internally derivable Ugaritic indefinite {mnm} and the vestigial availability of an impersonal interrogative *mān* in Biblical Hebrew (and cf. Syriac *mān(ܐ)*) may support the argument that *mnm* represents an inherited Northwest Semitic pronoun, of which reflexes have survived in Ugaritic and Phoenician–Punic. Ugaritic, on this model, constitutes an earlier representative of a Northwest Semitic language retaining this indefinite, which also happens to retain its morphological constituents (*mn* and *-m*) in fully productive use, while Phoenician has retained the indefinite while otherwise losing its constituent morphemes.

The second scenario appeals to linguistic contact. The line of argumentation places heavier emphasis on the absence of an interrogative *mn* or enclitic *-m* in Phoenician and reasons that the pronoun does not represent an internal development or inherited feature but rather a borrowed or areal feature shared among languages spoken along the northern Mediterranean littoral. The difficulty with this approach lies in the fact that—as noted above—the Western Peripheral Akkadian indefinite *minummê* was not actually employed by scribes from Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, or Tyre (nor in any of the other letters written in so-called “Amarna Canaanite”) during the Amarna Period¹⁶¹—one has to travel farther north to Amurru to find evidence of this pronoun.¹⁶² This is not an indication that scribes in what would later be described as the

¹⁶⁰ Details and bibliography regarding the dating of the Sidonian dynasty responsible for the production of the sarcophagus inscriptions referred to above as KAI 13 and 14 are presented in Burlingame 2018: 35 n. 1.

¹⁶¹ See Adler 1976: 84; Rainey 1996: I:114-124; Tropper and Vita 2010a: 44-45.

¹⁶² See Izre’el 1991: 103-105.

“Phoenician” city-states did not understand this pronoun—*Abimilki* of Tyre quotes previous correspondence from his Egyptian overlord in which the pronoun appears (EA 149:56),¹⁶³ and, while interpretive questions regarding the significance of Ugaritic letters coming from foreign courts remain open, I note in passing that the pronoun {*mnm*} is correctly employed in a slightly later Ugaritic letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit (RS 18.031). A contact-based hypothesis, then, is forced to assume that either (1) the Western Peripheral Akkadian indefinite *minummê* or a Northwest Semitic analog in a language like Ugaritic was borrowed by speakers of (pre-)Phoenician at a time post-dating the Amarna Period, or (2) the loan had taken place already during the Amarna Period, but scribes in these localities elected to employ the “standard” indefinite *mimma* more consistently than their neighbors to the north, at least during the Amarna Period. The sporadic appearance of *minummê* in more recently published letters from Beirut dating to the end of the Late Bronze Age (e.g., RS 34.137:10-13 [= RSO VII, no. 37]; RS 94.2478:8-10 [= RSO XXIII, no. 70]) could be invoked to support either hypothesis.¹⁶⁴

I see no clear path to deciding the matter. The Phoenician indefinite *mnm* could reflect a (North-)Western Peripheral Akkadian feature that found its way into the scribal language of Beirut (and, we must assume, its southern neighbors), perhaps toward the end of the Late Bronze Age, and endured into the first millennium as another example of the cultural and linguistic continuity between the second and first millennia characterizing the Phoenician city-states (which weathered the end of the Late Bronze Age more successfully than cities like Ugarit). Alternatively, Ugaritic *mnm* and the impersonal interrogative *mn* found in Ugaritic and perhaps in Biblical Hebrew may suggest that the Phoenician pronoun *mnm* instead reflects a retention from an earlier stage of its development, during which both *mn* and *-m* were, we must assume,

¹⁶³ For the text, see Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 752-757, 1500-1501.

¹⁶⁴ Note, however, the absence of this pronoun in LBA letters from Sidon (see Arnaud 2001: 303).

available (in which case *mm* in Phoenician and Ugaritic reflect either a case of convergent development or an inherited feature of Northwest Semitic).

The morphological analysis required to account for the pronoun will naturally depend on which of these models one chooses to follow. If the pronoun is borrowed, then its morphology cannot be explained on internal grounds—it reflects either a Northwest Semitic item like that found in Ugaritic (and discussed in ch. 5) or the Western Peripheral Akkadian pronoun *minummê*. If it represents a genuine Phoenician pronoun, then accounting for its morphology can only be done via comparative reconstruction (given the synchronic absence of elements *mn* and *-m* in Phoenician–Punic) involving appeal to the Ugaritic pronoun as the closest relevant comparandum (for which see ch. 5). One syntactic point requiring note regardless of its etymology, however, is the fact that *mm* may be preceded by the quantifier *kl* (“all, every”; see *KAI* 13:5; 81:2, 3).

3.4 Morphological Summary and Conclusions

As a form of conclusion, I present the indefinite pronominal elements derived from interrogative argument-pronouns together in tabular format in order to illustrate the distribution of morphological strategies employed.

Table 3.2: Semitic WH-morphological Indefinite Argument-Pronouns

Language	Pronoun	Bare WH	Reduplicated WH	Augmented WH
Eblaite	mannumma			+
	mīnumma			+
	mīnammama(?)			+
Sargonic Akk	mannām(m)a			+
	mimma			+
	mimmasu			+
	missum(?)			+
Old Babylonian	manman		+	

Table 3.2 (continued)

	mamman		+	
	mamma			+
	mammam			+
	mannām(m)a			+
	mammanna		+	+
	mammannan		+	+
	mimma			+
	mimman			+
	mimmû			+
	mimmāma			+
Old Assyrian	mamman		+	
	mammannā		+	+
	mammannāma		+	+
	mimma			+
	mimmāma			+
	mimmā'um			+
	mimmāšāma			+
	(mīnum)	(+)		
RS Akkadian	mamman		+	
	mamma			+
	mannumma			+
	mannummê			+
	mimma			+
	mimmam			+
	mimmamma			+
Gə'əz	mannu	+		
	mannuhi			+
	mannuni			+
	mənt	+		
	məntəhi			+
	məntəni			+
Sabaic	mn	+		
	mnm			+
	mnm/y			+
	mh	+		
	mhm			+
	mhmw			+
	mhm'y			+
	mhmtyw			+
	mhn			+
Arabic	man	+		
	'ayyuman			+
	mā	+		
	mahmā		+	

Table 3.2 (continued)

	'ayyumā			+
Old Aramaic	mn	+		
	mh	+		
Sam'alian	mn	+		
	mh/m(=z)	+		
Amarna Canaanite	(mimma)			(+)
Biblical Hebrew	mî ^y	+		
	mā ^h	+		
	mə'ū ^w mā ^h		(?)	(?)
Phoenician–Punic	my	+		
	qnmy			+
	mnm			+

This presentation leads to several conclusions. First, while common strategies recur frequently across the Semitic languages, none of the attested pronouns can be reconstructed as a feature of Proto-Semitic. Instead, a constant process of innovation and renewal has resulted in a situation in which indefinite pronouns are, for the most part, based directly on or related to the *synchronically* available interrogative pronouns in each language. This provides an important qualification to the value of comparative data for the ensuing discussion: these languages exhibit a strong tendency toward parallel innovation in their indefinite pronominal paradigms, conforming to Haspelmath's description of the diachronic instability of indefinites as a crosslinguistic feature (Haspelmath 1997: 16).

Similarities existing among the paradigms available may, and in many cases must represent parallel development along typologically common trajectories. As the Semitic languages exhibit no greater conservatism than do other languages in this regard, the value of such comparative data must be assessed comparably to that of other typological data. To put it differently, indefinite pronouns in Eblaite or Gə'əz cannot be assumed to be more directly relevant than those of other unrelated languages (like Greek) for the evaluation of Ugaritic indefinites, as each of these is arguably responding independently to the factors that produce

crosslinguistic trends of the sort studied by typologists. Convergent parallel developments may be more likely to occur in related languages (as the sources for analogy, for example, that produce changes in one are likely to be equally available in others [see Huehnergard and Rubin 2011: 266]). This means that these Semitic data may prove especially useful by providing close parallels capable of elucidating the morphological composition of Ugaritic pronouns, but the argumentation will necessarily be analogical rather than historical, as the indefinite pronouns from branch to branch of the family do not appear to comprise true *cognates* (i.e., inherited forms).

That being said, the tabular representation above does suggest that the Semitic languages made regular use of a restricted number of morphological strategies in the generation of WH-morphological indefinites. Augmented interrogatives stand behind the significant majority of attested interrogative-based indefinite items in the Semitic languages. Reduplicated interrogatives constitute a minority, but the forms concerned are in some cases the preferred forms (e.g., Old Babylonian, where *mamman* is used far more frequently than other personal indefinites). The use of bare interrogatives seems from this presentation to cluster in the West Semitic and especially the Central Semitic languages, though most of the languages concerned also share in common a first-millennium provenance (when similar use of bare interrogatives is attested in Akkadian as well), making it difficult to say whether we may simply be observing the result of a diachronic process. In non-Ugaritic Northwest Semitic, bare interrogatives represent the preferred indefinite pronominal morphological strategy, with Phoenician *mnm* representing the only certain exception (the pronoun *qnmy*, if indeed representing the noun *qnm* + *my*, itself originated in a simple construct chain with bare-interrogative *my* as the adnominal genitive).

In light of the situation just observed, the abundant parallels for augmented-WH indefinites in Sabaic and Gəʿəz play an important role in framing our approach to the Ugaritic indefinite pronouns discussed in the chapters that follow (all, or virtually all of which, represent augmented-WH indefinites). Specifically, these comparanda illustrate that WH-augmentation was indeed employed within West Semitic. Without this witness, one might be tempted (1) to contrast the Northwest Semitic preference for bare interrogative indefinites with the strong tendency to employ augmented interrogatives in East Semitic, (2) to note that the two Northwest Semitic languages in which augmented interrogatives are employed are also languages that were spoken specifically in Mediterranean coastal cities, and (3) to posit that this feature represents an areal loan from the Western Peripheral Akkadian employed in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age. What Gəʿəz and (especially) Sabaic illustrate is that highly comparable morphological sequences are found in West Semitic (including Central Semitic) languages that were spoken outside the Levantine littoral, for which such contact-induced borrowings from Akkadian cannot be entertained. With this comparative framework in view, we are prepared to turn to the system of interrogative and indefinite pronouns in the Ugaritic language.

Chapter 4

The State of the *Question* in Ugaritic Studies:

Interrogative Pronouns and Bare Interrogative Indefinites

4.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses a series of forms and related matters that stand at the heart of the system of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, namely, *interrogative pronouns*. As the typological discussion provided in ch. 2 and the comparative Semitic survey comprising ch. 3 have prepared us to expect, Ugaritic indefinite pronouns are closely related to interrogatives. The nature of that relationship, however, cannot be appreciated apart from a clear and thorough understanding of the interrogative pronominal system on which it is based.

Unfortunately, the current state of Ugaritological reference literature suggests that such a picture cannot be taken for granted. Scholars have arrived at widely variant views of the interrogative pronouns that are actually attested or that must be theorized (even if unattested) for the development of a coherent system. In nearly every case, forms deemed by some to be interrogative are thought by others to be indefinite, and disagreement regarding the animacy status of each pronoun is routine. In some cases, a single form in a single text has been identified as a personal interrogative, an impersonal interrogative, a personal indefinite pronoun, and an impersonal indefinite pronoun. The set of attestations of each interrogative/indefinite pronoun is sufficiently restricted that such points of disagreement are both natural and detrimental to descriptive efforts devoted to the study of indefinite pronouns. Did Ugaritic make use of bare interrogative indefinites, as did many other Semitic languages, or only augmented interrogative indefinites? In the case of such augmented forms, what is the basic interrogative that has been

augmented? Scholars have claimed to identify or have theoretically reconstructed interrogatives consisting only of {m} (thus /mV/), of {mh}/{my}, and of {mn}. If a basic interrogative /mV/ can be verified, then should forms such as {mh}/{my} be treated as augmented interrogatives (i.e., $mV + h/y$) or as simple allomorphs? The questions only continue to multiply when we come to indefinite pronouns like *mn**m*—is this a case of $m + (h +) n + m$, of $m(h) + n + m$, or of $mn + m$? Does the addition of each successive clitic element constitute synchronically productive clitic-stacking (with each element serving an independent function) or the result of diachronic processes of bleaching and renewal? The current state of the discussion allows no straightforward answer, as the significantly divergent classifications provided for each such pronoun offered—even in relatively recent reference literature—illustrates.

Much of this diversity of opinion, however, may be remediable. Several developments suggest that such optimism is warranted. First, the steady march of epigraphic studies produced over the last several decades (especially those by Bordreuil, Hawley, Pardee, and Prosser)—not all of which are published—place scholarship today on a much surer footing than previously possible. These epigraphic improvements are not uniformly represented in the secondary reference literature (Tropper, more than any other scholar, has incorporated such advances in the second edition of his *Ugaritische Grammatik*, making this work exceptionally reliable in this respect), meaning that some putative attestations of interrogative/indefinite pronouns currently registered in such works may turn out not to exist upon closer inspection.

Second, even in the most responsible reference works available, examples of interrogative or bare interrogative indefinite pronouns are frequently cited with minimal context. In some cases, this is due to the fact that the context is poorly understood or badly preserved, but that in itself illustrates the fact that scientific control of the interpretations proposed is all too

often impossible. The threat this poses in the present case is especially acute: a lexical item that may, on some reconstructions, consist of only one consonant and that may mean *who?*, *what?*, *which?*, *whoever*, *whatever*, *someone* (all of which have actually been proposed) runs the risk of becoming the sort of catchall variable easily invoked in any context to deal with otherwise inconvenient {m}s. A controlled study of indefinite pronouns requires a surer foundation.

Fortunately, the surrounding context in many cases can be evaluated with much greater clarity today than it could in the past as a result of two further developments in the field. The first consists of the completion of Pardee's *Les textes épistolaires*, a complete study of all Ugaritic epistolary documents, now slated for publication in the series Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique. As all examples of bare interrogative pronouns found in prose appear in epistolary documents, this study of the entire corpus of Ugaritic letters provides an invaluable asset to describing such pronouns. In many cases, comparative study of multiple similarly formulated epistolary documents allows more confident interpretation of what were historically uninterpretable passages, thereby facilitating clearer evaluation of interrogatives/indefinites appearing in these passages. The second major development consists of the complete publication of the Ugaritic documents recovered from the House of 'Urtēnu (Bordreuil and Pardee 1991, 2001a; Bordreuil and Pardee with Hawley 2012) and from the neighboring site of Ras Ibn Hani (Bordreuil and Pardee 2019). Bare interrogative pronouns make relatively few appearances in these newer texts, but any additions to such a meager data set are welcome. Even more importantly, these newly published texts have revolutionized the field in allowing far clearer analyses of features long known or suspected to exist in the language, contributing to our ability to understand more fully the contexts in which interrogative pronouns do appear.

In light of these developments, a comprehensive reevaluation of the empirical basis for the system of Ugaritic interrogative and bare interrogative indefinite pronouns is both overdue and feasible. This reevaluation comprises the majority of the discussion that follows (readers who are interested primarily in the linguistic conclusions are encouraged to direct their attention to sec. 4.7). Forms to be studied here are restricted to those that have actually been identified in the literature¹ as interrogative pronouns: {m}, {mh}, {my}, {mn}, and {áy}. To qualify for treatment in this chapter, lexemes identified as indefinite pronouns must be orthographically identical to one of these five forms. Forms with any further modification (e.g., {mnm}, {mnh}, {mnk}, etc.) are treated in the following chapters. As what may initially appear to be an exception to this principle, I do treat in the present chapter one textual attestation of {mhy} and one of {mnm}. These are included because they have been nearly universally recognized as *unmodified* interrogatives (in terms that will become clearer below). They are set off in the following discussion (rather than being subsumed under a more basic lexical heading) for the simple reason that scholars differ regarding the lexeme with which they should be identified.

In the textual review that follows, I separate the texts on a strictly formal (i.e., orthographic) basis, making no attempt to structure the discussion semantically or syntactically (though semantics and syntax are discussed in each case). For each form, texts are presented in the order of their discovery, which facilitates a progressive review of the literature and the evolving picture of interrogative and bare interrogative indefinites in Ugaritic. Once the texts have been discussed, I provide a synthesis in which the morphology, semantics, and syntax of

¹ This assessment is based on an initial review of a number of key reference works (Gordon 1940; 1947; 1955; 1965/1998; Aistleitner 1963; Parker 1967; Segert 1984; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995; Pardee 1997e; 2004; 2007e; 2011; Tropper 1999; 2000/2012; 2002; 2008; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000; 2003; 2015; Sivan 2001; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004; 2009; Gianto 2012; Huehnergard 2012; Tropper and Vita 2019) and has been augmented, where necessary, to incorporate ideas expressed in other publications, including anthologies and text-specific studies.

each pronoun are indicated. In order to facilitate reference to the treatment that follows as well as a rapid overview of the reference bibliography (indicated in n. 1), I offer a basic outline of the relevant forms, textual attestations, and semantic evaluations provided in the secondary literature as Appendix 4.1.

4.1 Ugaritic {m(-)}

A number of the works surveyed in Appendix 4.1 suggest that a pronoun {m} functioning as a personal interrogative,² impersonal interrogative,³ personal indefinite,⁴ or impersonal indefinite⁵ must be theorized to account for the textually attested pronominal forms and distributional patterns. Others have actually claimed to identify such forms in specific texts, and these are treated exhaustively below. In this section are gathered all putative examples of an interrogative or indefinite element consisting of the grapheme {m} and *not* followed by {h,y,n} (which are treated in subsequent sections). The notation “{m(-)}” is employed to signal the fact that many scholars identify a fuller form, such as *mh*, behind the graphic sequences treated below (e.g., *māt* is treated by some as **maha=ti > ma`ati*; similarly, *mlk* is understood by some to reflect **mah lēka > mallēka*). These interpretive positions are removed from consideration for the moment in keeping with the empirical orientation identified above as a necessary methodological prerequisite and expedient. If the results of the following discussion produce a robust list of attestations for an interrogative/indefinite {m}, then we may be inclined to do away with hypothesized assimilations in favor of other proposed vocalizations (e.g., /mā/ or /ma/), especially if no consistent phonological environment is present to account for a routine loss of

² Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56 (*m-*); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179 (*mī*); 2009: 329 (*mī*).

³ Segert 1984: 48 (*mā*); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179 (*ma*); 2009: 330 (*ma*).

⁴ Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179 (*mī*); 2009: 329 (*mī*).

⁵ Aistleitner 1963: 175; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179 (*ma*); 2009: 330 (*ma*).

such a theorized consonant in the graphic representation of the pronoun. If, on the other hand, we identify only a small number of possible examples, which *can* be explained in terms of regular sound changes, we may be inclined to strike interrogative/indefinite *m* from the lexicon, assigning the attestations to one of the pronominal lexemes discussed in subsequent sections.

4.1.1 RS 2.[003]⁺ i 38 (= *KTU* 1.14): *mát krt*

The Ugaritic poetic narrative of *Kirta* begins with a lengthy and evocative representation of the king's heirless state. Toward the end of the first column, *Kirta*'s emotional turmoil is described in terms of tearful exhaustion resulting in a deep if eventful sleep, during which he is visited by the deity *'Ilu*. The first divinely spoken words the audience of this narrative encounters are these:

RS 2.[003]⁺ i 38-43⁶ (= *KTU* 1.14)

38) . . . māt	MĀT
39) krt . k ybky	<i>kirta kī yabkiyu</i>
40) ydm' . n'mn . ḡlm	<i>yidma 'u na 'mānu ḡalmu</i>
41) il . mlk 'ṭ'r àbh	<i>'ili mulka ṭōri 'abīhu</i>
42) yārš . hm . drk[t]	<i>ya 'arrišu himma darkata</i>
43) k àb . à'dm'	<i>ka 'abī 'adami</i>

MĀT *Kirta* that he should weep?

(That) the goodly one, *'Ilu*'s lad, should cry?

Would he request the kingship of the Bull, his father?

Or dominion like the father of Mankind?

⁶ For the text, see the recent, autopsy-based copy and transliteration available in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 100, 169-172.

The context provided by the following lines renders it fairly clear that the opening words of this discourse are intended to suggest that *Kirta*'s weeping need not continue. The benevolent *'Ilu* offers kingship and dominion to pacify the king's distress (though these efforts finally miss the mark, as *Kirta* makes clear at the beginning of the second column). Although Virolleaud initially struggled to make sense of these two bicola, taking {mât} as a contextually inappropriate "centaines (de créatures)" (1936a: 37), subsequent interpreters quickly caught the sense of the passage. Already in 1946, Ginsberg (1946: 14) translated *'Ilu*'s first words as "What ails thee, Keret, that he weeps," explaining {mât} as an interrogative *m(h)* followed by the second-person singular independent personal pronoun *ât* and comparing it to Biblical Hebrew *mâ^h lə-* and *mî^y 'at* (1946: 35). This line of interpretation, according to which {m} represents an impersonal interrogative "what?" (whether reconstructed as **mV* or as **mVh(V)*) has been adopted in a great number of treatments,⁷ and has in some cases even returned the comparative favor performed by the Biblical Hebrew data.⁸ Others arrive at the same basic sense by alternative routes, such as the proposal of a *personal* interrogative **my ât > mât*.⁹

Yet both of these solutions involve an unexpected and rather immediate shift from direct address in the second person to a third-person verbal form (*ybky*, "he weeps"). Not all are equally

⁷ To provide but a small selection of examples: Ginsberg 1950: 143; Driver 1956: 28, 29 (though he allows for a personal interrogative, *my ât > mât*; see p. 28 and 162); Aistleitner 1959: 89; Gibson 1977: 83 (also allowing for personal *my ât > mât*); de Moor and Spronk 1982: 158 (the authors misrepresent Ginsberg's position as appealing to a personal *my ât* and appear to think themselves the originators of an interpretation based on an impersonal interrogative); Greenstein 1997: 13, 42 n. 10; Wyatt 1998: 184; 2002: 184; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528.

⁸ E.g., Levine's citation of this text as a comparandum to justify the interpretation of *ma^h hū^w* (') in Num 16:11 not as an identifying question ("who is he that you should grumble against him?") but as a question targeting Aaron's condition and status: "what is it with him, what is wrong with him?" (Levine 1993: 413).

⁹ So Gray 1955: 8, 30; 1964: 12, 35; noted as a possibility in Driver 1956: 28; Gibson 1977: 83.

concerned by this shift,¹⁰ but those unpersuaded of its literary viability have either read as¹¹ or emended to¹² a personal interrogative {mn⁽¹⁾} or have analyzed {mát} as an interrogative pronoun bearing a final *-t*:

(1) **RS 2.[003]⁺ i 38-39 (Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 170)**

mn¹ (39) krt . k ybky

mīna kirta kī yabkiyu

WH PN COMP weep-G.IPFV.3MS

“Who is *Kirta* that he should weep?”

(2) **RS 2.[003]⁺ i 38-39 (Tropper 2012: 240)**

mát (39) krt . k ybky

ma`ati kirta kī yabkiyu

WH PN COMP weep-G.IPFV.3MS

“Was hat *Keret*, daß er weint”

The former of these, while impossible to exclude, rests upon emendation, rendering it incapable of bearing much empirical weight. The latter solution rests on a comparative foundation. It was

¹⁰ See de Moor and Spronk (1982: 158 with n. 50) and del Olmo Lete (1996: 29-30), both citing Couroyer’s earlier study of the phenomenon (1977). It is worth observing that many of the cited examples come from Phoenician burial or votive inscriptions, where shifts in person may be understandable in genre-specific terms (such as those suggested by Holmstedt 2013: 99 n. 17). Each example would have to be considered on an individual basis to determine the extent to which such shifts can be described as a normative pattern, but the shift from second to third person later in *Kirta* itself (RS 2.[003]⁺ ii 26), noted by de Moor and Spronk (1982: 158 n. 50), provides grounds for admitting the possibility. In this case, however, the shift takes place between sentences, not within a single sentence, as would be the case here, making the Biblical Hebrew example they cite (1 Sam 20:12) more apposite.

¹¹ E.g., Sauren and Kestemont 1971: 195.

¹² E.g., Gordon 1947: 247; 1955: 289; 1965/1998: 435; Pardee 2004: 314; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:20-22, 179; 2009: 170-172, 329.

first suggested by Tropper and now appears in several grammatical sketches and reference works.¹³ He suggests comparison of the form *māt* with other interrogatives bearing a final *-t* in Semitic, for which he cites Amarna Canaanite *miyati* and putative *'ayyati* and Gə'əz *mānt*. Drawing on this comparison, he suggests interpreting *māt* accordingly as an impersonal interrogative **maha=ti > ma'ati*.¹⁴

Yet this approach faces several serious obstacles. First, the Amarna Canaanite *'ayyati* may in fact comprise an epigraphic ghost-word. The sole instance of this pronoun identified by Rainey (1996: III:110), whom Tropper cites for the datum, appears in EA 139:36. Yet if the more recent revision of the reading of the PI-sign in Rainey's *a-ya-ti* to *a-wa-ti* is accepted,¹⁵ then this pronoun ceases to exist.¹⁶

Second, while the Amarna Canaanite pronoun *miyati* appears in four letters¹⁷ and offers what initially appears to be a better parallel,¹⁸ in all four cases, *miyati* precedes the first-person pronoun *anāku* immediately (“Who am I?”). This distributional fact is not noted in Rainey's (1996: I:108) or Tropper and Vita's (2010: 43-44) treatments,¹⁹ but it sets the Amarna data apart from the Ugaritic example under consideration. To be clear, I do not mean to suggest that the enclitic *-ti* functions here as a first-person morpheme. While it is true that *-ti* is used as a 1cs suffix-conjugation inflectional morpheme following the analogical extension of *-ī* from the 1cs pronominal suffix to other first-person forms in Canaanite, evident already during the Amarna

¹³ See Tropper 2000/2012: 240; 2002: 27; 2008: 67; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488.

¹⁴ Tropper 2000/2012: 240; 2002: 27; 2008: 67; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488

¹⁵ See Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 714, 1491. The new *awāti šumuru* is understood to refer to “things of Šumru” (Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 715).

¹⁶ As noted by Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey (2015: 1491), various readings have been proposed in the past, making this a shaky foundation for establishing the existence of a pronoun *'ayyati*.

¹⁷ EA 197:5-6; 220:11-12; 254:8-10; and 255:12-14; Rainey 1996: I:108.

¹⁸ Each case appears to be a rhetorical question (“Who am I that I should . . .?”), readily comparable to the force of the question imagined by interpreters of the Ugaritic text under consideration.

¹⁹ Krahmalkov (1969: 203) noted the fixed form of the attestations (always followed by *anāku*) but did not address this distributional feature.

Period,²⁰ I am not aware of other evidence for indexing interrogative pronouns for agreement with the person of their subject.²¹ Regardless of the explanation preferred, it is worth noting that each case of *miyati* is followed by a first-person pronoun, while {mât} in this Ugaritic text is not.

Third, Lam has recently objected to Tropper’s solution, noting correctly the absence of other examples of *t*-bearing interrogatives in Ugaritic (2019: 185). This objection can actually be taken one step further: not only is such an interrogative otherwise unattested in Ugaritic,²² but the precise combination assumed (**mah(a) + ti*) is nowhere attested in Semitic. Fourth, and closely related to the third, this proposal depends on an *ad hoc* sound change of *h > ’ / V_V* (**maha=ti > ma’ati*).

Most recently, Lam (2019) has offered another line of analysis for consideration, according to which {mât} represents an impersonal interrogative pronoun *mah(a)*²³ followed by a form of the verb $\sqrt{\text{tw}}$, “to come”:

²⁰ Note the first-person pronoun *a-nu-ki* found in EA 287:66, 69 (Rainey 1996: I:48) and the routinely appearing 1cs suffix-conjugation forms ending in *-ti* (< **-tu*) (see Rainey 1996: II:284-287).

²¹ Though several Biblical Hebrew examples involving what appears to be a pleonastic pronoun following *mîw* come to mind: Est 7:5 (*mîw hūw(’)* *ze^h*, “who is <he> this?”); Job 13:19 (*mîw hūw(’)* *yārṣṣb* ‘*immādṣ*’, “who <he> will contend with me?”); Isa 50:9 (*mîw hūw(’)* *yārṣṣ ḗnṣ*, “who <he> will condemn me?”).

²² Of course, *t*-bearing personal pronouns are found in Ugaritic as oblique pronominal forms, which serve as more immediate comparanda. Huehnergard (2012: 128) notes Tropper’s interpretation of {mât} as a reflex of **mahati*, though he goes beyond Tropper’s proposal by suggesting a relationship to other oblique pronominal forms (like *hwt*). While these internal comparanda provide evidence for a pronoun ending in *-t*, they prove finally unilluminating, as neither Ugaritic {mât} nor EA *miyati* is used in a syntactic role for which an oblique case-function would be expected.

²³ Lam’s presentation assumes a basic form /mah(a)/ for the impersonal interrogative pronoun, and he is accordingly required to posit the regressive assimilation of /h/ to /’/ preceding the verb /’atâ/. Yet the proposed analysis is also compatible with alternative reconstructions of the pronoun (e.g., /mā/, which would require no assimilation to account for a missing consonant). I note this here for the sake of explicitness, though I conclude below that an impersonal interrogative /mV/ cannot be reconstructed for Ugaritic.

(3) **RS 2.[003]⁺ i 38-39 (Lam 2019: 188)**

mât (39) krt . k ybky

ma^ʾ = ʾatâ kirta kī yabkiyu

WH=come-G.PFV.3MS PN COMP weep-G.IPFV.3MS

“What has come upon Kirta that he should weep?”

The Biblical Hebrew comparanda he cites for the imagined semantics and morphosyntax of $\sqrt{ʾ}$ tw are compelling (see especially Job 3:25),²⁴ and a solution that does not require emendation is to be preferred, *ceteris paribus*. The criticism he offers of previous approaches, however, may not persuade all. Specifically, he wishes to exclude approaches like those exemplified in (1) and (2) above on the grounds that these would be formulated comparably to a standard literary expression found in material from El-Amarna, the Hebrew Bible, and extra-biblical Hebrew inscriptions and used to “abase” the target of the interrogative (whether the speaker or another participant in the discourse). Lam reasons accordingly that readers/hearers of (1) or (2) would draw the conclusion that ʾIlu was deriding *Kirta*—something that, in his view, the narrative context does not support (2019: 184-188).

²⁴ The most significant difficulty facing Lam’s proposal is the use of $\sqrt{ʾ}$ tw with an accusative complement (in this case *Kirta*), in Lam’s terms, “the direct object” or perhaps “a sort of adverbial accusative” (2019: 189). At least one attempt to identify an instance of this verb construed with an adverbial accusative in Ugaritic has been criticized on morphosyntactic grounds in the past (see Gianto 1991: 128), as the sole clear attestation of $\sqrt{ʾ}$ tw + DESTINATION involves a PP complement (*l āhlhm // l mšknthm* [RS 3.343⁺ iii 18-19 (= *KTU* 1.15)]). Lam cites Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995 for evidence that the Aramaic reflex of this verb, $\sqrt{ʾ}$ ty, could take accusative complements, but each of the five (not three, *pace* Lam 2019: 189) examples appearing in the cited work involve a complement referring to a location (*mšryn*, *pnh*, and *bytk*, cited in full; two further attestations are mentioned without full citation: *KAI* 233:11 [where one finds the complement ʾšwr, “Assur,” and Cowley 1929: 108, l. 4 [= *TAD* D 7.1:4], where the complement is the TN *swn*). The use of a TN or comparably location-denoting NP as an adverbial accusative associated with a verb of motion is entirely unremarkable. The use of a PN as the patient of a verb of motion (used in an extended sense of “to come upon, to beset”), on the other hand, requires defense. It is in this respect that Job 3:25 proves so essential to Lam’s argument, as one finds there the form *wayye ʾtāyēnī*, “it (fear) has come upon me.” The expression appearing in the following parallel colon is *yābō(ʾ) lī*, “it (what I fear) has come to me,” which rules out imaginable alternative to the form in question (such as repointing the form found in MT as a C verbal form, **wayya ʾtāyēnī*, the semantics of which would, in any event, remain problematic in their own right).

While Lam is correct in perceiving 'Ilu's concern for *Kirta* as the dominant issue in this portion of the narrative, this does not necessarily rule out a question that highlights the unexpected or even inappropriate character of *Kirta*'s behavior in light of his status as "the goodly lad of 'Ilu" (see text above). That a question of this sort may be posed out of concern is suggested by a similar interaction found in RS 24.251⁺:

RS 24.251⁺:8-12 (KTU 1.107:8-12)²⁵

(08) . . . šrgzz . ybky . km n' r	ŠRGZZ yabkiyu kama na 'ri
(09) [ydm' .]'k'm . šgr .	[yidma 'u] kama šaġīri
špš . b šmm . tqru	šapšu bi šamîma tiqra 'u
(10) [. . .]nplt . y'--' .	[. . .]napalta yā ' --'
md' . nplt . b šr (11) [š]'r'ġzz .	maddū 'a napalta bi ŠR ŠRGZZ
w t'pky . 'k'[m .] n' r [.]	wa tapkiyu ka[ma] na 'ri
't'dm' . km (12) [š]'ġ'r	tidma 'u kama [ša]ġīri

“ŠRGZZ weeps like a boy, he sheds tears like a youth. Šapšu calls out in the heavens: '[Why] have you fallen, O ' --'? Why have you fallen in ŠR(?), O ŠRGZZ? (Why) do you weep like a boy? Shed tears like a youth?’”²⁶

²⁵ For the text, see Pardee 1988: 230.

²⁶ This presentation follows the interpretive approach indicated in Pardee's (1988: 241) translation: “Šrgzz pleure comme un garçon, [il versera des larmes] comme un jeune homme. Šapšu appelle dans les cieux: [Pourquoi] es-tu tombé, O [?] Pourquoi es-tu tombé dans la défaillance, O Šrgzz? (Pourquoi) pleures-tu comme un garçon? (Pourquoi) verses-tu des larmes comme un jeune homme?” Compare del Olmo Lete 2014: 159-160.

In the lines that follow, *Šapšu* appears to take action on behalf of the weeping individual,²⁷ rendering the two texts highly comparable. In both texts, a deity calls out to an afflicted individual, asking why they are crying and specifically calling attention to the incongruence between their age or station and the pitiful character of their behavior. In neither case must this question be construed as harsh derision, even if a critical edge is detectable.²⁸

With these observations in place, I see no way to rule out approaches like those indicated in (1) and (2) (certainly preferable to approaches treating {*át*} as the 2ms pronoun) on semantic or literary grounds, though Lam’s proposal currently remains the most parsimonious, as it requires neither emendation nor *ad hoc* sound changes in otherwise unattested forms. If correct, this interpretation of the text provides evidence for an impersonal interrogative pronoun represented graphically as {*m*} (either /*mV*/ or /*mVC*/, with the final consonant assimilating or lost to syncope). The interrogative is syntactically construed as the subject of the perfective verb {*át*} /*’atâ*/ and stands at the left edge of the sentence (providing evidence for WH-fronting, consistent with patterns more clearly observable below).

4.1.2 RS 3.322⁺ iii 46 (= *KTU* 1.19): *m lk yšm*

Following his retrieval and burial of the remains of his slain son in the third tablet of *’Aqhatu*, the chief protagonist of the legend, *Dāni’ilu*, pronounces a series of curses intended both to

²⁷ See Pardee 1988: 245.

²⁸ In fact, the use of questions characterized by exaggeration and/or motivated by a misapprehension of the interlocutor’s intent to open an episode is a frequent literary feature appearing in the poetic works of *Ba’lu*, *’Aqhatu*, and *Kirta*, where characters routinely pose questions more directly or harshly than the reader might expect. Consider, for example, the opening questions posed by *’Anatu* to *Ba’lu*’s messengers in RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 32-iv 4 (= *KTU* 1.3) and *’Aṭiratu*’s similar response to *Ba’lu* and *’Anatu* in RS 2.[008]⁺ ii 12-26 (= *KTU* 1.4; for discussion, see Burlingame forthcoming *b*). An example of more immediate relevance is found in *Kirta*’s own response to *’Ilu*’s attempts at placation (RS 2.[003]⁺ i 51-ii 5 = [*KTU* 1.14]): “What use have I for silver . . . ?” ([*lm ank ksp . . .*], reconstructed with a high degree of probability on the basis of parallels found in RS 2.[003]⁺ iii 33-37 (= *KTU* 1.14) and vi 17-22. With this startling question, *Kirta* seems to throw *’Ilu*’s generosity back in his face—only heirs would satisfy!

protect his son's body and avenge his murder. After invoking *Ba'lu* and requesting that he strike any bird of prey that dare fly over the burial site of 'Aqhatu (iii 42-45), *Dānī'ilu* curses various locations surrounding the site of the murder. To provide a bit of the following context, the first two curses are reproduced here, though the opening line is left unincorporated and only partially translated, leaving room to discuss the issues below:

RS 3.322+ iii 45-56 (= KTU 1.19)²⁹

(45) . . . qr . 'm'[ym] (46) mlk . yšm .	<i>qīru ma[yīma] MLK YŠM</i>
y lkm . qr . mym .	<i>yā lēka=ma qīru mayīma</i>
d ' '[lk] (47) mḥṣ . 'aqht . ḡzr .	<i>dū 'a[lēka] maḥaṣū 'aqhata ḡazra</i>
'amd . gr bt il	<i>'amada gūra bēta 'ili</i>
(48) 'nt . brḥ . p 'lm.h .	<i>'anata bi rôḥi³⁰ pa 'ālamaha</i>
'nt. p dr 'dr'	<i>'anata pa dāra dāri</i>
(49) 'db . uḥry mṭ . ydh	<i>'adaba 'uḥriyya maṭâ yadihu</i>
(50) ymḡ . l mrrt . tḡll . b nr	<i>yamḡū³¹ lê MRRT TĠLL B NR</i>
(51) yšû . gh . w . yšḥ .	<i>yišša 'u ḡāhu wa yašūḥu</i>
y lk . mrrt (52) tḡll . b nr	<i>yā lēka MRRT TĠLL B NR</i>
d 'lk . mḥṣ . 'aq'ht (53) ḡzr .	<i>dū 'alēka maḥaṣū 'aqhata ḡazra</i>
šršk . b arṣ . 'al (54) yp' .	<i>šuršuka bi 'arši 'al yapi'</i>
riš . ḡly . bd . ns'k	<i>ra 'šu ḡalāyu bīdi nāsi 'ika</i>

²⁹ The text as presented here is that reflected in an epigraphic study of this tablet in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

³⁰ This vocalization is intended to suggest a *qatl* noun from the root $\sqrt{rwḥ}$ (**rawḥu* > *rôḥu*), cognate to Biblical Hebrew *rēwah*, “interval,” and following the interpretive approach indicated by Pardee 1997d: 354 n. 118.

³¹ I have vocalized this as a contracted imperfective form (**yamḡiyu* > *yamḡū*) based on the clearly imperfective form appearing in the next verse, though a preterite form (*yamḡi*) is also possible.

(55) 'nt . brḥ . p 'lmh

'anata bi rôḥi pa 'ālamaha

(56) 'nt . p dr. dr

'anata pa dāra dāri

Spring of Water MLK CURSE (√yṣm)

“Woe to you, Spring of Water,

You near which they slew the valiant 'Aqhatu!

Reside ever as an alien in the temple of 'Ilu,

Now for a time and even forever,

Now and for all generations!”

After this, he prepared³² (his) staff (in) his hand,

he arrived at MRRT TĠLL B NR,

he lifted up his voice and cried:

“Woe to you, MRRT TĠLL B NR,

You near which they slew the valiant 'Aqhatu!

May your root not sprout in the ground,

May (your) head wither (?) in the hand of those who uproot you,

³² The verb √db in this text has received multiple diverging interpretations. The verb typically refers to arranging or laying something out. Perhaps “preparing” one’s staff simply refers to gathering one’s staff (and any other personal articles) as one prepares to leave? This is the sense implied by those who translate the verb as “to take” (see, e.g., Pardee 1997d: 354; Wyatt 1998/2002: 307; the verb √lqh is typically used for expressing this idea). Proposals range considerably, as a brief selection of proposals illustrates: “Again he waves the staff of his hand” (Ginsberg 1950: 154); “one whose hand a mean man makes to tremble” (Driver 1956: 65); “Faisant de la dernière(-née) son bâton” (Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974: 453); “let every last one make ready a staff for his hand” (Gibson 1977: 119); “cuyo báculo sea colocado el último” (del Olmo Lete 1981: 396); “He gestures with Fate, his staff” (Parker 1997: 75); “Er setzte das Ende des Stabes in seiner Hand auf” (Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1300).

Now for a time and even forever,

Now and for all generations!”

After these two curses, *Dānī’ilu* goes on to issue one more curse before returning home. This selection allows us to make several observations. First, the second (and later, the third) curse begins with *y lk* (/yā lêka/ “woe to you”), for which reason it is tempting to identify the first words of the first curse with the expression *y lkm* (/yā lêka=ma/ “woe to YOU”) in l. 46. This position receives further support from the fact the second (and later, the third) curse is preceded by a narrative speech introductory formula (*yšū gh w yšh*, l. 51). Taking our cue from these two contextual considerations, we may be tempted—with many interpreters³³—to understand l. 45 as a comparable narrative introduction: *qr mym mlk yšm /qīra mayīma malku yašimu/* “The king (then) curses Spring of Water.”³⁴

The principal problem posed by this approach has been recognized since the *editio princeps*. Namely, while most interpreters have attempted to see this as the noun /malku/ (“king”) and construed it as a reference to *Dānī’ilu*,³⁵ the protagonist of this poetic narrative is nowhere else so designated (Virolleaud 1936b: 166). Some have found this sufficiently troubling to pursue other interpretive options,³⁶ and Renfroe’s proposal is the one of greatest interest for present purposes. He tentatively suggests that {mlk} in this passage “be analyzed as *mā*, usually spelled *mh* in Ugaritic, + the suffixed preposition *lk*, meaning ‘what is yours, that which belongs to you’” (1986: 70; see further Pardee 1997d: 354 with n. 115):

³³ See, e.g., Ginsberg 1950: 154; Driver 1956: 63; Caquot, Szyner, and Herdner 1974: 453; Gibson 1977: 119; del Olmo Lete 1981: 396; Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1299; Wyatt 1998/2002: 307.

³⁴ “Spring of Water” may be a literal spring (Pardee 1997d: 354) or a toponym (Ginsberg 1950: 154; 1955: 277; Driver 1956: 63; Caquot, Szyner, and Herdner 1974: 453; Gibson 1977: 119; del Olmo Lete 1981: 396; Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1299; Parker 1997: 74; Wyatt 1998: 307; 2002: 307; Belmonte Marín 2001: 228).

³⁵ See n. 33 above for examples.

³⁶ Margalit 1984: 152-153; 1989: 163; Renfroe 1986: 69-70; Pardee 1997d: 354 with n. 115; Parker 1997: 74.

(4) RS 3.322⁺ iii 45-46

qr . ʿmʿ[ym] (46) mlk . yšm

qīru *mayīma* *mV(l)=lê=ka* *yašim*

spring-NOM.M.SG.CSTR water-OBL.M.PL.ABS what=to=you-M.SG destroy-G.JUSS.3MS

“Oh spring of waters, may what belongs to you be destroyed (lit. let one destroy)!”

The suitable contextual sense resulting from this approach commends its plausibility, though other approaches may be available that relieve this literary tension without positing an indefinite {m} in this text. For example, if we wish to treat ll. 45-46a as direct discourse comprising the first words of the curse, we may suggest the following alternative:

(5) RS 3.322⁺ iii 45-46

qr . ʿmʿ[ym] (46) mlk . yšm

qīra *mayīma* *malku* *yašim*

spring-ACC.M.SG.CSTR water-OBL.M.PL.ABS king-NOM.M.SG.ABS destroy-G.JUSS.3MS

“May a king befoul³⁷ (the) Spring of Waters!”

A curse of this sort, condemning the addressee to being overrun by a hostile king, finds an interesting—and highly suggestive—parallel in the much later sarcophagus inscription of *ʿEšmun ʿazor* of Sidon (late sixth century BCE):

³⁷ The etymon on which the interpretation of *yšm* above is based, Arabic *wašama*, has more to do with ruin than destruction, and, even if it need not be restricted to the semantics of “to spoil, mar” (as Margalit had suggested [1984: 153], contested by Renfroe [1986: 69-70]), this semantic range may accord well with an interpretation of the curse as one that pertains specifically to the waters of a spring (as Renfroe suggested [1986: 70; see also 1992: 160, where the uncertainty of the connection is acknowledged]).

AO 4806 = KAI 14:8-13³⁸

(08) . . . 'l ykn lm mškb 't rp'm	. . . let there be no resting place for them with the Rephaim,
w'l yqbr bqbr	and may they not be buried in a tomb,
w'l ykn lm bn w zr'	and may they have no son or offspring
(09) tḥtnm	to take their place.
wysgrnm h'lnm hqdšm 't mmlk<t> 'dr	May the holy gods hand them over to a majestic king,
[-]'š mšl bnm lq	who will rule over them to
(10) štnm	cut them off—
'yt mmlkt 'm 'dm h'	that is, that king or man
'š ypth 'lt mškb z 'm 'š yš' 'yt	who opens this resting place or who carries off
(11) ḥlt z	this sarcophagus,
w'yt zr' mml<k>t h' 'm 'dmm hmt	along with the offspring of that king or those men.
'l ykn lm šrš lmt w	May they have no root below nor
(12) pr lm 'l	fruit above,
wt' r bḥym tḥt šmš . . .	nor renown among the living beneath the sun!

The similarity between the curse appearing in *KAI 14:11-12* (bolded above) to that appearing in ll. 53-54 of the Ugaritic text has been noted before³⁹ and adds weight to the possibility that the preceding imprecations *in both texts* may likewise involve reference to the unwelcome arrival of an antagonistic king (Ugaritic *mlk*, Phoenician *mmlkt*).⁴⁰

³⁸ I present the text broken down into clausal sense units to facilitate comparison with the translation. This is not a stichographic presentation and is not intended to suggest a poetic formulation for these curses.

³⁹ E.g., Caquot, Szyner, and Herdner 1974: 453-454 n. 1.; Gibson 1977: 119 n. 9; Pardee 1997d: 354 n. 121. Ginsberg (1963) argues that the Phoenician (and Hebrew) word *šrš* refers to the root and trunk of the tree and that *pr* refers to the crown (not the fruit alone).

⁴⁰ Of course, the graphic sequence {*mlk*} also allows for the possibility that *'lilmilku* here invokes his namesake: “May *Milku* destroy the spring of water/*Qīr Mayīma*.” This would create a literary inclusio with the final curse (iv 5) (in which another divinity, *Ba'lu*, is invoked). This option is not to be preferred. Not only does the parallel with *KAI*

The availability of such alternatives does not exclude the possibility of treating {mlk} as an instance of an interrogative pronoun functioning as the indefinite head of a zero-relative clause, but the present example should be viewed as contingent. If other evidence for the comparable use of bare interrogative indefinites emerges over the course of this survey, then this approach gains plausibility. If it does not, however, other alternatives, like that proposed above, must be considered.

4.1.3 RS 15.008:11 (= *KTU* 2.16): *m ʔb*

In a letter to his mother *Tarriyelli* (the queen of Ugarit), an individual named *Talmiyānu*⁴¹ reports the status of his diplomatic mission to the Hittite Great King in the following terms:

RS 15.008:6-13⁴²

(06) . . . ʔmy	<i>ʔummiya</i>
(07) td´ . ky . ʔrbt	<i>tida ʔī kīya ʔarabtu</i>
(08) l pn . špš	<i>lê panī šapši</i>
(09) w pn . špš . nr	<i>wa panû šapši nārû</i>
(10) by . mid . w ʔm	<i>biya ma ʔda wa ʔummī</i>
(11) tšmḥ . mʔb	<i>tašammiḥ ma ʔʔabâ</i>
(12) w ʔl . twḥln	<i>wa ʔal tiwwaḥilāna</i>
(13) ʔtn . ḥrd ʔnk	<i>ʔātinu ḥurādi ʔanāku</i>

14 (just discussed) suggest a human king may be in view, but the deity *Milku* is also otherwise absent from the mythological texts of *Ba ʔlu*, *Kirta*, and *ʔqhatu*.

⁴¹ Past proposals regarding the identity of this individual are gathered in Burlingame and Pardee 2019: 199 n. 32.

⁴² For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 236-237.

“My mother, you should be aware that I have arrived before
the Sun, and the face of the Sun has shone on me brightly. So
let my mother cheer up *Ma`abû*, and let neither of you
worry! I am (now) the *‘ātinu*-official of the *ḥurādu*-troops!”⁴³

⁴³ Most of the interpretive decisions represented here reflect the position of Pardee 1984a: 219-221 (see further Pardee 2002b: 89; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 236-237). The only significant difference appears in the vocalization above of the form {twhln} in l. 12 as a 2cd rather than a 3fs verbal form. If one does not wish to interpret this form as a long PC form (*yaqtulu*) used with the prohibitor *āl* (for sporadic occurrences of this phenomenon in Biblical Hebrew, see Joüon and Muraoka 2006: 349 [sec. 114k], 568 with n. 2 [sec. 160f]), then one is obliged to treat the final {n} as a case of the enclitic particle *-n* (so Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:84; 2009: 237), an energetic (so Tropper 2000/2012: 549, 639; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 946), or a 1cs pronominal suffix (so Sjörs 2018: 135-136 n. 61).

The first of these options is preferred above, as it faces none of the difficulties associated with the second and third approaches, treated in turn immediately below.

The second of these depends on the possibility of negating an energetic verbal form with *āl*—something for which clear evidence in Ugaritic is not available. None of the examples of *āl* cited by Tropper (2012: 816-817; see similarly del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 44-45) is followed by an n-bearing form, and the only such example I have found in his grammar is that suggested on p. 657, where *āl tbkn* (RS 3.325⁺ i 25 [= *KTU* 1.16]) is understood to involve a 2ms jussive + energetic (**tabkiy-(a)nna > tabkīnna > tabkinna*). At least as plausible, in light of the use of *√bky* with a pronominal suffix referring to the entity mourned in RS 2.[009]⁺ i 16 (= *KTU* 1.6; *tbkynh w tqbrnh*, “she weeps for him and buries him”), is the interpretation of *tbkn* in this example as a 2ms jussive + 1cs pronominal suffix (*‘al tabki=ni*, “do not weep for me”; so, among others, Ginsberg 1950: 147; Greenstein 1997: 31; Wyatt 2002: 222; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 218; Sjörs 2018: 135). If, on the other hand, one wishes to interpret *tbkn* intransitively (e.g., Virolleaud 1941: 116; Caquot, Szyner, and Herdner 1974: 552; Pardee 1997c: 339), the final {n} may represent the enclitic *-n* as easily as the energetic.

The third, proposed only by Sjörs (2018: 135 n. 61), faces semantic problems. Those who have preferred a D-parsing (Tropper 2000/2012: 549, 639; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 946) and an N-parsing (Pardee 1984a: 221 [also allowing D]; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 317) have agreed on the intransitive character of this verb in the present context, for which reason the presence of a 1cs pronominal suffix must be judged unlikely (note that the Syriac cognate, which is employed in the C-stem, introduces entities prompting despair with the preposition *‘al* or *men* [Sokoloff 2009: 572]).

Once this decision regarding the final {n} has been made, there is no formal or contextual reason to exclude a dual parsing from consideration. Tropper (2000/2012: 549, 639) allows for a 2fs or 3fs parsing, while Pardee prefers a 3fs (1984a: 220), of which either the addressee (*Tarriyelli*) or the individual named *Ma`abû* (if a woman) would be the subject (2002b: 89 n. 7). Assuming that the verbal form in question is an N-stem form (see Pardee 1984a: 221 [N or D]; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 317 [N]; cf. Tropper 2000/2012: 549, 639; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 946 [D]), the three parsings proposed (3fs, 2fs, 2cd) would differ only with respect to their vocalization: /tiwwahil=na/ (3fs), /tiwwahilī=na/ (2fs), /tiwwahilā=na/ (2cd). In the context of this letter, *Tarriyelli* is being informed of positive outcomes of *Talmiyānu*’s mission, rendering it likely that the prohibition of anxiety applies, at least, to her. Since the “cheering up” or “gladdening” of *Ma`abû* has also been requested, it is reasonable to suggest that this individual is likewise excused from worry by the contents of the present missive. A 2cd parsing allows for both (for another possible case of the 2cd jussive + enclitic *-n*, see Pardee 2003-2004: 225 [though he tentatively prefers an energetic parsing there]; cf. Tropper 2000/2012: 446 [sec. 73.233.9]).

Of course, this entails a quick shift from third-person reference to the addressee back to second-person reference (with which the address arguably begins in ll. 6-7 [see Pardee 1984a: 220-221]). Shifts between second- and third-person reference are attested in other letters (e.g., RS 9.479A; RS 94.2479), and such a shift must almost certainly be assumed in the present letter as well: the opening formulaic salutation and benediction are formulated in the second person, while the request for news found at the end of the letter is most easily understood as a third-person form (a 2fs jussive *tataṭībī* cannot be categorically ruled out, but it would be the only case in which {tttb} in

Of the different solutions proposed for handling the difficult sequence {māb} in l. 11,⁴⁴ Gzella's (2005: 314; 2007: 530) is the only one relevant to the present discussion. He suggests vocalizing this sequence /ma'(')abī/ (<*mah(a) 'abī) and interpreting it as a question (“how is father?”). Yet the appearance of a question of this sort between what appear to be two closely related injunctions (*tšmḥ* and *āl twḥln*) cannot be easily accepted, and the solution has been correctly judged “contextually rather difficult” (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 5).

4.1.4 RS 29.095:11 (= KTU 2.71): *p m yqh*

Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín have attributed indefinite semantics to {m} in the Ugaritic expression *p m yqh*, appearing in RS 29.095:11 in all three editions of their dictionary: “y cualquier cosa que quiera tomar” (1996-2000: 266) and “and anything that he wishes to take” (2003: 534; 2015: 528). This translation assumes the following grammatical and lexical analysis:

(6) RS 29.095:11 (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín)

p m yqh

pa mā yiqqaḥu

and what take-G.IPFV.3MS

“and whatever/anything that he will take”

this formula represented a second-person form). For readers who find the proposed shift to the second person in l. 12 too sudden, a 3cd parsing (identically vocalized as /tiwwaḥilā=na/), “may the two of them not worry,” may be more palatable.

⁴⁴ Bordreuil and Pardee (2004: II:84, 179; 2009: 236, 330) understand this to be a PN; other possibilities are discussed in del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2015: 5) and Pardee forthcoming *a*.

Most interpreters have understood this expression differently,⁴⁵ taking {m} here to represent the enclitic *-m* added to the conjunction *p*:

(7) **RS 29.095:11 (revised)**

pm yqh

pa=ma yiqqaḥ . . .

then=FOC take-G.JUSS.3MS

“then let him take . . . !”

An evaluation of these interpretive options and a determination of whether still further possibilities may be available can only be pursued with a bit more of the context in view. The relevant section⁴⁶ of the body of the letter is presented here with Pardee’s translation (2002b: 111) and a vocalization intended to reflect the same.

RS 29.095:9-12

(09) hnk . tšm ‘m	<i>hannaka tišma ‘ma</i>
(10) ‘dn . yštāl	<i>‘DN yišta’ ‘alu</i>
(11) ‘mnk . pm yqh	<i>‘immānuka pama yiqqaḥ</i>
(12) bk . p ‘pr	<i>bīka pā ‘PR</i>

⁴⁵ Tropper 2000/2012: 788, 790, 832; Pardee 2002b: 111 (“he may take”); 2003-2004: 168-169 (“so he may take”), 379; and even, somewhat surprisingly, del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 551 (“und (*irgendein Vorzeichen*) bekommen will”; they furthermore state explicitly that *yqh* lacks an object [2002: 552]). Verreet (1984: 320) takes a different approach, but one that similarly excludes an indefinite interpretation of {m} here: “er wird von dir eine Stellungnahme einholen.” He offers no explanation of this translation, but it would appear that he has understood {pm} as the common noun *p* (/pû/ “mouth”) + enclitic *-m*, here used in an extended sense to refer to a “statement” (“Stellungnahme”).

⁴⁶ That lines 9-12 can be isolated as a complete unit can be appreciated from (1) the fact that line 9 follows the formulaic request for news from the addressee and is set off from the preceding para-textually by the use of a horizontal dividing line; and (2) line 13 begins with a presentative particle {ht} followed by the 2ms independent personal pronoun {ât}, indicating a shift in topic.

“Now listen well: As ‘DN has been continually requesting of you, he may take a *bīku*-jar (of wine) by permission of ‘PR.”

The presence of the conjunction *p* (agreed upon by nearly all interpreters⁴⁷) means that, if *m yqh* is to be interpreted as a clause headed by an indefinite pronoun (thus either a syntactically embedded free relative or an unembedded parametric concessive conditional clause), it must function in relation to what *follows* it, which *must* be understood to provide the main matrix clause. I see no lexical analysis that would allow *bk* and ‘*pr* to be understood as two consecutive imperatives (“so whatever he takes, do X and do Y”).

Perhaps more tempting would be to take {*bk*} together with {*yqh*} (as *lqh b-* is the preferred means of expressing “to take from” in Ugaritic⁴⁸), but this could only be accomplished by emending {*bk*} to {*b<d>k*}, as only *bd* or *byd* are used following *lqh* when the entity from which something is taken is human (see examples cited in the works just mentioned).⁴⁹ The advantage of such an approach would lie in the fact that {*p*‘*pr*} could be interpreted as involving the conjunction *p* used to introduce the main clause (a function established independently for *p* [Troppe 2012: 790]). Yet once more, there appears to be no valid lexical item to which we could

⁴⁷ Verreet excepted; see n. 45 above.

⁴⁸ See Pardee 1975: 355-356; 1976: 249; 1979: 687; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 496-499.

⁴⁹ I am aware of only two possible exceptions. The first of these appears in in the second column of the second tablet of *Ba’lu* (RS 3.367⁺ ii 19’ = *KTU* 1.2 iii 19). The beginning of the line is lost, but following the break we find {*l . . . q`h . by*}. Whether {*q`h*} belongs to a form of \sqrt{lqh} is obviously a matter of conjecture, and most interpreters refrain from restoring the verb. Even if a form of \sqrt{lqh} is restored, only rarely is *by* understood as an adverbial PP indicating the person from whom something is taken. In fact, among translations surveyed, I have found only one in which *by* is handled in this manner (Wyatt 1998: 54; 2002: 54 [“[has tak]en [it?] from me”]; in contrast, see Virolleaud 1944-1945: 9 [*by* introduces the patient, “Il m’a saisi”]; del Olmo Lete 1981: 167 [*by* = “conmigo”]; Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1128 [*by* = particle of entreaty, “Ich bitte dich”]).

The second putative exception appears in RIH 83/22:10, which del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2015: 497) present thus: “*ksp d lqh PN b mlk* silver which PN has received from the king” (so also 1996-2000: 247; 2003: 502). Yet this interpretation of the text rests on a mistaken reading presented in Lagarce et al. 1984: 431 and replicated in Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1995: 483 (*KTU*²). The correct reading, according to which {*d*} rather than {*b*} precedes the noun {*mlk*}, was first presented in Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:129; 2009: 283, and has subsequently appeared in Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 2013: 558 (*KTU*³) and Bordreuil and Pardee 2019: 156 (no. 60).

appeal to make sense of the resulting expression. If it were possible to connect *pr* to Akkadian *epēru* (“to make provisions for”), a suitable sense could be achieved: “So whatever he (wants to) take from you, provide (it)” or, taking {pr} as a 1cs imperfective form (with loss of the 1cs performative /’V-/ before /’/50), “So whatever/no matter what he takes from you, I’ll make the necessary provisions.” This approach is confounded by a piece of etymological evidence available uniquely in Ugaritic: the Ugaritic root √hpr is used in this text and in a number of other texts (see attestations listed by del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 362) to refer to rations and is certainly to be recognized as the Ugaritic cognate of Akkadian *epēru*. The latter lexical item accordingly reflects √hpr, not **√’pr.

I have presented these potential lines of argumentation in order to demonstrate the fact that, at least as the lexicon currently exists, it is impossible to interpret {m} in RS 29.095:10 as an indefinite pronoun and arrive at a coherent interpretation of this portion of the letter. (A distinct interpretation of this section will be presented and defended in the next chapter, but I choose not to discuss it here, as it does not depend on or allow an indefinite reading of *pm yqh*.)

4.1.5 Summary

Having examined texts in which a bare interrogative or indefinite {m} has been proposed in the past, I conclude that there is only one text in which an interrogative function can be attributed to a lexeme represented graphically by the lone consonant {m} ({māt} in RS 2.[003]⁺ i 38).

Whether this provides evidence for an interrogative /mV/ (e.g., *mā* or *ma*) in Ugaritic must be determined once the rest of the data have been considered. As an initial observation, if Ugaritic did possess a productive interrogative /mV/, then we might expect to find more than one

⁵⁰ For this phenomenon, see Ginsberg 1932-1933: 114; Gordon 1965/1998: 34 (sec. 5.38); Rainey 1971: 168; Pardee 1980: 272; 2003-2004: 70 n. 251; Tropper 2000/2012: 157.

example, but I will defer conclusions on this matter to the discussion section at the end of the chapter. Of even greater importance, there is no clear evidence for an indefinite {m}. The possible example consisting of {mlk} in RS 3.322⁺ iii 46 is only *possible* and must be revisited once additional data have been considered.

4.2 Ugaritic {mh}

The existence of an interrogative element {mh} is far less open to debate,⁵¹ as a number of very clear attestations are available. A bare interrogative indefinite {mh}, on the other hand, comes quite close to amounting to a lexicographic ghost—an artifact of imprecise indexing. Of the works cited in the tabular overview above, few register the existence of such an indefinite pronoun, and where text citations are provided, they are actually to texts involving other forms.⁵² Aistleitner alone cites a text involving {mh} as evidence for an indefinite pronoun {mh}. He indicates “das, was” as a possible gloss for *mh* but he cites all instances of *mh*—interrogative and, we must suppose, indefinite—together without indicating which texts are thought to support this grammatical and lexicographic claim (1963: 179). Fortunately, Aistleitner published an anthology of translated Ugaritic texts several years prior (1959), and by comparing the texts cited in his 1963 *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* with his 1959 translations, one can isolate the single textual example that likely prompted the indefinite gloss indicated. This text is his II D, VI 36, referred to today as RS 2.[004] vi 36' (= *KTU* 1.17) and will be discussed below.

⁵¹ Reference works surveyed in Appendix 4.1 that identify an impersonal interrogative *mh* without text citations include Parker 1967: 26; Segert 1984: 48, 191; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Pardee 1997e: 134; 2004: 301; 2007e: 59; 2011: 464; Tropper 1999: 99; 2002: 27; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Gianto 2012: 35. Other sources surveyed cite specific textual examples and will be noted in connection with the texts they cite below.

⁵² Thus, while Parker (1967: 25) indicate the existence of an indefinite “mh-,” it subsequently becomes clear (1967: 26-27) that instances of *mhk(m)* are intended. Similarly, while del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín indicate an indefinite value for “m(h)” (1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528), the only cited example is the form {m} appearing in RS 29.095:11, discussed above (sec. 4.1.4).

4.2.1 RS 2.002:53, 60 (= KTU 1.23): *mh ylt*

Interpreters are broadly agreed that both instances of {mh} appearing in RS 2.002 represent impersonal interrogative pronouns. The two examples involve nearly identical wording and are presented here:

RS 2.002:52-53⁵³

(52) . . . rgm . l il . ybl .	<i>rigma lê `ili yabilu</i>
á`t`[t] (53) il . ylt `.`	<i>`attatā `ili yalattā</i>
mh . ylt .	<i>MH yalattā</i>
yldy . šhr . w šl[m]	<i>yaldēya šahra wa šali[ma]</i>

“Word is brought (lit.: ‘one brings’) to *’Ilu*: ‘The two wives of *’Ilu* have given birth.’ ‘What have they borne?’ ‘The two children, *Šahra-wa-Šalimu*.”

RS 2.002:59-60⁵⁴

(59) . . . rgm . l il . ybl	<i>rigma lê `ili yabilu</i>
(60) á`ty . il . ylt .	<i>`attatāya `ili yalattā</i>
(61) mh . ylt [.]	<i>MH yalattā</i>
(62) ilmy [.] n `mm --[-]--	<i>`ilēmaya na `imēma</i>

⁵³ Text after the autopsy-based presentation of Bordreuil and Pardee 2009, 180.

⁵⁴ Text after the autopsy-based presentation of Bordreuil and Pardee 2009, 181.

“Word is brought (lit.: ‘one brings’) to *’Ilu*: ‘The two wives of *’Ilu* have given birth.’ ‘What have they borne?’ ‘The two gracious gods.’”

The impersonal interrogative value of {mh} in both cases has been recognized since the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1933: 135) and is widely represented in the reference literature.⁵⁵ The plausibility of a dialogically structured presentation of the delivery of news within the narrative portion⁵⁶ of RS 2.002 and the relative implausibility of the tautology that would result from construal of {mh} as heading a free relative clause (“The two wives of *’Ilu* have borne what they have borne”) commend the traditional interpretation. These impersonal identifying questions, which request information regarding the class of their referents, involve *mh* construed in both cases as the syntactic object of the verb *ylt*.⁵⁷ The interrogatives appear pre-verbally at the left edge of their respective sentences and pose genuine identifying questions.

4.2.2 RS 2.[004] vi 35'-36' (= KTU 1.17): *mh yqh*

As stated above, Aistleitner’s is the only scholarly voice to have proposed an indefinite interpretation of {mh} in this text, which is presented here followed by his translation:

⁵⁵ E.g., Gordon 1947: 244; 1955: 287; 1965/1998: 431; Aistleitner 1963: 179; Segert 1984: 84; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Lewis 1997: 212-213; Pardee 1997b: 281-282; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; Wyatt 2002: 332, 334; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:30, 33, 179; 2009: 180, 184, 330; Smith 2006: 98, 110.

⁵⁶ The relationship between the ritual/liturgical and narrative portions of the text are discussed in Pardee 1997b and 2007b.

⁵⁷ The verbal form is a third-person, feminine, dual G perfective form, *yalattā* < **yaladtā*.

(8) **RS 2.[004] vi 35'-36'** (= *KTU 1.17*)

(35') . . . *mt* . *ùhryt* . *mh* . *yqh* (36') *mh* . *yqh* . *mt* . *àtryt* . . .

“Was nimmt (denn mehr) weg ein später Tod ³⁶ (Als) was wegnimmt ein früher Tod!”

(Aistleitner 1959: 72)

Aistleitner understood *ùhryt* and *àtryt* as nouns referring to later and earlier time, respectively (see the relevant entries in Aistleitner 1963). Taking *mt* as the noun “death” (/môtu/)⁵⁸ produced two NPs referring to “a death of late time > a later death” and “a death of early time > an early death,” both of which served as the subjects of *yqh*. Inferring correctly that the speaker, an insolent *'Aqhatu*, wished to deny the weight of an offer of prolonged life,⁵⁹ Aistleitner assumed the presence of an unmarked comparison between the two clauses. He was required, as a result, to treat the second case of *mh* (though not the first!) as the head of a free relative clause. Virtually all of these syntactic and lexicographic decisions—most of which were idiosyncratic even at the time—have since been set aside in favor of an analysis more or less like that presented here⁶⁰:

⁵⁸ This was the view of the editor (Virolleaud 1936b: 209), but has only rarely been preferred in later studies (Albright 1944b: 33; de Moor 1987: 239). Most interpreters have chosen to follow Ginsberg’s suggestion (1945: 21 with n. 52; see further Ginsberg 1950: 151; 1955: 268) that {*mt*} rather constitutes the noun “man, mortal” (/mutu/): Herdner 1949: 8; Fronzaroli 1955: 43; Driver 1956: 55; Gray 1965: 113; Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974: 432; Gibson 1977: 109; del Olmo Lete 1981: 378; Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1275; Pardee 1997d: 347; Parker 1997: 61; Wyatt 1998: 274; 2002: 274.

⁵⁹ Gordon (1943: 66) appears to have been the first to recognize this intention.

⁶⁰ Virolleaud struggled with this pericope in his edition without making much sense of it (1936: 209). Gordon (1943: 66) appears to have been the first to lay hold of the correct sense, according to which *'Aqhatu* meant to refuse *'Anatu*’s overtures, though he refused to translate this portion of the text (see similarly Herdner 1949: 8). Albright (1944b: 33) similarly recognized the thrust and attempted a translation, taking {*mt*} as a reference to “Death” (as the editor had done). Ginsberg (1945: 21) was the first to bring this sense together with a more adequate lexicographic understanding of the passage, and most interpreters since have followed his lead (Herdner 1949: 8; Ginsberg 1950: 151; 1955: 268; Fronzaroli 1955: 43; Driver 1956: 55; Gray 1965: 113; Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974: 432; Gibson 1977: 109; del Olmo Lete 1981: 378; Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1275; Pardee 1997d: 347; Parker 1997: 61; Wyatt 1998: 274; 2002: 274). Exceptions include the highly idiosyncratic interpretation of Margalit (1976: 165; 1989: 151, 313-315) and the far more sedate translation of de Moor (1987: 239), which continues to interpret {*mt*} as “death.”

(9) **RS 2.[004] vi 35'-36'** (= *KTU 1.17*)

(35') . . . *mt . uḥryt . mh . yqh* (36') *mh . yqh . mt . aṭryt . . .*

mutu *'uḥriyyata* *MH* *yiqqahu*

man-NOM.M.SG.ABS after-ACC.F.SG.ABS WH take-G.IPFV.3MS

MH *yiqqahu* *mutu* *'aṭriyyata*

WH take-G.IPFV.3MS man-NOM.M.SG.ABS after-ACC.F.SG.ABS

“A man afterwards—what can he take? What can a man attain later on?”

If we follow this line of interpretation, Aistleitner’s indefinite *mh* ceases to exist and need not, as a result, enter into attempts to understand the indefinite pronominal system of the Ugaritic language. Instead, both instances of {*mh*} in this text comprise impersonal interrogative pronouns syntactically construed as objects of the verb *yqh*. Both alike appear at the left edge of their respective sentences, though a left dislocate precedes the first example (*mt uḥryt*).⁶¹ The questions posed are obviously rhetorical, intended to assert that mortals receive nothing after death.

4.2.3 RS 2.[008]⁺ ii 39' (= *KTU 1.4*): *mh . . .*

This instance of the graphic sequence {*mh*} appears toward the end of the second column of the fourth tablet of the *Ba'lu Cycle*. The text is badly damaged, with the end of each line missing from line 28' to the end of the column. The result is that the sequence {*mh*}, which appears at the beginning of line 39', could just as easily represent the final two graphemes of a word beginning at the end of the previous line as an independent lexeme. Even if we exclude this possibility from

⁶¹ As a language that does not require overt pronominal subjects (PRO-drop), *mh yqh* can be judged as syntactically complete. It does not depend on *mt* to serve as its subject for syntactic well-formedness, and the latter is accordingly best identified as part of a left dislocate as indicated in the translation above.

consideration, the fact that only two further graphemes are preserved in this line ({{mh . k^r-ʾ[. . .]}) rules out certainty regarding the semantics and syntax of *mh*. In spite of this situation, lexicographers and grammarians in the past have frequently identified the form as an instance of the impersonal interrogative.⁶² This classification, while certainly not impossible, must be judged speculative. As a result, the present datum cannot contribute to our understanding of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns in Ugaritic.

4.2.4 RS 2.[009]⁺ ii 13' (= *KTU* 1.6): *mh tāršn*

In the sixth tablet of the *Ba'lu Cycle*, the goddess 'Anatu approaches *Môtu* (who has devoured her brother, *Ba'lu*), demanding that he return *Ba'lu* to her, safe and sound.⁶³ *Môtu*, however, rebuffs her request with a rhetorical question:

(10) **RS 2.[009]⁺ ii 13'-14'** (= *KTU* 1.6)⁶⁴

(13') . . . mh (14') tāršn . l btl . ʾnt

MH ta'arrišīna lē batūlati ʾanati

WH ask-D.IPFV.2FS VOC girl-GEN.F.SG.ABS DN

“What are you asking, Girl 'Anatu?”

The impossibility of handling this as a bare interrogative heading a free relative clause arises from the fact that this clause is immediately preceded by the introduction of direct discourse and

⁶² Gordon 1947: 244; 1955: 287; 1965/1998: 431; Aistleitner 1963: 179 [no gloss]; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266 [no gloss; “En ctx. frg.”]; 2003: 534; 2015: 528 [no gloss; “In bkn ctx.”]; Tropper 2000/2012: 240 [“ohne Kontext”]; Sivan 2001: 59.

⁶³ For 'Anatu's demand as one pertaining to the restoration of *Ba'lu* to the domain of the living rather than a simple search for his remains, see Burlingame forthcoming *b*.

⁶⁴ The text as presented here is that reflected in an epigraphic study of this tablet in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

immediately followed by a complete sentence. The clause appearing in lines 13'-14' cannot, as a result, be incorporated into the preceding or following syntax as a WH-free relative, and interpreters in the past have accordingly recognized this sentence as incorporating a true impersonal interrogative⁶⁵ (a position finding further support in the identical expression appearing in the text treated immediately below). In the present text, *mh* functions as the object of the main verb, which it precedes, standing at the left edge of the sentence. The question in this instance appears to be rhetorical: 'Anatu has just made her demands plain to *Môtu*, so his response cannot be understood as an honest request for information. Instead, paraphrases involving either a gruff “what do *you* want?” or perhaps a self-excusing “what do you expect me to do?” are required by the context.

4.2.5 RS 2.[014]⁺ v 28 (= KTU 1.3): *mh târšn*

Earlier in the same work (and prior to *Ba 'lu*'s death), the goddess 'Anatu approaches 'Ilu to demand a palace for *Ba 'lu*. As she comes before the aged head of the pantheon, she begins her “entreaty” with explicit threats of violence. 'Ilu immediately moves to placate the goddess, posing the following question:

⁶⁵ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32; 1955: 34; 1965/1998: 41; Aistleitner 1963: 179; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Pardee 1997a: 270; Smith 1997: 155; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; Wyatt 2002: 134.

(11) **RS 2.[014]⁺ v 28-29 (= KTU 1.3)**⁶⁶

(28) . . . mh . tárš[˘]n[˘] (29) l btl[˘] . ‘nt . . .

MH ta’arrišīna lē batūlati ‘anati

WH ask-D.IPFV.2FS VOC girl-GEN.F.SG.ABS DN

“What do you request, Girl ‘Anatu?’”

As in the preceding text, interpreters have uniformly identified this question as such.⁶⁷ This text, however, differs from the preceding example in one important particular: in this example the immediately preceding clause comprises part of *’Ilu*’s direct discourse rather than a speech-introductory formula, forcing us to consider (for the sake of completeness) whether *mh táršn* could conceivably constitute a free relative clause, “what you request.” The larger context is presented here according to an epigraphic rather than stichographic representation:

⁶⁶ The text as presented here is that reflected in an epigraphic study of this tablet in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

⁶⁷ See Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32; 1955: 34; 1965/1998: 41; Aistleitner 1963: 179; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Pardee 1997a: 254; Smith 1997: 117; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; 2008: 70; Wyatt 2002: 86; Huehnergard 2012: 36.

RS 2.[014]⁺ v 27-29 (= KTU 1.3)⁶⁸

- (27) . . . yd '[tk .] bt . k ʾnš '[t] *yada 'tuki] bittī kī 'anaš[ti]*
- (28) k in . b ilht . ql[š]'k' . mh . tārš'n' *kī 'ēnu bi 'ilahāti QL[š]ki MH ta 'arrišīna*
- (29) l btl . 'nt . . . *lê batūlati 'anati*

“I know you, my daughter, that you are sick (with anger),⁶⁹ and there is not among the goddesses QLŠki. What do you request, Girl 'Anatu?”

Because the semantics of *qlš* remains disputed,⁷⁰ this passage must be understood by comparison with the nearly identical conversation found in the second tablet of 'Aqhatu, reproduced here:

RS 3.340 i 16-19 (= KTU 1.18)⁷¹

- (16) yd' tk . bt k ʾnšt . w i'n' [. . .] *yada 'tuki bittī kī 'anašti wa 'ēnu [bi 'ilahāti]*
- (17) qlšk [.] tb' . bt . ḥnp . lb[k . . . ti] *QLŠki tabā'u bittī ḥanpu libbi[ki . . . ta']*
- (18) ḥd . d iṭ . b kbdk . tšt . '-' [...] *ḥudī dā 'iṭu bi kabidiki tašīṭī 'dā' ['iṭu bi]*
- (19) irtk . . . *'iratiki*

“I know you, my daughter, that you are sick (with anger), and there is not among the goddesses QLŠki. Let the outrage of your heart depart! Do as you desire (lit., take hold of what is in your liver), accomplish what you wish (lit., set what is in your breast).”

⁶⁸ The text as presented here is that reflected in an epigraphic study of this tablet in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

⁶⁹ For the lexical semantics of ʾnš, see Burlingame forthcoming *b*.

⁷⁰ For brief discussion, see Burlingame forthcoming *b*.

⁷¹ The text as presented here is that reflected in an epigraphic study of this tablet in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

This latter passage serves to establish the syntactic independence of the CP *kī 'ēnu bi 'ilahāti QLŠki*, as the immediately following word (*{tb'}*) initiates a new injunction (see Pardee 1997d: 348). Of equal significance is the fact that what follows this injunction is a series of volitive forms used to grant permission. These considerations allow us to conclude with some confidence that *mh tāršn* in RS 2.[014]⁺ v 28 should be understood as a true question, serving a cognate literary purpose of opening negotiations with 'Anatu. An entailment of this position (as well as of the syntactic independence of the CP just described) is that this clause cannot function as a free relative clause comprising, for instance, a second object or adverbial accusative adjunct of a verbal form *qlš* (“among the goddesses there is no *QLŠ*ing you what you request/with respect to what you request”).

This evaluation brings with it further evidence regarding the behavior of the impersonal interrogative *mh*. In this text, as in the previous example, *mh* functions as the object of *tāršn*, in sentence-initial position. The force of the question in this example, however, may be genuine. 'Ilu can perceive that 'Anatu is angry, but no request has been made or even implied. He responds to her threats with the authentic question, “What do you want?”⁷²

4.2.6 RS 17.434⁺:41' (= KTU 2.73:19): *āt 'mh' tšk[. . .]*

A letter that confronts interpreters with more than its fair share of challenges, RS 17.434⁺ presents us with a possible example of the lexeme *mh* in l. 41' of the text (as reconstructed by Pardee [forthcoming a]; this is *KTU 2.73:19*). The text is presented here together with the

⁷² This point of contrast between the force of the identically formulated questions here and in the preceding textual example serves as a reminder that “formulaic” expressions appearing in multiple literary texts were not deployed uncreatively. Even identically worded expressions may have distinct semantics and pragmatics appropriate to their individual literary contexts.

surrounding lines, provided for context. Rather than provide vocalizations of this fragmentary portion of the text, I suggest translations for those segments that are interpretable:

RS 17.434⁺:38'-42'⁷³

- | | |
|--|---|
| (36') p . át . mk . tšk ^r - ' [. . .] | so you, MK TŠK ^r - ' [. . .] |
| (37') dt . mlkt . tlk ^r n ^r [. . .] | of the queen they shall go . . . |
| (38') w . áp . šĥlm . t ^r -- ' [. . .] | and indeed the ŠĤLm . . . |
| (39') w . qnūym . tb ^r ' ' [. . .] | and the workers of purple . . . |
| (40') 'l . šĥl ^r l ^r [-] . i ^r t ^r ' . w [. . .] | upon the ŠĤL[-] there is/are ⁷⁴ and[. . .] |
| (41') át . 'm- ^r [.] tšk [. . .] | you 'MH ^r TŠK [. . .] |
| (42') [-] ^r - ' [-] ^r - ' . š [. . .] | . . . |

[FRAGMENT RS 17.434 + RS 17.434[B] ENDS HERE]

In the portion of the letter in which this excerpt appears, the Hittite queen *Puduĥeba* (Ugaritic *pdġb* /puduġēba/) cites previous correspondence from the addressee (*Niqmaddu*) concerning laborers specializing in purple fabric (*qannā'u*: {qnīm} [l. 29']; {qnūym} [l. 39']).⁷⁵ Yet, as the

⁷³ The text given here follows the line numbering and readings identified by Pardee (forthcoming *a*).

⁷⁴ If {i^r t^r ' } represents the existential particle *'itū*, then its placement immediately preceding what is likely the conjunction *w*, “and,” is unexpected. If it carries its typical predicate function, then a complement is expected prior to the introduction of another phrase or clause (which one expects *w* to do). In the absence of such a complement following this particle, one may suggest that *'itū* here concludes a preceding phrase rather than opening a following one. The noun *šĥl*[-] cannot function as the complement, as it is itself preceded by the preposition *'l*. We must accordingly assume either that the complement of the existential precedes the prepositional phrase *'l šĥl*[-] and is accordingly lost at the end of the previous line (*X 'l šĥl*[-] *'itū*; compare the negative counterpart found in RS 18.038:19-20: *ākl b ĥwtk inn*), or that the existential is here used absolutely, i.e., with no overt complement: “. . . over the *šĥl*[-], there is/are (X).” The subject of the existential predication (expressed as “(X)” in the preceding sentence) must in such a case be some contextually salient substantive, but it is worth noting that comparably absolute uses of *'itū* are, to my knowledge, not attested in Ugaritic. The closest parallel available is the case of *'itū* used without overt complement in RS 1.003:55 (see Pardee 2000: 151; Tropper 2012: 819), though here the semantics are local rather than strictly existential (thus Pardee “quand il (y) est” [2000: 151]).

⁷⁵ For this lexical analysis of the term *qnū*, see Pardee 2007c: 65-66. For the gentilic *-y* appearing in the second of the two forms, see discussions in Pardee 1983-1984: 329; Cunchillos 1989a: 419 n. 225; Gianto 1991: 131.

presentation of the text above should make clear, the state of this letter prohibits anything approaching coherent interpretation. The graphic sequence rendered above as {*m-*} is described by Pardee (1983-1984: 324; forthcoming *a*) as being consistent with the readings {*mh*} and {*mi*}. If we assume the former reading, then both interrogative (“and you, what will you X?”) and indefinite (“and you, whatever you X”) are conceivable. The appearance of a similar sequence in l. 36' in which {*mk*} (of uncertain significance in this context) appears in place of the sequence found in l. 41' (*p ʾt mk tškḥ*[. . .]; see Pardee 1983-1984: 323; forthcoming *a*) further complicates interpretation. In view of the uncertainty of both the reading and the context, I see no way to exploit this possible attestation for clarifying the profile of the pronoun *mh* in Ugaritic, and this datum accordingly receives no further consideration.

4.2.7 A Further Possible Example? RS 3.325⁺ vi 6 (= *KTU* 1.16): *mh*

The graphic sequence {*mh*} is thought by some to be found in (RS 3.325⁺ vi 6).⁷⁶ To my knowledge, however, no interpreter in the past has attempted to treat this sequence as an interrogative or indefinite pronoun. I see no way to treat it as either and accordingly exclude it from consideration here.

4.2.8 Summary

The pronoun *mh* can be clearly identified as an impersonal interrogative pronoun, which can be employed in both rhetorical and authentic identifying or classifying questions. There is no evidence to suggest the existence of a bare interrogative indefinite *mh*.

⁷⁶ See Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 51; 1995: 46; 2013: 47.

4.3 Ugaritic {mhy} in RS [Varia 4]:9 (= KTU 2.14)

Though graphically distinct from the interrogative {mh} discussed in the preceding section, the form {mhy} addressed here (which appears only once [RS [Varia 4]:9]) likely represents the same pronoun. This position was implied by the editor of the text, according to whom {mhy} represents /mah(=)hiya/, i.e., the interrogative followed immediately by the 3fs independent personal pronoun *hiya* (Bordreuil 1982: 7; see further Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:100; 2009: 253). Tropper analyzes the form differently as the interrogative *mh* followed by an enclitic *-y* (thus /mah(a)=ya/) (2012: 240). This is possible, but the context speaks in favor of the editor’s position. Specifically, the sender of the letter, *ʾIwridēnu*, poses the following question to his interlocutor:

(12) **RS [Varia 4]:6-9**

(6) *iky . lht* (7) *spr. d likt* (8) *ʿm . tryl* (9) **mhy** . *rgmt*

ʾəkaya lūḥatu sipri dā la ʾiktu ʾimma

how.about tablet-NOM.F.SG.CSTR message-GEN.M.SG.ABS that-F.SG send-G.PFV.1CS to

ṭarriyelli MH=hiya ragamat

PN what=she-NOM say-G.PFV.3FS

“How about the message tablet that I sent to *ṭarriyelli*? What did she say?”

The possibility set forth by Tropper (1994a: 479) that the use of an enclitic *-y* (which he associates with the introduction of direct speech) was triggered because *mh* here comprises the first word of an interrogative sentence “der als eigenständige und in sich abgeschlossene wörtliche Rede betrachtet werden kann” is not compelling. As we have seen, *mh* always appears as the first word of interrogative sentences, and this question certainly cannot be conceived as

being more directly a representation of the epistolary speaker's "wörtliche Rede" than what precedes or follows. He goes on to acknowledge that "*mhy* kann jedoch alternativ problemlos auch als Kontraktionsprodukt von *mh* + Personalpronomen 3.f.sg. *hy* analysiert werden" (1994a: 479). This approach is preferable on pragmatic grounds. Note that the topic shifts in line 9 from the message (*lht spr*) to *Tarriyelli*, who goes from being the object of a preposition in the first question to the subject of the second question. This shift in topic (as well as in the syntactic role played by *Tarriyelli*) requires a bit less of the reader if signaled explicitly with a subject pronoun like *hiya*.

The significance of the orthography in this case is vital to our reconstruction of the Ugaritic indefinite pronoun *mh*. If the interpretation advanced immediately above is correct, it entails the absence of any vowel between the interrogative and the personal pronoun (as **/mVhV hiya/* would invariably be written ***{mh hy}*). There are at least three ways to account for this scenario, depending on whether or not one assumes that the interrogative pronoun {mh} had a final vowel (thus */mVhV/*). First, Bordreuil and Pardee have suggested that an interrogative */maha/* may have in some cases appeared in a shortened form */mah/* (2009: 330).⁷⁷ Second, and perhaps simply a more precise way of stating the first, one may suggest that the interrogative pronoun could undergo cliticization (as does *mā^h* in Biblical Hebrew) accompanied by phonological reduction (i.e., **mVhV hiya > mVh=hiya*). Third, one can suggest that the Ugaritic interrogative is simply *mVh*, with the single writing of /h/ in this case representing either (1) a case of *sandhi* writing (i.e., */mVh# hiya/* written {mhy})⁷⁸ or (2) the result of cliticization (i.e.,

⁷⁷ The shortened form is invoked to account for instances of {mn}, {mnm}, and {mnk}, as these are believed to consist of **mah=na(=ma/ka)* (see 2009: 330; Pardee forthcoming *a*). These questions of phonology are taken up further below.

⁷⁸ Researchers are not agreed on the extent to which appeal may be legitimately made to *sandhi* phenomena in interpreting Ugaritic texts. Tsumura stands out as a leading proponent of this approach (1991, 2005, cf. 1997; see also Watson 1971), and Tropper engages this possibility periodically if not enthusiastically (2012: 157, 184, 773, 816).

/mVh=hiya/ written, as expected, as {mhy}). Each of these possibilities must be evaluated in light of the comprehensive picture emerging through the course of this chapter and in conversation with the comparative discussion offered in chapter 3 above. Such an evaluation is offered in section sec. 4.7.2 below.

4.4 Ugaritic {my}

Like the impersonal interrogative *mh*, the interrogative *my* is broadly recognized in the secondary reference literature.⁷⁹ Whether this graphic sequence is taken to represent a personal or impersonal pronoun, on the other hand, differs from text to text and from scholar to scholar. The examples are discussed individually below.

4.4.1 RS 2.[022]⁺ vi 23'-24' (= *KTU* 1.5) // RS 2.[009]⁺ i 6-7 (= *KTU* 1.6): *my lim*, *my hmlt*

Of the attestations of {my}, those treated in this section are the only examples that have occasioned much interpretive debate. The texts are presented here in stichographic format (glosses will be provided in association with the distinct approaches discussed further below).

⁷⁹ Works surveyed in Appendix 4.1 in which a personal interrogative *my* is identified without citation of textual examples include Segert 1984: 48; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Pardee 1997e: 134; 2004: 301; 2007e: 59; 2011: 464; Tropper 1999: 99; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Gianto 2012: 35; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488.

RS 2.[022]⁺ vi 23'-25' (= KTU 1.5)⁸⁰

(23') b'1 . mt . my . lim .

*ba 'lu mīta **MY** lu 'mu*

bn (24') dgn . my . hmlt .

*binu dagan **MY** hamullatu*

ātr (25') b'1 . ārd . b ārṣ . . .

'ātra ba 'li 'aridu bi 'arṣi

Ba'lu is dead, **MY** PEOPLE, the son of Dagan, **MY** THRONG. After Ba'lu I shall descend into the earth.

RS 2.[009]⁺ i 6-9 (= KTU 1.6)⁸¹

(6) b'1 . mt . my . lim .

*ba 'lu mīta **MY** lu 'mu*

bn dgn (7) my . hmlt .

*binu dagan **MY** hamullatu*

ātr . b'1 . nrd (8) b ārṣ .

'ātra ba 'li naridu bi 'arṣi

'mh . trd . nrt (9) ilm . špš . . .

'immahu taridu nīratu 'ilīma⁸² šapšu

Ba'lu is dead, **MY** PEOPLE, the son of Dagan, **MY** THRONG. After Ba'lu we shall descend into the earth; with him shall descend the luminary of the gods, Šapšu.

The questions raised by the bolded forms are both semantic and morphological. First, what sort of utterance is initiated by this form: a personal identifying question, an impersonal rhetorical

⁸⁰ Text after Pardee 2012b: 115-116.

⁸¹ Text after Pardee 2012b: 115-116.

⁸² Or *nīratu 'ilīma*, “luminary of 'Ilu,” on the basis of the attestation of *nrt il špš* in two texts (RS 2.[009]⁺ iii 24' [= KTU 1.6] and RS 92.2016:38”; see Caquot and Dalix 2001: 394, 402-403; Rahmouni 2008: 252-255).

question, or some other interjection or modal expression of desire? Second, does the sequence {my} represent the personal interrogative /miya/ or a form of the impersonal interrogative bearing an enclitic -y (thus, e.g., /*mVh=ya/ > /mVyya/)? These two questions, treated in turn immediately below, may seem to be mutually determinative, but this is not in fact the case.

With respect to the semantics, the earliest attempts at interpretation understandably started with the assumption that {my} should introduce a personal identifying question. Virolleaud accordingly understood {my} in both passages as a true personal interrogative.⁸³ This position is reflected in the first three editions of Gordon's grammar,⁸⁴ though by the second edition, Gordon had detected the syntactic and stichometric problems created by this approach, suggesting that "woe!" made for easier reading than "who?"⁸⁵ Without any etymological basis, this latter approach remained a contextual guess in Gordon's presentation, though Aistleitner (1963: 183), who took the same position in his dictionary ("wehe!"), suggested an implausible comparison with Aramaic *wāy*.

The difficulties associated with assuming a personal identifying question noted by Virolleaud and Gordon (which render the survival of this approach in later grammars like those of Segert [1984: 192] and Sivan [2001: 59] a bit surprising) have led most interpreters to search elsewhere for a solution. Examples include the *ad hoc* solution suggested by Gordon and Aistleitner just noted and Gianto's (2010: 48 with n. 12) more recent suggestion that the personal interrogative {my} may have served as an interjection employed to introduce modal expressions of counterfactual wish ("would that X!"):

⁸³ "Qui (sera) le peuple du Fils de Dagon? Qui (sera) l'humanité d'Asher-Baal?" (1934a: 229), expressing uncertainty regarding the import of the question (1934a: 234); "Qui (est) le peuple du Fils de Dagon? Qui (est) l'humanité d'Asher-Baal?" (1934b: 331), suggesting that the thrust of the question pertained to *Ba'lu*'s current place of habitation (1934b: 335), as did Ginsberg (1936: 192-193).

⁸⁴ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32; 1955: 34.

⁸⁵ Gordon 1947: 245; 1955: 288; 1965/1998: 433.

“Baal is dead! If only, O people
 The Son of Dagan! If only, O crowd,
 I could go down (volitive *ʿarida*) to the underworld in place of Baal!”

This interpretation, however, creates as many problems as it solves. For one, the stichometric result is not one we can readily welcome. The AB//A'B'//C structure involves syntactic suspension, as the B (“If only, O people) and B’ (“If only, O crowd”) elements both require C (“I could go down . . .”) for syntactic felicity.⁸⁶ Such suspension is not in and of itself a problem: it is well attested in instances of the so-called “staircase parallelism,”⁸⁷ of which this would constitute an admirable example *if the A//A' elements were absent*. With them present, however, the stichometry becomes much more unusual. To this I add that the interpretation of what is the third colon of a tricolon for Gianto in RS 2.[022]⁺ vi 23'-25' (= *KTU* 1.5) is much more difficult to maintain in RS 2.[009]⁺ i 6-9 (= *KTU* 1.6), where the presence of two bicola is clear and where Gianto’s proposal would involve a combination of syntactic interruption *and gapping* (i.e., “if only” must apply not only to the 1cp *nrd b ʿarš* but also to the following 3fs *ʿmh trd*).

With these difficulties in view, it is easy to understand why most interpreters have identified the utterances involved as rhetorical questions, interpreting *my lim // my hmlt* as something along the lines of “What (is to become of) the people? // What (is to become of) the throng?”⁸⁸ While this translation affords a fairly clear sense, the unexpected translation of a personal interrogative *my* with “what?” requires more comment than it typically receives.

⁸⁶ Gianto recognizes this fact and suggests that the first member of the B//B' pair comprises “an unfinished sentence that creates a dramatic effect” (2010: 49).

⁸⁷ See Ginsberg 1936: 180-181; Greenstein 1974; 1977.

⁸⁸ Proponents of versions of this approach include, among others, Ginsberg 1950: 139 (a change of position relative to his 1936 study, cited above); Driver 1956: 109; Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974: 251; Gibson 1977: 74; del Olmo Lete 1981: 222-223; Wyatt 1992: 413; 1998/2002: 128-129 (though with a very different interpretation of the

According to a line of argumentation launched by Cassuto (1941: 179, 180) and, for independent reasons, Gray (1957: 52 with n. 12), and further developed by Loewenstamm (1958-1959: 74 = 1980: 58) and de Moor (1971: 194), the interpretation of this passage can be achieved by appeal to comparanda from other Semitic languages in which the personal interrogative appears to play a role other than posing identifying questions. Cassuto advanced this argument by appealing to Amarna Canaanite *mi-ia*, which he claimed could mean “מִי וְגַם מִהָ” (1941: 180).⁸⁹ Gray (1957: 52 n. 12), on the other hand, noted the use to which Biblical Hebrew *mîʾ* appears to be put in Ruth 3:16. Loewenstamm (1958-1959: 74 = 1980: 58) was the first to bring both arguments together, and de Moor (1971: 194) added further Biblical Hebrew comparanda to the discussion (in the form of citations of reference grammars that deal with passages not adduced in prior treatments).⁹⁰

These principal spokespersons each build their arguments around Biblical Hebrew passages in which *mîʾ* can be translated with English “what?” (such as those to which de Moor refers [1971: 194]), including Ruth 3:16, but such positions are unlikely to prove compelling without greater precision. This is because few (if any) of these examples offer persuasive comparanda for the sense assumed for the pronoun in the two passages from *Baʿlu*:

bicolon as a whole); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; 2015: 599; Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1183-1185; Smith 1997: 150-151; Pardee 1997a: 268; 2012: 115-117; Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2008: 83.

⁸⁹ This idea appears to go back to Knudtzon’s translation and Ebeling’s accompanying glossary of the Amarna letters (see Knudtzon 1915: 1469) and is courteously corrected in Loewenstamm’s study (1958-1959: 73 = 1980: 56) without explicit interaction with Cassuto 1941.

⁹⁰ This account has made its way into key reference works (e.g., del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; 2015: 599; and Tropper 2000/2012: 239), making it the most broadly familiar approach today.

(13) **Gen 33:8 (MT)**

mî^y lə=kā kol ham=maḥ^ane^h haz=ze^h

who to=you-M.SG all DEF=camp-M.SG.ABS DEF=this-M.SG

“What is all this host of yours?”

(14) **Ruth 3:16 (MT)**

mî^y ’at bitt=î^y

who you.2FS daughter-F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

“Who are you, my daughter?”

(15) **Jdgs 9:28 (MT)**

mî^y ’abî^ymélek ū^w=mî^y šəkem kî^y na ’abd=énnū^w

who PN and=who GN that serve-G.IPFV.1CP=him.3MS

“Who is Abimelech and who is Shechem that we should serve him?”

(16) **Jdgs 13:17 (MT)**

mî^y šəm=ékā

who name-M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

“What is your name?”

The last two of these are patently identifying questions associated with NPs that have human referents, whether directly (as in Jdgs 9:28) or indirectly (as in Jdgs 13:17). The first of these examples does little to justify the preferred approach to the Ugaritic text, as it clearly does *not* mean “What now will happen to all this host?” Similarly, Ruth 3:16 has frequently been

interpreted as a charged identifying question “Who are you *now*?” or “What will become of you *now*?” (rather than as an indication that Naomi was simply unable to identify her daughter-in-law in the early morning light [compare Gen 27:18, 32; Ruth 3:9]).⁹¹ This is plausible, but interpreters making appeal to this passage to clarify the passage from *Ba’lu* have perhaps too quickly overlooked the specific collocation involved, viz., the interrogative pronoun followed by a personal pronoun. This construction (not dissimilar to that appearing in Gen 33:8, the first example above) finds a ready parallel in Jdgs 18:8 (noted by Loewenstamm 1958-1959: 74 = 1980: 58):

(17) **Jdgs 18:8 (MT)**

mâ^h ’attem

what you.2MP

“Well?” or “What do you have to say?”

The highly idiomatic character of this collocation⁹² and the similarly idiomatic character of *mâ^h* + *l* + PRONOMINAL SUFFIX⁹³ lead me to believe that cases of *mî^y* + INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN and *mî^y* + *l* + PRONOMINAL SUFFIX should not be too quickly invoked to explain a passage like the one under consideration here.

The questionable value of these comparanda force us to look elsewhere. Pardee (2012: 115-116) arrives at the sense imagined by the majority of interpreters, but he does so by suggesting a distinct morphological analysis: {my} in these texts is not the personal interrogative

⁹¹ See, e.g., Campbell 1975: 128-129; LaCocque 2004: 105; Holmstedt 2010: 173. Schipper (2016: 158-159) reviews past treatments but concludes in favor of genitive force for independent *mî^y* (“whose”) that is not supported by the comparanda he cites and must be judged impossible.

⁹² See further Joel 4:4.

⁹³ E.g., Gen 21:17, among numerous other examples.

“acting” like an impersonal interrogative but rather the impersonal interrogative itself, to which an enclitic *-y* has been appended (thus */*mVh=ya/ > /mVyya/*, written {my}). In support of such a position is the relatively widespread usage of enclitic particles in Ugaritic poetry (including enclitic *-y* [Tropper 2012: 833-835]) and an example in which the Biblical Hebrew impersonal interrogative pronoun *mā^h* is used in a similar manner:

(18) **1 Sam 29:3 (MT)**

mā^h hā=’ibrī^hm hā=’elle^h

what DEF=Hebrew-M.PL.ABS DEF=these-C.PL

“What about these Hebrews?” or “What are these Hebrews (doing here)?”

(19) **Num 22:9 (Samaritan Pentateuch)**

mh h=’nšym h=’lh

what DEF=man.m.pl.abs DEF=these

“What about/of these men?” (for MT *mī^y*; see Ben-Ḥayyim 2000: 238)

The appeal of this proposal lies in the ready semantic solution it offers, though much further research will be required before it is possible to determine whether an enclitic *-y* should be expected in this context (note that Tropper identifies it as a marker of direct speech [1994a; 2000/2012: 833]).

Yet if we return to Loewenstamm’s study, another possibility is worth considering. Though Loewenstamm appealed to Ruth 3:16 and Jdgs 18:8 in order to ground his interpretation of this passage in *Ba’lu*, his discussion follows closely on the heels of an attempt to set the record straight regarding Amarna Canaanite *mi-ia*, which, in his view, does not simply mean

“who?” or “what?” (1958-1959: 73 = 1980: 56). In the course of this discussion, Loewenstamm cites a number of the many instances in which Classical Hebrew *mî^y* and *mâ^h* can be used virtually interchangeably in self-deprecating pronouncements like the following (see also discussion in sec. 4.1.1 above):

(20) **Lachish 2:3-5 (Renz 1995: 409-412)⁹⁴**

(03) . . . my . ‘bd(04)k klb ky . zkr ‘dny ‘t . (05) [‘]bdh . . .

mî^y ‘*abd=akā* *kéleb* *kî^y* *zākar*

who servant-M.SG.SUFF=your-M.SG dog-M.SG.ABS that remember-G.PFV.3MS

^a*dōn=î^y* ‘*et* ‘*abd=ô^h*

lord-M.SG.SUFF=my ACC servant-M.SG.SUFF=his

“Who is your servant, a dog, that my lord has remembered his servant?”

(21) **Exod 3:11 (MT)**

mî^y ‘*ānōkî^y* *kî^y* ‘*ēlēk* ‘*el par ‘ō^h*

who I that G.IPFV.1CS-go to Pharaoh

“Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh?”

⁹⁴ The vocalization provided here (and elsewhere for pre-exilic Epigraphic Hebrew) is purely heuristic and (admittedly anachronistically) follows Tiberian Masoretic norms.

(22) **2 Kgs 8:13 (MT)**

mā^h ʿabd=ʔkā *hak=kéleb* *kī^y ya ʿaśe^h*

what servant-M.SG.SUFF=your-M.SG the=dog-M.SG.ABS that G.IPFV.3MS-do

had=dābār *hag=gādō^wl* *haz=ze^h*

the=matter-M.SG.ABS the=great-M.SG.ABS the=this-M.SG

“Who is your servant, the dog, that he should accomplish this great thing?”

As each of these examples illustrates, when the personal or impersonal interrogative is employed in a self-deprecating manner, an explanation for the question is offered, introduced by *kī^y*.⁹⁵ Yet this is not universally the case, and two further examples are worth considering in this respect:

(23) **2 Chron 2:5 (MT)**

ū^w=mī^y ʿanī^y ʿaśer ʿebne^h *ll=ō^w* *báyit*

and=who I REL G.IPFV.1CS-build for=him house-m.sg.abs

“And who am I who will build him a temple?” (or “that I should build”)

(24) **Zech 4:7 (MT)**

mī^y ʿattā^h har *hag=gādō^wl* *lipnê^y zərubbābel*

who you-M.SG mountain-M.SG.ABS the=great-M.SG.ABS before PN

lə=mī^y šōr

to=plain-M.SG.ABS

“Who are you, oh great mountain? Before Zerubbabel (you will become) a plain!”

⁹⁵ For these “self-abasement and insult formulas” in comparative perspective, see Coats 1970; Hutton 2002-2003; Lam 2019.

The first of these examples may or may not be relevant, as the relative complementizer ^ašer can introduce not only adnominal clauses (the relevant reading for present purposes) but also adverbial (i.e., subordinate) purpose/result clauses.⁹⁶ If example (23) is interpreted in the latter manner, ^ašer acts as a simple alternative to kī in examples (20)-(22) (and this is more likely in light of the parallel afforded by Exod 5:2). Example (24), however, is more suggestive. Here a rhetorical identifying question is posed, pragmatically amounting to a negative assertion: “Who are you?” +> “You are nothing!”

Returning to the passage from *Ba‘lu* with which we began, I suggest that the personal interrogative may play a similar role here, yielding a pragmatic sense not at all dissimilar to that perceived by interpreters in the past. In these two largely parallel passages, *’Ilu* and *’Anatu* lament the death of *Ba‘lu* in turn. The rhetorical move from announcing *Ba‘lu*’s death to asking a question pertaining to humanity is a somewhat surprising one and has been described as pointing toward the “burden of the lament,” namely, “that the fate of the world is tied in with the fate of *Ba‘lu*, and the implication is that the world cannot survive after *Ba‘lu*’s demise” (Pardee 2012b: 117).

I suggest that there are two possible ways for this idea to be communicated (in Hebrew and in Ugaritic). One would indeed involve an impersonal interrogative, translatable in the terms described as the consensus above: “What about the people?” or “What (is to become of) the people?” A second alternative, however, is suggested by the examples reviewed immediately above, especially that drawn from Zech 4:7 (example (24)). This alternative involves a *personal* interrogative employed to construct a rhetorical question that accesses a pragmatic scale of relative vitality: “*Ba‘lu* is dead, so who are the people (that they should overcome death)?” If

⁹⁶ See Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 638-639; Coats 1970.

even “mightiest” *Ba‘lu* succumbs to the appetite of *Môtu*, then what hope have the people who live in the shadow of his mountain? Put differently, the mourners direct their attention to the despair that *Ba‘lu*’s death occasions for the prospects of humanity, which (1) is far more poorly equipped to resist *Môtu*’s designs and (2) depends on *Ba‘lu*’s ongoing activity for survival.

This interpretive approach comes with two entailments: (1) a sense essentially identical to that preferred by the majority of interpreters is available without interpreting {*my*} as an impersonal interrogative in these two passages and (2) the relevant Biblical Hebrew comparanda are found in rhetorical identifying questions intended to express the frailty or humiliation of the target, not in cases in which Biblical Hebrew *mî*⁹⁷ seems to mean something other than “who?”⁹⁷ The result of this approach is that these two texts provide us with a total of four examples of the personal interrogative *my* employed as the syntactic predicate of verbless interrogative sentences. In each case, the pronoun precedes the subject NP, standing sentence-initially.

4.4.2 RS 3.325⁺ v [10], 14, [17], [20] (= *KTU* 1.16): *my b ilm ydy mrş*

In the final tablet of *Kirta*, the ailing king’s condition prompts a question issued four times in the narrative as preserved. Each instance of this question has suffered epigraphic damage, but we are fortunate that different portions of the question are preserved in each case, allowing us to reconstruct the sentence with relative ease (text after *CTA*):

⁹⁷ If this line of argumentation is correct, then *my* cannot be said to mean “what about” in any straightforward way in Ugaritic. De Moor’s (2008: 183 with n. 31) conjectural attempt to reconstruct two further cases of *my* in RS 92.2016:20’-21’ would accordingly require revision.

RS 3.325⁺ v 10-11	(10) . . . [my] (11) b ilm . [ydy . mrş]
RS 3.325⁺ v 14-15	(14) . . . my . ʿbʿ[ilm . ydy] (15) mrş . . .
RS 3.325⁺ v 17-18	(17) . . . [my . b ilm] (18) ydy . mrş . . .
RS 3.325⁺ v 20-21	(20) . . . [my .] b ilm (21) ydy . mrş . . .

As reconstructed, this expression comprises a personal identifying question:

(25) **RECONSTRUCTED:** *my b ilm ydy mrş*

MY bi ʿilīma yadiyu murşa

WH in god-OBL.M.PL.ABS cast.out-G.IPFV.3MS illness-ACC.M.SG.ABS

“Who among the gods will cast out the illness?”

This interpretive approach is so broadly acknowledged⁹⁸ that the text requires little further discussion, providing what is perhaps the clearest example of the personal interrogative *my* in the Ugaritic corpus.

If the semantics are relatively straightforward, the syntax deserves greater attention than it has traditionally received. As there can be no question of the PP *b ilm* modifying the main verb *ydy* adverbially (thus, “who will cast out the illness from the gods”), this text provides the first example treated so far in which the interrogative pronoun is itself further modified. The PP functions as a partitive restriction on the domain of entities from which the interrogative *my* requires the theoretical addressee to make a selection. Rather than refer to all animate entities,

⁹⁸ This is the only position represented in the reference literature surveyed in the table appearing in Appendix 4.1 (Gordon 1947: 32, 245; 1955: 34, 288; 1965/1998: 41, 432; Aistleitner 1963: 183; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; 2015: 599; Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2008: 83; Sivan 2001: 59; Huehnergard 2012: 36). See more recently Lewis 2013: 190 (though Lewis treats {ydy} as a substantival participle /yādiyu/: “Who among the gods is an expeller of sickness?”).

this question applies to the narrower domain of deities (*ilm*). This rather straightforward functional description is much more difficult to provide when it comes to syntax. The productive use of zero-relative clauses (i.e., asyndetic relative clauses) and null copulas in Northwest Semitic renders the syntactic status of what appear to be PP complements to an interrogative impossible to determine in many cases. The two relevant syntactic parsings are presented here:

(26) **WH + Ø-Relative Clause + Predicate**

MY Ø *bi* 'ilīma *yadiyu* *murša*

WH REL in god-OBL.M.PL.ABS cast.out-G.IPFV.3MS illness-ACC.M.SG.ABS

“Who (that is) among the gods will cast out the illness?”

(27) **WH + Ø-copula + PP Predicate + Ø-Relative**

MY Ø *bi* 'ilīma Ø *yadiyu* *murša*

WH be in god-OBL.M.PL.ABS REL cast.out-G.IPFV.3MS illness-ACC.M.SG.ABS

“Who (is) among the gods (who) will cast out the illness?”

At issue is whether Ugaritic *my* can take zero-relative adjuncts or must always function independently in argument roles. The apparent sense of the context may predispose us to favor (26) over (27)—the point of the question clearly rests on identifying an individual capable of expelling sickness, not an individual counted among the gods (whence the description of the PP as a “partitive restriction” immediately above). While Ugaritic comparanda are unavailable for testing and establishing this hypothesis, similar constructions can be found in Biblical Hebrew.

In Biblical Hebrew, the sequence WH + PP can involve a simple predicate structure, in which the PP serves as the predicate of the question:

(28) **Est 6:4 (MT)**

mî^y be=ḥāṣēr

who in.DEF=courtyard-M.SG.ABS

“Who is in the courtyard?”

Yet when a further verbal predicate can be identified, as in the following examples, the same ambiguity results that was identified above for Ugaritic:

(29) **Isa 42:23 (MT; see similarly Isa 43:9; 48:14)**

mî^y bā=kem ya^azîⁿ zō(°)t

WH in=you.2MP heed-C.IPFV.3MS this-F.SG

- a. “Who (that is) among you will heed this?”
- b. “Who (is) among you (who) will heed this?”

Again, intuition leads us to favor (29a). One way to demonstrate that this analysis is correct would involve finding comparable examples in which the putative zero-relative is actually present, as one can do easily enough for comparable English examples:

(30) Who \emptyset_{rel} \emptyset_{be} in the room saw the thief?

(31) Who **that is** in the room saw the thief?

Comparable pairs are unavailable in Biblical Hebrew, however. The only clear instance of an interrogative sentence involving *mîʔ* *ʔašer* can be parsed as WH followed by a null-head relative predicate (or perhaps as a case of interrogative clefting):

(32) **Jdgs 21:5 (MT)**

mîʔ *ʔašer* *lō(ʔ)* *ʔālā^h* *baq=qāhāl* *mik=kol*
 who REL NEG ascend-G.PFV.3MS in.DEF=assembly-M.SG.ABS from=all
šibṭēʔ *yisrāʔel* *ʔel* *YHWH*
 tribe-M.PL.CSTR TN unto DN

- a. “Who is (the tribe) that did not go up among the assembly from all of the tribes of Israel unto YHWH?” (**simple identifying question**)
- b. “Who is it that did not go up among the assembly from all of the tribes of Israel unto YHWH?” (**interrogative cleft**)

This example does not help our analysis of (29) (though it will become important in a moment). A second test we may consider focuses on the matter of syntactic constituency. The analysis represented in (29a) predicts that WH + PP comprises a syntactic constituent—the PP is evaluated as part of an adnominal relative clause, not as an argument of the sentence. We are fortunate to have at our disposal one very clear example of this sequence in a fragment question that provides strong evidence in favor of this analysis. In 2 Kings 9, the prophet Elisha sends his servant to anoint Jehu. Upon arriving, the servant announces to Jehu that he has a message, to which Jehu responds with the following question:

(33) **2 Kgs 9:5 (MT)**

'el mī^v mik=kullā=nū^w

to WH from=all=us.1CP

“To whom of us all?”

This example, in which WH + PP comprises not only part of a fragment question but also the object of the preposition, demonstrates the preferability of analysis (29a) for Biblical Hebrew.

The following example points in the same direction:

(34) **Job 5:1 (MT)**

wə=[']el mī^v miq=qədōš^vm tipne^h

and=to WH from=holy-M.PL.ABS turn-G.IPFV.2MS

“And to whom (that is) among the holy ones will you turn?”

The fact that WH + PP here functions as the object of the preposition *'el* confirms its phrasal constituency (the two items together comprise the NP complement of the preposition *'el*).

Potential counterexamples are only apparent:

(35) **2 Kgs 18:35 (MT; // 2 Chron 32:14; Isa 36:20)**

mîʔ bə=kol ʔelohêʔ hā=ʔarāšōʔt ʔašer hiššîʔlūʔ

WH in=all god-M.PL.CSTR DEF=land.F.PL.ABS REL deliver-G.PFV.3CP

ʔet ʔarə=ām miy=yād=îʔ

OBJ land.F.SG=their.3MP from=hand.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

“Who (that is/are) among all of the gods of the lands (are the ones) who have delivered their land from my hand?”

(36) **Isa 50:1 (MT)**

mîʔ min=nōʔša=y ʔašer mākartîʔ ʔet=kem l=ōʔ

WH from=lend-G.PTCP.M.PL.SUFF=my.1CS REL sell-G.PFV.1CS OBJ=you.2MP to=him.3MS

“Who (that is) among my creditors (is the one) to whom I sold you?”

In both of these examples, the sequence WH + PP + REL could be interpreted as an overt example of the analysis suggested in (29b). I suggest, however, that example (32) illustrates that the relative clauses beginning with *ʔašer* in (35) and (36) actually comprise null-head relatives functioning as the substantival predicates of the questions (as the proposed translations illustrate). This approach provides a better explanation for what would otherwise be peculiar features of both relative clauses. The plural agreement features associated with the verb *hiššîʔlūʔ* in (35) must be indexed to a null plural head (e.g., “the ones, those,” as in the proposed translation). A similar null-head hypothesis seems to be required to account for the resumption found in (36). While some modern dialects of Arabic feature resumption in association with highly referential WH-interrogatives (including “who?”) (Aoun, Benamoun, and Choueiri 2010: 128-139), Biblical Hebrew does not otherwise exhibit this behavior. The resumptive 3ms

pronominal suffix ($l=\delta^w$) found in (36) must accordingly be identified as a pronoun that is co-referential with the null head of the relative, *not* as a trace left by WH after movement.

If any doubt remained about the status of these partitive PP adjuncts to WH in Biblical Hebrew, instances involving verbless interrogative sentences add further clarity to the situation:

(37) **Isa 50:10 (MT)**

mîʔ bā=kem yərē(ʔ) YHWH

WH in=you.2MP afraid-M.SG.CSTR DN

“Who (that is) among you (is) the fearer of YHWH?”

It would be difficult to treat *yərē(ʔ) YHWH* in this example as the clausal complement of a zero-relative complementizer, as the relative clause would then lack any overt subject. It is much more straightforward to identify this NP as the predicate, of which the complex WH + PP expression serves as the subject. In light of this comparative discussion and the suitability of this approach for accounting for the Ugaritic syntax, the analysis of the Ugaritic expression under consideration suggested in (26) is to be preferred, presented more explicitly here:

(38) **RECONSTRUCTED:** *my b ilm ydy mrṣ*

MY Ø Ø bi ʾilma yadiyu murṣa

WH REL BE in god-OBL.M.PL.ABS cast.out-G.IPFV.3MS illness-ACC.M.SG.ABS

“Who [that is] among the gods will cast out the illness?”

One further comparative observation is in order before summarizing the conclusions we can reach. In Biblical Hebrew, the sequence *mîʔ* + PP in which the PP can be analyzed as the

predicate of a zero-relative clauses are restricted to partitive constructions. The only prepositions that admit this analysis are *bə* and *min*, both used to construct partitive expressions in Biblical Hebrew. Other prepositions appearing immediately after *mī*⁹⁹ nearly invariably comprise PP predicates of the question (as in (28) above; Neh 6:11 may comprise an exception involving *kə*).⁹⁹

We may accordingly draw the conclusion that the Ugaritic personal interrogative *my*, like its Biblical Hebrew counterpart, admits partitive restriction via zero-relative adjunction. This is not a surprising finding, but it does serve to underscore the pronominal syntactic status of *my*, and it may have some bearing on questions of referentiality taken up in the analysis offered at the end of this chapter.

4.4.3 RS 16.395:39 (= *KTU* 4.243)

Aistleitner—alone among the grammarians and lexicographers surveyed in Appendix 4.1—lists this text as an attestation of the personal interrogative *my* (1963: 183). His citation refers to l. 38 of the text, though this reflects the mis-numbering of the lines in Virolleaud’s edition (1957: 122-123). The correct line number is 39 (as indicated in *KTU* and Prosser 2010: 357-361).

Aistleitner’s entry depended on the editor’s reading of the text at this point, {*my y* [. . .]}, a reading one finds in *KTU*¹⁻² as well as in Prosser’s autopsy-based presentation of the text (2010: 357-383).¹⁰⁰ It remains highly unlikely, however, that the graphic sequence found here represents the interrogative pronoun *my*: the immediate context suggests that it should instead comprise part

⁹⁹ Examples include *lə* (“to, for”; Ps 73:25); *kə* (“like”; Exod 15:11; 1 Sam 26:15; 2 Sam 7:23); *’ət* (“with”; 2 Kgs 9:32).

¹⁰⁰ The editors of *KTU*³ have replaced the reading of a clear {*my y*} found in the previous two editions with the reading {*tg^rty--’* [. . .]}. This newly proposed reading stands at odds with the findings of both Prosser (noted immediately above) and Pardee (personal communication).

of a personal name (compare {iwrđn} in l. 30, {agr} in l. 33, and likely {[-]wyn} in l. 41 and {[. . .]n} in l. 42 [readings follow Prosser 2010: 357-361]). We may accordingly exclude this text from further consideration.

4.4.4 RS 92.2016:14', 33" (= *KTU 1.179*)

The text recovered from the House of 'Urtēnu during the 1992 season and cataloged as RS 92.2016 stands apart from the majority of the documents found within this archive as a result of its peculiar quasi-mythological content, its undeniably poetic form, and the celebrity of its composer, 'Ilmilku of Šubbanu. The loss of the top and left edge of the tablet has significantly impeded interpretive efforts in the past—particularly frustrating due to the immense interest of the text for studies of Ugaritian literature. These difficulties notwithstanding, this text (like the text addressed above in sec. 4.4.2) offers one of the clearest and most universally recognized instances of the personal interrogative pronoun *my* available in the corpus. Specifically, l. 14' clearly preserves the following sequence (see Caquot and Dalix 2001: 393, 397):

(39) **RS 92.2016:14'**

. . . my . k qdš

MY ka qudši

WH like DN

“Who is like *Qudšu*?”

The reading and interpretation of the editors have been generally accepted¹⁰¹ and require no further discussion, though it is worth observing that the PP *ka qudši* functions as the predicate of the interrogative. As we have just seen, PPs headed by the preposition *kā* in Biblical Hebrew typically function as predicates, not as (partitive) restrictions of the interrogative; the same holds for this single example in Ugaritic. In this case, the question posed may be rhetorical, asserting the incomparability of *Qudšu* (though the context is too fragmentary for certainty).

The text may in fact offer another instance of this pronoun, though the epigraphic situation is less certain in this case. The editors present a graphic sequence {m^ṛ-ʾ b bt} at the end of l. 33" (Caquot and Dalix 2001: 393). Their translation makes clear that they prefer the reading *my b bt*, "Qui est dans la maison?" (2001: 397), a reading accepted by del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2003: 607; 2015: 599; cf. de Moor 2008: 184) and confirmed as plausible through Pardee's independent study of the tablet (personal communication):

(40) **RS 92.2016:33"**

. . . m^ṛy^ʾ b bt

MY bi bēti

WH in house-GEN.M.SG.ABS

"Who is in the house?"

If correct, this example illustrates that a PP headed by *b* could function not only as a partitive restriction associated with the interrogative but as the main predicate as well (as in Biblical Hebrew [see example (28) above]).

¹⁰¹ See, e.g., Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2002: 26 n. 60; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 607; 2015: 599; cf. de Moor 2008: 182.

4.5 Ugaritic {mn} (and one case of {mnm})

The final form requiring discussion in the present chapter appears multiple times in the Ugaritic corpus and consists of the graphic sequence {mn}. This form constitutes one of the most problematic from a diachronic linguistic standpoint, and its morphology and etymology remain matters of debate, as the list presented in Appendix 4.1 indicates. This is in no small part due to the fact that this graphic sequence appears in contexts judged variously to require personal interrogative,¹⁰² impersonal interrogative,¹⁰³ personal indefinite,¹⁰⁴ and impersonal indefinite¹⁰⁵ evaluations. Following the approach employed throughout this chapter, I postpone the etymological questions for the moment, focusing instead on the individual attestations identified in the past, subjecting each to the necessary epigraphic, grammatical, and contextual scrutiny before attempting to draw broader conclusions.

4.5.1 RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 37' (= *KTU* 1.3) // RS 2.[014]⁺ iv 4 (= *KTU* 1.3): *mn(m) ib yp ' l b ' l*

The first textual example of *mn* is treated together with an example of *mnm* due to the fact that the second is nearly identical to the first, with the two forming literary bookends at the beginning and end of 'Anatu's response to the arrival of two messengers from *Ba 'lu* in the third tablet of *Ba 'lu*. As a result, I believe we can identify this example of *mnm* as a virtually certain instance of

¹⁰² Among those surveyed in Appendix 4.1, the following reconstruct a personal interrogative *mn* without explicit citation: Parker 1967: 25; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488. Proposals associated with specific texts are treated below.

¹⁰³ Among those surveyed in Appendix 4.1, the following reconstruct an impersonal interrogative *mn* without explicit citation: Parker 1967: 25; Segert 1984: 49; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Gianto 2012: 35; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488. Proposals associated with specific texts are treated below.

¹⁰⁴ Among those surveyed in Appendix 4.1, the following reconstruct a personal indefinite *mn*: Pardee 1997e: 134; 2004: 301; 2007e: 59; 2011: 465; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42. Proposals associated with specific texts are treated below.

¹⁰⁵ Among those surveyed in Appendix 4.1, Pardee (2011: 465) reconstructs an impersonal indefinite *mn*.

Most reference works surveyed in Appendix 4.1 classify *mn(m)* in these texts as a personal interrogative.¹⁰⁹ Others, however, have proposed impersonal interrogative,¹¹⁰ personal indefinite,¹¹¹ and impersonal indefinite¹¹² values. In more recent studies, indefinite interpretations have fallen by the wayside, as they cannot deliver a satisfactory sense when viewed as part of the entire sentence in which they appear.¹¹³ That ‘*Anatu* means to pose a question to the messengers as they arrive is clear from iii 36’, where the adverbial interrogative *ik* (“how?”) appears.

The principal challenges that continue to confront grammarians and lexicographers pertain to the animacy/ontological category of the pronoun *mn* in these two texts and to its syntactic status. The question of ontological status can be addressed fairly quickly. While other Northwest Semitic languages allow both personal and impersonal interrogative pronouns to be used as predicates associated with personal/animate subjects, this flexibility appears to be limited to the examples of rhetorical questions issued in formulae designed to express self-abasement or insult (discussed above in sec. 4.1.1 and 4.4.1 and below in sec. 4.5.6). Elsewhere, comparably

¹⁰⁹ Gordon 1947: 246 (“personal: . . . ‘which enemy?’”); 1955: 34 (“Personal: . . . ‘which enemy?’”), 289 (same); 1965/1998: 41 (“Personal: . . . ‘which enemy?’”), 435 (same); Tropper 1999: 99 (listed under “who?”); 2000/2012: 239 (listed with personal interrogatives; translates, “Welcher Feind hat sich gegen Ba’lu erhoben”); 2002: 26 (“Personenklasse, substantivisch: ‘wer?’”); 2008: 74 (“wer?, welcher?”); Sivan 2001: 59 (“Who is the enemy (that has appeared against Baal?”); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:15 (“Qui est l’ennemi qui s’est dressé contre *Ba’lu*”), 17, 179; 2009: 165 (“Who is the enemy (who) has arisen against *Ba’lu*”), 167, 329; Huehnergard 2012: 36 (described as an “Adjectival” interrogative; animacy is not specified, but both /mannu/ and /minu/ are suggested as vocalizations, and the gloss “which?” is suggested: “which enemy?”; see also next note).

¹¹⁰ Segert 1984: 84 (“what enemy?”; animacy not specified, but the other interrogatives and indefinites listed in his sec. 61.3 are impersonal); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 281 (“¿qué enemigo ha salido a ND?”); 2003: 560 (“what enemy has departed against DN?”); 2015: 553 (“which enemy has arisen against DN?”); Huehnergard 2012: 36 (described as an “Adjectival” interrogative; animacy is not specified, but both /mannu/ and /minu/ are suggested as vocalizations, and the gloss “which?” is suggested: “which enemy?”; see also preceding note).

¹¹¹ Aistleitner 1963: 187. He translated this term in earlier studies as “Welcher” (1939: 198) and “irgendein” (1959: 27). That a personal pronoun is intended is clear from his remarks in 1939 (p. 202) and his citation of only personal interrogative pronouns in other Semitic languages as comparanda in his *Wörterbuch* (1963: 187).

¹¹² Gordon 1940: 28 (*mnm* glossed, “whatever (of),” with this text rendered “all hostility”); 1947: 32 (same).

¹¹³ Note, for example, that the indefinite interpretation suggested in Gordon 1940 and 1947 was surrendered in favor of an interrogative one already in the glossary of his 1947 *Handbook* and incorporated systematically in his 1955 and 1965/1998 editions (see previous notes).

constructed questions deploy a personal interrogative, as in the following Biblical Hebrew examples (alternative syntactic analyses are indicated in the translations, in anticipation of the syntactic discussion below):

(41) **Deut 3:24 (MT)**

mî^y ʿēl baš=šāmayim û^w=bā=ʿāreṣ
 who god-M.SG.ABS in.DEF=heaven-M.DU.ABS and=in.DEF=earth-F.SG.ABS
ʿāšer ya ʿāše^h kə=ma ʿāše^y=kā
 REL do-G.IPFV.3MS like=work-M.PL.SUFF=your.2MS

- a. “Who is a god (that is) in the heavens or on the earth, who can do the like of your works?” (**identifying question**)
- b. “What god (that is) in the heavens or on the earth is it that can do the like of your works?” (**interrogative cleft**)

(42) **Ps 89:49 (MT)**

mî^y geber yiḥye^h wə=lō(ʿ) yirʿe^h mmāwet
 who man-M.SG.ABS live-G.IPFV.3MS and=NEG see-G.IPFV.3MS death-M.SG.ABS

- a. “Who is a man (who) can live and not see death?”
- b. “What man can live and not see death?”

This insistence on employing a personal interrogative in association with NP predicates referring to individuals extends even to less obvious cases, including collective nouns referring to groups

of people¹¹⁴ and nouns more loosely connected to personal referents.¹¹⁵ If these Biblical Hebrew data may be justly invoked, we expect an interrogative associated with the noun *ib* (“enemy”) to be personal.

The question of syntax is a more delicate one. As the translations noted in the footnotes above indicate, authors have proposed several distinct analyses of the syntactic role of *mn* in these two texts. Some treat it as a simple interrogative pronoun followed by a null-copula and NP predicate with an adnominal zero-relative adjunct: “who (is) the enemy (who) has arisen?” Others classify *mn* as an interrogative determiner (typically described imprecisely as “adjectival”¹¹⁶) followed by its NP complement and comprising the subject of the following VP predicate: “what/which enemy has arisen?”¹¹⁷ The following syntactic analyses are imaginable:

(43) **WH + [NP + Ø_{rel} + VP] (simple interrogative subject)**

MN Ø 'ēbu Ø yapa 'a lē ba 'li

WH be enemy-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL arise-G.PFV.3MS against DN-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“Who (is) the enemy (who) has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?”

¹¹⁴ E.g., Deut 4:7 (*mī' gō' y gādō' l*, “what (lit. who) great nation”); 2 Sam 7:18 (*mī' bē' tī'*, “what (lit. who) is my house”); 1 Chron 29:14 (*mī' 'ammī'*, “what (lit. who) is my people”).

¹¹⁵ E.g., *šēm*, “name” (Jdgs 13:17) or *ḥayyī'm*, “life” (1 Sam 18:18).

¹¹⁶ See, for example, the explicitly adjectival classification suggested by del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (1996-2000: 281; 2003: 560; 2015: 553) and Huehnergard (2012: 36). Attributive adjectives in Ugaritic—like those in other Northwest Semitic languages—follow the nouns they modify. Pre-nominal placement should accordingly be classified differently, and the term *determiner* provides as apt a designation as any, as this position is occupied by the mirative particles, including *hn*, from which the definite article in later Canaanite languages derives (a determiner *par excellence*). Quantifiers like *kl* similarly occupy this pre-nominal slot, though they are constructed syntactically as a proclitic (construct-state) head noun followed by an adnominal genitive noun.

¹¹⁷ Tropper cuts a middle path. His approach is semantically closer to the latter, though he is careful to avoid attributing adjectival status to *mn*, preferring to describe its relation to the following NP as one of apposition (2000/2012: 239). Though syntactically distinct from treating *mn* as a true determiner, his approach is still essentially compatible with the options identified in (44) and (45) above.

(44) **[WH + NP] + VP (interrogative determiner)**

MN 'ēbu yapa 'a lê ba 'li

WH enemy-NOM.M.SG.ABS arise-G.PFV.3MS against DN-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“What enemy has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?”

(45) **[WH + NP] + Ø_{rel} + VP (interrogative determiner in interrogative cleft)**

MN 'ēbu Ø Ø Ø yapa 'a lê ba 'li

WH enemy-NOM.M.SG.ABS be it REL arise-G.PFV.3MS against DN-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“What enemy is it that has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?”

In deciding among these options, we face two challenges. First, only in this text and in RS 18.140:24' (treated in sec. 4.5.6 below) is the sequence *mn* + NP clearly in evidence.¹¹⁸ The presence of an overt relative clause in that example rules out analysis (44) in that case, but (43) and (45) are both still admissible. Even the exclusion of (44) in that case offers little help here. The presence of an overt relative in that text could be taken, with equal plausibility, as an indicator that a zero-relative is present in this text or that the difference in surface syntax marks an important distinction, with that text representing an interrogative cleft and the present text serving as an example of (43) or (44).

This problem is not unique to Ugaritic. The same issue arises in cases of Biblical Hebrew *mî^y* + NP. Compare examples (41) and (42) above: does the presence of the relative pronoun in (41) indicate that (42) should be analyzed as involving a zero-relative (thus leading to analysis (41a) and (42a))? Or does its absence in (42) suggest that (41) is best analyzed as a cleft (thus

¹¹⁸ The syntax of *mn yrĥ* in RS 3.325⁺ ii 19 is distinct and is treated below in sec. 4.5.4.

(41b) and (42b))? Or is the difference in surface syntax meaningful, such that (42a) and (41b) should be preferred? Similar questions dog the interpretation of the “adjectival” interrogative *ayyum* in Akkadian, which precedes a NP that is often followed by the relative *ša*. Is this an indicator that all such questions involve a relative (“which is the NP that VP?”)? Or do cases with an overt relative constitute specially marked clefts (as suggested for Old Assyrian by Kouwenberg 2017: 357)?

I return to this syntactic question in a moment, at which point I will argue that internal data may favor treating *mn* in this text as having determiner-like syntax, such that no null-copula is involved. This preference, however, is only slight, and neither internal nor comparative evidence (short of pursuing a comprehensive analysis of the syntax of WH + NP in Semitic—something far beyond the scope of this work) can settle the matter decisively. Here, however, I argue that the descriptive imprecision resulting from the open state of this syntactic question is actually less important than the important gains available through a *semantic* evaluation of these constructions. Such an evaluation may prove more fruitful than a syntactic one, allowing us to recognize shared functions even among what may turn out to be syntactically disparate constructions.

From this semantic viewpoint, the issue faced here is not dissimilar to that addressed in association with *my* + PP (partitives) above. Specifically, the NP (*ib*) and VP (*yp' l b' l*) can be viewed as two set designations. The interrogative *mn* asks the addressee to identify individuals that are members of both sets. (This is functionally comparable to the syntax of quantifier determiners, which take a restriction and a scope.) Naturally, however, there is more than one way to arrive syntactically at a request for information about the intersection between two sets,

and each of the following would suffice (the two sets related in the question are indexed below for clarity):

(46) **DP strategy (comparable to quantifiers)**

What student₁ can read Japanese₂?

(47) **Relative strategy**

Who is a student₁ who can read Japanese₂?

(48) **Conjunct strategy**

Who is a student₁ and can read Japanese₂?

Biblical Hebrew examples like (41) above are *syntactically* most easily handled as involving a relative strategy (like (47)). The unease an interpreter feels in translating Deut 3:24 that way simply reflects the fact that the DP strategy is preferred in English. The relative and conjunct strategies can both be identified in Amarna Canaanite:

(49) **EA 232:12-15¹¹⁹ (conjunct strategy)**

ma-an-nu LÚ-*lu*₄ (13) ù *ša-pár* LUGAL

who man-(NOM.M.ABS) and send-G.PFV.3MS king-(NOM.M.SG.ABS)

(14) EN-*šu* *a-na ša-[šu]* (15) ù *la-a yi-iš-ʿmuʿ-mi*

master-(NOM.M.SG.)SUFF=his.3MS to him.3MS and NEG listen-G.IPFV.3MS=*mi*

“Who (is) a man and, (if) the king, his lord, has sent to him, he will not listen?”¹²⁰

(50) **EA 322:17-19¹²¹ (relative strategy)**

u ma-an-nu LÚ *kal-bu* (18) *ša la-a yi-išʿ-mu*

and who man-(NOM.M.SG.ABS) dog-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL NEG listen-G.IPFV.3MS

(19) *a-na* LÚ.MAŠKÍM LUGAL

to NP

“But who is the man, the dog, who would not listen to the commissioner of the king?”¹²²

One further functional distinction is worth noting. The Amarna data just cited do not allow us to determine the definiteness of the noun immediately following the interrogative pronoun (as definite articles are not reflected in Amarna Canaanite). Biblical Hebrew, on the other hand, does allow us to make this distinction and leads us to what is perhaps the most important functional question to raise for the evaluation of the present Ugaritic example. In all instances of Biblical Hebrew *mîʿy* used to introduce two sets (we can label this *two-place*¹²³ *mîʿy*) in the manner

¹¹⁹ See Rainey 1996: I:104; Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 974-975.

¹²⁰ Rainey (1996: I:104) translates less precisely with a relative: “Who is the man to whom the king has written that would not listen?”

¹²¹ See Rainey 1996: I:104; Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 1198-1199.

¹²² The translation is that proposed by Rainey (1996: I:104).

¹²³ Here I allude to the category of two-place quantifiers (Heim and Kratzer 1998: 190).

described above, if the NP denoting the first set is *indefinite* (as in (41) and (42) above), the force of the question is rhetorical and is meant to *deny* the existence of the NP invoked. Example (41), in other words, suggests that there *is no* other deity capable of comparison with Israel's God. Example (42) likewise means to insist that no human can live without dying.¹²⁴ In contrast, two-place *mī* followed by a *definite* noun poses a different sort of question, actually aiming to identify individuals satisfying the description offered,¹²⁵ and it is in this respect highly comparable to similarly referential/presuppositional questions as well as d-linked *which NP* questions (discussed in greater detail immediately below and in sec. 4.7.3). The Amarna examples presented immediately above appear to be of the former sort (i.e., behaving more like cases of Biblical Hebrew *mī* + indefinite NP). With this distinction in view, I return to the Ugaritic examples from RS 2.[014]⁺ (= *KTU* 1.3).

Several contextual considerations suggest that 'Anatu's question is anything but rhetorical, instead comprising a genuine demand for the precise identity of an individual satisfying the predicates *ib* and *yp* ' *l b* ' *l*, whom 'Anatu presumes to exist. First, her physical response to the arrival of the messengers provided in the immediately preceding lines is one of dread—a stereotyped¹²⁶ response employed here, as elsewhere, to describe a character's reaction to the arrival of fateful news, whether only anticipated¹²⁷ (as here) or actually delivered.¹²⁸ Put differently, her response suggests that she believes an enemy *has* arisen against *Ba* ' *lu*.

¹²⁴ Further examples include Deut 4:7, 8; Mic 7:18; Ps 77:14; Job 34:7.

¹²⁵ See Gen 24:65; Deut 20:5, 6, 7, 8; Jdgs 10:18; 1 Sam 11:12; Ps 34:13. Three cases involve definite substantial participles, which are comparable semantically to a definite NP followed by a relative clause. In two of these, a real identity is sought (Exod 10:8; 1 Sam 11:12), though the third is rhetorical (Mal 3:2). are Malachi 3:2 comprises an exception, but the syntax is distinct here, as no further relative clause or VP identifying a second referential set is present.

¹²⁶ For a discussion of this description of dread and its literary significance in the context of a treatment of emotional description in Ugaritic, see Burlingame forthcoming *b*.

¹²⁷ RS 2.[008]⁺ ii 16-20 (= *KTU* 1.4).

¹²⁸ RS 3.322⁺ ii 44-47 (= *KTU* 1.19), largely reconstructed.

Second, in the immediately following lines, *ʿAnatu* enumerates possible candidates—a list of enemies she (thought she) had defeated definitively. This list is then followed by the second and, to judge from the addition of the enclitic *-m*, more strongly issued expression of the driving question (*mnm ib yp ʿ l b ʿl*). Does *ʿAnatu* present the list of defeated foes as individuals who can be ruled out, such that the second question is best paraphrased, “(Since all these are defeated) who on earth could it be that has arisen against *Ba ʿlu*”? Or is she rehearsing previous victories fearing that they may have been less summary than she had imagined: “Which enemy (of those just mentioned) has managed to return and oppose *Ba ʿlu*”? This cannot be determined with certainty, but her physical response and the list she provides both indicate that she is asking for a name.¹²⁹ The answer she receives from the messengers suggests that this was their understanding of her question as well:

RS 2.[014]⁺ iv 5-6 (= KTU 1.3)¹³⁰

(05) . . . l ib . yp ʿ (06) l b ʿl .

lā ʿēbu yapa ʿa lé ba ʿli

ṣrt . l rkb . ʿrpt

ṣarratu lé rākibi ʿurapāti

No enemy has arisen against *Ba ʿlu*,

(no) foe against the Rider of the Clouds!

Drawing these data together, I suggest that *mn* in both of these examples is best analyzed as a personal interrogative serving as the subject of the question, with the noun *ib* comprising

¹²⁹ This is also why the formally ambiguous {yp ʿ} is better handled as a perfective suffix-conjugation verbal form than an imperfective prefix-conjunction form.

¹³⁰ The text is presented here following the epigraphic study of this tablet in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

either a complement (if *mn* is a determiner) or a semantically definite¹³¹ predicate (if *mn* is independent), such that the following translations are to be preferred:

(51) What/Which enemy has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?

(52) Who is the enemy who has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?

The response of the messengers cited immediately above may actually lead us to prefer the determiner-like analysis of *mn*. The syntax of the negated clause is highly atypical: we expect the sentential negative *l* to precede the verb it negates immediately. As Miller (1999: 348) noted, simple constituent negation cannot be involved: “It’s not an enemy that has arisen, but something else!” is hardly intended. But neither can the negative be treated straightforwardly as a sentential negative, as she does, as the sentential negative is expected to precede the verb it negates immediately.

Rather than suggest that the sentential negative is here separated from the verb it negates, I prefer to see this as evidence that a noun like *ib*—indefinite on this analysis—can be quantificationally bound by a preceding negative. In other words, what is, in Payne’s (1985) terms, non-standard constituent negation can functionally overlap with quantifier negation and deliver a sentential effect, as in English sentences like the following:

¹³¹ Semantic definiteness is obviously not marked consistently in Ugaritic as it is in later Northwest Semitic languages like Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician.

- (53) Not a dog barked last night. **constituent negation**
 ≈ No dog barked last night. **negative quantifier**
 ≈ A dog didn't bark last night. **sentential negation**
- (54) Not anyone came to the study session. **constituent negation**
 ≈ No one came to the study session. **negative quantifier**
 ≈ A person didn't come to the study session. **sentential negation**

The same is actually observable for Biblical Hebrew as well, as in the following example:

(55) **Num 16:15 (MT)**

lō(ʿ) ḥ^amō^wr ʿehād mē=hem nāśā(ʿ)ṭī^y

NEG donkey-M.SG.ABS one from=them.3MP take-G.PFV.1CS

“Not a single donkey have I taken from them!”

NOT: “I have taken one non-donkey from them.”

Why this approach to negation was used instead of one involving standard sentential negation (e.g., ***ib l yṗ ʿ l b ʿl*, “an enemy has not arisen against *Ba ʿlu*”) is revisited in the discussion section below (sec. 4.7.3.2.2). For the moment, however, the proposed analysis of *l*¹³² suggests that *mn* may be similarly interpreted as taking an NP complement, and its ellipsis in the second colon proves no more problematic than that of *l* in the second colon of the messengers’

¹³² A similar example involving a free-choice like indefinite expression may be available in RS [Varia 31]:11-13, which is discussed in formulaic, morphological, lexical, and typological terms in Burlingame forthcoming *a*.

response.¹³³ In the final analysis, however, whether we interpret *mn* as an interrogative determiner taking an indefinite NP complement or an independent interrogative associated with a semantically definite NP predicate, the presuppositional character of this question must be underscored and accounted for.

4.5.2 RS 2.[022]⁺ iv 23' (= *KTU* 1.5 iv 24): *mn liḱ* . . .

The fourth column of the fifth tablet of *Ba 'lu* has suffered considerable damage. The bottom third of the column is lost entirely, while of the top two thirds, only the right half of each line is preserved. Toward the end of the partially preserved portion of this column, following a fragmentary description of a feast held in the divine assembly, readers encounter the following sequence (here provided with accompanying translation rather than vocalization):

RS 2.[022]⁺ iv 23' (= *KTU* 1.5 iv 22-25)¹³⁴

(21') bt . ḫl . li[. . .]	house of 'Ilu . . .
(22') 'l . ḫbš . ' - '
(23') mn . liḱ . ' - '[. . .]	WH sent . . .
(24') liḱ . tl' - '[. . .]	sent . . .

Most interpreters in the past who have taken a position¹³⁵ on the interpretation of the form {*mn*} in l. 23' have assumed that it represents an interrogative pronoun but have differed on which

¹³³ Note that, while Miller (1999: 348) prefers to treat *l* here as the sentential negative (though without explanation of the atypical word order), she still treats *mn* as a determiner, as suggested here (1999: 346).

¹³⁴ The text as presented here follows Pardee's epigraphic study of this text (in preparation), generously shared with me by its author. See similarly *CTA* 5.

¹³⁵ Beginning with the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1934b: 323), many have left this portion of the text untranslated due to its fragmentary state (e.g., Ginsberg 1936b: 190; Ginsberg 1950: 139; Driver 1956: 107; Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974: 246-247; del Olmo Lete 1981: 219; Pardee 1997a: 266; Wyatt 2002: 123; Garbini 2014: 137).

pronoun and whether it functions as an interrogative or indefinite. Some read l. 23' as a question concerning a personal referent (“Who has sent . . .?”).¹³⁶ Tropper (2012: 239) has suggested the possibility of an impersonal interrogative or adverbial interrogative value (“Was/Warum hat er geschickt”).¹³⁷ Still others have proposed a personal indefinite value without providing a contextual translation.¹³⁸ Each of these interpretations may derive some support from the two epistolary examples discussed below of the interrogative *mn* used in close association with the verb $\sqrt{l'}$ k (RS 18.140:24' and RS 34.124:22), but the state of the text precludes certainty, and the graphemes {mn} may as easily comprise the end of a word from the preceding line. In any event, determining the precise semantics and syntax is out of the question.

4.5.3 RS 3.322+ i 11 (= *KTU* 1.19): *mn grph*

The opening lines of the third tablet of *'Aqhatu* have challenged interpreters since Virolleaud's edition of the text (1936b) and have been described as “one of the most difficult texts of the *'Aqhatu* story.”¹³⁹ Line 11 of the text is presented here in a synopsis of several previously proposed readings:

¹³⁶ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 289; 1965/1998: 435. Tropper (1999: 99; 2000/2012: 239; 2002: 26) allows for this interpretation but considers other alternatives as well (for which, see the next note). Aistleitner (1963: 187) cites this text under *mn*, but this portion of the tablet is not translated in his 1959 study, making his view on its lexical value here uncertain. Because this is the only text he cites in which his gloss “wer?” could apply, I assume this was the text he had in mind, if the gloss reflects more than a comparative deduction. See further Gibson 1977: 71 (“Who has sent?”); Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1180 (“Wer sendet . . .?”); Smith 1997: 147 (“Who sent (?)”).

¹³⁷ See further Tropper 1999: 99; 2000: 239, 241; 2002: 27; 2008: 74; 2012: 241, and cf. previous note.

¹³⁸ See del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2002: 556; 2003: 560; 2015: 553.

¹³⁹ Pardee 1997d: 350 n. 81.

Table 4.1: Synopsis of Past Readings

Edition	Text
Virolleaud 1936b: 134	w(?) ʔn . gpr(?)m . mn gpr(?)h . šʔr(?)
Herdner 1963: 87	ʔwʔ ʔn . gpr̄m . mn gʔprʔh . šʔrʔ
Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 59	ʔwʔ ʔn . gpr̄m . ʔmʔn . gprh . šʔrʔ Note to {gprh}: “Die Fehlschreibung gpph wurde korrigiert: gprh.”
Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1995: 56	ʔwʔ ʔn . gpr̄m . ʔmʔn . gprh . šʔrʔ Note to {gprh}: “The misspelling <i>gpph</i> was corrected to <i>gprh</i> .”
Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 2013: 57	ʔwʔ ʔn . gpr[[r]]m . ʔmʔn . gprh . šʔrʔ Note to {gprh}: “Lg. <i>gprh</i> ”

The presence of {mn} is agreed upon by the authors of each of these editions, and Virolleaud’s (1936b: Pl. I) copy registers a clear reading, though the immediately following signs have proven more difficult to interpret. Some editions leave this portion of the text untranslated¹⁴⁰ or only partially translated,¹⁴¹ while others offer guarded attempts.¹⁴² Those who have translated l. 11 have interpreted {mn} in one of the following manners: as an interrogative pronoun (impersonal¹⁴³ or personal¹⁴⁴), a personal indefinite pronoun,¹⁴⁵ a noun referring to an incantation (< √mny, cf. Ug. *mnt*, “incantation”),¹⁴⁶ as a verb (either “to recite, recount” [√mny]¹⁴⁷ or “to cut” [√mnn]¹⁴⁸), or as a preposition meaning “from.”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁰ E.g., Ginsberg 1950: 153; 1955: 272; Gibson 1977: 114; Parker 1997: 67.

¹⁴¹ E.g., Driver 1956: 59 (“and two . . .”).

¹⁴² Aistleitner (1959: 76) translates, without philological commentary, “In einem doppeltem Gehege, seinem Schlupfwinkel war er versp(ertt),” and qualifies his attempt to translate ll. 2-13 of this column “nur ein Versuch.” Pardee (1997d: 350 n. 81) describes his own proposed translation (for which see n. 147 below) in similar terms.

¹⁴³ Tropper 2000/2012: 241, “unwahrscheinlich.”

¹⁴⁴ Caquot, Szyner, and Herdner 1974: 442; Caquot 1985: 102.

¹⁴⁵ Del Olmo Lete 1981: 387.

¹⁴⁶ De Moor (1987: 248) suggests, “And two young men are repeating a recitation, his two young men are singing about Aqhatu,” understanding the form {mn} to be a masculine counterpart to the feminine noun *mnt*, “incantation.” See also de Moor and Spronk 1987: 151.

¹⁴⁷ Virolleaud 1936b: 136 (but see also p. 237, where this lexeme is labelled “s. i.” [sens inconnu]); Dijkstra and de Moor (1975: 197, 199; “And two heroes recite, his heroes sing about *Aqhātu*” [p. 197]); Pardee (1997d: 351; “then he told the exploits, the prince recounted his exploits”).

¹⁴⁸ Proposed by Cooper (1988: 20, 22) on the basis of Arabic *manna*, which he claims to mean “to cut, break, shorten,” citing no lexica and providing no further discussion of etymology. Cooper is followed by Wyatt (2002: 291).

¹⁴⁹ Margalit (1989: 157) translates, “From his grave-pit, Aqht beheld,” but offers no discussion of the lexeme in question, for which one must consult his more detailed (though not more compelling) discussions appearing in *Ugarit-Forschungen* (1976: 170; 1984: 123-124). Today, as at the time of Margalit’s articles, there is no evidence that Ugaritic possessed a preposition cognate to the preposition **min* found in other West Semitic languages (see Tropper 2012: 762-763).

Of obvious interest for the present study are those positions involving an interrogative or indefinite identification of {mn}. The former can be set aside as improbable. Among the works surveyed in the previous notes, Tropper (2000/2012: 241) is the only scholar to have raised the possibility of interpreting {mn} here as an impersonal interrogative, a possibility he rightly considers “unwahrscheinlich.”

Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner (1974: 442; see also Caquot 1985: 102) have proposed a personal interrogative, translating this line (and the beginning of the next) thus: “Qui l’a subjugué, subjugué, le prince Aqhat?” For these authors, the lexical sequence *gprm mn gprh* consists of a paronomastic infinitive followed by the personal interrogative pronoun and a suffix-conjugation verbal form with 3ms suffix.¹⁵⁰ The improbability of an infinitive of this sort appearing before an interrogative weighs heavily against this interpretation. As we have seen in previous examples and will continue to see below, interrogatives in Ugaritic stand at the left edge of the clause of which they are a part (as typically in Biblical Hebrew)—the possibility that an infinitive employed to create a *figura etymologica* could precede the interrogative must accordingly be judged remote. This approach further entails the use of the verb $\sqrt{\text{tny}}$, “to repeat,” to introduce direct discourse immediately, for which the verbs $\sqrt{\text{ny}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{s(-)h}}$ are typically used. Furthermore, the verb $\sqrt{\text{tny}}$, “to repeat,” otherwise appears with an object (a noun denoting speech or a message) or a PP indicating the addressee of the discourse (see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 910-911).

More significantly, what little we can understand of the surrounding context renders the presence of a question unlikely here. First-person forms suggestive of direct discourse do not appear until l. 14 ({*imḥṣh*}), and interrogative expressions appear *only* in direct discourse in

¹⁵⁰ Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974: 442 n. m; see also Caquot 1985: 102.

Ugaritic poetry (the narrator is not in the habit of interjecting questions). The only way to salvage this approach I have been able to conceive involves a modification to the approach of Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner, noted above:

(56) **RS 3.322⁺ i 11-12 (not preferred)**

ʿwʾ t̄n . gpr̄m . ʿmʾn . gpr̄h . šʿrʾ (12) ʾqht

wa tanâ gaparīma MN gippara=hu

and repeat-G.PFV.3MS exploit(?)-OBL.M.PL.ABS WH overpower-D.PFV.3MS=him.3MS

šarra ʾaqhata

prince-ACC.M.SG.ABS PN

“And he recounted exploits: ‘Who overpowered him, the prince, *ʾAqhatu?*’”

Yet this approach creates new problems as serious as those it aims to solve. First, it depends on the availability of both a derived noun *gpr* and a verb \sqrt{gpr} referring to might or power, for which the putative cognate evidence cited by the authors just mentioned is Akkadian *guppuru*, itself regarded by the editors of the *CAD* (G p. 118) as a by-form of *gubburu* (< \sqrt{gbr}). As the form in question provides no phonological environment capable of accounting for the devoicing of /b/ to /p/, this etymological suggestion must be viewed with some skepticism. The transitive syntax of the resulting verb would also be unexpected.¹⁵¹

An indefinite interpretation is more easily imagined. The contextual sense of del Olmo Lete’s (1981: 387) proposed, “y por dos veces atacó a quien le atacaba, el Príncipe,” remains

¹⁵¹ Note that Akkadian *gubburu* is used absolutely in the one example cited in the *CAD* (G p. 118); Biblical Hebrew \sqrt{gbr} is likewise used absolutely or with prepositional complementation (see BDB, *HALOT*, s.v.).

unclear, but another possibility involving an impersonal indefinite interpretation may offer a more suitable result:

(57) **RS 3.322⁺ i 11 (possible, not demonstrable)**

ṛwṛ ṭn . gprm . ṛmṛn . gprh . śṛrṛ

wa tanâ gaparīma

and repeat-G.PFV.3MS exploit(?)-OBL.M.PL.ABS

MN gaparī=hu śāra

WH exploit(?)-OBL.M.PL.=his.3MS sing-G.PFV.3MS

“And he recounted exploits(?); whatever his exploits(?), he sang (them).”

This interpretation assumes two parallel relationships: $\sqrt{\text{tny}} // \sqrt{\text{ś(-)r}}$ and $gprm // mn\ gprh$. The former is not otherwise attested, though I see no semantic obstacle to its viability. The latter would involve a plural noun standing in parallel relationship to what amounts (pragmatically, not semantically) to a universally quantified repetition of the same—not at all implausible, though neither necessary.

Each of these possibilities rests on the traditional reading of the text in question. Yet Pardee’s examination of the text has led him to propose a reading distinct from those of his predecessors, which may render much of this speculation moot:

Edition

Text

Pardee, study in preparation

ṛwṛ ṭn . ṛgṛprm . mnṛḥṛṛḥ . śṛ-ṛ

If this reading is correct—and examination of unpublished photographs¹⁵² leads me to believe that it is—then no word-divider follows {mn}, and the obligation to interpret {mn} as a discreet lexeme disappears. Even allowing that word-dividers were not used uniformly, I have found no suitable interpretation of {mn ḥ`rh} that would allow an indefinite interpretation of the sort indicated in (57) above. I see no clear way to incorporate a reference to “snorting” (√nh̄r) or its various nominal derivatives¹⁵³ in this context, so the newly read *mnḥrh* must remain, as previously, obscure.

4.5.4 RS 3.325⁺ ii 19-20 (= KTU 1.16): *mn yrḥ k . . . mn k*

In the final tablet of *Kirta*, the king’s son, *’Iluḥa ’u*, summons his sister, *Ṭitmanatu*, to their father’s dwelling. Following *Kirta*’s instructions, he attempts to conceal his father’s sickness from his sister, but she presses him for the truth in the following address (points to be discussed below are translated woodenly and presented in all-caps):

RS 3.325⁺ ii 17-20¹⁵⁴

(17) tqrb . ḥḥ[. . .]	<i>taqrubu ḥḥâ[ha . . .]</i>
(18) lm . tb`rn [. . .]	<i>lêma tib`arunî [. . .]</i>
(19) mn . yrḥ . k m[rṣ]	<i>MN yarḥa kî ma[rusa]</i>
(20) mn . kdw . kr[t]	<i>MN kî dawâ kir[ta]</i>

¹⁵² Produced by Project PhoTEO and generously made available to me by Pardee.

¹⁵³ The root √nh̄r is attested in Ugaritic only in the debated substantive {ḥnh̄r}. For the relevant etymological details, see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 76; Richey 2019: 262-281.

¹⁵⁴ Text after *CTA*.

“She approaches [her] broth[er . . .], ‘Why are you leading¹⁵⁵ me[. . .
 ?] MN MONTH that he has been sick? MN that *Kirta* has been ill?”

’Iluḥa ’u’s response mirrors this question lexically and syntactically:

RS 3.325+ ii 21-23¹⁵⁶

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (21) w y‘ny . ġzr[. ilḥù] | <i>wa ya ’niyu ġazru [’iluḥa ’u]</i> |
| (22) tlt . yrḥm . k m[rš] | <i>talātu yaraḥūma kī ma[ruša]</i> |
| (23) arb‘ . k dw . k[rt] | <i>’arba ’u kī dawâ ki[rta]</i> |

“The hero, *’Iluḥa ’u*, replies, ‘(It is) three months that he has been sick,
 four that *Kirta* has been ill.”

Of the reference works surveyed in Appendix 4.1, all are agreed that {mn} in ll. 19-20 is best understood as an interrogative. Yet finer semantic and syntactic differences are detectable in the presentations each offers. Aistleitner registers *mn*, “wieviel?” as a distinct lexeme (his *mn* II [1963: 188]), not to be confused with his (im)personal interrogative, “wer? was für ein?” (*mn* I). The remaining authors agree in treating *mn* here as the impersonal interrogative pronoun,¹⁵⁷ but they diverge in the manner in which they relate the semantics of the pronoun to its role in this question. For Tropper, the interrogative “what?” is here used in association with the ontological

¹⁵⁵ See Caquot, Sznycer, and Herdner 1974: 557; Pardee 1997c: 340. The sense depends on the slightly clearer context provided by RS 2.[003]⁺ ii 47-50 (= *KTU* 1.14).

¹⁵⁶ Text after *CTA*.

¹⁵⁷ Though for Sivan (2001: 59), who conflates interrogative and indefinite uses, this is actually classified as an “indefinite” pronoun (in spite of its clearly interrogative function).

category *amount* rather than *thing*, meaning “how much/many.”¹⁵⁸ This approach entails the following syntactic understanding of the first colon:

(58) **RS 3.325+ ii 19**

mn . yrḥ . k m[rṣ]

MN *yrḥ*V *kī* *ma[rūṣa]*

WH month-?.M.SG.ABS COMP be.sick-G.PFV.3MS

“What (amount) in month(s) (is it) that he has been sick?” OR

“How many month(s) (is it) that he has been sick?”

Paraphrase: How long has he been ill?

As indicated above, the noun *yrḥ* is closely associated with the interrogative on this reading, though whether it was a nominative appositive (“how many, viz., month”) or an adverbial accusative of specification (“how much month-wise”) is not treated explicitly in Tropper’s presentation.¹⁵⁹ In any event, this reading requires that *mn yrḥ* together comprise a predicate, of which the CP *k mṣ* is the subject.¹⁶⁰

A second approach is suggested by those who believe that the pronoun is simply functioning in its regular pronominal role, with translations comparable to “what/which month (is it) that”¹⁶¹ Unlike Tropper, proponents of this approach assign to *mn* its typical value (not one associated with the ontological category of *amount*) and treat the noun *yrḥ* as a nominal

¹⁵⁸ Tropper 1999: 99; 2000: 241; 2002: 27 n. 62; 2008: 74; 2012: 241.

¹⁵⁹ Tropper’s (2000/2012: 241) citation of the use of Classical Arabic *kam* with a singular adverbial accusative, however, may indicate a preference for the latter approach.

¹⁶⁰ Literally, “That he has been sick (is) how many month(s)?” See Tropper 2012: 903 for an explicit statement to this effect (identifying *k mṣ* and *k dw krt* as “Subjektsätze”).

¹⁶¹ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 34, 289; 1965/1998: 41, 435; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 281-282; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Sivan 2001: 59.

complement of the interrogative (most of those just cited suggest an adjectival value for *mn* here: “what month”) rather than as an adverbial accusative. The most significant difference in the two approaches is pragmatic: for Tropper, *Titmanatu*’s question is a quantificational one (effectively, “how long” [2000/2012: 753]); for others, the question is temporal (effectively, “when”). The difference can be captured in the following paraphrases:

(59) “How many month(s) (is it) that he has been sick?”

Paraphrase: How long has he been sick?

(60) “What month (is it) that he became sick?”

Paraphrase: When did he become sick?

These readings make different, though equally plausible, assumptions about the verbal semantics involved as well, as (59) requires the perfective verb to refer to a length of time (the so-called “constative perfect” in traditional grammars), while (60) assumes an inchoative value.

These two approaches share in common the idea that the interrogative and the immediately following noun *yrḥ* together make up a phrasal constituent functioning as the predicate of the question, yet they respond in different ways to several of the morphosyntactic challenges this text poses in both internal and comparative terms. The key issues are these:

(61) **Key issues for RS 3.325⁺ ii 19-20:**

- a. The use of the bare interrogative *alone* for “how many” is surprising in comparative perspective. In other West Semitic languages, this idea is

consistently expressed using a combination of the preposition **ka* and the interrogative (e.g., Biblical Hebrew ¹⁶² *kammâ^h*, *kamme^h*; Syriac *kmɔ*; Arabic *kam*; Gə'əz *kama məntə-nu*). EA Canaanite data may provide a satisfactory parallel (see below).

- b. The use of a singular count noun after the interrogative is surprising.
- c. The fact that *yrḥ* can be deleted in the second colon (l. 20) must be taken into consideration in weighing alternative approaches.
- d. The fact that the following clause is a CP (introduced by *k*) rather than a simple VP must figure into our analysis.
- e. The contextual cue provided by the response to this question in ll. 21-23 (given in translation above) must be addressed.

For the first approach, represented in (59) above, observations (61c)-(61e) are expected, while (61a)-(61b) prove more challenging. Conversely, (60) accounts for (61a)-(61b), but it is not as clearly compatible with considerations (61c)-(61e). To put this more explicitly, an assumption that the impersonal interrogative could be employed in what are essentially adverbial quantity questions (as in (59)) renders the deletion of *yrḥ* in l. 20 unsurprising, even without invoking poetic ellipsis (Biblical Hebrew *kammâ^h* is routinely used to mean “how many” or “how often” without any nominal complement¹⁶³). Treating *Ṭitmanatu*'s question as a strictly quantificational one obviously accounts for the similarly quantification response she receives from her brother (observation (61e)), but it also allows us to explain the CP syntax of the second half of the

¹⁶² The suggestion found in *DCH* that Biblical Hebrew *mâ^h* in Job 16:6 means “how much” is unnecessary and is not suggested by other lexicographers (compare *BDB*, *HALOT*, Gesenius¹⁸).

¹⁶³ For several BH examples, see Ps 35:17; 78:40; Job 7:19; 21:17.

question noted in (61d). In a simple identifying question like that assumed in (60), we would expect a VP predicate (as in other instances of *mn* discussed above and below).¹⁶⁴ The fact that the temporal duration of a situation is expressed with a CP subject and a predicate consisting of a length of time expressed as a cardinal quantifier phrase can be seen not only from ll. 22-23 above, but also from an epistolary document, which we may assume to represent productive linguistic patterns even more directly:

(62) **RS 94.2383⁺:6-7**¹⁶⁵

tl̄t . ymm . k ṛ'inn . ṛ' ākl (07) ṛ' - ṛ' btk . . .

talāṭu *yamūma* *kī* ṛ'ēnu=*na* ṛ'aklu

three-NOM.M.SG.ABS day-NOM.M.PL.ABS COMP NEG=FOC? food-NOM.M.SG.ABS

ṛ'bi^{ṛ'} *bētika*

in house-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=*your.2MS*

“(It is) three days that_{COMP} there has been no food in your house.”¹⁶⁶

On the other hand, if *mn* is semantically quantificational (“what [*amount* of time]”), then its independent use breaks pattern with other West Semitic languages, where one routinely finds the impersonal interrogative in this functional space preceded by a reflex of the preposition **ka* (examples, cited above and repeated here, include Biblical Hebrew *kammâ^h*, *kamme^h*; Syriac *kmɔ*; Arabic *kam*; Gəʿəz *kama məntə-nu*). Put differently, we can observe a tendency in these

¹⁶⁴ Note well that *kī* is the complementizer in Ugaritic, not a relative. The sentence given in (60) is not to be confused with an interrogative cleft (*What month was it that_{rel} he fell ill?*).

¹⁶⁵ Text after Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 190-192.

¹⁶⁶ Once more, *that* in the English translation represents the Ugaritic complementizer *kī*, not a relative. This is not a cleft sentence. The syntax may be more clearly represented by inverting the word order in translation: “That there has been no food is (i.e., amounts to) three days.”

languages to lexicalize a distinction between the impersonal interrogative (“what?”) and the quantificational interrogative (“what amount? how much/many?”). Tropper is aware of this difficulty and cites data furnished by six letters found at El-Amarna (four of which originated in Byblos) to support his analysis of Ugaritic *mn* in this text. In each of the letters concerned (EA 88, 114, 119, 122, 250, 292), readers encounter the sequence *ma-ni* UD.KÁM.MEŠ(-*ti*) at the head of a question, apparently meaning, “For how many days?”¹⁶⁷ Moran (2003: 21 [repr. of 1950]), who first identified the potential relevance of these data to the Ugaritic text under consideration, believed that these attestations represented an idiomatic use of the interrogative *mannu* (in its impersonal use, peculiar to the EA material, rather than its typical Akkadian use as a personal interrogative), and he accordingly treated the consistent spelling *ma-ni* as defective (so also Rainey 1996: I:112-113). Von Soden (1967: 294-295) proposed a similar connection between the EA and Ugaritic data (apparently unaware of Moran’s earlier proposal), though he believed that these attestations represented an independent adverbial interrogative (“wieviel?”), not to be confused with the Akkadian interrogative *mannu*.¹⁶⁸ Likely taking his cue from the consistent spelling *ma-ni* just noted, von Soden (1967: 295) proposed that this “Adverbium ist offenbar aus *māh* „was“ und einem noch nicht genau zu bestimmenden Element *-ni* oder *-ani* zusammengesetzt.” Tropper, like von Soden, suggests that a slightly distinct morphological evaluation (**mā=ni*) accounts for the spelling, which consistently lacks evidence of a doubled /n/. One may reasonably wonder whether the distinctive orthography attending each of these examples might not point in the direction of an altogether different etymology.¹⁶⁹ But the

¹⁶⁷ See Tropper 2000/2012: 241; Rainey 1996: I:112-113; Tropper and Vita 2010a: 43.

¹⁶⁸ This position is reflected in the presentation one finds in *CAD M/1*, p. 211.

¹⁶⁹ The root $\sqrt{\text{mny}}$, for example, meaning “to count,” might be expected to offer a suitable diachronic source for a quantificational adverbial interrogative meaning “how many?”

relatively low quantity and the relatively high degree of circumscription of the data concerned,¹⁷⁰ when viewed together with the clear evidence provided by other West Semitic languages for use of the impersonal interrogative in questions relating to amount/quantity,¹⁷¹ suggest that these data are most parsimoniously interpreted with reference to the impersonal interrogative, mitigating the challenge to (59) posed by (61a) substantially.

Equally surprising in (immediate) comparative terms is the singular form of *yrḥ*. Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic require plural count nouns in association with comparable quantificational interrogatives,¹⁷² and their combined witness would lead us to anticipate ***mn yrḥm* were “how many months?” intended. For Tropper (2000/2012: 241), the fact that Classical Arabic allows a singular adverbial accusative¹⁷³ to render more precise the referent of the interrogative warrants the proposed evaluation of *mn* as having quantificational interrogative force. No inherent implausibility precludes treating *yrḥ* in this text comparably, as Tropper suggests, though we must quickly add that other Northwest Semitic languages prefer a plural count noun in such instances.

The second approach, modeled in (60), accounts for the unmodified character of the interrogative pronoun and the singular grammatical number of *yrḥ* with ease: the question is not

¹⁷⁰ As noted, four of the six attestations appear in letters from Rib-Haddi of Byblos (EA 88, 114, 119, 122). See Rainey, Schiedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015 for discussion of each.

¹⁷¹ Note that languages employing reflexes of **ka* + WH for quantity questions actually provide indirect evidence for the use of bare WH in this capacity, as such a use must be assumed in the source construction. Consider this Biblical Hebrew example:

(i) Gen 47:8 (MT)
kammâ^h yamē^v šanē^v hayye^v=kā
 like-WH day-M.PL.CSTR year-F.PL.CSTR life-M.PL.SUFF=your.2MS
 “How many are the days of the years of your life?” < ***“The days of the years of your life are like what (amount)?”*

¹⁷² When used with a following count noun, Biblical Hebrew *kammâ/e^h* requires the plural (see, e.g., Gen 47:8; 2 Sam 19:35; 1 Kgs 22:16; Zech 7:3; Ps 119:84; Job 13:23; 2 Chron 18:15). See similarly Syriac *kmō* (Payne Smith 1903: 216); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *kmh* (Sokoloff 2017: 281).

¹⁷³ In Modern Standard Arabic, a genitive is used (*kam kitābin*, “how many book(s)”). Tropper cites Fischer’s discussion of the Classical Arabic situation, where one finds the hypothetical example *kam laka dirhaman*, “wieviele Dirhams hast du?” (Fischer 1972: 133).

quantificational but identifying (“what month...?”). Yet this approach is forced to assume several points of incongruity between *Titmanatu*’s question and *’Iluḥa ’u*’s response. First, the verbal form *mrs* (and *dw* in the next line) must be perfective forms with inchoative semantics (“he became sick”) in the question, but perfect/“constative” in the response (“he has been sick”).¹⁷⁴ Second, proponents must imagine that *’Iluḥa ’u*’s answer, while syntactically mirroring *Titmanatu*’s question, actually answers a different question than the one posed: *Titmanatu* asks *when*; *’Iluḥa ’u* tells *how long*. As a third and unrelated challenge, this approach must suppose that the nominal complement *yrḥ*, on which *mn* depends crucially for its contextual value on this reading, can be elided in l. 20 without obliterating the desired sense.¹⁷⁵

When each of these factors is weighed, Tropper’s proposal emerges as the most plausible. In at least some contexts—perhaps those involving a CP subject, given the use of such structures for expressions of temporal duration noted above—the impersonal interrogative *mn* could be employed with reference to the ontological category of *amount*. Interpretation would obviously be facilitated considerably by the presence of an adverbial accusative substantive referring to a temporal phase (like *yrḥ*), though the presence of such a noun was not likely obligatory. This preferred analysis is reiterated and clarified here:

¹⁷⁴ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín make this clear in their proposed translations of the verbs as “enfermó” and “se puso malo” (1996-2000: 282); “fell ill” and “became sick” (2003: 560; 2015: 553). Gordon’s (1955: 34; 1965/1998: 41) “that he is sick” and “is ill” fails to provide a contextually appropriate sense (see next note). Sivan (2001: 59) avoids this challenge by interpolating an ablative force (“(since) which month is he verily sick”) without explanation.

¹⁷⁵ See Gordon’s remark to this effect: “in the following impersonal examples, note that the second is nominalized: . . . ‘what month is it that he is sick, what (one) that Krt is ill?’”

(63) **RS 3.325⁺ ii 19**

mn . yrḥ . k m[rṣ]

MN yarḥa kī ma[ruša]

WH month-ACC.M.SG.ABS COMP be.sick-G.PFV.3MS

“That he has been sick is what (amount) month-wise?”

This parsing does not entail an adjectival status for the pronoun *mn*, which rather functions as a predicate followed by an accusative noun serving to modify the copular predication adverbially. The interrogative stands at the beginning of the sentence and introduces an authentic request for information.

4.5.5 RS 16.265:21 (= KTU 5.9 iv 2): *ḏ mn*

In spite of Virolleaud’s initial identification of RS 16.265 among “Lettres privées” (1957: 39-40), this text provides one of the clearest examples of a scribal practice letter available in the Ugaritic corpus.¹⁷⁶ The presence of partially preserved abecedaries on the right, left, and upper edges of the tablet, unintelligible graphic sequences framed by a surfeit of vertical and horizontal dividing lines occupying the verso, and the content of the letter found on the recto and lower edge of the tablet all speak in favor of this classification.¹⁷⁷ The letter, which exhibits florid modifications to traditional epistolary formulae, is presented here:

¹⁷⁶ That Virolleaud himself already suspected as much can be seen in his parenthetical comment appearing elsewhere in the same volume: “Lettre privée (peut-être fictive, exercice de scribe?)” (1957: 238). For further bibliographic discussion of the development of this idea, see Clemens 2001: 475-480.

¹⁷⁷ See the classification suggested in all three editions of *KTU* (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 402; 1995: 491; 2013: 603); Dietrich and Loretz 1988: 182, 185; Pardee and Whiting 1987: 10; van Soldt 1991: 125, 162, 749; Pardee 2002b: 115; 2007d: 184-185; Hawley 2003: 21 n. 68, 77 n. 40, 519-520 n. 36; 2008a: 226-227; 2008b: 77-78; Vita 2012; Yogev and Yona 2014; Schniedewind 2019: 98-102. For earlier bibliography and discussion, especially with respect to the question of genre, see the thorough bibliographic review of Clemens 2001: 475-480.

RS 16.265:1-16 (= KTU 5.9 i 1-16)¹⁷⁸

(01) [t]ḥm ḫṫl	<i>taḥmu ḪṫTL</i>	Message of ḪṫTL
(02) l mnn . ilm	<i>lê MNN `ilūma</i>	to MNN. May the gods
(03) tḡrk . tšlmk	<i>tagḡurūka tašallimūka</i>	guard you, keep you well,
(04) t`zzk . `alp ym	<i>ta `azzizūka `alpa yōma</i>	strengthen you for a thousand days
(05) w rbt . šnt	<i>wa rabbata šanata</i>	and ten thousand years,
(06) b `d `lm	<i>bi `adi `ālamī</i>	throughout endless time!
<hr/>		
(07) iršt . `ršt	<i>`irišta `araštu</i>	A request I have made
(08) l `ḥy . l r`y	<i>lê `aḥīya lê ri `iya</i>	to my brother, to my friend,
<hr/>		
(09) w ytnnn	<i>wa yatinan(n)anna</i>	and let him give it
(10) l `ḥh . l r`h	<i>lê `aḥīhu lê ri `ihu</i>	to his brother, to his friend,
(11) r` `lm .	<i>ri `i `ālamī</i>	(his) eternal friend.
(12) ttn . w tn	<i>tatin wa tin</i>	You shall give! And give!
(13) w l ttn	<i>wa la tatin</i>	And you shall certainly give!
(14) w `al ttn	<i>wa `allu tatin</i>	And you shall surely give . . .
(15) tn ks yn	<i>tin kāsa yēni</i>	Give a cup of wine,
(16) w išttn	<i>wa `ištanna</i>	that I might drink!

The verso of the tablet includes the first three lines of a “response”:

¹⁷⁸ Text after Pardee (2007d: 185).

RS 16.265:21-23 (= KTU 5.9 iv 1-3)¹⁷⁹

(21) tḥm	<i>tahmu</i>	Message
(22) d mn	<i>dū MN</i>	of MN,
(23) l iṭtl	<i>lê İTTL</i>	to İTTL

The relevance of this scribal letter for the present study depends on the value ascribed to the forms {mnn}¹⁸⁰ (l. 2) and {mn} (l. 22). As many have observed, these terms may be understood either as personal names (“to *Mnn*”) or, given the humorous character of the practice letter, as indefinite pronouns (“to Whomever”).¹⁸¹

While the potentially onomastic value of *mn(n)* has consistently been acknowledged and that of *iṭtl* universally assumed, a detailed onomastic treatment of the options is rendered difficult by several points of uncertainty. Gröndahl (1967: 221, 223) had identified {iṭtl} as a by-form of the better attested {aṭtl}, itself thought to consist of the Hurrian terms *ašte*, “woman,” and *ela*, “sister.”¹⁸² Pardee (forthcoming *a*) argues that this etymology can be confirmed on the basis of the syllabic attestation of a PN spelled ^m*iš-te-lu* (RS [Varia 11]:6 [= Astour 1971: 26]; RS 18.101A:3 [= *PRU* VI no. 150]). Both syllabic attestations suggest a Hurrian etymology (not, e.g., an Anatolian name ending in *-talli*¹⁸³) and provide the DIŠ determinative, confirming that the individual concerned in each text is a man. Yet a theoretical Hurrian PN meaning “the woman is sister” is perhaps a bit unexpected as a man’s name. Gröndahl (1967: 221) noted that

¹⁷⁹ Text after Pardee (forthcoming *a*).

¹⁸⁰ Misrepresented by Ahl (1973: 426) as *mnm*; see similarly Mandell 2019: 58 with n. 68, 60 n. 78, 65.

¹⁸¹ The possibility of reading {mnn} as an indefinite pronoun was first suggested as an alternative to the equally possible onomastic reading by Pardee and Whiting 1987: 10-11; see further Clemens 2001: 480; Pardee 2002b: 115; 2007d: 184-185; Hawley 2003: 77 n. 40, 519 n. 36; 2008b: 77-78; Vita 2012; Yogev and Yona 2014; Schniedewind 2019: 98-102 (to whom this idea is not, however, original, as Mandell’s [2019: 107] remarks might lead readers to believe).

¹⁸² See further Watson 2007: 160; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 128.

¹⁸³ For discussion of this onomastic element, see Zehnder 2010: 94-95.

Hurrian *ašt*-names could clearly be borne by men at Ugarit, in spite of their typically feminine referents at Nuzi.¹⁸⁴ I have no better etymology to propose,¹⁸⁵ but I note the peculiarity as the individual bearing the name {iṭtl} in this mock-letter presents himself as “brother” and “friend (m.)” to the addressee (see ll. 10-11 in the text as presented above), meaning that the challenge involved in explaining the PN *ṁiṣ-te-lu* applies to {iṭtl} as well.

The PN {mnn} is attested in multiple, distinct syllabic renderings,¹⁸⁶ and Anatolian,¹⁸⁷ Hurrian,¹⁸⁸ and Semitic¹⁸⁹ etymologies are imaginable. Those who have argued in favor of treating {mnn} in this letter as an indefinite pronoun rather than a PN have noted the shorter form {mn} appearing in l. 23, taking this as an indication that both sequences represent the interrogative/indefinite *mn* with or without a further enclitic element *-n*.¹⁹⁰ Yet the remarkable productivity of a host of distinct suffixes represented alphabetically as {n} and employed in the generation of hypocoristica at Ugarit¹⁹¹ raises other possibilities. Onomastic by-forms like *Nu ṁmēnu* and *Nu ṁmē*,¹⁹² *Yabnīnu* and *Yabni*,¹⁹³ and *ʾIbirānu* and *ʾIbirā*¹⁹⁴ (among still others¹⁹⁵) leave the possibility open that {mnn} in l. 2 above and {mn} in l. 23 could simply be two forms

¹⁸⁴ The examples of such names presented in Richter 2016: 384-385 are virtually all preceded by the MUNUS determinative indicating a female individual.

¹⁸⁵ Richter (2016: 394-395) notes a distinct root *el-/il-* of uncertain meaning, but this root appears as the first element in the PNs concerned.

¹⁸⁶ Attested forms include *mi-ni-nu*, *mu-ni-nu*, and Luwian hieroglyphic *manina*; see Watson 1995: 224-225.

¹⁸⁷ Gröndahl 1967: 283-284; Watson 1995: 224-225.

¹⁸⁸ A Hurrian etymology is not considered in Gröndahl 1967 or Watson 1995. For Hurrian names that one might expect to appear in alphabetic cuneiform script as {mn(n)}, see Richter 2016: 195-198, 457-458. These names are all *mena*-names, which are overwhelmingly borne by women—a fact already noted by Gröndahl (1967: 221, 240) and described as inapplicable in the case of the Ugaritic onomasticon.

¹⁸⁹ Gröndahl 1967: 159; Watson 1995: 224-225.

¹⁹⁰ See especially Hawley 2003: 77 n. 40, 519 n. 36.

¹⁹¹ See Gröndahl 1967: 51-52; van Soldt 2010b.

¹⁹² Noted in Burlingame 2020: 204 n. 31.

¹⁹³ For attestations, see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 937-938.

¹⁹⁴ See van Soldt 2010b: 319-320.

¹⁹⁵ See van Soldt 2010b: 319 for further examples.

of the same PN. Perhaps surprisingly, such by-forms could be used to refer to the same individual even in a single text.¹⁹⁶

Although certainty remains elusive, the otherwise humorous content of the letter supports treating {mnn} and {mn} as indefinite-like items in the manner described above.¹⁹⁷ If we adopt this position, what impact does it have on the emerging picture of interrogative and indefinite pronouns in Ugaritic? The form {mnn} will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, as it constitutes (at least for proponents of this approach) an augmented interrogative base. In the case of *mn*, however, at least two possibilities must be considered. First, it is possible that *mn* here comprises an indefinite (as suggested in previous studies cited above) meaning “whoever” (or perhaps “someone” or “anyone”). If this is the case, then this text would provide an example of an indefinite pronoun identical to the bare interrogative. Equally plausible, however, is the second possibility, according to which *mn* represents a *placeholder*: “Letter of Whosit.” This approach does not entail treating *mn* as an indefinite, but rather as a nominalized interrogative in the terms discussed in ch. 2 (sec. 2.6.1), above. I postpone the decision between these two analyses to the end of this chapter, once other possible examples of an indefinite *mn* have been discussed. On either approach, the pronoun is likely personal. It functions syntactically as a

¹⁹⁶ See the case of ^m*ia-zi-ra-nu*, whose name appears as ^m*ia-zi-ra-na* in RS 16.153:6 (= *PRU* III, p. 146) but without the suffix *-ānV* subsequently in the text (^m*ia-zi-ra-ma* [ll. 13, 16], i.e., a shortened form to which enclitic *-ma* has been added; see van Soldt 1991: 514; 2010b: 320).

¹⁹⁷ I am not aware of any attempt to make sense of the PN {ittl} as a comparably fictitious “name.” If {mn(n)} is related to the interrogative pronouns, one may reasonably attempt to find the interrogative {i} (/’ê/, “where?”) in the “name” {ittl}—a letter from “Wheresit” to “Whosit” would certainly be nice!—but the remaining consonants yield no satisfactory sense. Given the content of the letter, one might also be tempted to consider parsing this as a verbal form /’ittalla/ < *’ittalila, “Let me take plunder for myself” (Gt cohortative of a root √tll). Against this proposal, however, is the attestation of the root cognate to Biblical Hebrew *šālal* and Akkadian *šalālu* in Ugaritic as √šll (RS 19.011:6; see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 806). At the same time, the attestation of a root √tll in Arabic capable of meaning “to demolish” (Lane 1863-1893: I:345-346) and in Sabaic with the meaning “to carry off booty” (Beeston et al. 1982: 150) complicates the picture (as discussed in Pardee forthcoming *a*, ad RS 19.011:6). Derivation from a root √twl, cognate to Arabic *ālā* (√twl), “to be or become stupid, foolish” (Lane 1863-1893: I:365), is improbable.

genitive following the determinative/relative *d* in its role as a genitive exponent and takes no further complements.

4.5.6 RS 18.140:24' (= KTU 2.45:25): *mn bnš d likt*

RS 18.140 is an epistolary document bearing two letters, though the top half of the tablet has been lost. The first letter occupied only six lines on the verso and mentions the TN *Nuḡattē* (*{nḡt}*). The second, which likely begins on line 7' of the recto and continues to the end of the preserved text, is recognizable by the epistolary heading clearly preserved in ll. 9'-11' (*tḥm . . . l p'n b'ly . . . qlt* [see Virolleaud 1965: 91]). This second letter mentions “good horses” (*ššwm n'mm* [ll. 16', 18'-19']), draft animals (*ālp̄m ḥr̄tm* [l. 21', cf. 23', 25']), and *bnš*-personnel (l. 24', 26'), and it is also concerned with events associated with *Nuḡattē* (l. 20'). A clear syntactic break appears with the mention of previous correspondence in l. 21', with another obvious break appearing in l. 27' (*w k āt*). I accordingly provide the unit consisting of ll. 21'-26' here for context:

RS 18.140:21'-26' (= KTU 2.45:22-27)¹⁹⁸

(21') <i>w . lḥt . ālp̄m . ḥr̄tm</i>	<i>wa lūḥatu 'alapīma ḥāriṭīma</i>
(22') <i>k . rgmt . ly . blym</i>	<i>kī ragamta layya bi lā yōmi</i>
(23') <i>ālp̄m . ārš̄t . lk . w . l'y' [. . .]</i>	<i>'alapīma 'araštu lêka wa layya³ [. . .]</i>
(24') <i>mn . bnš . d . l<.>i'kt' . 'm' [. . .]</i>	<i>MN bunušu dū la 'ikta¹⁹⁹ 'imm[aya. . .]</i>
(25') <i>l . ālp̄m . w . l . y[--]t [. . .]</i>	<i>lê 'alapīma wa lā ya[tanā]tu [. . .]</i>

¹⁹⁸ Text after Pardee (forthcoming *a*).

¹⁹⁹ The word-divider found in this verbal form is misplaced. For another example of the same mistake, see RS 94.2545⁺:18 (*{k l.ikt}*).

(26') w . bl . bnš . hw[]y[. . .]

wa balī bunušu HW[]Y[. . .]

“Now concerning the (letter-)tablet about plough oxen, the fact that you said to me,
‘At no time have I requested oxen of you, but [you have requested] of me! Who is
the *bunušu* you have sent to [me] for oxen? I have not given [them to him]. Without
(?) a *bunušu*’”

Other proposed translations:

Virolleaud 1965: 92 “Quant à la *lht* (tablette, voir p. 86) que tu m’as envoyée,
concernant les boeufs de labour (litt. ‘laboureurs’), comment (*k non ky*, aussi l. 27) m’as-tu dit (as-tu pu me dire) : il n’y en a pas. Les boeufs sont (pourtant) ce que nous désirons (le plus), toi et moi. Tout homme (qui) ne . . . (ou : Personne ne . . .) pas chez [toi ?] . . . pour les boeufs et pour le vi[n . . . et aucun homme, lui . . .”

Ahl 1973: 451-452 “In addition (there is) the requisition of plow oxen of which you addressed me. The oxen I requested for you and for myself are worn out. Whatever person who -- -[]-- -[]- and without a person he (?)”

Hoftijzer 1983: 98 “Wat de tabletten betreft over ploegossen waarover U me hebt gesproken, *nooit* heb ik U om ossen gevraagd en welke dienaren

heb ik naar [U] gezonden om ossen [.] en geen enkele
dienaar [.]”

Pardee forthcoming *a* “Pour ce qui concerne le fait que tu as dicté à mon intention une
(lettre sur) tablette (au sujet) de boeufs de labour (disant) : « À toi je
n’ai aucunement demandé des boeufs mais à moi tu en
demandes ![?] Qui est ce membre du personnel que tu as envoyé¹
auprès de [moi[?]] pour des boeufs ? Je ne [lui] en ai pas do[nn]é »,
personne [. . .]”

Line 21' and the first three words of 22' refer to the content of a letter previously sent by the current addressee to the current sender.²⁰⁰ The graphemes {blym} in l. 22' must accordingly constitute the first element(s) quoted from the previous letter, but the point at which this quotation ends is harder to determine, as one may appreciate by comparing the alternative translations above.²⁰¹ It must have ended by l. 27' (as noted above), as that line opens with a coordinating conjunction followed by a CP introduced by *k*—likely introducing another action or communication on the part of the current addressee that the sender wishes to revisit. Pardee (forthcoming *a*) has offered the most satisfactory interpretation of the structure and sense of this portion of the letter, and the translation proposed above follows his closely.²⁰² The current

²⁰⁰ For the formula involved and its various realizations, see Pardee 1977: 7-8; forthcoming *a* (ad RS 17.139:5); Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 159-160; Tropper 2000/2012: 802-803.

²⁰¹ This holds true in spite of the incorrect understanding each had of the epistolographic significance of *k rgmt ly*, now more readily (and generally) appreciated (see previous note). The difficulty in this case is due in part to the fact that the sender of this letter does not employ a deictic particle like *ht*, which can be used to signal the shift to the sender’s response to the previous correspondence just quoted (see Pardee 2003-2004: 366; for examples, see RS 17.139:6; RS 94.2406:35).

²⁰² The only point of divergence is found in my provisional preference to treat {blym} as a PP consisting of *b*, the negative *l* (here involved in a variety of constituent negation), and the noun *ym*, “day.” The sense is that suggested

addressee had previously written not to express the inadequacy of his own draft animals,²⁰³ but to refuse a request made by the sender of the current letter. He had apparently expressed

by Hoftijzer (see translation above). In cases in which *bl* negates nouns, true constituent negation is involved, not negative quantification (see Tropper 2000/2012: 817-818), so interpreting *blym* as *bl* + *ym* (as Hoftijzer does) ought to result in a phrase meaning “(on a) non-day, (on) something that is not a day.” This is clearly not the desired sense. The negative *l*, on the other hand, seems to allow something closer to negative quantification when used with a following noun. An example is found in RS 2.[014]⁺ iv 5 (= *KTU* 1.3), discussed above (sec. 4.5.1), where it was argued that *l ib yp* ‘ means, “No enemy has arisen,” not “A non-enemy has arisen.”

I hesitate to treat *blym* in its entirety as a negative adverb for two reasons. First, we would be once again compelled to treat a form of *bl* as a negative quantifier (“no oxen”), something I have just suggested is not in evidence elsewhere. Second, the morphology is problematic: as tempting as it would be to find in *blym* a case of enclitic *-y* affixed to the first word of quoted speech (aligning nicely with Tropper’s observations regarding the potentially quotative value of this enclitic [2000/2012: 833-835]), the following *-m* would create problems. At a purely intuitive level, one expects discourse-level markers like quotatives to be external to sentence-level focus particles like *-m*, and the observable tendency (see examples in Tropper 2000/2012: 833-835) for enclitic *-y* to appear at the end of clitic sequences (including an example that may involve *-m* [*ikmy*]) gives one pause. I argue in the next chapter that the forms *mdym* and *mndym* are not exceptions to this. It nevertheless remains theoretically possible to account for /y/ here as part of the historic root √bly from which this negative is traditionally derived (noted in Pardee forthcoming *a*), in which case this form may be relevant to the evaluation of Syriac *blay* (see Pat-El 2013, who treats the final *-y* in this Syriac preposition meaning “without” as secondary but does not discuss {blym} found in the present text).

²⁰³ Taking into consideration the improved understanding of the epistolary formula referring to previous correspondence noted above, one might modify previous translations in this direction. For example, Virolleaud’s negative existential reading might be modified to yield the following: “you said to me, ‘there aren’t any!’—well, I’ve (now) requested oxen for you . . .” Or similarly, following Gordon (1965/1998: 372) or Ahl (1973: 452, though ignoring her treatment of *āršt lk* . . . as an asyndetic relative clause, as these are basically restricted to poetry [see Tropper 2000/2012: 899-901 for examples; *d* would be expected in an epistolary text like this]), one might interpret *blym ālpm* as a verbless clause insinuating a need for new draft animals: “you said to me, ‘the oxen are worn out’—well, I’ve (now) requested (some) for you . . .”

Both of these approaches would offer a decent contextual sense. As the sender of this letter is in some way involved in orchestrating the deliveries of needed livestock (as we see in ll. 16'-20'), we might easily imagine that he here responds to a previous demand for oxen, indicating that the request has been submitted and arrangements are being made. The complaint suggested by the rhetorical question in l. 24' (discussed below) would then belong in the mouth of the *present* sender and would be directed toward a perceived impatience on the part of the current addressee. In short and paraphrasing freely, “I’ve already submitted the request for you, so what do you mean by sending your personnel here to make further demands?” The understandable irritation of this harassed administrator would find a ready parallel in the sentiment expressed by the “maidservant” of RS 29.093:11-19.

In spite of the strengths associated with these approaches, I reject them in favor of that indicated above for two reasons, the second of which is the more serious. First, this interpretive approach entails treating the collocation of √rš + *l* in a manner out of line with its typical use. Typically, the preposition *l* is used with √rš to indicate the person to whom a request is made (see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 104-105 for examples, including RS 16.265:7-8, presented above). I have found no other instances in which *l* marks the person on whose behalf a request has been made (to an unnamed third party). I see nothing inherently improbable in this approach, but the absence of parallels needs to be acknowledged. More significantly, these approaches both require us to treat either *ālpm* or *āršt* as the first word of the current sender’s response to the previous correspondence. In other instances of such interaction with previous correspondence, however, the shift out of direct or indirect quotation is *marked*, either lexically (with conjunctions and/or deictic particles like *ht* [RS 17.139:6; RS 94.2406:35]) or morphologically (as in RS 18.038:21, where the enclitic *-n* of the form {špšn} marks the beginning of the sender’s response [see Hoftijzer 1982: 121-123; Pardee 2002b: 95 n. 57]). A possible exception to this principle may be found in RS 17.434⁺:5-13. A citation of previous correspondence begins in l. 5, but whether the current sender (*Puduḡēba*) resumes her own speech at the beginning of l. 7, marking this transition with a conjunction and 2ms independent pronoun ({[w] . āt} [Pardee 1983-1984: 325]), or in the middle of l. 8 with no such marking ({ūd’h’ . mḡt} [Pardee 2002b: 96;

indignation over having been asked to provide draft animals, and we may speculate that the sender's response in the material lost at the end of the present letter would have been to insist on his compliance (perhaps especially in light of the arrangements that have been made to provide this individual with "good horses," as described in ll. 16'-20').

With the contextual framework clarified, we may approach the matter at hand: the pronoun *mn* in l. 24'. Authors in the past have treated this as a personal interrogative,²⁰⁴ an impersonal interrogative,²⁰⁵ and a personal indefinite.²⁰⁶ Of those who have endorsed an indefinite interpretation, none of those cited have attempted to translate l. 24' in connection with the immediately following context.²⁰⁷ If *mn bnš d likt* comprises an indefinite expression such as "whichever/any/every *bnš* you have sent," then we expect it to function in one of two ways. It ought to be syntactically integrated in the main clause (as a subject or object, for example), or, perhaps more likely, it should function as a parametric concessive conditional clause (as *mmm* frequently does in epistolary documents, as discussed in the next chapter). In the latter case, we anticipate a following apodosis: "Whichever *bnš* you have sent, X will Y."

forthcoming *a*) is difficult to determine (see Pardee forthcoming *a* for detailed discussion). The latter may suggest a bit greater flexibility in the deployment of this epistolary *topos*, allowing for either of the two approaches discussed immediately above in this note.

²⁰⁴ See Tropper 2000/2012: 239 ("Wer ist der Bedienstete, den du zu [mir] geschickt hast?"; though see next note); Sivan 2001: 59 ("who is the person that you have sent?"). See also Hoftijzer 1983: 98 (if this was the intent behind his "welke dienaren") and Pardee forthcoming *a*, quoted above.

²⁰⁵ Tropper 1999: 99 (deemed "uncertain"); Tropper 2000/2012: 239 ("alt.: 'Was ist mit dem Bediensteten . . .'; see previous note), 241; Tropper 2002: 27 (among "unsichere Belege"). Parker (1967: 25-26) cites Gordon's indefinite translation (see next note) but suggests "how many men" as an alternative. This last approach is theoretically possible in light of the discussion of RS 3.325⁺ ii 19-20 above (and note that, for some, *d*, like *k* used in that text, can in some cases function as a complementizer [see, for example, its use to introduce the CP object of $\sqrt{r}\bar{s}$ in RS 17.117:13', as interpreted by Pardee 1982: 45; 2002b: 109]), but it must be judged contextually inadmissible. The issue at hand is the disposition of and demands related to livestock, not personnel.

²⁰⁶ Gordon 1965/1998: 435 ("personal: . . . 'whichever personnel'"); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282 ("(cualquiera de >) toda la gente que te envié(?)"); 2002: 556 ("die ganzen Leute (: wer auch immer von den Leuten), die ich Dir geschickt habe"); 2003: 560 ("(whomever from >) all the people I sent you(?)"); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 553 ("(whomever from >) all the people I sent you (?"). See also Virolleaud (1965: 92) and Ahl (1973: 452), both quoted above.

²⁰⁷ See the isolated translations in the previous note.

Yet the epigraphic situation does not support this analysis. If an apodosis is to be identified in the immediately following lines, the most likely candidate is found in l. 25', where the appearance of the conjunction *w* suggests a syntactic break.²⁰⁸ A closer look at the epigraphic sequence illustrates the problem that results. If Pardee's proposed restoration of {w . l . y[--]t[. . .]} as /wa lā yatanātu/ is correct (and the {t} he reads at the end of the line suggests the high degree of plausibility associated with reading this form as a suffix-conjugation verbal form), then this clause employs a perfective verbal form (*yatanātu*, "I gave," here negated). This would be unexpected if *mn bnš d likt* served as a parametric concessive conditional clause, as such clauses are characteristically followed by imperatives or prefix-conjugation forms (either jussives or imperfectives).²⁰⁹ If a suffix-conjugation form is in fact present, and if ll. 24'-25' are to be read coherently, then l. 24' must comprise a question (as presented in the preferred translation above).

Within the context as interpreted above, the question issued in l. 24' is expected to function rhetorically to express the speaker's frustration. It is not an honest identifying question requesting the name of or other salient identifying information concerning the *bnš* that has been sent. In such a context, either a personal or impersonal interrogative remains plausible (as Tropper rightly indicates [see citations above]). The examples provided by self-deprecating rhetorical questions (discussed above [sec. 4.1.1, 4.4.1]) prove illustrative in this respect. Consider these examples from Epigraphic and Biblical Hebrew:

²⁰⁸ As in other Semitic languages, the conjunction *w* in Ugaritic can be used to mark the clausal break between protasis and apodosis (Tropper 2000/2012: 786-787).

²⁰⁹ See examples gathered by Tropper (2000/2012: 908-910). The use of the suffix-conjugation in apodoses so well known in Biblical Hebrew is nearly without parallel in Ugaritic. The only example is found in RS 16.379:16-18 (*hm ht 'l w likt 'mk*, "If Ḥatti goes up, I will send (word) to you." As Tropper (2000/2012: 717) observes, however, this single example involves the verbal form following the conjunction *w* immediately. In the immediately following condition (RS 16.379:18-20), we find a different sequence and a return to the expected imperfective verbal form: *w hm l 'l w lākm ilāk*, "And if it (Ḥatti) does not go up, I will surely send (word to you)."

(66) **RS 18.140:24'**

mn . bnš . d . l<.>i'kt' . 'm'[y]

MN bunušu *dū* *la'ikta* 'imma=[ya]

WH personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL-NOM.M.SG send-G.PFV.3MS to=me.1CS

“Who/what is (this) *bunušu*-personnel member whom you have sent to me?”

The presence of the relative clause introduced by *d* raises the further syntactic possibility of analyzing this question as an interrogative cleft:

(67) **RS 18.140:24'**

mn . bnš . d . l<.>i'kt' . 'm'[y]

MN bunušu *dū* *la'ikta* 'imma=[ya]

WH personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL-NOM.M.SG send-G.PFV.3MS to=me.1CS

“What *bunušu*-personnel member is it that you have sent to me?”

While interrogative clefts in English often serve to pose true (and strongly presuppositional) identifying questions,²¹⁰ other languages employ this construction for rhetorical questions as well.²¹¹ If Huehnergard and Pat-El (2007) have rightly understood cases of WH + $ze^h/zō(')$ in Biblical Hebrew as involving interrogative clefts, then this closely related Northwest Semitic language may provide examples of the interrogative cleft employed rhetorically as well:

²¹⁰ For a discussion of Swedish interrogative-clefts, where this is also the case, see Brandtler 2019.

²¹¹ See similarly Brandtler (2019: 771-772) for Swedish.

(68) **Gen 12:18 (MT)**

ma^hz=zō(‘)t ‘āšī^htā ll=ī^h

what=*REL do-G.PFV.2MS to=me.1CS

“What is it that you have done to me?”

(69) **Gen 27:20 (MT)**

ma^hz=ze^h mihartā li=mšō^h

what=*REL hasten-D.PFV.2MS to=find-G.INFC

“How is it that you have found (game) so quickly?”

The first of these examples is clearly rhetorical. The speaker knows what has been done—both the content and the potentially negative implications—as the rest of the narrative makes clear.

The question is posed rhetorically as a means to censure the offender. The second example is less certain, as the person to whom this question is addressed actually provides a response.

Nevertheless, the question itself appears in the context to be an expression of surprise (and perhaps suspicion) more than a genuine attempt to ascertain the means by which the addressee has met so quickly with success.

To summarize, this text illustrates the use of either a personal or impersonal interrogative to pose a rhetorical question expressing frustration. It syntactically functions as either an unrestricted predicate (“who/what?”) of an identifying question or as a restricted predicate (“what *bunušu*”) ²¹² of an interrogative cleft.

²¹² In this case, *mn* has a determiner-like syntax comparable to that of *mn ib* as analyzed above (though that text was not argued to involve interrogative clefting).

4.5.7 RS 34.124:22 (= KTU 2.72): *p mn likt*

RS 34.124 is a letter from an individual (probably the king)²¹³ to his mother sent in the context of tense diplomatic circumstances. The mention of the daughter of the king of Amurru and, possibly, of a “sin” (l. 33) has led some to the conclusion that this letter belongs to the dossier of documents concerned with the historical episode of the “Affair of the Great Lady,” though this remains uncertain.²¹⁴ The relevant portion of the letter is presented here:

RS 34.124:17-24²¹⁵

(17) w . lḥt . bt . mlk . ʾamr	<i>wa lūḥatu bitti malki ʾamurri</i>
(18) ḥkʾy ḥ.ʾ tδbr . ʾumy	<i>kīya tadabbiru ʾummīya</i>
(19) l . pn . qrt	<i>lê panî qarîti</i>
(20) im . ht . l . b	<i>ʾimma hatti lê bi</i>
(21) mšqt . yḥʾbtʾ	<i>mašūqati yāḥibatu</i>
(22) qrt . p . mn	<i>qarîtu pa MN</i>
(23) likt . ʾank . lḥt	<i>la ʾiktu ʾanāku lūḥata</i>
(24) bt . mlk . ʾamr	<i>bitti malki ʾamurri</i>

Now about the letter concerning the daughter of the king of ʾAmurru, the fact that my mother will speak before the city (concerning it), if, in fact, the city remains in a state of distress (about this), then why have I sent the letter concerning the daughter of the king of ʾAmurru?²¹⁶

²¹³ Pardee 1977; 1984a: 215.

²¹⁴ Compare Pardee 1977 and 2002b: 91 n. 20.

²¹⁵ Text after Bordreuil and Pardee 1991: 143.

²¹⁶ The interpretive decisions represented here follow those of Bordreuil and Pardee (1991: 142-150). See further Pardee 2002b: 90-92; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:89-91; 2009: 242-243.

In spite of the superficial similarity of the expressions appearing in ll. 17-18 to the epistolary *topos* taking up the content of previous correspondence discussed above, the reference to a letter concerning the Amurrite princess in l. 17 is not likely a reference to a letter previously sent by the current addressee to the current sender. The fact that the current sender claims to have sent such a letter *himself* in ll. 23-24 makes this clear. Instead, l. 17 serves to raise a new topic, further specified in the CP appearing in ll. 18-19: “Now about the letter—and more specifically, about the fact that” The PP appearing in l. 19 (*l pn qrt*) must accordingly modify the preceding verb (*t dbr*) adverbially; it does not comprise quoted content from a previously received missive. Interpreters have arrived at different conclusions regarding the sense of ll. 20-22, especially with respect to the noun *mšqt*,²¹⁷ here taken to refer to a state of distress resulting from indecision, but most have agreed that *p mn* in l. 22 initiates a question. Before addressing the extent, syntax, and semantics of this question, I must address interpretations of this text that make appeal—improbably, in my view—to an indefinite *mn*.

Of those surveyed in Appendix 4.1, only two studies have suggested an indefinite value for *mn* in this text. Brooke (1979: 70, 76) believed that *mn* functioned effectively as a placeholder here, translating, “even if now the heart of the anointed is contrite (to [*sic*] the city or whatever, I myself have sent” He describes his approach as one that treats *p mn* as “an indefinite qualification of the *im*-clause in the protasis: *p* is then the conjunction and *mn* an admittedly rare but possible non-interrogative indefinite pronoun” (1979: 76). He acknowledges that his translation (“or whatever”) is “at best a weak rendering of this idiom” (1979: 76). Most

²¹⁷ Much of the earlier debate regarding the sense of this phrase was clarified following an improved epigraphic reading of l. 20. For the details and earlier bibliography, see Bordreuil and Pardee 1991: 146-147. For discussion of the idiom $\sqrt{y}tb + b + mšqt$ in the context of other means of describing emotional experience, see Burlingame forthcoming *b*.

of this approach can no longer be upheld due to the developments cited above,²¹⁸ but the more critical failure of this approach lies in its treatment of *p* as a disjunction (“or”), a value nowhere else attested for this conjunction in Ugaritic.²¹⁹ In contrast, the use of this conjunction to introduce an apodosis (as assumed above) can be compared to similar uses elsewhere.²²⁰

Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2002: 554, 556) have likewise suggested an indefinite interpretation of *mn* in this text. They believe that *mn* here functions as a personal indefinite object of *likt* (2002: 556), translating ll. 22-24 thus: “Übrigens habe ich meinerseits schon jemanden losgeschickt bezüglich des Falls der Tochter des Königs von Amurru” (2002: 554). They propose this sense due to their belief that *mn* functions as an indefinite “wer auch immer” in RS 18.140:24'. I have discussed this text above and argued that no indefinite sense can be confirmed there. Of equal importance, I have shown in ch. 2 that there are considerable semantic differences between free choice items (comparable to *anyone* and *wer auch immer*) and pronouns like narrow-scope *someone* or *jemand*, which can be used freely in past episodic contexts (like that found in this letter!). In other words, the conclusion that *mn* may mean *jemand* does not follow from the claim (dubious in its own right) that it can mean *wer auch immer*. Only by showing that *jemand* is contextually necessary, therefore, could this interpretive approach be maintained. The foregoing discussion illustrates that no such necessity is demonstrable, and two further morphosyntactic challenges in fact render it unlikely. First, if *mn* is the indefinite object of *likt*, why has it been placed at the beginning of the sentence? We might expect object fronting of this sort to identify a new topic (see Tropper 2012: 873) or to mark focus, but neither can be discerned in the translation del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín propose. Second, the frequency with

²¹⁸ See n. 217.

²¹⁹ See Tropper 2012: 788-790; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 646-647.

²²⁰ See Tropper 2012: 790 for examples, of which that appearing in RS 29.093:27—another letter—is particularly relevant.

which the noun *lht* and the verb $\sqrt{l'k}$ appear in close association in epistolary documents leads me to expect this noun (l. 23) to function as the object of the verb in question, not as an adverbial accusative indicating the purpose²²¹ for which an unnamed individual has been sent.

The majority of those surveyed in Appendix 4.1 have more plausibly identified *mn* as an interrogative, though two interpretive questions have continued to divide authors. First, is *mn* personal (“who?”)²²² or impersonal,²²³ and in the latter case, does it function as typically (“what?”),²²⁴ or is it used adverbially (“why?”)?²²⁵ Second, where does the question end? For some, *p mn* represents a two-word fragment question (“then who?”²²⁶ or “then what?”²²⁷). For others, *mn* figures as the first word of a question that continues through the end of l. 24 (as in the translation offered above).²²⁸ Evaluating these options requires a clearer picture of the context.

²²¹ The sense proposed for this adverbial accusative (“bezüglich des Falls” [2002: 554]) also strikes me as unusual. The authors of this proposal do not offer comparanda for the envisioned sense, and I have not been able to identify similar uses of the adverbial accusative elsewhere. Examples of the “Akkusativ der Beziehung bzw. Spezifizierung” provided by Tropper (2012: 313) do not identify the *purpose* in connection with an action is performed, as this proposal seems to require.

²²² Tropper (2000/2012: 241) allows for this possibility, suggesting “wen soll ich dann schicken mit der Brieffafel” as an alternative to the impersonal adverbial value listed as his first translation (see following notes). See similarly Caquot 1975: 430 (“alors qui (enverrai-je) ?”); Dijkstra 1999: 159 (“who then must I send with the letter”).

²²³ Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 241; 2002: 27; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:90-91, 179; 2009: 242-243, 330.

²²⁴ Of those surveyed in Appendix 4.1, see the translations of del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, who seem to shy away from rendering adverbially (“why?”), though the effect of their interpolations is to arrive at the same meaning: “¿y entonces para (en razón de) qué envié yo la / una tablilla?” (1996-2000: 282); “and then for what (in connection with what) did I send the / a tablet?” (2003: 560; 2015: 553). More direct examples of translating *mn* here as “what?” can be found in Pardee 1977: 4 (“then what?”); Dietrich and Loretz 1985: 506 (“was dann?”); 2009b: 114 (“was denn nun?”); Marsman 2003: 665 (“then what (to do about it)?”).

²²⁵ Of those surveyed in Appendix 4.1, see Tropper 2000/2012: 241 (“wozu habe ich (dann) die Brieffafel . . . geschickt?”); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:90 (“alors pourquoi ai-je envoyé de la correspondance”), 179 (“(pour)quoi?”); 2009: 242 (“then why have I sent a letter”), 330 (“why?”). See further Bordreuil and Pardee 1991: 144-145 (“alors pourquoi ai-je envoyé de la correspondance”), 147; Pardee 2002b: 91 (“then why have I sent letters”).

²²⁶ Caquot 1975: 430.

²²⁷ Pardee 1977: 4; Dietrich and Loretz 1985: 506; 2009b: 114; Marsman 2003: 665.

²²⁸ Examples involving a personal interrogative can be found in Tropper 2000/2012: 241 and Dijkstra 1999: 159. All who interpret *mn* here as an impersonal interrogative introducing a longer question understand the role to be an adverbial one (see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Bordreuil and Pardee 1991: 144-145, 147; 2004: II:90-91, 179; 2009: 242-243, 330; Pardee 2002b: 91).

In the immediately following lines, the sender of this letter narrates how an individual named *Yabnīnu* has already left, bearing gifts for the king of 'Amurru and a horn of oil, with which he has anointed the Amurrite princess.

RS 34.124:25-32²²⁹

(25) ybnn . hlk	<i>yabnīnu halaka</i>
(26) 'm . mlk . 'amr	<i>'imma malki 'amurri</i>
(27) w . ybl . hw . mīt	<i>wa yabala huwa mi'ta</i>
(28) ḥrṣ . w . mrdtt . l	<i>ḥurāṣa wa mardêta lê</i>
(29) mlk . 'amr . w . lqh . hw	<i>malki 'amurri wa laqaḥa huwa</i>
(30) šmn . b . qrnḥ	<i>šamna bi qarnihu</i>
(31) w . yṣq . hw . l . riš	<i>wa yaṣaqa huwa lê ra'ši</i>
(32) bt . mlk . 'amr'	<i>bitti malki 'amurri</i>

Yabnīnu has gone to the king of 'Amurru, and he brought one hundred (shekels) of gold and a *mardêtu*-garment for the king of 'Amurru, and he took oil in his horn and has poured (it) out on the head of the daughter of the king of 'Amurru.

The most straightforward manner in which to understand this portion of the letter is as a summary of actions already taken and processes already set in motion. The sender of this letter expresses concern or frustration upon having learned that the city's leadership remains in a state

²²⁹ Text after Bordreuil and Pardee 1991: 143.

of indecision, as the die has already been cast on his end. Taking this into consideration, we may evaluate two competing and, in contextual terms, equally plausible approaches:

Text	Translation 1	Translation 2
(20) im . ht . l . b	if, in fact, the city remains	if, in fact, the city remains
(21) mšqt . yt ^ʿ bt ^ʿ	in a state of distress	in a state of distress
(22) qrt . p . mn	(about this), then why	(about this), then what?
(23) likt . ank . lht	have I sent the letter	I (already) sent the letter
(24) bt . mlk . amr	concerning the daughter of the king of 'Amurru?	concerning the daughter of the king of 'Amurru!
(25) ybnn . hlk	<i>Yabnīnu</i> has gone	<i>Yabnīnu</i> has gone
(26) m . mlk . amr	to the king of 'Amurru,	to the king of 'Amurru,
(27) w . ybl . hw . mit	and he brought one hundred (shekels)	and he brought one hundred (shekels)
...

At issue is whether the sentence in ll. 23-24 is presented, together with what follows, as part of the series of actions already taken. A clue to the correct evaluation is provided by the word order of this sentence. Specifically, the placement of the 1cs independent personal pronoun *ank* after the verb *likt* stands out as a peculiar feature. As Ugaritic does not require an overt personal pronominal subject in verbal clauses (i.e., it is a PRO-drop language), independent personal pronouns tend to be used for topic or focus marking. In many cases, this role is also accompanied by pre-verbal placement at the beginning of the clause. This is not obligatory, and the post-verbal

placement of the 3ms pronoun *hw* in ll. 27, 29, and 31 illustrates this clearly. But a survey of sufficiently preserved uses of the 1cs *ʾank* in epistolary documents reveals that, when it functions as the subject of a finite verb, it precedes this verb approximately twenty times (in sixteen letters)²³⁰ and follows it only three times (in three letters).²³¹ The clear exceptions, in fact, prove the rule. RS 16.394:59' is too fragmentary to provide a clear picture of the surrounding syntax, but the other two examples of post-verbal *ʾank* are suggestive. The context in which RS 19.029:10-11 appears is likewise fragmentary, but the lexical sequence involved suggests a reason for the postponement of the pronoun:

(70) **RS 19.029:10-11 (KTU 2.63)**

l . likt (11) ʾank

lā la ʾiktu ʾanāku

NEG send-G.PFV.1CS I

“Have I not sent?”²³²

As the obligatorily pre-verbal sentential negative *l* occupies first position in the clause, the pronoun is forced to assume post-verbal position. In RIH 78/12:19-22, *w ilḥmn ʾank* serves as the apodosis of a preceding protasis:

²³⁰ RS 1.013+:17'; RS 8.315:13-14; RS 16.078+:15-16 (probably); RS 16.264:7; RS 16.394:43' (probably); RS 16.402:15-16 (probably); RS 17.117:3-4; RS 17.139:10-11; RS 18.031:18-22; RS 18.075:21-22; RS 18.113A+:6; RS 94.2391:16'-17', 19'-20' (possibly); RS 94.2406:6-7, 25, 35-36; RS 94.2592:10'-11' (possibly, though *yd t* is likely a participle, as in l. 4', rather than a finite verb; I note it here but do not include it in the tally above); RS 94.5015:5-6 (possibly), 27'-30' (possibly); RS 96.2039:6-7; RIH 78/12:8-9.

²³¹ RS 16.394:59' (probably); RS 19.029:10-11 (probably); RIH 78/12:21-22.

²³² I interpret {1} here as a negative comprising part of a rhetorical question amounting to a positive assertion. One can arrive at the same force by interpreting {1} here as the asseverative *la* (as does Pardee, forthcoming *a*).

(71) **RIH 78/12:19-22 (Bordreuil and Pardee 2019: 184)**

hm (20) ymt . (21) w ilhmn (22) ank

himma yamūtu wa ilhamanna anāku

if die-G.IPFV.3MS and fight-G.IPFV.1CS I

“If he dies, then I myself will continue to fight.”

The atypical word order in this case may be due to the apodictic character of the host clause or it may simply represent a case of right-dislocation (note that *ank* is the last word of the sentence and, indeed, of the letter). But in the majority of clear cases, when *ank* appears in verbal clauses in epistolary documents, it precedes the verb. I suggest, therefore, that accounting for the clearly post-verbal placement of this pronoun in the present text becomes much easier if we treat *p mn likt ank* as belonging to a single clause. As in RS 19.029:10-11, an obligatorily pre-verbal element—in this case the interrogative *mn*—occupies first position in the clause, resulting in the post-verbal placement of *ank*. On the alternative approach, for which *p mn* is treated as the entire question, we would expect to find *ank likt*, with the pronominal subject fronted (to indicate the shift in topic), as is the subject of the next clause (*ybn*).

This syntactic decision entails an adverbial reading of *mn*. As the verb *lik* has a first-person subject and finds its object in *lht*, the interrogative here must function in another syntactic role, and the adverbial “why?” suggested in the past satisfies the contextual and syntactic constraints most satisfactorily. It also enjoys considerable comparative support. Ugaritic, like other Northwest Semitic languages, possesses other, more typical means of demanding a reason for a situation (*lm* /lêma/, *md* /maddū‘a/; compare Biblical Hebrew *lāmāh* and *maddū‘a*; Syriac *lm*ⲟ), but, as in these other languages, this does not preclude the (perhaps rarer) use of the bare impersonal interrogative in this manner. Biblical Hebrew *māh* has this value in a number of

texts,²³³ of which the following proves particularly illustrative due to its use in parallel relationship to *maddū^wa*‘ (a marked adverbial interrogative [i.e., WH-adjunct]):

(72) **Job 3:12 (MT)**

maddū^wa‘ *qiddamū^w=nī^ʿ* *birkāyim*

why meet-D.PFV.3CP=me.1CS knee-F.DU.ABS

ū^w=ma^hš=šādayim *kī^ʿ* *ʾī^ynāq*

and=WH=breast-M.DU.ABS COMP nurse-G.IPFV.1CS

“Why (ever) did knees receive me? And why breasts, that I should nurse?”²³⁴

Syriac, which employs two impersonal interrogative pronouns, *mɔ* and *mɔn(ɔ)*, also employs the latter form for adverbial *why*-questions (Sokoloff 2009: 778).

To summarize the position advanced here, RS 34.124:22 provides evidence for the adverbial use of the impersonal interrogative *mn* (“why?”). Syntactically, it stands at the head of the clause of which it is a member, and its semantics are not restricted by any associated NP or PP.

4.5.8 RS 88.2159:14: *mn* ‘*ps*

Discovered in 1988 and published in 2001, RS 88.2159 comprises an epistolary document of which the right half has broken away, rendering interpretation of each line difficult. Line 14 is no exception, as the only two words preserved are {*mn* . ‘*ps* [. . .]} (see Bordreuil and Pardee 2001a: 380). For the editors, *mn* represented an interrogative (“QUOI/QUI”), while ‘*ps* was taken to

²³³ For examples, see BDB *s.v.*, defn. 2.a.b; HALOT *s.v.*, defn. B; Gesenius¹⁸ *s.v.*, defn. II.3.

²³⁴ Note that the Septuagint renders both interrogatives identically as *hína tí*, “why?”; the Peshitta similarly renders both with *lmn*‘ (*lmɔnɔ*), “why?”

represent a verb $\sqrt{\text{ps}}$ (“RETENIR (?)”), though the impossibility of a certain interpretation of the latter was noted carefully (2001a: 380, 382-383). Without further context, we cannot determine the part of speech or semantics of $\sqrt{\text{ps}}$, nor the semantics or syntax of *mn*. Though reference works have cited this text as an uncertain example of a personal interrogative,²³⁵ an impersonal interrogative,²³⁶ or a personal indefinite,²³⁷ all the present text allows us to affirm is that an interrogative/indefinite element {mn} *may* be found in this epistolary document.²³⁸ That is, its significance for present purposes is restricted to its illustration of the viability of such pronouns in the epistolary genre and more specifically in the body of letters (where this line is found).

4.5.9 RS [Varia 14]:3, 11, 15 (= KTU 3.9): *šm(.)mn*

In spite of a number of unusual features that place RS [Varia 14] well outside of the mainstream among Ugaritic documentary evidence, this short contract is perhaps one of the best known of the non-mythological alphabetic cuneiform texts. For ease of reference, the text is presented in its entirety here:

²³⁵ See Tropper 2000/2012: 239 (as well as next note).

²³⁶ See Tropper 2000/2012: 239, 241 (as well as preceding note).

²³⁷ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2003: 560) register this example beneath the personal indefinite defn. 2 provided for *mn* I, though it is unclear whether they mean to associate it with that value or append it to the larger entry; the former seems to be intended in the modified layout found in 2015: 553, if the change in layout is indeed intentional. No gloss or translation is proposed in either edition.

²³⁸ Allowing a word to start at the end of one line and continue to the beginning of the following line is relatively uncommon in epistolary documents (though it does occur; see, e.g., RS 17.117:7-8 { $\underline{\text{tl}}//\text{tt}$ }; RS 18.148:28-29 { $\text{y}\check{\text{s}}//\text{al}$ }, though both of these letters exhibit a variety of other peculiarities), for which reason the editors’ decision to treat {mn} as a single lexeme is justified. Without additional context, the interrogative parsing allowed above may be most likely in an epistolary document, but other homographic lexemes (for which see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 554) preclude certainty.

RS [Varia 14] (= KTU 3.9)

(01) mrzḫ	<i>marziḫu</i>	The <i>marziḫu</i>
<hr/>		
(02) d qny	<i>dū qanaya</i>	that <i>Šamumānu</i>
(03) šmmn	<i>šamumānu</i>	established
(04) b . btw	<i>bi bêtiwu</i>	in his house.
<hr/>		
(05) w št . ibsn	<i>wa šāta 'ibūsāna</i>	He designated a storeroom
(06) lwm . wm . 'ag	<i>léwumu wama 'ag-</i>	for them and ²³⁹ (said): “Should I
(07) rškm .	<i>-rušukumu</i>	expel you
(08) b . bty	<i>bi bêtiya</i>	from my house,
(09) ksp ḥmšm	<i>kaspa ḥamišma</i>	fifty (shekels) silver
(10) 'i's'	<i>'issa'u</i>	shall I pay.”
(11) w šm<.>mn	<i>wa šamumānu</i>	<i>Šamumānu</i> is
(12) rb . 'al . ydd	<i>rabbu 'al yiddad</i>	the chief. Let no ²⁴⁰ member
(13) mt . mrzḫ	<i>mutu marziḫi</i>	of the <i>marziḫu</i> arise

²³⁹ Rather than treat {wm} as a misspelled (*himma*, spelled with {w} for {h}) or contracted (**wa=himma* > *wimma*) conditional particle (comprising the first word of asyndetically introduced direct discourse), I provisionally suggest that this may represent the simple conjunction *wa*, to which an enclitic *-m* has been added. This conjunction serves to introduce the following direct discourse, itself opening with an unmarked protasis (for which see Tropper 2000/2012: 909-910, though, admittedly, in a prose text such as this we might expect explicit marking). This approach is driven by two considerations. First, while the present text obviously offers plenty of odd features associated with the grapheme {w}, this *need* not be one of them. The attestation of {pm} /pa=ma/ in RS 29.095:11 (discussed above) illustrates that coordinating conjunctions could bear enclitic *-m*. (The forms *wn* and now *pn* are ambiguous. See further discussion in n. 336 below.) Second, a comparandum can be identified in the syllabic cuneiform legal text RS 8.303:3-8 (published as RS 8.208 [Thureau-Dangin 1937: 253; see Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 46 for the corrected designation]), where the conjunction *u* alone is used to introduce direct discourse (see Huehnergard 1989: 209 with n. 465). The formal similarity between alphabetic {wm} and the Akkadian quotative *umma* is also enticing, but I see no other evidence to suggest interference from the Akkadian lexicon or syllabic cuneiform formulary in the drafting of this document.

²⁴⁰ This translation assumes that 'al functions as a negative prohibitor. An alternative approach, which treats this as a conditional conjunction, see Burlingame, Hawley, and Pardee in preparation.

(14) w yrgm . l	<i>wa yargum lê</i>	and say to
(15) šmmn . tn .	<i>šamumāna tin</i>	<i>Šamumānu</i> , “Give
(16) ksp . ṭql d ‘mnk	<i>kaspa ṭiqla dā ‘immānuka</i>	the silver, the shekel that you have!”
(17) ṭqlm . ys’	<i>ṭiqlēma yissa’</i>	He will pay two shekels.
(18) yph . iḥršp	<i>yāpiḥu ‘iḥîrašap</i>	Witness: <i>‘Iḥîrašap</i> ,
(19) bn . ‘uḍrnn	<i>binu ‘uḍurnana</i>	son of <i>‘Uḍurnana</i>
(20) w . ‘bdn	<i>wa ‘abdīnu</i>	and <i>‘Abdīnu</i> ,
(21) bn . sgld	<i>binu sigilda</i>	son of <i>Sigilda</i> .

Rather than provide detailed discussion of each interpretive decision indicated above, I refer readers to Miller 1971, Pardee 2002a: 217-220, and Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 261, which this presentation follows closely. For a thorough bibliography and review of some of the most significant interpretive issues, see Clemens 2001: 269-273.

The relevance of this text to the present study results from a claim advanced in Mandell’s (2019) recent reevaluation of this text as a model contract used as a scribal exercise. For Mandell (2019: 66),

KTU 3.9 is not an actual contract; it is an exercise in contract writing in the cuneiform alphabetic script, modeled after speech practices at Ugarit. *KTU 3.9* is both experimental and innovative—it is the product of the writer’s intellectual formation and scribal training. It also reflects the influence of a palace-led effort to elevate the local script and language to domains of textual production formerly monopolized by Akkadian.

Viewing the text in this light leads her to interpret a number of the peculiar features it exemplifies as reflections of scribal humor and innovation. This includes the name of the leading figure, *Šamumānu*. Noting the possible use of *mnn*²⁴¹ as an indefinite pronoun in the scribal letter RS 16.265 (treated as a placeholder above), she draws on suggestions made to her personally by Schniedewind and Wingert (Mandell 2019: 58 n. 67) that {šmmn} in this text be interpreted similarly as “a generic, fill-in-the-blank designation: *šm mn* ‘the name of whoever’” (2019: 58). This, she argues, makes sense of the absence of any patronym or other means of identification associated with this individual (in contrast to the two witnesses mentioned at the end of the text) (2019: 58). It also explains the appearance of the same “name” in l. 11 as {šm.mn} (2019: 60):

Those that take *Šmmn* as a personal name cite *šm.mn* as another error in this tablet. As discussed, another possibility is that the word divider here reflects the writer’s understanding that these are two separate lexemes: *šm* + *mn*, “name” + “someone, anyone” (i.e., “INSERT NAME HERE”). That is, it is a fill-in-the-blank designation rather than the name of a real person.

Mandell’s proposed solution is a creative one, but I do not find her arguments for the fictional character of the text or for the interpretation of *šmmn* as a placeholder persuasive. The features to which Mandell makes appeal to highlight the idiosyncratic character of this text—sign forms, textual layout, tablet characteristics, atypical orthography—each find parallels in other similarly idiosyncratic and even standard texts.²⁴² She also overstates the uniqueness of the genre of this

²⁴¹ Which she misrepresents as *mnm* (2019: 58 with n. 68, 60 n. 78, 65).

²⁴² These parallels deserve a more detailed exposition, but to provide one here would distract from the task at hand. The following remarks are therefore directed more narrowly toward the evaluation of the PN *šmmn*.

text, claiming that it “has no parallel among the legal texts at Ugarit, being the only contract written in the local language and script” (2019: 40). Her own definition of a contract as “the formal establishment of rights and obligations between parties entering into a social/economic relationship that is intended to be enforced” (2019: 40 n. 6) would admit multiple other examples (for which see Pardee with Hawley 2010). Nor can the problems she identifies in the content of the text—which she believes to lack the sort of explicit clarity she expects in a legal text²⁴³ as well as the formulae typical of other legal texts²⁴⁴—prove the inauthenticity of this document as a contract. These observations may just as easily be due to the *private* (i.e., non-royal) character of the text. Mandell is aware of this distinction (2019: 65, 67) but does not take this sufficiently into account in her assessment of the text at hand.

I have suggested that the oddities to which Mandell appeals are not quite as peculiar as she suggests, and here I provide two examples of direct relevance to the evaluation of the sequence {šm(.)mn}. First, the absence of patronymic details is unremarkable. The private legal document RS [Varia 31] provides an excellent example of fluctuating specificity in this respect, mentioning some individuals without any further information (*Maryānu* [l. 2], *’Ilišapšu* [l. 10], *’Abinaye* [l. 15]) and others with patronyms (*Ba’lānu*, son of KTMN [l. 3], *Nu’ mānu*, son of *Šuyānu* [ll. 17-18]) or gentilic designations (*Kun’ ammu*, the *Šēdabian* [l. 19]).²⁴⁵ Second, the addition of a word-divider in l. 11 cannot be cited as evidence that this is a placeholder or that the text as a whole is a scribal exercise. Not only are there multiple examples of similarly

²⁴³ She claims that “While it is true, of course, that not all texts are created to be read, legal texts serve as references in cases of dispute. This is, in part, why adherence to convention and formulaic language is so important in legal writings—it ensures clarity of meaning and precedent” (2019: 61). This runs the risk of incorporating anachronistic expectations about the explicitness of textual production associated with legal procedure. A perusal of other juridical and related documents from Ugarit should quickly disabuse scholars today of the idea that these texts were committed to pinning down all potentially relevant details in writing, many of which would have been known to the parties involved and, as importantly, the witnesses implicated.

²⁴⁴ She states that “it lacks the legal formulae and date specifications of other legal writings.” (61)

²⁴⁵ See Burlingame, Hawley, and Pardee in preparation for detailed discussion of this text.

extraneous word-dividers (including in personal names) throughout the Ugaritic corpus,²⁴⁶ but a parallel for this situation is available even in a legal text of undoubted authenticity. Specifically, in the legal text RS 94.2965, we find the name of the principal party, *Yabnīnu*, spelled {ybnn} (l. 13) and {y.bnn} (l. 19), separated by only five lines of text. As the PN {šmmn} is clearly attested in both alphabetic and syllabic texts²⁴⁷ and as no other feature of this text compels us to interpret it as a model contract—in fact, its atypical features would seem to suggest that it would make a poor model—RS [Varia 14] does not provide a further example of {mn} used as a placeholder or related interrogative/indefinite item.

4.6 Interrogative/Indefinite *áy*?

In this final section devoted to reviewing and reassessing the textual data for Ugaritic interrogatives, I treat the Ugaritic lexeme {áy}. Many Ugaritological reference works register {áy} as the Ugaritic reflex of the more broadly attested Semitic interrogative/indefinite element **ʾayyu*, while others deny the existence of this precise lexeme (though not its derivatives) in the Ugaritic language as it is currently understood. Among the references surveyed in Appendix 4.1, several indicate the attestation of an indefinite *áy* without offering specific text citations.²⁴⁸ For those who cite specific examples, four texts are at issue: RS 2.002:6 (= *KTU* 1.23); RS 2.[004] vi 3' (= *KTU* 1.17); RS 3.322⁺ ii 36 (= *KTU* 1.19); and RS 5.194:41-44 (= *KTU* 1.24).

Two of these putative examples may be removed from consideration at once. First, the possible example suggested by some²⁴⁹ in RS 3.322⁺ ii 36 (= *KTU* 1.19) rests on an incorrect

²⁴⁶ See Tropper 2000/2012: 69-70.

²⁴⁷ For an up-to-date list of attestations, see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 815.

²⁴⁸ Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56 (“cualquier cosa”); Sivan 2001: 45 (“which, any”; not mentioned on p. 58-60, where such pronouns are treated formally); Schniedewind and Hunt 2007: 158 (“which, any”); Huehnergard 2012: 36, 142 (“(of) any (sort), whichever”); Tropper and Vita 2019: 488 (“whichever”).

²⁴⁹ The possibility of an indefinite {áy} in this line is suggested by del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 64-65; 2003: 133; 2015: 130; Tropper 2000/2012: 244.

reading. While many presentations of the text indicate {[. . .]ʿáʿy} or {[. . .]ʿ--áʿy} at the end of this line,²⁵⁰ an epigraphic reexamination of the tablet in preparation by Pardee results in an improved reading {[. . .]ʿ-nʿy}. Second, the example thought to be found in RS 5.194:41-44 (= *KTU* 1.24)²⁵¹ rests on a highly uncertain interpretation of an otherwise difficult poetic text.²⁵²

The remaining two examples merit closer consideration, as they provide not only clearer textual and linguistic contexts but may also comprise contexts in which the appearance of indefinite pronouns would not be surprising. The texts in question are RS 2.002:6 (= *KTU* 1.23) and RS 2.[004] vi 3' (= *KTU* 1.17). As the latter is fairly fragmentary and is typically reconstructed on the basis of the former, I begin with RS 2.002 to identify the issues. The text is given following the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee (2009: 177-186), together with a provisional translation:

RS 2.002:6²⁵³

(06) lḥm . b lḥm ʿ . áʿy [.]	Eat the food ÁY
ʿwʿ šʿtʿy . b ḥmr yn ày	Drink the ḥmr-wine ÁY

Each poetic line of this injunction ends with a NP (*lḥm*, *ḥmr yn*) that is followed immediately by the lexeme *áy*. Only the second of these was fully legible to the editor (Virolleaud 1933). He treated {ynáy} in the second colon as a single word rather than as two (*yn*, “wine,” and *áy*). As he was able to read the final {y} of the first colon, he suggested that both the lexeme it

²⁵⁰ See, e.g., Herdner 1963: 88; Dietrich and Loretz 1976: 61; 1995: 58; 2013: 59.

²⁵¹ Of those surveyed, the possibility is raised by del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 64-65; 2003: 133; 2015: 130; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 244; 2002: 27.

²⁵² An alternative approach to the lines in question is offered by Pardee 2010b.

²⁵³ Text after Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 177-178.

concluded and his lexeme {ynáy} comprised, “à en juger par la désin. -y des adjectifs ethniques” (1933: 138). Bauer (1934: 205) and Ginsberg (1935: 48) both correctly (and apparently independently) proposed that áy should be identified at the end of both poetic lines, and this epigraphic solution proliferated in later studies²⁵⁴ and anthologies.²⁵⁵ Bauer (1934) offered no interpretation of the form. For Ginsberg (1935: 48), the lexeme remained “enigmatic,” though his translation suggests a substantival parsing.²⁵⁶ Gaster (1946) was the first to propose an integrated interpretation and translation. He suggested that {áy} in both cola represented an interjection (1946: 54), translating this bicolon thus: “Ho! eat of the viands, and ho! drink of the foaming wine!” (1946: 51), an interpretation one also finds in Gordon’s *Handbook*, which appeared the following year (1947: 209). By the time his *Manual* appeared, however, Gordon’s position had changed. He now viewed áy as an indefinite, suggesting “eat of any food and drink of any wine” as a preferable translation (1955: 34). With the exception of rare outliers,²⁵⁷ these two alternatives have prevailed, with the latter²⁵⁸ more widely accepted than the former.²⁵⁹

The interest of this latter approach for the present study should be obvious when viewed together with the discussion dedicated to free choice items in ch. 2 above. Line 6 of this text, in which the addressees of this invocation are invited to eat and drink, provides the ideal context for a free choice item or related indefinite to appear. The comparative Semitic evidence for *`ayyu

²⁵⁴ E.g., Bauer 1936: 30; Gaster 1946: 51; Gordon 1947: 144; Largement 1949: 29-30.

²⁵⁵ E.g., Herdner 1963: 98; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 67; 1995: 67; 2013: 68.

²⁵⁶ “Eat of the bread of `ay (?) and drink of the wine-ferment of `ay (?)” (1935: 64).

²⁵⁷ Examples include that of Montgomery (1934: 64), based on erroneous readings; Aistleitner’s (1963: 15) treatment of {áy} as a DN; and Largement’s (1949: 29-30) interpretation of {áy} as a noun referring to the coast (cognate to Biblical Hebrew יָרֵךְ) (followed by Caquot, Szyner, and Herdner 1974: 369).

²⁵⁸ E.g., Gordon 1955: 34, 235; 1965/1998: 41, 355-356; Rin and Rin 1968: 279; 1996: 412; Xella 1973: 45-46; Gibson 1977: 123; del Olmo Lete 1981: 440; de Moor 1987: 119; Lloyd 1990: 180; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 64-65; 2003: 133; 2015: 130; Lewis 1997: 208; Wyatt 1998/2002: 326; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 172, 241, 244; 2002: 27; 2008: 8; Wright 2001: 101; Smith 2006: 19, 37.

²⁵⁹ Gordon 1947: 209; Driver 1956: 121; Gray 1957: 25 n. 3, 194; 1965: 28 n. 8; 95; Pardee 1997b: 276; 2003-2004: 92, 143; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:27, 32, 144; 2009: 177, 182, 295.

and further pronominal forms derived from it serving comparable purposes in other Semitic languages (see ch. 3 above) adds further weight to this possibility.

Yet the direct-address formulation of this invocation certainly admits the possibility of an interjection, and those who favor the indefinite interpretation face a challenge that is typically left undiscussed. Specifically, the clearest reflex of **'ayyu* in Ugaritic is {i} /'ê/ (and related lexemes), which does not mean “which?” but “where?” (see Tropper 2012: 752; Pardee 2003-2004: 92). The same interrogative value can be identified in the onomastic element {áy} in PNs like {áyáḥ} (“where is brother?”).²⁶⁰ Furthermore, a survey of the more closely related Northwest Semitic languages suggests that **'ayyu* (“which?”) did not enjoy the same prominence in this sub-branch of Semitic that it did elsewhere. An *independent* interrogative reflex of **'ayyu* meaning “which?” cannot be clearly or regularly established in El-Amarna Canaanite,²⁶¹ Hebrew, Phoenician/Punic, or in most dialects of Aramaic. Where this lexical element appears in these languages, it typically does so in compound forms and/or with modified semantics. Hebrew, for example, has the interrogative reflex of **'ayyu*, Biblical Hebrew 'ê^y, but this interrogative is used almost exclusively as a local interrogative (“where?”).²⁶² Syriac employs an augmented reflex of this item ('ay-nō) as an interrogative “which?” But we see nothing like the regular use of *'ayyun* in Arabic or *ayyum* in Mesopotamian Akkadian for this interrogative value (or related indefinite ones).

²⁶⁰ See Gröndahl 1967: 93; Pardee 2003-2004: 91; certainly not “O-what-a-brother!” as Gordon (1955: 235; 1965/1998: 355-356) suggested (rejected on onomastic grounds by Gröndahl 1967: 93).

²⁶¹ Note the absence of this interrogative/indefinite from Izre'el 1991; Rainey 1996; Tropper and Vita 2010a. Letters found at El-Amarna in which such items appear originate outside of the Southern Levant (e.g., *ayyu*: EA 38:27 [Alašiya]; 44:7 [Ḥatti]; *ayyumma*: EA 7:9 [Babylon; see CAD A1, p. 237; a different restoration is suggested in Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 82]; EA 27:35 [Mittani]; EA 29:53-54 [Mittani]). For these texts and provenances, see Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015.

²⁶² The meaning “which?” has been suggested for the expression 'ê^y ze^h in Ecc 2:3; 11:6 (BDB *s.v.*, defn. 2; HALOT *s.v.*, defn. 2) (see also Jer 5:7, mentioned separately in both lexica just cited). Gordon believed this sense could also be detected in the *qere* of Prov 31:4 (1955: 34; 1965/1998: 41). Goldenberg (2013: 100 n. 65) states the matter correctly when he suggests that this value for 'ê^y ze^h is most clearly identifiable in Mishnaic and Late Hebrew.

It is in this connection that the absence of the interrogative *ayyum* in Ras Shamra Akkadian (noted by van Soldt 1991: 408) is of potential relevance, though this could indeed be due to chance, as the other interrogative pronouns were likewise unattested in Ras Shamra Akkadian when van Soldt's study appeared.²⁶³ The absence of indefinite pronouns derived from *ayyum* (such as *ayyumma*), however, is more difficult to explain, as indefinite pronouns are heavily represented in the corpora assembled by Huehnergard (1989) and van Soldt (1991). In texts published since their work, no certain examples of such indefinites have appeared in texts originating at Ugarit. The only example of *ayyumma* I have found appears in RS 94.2375:19' (= RSO 23, no. 95), a letter the editors believe to be addressed to the king of Ugarit,²⁶⁴ but whose sender cannot be identified. The sender refers to the addressee as "my master" (EN-*ia*), but this provides no certain indicator that the letter was sent by a Ugaritian subject.²⁶⁵

Arguments made from silence are by definition tenuous, but the combined significance of several unexpected gaps may bear some weight: the lack of a robust representation of *'ayyu meaning "which?" in Northwest Semitic, the absence of *ayyum* or *ayyumma* in Ras Shamra Akkadian, the absence of clearer cases of Ugaritic {áy} with an interrogative or indefinite value, and the clear attestation of Ugaritic reflexes of *'ayyu meaning "where?" (comparable, in other words, to the situation in Biblical Hebrew) together force us to consider the interpretation of Ugaritic {áy} as an interjection much more seriously than we might otherwise be inclined to do.

As noted above, the direct-address formulation of the injunction opening RS 2.002 is critical to this interpretation. If {áy} can be identified in third-person narrative, therefore, the indefinite interpretation may very well be required. This takes us to the second possible example,

²⁶³ See Huehnergard 1989: 136; van Soldt 1991: 407.

²⁶⁴ Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 172.

²⁶⁵ See, e.g., RS 20.016 (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 38), in which the *sākinu* of Qadeš refers to the king of Ugarit similarly.

If we chose to treat {áy} in RS 2.002 as an indefinite, then we can make the following observations about its usage. First, it is unattested in its (presumably original) interrogative value (a point Tropper [2012: 241] makes explicitly). Second, it likely carries free-choice semantics, given the context as discussed above. Third, it *follows* the NP it modifies (in both cases a direct object) rather than preceding it, giving it the syntactic profile of an adjective. Third, its attestation is limited to one or two passages in narrative poetry, and no further indefinite pronouns are derived from it—hardly the picture of productivity.

4.7 Discussion and Analysis

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, an exhaustive review of the empirical foundation for Ugaritic interrogative pronouns has been needed for some time. As proposals regarding these pronouns and the system they comprise have appeared either in more narrowly oriented text-specific studies or in broader reference works that offer lists of attestations without explicit evaluation and argumentation, the situation one encounters in the secondary literature is one characterized by an unusually striking diversity of opinion, often lacking scientific control. The preceding discussion has been designed to fill this gap: by reviewing each proposed example of an interrogative or bare interrogative indefinite pronoun, arranged *graphically* rather than according to a preconceived or preferred classificatory system, I have attempted to present and refine the empirical foundation for analysis. Texts in which previously identified examples of interrogative or indefinite pronouns have been judged either (1) incorrect or (2) too fragmentary to allow satisfactory analysis are presented here in tabular format:

Table 4.2: Exclusions

Form	Citation	Genre	Interrogative/Indefinite Status
máb	RS 15.008:11	epistolary	N/A (personal name)
m	RS 29.095:11	epistolary	N/A (enclitic <i>-m</i>)
mh	RS 2.[008] ⁺ ii 39'	myth	FRAGMENTARY
mh	RS 17.434 ⁺ :41'	epistolary	FRAGMENTARY
my	RS 16.395:39	admin	N/A (personal name)
mn	RS 2.[022] ⁺ iv 23'	myth	FRAGMENTARY
mn	RS 3.322 ⁺ i 11	myth	N/A (obscure; interrogative unlikely)
mn	RS 88.2159:14	epistolary	FRAGMENTARY (interrogative likely)
mn	RS [Varia 14]:3	legal	N/A (personal name)
mn	RS [Varia 14]:11	legal	N/A (personal name)
mn	RS [Varia 14]:15	legal	N/A (personal name)

In one case, a preference was expressed for a non-interrogative/indefinite interpretation, but I acknowledged that this decision could not be finalized until further data had been reviewed:

Table 4.3: Deferrals

Form	Citation	Genre	Interrogative/Indefinite Status
m-lk	RS 3.322 ⁺ iii 46	myth	impersonal indefinite?

With these cases removed, the way is clear to consider clear examples of interrogative and indefinite pronouns in Ugaritic. This refined empirical foundation is presented in summary form in the following table. I use the terms *scope* and *restriction* loosely as a means of assessing whether each example can be associated with two predicates (e.g., “What student₁ reads Japanese₂?”) or one (e.g., “Who reads Japanese₂?”).

Table 4.4: The Empirical Foundation for Ugaritic Interrogatives (Summary)

Form	Citation	Genre	Class	Function	Restriction	Scope	Syntax + Word Order
m-át	RS 2.[003] ⁺ i 38	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>át</i>)	WH _{subj} + VP + ADV
m-hy	RS [Varia 4]:9	epist.	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>rgmt</i>)	WH _{obj} + PRO _{subj} + VP
mh	RS 2.002:53	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>ylt</i>)	WH _{obj} + VP
mh	RS 2.002:60	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>ylt</i>)	WH _{obj} + VP
mh	RS 2.[004] vi 35'	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>yqh</i>)	WH _{obj} + VP
mh	RS 2.[004] vi 36'	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>yqh</i>)	WH _{obj} + VP + NP _{subj} + ADV
mh	RS 2.[009] ⁺ ii 13'	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>táršn</i>)	WH _{obj} + VP
mh	RS 2.[014] ⁺ v 28	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>táršn</i>)	WH _{obj} + VP
my	RS 2.[022] ⁺ vi 23'	myth	PERSON	interrogative	∅	WH	WH _{pred} + NP _{subj}
my	RS 2.[022] ⁺ vi 24'	myth	PERSON	interrogative	∅	WH	WH _{pred} + NP _{subj}
my	RS 2.[009] ⁺ i 6	myth	PERSON	interrogative	∅	WH	WH _{pred} + NP _{subj}
my	RS 2.[009] ⁺ i 7	myth	PERSON	interrogative	∅	WH	WH _{pred} + NP _{subj}
my	RS 3.325 ⁺ v [10]	myth	PERSON	interrogative	PP (REL)	VP (<i>dy</i>)	[WH + PP] _{subj} + VP + NP _{obj}
my	RS 3.325 ⁺ v 14	myth	PERSON	interrogative	PP (REL)	VP (<i>dy</i>)	[WH + PP] _{subj} + VP + NP _{obj}
my	RS 3.325 ⁺ v [17]	myth	PERSON	interrogative	PP (REL)	VP (<i>dy</i>)	[WH + PP] _{subj} + VP + NP _{obj}
my	RS 3.325 ⁺ v [20]	myth	PERSON	interrogative	PP	VP (<i>dy</i>)	[WH + PP] _{subj} + VP + NP _{obj}
my	RS 92.2016:14'	incant.	PERSON	interrogative	∅	PP	WH _{subj} + PP _{pred}
my	RS 92.2016:33"	incant.	PERSON	interrogative	∅	PP	WH _{subj} + PP _{pred}
mn	RS 2.[014] ⁺ iii 37'	myth	PERSON	interrogative	NP	VP (<i>yp</i> ')	[WH + NP] _{subj} + VP + PP
mn-m	RS 2.[014] ⁺ iv 4	myth	PERSON	interrogative	NP	VP (<i>yp</i> ')	[WH + NP] _{subj} + VP + PP
mn	RS 3.325 ⁺ ii 19	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	WH	WH _{pred} + NP _{adv} + CP _{subj}
mn	RS 3.325 ⁺ ii 20	myth	THING	interrogative	∅	WH	WH _{pred} + CP _{subj}
mn	RS 16.265:21	epist. exer.	PERSON	placeholder? indefinite?	∅	n/a	NP + determ + WH
mn	RS 18.140:24'	epist.	PERSON/THING	interrogative	∅ NP	NP ∅	WH _{pred} + [NP + REL] _{subj} [WH + NP _i] _{pred} + ∅ _{subj} + REL _i
mn	RS 34.124:22	epist.	THING > REASON	interrogative	∅	VP (<i>likt</i>)	WH _{adv} + VP + NP _{obj}

Before turning to the more detailed discussion offered in each of the following subsections, several general observations are in order. First, the lexeme written {mh} must be understood uniformly to represent an impersonal interrogative pronoun (“what?”). No case of {mh} can be successfully construed as a bare interrogative having indefinite function. Second, {my} can likewise be interpreted as representing a personal interrogative in all cases. As with {mh}, I have found no evidence to suggest that {my} could be employed as an indefinite pronoun. Third, an interrogative/indefinite element appearing graphically as {m} is poorly attested, appearing in two texts (three if we admit the deferred case of RS 3.322⁺ iii 46). In both, however, the interrogative involved must be the impersonal interrogative, and the possibility of treating these as phonologically conditioned allomorphs of *mh* is taken up below. Fourth, the graphic sequence {mn} must represent both a personal and an impersonal interrogative. Questions of if and how these may differ from *my/mh* and the implications of this distinction for the question of etymology are addressed below. Significantly, I find no evidence for an indefinite *mn*. The closest one comes to such a function is found in its possible use as a placeholder in RS 16.265—a function that must be carefully distinguished from a true indefinite pronominal role. As not one clear example of a bare interrogative indefinite can be identified, I conclude that the deferred case of RS 3.322⁺ iii 46 should be interpreted without appeal to such a use.²⁶⁸ The following subsections address matters of semantics, syntax, etymology, and vocalization to arrive at a profile for Ugaritic interrogative pronouns foundational to the next chapter.

²⁶⁸ See the proposal offered above for one alternative.

4.7.1 The Personal Interrogative *my*

The Ugaritic personal interrogative pronoun (“who?”) is *my*. As scholars have long recognized, this pronoun can be identified as a significant isogloss shared by Ugaritic and Canaanite (see Amarna Canaanite *mi-ia*; Biblical Hebrew *mî^y*, Phoenician *my*). The Amarna data suggest the presence of a final vowel, to which the retention of /y/ in the Ugaritic form likewise attests.²⁶⁹ These data provide no indication of vocalic length, making the vocalization /miya/²⁷⁰ and /mīya/²⁷¹ equally plausible. Furthermore, as we have no evidence for a personal interrogative consisting solely of {m} (e.g., /mi/ or /mī/), there is no obligation in synchronic (or diachronic) terms to analyze *mīya* as consisting of a personal interrogative *mī* to which an enclitic -y (the existence of which in Ugaritic is beyond doubt²⁷²) has been added.

The pronoun *mīya* is found exclusively in literary texts; when personal interrogatives appear in prose texts, {mn} alone is employed. It can be employed in either subject or predicate roles, and its domain of application can be restricted through partitive modification (construed above as involving a zero-relative strategy). It appears without exception at the left edge of the sentence, and its movement to this position from the canonical post-verbal location of subjects and objects never triggers resumption of any sort. I have argued that this pronoun is used to issue rhetorical questions in five instances, intended to assert the inadequacy or weakness of the

²⁶⁹ A form lacking such a vowel, such as ***miy*, should undergo contraction to ***mî* (see Tropper 2012: 188-189), which would be represented orthographically as {m}, not {my}.

²⁷⁰ So Segert 1984: 48; cf. Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56 (/miyā/).

²⁷¹ Most grammarians prefer or allow for /mīya/ (see, e.g., Tropper 2000/2012: 238; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Pardee 2011: 464; Gianto 2012: 35; Huehnergard 2012: 36; Kogan 2015: 37; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488). The failure of the final triphthong to contract does not require us to posit vocalic length (/mīya/), as the same vocalic sequence is preserved in the pronominal form {hy} (/hiya/, “she”). Further evidence for the preservation of /iyV/ is presented by Huehnergard (2008: 290) and Tropper (2000/2012: 195-196), but exceptions can be easily identified (e.g., {tmn} /tamānū/ < **tamāniyu*; {tmnt} /tamānatu/ < **tamāniyatu* [see Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 351; cf. Tropper 2012: 348]). For a brief but important statement qualifying the regularity of triphthong behavior in the Ugaritic textual record, see Pardee 2003-2004: 243-244.

²⁷² Referenced already multiple times above and discussed in detail in Tropper 2012: 833-835, with further bibliography.

subject of the question in four of these (RS 2.[022]⁺ vi 23'; RS 2.[022]⁺ vi 24'; RS 2.[009]⁺ i 6; RS 2.[009]⁺ i 7) and asserting the nonexistence of the predicate in the fourth (RS 92.2016:14'). In the remaining five cases, this pronoun is used to express what appear to be genuine identifying questions, to which the speaker hopes to receive a response (RS 3.325⁺ v [10]; RS 3.325⁺ v 14; RS 3.325⁺ v [17]; RS 3.325⁺ v [20]; perhaps RS 92.2016:33"). Neither comparative nor internal data suggest that *mīya* was inflected for case, gender, or number (Tropper 2012: 238; cf. Huehnergard 2012: 36).

This description does not differ fundamentally from previous assessments of the personal interrogative, except in concluding that an *impersonal* {my} may be excluded from consideration. It does, however, provide a more detailed assessment of the contexts in which this interrogative is employed that will become important for addressing the semantics of *mn* below.

4.7.2 The Impersonal Interrogative *mh* and *m(-)*

The Ugaritic impersonal interrogative can be identified as *mh*. In contrast to the personal interrogative, for which clear comparanda can be found only in Northwest Semitic (and more specifically in Canaanite), *mh* can be connected to a more broadly attested Central Semitic cognate set (though it is absent from MSA, Ethiopian Semitic, and East Semitic²⁷³). Reviewing the relevant data collected in ch. 3, Arabic, Old South Arabian, and Hebrew all provide evidence for the presence of a consonantal element /h/ associated with the impersonal interrogative (Aramaic and Phoenician/Punic data are more ambiguous). A feature that makes an appearance in every major branch of Central Semitic stands a good chance of having been present in common Central Semitic, inherited in the various daughter languages. Furthermore, forms that

²⁷³ Unless, of course, this interrogative can be connected to Akkadian *mā* (Huehnergard 2005: 189; Kogan 2015: 178 n. 499).

lack /h/ (or a vestige thereof, such as gemination of a following consonant in Biblical Hebrew) in Central Semitic have a long vowel (e.g., Arabic *mā*, Aramaic *mā^{h/}*, Phoenician *mū* [$< mō < *mā$]), which can be understood as a secondary result of the loss of /h/ (i.e., $*mah(V) > m\hat{a}$). As forms lacking /h/ can be accounted for in terms of its loss, we should reconstruct $*mah$ or $*mahV$ (the former is defended immediately below) as a Central Semitic interrogative.²⁷⁴

The possibility of such a reconstruction suggests that we are not obligated to evaluate Ugaritic {mh} as an impersonal interrogative /mV/ to which an enclitic *-h* has been added productively/language-internally (the situation is comparable, in other words, to that of *mīya*, discussed above). The only evidence potentially capable of challenging this position comes in the two cases in which {m} alone appears to represent the impersonal interrogative. I treat these below but must first pursue the hypothesis that {mh} reflects an inherited Central Semitic interrogative a bit further.

As noted in ch. 3, open questions remain regarding the presence or absence of a final vowel in the Central Semitic impersonal interrogative. Should we reconstruct $*maha$, as many have done,²⁷⁵ or $*mah$?²⁷⁶ It is problematic to reconstruct $*maha$ (as does Kogan 2015: 178) for Central Semitic for two reasons. First, the source for a final element *-ha* is difficult to identify. One thinks immediately of the frequently discussed deictic particles involving /h/, but a deictic element /ha/ cannot be easily or consistently reconstructed for Central Semitic. We find instead

²⁷⁴ In agreement with Faber 1991: 412; Huehnergard 2005: 189; and Kogan 2015: 178 n. 497. This is not to say that this interrogative was necessarily a Central Semitic innovation—see Kogan (2015: 178-179, 244 n. 707) for complicating data suggesting that this interrogative may lay claim to a far greater antiquity than could a more recent Central Semitic innovation.

²⁷⁵ Tropper 2000/2012: 239-240 (sec. 44.21; /mah(a)/); 2008: 70 (/mah(a)/, though also indicating Central Semitic /mā(h)/); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179 (/mah(a)/); 2009: 330 (/mah(a)/); Pardee 2011: 64 (/mah(a)/); Huehnergard 2012: 36, 151 (/mahu/ [inflecting for case]); Gianto 2012: 35 (*mahu*, indeclinable); Kogan 2015: 178 (reconstructing $*maha$ for Central Semitic as well as for Canaanite [the latter suggesting a conviction that $*maha$ retained its form at least up to the point at which Canaanite separated from common Northwest Semitic]).

²⁷⁶ See Huehnergard 2005: 189 ($*mah-$).

hā or *han*—neither of which can be invoked to account for the attested forms of this interrogative in Central Semitic.²⁷⁷ Accounting for a final *-h*, on the other hand, may be possible in terms of the phenomenon of pronominal *h*-closing recently investigated by Al-Jallad (2014: 323-325). Of course, if the Biblical Hebrew marker of polar questions, *h^a*, can in fact be reconstructed as an inherited Central Semitic feature (**ha*; see Davis 2018 for recent discussion), such a particle might provide a reasonable basis for reconstructing **ma=ha* (although the tendency to mark polar and constituent questions differently, evident throughout Semitic, leaves open the question of why these two elements should have been combined). A final vowel would also be expected for those who wish reconstruct a case-inflected interrogative (*mah-u/i/a*), as does Huehnergard (2012: 36).

Yet this leads us to the second and more serious objection to reconstructing **maha*: none of the other languages that preserve traces of this original /h/ provide any evidence for the presence of a following vowel (case-marking or otherwise).²⁷⁸ We can now reassess the Ugaritic data, based on the empirical foundation laid above, in an effort to determine if the vocalization /mahV/²⁷⁹ is ever required or if /mah/²⁸⁰ will suffice in all instances. Here the phonological behavior of /h/ in Ugaritic becomes critical. Biblical Hebrew provides suggestive evidence that the final consonant of its impersonal interrogative **maC* (*mah*, for most) underwent assimilation following proclisis. If we expect the same for Ugaritic, then the fact that {mh} is the most frequently attested form of the interrogative could be understood as indirect evidence that the /h/

²⁷⁷ See Hasselbach 2007; Pat-El 2009.

²⁷⁸ Biblical Hebrew is technically ambiguous, though it may be judged unlikely that gemination of the first consonant of the following word would have arisen if a final consonantal element of the Biblical Hebrew pronoun (probably /h/) were not in immediate contact with the following consonant. The two relevant Arabic forms, *mah* and *mahmā*, both lack any vocalic element following /h/; Sabaic *mh*, *mhn*, and *mhmyw* are orthographically ambiguous, but nothing requires the reconstruction of a vowel after /h/ (see Kogan 2015: 178 n. 496).

²⁷⁹ For proponents of this position, see n. 275 above.

²⁸⁰ See, e.g., Segert 1984: 48, 191; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56.

of this pronoun did not stand immediately before a consonant, i.e., an intervening vowel (/maha/) preserved it. Yet Ugaritic phonology provides no evidence for the consistent assimilation of /h/ to or apocope of /h/ before an immediately following consonant. The only clear evidence for phonological loss of /h/ involves cases in which this consonant is followed immediately by a resonant (/r/, /l/, and possibly /m/) within the same word.²⁸¹ Notably, none of the examples of {mh} discussed above is followed immediately by a resonant—a theoretical *mah poses no problems.

The reverse, however, is not true. Those who posit /maha/ typically present this pronoun as /mah(a)/ because some examples seem to *require* /mah/.²⁸² This brings us to the two cases in which the impersonal interrogative is represented by {m} alone. Having found no other evidence for an impersonal interrogative /mV/ in Ugaritic, I start with the assumption that these should be understood as reflexes of {mh} if that can be done in a phonologically plausible manner. As discussed above, {mât} is understood to reflect /mah `atâ/ > /ma `atâ/. That assimilation may take place in a sequence consisting of a voiceless glottal fricative and a glottal stop occasions no surprise (especially if Ugaritic {mh} was proclitic, as it was in Biblical Hebrew). The form {mhÿ} can similarly be understood to reflect /mah hiya/, and the single writing of {h} points not to any assimilation or consonantal loss, but simply to proclisis resulting in the perception of this sequence as a single word (lengthened consonants are never written twice in Ugaritic orthography).²⁸³

²⁸¹ See Tropper 2012: 160 for examples.

²⁸² For examples, see n. 275 above.

²⁸³ For those inclined (as I am not) to include the sequence {mlk} in RS 3.322⁺ iii 46 as a case of */mah lêka/, the loss of /h/ (whether by assimilation, as apparently in Biblical Hebrew, or syncope, as Tropper suggests for Ugaritic [2012: 160]) would be in line with the behavior of Ugaritic /h/ followed immediately by a resonant just noted and finding parallels in forms of the verb $\sqrt{\text{hlm}}$ (see Tropper 2012: 160).

In summary, neither comparative nor internal data require us to reconstruct **maha*—for Ugaritic or any other Central Semitic language—while a number of forms do require **mah*. The former is, furthermore, difficult to account for etymologically, while the latter may be understood as having arisen from a form of the interrogative marked by *h*-closing (perhaps an originally topicalized form, if we follow the suggestion of Al-Jallad 2014 for other pronouns, though further research and evaluation is still required with respect to this new hypothesis).²⁸⁴ With no evidence for an impersonal interrogative /mV/ and clear internal indicators of /mah/, I propose a uniform vocalization of the Ugaritic impersonal interrogative as /mah/. Neither comparative nor internal data require that *mah* be inflected for case, gender, or number (Tropper 2012: 239).

Turning to matters of distribution, Ugaritic /mah/ is found almost exclusively in literary texts, making only one appearance in prose (RS [Varia 4]:9). Unlike *mīya*, it is never referentially restricted by a zero-relative. Nor does it figure in verbless clauses. It rather functions exclusively as the subject or, far more frequently, the object of a following VP. Like *mīya*, *mah* consistently appears at the left edge of the sentence.²⁸⁵ None of its attestations can be construed as involving interrogative clefting. Like *mīya*, it can be employed in rhetorical (RS 2.[004] vi 35'-36') or genuine constituent questions (all remaining examples). With a clearer picture of the usage to which *mīya* and *mah* are put in Ugaritic, I turn now to the interrogatives spelled {mn}.

²⁸⁴ This hypothesis should not be invoked if Central Semitic *mah* can in fact be reconstructed for Proto-Semitic or even Afro-Asiatic (see n. 274 above).

²⁸⁵ As suggested above, RS 2.[004] vi 35' is not an exception to this principal, as the items preceding *mh* in that text are best understood as comprising a left dislocate.

4.7.3 The Personal and Impersonal Interrogatives *mn*

4.7.3.1 Summary of Features

The homographic personal and impersonal interrogatives spelled {mn} easily constitute the most problematic interrogatives from an etymological perspective. As indicated above, the internal data suggest that both personal and impersonal values must be associated with this graphic sequence. The principal diachronic linguistic question, however, pertains to the morphological constituency of these interrogatives. Two approaches are identifiable in past studies.

For some, these pronouns developed within Ugaritic by addition of an enclitic element *-n* (e.g., **mīya=nV > mīnV*; **mah=nV > mannV/mānV*).²⁸⁶ Others see in the personal {mn} a cognate to the personal interrogative *man* found throughout Semitic.²⁸⁷ Similarly, the impersonal {mn} is taken to represent an inherited reflex of impersonal **mīn* found in East Semitic and Ethiopian Semitic.²⁸⁸ Further combinations of these positions have also been held.²⁸⁹ Depending on the view held, scholars have also reached differing conclusions on whether or not these interrogatives were inflected for case.²⁹⁰

There is obviously no way to exclude entirely a scenario in which inherited pronouns like personal **man-* and impersonal **mīn-* have been preserved with a restricted set of functions

²⁸⁶ See Pardee 2003-2004: 140-141 with n. 516; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 329-330. Tropper believes such a development is the most probable for the impersonal interrogative (*mah=n- > mān-*) (2000/2012: 240-241); see further Tropper and Vita 2019: 488. This approach is also represented in works devoted to Semitic or crosslinguistic typology more broadly (e.g., Lipiński 2001: 336; Idiatov 2007: 216).

²⁸⁷ Tropper 2000/2012: 239; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488.

²⁸⁸ Tropper 2000/2012: 240. Kogan (2015: 178 n. 498) wonders similarly whether **mīn* may stand behind the Ugaritic impersonal indefinite pronoun *mm̄* and its identically written Phoenician cognate. Huehnergard (2012: 36) vocalizes what he views as the adjectival interrogative as “/mannu/(?) or /minu/(?)” and treats the impersonal indefinite as “/minu-mv/(?).”

²⁸⁹ Cunchillos and Zamora (1995: 56), for example, propose personal interrogative *min* but personal *adjectival* interrogative *mannu(mmē)*. Because they offer no citations, their system is difficult to evaluate directly, though I believe that the system proposed here better accounts for the data.

²⁹⁰ Tropper (2000/2012: 239-240) believes that both of these pronouns are inflected triptotically. Gianto (2012: 35) suggests an invariable *mannu*. A case-inflected form appears to be assumed by Huehnergard (2012: 36) as well. Treatments itemized in n. 286, in which {n} is analyzed as an enclitic particle, do not posit case-inflection (Tropper being the notable exception).

alongside a (perhaps?) more innovative *mīya* and *mah* (in keeping with Kuryłowicz’s fourth law of analogy [Kuryłowicz 1945-1949]). But the existence of comparable contrasts elsewhere in the language (note especially: *mh : mn :: mhk : mnk*), the existence of at least one²⁹¹ productive Ugaritic enclitic *-n* that can function with a pronominal host (see Tropper 2012: 823-825), and the comparative data available for *+/-n* by-forms of the impersonal interrogative coexisting in a single language²⁹² prohibit a rush to judgment. If the morphological distinction can be understood as a productive feature operating on language-internal terms, then the repurposing of theoretically inherited pronominal forms known from other related languages—while impossible to exclude—may be deemed less likely and unnecessary for analytical purposes.²⁹³

The distribution of {*mn*} is a bit broader than that of *mīya* and *mah*, as *n*-bearing pronouns are found in literary and prose texts in approximately equal quantity. I set aside the possible use of *mn* as a placeholder in RS 16.265 for the moment to address the other, clearer examples. In the remaining personal examples (RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 37'; RS 2.[014]⁺ iv 4; probably RS 18.140:24'), the interrogative functions as the subject or as the predicate of a verbless clause. It is closely associated with an immediately following NP (always a singular count noun) in all three examples, the last of which may offer an example of a true interrogative cleft. As discussed above, the relationship of personal *mn* to the following NP cannot be determined with certainty, though analysis as a determiner is tentatively preferred. The pronoun always appears at the left edge of the sentence.

²⁹¹ Perhaps, though not necessarily distinct from the deictic element *-nV* found throughout Semitic, including in Ugaritic miratives and demonstratives (*hn*, *hnd*, *hnk*, etc.), discussed further below.

²⁹² E.g., Syriac *mɔ* alongside *mɔn* and *mɔnɔ*; see Tropper 2012: 240-241 and further discussion below.

²⁹³ In fact, such an approach would not only be unnecessary—it would constitute a missed opportunity to observe how interrogative by-forms might arise within a single language, something worth considering closely in light of comparative evidence discussed below.

In impersonal uses (RS 3.325⁺ ii 19, 20; RS 34.124:22; possibly RS 18.140:24' [though this is not preferred above]), the pronoun functions as the predicate of verbless clauses or, in one case, as a WH-adjunct (“why?”). Impersonal *mn*, like its personal counterpart, stands at the left edge of the sentence, though unlike the personal pronoun, impersonal *mn* is not attested in close relationship to an immediately following NP (the only possible example, *mn yrh*, is analyzed differently in sec. 4.5.4 above).

Perhaps most significantly, neither variety of *mn* is ever deployed in a rhetorical question that presupposes the unavailability of a corresponding answer, and all seem to be used in contexts in which a response is expected. Adding to these the possible use of *mn* as a placeholder in one text, I arrive at the following list of distributional characteristics:

(73) **Distributional features of {mn}**

- c. employed exclusively in questions that presuppose the existence of the noun they replace
- d. employed exclusively, or nearly so, in questions actually demanding an answer
- e. may take a NP complement (in which case it is semantically comparable to Biblical Hebrew WH + definite NP)
- f. may be involved in interrogative clefts
- g. may be employed as placeholders

I have not identified any discourse features setting the use of *mn*-pronouns apart from *mīya* and *mah*, for which reason I do not believe that the former can be understood as instances

of *mīya/mah* to which a discourse particle has been productively added. I see no phonological account available (nor has one been suggested) for the addition of /n/ to these forms. Neither can syntax alone explain the distributional features: many have suggested an adjectival quality for *mn* not shared by *my/mh*, but the exhaustive empirical survey conducted above illustrates plainly that *mn* is employed independently as well. In any event, such an account is too narrowly descriptive: it may provide a justification for the existence of two distinct forms, but it fails to explain in morphological or semantic terms where the “adjectival” form has come from.

In fact, given the distributional features outlined above, we can account for the morphological distinction between these pronouns on internal morphological and semantic grounds. Each of the features in (73) is closely related to existential presupposition, a key element in definite descriptions. These interrogatives are all issued in highly presuppositional contexts. As discussed above, *Anatu* believes an actual enemy to have arisen and asks the messengers to identify the enemy, possibly from a contextually salient set of likely characters. *Titmanatu* likewise believes that her father has actually been ill for some time and asks her brother to identify a specific duration (to be drawn from the pragmatically accessible cardinality scale). The speaker in RS 18.140:24' asks for the identity of a *bunušu* who has been sent in the real world (and presumably already arrived)—even if the question itself is rhetorical, the referent is known to both parties to exist (and this is consistent with the possibility of treating this example as an interrogative cleft). The presuppositional character of *mn* in RS 34.124:22 is less certain, though here (and only here) *mn* functions as a WH-adjunct—a fact that may be significant in comparative perspective.

4.7.3.2 A Semantic Proposal

In light of the features just identified, I propose that these pronouns are best understood as internally developed interrogatives characterized by an obligatory existential presupposition and—in the attested cases—a presupposition of uniqueness, neither of which is characteristic of their unmarked counterparts. In other words, the NP associated with *mn* (overt or only implied by the ontological category of the interrogative) behaves like a semantically definite NP, in contrast to NPs associated with *mah* and *mīya*, which may behave as semantically indefinite or definite nouns. I stress the importance of the term *semantically* in these statements, as Ugaritic does not mark definiteness morphologically. In the following remarks, I begin by expanding on the semantics and pragmatics of questions in general linguistic terms. I then suggest that my claim regarding the definiteness of descriptions associated with *mn* lead to several predictions, which I will show to be borne out by the evidence. Finally, I will turn from this semantic evaluation to the question of morphology and etymology in comparative and typological perspective.

4.7.3.2.1 Elaborating the Hypothesis

First, I have suggested that the presuppositional character of the questions in which *mn* appears is significant. At a certain level, all questions but obviously rhetorical ones are presuppositional. One does not ordinarily pose a question unless one believes an answer to be available (and accessible to the interlocutor). Lambrecht (1994: 282-283) provides a clear illustration of this principle:

As a general rule, we can say that the use of an information question is appropriate only if the open proposition resulting from removal of the question expression (the WH-expression in English) from the sentence is pragmatically presupposed in the discourse. For example, if I ask the question in (5.43)

(5.43) Who ate the COOKIE?

my question not only evokes the assumption (conjured up by the definiteness of the noun phrase) that my addressee can identify the particular cookie I have in mind but also that she knows that some individual ate this cookie, i.e. I take the proposition “Someone ate the cookie” to be uncontroversial (unless it is a rhetorical question suggesting the answer *Noone* [sic]).

Yet, as Lambrecht (1994: 285) goes on to acknowledge, the class of interrogative sentences is not uniform in this regard, and the semantics of each constituent can be manipulated to generate less strongly presuppositional effects:

For the sake of completeness, I should mention that there are exceptions to what I characterized above as the normal presuppositional structure of WH-questions. While a question like (5.43) normally presupposes that someone ate a particular cookie, a question like (5.46)

(5.46) Who wants a COOKIE?/WHO wants a COOKIE?

does not necessarily presuppose that someone in the audience wants a cookie.

He illustrates that the contrast can be captured explicitly in the form of the question and answer to each type of question in French, where an answer to a presuppositional question typically requires a cleft construction (1994: 285):

(74) Presuppositional (Lambrecht's (5.43'))

h. Q: Qui (c'est qui) a mangé le biscuit?

i. A: C'est moi.

(75) Non-presuppositional (Lambrecht's (5.47))

j. Q: Qui veut un biscuit?

k. A: Moi.

We can further enrich this linguistic description by considering two distinct strategies for expressing more highly presuppositional questions. The first of these is the interrogative cleft. Interrogative clefts,²⁹⁴ discussed in passing above, consist of questions of the following form:

(76) Who is it that you met for dinner?

In contrast to a standard interrogative sentence, the interrogative cleft employs a copula and a pronoun that is coreferential with an individual satisfying the descriptive content of a following relative clause. Interrogative clefts come with either a presupposition of or a strong epistemic bias toward the truth of the clefted content of the relative clause, with the result that interrogative

²⁹⁴ These are to be distinguished from what is typically referred to as a *WH-cleft*, which is declarative ("What we need is more milk"). For *WH-clefts*, Lambrecht 2001 provides a helpful point of entry.

clefts cannot typically be uttered out of the blue.²⁹⁵ A speaker who asks (76) believes (1) that the interlocutor has met someone for dinner and (2) that that fact can be taken for granted.

Similar observations can be made for the second strategy for expressing presuppositional questions, which consists of the use of *d-linked* interrogatives. Since Pesetsky's study (1987), linguists have described interrogatives like *which* (+ NP) as *discourse-linked* (d-linked).²⁹⁶ These interrogatives come with presuppositions, including an existential presupposition and a presupposed *set* from which satisfactory answers may be drawn. In Pesetsky's words (1987: 107-108),

When a speaker asks a question like *Which book did you read?*, the range of felicitous answers is limited by a set of books both speaker and hearer have in mind. If the hearer is ignorant of the context assumed by the speaker, a *which*-question sounds odd.

The nature of the presuppositions involved in these two types of questions are distinct, but the fact that both come with strong existential presuppositions results in occasional overlap that can confuse descriptive efforts (as we shall see below).

4.7.3.2.2 Testing the Hypothesis

I turn now to addressing several predictions associated with the presuppositional character of *mn*-interrogatives I have proposed. If these questions do presuppose the existence of their

²⁹⁵ Cheung 2014 (Mandarin) and Brandtler 2019 (Swedish) both provide helpful discussions.

²⁹⁶ I noted the importance of d-linking for capturing the behavior of some limited distribution items that can be understood as *aggressively non-d-linked* in ch. 2 above. D-linked interrogatives are described as *selective interrogatives* in Idiatov's (2007: 7-11) typological study of interrogatives.

arguments, then paraphrases employing presuppositional interrogative clefts should produce satisfactory results, as should those involving definite NP descriptions. This is in fact the case:

(77) *mn(m) ib yp ' l b ' l* (RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 37', iv 4)

≈ What enemy **is it that** has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?

≈ Who is **the** enemy that has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?

(78) *mn yrḥ k mrṣ* (RS 3.325⁺ ii 19)

≈ What amount of time (in months) **is it that** he has been sick?

≈ What is **the** amount of time (in months) that he has been sick?

(79) *mn bnš d likt* (RS 18.140:24')

≈ What *bunušu* **is it/this that** you have sent?

≈ Who is **the/this** *bunušu*, whom you have sent?

(80) *mn likt ank lḥt* (RS 34.124:22)

≈ Why **is it that** I have sent the letter . . . ?

≈ What is **the** reason that I have sent the letter . . . ?

In each case, the contextually required sense is preserved when these sentences are paraphrased using clefts and definite descriptions. The same is true in some cases of *mīya/mah*, which is expected. As already noted, questions tend to be presuppositional, and finding *mīya/mah* in such

presuppositional questions occasions no surprise. But such paraphrases are *not always* possible for these latter interrogatives:

(81) *mh yqh* (RS 2.[004] vi 35'-36')

? What is it that he will take?

? What is the thing that he will take?

(82) *my b ilm ydy mrš* (RS 3.325⁺ v [10] and parallels)

? Who is it among the gods that will drive out the sickness?

? Who is the one among the gods who will drive out the sickness?

(83) *my k qdš* (RS 92.2016:14')

? Who is it that is like *Qudšu*?

? Who is the one that is like *Qudšu*?

Each of these paraphrases is possible, but only with a different meaning than the comparable paraphrases appearing in (77)-(80) above. Examples (81) and (83) are rhetorical, such that the typically presuppositional character of the cleft is actually counteracted—the speaker actually assumes that the content of the cleft *cannot* be taken for granted and can in fact be flatly denied. In the case of (82), the question is open. There is no presupposition that a satisfactory individual will be found (and in the narrative context, none is). The uniqueness and identifiability of the focus of the questions found in examples (77)-(80) is likewise missing in (82)—even if the

speaker hopes a healer may be found, there is no suggestion that only one will be found or is already in mind.

Another way to illustrate this contrast is by using existential interrogative paraphrases. If existence is presupposed for *mn*, then rewording *mn*-questions as existential questions should not be possible without changing the meaning significantly:

(84) *mn(m) ib yp ' l b ' l* (RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 37', iv 4)

#What enemy is there that has arisen against *Ba 'lu*?

(85) *mn yrḥ k mrš* (RS 3.325⁺ ii 19)

#What amount of time (in months) is there that he has been sick?

(86) *mn bnš d likt* (RS 18.140:24')

#What *bunušu* is there that you have sent?

(87) *mn likt ank lḥt* (RS 34.124:22)

#What reason is there that I have sent the letter . . . ?

In each case, existential interrogative paraphrases deliver meanings significantly different from and in some cases incompatible with the contextual senses identified in the textual review above.

In contrast, existential interrogative paraphrases work well for some cases of *mīya/mah*:

(88) *mh yqh* (RS 2.[004] vi 35'-36')

≈ What is there that he will take?

(89) *my b ilm ydy mrš* (RS 3.325⁺ v [10] and parallels)

≈ Who is there among the gods that will drive out the sickness?

(90) *my k qdš* (RS 92.2016:14')

≈ Who is there that is like *Qudšu*?

In both of these respects, the difference between Ugaritic *mīya/mah* and *mn* (+ NP) is found to be highly comparable to the difference suggested above between Biblical Hebrew *mīʔ* + indefinite NP and *mīʔ* + definite NP.

If *mn* is in fact better suited to situations in which the interrogative content is taken for granted, then we may also expect to find a high incidence of use with perfective verbal forms referring to situations that have (or are presumed to have) taken place already. This is what we find in every case:

(91) *mn(m) ib yp* (PFV) *l b l* (RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 37', iv 4)

(92) *mn yrḥ k mrš* (PFV) (RS 3.325⁺ ii 19)

(93) *mn bnš d likt* (PFV) (RS 18.140:24')

(94) *mn likt* (PFV) *ánk lht* (RS 34.124:22)

The interrogatives *mīya/mah*, on the other hand, are used with perfective and imperfective forms. The interrogative *ma(h)* appears with a perfective verbal form four times,²⁹⁷ while *mīya* never does. With imperfective forms, *ma(h)*²⁹⁸ and *mīya*²⁹⁹ each appear four times.

If *mn* is used only when its referent is believed to exist and to be unique and identifiable (as suggested above), then *mn*-questions should require exhaustive answers, i.e., they are not *mention-some*³⁰⁰ questions.³⁰¹ This is contextually borne out in each case of *mn*, whereas *mīya* in (89) can easily be construed as a *mention-some* question. The rhetorical force of *mah* in (88) and (90) may be associated with such a non-exhaustive demand as well (“give me even just one example” +> “there is no example”).

Finally, if *mn*-questions presuppose the existence of the individual/object about whom/which the question is expressed, then cases in which that individual does *not* exist involve presupposition failure³⁰² and should require a response involving *metalinguistic* negation (which negates the interlocutor’s presuppositions) rather than standard sentential negation (which would negate only the propositional content of their assertion). The episode in which ‘*Anatu* interacts with *Ba ‘lu*’s messengers suggests that this was the case. ‘*Anatu*’s question presupposed the existence of an enemy who had arisen to oppose *Ba ‘lu*, for which reason a reply involving standard sentential negation (e.g., ** ‘*ēbu lū yapa ‘a lê ba ‘li*, “An enemy has not arisen against

²⁹⁷ RS 2.002:53, 60; RS 2.[003]⁺ i 38; RS [Varia 4]:9.

²⁹⁸ RS 2.[004] vi 35'-36'; RS 2.[009]⁺ ii 13'; RS 2.[014]⁺ v 28.

²⁹⁹ RS 3.325⁺ v [10], 14, [17], [20].

³⁰⁰ I.e., questions that request only a partial set of the individuals satisfying the content of the question. For example, “What’s an example of clefting?” does not ask the interlocutor to provide an exhaustive list. In contrast, “Who currently serves on the Supreme Court?” does request a complete list.

³⁰¹ See Cheung 2014: 395-398; Brandtler 2019: 782.

³⁰² Cheung 2014: 402-403.

Ba 'lu”) was judged insufficient, giving way to the use of marked quantifier/constituent negation (*lā 'ēbu yapa 'a lē ba 'li*, “NO enemy has arisen against *Ba 'lu*!”).

This approach to *mn* as an interrogative employed in presuppositional questions may in part account for the tendency in previous scholarship to treat *mn* as a selective d-linked interrogative. One finds *mn* glossed with “which” or its equivalents in a number of grammatical and lexical reference works.³⁰³ This is certainly due in part to its determiner-like use before an associated NP, but I suspect that the possibility of the selective/d-linked “which” as a translation of *mn* in RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 37', iv 4 has misled descriptive efforts. Examination of the further examples gathered and discussed above shows that *mn* cannot be uniformly understood as a selective/d-linked interrogative. What interpreters correctly identified in the case of RS 2.[014]⁺ iii 37', iv 4—and what made “which” such a tempting gloss—was the *presuppositional character* of the question, a feature shared in common with interrogatives that actually are d-linked (unlike *mn*).

4.7.3.3 A Morphological Account

A morphological analysis that aligns with this semantic proposal is readily available: the final {n} is to be analyzed as the deictic *-n* found in Ugaritic mirative and demonstrative items (e.g., *hn*, *hnd*, *hnk*) and is cognate to similar items across Semitic (surveyed and discussed by Hasselbach 2007). Others have suggested comparable morphological analyses in the past,³⁰⁴ but the alignment between morphology, semantics, and syntax, as well as the implications that this analysis may have for our evaluation of related pronominal forms (such as *mmn*, treated in the

³⁰³ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 34, 289; 1965/1998: 41, 435; Segert 1984: 49; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2008: 74; Sivan 2001: 59; Huehnergard 2012: 36.

³⁰⁴ See n. 286 above.

next chapter) have not previously been recognized. I stress at the outset that it is *-n* in its deictic associations that is of interest here. This may very well turn out to be identical to the broadly attested Ugaritic enclitic *-n*, the frequently topicalizing force³⁰⁵ of which may certainly be derivable from an original deictic value, but it is the parallel existing between {mn} (*mîna* < **mīya=na* and *manna* < **mah=na*) and the presentative particle {hn} (/han=na/) in Ugaritic that I wish to explore. In order to do this, I begin with a brief description of Ugaritic *hn*.

The particle *hn* in Ugaritic functions most frequently as a discourse presentative, as in the following examples, drawn from a sample of genres (the translations below privilege the explicit representation of the presentative over smooth English style, where such presentatives are typically excluded):

(95) **RS 1.002:34**³⁰⁶ (ritual text)

hn . ʿr

hanna ʿêru

PRES donkey-NOM.M.SG.ABS

“**Here** is the donkey!”

(96) **RS 2.002:46**³⁰⁷ (mythological text)

w hn . ʾattm . tšhn

wa hanna ʾattatāma tašūhāna

and PRES woman-NOM.F.DU.ABS cry-G.IPFV.3FD

“And **see**, the two women cry out . . .”

³⁰⁵ See Tropper 2012: 823-825.

³⁰⁶ See Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 200-205 for a convenient presentation of the text with further bibliography.

³⁰⁷ See Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 177-186.

(97) **RS 17.117:3-4**³⁰⁸ (epistolary)

hn ùnk bnk [] (04) ḥytn . . .

hanna`unūku binuka ḥayîtu=na

PRES I.1CS son-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS live.G.PFV.1CS=*na*

“See, I, your son, am alive (and well).”

(98) **RS 92.2005:9-10**³⁰⁹ (epistolary)

ḥḥln . ḥn` . ḥmn (10) ḥš`lm

hallina hanna`immān=î ṣalima

here PRES with=me.1CS be.well-G.PFV.3MS

“Here, see, with me it is well.”

(99) **RS [Varia 31]:13-15**³¹⁰ (legal quittance)

w (14) hn . ḥš̀̀ (15) bd . `abny . . .

wa hanna ḥaš̀̀su bîdê `abinaye

and PRES memorandum-NOM.M.SG.ABS in.the.hands.of PN

“And see, a memorandum is in `Abinaye’s possession . . .”

In a number of cases, *hn* precedes a NP immediately in a determiner-like construction anticipating the later development of the definite article (probably from a reflex of this same

³⁰⁸ For a presentation of the text and discussion of the unusual orthographic and morphological features found in it (including the 1cs {`unk} for typical {`ank}), see Pardee 1982: 43-50; forthcoming *a*.

³⁰⁹ See Bordreuil and Pardee 2001a: 371-375 for the *editio princeps* of this text. For the local adverbial force of {hln}, see further Pardee 2003-2004: 370.

³¹⁰ The interpretation assumed here is that of Burlingame, Hawley, and Pardee in preparation. See also Bordreuil and Pardee 2010 and Tropper and Vita 2010b.

deictic particle³¹¹) in Canaanite languages. In such cases, the NP is semantically definite—a presupposition of existence and uniqueness/maximality³¹² are clearly detectable:

(100) **RS 96.2039:8-9 (see also ll. 4, 19, 15)³¹³ (epistolary)**

w ht . hn bnš hw (9) b gty ʾ.ʾ ḥbt

wa hattī hanna bunušu huwa bi

and PRES PRES personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS DEM-M.SG in

gittiya ḥabaṭa

farm-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS work-G.PFV.3MS

“And see, **that** personnel-member worked on my farm.”

(101) **RS [Varia 31]:7-9³¹⁴ (legal quittance)**

w . ht . (08) ttb . hn (09) splm . . .

wa hattī taṭība hanna saplēma

and PRES return-C.PFV.3MS PRES vessel-OBL.M.DU.ABS

“And see, he has returned **the(se)** two vessels . . .”

The final {n} of {hn} remains in each of these examples, and because Ugaritic phonology typically requires /n/ to assimilate to an immediately following consonant (*n > C₁ / _C₁),³¹⁵ the

³¹¹ See Tropper 2000/2012: 232; Rubin 2005: 65-90; Hasselbach 2007: 20; Pat-El 2009.

³¹² That is, with singular NPs, as in (100), the NP so designated is presupposed to be the unique individual satisfying the contextual predicate (“the *bunušu*” ≈ “the one and only *bunušu* under discussion”). With dual/plural NPs that are semantically definite, the description is taken to refer to all such individuals (“the two vessels” in (101) ≈ “both of the vessels”).

³¹³ See Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 248-249; Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 174-179.

³¹⁴ The interpretation assumed here is that of Burlingame, Hawley, and Pardee in preparation. See also Bordreuil and Pardee 2010 and Tropper and Vita 2010b.

³¹⁵ For exceptions and further bibliography, see Burlingame 2020: 198-199.

particle {hn} has been evaluated as ending in a final vowel,³¹⁶ perhaps a result of **han* and a deictic enclitic *-nV*, e.g., /*han=na*/.³¹⁷ The optionality of this final clitic element is suggested by several examples in which the final {n} is missing, suggesting a proclitic /*han*/,³¹⁸ of which the final /n/ has assimilated to the following consonant:

(102) **RS 29.093:15-16**³¹⁹ (epistolary)

w . ḥwt (16) hbt . . .

wa ḥiwwētu hab=bêta

and restor-D.PFV.1CS PRES=house-ACC.M.SG.ABS

“And I have restored **the** house.”

(103) **RS 94.2284:29**³²⁰ (epistolary)

hyn . d znt . ly l ytn

hay=yêna dā zānati lay=ya lā yatana

PRES=wine-ACC.M.SG.ABS GEN provision-GEN.F.SG.ABS to=me.1CS NEG give-G.PFV.3MS

“He/One did not give me **the** wine of the provisions.”³²¹

³¹⁶ See, e.g., Tropper 2000/2012: 749; Pardee 2003-2004: 134-136; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 31, 57, 311.

³¹⁷ See, e.g., Pardee 2003-2004: 134-136; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 31, 57, 311.

³¹⁸ For discussion of this feature, see Tropper 2000/2012: 232-234; Pardee 2003-2004: 134-136; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 57.

³¹⁹ See Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241 for a convenient presentation with further bibliography.

³²⁰ See Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 250-252; Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 180-186.

³²¹ The editors (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 182) treat l. 29 as a continuation of the sentence initiated two lines prior (“Et je donnerai deux vêtements-*ḥipânu* ḤDM (pour³) le [?] vin des provisions (que) l’on ne m’a pas données”). The translation offered above treats these as two terse sentences (so also Tropper 2012: 234): “I will give two new¹ *ḥipânu* garments. One/He/They did not give me the wine of the provisions.” The evaluation of {hyn} remains constant between the two approaches.

Like most examples of {hn}, Ugaritic {mn} presents no evidence of assimilatory tendencies, suggesting a reconstruction along the lines proposed above (**mīya=na* > *mīna*; **mah=na* > *manna*).³²² Notice further that the pre-nominal placement of *hn* and that of *mn* in one or two cases discussed above are exactly comparable: both evince a determiner-like status and both are, as argued above, associated with semantic features directly related to those of semantically definite descriptions.

As it turns out, the intersection of the features and morphological profile just described finds a ready explanation for which both Semitic and more broadly typological parallels are available. Drawing on broader crosslinguistic work by Diessel (2003), Cohen (2019) has recently highlighted the striking morphological parallels existing in a number of Semitic languages between demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, the latter bearing morphology typically associated with pronouns of the former class. It will come as no surprise to the reader that the interrogative for which this parallelism is clearest across Semitic is the reflex of the selective interrogative element **'ayyu*, “which?” Syriac³²³ provides a clear example:

Table 4.5: Syriac Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Demonstratives	Interrogatives
<i>hɔ-nɔ</i> (this, m.sg.)	<i>'ay-nɔ</i> (which?, m.sg.)
<i>hɔ-de</i> (this, f.sg.)	<i>'ay-dɔ</i> (which?, f.sg.)
<i>hɔ-le(y)n</i> (these, m./f.pl.)	<i>'ay-le(y)n</i> (which?, m./f.pl.)

³²² One further alternative is discussed below.

³²³ Table 4.5 presents Syriac data following the observations of Cohen (2019: 336).

As noted above, the semantics of d-linked *which* exhibit substantial overlap—even identity³²⁴—with that of definite descriptions (like those in which demonstratives are used), making this morphological overlap unsurprising.

Yet d-linked interrogatives were not the only interrogatives permitting deictic augmentation. Idiatov (2007: 218-219) devotes a section of his typological study of interrogative pronouns to “deictic reinforcement” in Semitic interrogatives—cases in which an interrogative pronoun is followed immediately by a demonstrative pronoun. As he notes (2007: 219), many such examples arguably involve historic interrogative cleft constructions (see Huehnergard and Pat-El 2007). But this cannot be argued persuasively in all cases, and it is at this point that the Syriac data are once again of interest.

Specifically, Syriac provides an example of an interrogative *other than* **'ayyu* exhibiting deictic clitic augmentation: the impersonal interrogative *mɔ-nɔ/mɔ-n*, used alongside the inherited impersonal interrogative *mɔ*, and paralleling the morphological profile of the near demonstrative *hɔ-nɔ* and d-linked interrogative *'ay-nɔ* exactly. This longer interrogative by-form provides a quite precise parallel for the development I propose for the Ugaritic pronouns, and Tropper (2000/2012: 241) cites it explicitly as a comparandum for Ugaritic *mn* (though he does not explore the implications of this comparison).

The Syriac interrogative *mɔn(ɔ)* has traditionally been analyzed as the product of a phonologically reduced **mā-dnā*³²⁵ (interrogative + near demonstrative) or **mā-han*³²⁶ (interrogative + deictic particle **han*). Which of these is correct (or whether a third option, such

³²⁴ For a semantic presentation of *which NP* as actually comprising a definite description, see Rullman and Beck 1998; Beck and Rullman 1999; applied in Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 177.

³²⁵ Brockelmann 1908: 135, 326; Barth 1913: 140; Huehnergard 2005: 187.

³²⁶ Implied in Kogan 2015: 178 n. 496, as well as in Tropper’s citation of the form as a comparandum for Ugaritic *mn*.

as **mah-na* should be considered) is immaterial to the point here, which is the fact that, whatever the deictic element added to the interrogative, it is a true deictic. That is, this cannot be a case of “deictic reinforcement” that simply exhibits the fossilized remnants of older interrogative clefts, as has been argued for comparable expressions in other Semitic languages, such as Biblical Hebrew *ma^hz=z^eh* and Arabic *mā-dā* (Huehnergard and Pat-El 2007). This is because, unlike the “demonstrative” elements in these latter cases, which can be related to synchronically available relative particles, neither *dnā* nor *hānā* (nor, for that matter, any other reflex of **han*) ever functioned as a relative in Syriac. The pronoun *mɔnɔ* cannot, as a result, be analyzed in association with a putative source construction such as “what (is it) that VP?”³²⁷

What, then, is the difference between *mɔ* and *mɔn(ɔ)* in Syriac? First, the former has become largely specialized as a free relative marker.³²⁸ Second, the latter is often employed with enclitic pronouns to construct what are either “imperfectly-transformed” interrogative clefts (so Goldenberg 1998: 118 [repr. of 1977]) or focus-marked interrogatives (so Li 2013)³²⁹ of the following sort:

³²⁷ An interrogative cleft source construction for Syriac *mɔnɔ* cannot be salvaged by identifying the deictic item as having functioned as the copula (as Idiatov [2007: 215, 219] argues for such augmented interrogatives) rather than as the relative (as Huehnergard and Pat-El [2007] suggest). While it is true that deictics frequently comprise the source for grammaticalized copular expressions (Diessel 1999: 143-148), this function cannot be established independently for Syriac demonstratives or derivatives of **han* in Syriac, where it is rather third-person enclitic pronouns that are typically connected to a copular function (see Nöldeke 1904: 246-149 [sec. 311-313]; Li 2013 for discussion).

³²⁸ Li 2013: 73, with bibliography.

³²⁹ The relationship between clefting and identifying focus is discussed in Cheung 2014.

(104) **Matt 24:3 (Peshitta)**³³⁰

mɔnɔ=(h)y ʾɔtɔ *d=me(ʿ)ti(y)t=ɔk*

what=it.3FS sign-F.SG.ABS.EMPH GEN=coming-F.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

“What is it (that is) the sign of your coming?”

This interrogative can also be employed in “complete” interrogative clefts, as in this example:

(105) **Gen 3:13 (Peshitta)**³³¹

mɔn=aw hɔnɔ *da=ʿbadt(y)*

what=it.3MS this-M.SG REL=do-G.PFV.2FS

“What is this (thing) that you have done?”

In other words, we find an interrogative in Syriac that has been augmented with deictic morphology, that does not have interrogative clefting as its diachronic source, and that is used in highly presuppositional constructions, such as the synchronic interrogative cleft. This is exactly what we observe in Ugaritic.³³²

In view of the semantic and syntactic parallels between Ugaritic *mn* and presentative *hn* described above, as well as the semantic and comparative evidence for deictic augmentation of

³³⁰ See Li 2013: 78.

³³¹ See Huehnergard and Pat-El 2007: 327 with n. 10.

³³² Syriac is not the only comparandum in this respect. Biblical Hebrew also preserves a non-productive *mān* (“what”) alongside typical *mā^h* (also noted by Tropper 2000/2012: 240-241). The Sabaic by-forms *mh* alongside *mhn* may likewise be relevant in this connection (see Kogan 2015: 178 n. 496). Ethiopian Semitic may offer further comparanda. The proclitic presentative particle *na=* found in Gəʿəz (see Leslau 2006: 380) comes to function as a copula in some Ethiopian languages and can be used together with (and even written as a single word with) the interrogative to construct parametric questions (e.g., Amharic *man* “who?” > *mannäw* “who is it?” [Leslau 1995: 68-69]; Argobba *ma* “who?” > *man ne* “who is it?” [Leslau 1997: 25]). Looking even further afield, a number of Berber languages employ interrogatives augmented with presentative morphology (often employed, interestingly enough, in interrogative clefts!) (Idiatov 2007: 172-177).

interrogative pronouns, I argue that {mn} is to be understood as the personal (*mīya*) and impersonal (*mah*) interrogative to which the same deictic /-na/ reconstructed for /han=na/ has been added. This may have even originated by an analogy to the presentative (*bnš : my :: hn bnš : ?*, ? = *mn bnš*).

Of course, these similarities could theoretically be pressed one step further: perhaps the interrogatives have not been augmented with /-na/ but rather with /hanna/ itself. In such a case, a source construction involving *hn* in its determiner-like function would be a prerequisite (as presentatives cannot stand between an interrogative and its subject/predicate):

(106) **Hypothetical source construction for WH + *hn***

<i>mīya hanna 'ēbu yapa 'a</i>	who is the enemy (that) has arisen	>
<i>mīya hanna 'ēbu yapa 'a</i>	what enemy (that) has arisen	>
<i>minna 'ēbu yapa 'a</i>	what enemy has arisen	>

minna NP = what NP, who is the NP

This process, by which the interrogative would have absorbed what was originally an adjacent function word more closely associated with what follows than with what precedes it, must be assumed to be involved in the many such cases of WH + demonstrative/relative noted above. I have provisionally preferred to avoid this route for two reasons, though I acknowledge that further research treating the system of Ugaritic deictic particles may require us to reconsider this approach.

First, while phonological reduction is a routine concomitant of grammaticalization, the amount of reduction required to arrive at a form spelled {mn} is considerable. For *mīya=hanna*, both *y* and *h* must independently undergo intervocalic syncope. More difficult still is the case of *mah=hanna*, where a geminated /h/ must be assumed to have undergone comparable syncope. If Syriac *ܡܢܢܘ* does in fact originate in **mā=dnā* or even **mā=hānā*, such reduction may not be strictly implausible, but it does require more³³³ of the grammaticalization process than the alternative I have preferred, for which only a single case of independently attested³³⁴ *y*-syncope (*mīya=na > mīna*) and an independently attested³³⁵ assimilation of /h/ to a following resonant (*mah=na > manna*) are required. Currently available evidence for the syncope of the initial /h/ of {hn} as a result of cliticization and/or grammaticalization rests on debatable analyses of several forms,³³⁶ and much further research on the system of Ugaritic deixis is required before such evidence can be brought fully to bear on questions of the sort posed here. Furthermore the evidence for the augmentation of a wide variety of discourse particles with *-n* is abundant.³³⁷

Second, the source construction presented in (106) presupposes the availability of *hn* as a determiner-like particle marking *NP constituents* (and not just clauses) for discourse prominence and/or something approaching semantic definiteness. Yet such determiner-like uses of *hn* are

³³³ Compare Sabaic *mhn*, alongside *mh*. The former may comprise *mh=n*, along the lines suggested for Ugaritic {mn} here, or *mah=han* (both are suggested by Kogan 2015: 178 n. 496), but the preservation of /h/ is noteworthy.

³³⁴ See n. 271 above.

³³⁵ See discussion in sec. 4.7.2 above.

³³⁶ Note, for example, the forms {wn} and {pn}, which may represent *wanna* < **wa=hanna* and *panna* < **pa=hanna* (so Watson 1994 and 1996, with previous bibliography; see similarly the discussion of *wm* in RS [Varia 14] above), but have been taken by others (e.g., Tropper 2000/2012: 160, 788, 790) as examples of conjunctions to which enclitic particles have been added (*wa=na*, *pa=na*; compare *pa=ma* in RS 29.095, discussed above). The existence of the form {pn} has been questioned in the past (Tropper 2000/2012: 788, 790), but the recent full publication of RIH 98/02 illustrates the productive availability of this lexical item ({wn} in l. 12 is replaced with {pn} in l. 41' [see Bordreuil and Pardee 2019: 221-231]).

³³⁷ Consider the following pairs (for which, see ch. 8 in Tropper 2000/2012): *k // kn*; *āp // āpn // āphn*; *in // inn*; *hn // hnn*. These may not all involve the same element *-n*, but such examples suggest that *n*-augmentation was frequent. To this may be added the regular employ of a discourse/information-structural enclitic *-n* in host-clitic combinations that are clearly *not* newly grammaticalized function words (Tropper 2000/2012: 823-825).

relatively rare. As Pardee (2003-2004: 136) has concluded, “What can be said with some degree of certainty, however, is that neither /han/ nor /hanna/ had in Ugaritic lost its presentative function to slip towards that of a definite article—there are simply too few cases to support such a claim.” If we cannot depend on the widespread productivity of *hn* + NP, then the proposed source construction of (106) loses its viability, no matter the appeal of its diachronic syntactic elegance.

We are now in a position to return to the use of *mn* as a WH-adjunct (“why?”) and, possibly, as a placeholder (“Whoever”). In the former case, it would be difficult to argue with much force that a presuppositional contrast existed between {*lm*} (/lêma/, “why?”) and {*mn*} (/manna/). It is worth observing, however, that a similar situation is observable in Syriac, where both *lm* and a bare interrogative may be used for the WH-adjunct “why?” Notably, it is *m*ܢ (ܟ) rather than *m*ܟ that is used in the latter case,³³⁸ as in Ugaritic. If the interrogatives bearing *-n* in Syriac and Ugaritic represent marked presuppositional pronouns, as I have suggested, then their compatibility with *why*-questions becomes understandable (even if a contrast with the alternative interrogatives *lêma* [Ugaritic] and *lm*ܟ [Syriac] cannot be clearly established). Specifically, the presuppositional character of WH-questions is not uniform, and among such questions, *why*-questions have been shown to be far more strongly presuppositional than others (see Lawler 1971; Tomioka 2009). The use of Ugaritic *manna* in such questions is, therefore, entirely consistent with the hypothesis developed above.

In the case of the placeholder {*mn*}, the deictic morphological analysis proposed here aligns nicely with crosslinguistic tendencies in the formation of placeholders. The crosslinguistic suitability of both interrogative and demonstrative pronouns as sources for such placeholders,³³⁹

³³⁸ See Sokoloff 2009: 700, 778.

³³⁹ See Podlesskaya 2010: 12-13.

examples involving combinations of interrogatives and indexicals like English *whosit* and *whatsit*, and the fact that Akkadian made use of *annanna* (cognate to the presentative element **han(na)* described above) as a placeholder³⁴⁰ all suggest the plausibility of a comparable function for Ugaritic *mîna* (understood in the terms proposed here), even leading us to *expect* that this deictically augmented interrogative should be preferred to *mīya* in this function. This example from RS 16.265, in other words, does *not* provide evidence for a bare interrogative indefinite *mn*. It instead provides supporting evidence for an evaluation of *mn* as a deictically augmented interrogative pronoun.

4.7.4 Summary

To summarize the preceding arguments, Ugaritic exhibits the following set of WH-argument pronouns:

Table 4.6: Ugaritic Interrogative Pronouns

Form	Class	Characteristics
{my} /mīya/	person (“who?”)	unmarked; used in all argument roles
{mh} /mah/	thing (“what?”)	unmarked; used in all argument roles
{mn} /mîna/	person (“who?”)	-may take a NP complement -NP complement (overt) or that implied by ontological category is obligatorily definite (semantically) -employed exclusively in presuppositionally marked questions; existence and uniqueness of referent presupposed -can function as a WH-placeholder
{mn} /manna/	thing (“what?”)	-NP complement implied by ontological category is obligatorily definite (semantically) -employed exclusively in presuppositionally marked questions; existence and uniqueness of referent presupposed -can function as a WH-adjunct, “why?”

³⁴⁰ See discussion in ch. 3 above.

Ugaritic does not exhibit a productive selective/d-linked interrogative {áy} (the only possible examples would function as free-choice items). Nor do any of the pronominal forms given in Table 4.6 function as bare indefinites, a category for which I have found no evidence. Interrogative pronouns spelled {mn} can be accounted for semantically and morphologically on *internal* linguistic grounds in a manner with parallels in Semitic and in crosslinguistic perspective. The development of an interrogative employed in presuppositional questions is even easier to understand when we take into consideration the absence of a productive d-linked interrogative in Ugaritic. When a speaker wished to signal his/her presuppositions regarding the existence of the referent of the question, {mn} was employed. When a presupposed set from which a selection was to be made was in mind, speakers could simply modify otherwise unmarked interrogatives with partitive prepositional phrases (as in *my b ilm*, discussed above). These two strategies could be employed in tandem to cover the semantic space covered by reflexes of *'ayy- in other Semitic languages.

A major implication of this internal evaluation of {mn} is that Tropper's (2000/2012: 239-240) proposal³⁴¹ to connect one or both of these pronouns to impersonal **mīn* and personal **mann-* (attested elsewhere in Semitic) is no longer necessary. The deictic morphological augmentation derivable on internal grounds aligns in expected ways with the semantic distribution and the determiner-like syntax of {mn}. In the next chapter, I argue that this understanding of the semantics and syntax of {mn} explains naturally why {mn} served as the preferred interrogative form for the grammaticalization of marked indefinite pronouns.

The generic distribution of the two sets suggests that {mn} enjoyed broader currency in everyday texts than did {my} or {mh}, which may simply reflect the higher incidence of genuine

³⁴¹ Also entertained by Kogan (2015: 178 n. 498).

questions relative to rhetorical questions found in epistolary texts (where all such prose examples of questions are found). It may, however, suggest that these grammaticalized presuppositional interrogatives were already undergoing further semantic bleaching and that, had Ugaritic continued to be written for another century, we might see them replace {mh} and {my} altogether. The fiery destruction of the city of Ugarit at the beginning of the twelfth century which resulted in the preservation of this vast textual corpus unfortunately also requires us to leave this question open.

4.8 Conclusions

This chapter began with a comprehensive review of texts cited in the past as evidence for Ugaritic interrogative and bare interrogative indefinite pronouns. Advances in the field, including improvements in epigraphic readings, the fruits of more detailed genre-specific textual study, and the growth facilitated by the relatively recent publication of materials discovered in the House of 'Urtēnu together allow us to evaluate many of these textual examples with greater confidence and clarity than could be done in the past. The result of this reevaluation has been to exclude a number of pronominal forms and distributions previously assumed to exist. The Ugaritic language as it is currently attested did not employ bare interrogatives as indefinite pronouns, in contrast to the situation we see in other Northwest Semitic languages (and most other Semitic languages more broadly). This is likely due to the availability of two series of fully grammaticalized indefinite pronouns, discussed in the next two chapters.

I have also suggested that Ugaritic interrogative pronouns are not to be reconstructed language-internally as /mV/, but as *mīya/mah* and their more highly presuppositional counterparts *mīna/manna*. Like others, I have argued that the latter pair comprise morphological

augmentations of the former. Unlike previous studies, however, I have shown that the distribution of the two sets of pronouns can be explained in terms of the obligatory presupposition of existence and uniqueness attending questions introduced by {mn}. This distributional observation allows us to account for the morphology of these pronominal forms on *internal* grounds that find ready parallels in both comparative Semitic and crosslinguistic typological perspective. It is no longer necessary to assign divergent etymologies to personal {mn} and impersonal {mn}, nor to suggest that either or both of these constitute inherited relics cognate to (or borrowed from) East Semitic **mīn*- (“what”) and **mann*- (“who”).

These two conclusions—the unavailability of bare interrogative indefinites and the deictic morphological quality of *n*-bearing interrogatives (associated with the semantics of definiteness and, in some cases, determiner-like syntax)—will have significant implications for our understanding of the grammaticalized WH-morphological indefinite pronouns treated in the next two chapters.

Appendix 4.1: Bare Interrogatives and Indefinites in Ugaritic Reference Literature

(1) Examples of *m(-)*:

RS/RIH	KTU ³	Text	Proposed Values
RS 2.[003] ⁺ i 38	1.14 i 38	<i>m ʾt krt</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁴² interrogative (impersonal) ³⁴³
RS 3.322 ⁺ iii 46	1.19 iii 46	<i>m lk yšm</i>	indefinite (impersonal) ³⁴⁴
RS 15.008:11	2.16:11	<i>m ʾb</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁴⁵
RS 29.095:11	2.71:11	<i>p m yqh</i>	indefinite (impersonal) ³⁴⁶
NO CITATIONS			interrogative (personal) ³⁴⁷ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁴⁸ indefinite (personal) ³⁴⁹ indefinite (impersonal) ³⁵⁰

(2) Examples of *mh*:

RS/RIH	KTU ³	Text	Proposed Values
RS 2.002:53	1.23:53	<i>mh ylt</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵¹
RS 2.002:60	1.23:60	<i>mh ylt</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵²
RS 2.[004] vi 35'	1.17 vi 35	<i>mh yqh</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵³

³⁴² Gordon 1947: 247 (*mn*¹); 1955: 289 (*mn*¹); 1965/1998: 435 (*mn*¹) Gray 1964: 35 (*my ʾt > mʾt*); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:20-22, 179 (*mn*¹); 2009: 170-172, 329 (*mn*¹).

³⁴³ Aistleitner 1963: 175; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 240; 2002: 27; 2008: 67; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Sivan 2001: 59; Huehnergard 2012: 128, 150; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488.

³⁴⁴ Renfroe 1986: 70; Pardee 1997: 354 n. 115.

³⁴⁵ Gzella 2005: 314; 2007: 530.

³⁴⁶ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528.

³⁴⁷ Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179; 2009: 329.

³⁴⁸ Segert 1984: 48; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179; 2009: 330.

³⁴⁹ Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179; 2009: 329.

³⁵⁰ Aistleitner 1963: 175; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:179; 2009: 330.

³⁵¹ Gordon 1947: 244; 1955: 287; 1965/1998: 431; Aistleitner 1963: 179; Segert 1984: 84; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:30, 33, 179; 2009: 180, 184, 330.

³⁵² Gordon 1947: 244; 1955: 287; 1965/1998: 431; Aistleitner 1963: 179; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:30, 33, 179; 2009: 181, 184, 330.

³⁵³ Gordon 1947: 244; 1955: 34, 287; 1965/1998: 41, 431; Aistleitner 1963: 179; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; Sivan 2001: 59.

RS 2.[004] vi 36'	1.17 vi 36	<i>mh yqḥ</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵⁴ indefinite (impersonal) ³⁵⁵
RS 2.[008] ⁺ ii 39'	1.4 ii 39	<i>mh . . .</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵⁶
RS 2.[009] ⁺ ii 13'	1.6 ii 13	<i>mh tāršn</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵⁷
RS 2.[014] ⁺ v 28	1.3 v 28	<i>mh tāršn</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵⁸
RS 17.434 ⁺ :41'	2.73:19	<i>āt 'mh' tšk[...]</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁵⁹
NO CITATIONS			interrogative (impersonal) ³⁶⁰ indefinite (impersonal) ³⁶¹

(3) Example of *mhy*:

RS/RIH	KTU ³	Text	Proposed Values
RS [Varia 4]:9	2.14:9	<i>mhy rgmt</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁶²

(4) Examples of *my*:

RS/RIH	KTU ³	Text	Proposed Values
RS 2.[022] ⁺ vi 23'	1.5 vi 23	<i>my līm</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁶³ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁶⁴

³⁵⁴ Gordon 1947: 244; 1955: 34, 287; 1965/1998: 41, 431; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; Sivan 2001: 59.

³⁵⁵ Aistleitner 1963: 179.

³⁵⁶ Gordon 1947: 244; 1955: 287; 1965/1998: 431; Aistleitner 1963: 179; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; Sivan 2001: 59.

³⁵⁷ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32; 1955: 34; 1965/1998: 41; Aistleitner 1963: 179; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Tropper 2000/2012: 240.

³⁵⁸ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32; 1955: 34; 1965/1998: 41; Aistleitner 1963: 179; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528; Tropper 2000/2012: 240; 2008: 70; Huehnergard 2012: 36.

³⁵⁹ Pardee forthcoming *a*.

³⁶⁰ Parker 1967: 26; Segert 1984: 48, 191; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Pardee 1997: 134; 2004: 301; 2007e: 59; 2011: 464; Tropper 1999: 99; 2002: 27; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Gianto 2012: 35.

³⁶¹ Parker 1967: 25; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266; 2003: 534; 2015: 528.

³⁶² Gordon 1947: 244-245 (< *mh hy*); 1955: 287 (< *mh hy*); 1965/1998: 431 (< *mh hy*); Parker 1967: 26 (*mh=y*); Aistleitner 1963: 179 (*m + hy*); Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 240 (*mh=y*); 2002: 27 (*mh=y*); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 266 (*m hy*); 2003: 534 (*m hy*); 2015: 528 (*m hy*); Sivan 2001: 59 (< *mh hy*); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:99-100, 179 (< *mh hy*); 2009: 252-253, 330 (< *mh hy*); Tropper and Vita 2019: 488 (*mh=y*).

³⁶³ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32; 1955: 34; Segert 1984: 192; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; 2015: 599; Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2008: 83; Sivan 2001: 59.

³⁶⁴ Pardee 2012b: 115-117.

RS 2.[022] ⁺ vi 24'	1.5 vi 24	<i>my hmlt</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁶⁵ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁶⁶
RS 2.[009] ⁺ i 6	1.6 i 6	<i>my līm</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁶⁷ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁶⁸
RS 2.[009] ⁺ i 7	1.6 i 7	<i>my hmlt</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁶⁹ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁷⁰
RS 3.325 ⁺ v 14 [//10, 17, 20]	1.16 v 14 [//10, 17, 20]	<i>my b ilm</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁷¹
RS 16.395:39	4.243:39	<i>my y</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁷²
RS 92.2016:14'	1.179:14	<i>my k qdš</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁷³
RS 92.2016:33"	1.179:33	<i>my b bt</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁷⁴
NO CITATIONS			interrogative (personal) ³⁷⁵

³⁶⁵ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32; 1955: 34; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2008: 83; 2015: 599; Sivan 2001: 59.

³⁶⁶ Pardee 2012b: 115-117.

³⁶⁷ del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; 2015: 599; Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2008: 83.

³⁶⁸ Pardee 2012b: 115-117.

³⁶⁹ del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; 2015: 599; Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2008: 83.

³⁷⁰ Pardee 2012b: 115-117.

³⁷¹ Gordon 1947: 32, 245; 1955: 34, 288; 1965/1998: 41, 432; Aistleitner 1963: 183; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 310; 2003: 607; 2015: 599; Tropper 2000: 239; 2008: 83; 2012: 239; Sivan 2001: 59; Huehnergard 2012: 36.

³⁷² Aistleitner 1963: 183.

³⁷³ Tropper 2000/2012: 239; 2002: 26 n. 60; Caquot and Dalix 2001: 393, 397; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 607; 2015: 599.

³⁷⁴ Caquot and Dalix 2001: 396-397; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 607; 2015: 599.

³⁷⁵ Segert 1984: 48; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Pardee 1997: 134; 2004: 301; 2007e: 59; 2011: 464; Tropper 1999: 99; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Gianto 2012: 35; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488.

(5) Examples of *mn*:

RS/RIH	KTU ³	Text	Proposed Values
RS 2.[014] ⁺ iii 37'	1.3 iii 37	<i>mn ib yp</i> ^c	interrogative (personal) ³⁷⁶ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁷⁷ indefinite (personal) ³⁷⁸ indefinite (impersonal) ³⁷⁹
RS 2.[014] ⁺ iv 4	1.3 iv 4	<i>mnm ib</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁸⁰ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁸¹ indefinite (personal) ³⁸² indefinite (impersonal) ³⁸³
RS 2.[022] ⁺ iv 23'	1.5 iv 24	<i>mn lik</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁸⁴ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁸⁵ indefinite (personal) ³⁸⁶
RS 3.322 ⁺ i 11	1.19 i 11	<i>mn grph</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁸⁷
RS 3.325 ⁺ ii 19	1.16 ii 19	<i>mn yrḥ k</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁸⁸
RS 3.325 ⁺ ii 20	1.16 ii 20	<i>mn k</i>	interrogative (impersonal) ³⁸⁹
RS 16.265:21	5.9 iv 2	<i>ḏ mn</i>	indefinite (personal) ³⁹⁰

³⁷⁶ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 34, 289; 1965/1998: 41, 435; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 239; 2002: 26; 2008: 74; Sivan 2001: 59; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:15, 17, 179; 2009: 165, 167, 329; Huehnergard 2012: 36.

³⁷⁷ Segert 1984: 84; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 281; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Huehnergard 2012: 36.

³⁷⁸ Aistleitner 1963: 187. He translated “Welcher” (1939: 198) and “irgendein” (1959: 27). That a personal pronoun is intended is clear from his remarks in 1939 (p. 202) and his citation here of only personal interrogative pronouns in other Semitic languages as comparanda (1963: 187).

³⁷⁹ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32.

³⁸⁰ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 34, 289; 1965/1998: 41, 435; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 239; 2002: 26; Sivan 2001: 59; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; II:15, 17, 179; 2009: 42, 166, 167, 329.

³⁸¹ del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 281; 2003: 560; 2015: 553.

³⁸² Aistleitner 1963: 187. H translates “Was für ein” (1939: 198) and “irgendein” (1959: 28). That a personal pronoun is intended is clear from his remarks in 1939 (p. 202) and his citation here of only personal interrogative pronouns in other Semitic languages as comparanda (1963: 187).

³⁸³ Gordon 1940: 28; 1947: 32.

³⁸⁴ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 289; 1965/1998: 435; Aistleitner 1963: 187; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 239; 2002: 26.

³⁸⁵ Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 239, 241; 2002: 27; 2008: 74.

³⁸⁶ del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2002: 556; 2003: 560; 2015: 553.

³⁸⁷ Tropper 2000/2012: 241 (“unwahrscheinlich”).

³⁸⁸ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 34, 289; 1965/1998: 41, 435; Aistleitner 1963: 188 (treated as a separate lexeme, “wieviel?”); Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 241; 2002: 27 n. 62; 2008: 74; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 281-282; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Sivan 2001: 59.

³⁸⁹ Gordon 1947: 246; 1955: 34, 289; 1965/1998: 41, 435; Aistleitner 1963: 188 (treated as a separate lexeme, “wieviel?”); Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 241; 2002: 27 n. 62; 2008: 74; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 281-282; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Sivan 2001: 59.

³⁹⁰ Pardee forthcoming *a*.

RS 18.140:24'	2.45:25	<i>mn bnš d likt</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁹¹ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁹² indefinite (personal) ³⁹³
RS 34.124:22	2.72:22	<i>p mn likt</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁹⁴ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁹⁵ indefinite (personal) ³⁹⁶ indefinite (impersonal) ³⁹⁷
RS 88.2159:14	2.84:14	<i>mn 'ps</i>	interrogative (personal) ³⁹⁸ interrogative (impersonal) ³⁹⁹ indefinite (personal) ⁴⁰⁰
RS [Varia 14]:3	3.9:3	<i>šm mn</i>	indefinite (personal) ⁴⁰¹
RS [Varia 14]:11	3.9:11	<i>šm mn</i>	indefinite (personal) ⁴⁰²
RS [Varia 14]:15	3.9:15	<i>šm mn</i>	indefinite (personal) ⁴⁰³
NO CITATIONS			interrogative (personal) ⁴⁰⁴ interrogative (impersonal) ⁴⁰⁵ indefinite (personal) ⁴⁰⁶ indefinite (impersonal) ⁴⁰⁷

³⁹¹ Tropper 2000/2012: 239; Sivan 2001: 59.

³⁹² Parker 1967: 25; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 239, 241; 2002: 27.

³⁹³ Gordon 1965/1998: 435; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2002: 556; 2003: 560; 2015: 553.

³⁹⁴ Tropper 2000/2012: 241.

³⁹⁵ Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 241; 2002: 27; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2003: 560; 2015: 553; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:90-91, 179; 2009: 242-243, 330.

³⁹⁶ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 554, 556.

³⁹⁷ Brooke 1979: 70, 76.

³⁹⁸ Tropper 2000/2012: 239.

³⁹⁹ Tropper 2000/2012: 239, 241.

⁴⁰⁰ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 560; 2015: 553.

⁴⁰¹ Mandell 2019: 58 with n. 67, 60.

⁴⁰² Mandell 2019: 58 with n. 67, 60.

⁴⁰³ Mandell 2019: 58 with n. 67, 60.

⁴⁰⁴ Parker 1967: 25; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488.

⁴⁰⁵ Parker 1967: 25; Segert 1984: 49; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Gianto 2012: 35; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488.

⁴⁰⁶ Pardee 1997: 134; 2004: 301; 2007e: 59; 2011: 465; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42.

⁴⁰⁷ Pardee 2011: 465.

Chapter 5

The Ugaritic Indefinite *m*-Series (*mnm*)

5.0 Introduction: The Ugaritic Indefinite Series (*m*-series and *k*-series)

In ch. 2, I discussed the crosslinguistic tendency for indefinite pronouns to participate in *series*, the constituents of which all share an indefiniteness marker in common, while the morphological component indicating the ontological category of the referent changes (e.g., the English *any*-series: *any-one*, *any-thing*, *any-where*, etc.). I argue that a similar situation is observable in Ugaritic, in which pronouns bearing a final *-m* (personal and impersonal *mnm*) can be distinguished systematically from those bearing a final *-k* (personal and impersonal *mnk*, impersonal *mhk*). The present chapter and the next accordingly comprise closely related treatments of the two indefinite pronominal series found in the Ugaritic language, the *m*-series (*mn-m*) and the *k*-series (*mh-k/mn-k*). While these are appropriately treated in separate chapters, there are inevitable points of overlap. For example, the history of discussion of these two series is most conveniently presented together, and once both series have been described independently, a comparison of the two must be conducted in a final synthesis discussion. I accordingly present the history of discussion for *both* series immediately below and conclude the next chapter with a section comparing the *m*-series and *k*-series. The structure of the two chapters will otherwise be essentially identical: an exhaustive presentation of the data will be followed by an analysis of the syntax, semantics, pragmatics, morphology, and grammaticalization of the pronouns concerned.

5.1 History of Discussion: Ugaritic *mnm* and *mhk/mnk*

The first Ugaritic indefinite pronoun to surface as a result of the combined efforts of archaeologists and epigraphers appeared in a letter, RS 4.475, discovered in 1932 on the Acropolis in the “House of the High Priest” (p.t. 431) (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 34).

(1) **RS 4.475:14-19¹** (epistolary)

hm . nṯkp (15) m‘nk (16) w . **mnm** (17) rgm . d . tšm‘ (18) tmt . w . št (19) b . spr
 . ‘my

himma naṯkapū ma‘nû=ka wa MNM

if strike-N.PFV.3MP answer-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS and WH=M

rigmu dū tišma‘u tammati wa šit

word-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL hear-G.IPFV.2MS there and put-G.IPV.2MS

bi sipri ‘imma=ya

in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS to=me.1CS

“If they have been struck, your answer and **any/whatever** word (there is) that you hear there, put (them) in a letter to me.”

Suffering the same fate as its Phoenician cognate had years earlier,² the pronoun {mnm} was not initially recognized as an indefinite pronoun. Dhorme (1933: 237) understood the form to consist of a preposition *mn* with a 3mp pronominal suffix, “d’eux, à leur sujet.” Within a year, however, the correct interpretation was made available, as first Albright (1934: 26) and, shortly thereafter, Ginsberg and Maisler (1934: 250) independently reached the conclusion that {mnm}

¹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 233 (with earlier bibliography).

² See discussion in ch. 3.

constituted a Northwest Semitic cognate to the better-known Western Peripheral Akkadian indefinite pronouns.³ This conclusion was quickly promoted to the status of consensus,⁴ so that by 1941, Albright could claim that it was “accepted by all” (1941: 48 n. 34). I should quickly add, however, that not every instance of the graphic sequence {mnm} was to be interpreted as the indefinite.⁵

The pronoun {mnm} was eventually joined by the forms {mnk} and {mnkm}, both of which appeared in juridical texts (RS 15.111 [both forms]; RS 15.125 [*mnkm*]) discovered in 1951 in the Central Archives of the Royal Palace.⁶

³ Albright (1934: 237) cited “*minumme*,” while Ginsberg and Maisler (1934: 25) cited “*manâma, mênumma*.” Following an oral communication of the prominent Talmudist J. N. Epstein, Ginsberg and Maisler also became the first to identify the Phoenician {mnm} as an indefinite in print.

⁴ See Dhorme 1934: 396; Gaster 1935: 475; Ginsberg and Maisler 1935: 181-184 (though Ginsberg oddly continues to consider the possibility of an etymological connection to Aramaic {m'n}, “vessel,” for the Phoenician cognate [1937:140]); Albright 1941: 48 with n. 34.

⁵ Considerable irony is to be found in the fact that Loewenstamm, who contributed more than anyone to the early elucidation of these pronouns, mistook the form {mnm} in the double formula of well-being (taken up further below in sec. 5.2.2.1) as an interrogative, thereby eliminating the large majority of attestations of this indefinite altogether (1958-1959: 75 = 1980: 60). Loewenstamm was not the only one to adopt this position, as Pardee (2003: 454-455 n. 27) has illustrated in a study, the genesis of which was prompted at least in part by the obstinate tenacity of this very interpretation, which appears even in a relatively recent reference grammar (Sivan 2001: 59; see Pardee 2003: 446).

⁶ RS 15.111 was discovered one meter beneath the surface in “cour VI,” p.t. 174 (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 89), while RS 15.125 came to light approximately twenty-two meters to the North-Northeast and almost two meters deeper (2.40 m) in “pièce 31,” p.t. 155 (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 90).

(2) **RS 15.111:12-17⁷** (legal)

mnk . (13) **m`n`km** . l . yqḥ (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ‘bdmlk . . . (17) . . . ‘`d . ‘lm

MNK MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā

WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this

bîdê ‘abdîmilki . . . ‘adê ‘ālamî

from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“No one at all shall take this house from the possession of ‘*Abdîmilku* . . .

forever.”

(3) **RS 15.125:12'-15'⁸** (legal)

w **mnkm** . l yqḥ (13') spr . mlk . hnd (14') b yd . ṣṭqšlm (15') ‘d ‘lm

wa MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu sipra malki

and WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS document-ACC.M.SG.CSTR king-GEN.M.SG.ABS

hannadā bi yadi ṣṭqîšalimî ‘adê ‘ālamî

this from hand-GEN.M.SG.CSTR PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“And **no one** shall take this royal document from the hand of *Ṣṭqîšalimu* forever.”

Because of the contexts in which the forms appeared, a personal interpretation was required, and the availability of a term thought to be synonymous (*bnš*) quickly led scholars to

⁷ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

⁸ For the text, see Pardee 2010a: 104.

indefinite interpretations⁹ (though the precise morphological composition would not be settled for some time¹⁰).

⁹ See Virolleaud 1953: 188 n. 3; Gordon 1955: 289; Virolleaud 1957: 18, 22, 211 (exhibiting reserve regarding the precise value [he translates *mnk mnkm* in RS 15.111:12-13 as “Qu’aucun (13) *mnk* ne prenne”] but apparently already suspecting an indefinite interpretation, offering the gloss “quelqu’un, personne” [p. 211]); Albright 1958: 38 n. 11; Loewenstamm 1959: 247 with n. 19 (= 1980: 85 n. 19); 1958-1959: 75-77 (= 1980: 60-62); Virolleaud 1957-1960 (1959): 65; Eissfeldt 1960: 39; Pennacchietti 1963: 221-222 n. 64 (so Liverani 1964: 200 n. 6; Pennacchietti’s dissertation was never published and is not available to me); Liverani 1964: 199-200; Parker 1967: 26; Aartun 1974: 49, 56; Caquot, Szyner, and Herdner 1974: 44; Kienast 1979: 446, 448; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 242, 836; 2002: 27; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 283; 2003: 563; 2015: 556; Sivan 2001: 59; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Schniedewind and Hunt 2007: 157; Huehnergard 2012: 151; Williams 2012: 60.

¹⁰ Virolleaud (1953: 188 n. 3; 1957: 18, 22, 211) offered no discussion of etymology. Gordon appears to have been the first to assay an etymological explanation, suggesting *mannu* + 2ms suffix, “whoever thou art” and, contextually, “person” (1955: 289, no. 1129a). Since the text in which the form in question appears was not published until 1957 (*PRU* II), we must assume that Gordon’s knowledge of the pronoun derived from his access to pre-publication drafts of Virolleaud’s editions (see Gordon 1955: vii). His etymological solution, by which the final *-k* was analyzed as a pronominal suffix, would have found ready Akkadian parallels if the pronoun in question had been impersonal (e.g., *mimmûka*, “whatever you have, your possessions”), but the proposal is more problematic for a personal indefinite, especially as it requires the pronominal suffix to function semantically as the subject of a verbless clause (not “your whoever” but “whoever you are”).

He may have been led to this proposal by his familiarity with Nuzi Akkadian, where he claimed to find *attamannu*, a “distributive pronoun” meaning “each” (Gordon 1938: 43). In his 1938 study of this peripheral dialect, Gordon cited Phoenician *my ’t*, “whoever thou art,” from Tabnit’s inscription (= *KAI* 13:3) (following a personal communication from Albright) and Akkadian {at-ta man-nu}, “whoever thou (m.) art” and {at-ti man-nu} “whoever thou (f.) art” in *Maqlû* iv 3 (1938: 43 n. 1) as comparanda for the combination of interrogative and personal pronouns (and his understanding of the latter has stood the test of time [*CAD*, *attamannu*, A/2, p. 509; Abusch 2011: 28; 2016: 317]). Neither bears much similarity to the value of Nuzi *attamannu*, but both would have constituted nice parallels for his interpretation of Ugaritic *mnk* if it were not for the important fact that the pronominal element in the latter of these is suffixal according to Gordon. In any event, he saw no need to cite these parallels in his 1955 grammar. For Gordon, the form *mnkm* simply constituted the “plural” of *mnk*, that is, *mannu* + 2mp pronominal suffix (1955: 289, no. 1129a).

Loewenstamm was the first to offer the morphological interpretation of this item that would come to represent the scholarly consensus. He suggested that {mnkm} consisted of *mn* + *k* + *m* (1959: 247 n. 19 = 1980: 85 n. 19). Though he offered no discussion of these components in his 1959 treatment, the presentation makes it clear that he did not accept Gordon’s analysis. The point was made more explicitly in his study of Ugaritic pronouns, which appeared shortly thereafter (1958-1959: 76 = 1980: 61) and in which he treated both the *k* and the final *m* (in the case of *mnkm*) as deictic elements. (Note that Loewenstamm also raised the question of connecting *mnk* to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic interrogative *m’nky* [1958-1959: 76 n. 35]; the suggestion is softened, though not, it seems, altogether retracted in an addition to this note in 1980: 62 n. 35.)

A similar view seems to inform Virolleaud’s remarks from November 18, 1959 (1957-1960: 65), and Eissfeldt accepted Loewenstamm’s position regarding the status of the final *m* of *mnkm* explicitly (1960: 39; he does not comment on the identification of *k* as a deictic element, which had not been made in Loewenstamm 1959, to which Eissfeldt had access at the time). The analysis is accepted by Liverani (1964: 199-200 with n. 6; he cites Eissfeldt on p. 200 n.3, missing Loewenstamm’s contribution to the discussion), who offers a semantic explanation for the addition of the enclitic *-m* in the expression *mnk mnkm*.

This analysis has been well received, on the whole, (Parker 1967: 26, 41-42 n. 39; Aartun 1974: 49, 56; Kienast 1979: 446, 448; Tropper 2000/2012: 242, 836; 2002: 27; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 283; 2003: 563; 2015: 556; Sivan 2001: 59; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Huehnergard 2012: 151), though Gordon continued to hold to his etymological proposal (1965: 434-35, no. 1503, where, however, he adds the possibility of a Hurrian loan). Segert still mentioned the possibility of treating {mhkm} as a “(pseudo-)pl.(?)” of

The list of attested indefinite pronouns was to see further augmentation following the discoveries of RS 16.379 (unearthed in 1952), in which the form {mhkm} appeared (l. 22), and RS 18.031 (discovered in 1954), in which the shorter {mhk} was first attested (l. 26).¹¹

(4) **RS 16.379:20-24**¹² (epistolary)

w . ʾát (21) ʾumy . ʾál . tdḥ^ṛ ṣ^ṛ (22) w . ʾáp . **mhkm** (23) b . lbk . ʾál . (24) tšt

wa ʾatti ʾummi=ya ʾal tidḥaṣī wa

and you.2FS mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS NEG be.disturbed-G.JUSS.2FS and

*ʾapa **MHK=ma** bi libbi=ki ʾal tašītī*

FOC WH=K=FOC in heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2FS NEG put-G.JUSS.2FS

“As for you, my mother, do not be disturbed; in fact, do not worry at all (lit. ‘do not put **anything** in your heart’).”

{mhk} (since he does not treat {mnk(m)}, I must assume that he would have addressed its morphological composition similarly) as late as 1984 (Segert 1984: 191).

It is surprising to see a recently published introductory grammar explaining these forms as the pronoun *mn* “combined with pronoun suffixes to add indefiniteness”: /mannuka/, “whoever you(ms) are” and /mannukumū/, “whoever you(mp) are” (Williams 2012: 60). Williams seems to be following Gordon, though not even Gordon suggested the plausibility of a second person pronoun in the actual translation of this pronoun (recall that he suggested the contextual value, “person”).

¹¹ RS 16.379 was discovered in the Central Archives (“pièce 64”) of the Royal Palace, p.t. 537, at 2.95 meters (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 120). RS 18.031, found two years later, belonged to the lot of tablets discovered in what was once thought to be a tablet oven in Court V of the Royal Palace (p.t. 1331 at 2.90 m) (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 158). For a reassessment of the archaeological situation, see Margueron 1995; for the epigraphic situation, see Hawley, Malbran-Labat, and Roche 2008.

¹² For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 237-238 (with further bibliography).

(5) **RS 18.031:26-27**¹³ (epistolary)

w . àḥy **mhk** (27) b . lbh . àl . yšt

wa 'aḥû=ya

MHK bi libbi=hu

and brother-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.ICS WH=K in heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS

'al yašit

NEG put-G.JUSS.3MS

“And let my brother not worry at all (lit. ‘not put **anything** in his heart’).”

Though these texts were not published until 1957 (*PRU* II, no. 13) and 1965 (*PRU* V, no. 59), respectively, both forms had been mentioned already by 1955. Virolleaud (1955: 77) described a section of RS 18.031, in which the king of Tyre

assure le roi son frère qu’il n’y a pas lieu de s’inquiéter, ce qu’il exprime en trois mots: *mhk blbh al yšt* qui signifient littéralement: « qu’il (mon frère) ne mette pas dans son coeur de *mhk* », vocable assez étrange, qui donnera du souci aux étymologistes, mais dont le sens general est assez clair, et qu’on a rencontré précédemment dans la letter d’un fils qui, pour rassurer sa mère, dans des circonstances pénibles, la conjure de « ne pas mettre de *mhkm* (pluriel de *mhk*) dans son coeur ».

The identification of the form {mhk} in RS 18.031 with the longer {mhkm} in RS 16.379, evident here, found additional expression in Gordon’s *Ugaritic Manual* (an instance in which he seems to have had early access to Virolleaud’s editions¹⁴). As Virolleaud had predicted,

¹³ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 238-239 (with further bibliography).

¹⁴ See Gordon 1955: vii.

the etymology of the pronoun did create trouble, and Gordon's (1955: 287, no. 1073a) interpretation of the term as a noun meaning "care, worry" constituted little more than an attempt to make contextual sense of its use. A similar interpretation appeared in Virolleaud's (1957: 29) edition of RS 16.379, where the term was translated "soucis (?)." Though he did not publish RS 18.031 until 1965 (with a preliminary discussion and partial translation appearing in 1959), he was naturally aware of this second text (as we have just seen) and saw fit to note in his glossary entry in *PRU* II (1957: 210) that the form {mhkm} (which he does not gloss) constituted the plural of {mhk}.

Significantly, neither Gordon nor Virolleaud exhibited any suspicion that {mhk(m)} was in fact related to the indefinite pronoun {mnk(m)}. The first to make the connection between these forms and to identify the former as an indefinite was Loewenstamm (1958-1959: 75-76 = 1980: 61), who suggested a comparable etymology for both, consisting of an interrogative pronoun augmented by a deictic (רימוזיה) element *-k-* and enclitic *-m*. This suggestion quickly gained followers, and relatively few voices were heard thereafter in support of the earlier nominal interpretation.¹⁵ In fact, in the same year in which Loewenstamm published his arguments, Virolleaud (1957-1960 [1959]: 65) offered a preliminary presentation and translation of parts of RS 18.031, in the comments to which he indicated that *mhk* should be understood to consist of the interrogative *mh* and a further element *-k*, the whole being translated "quoique ce soit." Significantly, he drew a direct connection between this form and the personal indefinite

¹⁵ Dahood believed he had found an Akkadian cognate meaning "worry" (1959: 160-161 n. 1); Donner similarly translated the term "Sorgen," though without offering any express analysis (1959: 114); Gordon maintained his interpretation of the form in his *Ugaritic Textbook* (1965: 431, no. 1439), and in this particular Ahl hewed to the line set down by her advisor (1973: 429-430). Pardee (1984a: 226) noted the Arabic root $\sqrt{m}hk$ "with ideas of 'crushing' and 'being exhausted,'" but he concluded that the "analysis as an indefinite pronoun is the more probable in light of the Akkadian parallel cited by Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín (EA 170:41; UF 6 [1974] 32)."

mnk, “qui que ce soit.”¹⁶ This interpretation of {mhk} and {mhkm} as a single impersonal indefinite corresponding formally to {mnk(m)} and consisting morphologically of the interrogative *mh* + *k* +/- enclitic *-m* has been accepted essentially without exception in more recent scholarship.¹⁷

In spite of the fact that *mnm*, *mnk(m)*, and *mhk(m)* have now been recognized as morphologically distinct indefinite pronouns, the only studies to treat these pronouns as a *system* since Loewenstamm’s pioneering 1958-1959 article are those appearing in standard reference tools and introductory grammars and handbooks.¹⁸ As a rule, these treatments have focused on two questions, with a third often lurking at the margins. The first and most consistently treated question pertains to morphological composition and etymology. In keeping with a long tradition of morphologically oriented treatments of indefinite pronouns in the comparative Semitic literature,¹⁹ grammarians treating Ugaritic Indefinite Pronouns have been most interested in establishing the fact that each of these pronouns consists of an interrogative pronoun augmented by various enclitic elements (the functions of which are rarely discussed).²⁰

¹⁶ Virolleaud makes no reference to Loewenstamm, and as he does not explain this shift in his own thinking (to which no allusion is evident in his 1957 publication of RS 16.379), it is impossible to determine what led him to this conclusion. He maintains this connection in *PRU* V (1965: 82-83).

¹⁷ See Dietrich and Loretz 1966: 130; Parker 1967: 26; Blau and Loewenstamm 1970: 31-32 (without explicit morphological analysis); Aartun 1974: 22, 42, 49, 56; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1974b: 32; Bron 1973-1979: 707-709 (June 20, 1979); Pardee 1984a: 226; Cunchillos 1989a: 324 n. 19; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 243, 836; 2002: 27; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 267; 2003: 535; 2015: 529; Sivan 2001: 60; Pardee 2002b: 93 n. 33; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56; 2009: 42; Schniedewind and Hunt 2007: 197; Huehnergard 2012: 151. Aistleitner (1963: 179) diverged from this explanatory tradition by describing the form {mhkm} as bearing a second-person pronominal suffix.

¹⁸ Treatments of varying detail can be found in Gordon 1940, 1947, 1955, 1965; Aistleitner 1963; Parker 1967; Segert 1984; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000, 2003, 2015; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995; Tropper 1999, 2000/2012, 2002; Sivan 2001; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004, 2009; Pardee 2004, 2007e, 2011; Schniedewind and Hunt 2007; Huehnergard 2012; Williams 2012; Tropper and Vita 2019. The omission of Faber 1988 is not an oversight. Though she discusses Semitic indefinites in some detail, Faber insists that Ugaritic has no indefinite pronouns bearing the *-m* suffix characteristic of indefinite pronouns in many Semitic languages: “While *mnm* does in fact exist, it is an indefinite relative pronoun” (1988: 228).

¹⁹ See, e.g., Wright 1890: 125; Zimmern 1898: 77-80; Brockelmann 1908: 328-329; 1913: 81-86, 570-577; Barth 1913: 169-176; Bergsträsser 1928: 9; Moscati 1960: 110-111; 1964: 115; Garbini 1960: 108; Lipiński 1997: 330-331; 2001: 338-339; Kienast 2001: 55; Haelewyck 2006: 110-112; Goldenberg 2013: 113.

²⁰ See the treatments identified in n. 18 above.

The second topic, which receives far less frequent discussion, pertains to syntax.

Treatments of Ugaritic indefinite pronominal syntax have typically made appeal to the Akkadian situation, according to which a case of indefinite pronoun + NP (e.g., *minummê šulmānu/i*) is understood in terms of either apposition or a genitive relationship.²¹ The deficiency of such treatments becomes apparent when we consider the syntactic variety observable in the data gathered and presented in the next section (Ugaritic *mmm*, as it turns out, may be used independently, with NP complements, and with clausal complements).

The third question occasionally raised addresses the degree to which Ugaritic indefinite pronoun usage reflects or even calques contemporary Akkadian forms.²² Noticeably absent from these treatments is any attempt to address the semantics of the Ugaritic indefinite pronouns and the syntactic and semantic dependencies that license their usage in specific contexts. Previous studies have offered glosses of these items, including an identification of their ontological status (personal/impersonal), as a substitute for semantic analysis. Largely because our grammatical awareness of indefinite pronouns and their uses has tended to remain at a pre-theoretical level for much longer than for other (even closely related) function words, the reference grammars do not offer even a rough functional taxonomy like those so often proffered in treatments of other

²¹ See, e.g., Ginsberg and Maisler 1934: 250; Gordon 1940: 28; Dietrich and Loretz 2009b: 122. The Akkadian situation has been noted by Pardee (2003: 454 n. 26), who remains more appropriately circumspect regarding the relevance of this situation to the analysis of the Ugaritic lexeme. Tropper (2012: 243-244 [sec. 45.122]) observes that *mmm* can be used both absolutely or before a noun, but he introduces syntactic confusion when he claims that it can “adjektivisch fungieren,” since he does not make it clear whether he believes an attributive adjectival relationship to obtain between *mmm* and a following noun or some other sort of relationship. As already noted above (n. 19), Faber suggested that *mmm* constitutes an indefinite relative pronoun, not a strict indefinite pronoun at all (1988: 228). Her suggestion appears to rest principally on the suitability of English *whatever* as a gloss for *mmm* in a context like RS 18.075:20-21 (the only example she cites), and no further analyses are entertained.

²² See del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 556 (referring to {mn} in RS 34.124:22 as a possible shortening of the “gewöhnlichen (Ug.-)akk. *mannummê* „irgendeiner““); Dietrich and Loretz 2009b: 122 (“eine Entlehnung des Koine-Babylonischen *mīnummê*”).

pronouns, conjunctions, and adverbs. The purpose of this chapter and the next is to fill this important gap in our understanding of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns.

5.2 The *m*-series (*mnm*): Introduction and Data

The first series of pronouns discussed here is also the best attested. The pronouns concerned are written uniformly as {mnm}, with no further augmentation currently attested. Because texts are available in which the referent of this pronoun is human and non-human, we may reasonably suppose that animacy was marked by contrasting vowels and consonantal length (neither of which is orthographically represented), likely reflecting the distinction found in the interrogative system between *mîna*, “who,” and *manna*, “what” (both written {mn}). I return to this topic in the discussion of morphology below. First, however, I present the results of an exhaustive survey of the Ugaritic corpus, gathering all examples of the pronoun *mnm* and classifying them on the basis of animacy and surface-syntax features that are readily perceivable from an empirical standpoint. The latter is not intended to prejudice the syntactic discussion—in fact, I reach conclusions in this discussion that differ slightly from the provisional arrangement of the data presented below. This arrangement should accordingly be engaged as reflecting a first pass, subject to further revision and refinement below.

The data gathered here are presented according to several conventions. First, I make an effort to represent alternative interpretive approaches (and the syntactic analyses they presuppose) by liberally offering multiple translations for each text when such are plausibly available. These translations are designed to be readable English renderings, but greater emphasis has been placed on representing the semantics and syntax—especially of indefinite pronouns—as precisely as possible than on colloquial expression. As a result, these translations

are often pedantic, but they should also be more easily correlated with the syntactic and semantic assumptions that motivate them than would smoother renderings or paraphrases. Second, for each text I provide a brief description of the context of the attestation as well as any morphosyntactic or lexical commentary deemed essential to the understanding of the example advanced here. Such commentary is not intended to be exhaustive²³ nor to defend every decision represented in this presentation of the data, but rather targets interpretive issues having direct bearing on our understanding of the indefinite pronouns concerned. Third, the indefinite pronoun is left unvocalized in each cited example; the appropriate vocalization will be identified following the discussion of morphology below. Finally, each text citation is accompanied by a footnote directing readers to an autopsy-based and, as often as possible, conveniently accessible presentation of the text. This is intended to ensure epigraphic accuracy and to facilitate ready reference for those interested in examining the entire text more closely.

5.2.1 Personal

A pronoun *mm* with personal referent is found in three texts, two of which were only discovered in 1994 and first published in 2012. As the first example—discovered in the fifteenth campaign and published in 1957—has been interpreted by some as an impersonal indefinite (see below), it is only together with the more recent finds that the existence of a personal indefinite *mm* in Ugaritic can be firmly established. The texts are presented here in the order of their discovery together with remarks pertaining to the context and interpretation. In each case,

²³ In this chapter, I typically abstain from more extensive literature reviews attempting to consider all interpretive possibilities of the sort offered in the last chapter. This decision is motivated by the following factors: (1) the indefinite pronouns (especially *mm*) are better attested than the interrogative pronouns, providing us with more data to inform our conclusions; (2) because the indefinite pronouns are morphologically augmented relative to their bare-interrogative counterparts, they are more empirically accessible—they never consist of only one consonant, and their identification is, in most cases, not open to question; (3) many of the attestations are found in formulaic or routine expressions in epistolary and juridical texts, which facilitates interpretive efforts considerably.

multiple translations are offered, intended to capture alternative syntactic analyses of *mnm*, to be discussed further below.

(6) **RS 15.128:5-9²⁴** (legal)

w . mnm . šálm (6) dt . tknn (7) 'l . 'rbnm (8) hn hmt (9) tknn

wa MNM ša''ālūma dūti takūnūna 'alê 'urubānīma

and WH-M inquirer-NOM.M.PL.ABS REL-PL be-G.IPFV.3MP against guarantor-OBL.M.PL.ABS

hanna humati takūnūna

PRES DEM-OBL.M.PL be-G.IPFV.3MP

- a. “And any inquirers that may come (lit. be) should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”
- b. “And whoever the inquirers (are) who may come (lit. be), they should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”

Context: RS 15.128 is a guarantee text, documenting the fact that the individuals named at the end of the document (ll. 10-13) have agreed to stand as guarantors (‘*rbnm* /‘*urubānūma*/(?)²⁵) for *Mattēnu*, son of ‘*Ayya* ‘*aḥû*, with respect to labor he is expected to complete (*b ḥbth ḥwt tth*).²⁶ The lines quoted above indicate that any future inquirers ({šálm}, /ša''ālūma/) that may arrive ({tknn} /takūnūna/)²⁷ should direct their (legal) inquiries to the guarantors named at the end of the document.

²⁴ For the text, see Virolleaud 1957: 188; *KTU* 3.3.

²⁵ For this approximate vocalization and the syllabic data supporting it, see Huehnergard 2008: 162.

²⁶ The interpretation of this expression is debated but does not have immediate bearing on the analysis of *mnm šálm*. The position represented here is that found in Pardee 2003-2004: 66; Pardee with Hawley 2010: 134. Cf. Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1991: 189-190 (with earlier bibliography); Tropper and Vita 2004: 117.

²⁷ Certainly a G imperfective verbal form (so Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1991: 190; Tropper 2000/2012: 459) rather than a L-stem form, as del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2015: 443) suggest (for earlier proponents, see Hoftijzer and

Comment: The term {šālm} is taken by some to refer to demands²⁸ rather than to individuals making such demands. Those who favor this approach will identify *mnm* in this text as impersonal.²⁹ The orthography, however, is consistent with that expected for a *qattāl*- noun (a typical noun pattern employed for designating agents),³⁰ and the juridical formulaic norms speak in favor of reading this stipulation as one applying to individuals.³¹ The interpretation of {hn hmt} here is that suggested by Tropper (2000/2012: 230-231).³²

van Soldt 1991: 199): “any claims they bring up.” A 3mp imperfective L-stem form should appear as *takāninūna* {tknnn}, not {tknn}.

²⁸ Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1991: 189-190 (with earlier bibliography); Clemens 2001: 199 with n. 281; Tropper and Vita 2004: 117; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 785. This position was presented more confidently in the first edition of Tropper’s grammar (2000: 230, 244, 295, 687, 688, 898, 903) than in the second (2012: 230, 244, 295, 687, 688, 898, 903), reflecting engagement with Pardee’s response to the first edition (see especially Pardee 2003-2004: 98-99).

²⁹ Tropper 2000/2012: 244.

³⁰ A position likely reflected in the editor’s “enquêteurs” (Virolleaud 1957: 189). See further Pardee 2003-2004: 98-99, basing his position in part on RS 17.073:2, where {šāl[. . .]} must refer to an individual rather than an action or object (discussed in Pardee 2007a). If a noun referring to a “demand” or “inquiry” could be independently identified (the present text offers the only instance of *šāl*- thought to refer to a demand [see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 785]), then these lines could be plausibly interpreted as “any demands there may be shall be incumbent upon those guarantors.” Yet the evidence furnished by RS 17.073 suggests that the editor was on the right track. See further Pardee with Hawley 2010: 134.

³¹ Among Ugaritic legal documents, attempts to inform, permit, or prevent future eventualities are uniformly directed toward anticipated *human* agents, not impersonal entities such as “demands” or “inquiries” (see Burlingame forthcoming *a* for discussion and parallels, which include RS 15.111:12-17; RS 15.125:1'-5', 12'-15'; RS 16.382:15-20; RS 19.066:13-16; RS 94.2168:11-29; RS 94.2965:11-14; RS [Varia 14]:12-17; RS [Varia 31]:11-13). Observe further that Akkadian legal texts dealing with surety relationships likewise present future eventualities in terms of the actions taken by explicitly identified human agents (see Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1991: 193-196; Lackenbacher 2002: 327; and van Soldt 2010b: 123 for examples).

³² For an alternative approach, see Pardee 2003-2004: 137. The identical distributions of *hn hmt* here and *hnm* elsewhere lead me to believe that we are dealing with allomorphs of the same expression (i.e., with or without full cliticization of *han(na)* and an associated progressive assimilation *nh > nn*): *han(na) humati* vs. *hannumati* (< *han=humati*), as Tropper suggests. Treating {hn} in the present text as an independent presentative, as does Pardee, results in the following translation: “against the guarantors, even these, they should appear” (Pardee 2003-2004: 137). I have not found other examples of *hn* employed as a marker of focus (such as *verum focus* or additive scalar focus, as this translation suggests), for which *ap* would perhaps be expected. It rather functions as a true presentative (*voici/voilà*, Biblical Hebrew *hinne^h*) or as something semantically closer to a definite determiner (i.e., incorporating a presupposition of existence and uniqueness/maximality; see discussion in the preceding chapter [sec. 4.7.3.3]). We might accordingly treat *hn* here as the Ugaritic counterpart to *i.e.* or *scil.:* “against the guarantors, namely, these (following), they should appear.” But I have not been able to find any comparable cases in which *hn* serves to introduce an appositive in this manner. Because other demonstrative pronouns and adverbs frequently incorporate *hn* in their morphology (e.g., *hnd*, “this”), I suspect that this feature has been extended analogically to the use of the third-person oblique anaphoric pronoun *hmt* when used as a demonstrative adjective. The availability of forms with and without cliticization (i.e., *hn hmt* alongside *hnm*) may point to a situation in which the grammaticalization of the form is underway but not yet complete.

(7) **RS 94.2457:22'-23'**³³ (epistolary)

[. . .]mláktk (23') [. . .]mnm . ʾál . yns

. . . mal'aktV=kV . . . MNM 'al yanus

messenger.party-?.F.SG.SUFF=your.2?S WH-M NEG flee-G.JUSS.3MS

“ . . . your messenger party . . . let no one flee (lit. let not anyone flee)!”

Context: The tablet RS 94.2457 bears a partially preserved letter treating various topics, including the situation of certain *bunušu*-personnel. The tablet is too fragmentary to permit a coherent interpretation of the whole, but it concludes with a demand for news regarding any information the addressee hears (ll. 20'-21', discussed below) and what appears to be a final injunction, warning the addressee to ensure that no one flees.³⁴

Comment: As noted above, the form {mnm} found in RS 15.128 has received both personal and impersonal interpretations. The present text is the first text discovered in which a personal interpretation for {mnm} is required if {mnm} is to be understood as an entire lexeme. This interpretive position presented by the editors (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 195, 196) has been accepted by Tropper, incorporated in a new paragraph in the second edition of his grammar (2012: 242). The alternative possibility allowed by the editors—that *mnm* is impersonal and functions adverbially here (“d’aucune manière”)—has no clear Ugaritic parallels (though see

³³ For the text see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 194-196; Pardee forthcoming *a*.

³⁴ So Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 194-196; Tropper 2012: 242; Pardee forthcoming *a*. Prosser (2010: 545) suggests “whoever does not flee,” but the prohibitor {ʾál} is used for deontic modal negation (i.e., second-person prohibitions and third-person negative volitive expressions), not negation of the imperfective (for which {l} /lā/ is used).

discussion of RS 15.111:18, below), though the cognate indefinite pronoun in Akkadian (*mimma*) can be employed in this way.³⁵

Because the initial {m} of {mnm} begins to the left of the break, it is impossible to state with certainty that {mnm} constitutes an independent lexeme. One may accordingly consider alternatives, such as a plural noun (/ [. . .]mānūma 'al yanūsū/, “let not the [. . .]s flee!”). The appearance of the impersonal indefinite {mnm} only three lines prior, however, suggests the plausibility of the editors’ position.³⁶

(8) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'**³⁷ (epistolary)

w . ḥp̄t (13') p . mnm h'w' . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa ḥuptu pa MNM huwa wa bi sipri

and *ḥuptu*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any) *ḥuptu*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

³⁵ See Huehnergard 1989: 139-140 for examples from Ras Shamra Akkadian.

³⁶ Given the presence of *mnm rgm* in l. 20' and *tšm'* in l. 21', some may be tempted to restore with reference to RS 4.475:16-19 and RS 94.2284:24-25 along these lines (assuming that relatively little of the left edge has been lost): *mnm rgm [d] tšm' [w bd]mlātk [']mnm āl yns* (/MNM rigmu dū tišma'u wa bîdê mal'aktika 'immanîma 'allu yanus/ (“any word that you hear, let it hasten to me in the care of your messenger party!”). The following observations lead me to reject this approach: (1) the verb √n(-)s as currently attested in Ugaritic refers to flight, not rapid travel or action, for which √ḥ(-)š is employed (see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 634 and 370, respectively); and (2) the affirmative particle {ā} /'allu/—written identically to the prohibitor {ā} /'al/—makes only one possible appearance in the Ugaritic epistolary corpus, where it represents a scribe’s playful exhibition of his knowledge of literary expressions in a mock letter (RS 16.265:14; for discussion of this letter, see sec. 4.5.5 of the preceding chapter); {ā} in the present text is accordingly better understood as the prohibitor (and see other examples of prohibitions appearing in the final line of a letter: RS 18.075:26; RS 92.2010:21-24).

³⁷ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

Context: The top half of this tablet has been lost, with the result that the sender and addressee cannot be identified. The sender indicates that she³⁸ does not possess adequate knowledge of who is working at the location of the addressee. She asks that the addressee record all of the *bunušu*-personnel working there and have the document delivered to her. She claims that she knows already what needs to be done for them,³⁹ she lacks only the information about their identity (and perhaps their number). She reiterates this request with the sentence recorded above, which comprises the last sentence of the letter.

Comment: This text is sufficiently preserved to allow certainty regarding the personal referent of {mnm} (unlike the two preceding examples). We are accordingly required to recognize behind the orthography {mnm} both a personal and an impersonal indefinite pronoun (which renders plausible the interpretations preferred for the preceding two examples). The context provided in this letter is additionally valuable in including an alternatively worded version of the directive recorded here as example (8). Specifically, the sender makes the same demand several lines prior, but she formulates this order with the universal quantifier *kl*.⁴⁰ This approximate equivalence will be significant for our understanding of the syntax and pragmatics of *mnm* below, as it suggests that the use of *p mnm hw* in l. 13' is designed to rule out exceptions

³⁸ That the sender is a woman is suggested by the expression found in ll. 3'-4', *w ank inny yd 't /wa 'anaku 'ênunaya yādi'atu/* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 198).

³⁹ The expression (found in ll. 10'-12') was read by the editors as *w ank yd 't d aš'k'n lhm* and translated, "Et moi, pour ma part, je sais ce que je fixerai pour eux" (Bordreuil, Hawley and Pardee 2012: 197-198). D-stem forms of the verb $\sqrt{\text{škn}}$ ("to assign, impose"; see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 804) and Š-stem forms of $\sqrt{\text{k(-)n}}$ ("to prepare"; see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 443) are in most cases identical, making it difficult or even impossible to determine which is intended in each individual case (see Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1974a; Tropper 1990: 33-36). I see no way to determine whether the sender of this letter knows what assignments she has in mind for those named in the list she expects to receive (thus *'ašakkinu*, with the editors) or what provisions she means to have prepared for them (thus *'ašakīnu*). An updated discussion of the lexicographic issues involved appears in Pardee forthcoming *a* (*ad* RS 16.264:5).

⁴⁰ See ll. 6'-8': *ht āt kl bnšm dt hbt tmm by spr št* (/hatti 'atta kulla bunušīma dūti ḥabaṭū tammāna biya sipri šīta/ "Now you, for your part, note all of the *bunušu*-personnel members who are working there in a document").

(see RS 17.341:21' [= *PRU* IV, p. 163] for a similarly oriented disjunctive expression in Akkadian).

5.2.2 Impersonal

Far better attested are impersonal uses of *mnm*. The majority of these appear in an epistolary formula in which the sender requests information regarding the wellbeing of the addressee. These are grouped together and presented in the order of their discovery in the first subsection below. Further examples can be subdivided based on whether *mnm* is followed by a noun, followed by a verb/existential predicate, or used absolutely. Whether these differences in surface syntax are meaningful is taken up further below, but the proposed categories allow us rapidly to identify the attested constructions.

5.2.2.1 The Expression *mnm šlm* in Epistolary Documents

The majority of the attestations of the impersonal indefinite pronoun *mnm* appear in a single formula common to polite epistolary correspondence. Rather than describe this formulaic context under each entry below, I offer a very brief description here. The formula concerned has been described as the “information request,” comprising the second component of the “motif of reciprocal well-being” (Hawley 2003: 758) or the “double formule d’état de bien-être des correspondants” (Pardee 2003: 446). This request for news from the addressee typically appears together with a report on the sender’s own state, and in all such cases, the report precedes the request (Hawley 2003: 762). The request itself consists of a reference to the addressee’s location, a reference to the more specific subject of the request, namely, the well-being of the addressee, and an injunction to send news (formulated either as an imperative or a jussive) (Hawley 2003:

767). The morphosyntactic composition of the operative phrase, *mnm šlm*, has been a subject of debate, though virtually all now recognize the indefinite pronominal value of *mnm*,⁴¹ and most identify *šlm* as a noun (*šalāmu*) rather than a verb (*šalima*). The latter point will be taken up in greater detail in the discussion of syntax to follow.

These contextual elements can be found in each of the following examples, which are listed in the order of their discovery (though fully reconstructed examples are indicated with square brackets around the citation and are placed after all certain examples, without regard to the order of discovery). Further comments regarding relevant interpretive issues are introduced below only where strictly necessary for understanding the role played by the indefinite pronoun *mnm*. I offer multiple translations in order to capture distinct analyses, anticipating the discussion of syntax offered below. As a final note, the use of the *waw of apodosis* is routine in this formula. This conjunction *w* (“and”) marks the beginning of the main clause in each of these cases and cannot be rendered satisfactorily in English. In order to represent its presence explicitly (for reasons that will become clear in the syntactic discussion below), I include “<and>” in translations for texts where it appears.

⁴¹ As noted in the discussion above, older approaches that treated {*mnm*} in this formula as an interrogative have now largely fallen by the wayside.

(9) **RS 8.315:14-18**⁴² (epistolary)

ṭmny (15) ‘m . ‘adtny (16) mnm . šlm (17) rgm . ṭṭb (18) l . ‘bdk

ṭammāniya ‘imma ‘adatti=nāyā MNM šalāmu

there with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=our.1CD WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma taṭṭibī lē ‘abdē=ki

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to servant-OBL.M.DU.SUFF=your.2FS

- a. “There with our lady, any/whatever well-being (there is), send word (of that) to your servants.”
- b. “There with our lady, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that) to your servants.”

(10) **RS 9.479A:12-15**⁴³ (epistolary)

‘m . ‘adty (13) mnm . šlm (14) rgm . ṭṭṭb (15) l . ‘bdh

‘imma ‘adatti=ya MNM šalāmu

with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma taṭṭaṭib lē ‘abdi=ha

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.JUSS.3FS to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=her.3FS

- a. “With my lady, any/whatever well-being (there is), let her send word (of that) to her servant.”
- b. “With my lady, whatever the well-being (is), let her send word (of that) to her servant.”

⁴² For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 234 (with further bibliography).

⁴³ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which confirms the readings indicated in the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1938: 127-131) and *KTU* 2.12.

(11) **RS 11.872:11-13**⁴⁴ (epistolary)

ṭmny . 'm . 'umy (12) mnm . šlm (13) w . rgm . ṭṭb . ly

ṭammāniya 'imma 'ummiya MNM šalāmu

there with mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

wa rigma taṭībī lay=ya

and word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to=me.1CS

- a. “There with my mother, any/whatever well-being (there is), <and> send word (of that) to me.”
- b. “There with my mother, whatever the well-being (is), <and> send word (of that) to me.”

⁴⁴ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 235 (with further bibliography).

(12) **RS 15.008:16-20**⁴⁵ (epistolary)

w mnm . (17) šlm . ‘m (18) ‘umy (19) ‘my . ttb (20) rgm

wa MNM šalāmu ‘imma ‘ummiya

and WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS with mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

‘imma=ya taṭaṭīb rigma

with=me.1CS send-C.JUSS.3FS word-ACC.M.SG.ABS

- a. “And any/whatever well-being (there is) with my mother, let her send word (of that) to me.”
- b. “And whatever the well-being (is) with my mother, let her send word (of that) to me.”
- c. “And whatever well-being (is) with my mother, let her send word (of that) to me.”

(13) **RS 16.137[bis]:10-12**⁴⁶ (epistolary)

tm[ny . ‘m .] ‘a’[dty] (11) mn‘m’ [. šlm (. w)] (12) rgm [. (t)tb . ‘my/‘m ‘bdk/h]

tammā[niya ‘imma] ‘a[datti=ya] MNM [. . .] rigma [. . .]

there with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M word-ACC.M.SG.ABS

- a. “There with my lady, any/whatever [well-being (there is), send/let her send] word [(of that) to me/your/her servant].”
- b. “There with my lady, whatever [the well-being (is), send/let her send] word [(of that) to me/your/her servant].”

⁴⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 236 (with further bibliography).

⁴⁶ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which differs slightly from the textual presentation found in Pardee 1987b: 203.

(14) **RS 16.379:9-11**⁴⁷ (epistolary)

w . ṭm^rn^r . ‘^rm^r [. ṽ]my (10) mnm . š^rl^r[m] (11) w . rgm [. ṭṭb .] ‘l^ry

wa ṭammāna ‘imma [‘u]mmi=ya MNM šalā[mu]

and there with mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

wa rigma [ṭatībī] lay=ya

and word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to=me.1CS

a. “And there with my mother, any/whatever well-being (there is), <and> [send] word (of that) to me.”

b. “And there with my mother, whatever the well-being (is), <and> [send] word (of that) to me.”

(15) **RS 17.139:7-9**⁴⁸ (epistolary)

ṭmny (8) ‘m . ṽmy . mnm . šlm (9) w . rgm . ṭṭb . ly

ṭammāniya ‘imma ‘ummi=ya MNM šalāmu

there with mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

wa rigma ṭatībī lay=ya

and word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to=me.1CS

a. “There with my mother, any/whatever well-being (there is), <and> send word (of that) to me.”

b. “There with my mother, whatever the well-being (is), <and> send word (of that) to me.”

⁴⁷ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 237-238 (with further bibliography).

⁴⁸ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Pardee 1984a: 226-228.

(16) **RS 18.031:7-9⁴⁹** (epistolary)

ṭmny (8) ‘mk . mnm ʿ. ʿ šlm (9) rgm . ṭṭbʿ

ṭammāniya ‘*imma=ka* MNM *šalāmu*

there with=you.2MS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma *ṭaṭib*

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2MS

- a. “There with you, any/whatever well-being (there is), send word (of that).”
b. “There with you, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that).”

(17) **RS 18.147:7-8⁵⁰** (epistolary)

ṭmny . ‘[m .] bny (8) mʿnʿm . [š]lm [.] ʿrʿgm . ʿṭṭbʿ [. ly]

ṭammāniya ‘*imma bini=ya* MNM *šalāmu*

there with son-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma *ṭaṭib* [*lay=ya*]

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2MS to=me.1CS

- a. “There with my son, any/whatever well-being (there is), send word (of that) [to me.]”
b. “There with my son, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that) [to me.]”

⁴⁹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 238-239 (with further bibliography).

⁵⁰ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which differs slightly from the textual presentation found in the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1965: 87-88) and *KTU* 2.46. The formulaic grounds for restoring *ly* at the end of l. 8 are discussed in Pardee’s forthcoming study but do not affect the analysis of *mnm*.

(18) **RS 18.287:4'-6'**⁵¹ (epistolary)

['m . b 'ly .] 'm 'nm (5') [šlm . rgm .] ttb (6') ['m . 'b]dk

[*'imma ba 'li=ya*] MNM [š*alāmu*]

with lord-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

[*rigma*] *tatib* ['imma 'ab]di=ka

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2MS to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

- a. “[With my lord,] any/whatever [well-being (there is),] send [word (of that) to] your [serva]nt.”
- b. “[With my lord,] whatever [the well-being (is),] send [word (of that) to] your [serva]nt.”

(19) **RS 19.102:20-24**⁵² (epistolary)

'm (21) b 'ly . m 'n 'm (22) šlm (23) 'r 'gm [. tt] 'b ' (24) [l .] 'b 'dk'

'imma ba 'li=ya MNM *šalāmu*

with lord-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma [*tati*]b [lê] 'abdi=ka

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2MS to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

- a. “With my lord, any/whatever well-being (there is), [se]nd word (of that) [to] your servant.”
- b. “With my lord, whatever the well-being (is), [se]nd word (of that) [to] your servant.”

⁵¹ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which differs slightly from the textual presentation found in Pardee 1984b: 241.

⁵² For this portion of the text, see Pardee 2003: 449.

(20) **RS 19.158B:5'-6'**⁵³ (epistolary)

ṭmn . 'mk (5) ṭmnm . šlm (6) [r]g'm . ṭb . 'l' [. . .]

tammāna 'imma=kV MNM šalāmu

there with=you.2?S WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

[ri]gma taṭVb(V) lê . . .

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2?S to

a. “There with you, any/whatever well-being (there is), send word (of that) to [. . .]”

b. “There with you, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that) to [. . .]”

(21) **RS 20.199:14-17**⁵⁴ (epistolary)

ṭmny . 'm (15) adty . mnm (16) šlm . rgm (17) ṭb . l . 'bdk

tammāniya 'imma 'adatti=ya MNM šalāmu

there with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma taṭībī lê 'abdi=ki

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2FS

a. “There with my lady, any/whatever well-being (there is), send word (of that) to your servant.”

b. “There with my lady, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that) to your servant.”

⁵³ For this portion of the text, see Pardee 2003: 449.

⁵⁴ For the text, see Pardee 1984a: 214.

(22) **RS 34.124:8-9**⁵⁵ (epistolary)

tmny . 'mk . mnm (9) šlm . rgm . tt . ly

tammāniya 'imma=*ki* MNM *šalāmu*

there with=you.2FS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma t*tī*<*bī*> *lay*=*ya*

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to=me.1CS

- a. “There with you, any/whatever well-being (there is), send¹ word (of that) to me.”
- b. “There with you, whatever the well-being (is), send¹ word (of that) to me.”

Comment: The emendation of {tt} to {tt<*b*>} is required by the context and, as the other examples provided here illustrate, thoroughly warranted on internal epistolographic grounds. This position was suggested in Caquot’s preliminary study of the text (1975: 430) and has been accepted without exception since.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 242-243 (with further bibliography).

⁵⁶ See, e.g., Pardee 1977: 3, 5; 2002b: 91; 2012b: 51; Brooke 1979: 70-71; Dietrich and Loretz 1985: 506; 2009: 112, 116; Bordreuil and Pardee 1991: 143; 2009: 242-243; Tropper 2000/2012: 60; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 553.

(23) **RS 92.2005:10-13**⁵⁷ (epistolary)

ʿwʿ [.] t̄mn (11) mnm [.] šlm (12) rgm t̄tb (13) ‘my

wa tammāna MNM šalāmu

and there WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma t̄at̄bā ʿimma=ya

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2CD to=me.1CS

a. “And there, any/whatever well-being (there is), send word (of that) to me.”

b. “And there, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that) to me.”

Comment: This letter is addressed to two individuals, and the formulae immediately preceding that presented here employ the pronominal suffix *-km* to refer to the addressees. This suffix is interpretable as a plural or dual, and as the latter maintained its productivity in Ugaritic, including in the imperative,⁵⁸ I treat {t̄tb} here as a dual form.

⁵⁷ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2001a: 371-375).

⁵⁸ See Tropper 2012: 428.

(24) (!)RS 94.2479:7-10⁵⁹ (epistolary)

ṭmny (8) ‘m . ‘adty . mnm (9) w . rgm . ṭṭb (10) ‘m . ‘bdh

ṭammāniya ‘*imma* ‘*adatti=ya* *MNM* <*šalāmu*>

there with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

wa rigma *tataṭib* ‘*imma* ‘*abdi=ha*

and word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.JUSS.3FS to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=her.3FS

- a. “There with my lady, any/whatever well-being¹ (there is), <and> let her send word (of that) to her servant.”
- b. “There with my lady, whatever the well-being¹ (is), <and> let her send word (of that) to her servant.”

Comment: The omission of {šlm} after {mnm} in this text is unique—no other example of this formula lacks the noun, and its absence here is accordingly best interpreted as a scribal omission.⁶⁰ This text does not provide an example of *mnm* functioning independently (or in relation to the preceding adverb or PP); it is a simple mistake.

⁵⁹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 247-249 and Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 163-166.

⁶⁰ Pardee 2002b: 107 n. 146; 2003-2004: 373; Hawley 2003: 767 n. 203; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:94-95; 2009: 248; Dietrich and Loretz 2009: 154-155; Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 164-165; Tropper 2012: 62.

(25) [RS 92.2005:30-32]⁶¹ (epistolary)

[. . . w. t]m^rn^r (31) [mnm . š]l^rm (32) [rgm .] ttb

[. . . wa ta]mmāna [MNM ša]lāmu [rigma] tatVbV

a. “[And th]ere, [any/whatever well]-being (there is), send [word (of that).]”

b. “[And th]ere, [any/whatever the well]-being (is), send [word (of that).]”

(26) [RS 94.5003+:9-12]⁶² (epistolary)

[tmny] (10) ‘m . ù[my . mnm] (11) šlm . r^r[gm] (12) tt[b]

[tammāniya] ‘imma ‘u[mmi=ya MNM] šalāmu ri[gma] tatī[bī]

a. “[There] with [my] mo[ther, any/whatever] well-being (there is), sen[d] wo[rd
(of that).]”

b. “[There] with [my] mo[ther, whatever] the well-being (is), sen[d] wo[rd (of
that).]”

5.2.2.2 Impersonal Indefinite *mnm* + Noun Phrase

As in the examples presented in the preceding subsection, attestations gathered here involve *mnm* followed immediately by a noun (NP), and the relationship between *mnm* and the following NP will be addressed in the discussion of syntax below. A description of the context and relevant interpretive comments are provided for each example.

⁶¹ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2001a: 371-375; the restoration represented above is found on p. 374). Glosses are excluded here given the extent of the reconstruction involved.

⁶² For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 170-172). Glosses are excluded here given the extent of the reconstruction involved.

(27) **RS 4.475:14-19**⁶³ (epistolary)

hm . nṭkp (15) m'nk (16) w . mnm (17) rgm . d . tšm' (18) ṭmt . w . št (19) b . spr .

'my

himma naṭkapū ma'nû=ka wa MNM

if strike-N.PFV.3MP answer-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS and WH=M

rigmu dū tišma'u ṭammati wa šit

word-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL hear-G.IPFV.2MS there and put-G.IPV.2MS

bi sipri 'imma=ya

in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS to=me.1CS

- a. "If they have been struck, your answer and any word that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me."
- b. "If they have been struck, your answer and any/whatever word (there is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me."
- c. "If they have been struck, your answer and whatever the word (is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me."

Context: This injunction comprises the final sentence in a letter treating a military situation. The sender has received a report suggesting that two individuals have suffered defeat, and he wishes to determine more certainly whether or not this is actually the case. To that end, he asks the addressee of this letter to send word to him on the specific matter under discussion as well as any other information that may be available.

⁶³ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 233 (with earlier bibliography).

Comment: The syntactic placement of *hm ntkp* and *m 'nk* has received varying assessments, with some treating *hm ntkp m 'nk* as an independent sentence⁶⁴ or a protasis concluding the preceding sentence,⁶⁵ others attributing this role to *hm ntkp* alone, with *m 'nk* starting the last sentence,⁶⁶ others identifying *hm ntkp m 'nk* as the protasis beginning the final sentence,⁶⁷ and still others treating *hm ntkp* as the protasis and *m 'nk* as the first word of the apodosis, as presented above.⁶⁸ Deciding among these options has been complicated by the lexicographic challenge posed by the form {*ntkp*}. I am persuaded that Pardee has correctly identified the syntactic structure of the letter, with the conditional conjunction *hm* introducing the positive conditional counterpart to the negative condition *hm inmm nhtu* in ll. 9-10 of the letter.⁶⁹ The lexical semantics of {*ntkp*}, however, remain challenging (as all have acknowledged), as none of the etymological solutions proposed to date is free of problems.⁷⁰ The presentation of the text above represents the most plausible of previously suggested solutions, but I propose an alternative approach in the next paragraph. I have not adopted this newly proposed solution for methodological reasons discussed below, but I register it just the same, as the datum leading to its exclusion is fragile and may be subject to revision.

As a straightforward etymological evaluation of the putative root \sqrt{tkp} has remained unavailable, and as the conjunction *p* is known from other texts to mark the transition from

⁶⁴ Dhorme 1933: 235-236; 1934: 396; Albright 1941: 48; Römer 1977: 146.

⁶⁵ Tropper 2000: 541, 909; 2012: 535, 799.

⁶⁶ Gaster 1935: 475; 1937: 27; Ginsberg and Maisler 1934: 243; Ginsberg 1936a: 93; Gordon 1943: 73; 1949: 117; Ahl 1973: 403; Cunchillos 1989a: 279-280; 1989b: 94, 99; Dijkstra 1999: 156.

⁶⁷ Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1975b: 529.

⁶⁸ Lipiński 1981: 124; Pardee 1987a: 66, 68-69; 2002b: 108; 2003-2004: 271-272; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:81; 2009: 233; Niehr 2006: 287; Tropper 2012: 535.

⁶⁹ Pardee forthcoming *a* (a position reflected in his earlier studies, cited in the preceding note).

⁷⁰ See Pardee 1987a: 68; forthcoming *a*; Kogan 2015: 368.

protasis to apodosis in conditional sentences,⁷¹ we should consider dividing l. 14 differently: *hm ntk p*, as indicated here⁷²:

(28) **RS 4.475:14-19 (alternative; not preferred)**

hm . ntk p (15) m'nk (16) w . mnm (17) rgm . d . tšm' (18) tmt . w . št (19) b . spr
 . 'my

himma naTKū pa ma 'nû=ka wa MNM

if (-)T(-)K(-)-N.PFV.3MP then answer-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS and WH=M

rigmu dū tišma 'u tammati wa šit

word-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL hear-G.IPFV.2MS there and put-G.IPV.2MS

bi sipri 'imma=ya

in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS to=me.1CS

- a. “If they have been (-)T(-)K(-), then your answer and any word that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”
- b. “If they have been (-)T(-)K(-), then your answer and any/whatever word (there is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”
- c. “If they have been (-)T(-)K(-), then your answer and whatever the word (is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”

⁷¹ See Tropper 2000/2012: 790 for examples. See also Hawley 2003: 748 for the use of *p* in epistolary texts.

⁷² One potential argument against this position pertains to the otherwise consistent use of word-dividers in this letter. If {ntkp} is to be treated as two words rather than one, it offers the only example in the text in which a word break is not indicated by a word-divider. Inconsistent use of word-dividers is, however, the rule rather than the exception in Ugaritic epistolary texts, and even letters that employ this divider with a high level of consistency may still omit it in only one or two cases. In RS 11.872, for example, word-dividers appear throughout the letter but are lacking in {nr bn} (l. 18). This fact has opened the way for those who interpret {tyndr} in l. 14 as two words ({ty ndr}) and blunts the criticism of those who reject such a division on the basis of the absence of a word-divider (see Dietrich and Loretz 1994: 65-66 for the history of discussion). A similar situation obtains in RS 16.379, where in twenty-four lines of text, word-dividers are omitted only two (l. 1, 21) or three (if {ty ndr} in l. 13 is treated as two words) times. This situation leads me to conclude that the linguistic obstacles standing in the way of connecting {ntkp} to cognates in other Semitic languages are to be weighed more heavily than the orthographic argument just outlined against treating this sequence as comprising two words ({ntk p}).

The verbal form {nṭk} is tentatively interpreted as a N-stem suffix-conjugation of a weak verbal root resulting in the orthography {nṭk}. Two evaluations merit consideration.

First, we may suggest a root √tkk (thus /naṭakkū/), cognate to the Akkadian verb *šakāku*, which refers to harrowing a field (see *CAD Š/1*, p. 113-116). This verb provides a more suitable etymon for the Gəʿəz lexical entry *sakak*, “that is crushed, that is broken into small pieces, that is crumbled up, that is grated” (Leslau 2006: 496) than does Arabic *sakka*, “to cut off (the ears)” (given as the relevant cognate in Leslau 2006: 496). If this connection is valid, then both roots may be reflexes of either PS **skk* or of **θkk* (the latter would be excluded were comparison with Arabic *sakka* admitted). In two letters from Mari, ARM X no. 166:10 and no. 167:10, this verb appears to be applied metaphorically to a situation of interpersonal conflict (thus “to rip on, dig at”).⁷³ If the Akkadian verb can be identified as a reflex of **θkk*, then RS 4.475 may be understood thus: *himma naṭakkū*, “if they have been destroyed (< harrowed, broken up).”

Without clearer etymological evidence available to determine whether the Akkadian verb is a reflex of a root beginning with **s* or **θ*, the suitability of the cognate cannot be demonstrated.

A second conceivable (even if more fanciful) approach would appeal to the verb √nṭk “to bite” (“if they have been ‘bitten’ [i.e., stricken]”). The verb √nṭk is independently attested in Ugaritic and is even employed in one mythological text as a means of metaphorically describing violent physical combat:

⁷³ See Dossin with Finet 1978: 234-237; Durand 2000: 502-503.

RS 2.[009]⁺ vi 17-20 (= KTU 1.6)⁷⁴

yngħn (18) k rùmm .	<i>yinnagiḥāna⁷⁵ ka ru^umêma⁷⁶</i>
mt . ‘z . b’l (19) ‘z .	<i>môtu ‘azzu ba ‘lu ‘azzu</i>
yntkn . k bṭnm	<i>yinnaṭikāna⁷⁷ ka baṭnêma</i>
(20) mt . ‘z . b’l . ‘z	<i>môtu ‘azzu ba ‘lu ‘azzu</i>

They gore each other like two wild bulls

Môtu remains strong, *Ba ‘lu* remains strong.

They bite each other like two serpents.

Môtu remains strong, *Ba ‘lu* remains strong.

Might this verb have been used with reference to combat even when such colorful similes were not directly in view? The Akkadian verb *našāku* may be used in a comparably extended manner in ARM XXVI/2 no. 326 rev. 5', where the sender of the letter complains that a certain individual "me mord" (Charpin 1988: 95) taken by Charpin (1988: 96) to mean "me harcèle" (citing ARM III no.18:15 for a similar metaphor). Either of these proposed etymological

⁷⁴ The text as presented here is that reflected in an epigraphic study of this tablet in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

⁷⁵ The reciprocal semantics appropriate to the context of combat commend a N-stem parsing (e.g., del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 614; Tropper 2000/2012: 537) over a D-stem parsing (e.g., Tropper 2008: 86).

⁷⁶ A shift from *ri 'm-* to *ru 'm* must be assumed (Tropper 2012: 295), but we may question whether this form necessarily offers evidence for a plural base *quṭl* as Tropper suggests. The dual of *qVtl* nouns was likely formed on a base identical to that of the singular, as in Biblical Hebrew (in contrast to the plural, which took the form *qVtal-*; see Tropper 2000/2012: 290, 295; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 32), making it more likely that {rùmm} reflects a dual form with "secondary opening" of the syllable closed by /'/, as elsewhere (see Sivan 1996; Tropper 2000/2012: 510; Pardee 2003-2004: 27, 295; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:68; 2009: 54).

⁷⁷ The reciprocal semantics appropriate to the context of combat commend a N-stem parsing (e.g., del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 643; Tropper 2000/2012: 538; 2008: 92).

solutions would align with Pardee’s evaluation of the syntax, indeed requiring it, as *m’nk*, which follows the conjunction *p*, would necessarily comprise part of the apodosis.

While this proposed redivision may ease the etymological challenge posed by \sqrt{tkp} , I exclude it—with some hesitation—due to the fact that the root \sqrt{tkp} *may* be attested in one other Ugaritic text (in which case it would be far more difficult to justify redividing the sequence {*ntkp*} in the present text). Specifically, the editors of RS 94.2383⁺ (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 190-192) identify the sequence {*ṯ’kp*} in l. 8 of the text. As this sequence appears at the beginning of the line and is followed immediately by a word-divider and a {*k*} that is most easily understood as the conjunction *kī*, there is no basis for suggesting alternative divisions of the sequence in this case. The surrounding material in RS 94.2382⁺ is too damaged for a secure interpretation of this form, and it may in fact represent something other than the verb \sqrt{tkp} believed to be present in RS 4.475.⁷⁸ In the absence of clear evidence supporting or opposing the unification of these two data points, however, I suggest that sound method compels us to default in favor of treating them in relationship to one another and, as a result, to submit our interpretive efforts to the controls that this union exerts (which are stricter than those arising from assuming that the two attestations need not belong to the same lexeme).

⁷⁸ For example, the context is too fragmentary to rule out the possibility of treating this as a PN (e.g., a Hurrian PN ending in *-kapi* or *-kipa* [see Richter 2016: 429-430, 438-439]; the similarity to the PN *Šaggabi*, which I have argued [Burlingame 2020: 196-201] is represented in Ugaritic alphabetic script as {*tgb*} may also be of interest). Interpreting {*ṯ’kp*} as a PN would result in something like this: (7) . . . w l . ṯ---ṯn’? ? ? (8) ṯ’kp . k zn’ṯ [. y]bl (9) bt mlk . w h’ṯ [.] ṯ’ṯnidm (10) ṯ’y’bl . . . , “As for the . . . of ṯKP, regarding the fact that he will take provisions to the palace, see, he has (already) taken (such provisions) twice” (/wa lê . . . ṯKP kī zānāti/zānata [ya]bilu bêta malki wa hattî ṯinê’idama yabala . . ./).

(29) **RS 18.075:20-22**⁷⁹ (epistolary)

mnm . ʾrštk (21) d [.] ḥsrt . w . ʾnk (22) ʾštn .. l . iḥy

MNM ʾirištu=ka dā ḥasirta wa ʾanāku

WH=M request-NOM.F.SG.SUFF=your.2MS REL lack-G.PFV.2MS and I

ʾašatinu lê ʾiḥt=ya

give-C.IPFV.1CS to brother-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

- a. “Any request/desire of yours that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”
- b. “Any/whatever request/desire of yours (there is) that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”
- c. “Whatever your request/desire (is) that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”

Context: This sentence appears toward the end of a letter of which much of the *recto* has been lost. The use of the term “brother” (*ʾḥ*) suggests that the sender believed himself and his addressee to be of comparable social status. The expression of liberality offered here represents an epistolary *topos* appearing only here among Ugaritic letters but making a number of further appearances in letters written in logo-syllabic cuneiform.⁸⁰ Its composition is too diverse to regard it as a formulaic expression. Achieving a smooth English translation is rendered difficult by the fact that the noun *ʾršt*, strictly a “request,” is not something one is typically said to “lack,”

⁷⁹ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which essentially agrees with the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1965: 93) at this point.

⁸⁰ The *topos* and its Akkadian comparanda were noted by Virolleaud (1965: 93). Further discussion can be found in Parker 1967: 13, 27-28; Rainey 1971: 160-161; Ahl 1973: 145, 147; Elat 1979: 533-534; Dion 1981: 65-66; Pardee et al. 1982: 181-182; Márquez Rowe 1992: 153 with n. 4; Pardee 2003-2004: 35, 211 with n. 813, 385; forthcoming *a*. A more complete list of examples is offered in ch. 8.

though the Ugaritic syntax requires that we understand *irštk* as the antecedent of the relative clause *d ḥsrt*. We must accordingly understand *irštk* here either to refer not to the request itself but to the concrete requested item (which *is* lacking), or to function in a slightly extended fashion to refer to a “need” or “desire” rather than only a “request” (as these former two are more easily employed in translation as the antecedent of a relative clause, the predicate of which asserts lack). The latter approach is more easily represented in translation and has been adopted by others in the past (see Virolleaud 1965: 93; Ahl 1973: 445) and is used here as a translational expedient (though it has no bearing on the proposed syntax or the semantics of *mnm*).

(30) **RS 94.2284:24-25⁸¹** (epistolary)

w mnm . rgm . wttb (25) bb . bnll . . .

wa MNM rigmu wa taṭib bîdê' binî'ili

and WH=M word-NOM.M.SG.ABS and return-C.IPV.2MS in.care.of PN

a. “And any/whatever word (there is), <and> send (it) back in care¹ of

Binî'ilu . . .”

b. “And whatever the word (is), <and> send (it) back in care¹ of *Binî'ilu . . .*”

Context: This sentence is separated from preceding material by a horizontal dividing line, as well as by the syntactic introduction of the conjunction *w*. It appears within the body of a letter from 'Abinaye to her brother, 'Urtēnu.

⁸¹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 250-252 and Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 180-186.

Comment: Immediately following the PN {bnil}, two words of uncertain interpretation appear: {hl 'kd}. The editors (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 182) suggested provisionally that {hl} (/halli/) functions as a presentative followed by a TN {'kd}: “Voici (qu’il est à ?) ‘KD.’”⁸² One may imagine as an alternative that {hl} had developed a local adverbial force (comparable in this respect to {hlny})⁸³: “. . . send (it) in care of *Binī’ilu* here to ‘KD.’” As the analysis of *mm* is unaffected by this decision, I have excluded {hl 'kd} from the sentence, though it may in fact function as an adverbial adjunct in the manner just described.

(31) **RS 94.2457:20'-22'**⁸⁴ (epistolary)

[. . .]'.' mnm . rgm (21') [. . .]'tšm' (22') [. . .]mláktk

. . . *MNM rigmV* . . . *tišma'V* . . . *mal'aktV=kV*

WH=M word-?.M.SG.? hear-G.IPFV?.2?S messenger.party-?.F.SG.SUFF=your.2?S

“Any/whatever word . . . you hear . . . your messenger party . . .”

Context: See discussion of this letter offered in sec. 5.2.1 above.

⁸² See similarly Tropper 2012: 750. Dietrich and Loretz (2009: 138, 142-143) evaluate the function of {hl} comparably, though they treat {'kd} differently.

⁸³ Pardee 2003: 451 n. 13; 2003-2004: 365-366.

⁸⁴ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 194-196).

5.2.2.3 Impersonal Indefinite *mnm* + Clause

(32) **RS 18.075:23-25**⁸⁵ (epistolary)

w ṛ . á ṽ p . á nk . mnm (24) ḥs ṛ r ṽ t . w . u ḥ y (25) y ṽ msn . ṽ mn

wa 'apa 'anāku MNM ḥasirtu wa 'uḥû=ya

and also I WH=M lack-G.PFV.1CS and brother-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

ya 'ammis=annu tammāna

load-D.JUSS?.3MS=it.3MS there

“And I, too, whatever I lack, <and> my brother should load it there.”

Context: See discussion of this letter offered in the immediately preceding subsection.

Comment: Two of the positions taken in this presentation of the text require comment. First, I take {y ṽ msn} as a D-stem⁸⁶ verbal form with a 3ms pronominal suffix of which *mnm* functions as the antecedent.⁸⁷ The latter position is connected to the second point requiring comment: the grammatical status of {ḥsrt}. Past studies have identified this term either as a feminine noun with 1cs pronominal suffix (e.g., /ḥasiratî/, “my lack”)⁸⁸ or, more frequently, as a G-stem suffix-conjugation verbal form (/ḥasirtu/, “I lack”),⁸⁹ as above. Parker (1967: 13)—the first to suggest a nominal parsing—compared *ḥsrt* to *irštḳ* in l. 20 (discussed as example (29) in the immediately preceding subsection) and the Akkadian noun *šibûtiya*, which figures in comparable epistolary

⁸⁵ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which basically agrees at this point with the *editio princeps* (Vroilleaud 1965: 93).

⁸⁶ See Rainey 1987: 401; Tropper 2000/2012: 554.

⁸⁷ For a defense of a third-person analysis of this pronominal suffix in the context of alternative interpretations (namely, a 1cs quasi-dative analysis), see Pardee 2003-2004: 35.

⁸⁸ So Parker 1967: 13, 22, 28; Pardee 2002b: 98; 2003-2004: 35, 384-385; 2014: 142-143.

⁸⁹ This position goes back to Vroilleaud’s *editio princeps* (1965: 93) and is found in most subsequent studies. See, for example, Ahl 1973: 445; Rainey 1987: 401; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 200; 2003: 410; 2015: 405; Tropper 2000/2012: 243, 554, 739, 808, 820, 883, 902.

expressions in letters found at Ras Shamra written in logo-syllabic script. This epistolographic comparison, however, cannot decide the matter. Logo-syllabic letters in which an indefinite pronoun is followed by a single lexeme (rather than by a lexeme followed by a relative clause, as in example (29) above) can involve either a noun⁹⁰ or a verb⁹¹ in examples of this epistolary *topos*. As a feminine noun {ḥsrt} cannot be independently established in Ugaritic (or in Canaanite⁹²), and as an identically spelled form in l. 21 of this text (i.e., three lines prior to this attestation) must be a verb (as presented in the immediately preceding subsection, example (29)), I treat {ḥsrt} in this sentence as a verb. This has important implications for the syntax of *mm*, which are presented in greater detail below, but it does not entail treating all cases of predicates accompanying *mm* as comparably verbal. More specifically, taking *ḥsrt* as a verb in this text does not oblige one to treat *ḫ* in the text treated immediately below as a verb (as suggested by Tropper 2000/2012: 820, critiqued by Pardee 2003-2004: 384-385; 2014: 142-143).

⁹⁰ See RS 17.116:24'-25' (= *PRU* IV, p. 132), cited by Pardee 2003-2004: 385; RS 94.2408:20-21 (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 26), noted in Pardee forthcoming *a*.

⁹¹ RS 20.003:10-11 (*at-ta mi-nu-um-me-e* (11) [ḥa-]aš-ḥa-ta), and cf. ll. 12-13 ([a-n]a-ku mi-nu-um-me-e (13) [a-š]ap-pār-ra-ka) (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 26).

⁹² A number of Aramaic dialects bear witness to a de-adjectival *ḥassīrūt- “lack” (see Sokoloff 2009: 477), but the abstract morpheme *-ūt* hinders straightforward comparison to the Ugaritic lexeme, as an abstract *-ūt* cannot be clearly established as a productive morpheme in Ugaritic (Tropper 2012: 274). The comparably de-adjectival Syriac *ḥasirṭo(ʿ)*, “necessities, necessary things” (Sokoloff 2009: 477) would provide a better foundation for comparison.

(33) **RS 29.093:27-29**⁹³ (epistolary)

p l . yšb 'l (28) ḥpn . l b 'ly (29) mnm . ṯtu . l 'bdk

pa la yašab 'ilu ḥupâna lê ba 'li=ya

then indeed make-C.IPFV.3MS garment-ACC.M.SG for master-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

MNM ṯtu lê 'abdi=ka

WH=M EXIST to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

- a. “Then he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (*scil.* you) (out of) whatever your servant has (lit. “whatever there is to your servant”).”
- b. “Then he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (*scil.* you)—whatever your servant has (lit. “whatever there is to your servant”).”

Context: RS 29.093 bears the text of a letter sent from two individuals—a man and a woman⁹⁴—to their “master,” *Yadurma*. Following the polite formulae with which the letter opens, two sections of the body of the letter address distinct topics. In the first (ll. 11-19), the female servant indicates that she has had repairs made to a house and complains that, in spite of this fact, a man referred to as *Binu 'Ayānu* (whom we must assume to serve as another of *Yadurma*'s agents) has continued to make demands of her and has in fact taken two shekels (*tqlm*) of silver from her. This section provides a critical indication that, while the relationship existing between the senders and the receiver of this letter was certainly one of inferiors to superior, it was also one in which the inferiors could incur financial obligations, making it unlikely that they are to be understood as fully dependent servants. They have their own funds

⁹³ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241.

⁹⁴ Pardee 1979-1980: 25-26.

and have apparently been asked to pay for damages—unjustly, in their view, as these damages have already been addressed (again, we may reasonably presume, from their own resources).

In the second section (ll. 20-29), set off from the first by a horizontal dividing line, the subject is less certain, though mention of {ʾakl} (/ʾaklu/ “food”) suggests that alimentary provisions are at issue. The interpretation of ll. 20-24 is treated in the comment below, but the letter closes with a promise that when the male sender of the letter arrives at *Yadurma*’s current location, he will have a *ḥupānu*-garment made for him, adding an obscure reference to “whatever belongs to your servant/servants,” discussed immediately below. The (a) translation assumes that this expression functions as an adverbial free relative; the (b) translation treats it as a subordinate clause/right-dislocated complementizer phrase. The intended meaning of the latter is perhaps more easily grasped when the clause is placed in dashes within the sentence (perhaps more typical in English style than right-dislocation in such cases): “Then—whatever your servant has—he shall indeed have a *ḥupānu*-garment made for my master.”

Comment: Lines 20-24 (presented below) comprise the interpretive crux of this letter and are relevant, even if only indirectly, to our understanding of ll. 25-29, in which the indefinite pronoun *mnm* figures (see (33) above). Interpreters have occasionally treated *mnm* *it* *l* *ʾbdk* in l. 29 as an abbreviated request for specific information⁹⁵ or news more generally,⁹⁶ but most since Herdner’s 1978 edition have assumed a tighter connection between this expression and the

⁹⁵ Sanmartín 1977: 264 n. 12 (“(Laß wissen) Deine Diener, wenn noch was anfällt”).

⁹⁶ Dietrich and Loretz (1984: 67) describe this as “eine beliebte Schlußformel in verstümmelter Form,” emending the text to read *mnm* *it* <*ttb*> *l* *ʾbdk* and translating “was immer ist, <gib> deinen Dienern <Bescheid>!” (1984: 67) and “<Gib> über alles Deinem Dienern <Bescheid>!” (1984: 68). Tropper (2000/2012: 820, 902) allows for this position (“alt: ‘Was auch immer ist, [das teile] deinem Diener [mit]!’”), though he appears to prefer the interpretation suggested above and by interpreters listed in the next note. Niehr (2006: 284) takes the same position (“Was auch immer sei, deinen Dienern (gib Bescheid!),” though he inadvertently cites Tropper 2000: 903 for this position—this view is represented on p. 902, not p. 903 (where the alternative approach is presented alone; this citation on p. 903 has been removed altogether in Tropper 2012).

immediately preceding context, understanding l. 29 to refer to “whatever belongs to your servant/servants”—regardless of the understanding of ll. 20-24 preferred in each case.⁹⁷ Two proponents of this position have suggested that *mnm it l bdk* may function as the subject of a verbless sentence with the immediately preceding PP serving as the predicate (*l b ly* in l. 28): “Whatever your servant has belongs to my master” (see Dijkstra 1999: 159; Tropper 2000: 903). Pardee (forthcoming *a*) justly criticizes this position on the grounds that *hpn* refers to a garment (not a “handful” as Dijkstra [1999: 159] suggests) and that *l b ly* must accordingly serve as an adjunct to the preceding verb (*yšb l*) for the sentence to be meaningful. Tropper has since abandoned this approach, removing it from the 2012 edition of his grammar. Aside from these two exceptions, those who have treated l. 29 in connection with what precedes have effectively understood it as an adverbial free relative.⁹⁸

The plausibility of this approach to l. 29 holds regardless of one’s interpretation of ll. 20-24, but we may be able to achieve a clearer understanding of the pragmatic thrust of l. 29 by revisiting the first five lines of the section it closes. The text is presented here, together with a synopsis of the *editio princeps* and the interpretation that can, in my view, lay greatest claim to plausibility among those currently available:

⁹⁷ Herdner 1978: 78 (“ce qui est à ton (tes) serviteur(s)"); Pardee 1979-1980: 24 (“de ce qui appartient à ton serviteur”), 29; 2002b: 111 (“of whatever (is required) from your servant’s own goods”); 2003-2004: 142; 2012b: 31 (“of whatever (is required) from your servant’s own goods”); forthcoming *a*; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1999: 55 (“(con) lo que corresponde a tus siervos”); 2002: 548 (“(mit) alldem, was Deinen Knechten zusteht!”); Dijkstra 1999: 159 (“everything that your servants own”); Tropper 2000: 243, 820 (“was auch immer deinem Diener gehört(?)”), 903; 2012: 243, 820; Hawley 2003: 722-723 (“(It will be made from) whatever your servant has (on hand)"); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:89 (“de tout (ce qu’il faudra) de ce qui appartient à ton serviteur”); 2009: 241 (“of whatever (is required) from your servant’s own goods”).

⁹⁸ See the translations offered in the preceding note.

RS 29.093:20-29⁹⁹	Herdner 1978: 78	Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 241
(20) wṭn . 'bdk	(Quant-à) tes deux serviteurs	Now as for your two servants,
(21) tmt . 'mnk	(qui sont) là-bas, auprès de toi	there with you is
(22) kltn . 'akl . lhm	si tu ne leur donnes pas la nourriture	all (one could need), so you must give food to them.
(23) w . ktšal	et si tu exiges (?)	Moreover, thus must the (members of the)
(24) bt . 'bdk	la maison (?) de tes serviteurs,	house(hold) of your two servants ask.
(25) w . kymgy	et si ton serviteur	And when your servant comes
(26) 'bdk . l šlm	vient pour s'acquitter (?)	to tender to you his formal greetings,
(27) 'mk . pl . yšb'1	envers toi, alors (?) que ne pas	he will be sure to have
(28) ḥpn . lb'ly	à mon maître	a <i>ḥipānu</i> -garment made for my master,
(29) mnm . iṭ . l'bdk	ce qui est à ton (tes) serviteur(s).	of whatever (is required) from your servant's own goods.

These two interpretations both treat *tn 'bdk* in l. 20 as a left-dislocated constituent indicating a shift in topic, though they diverge at three critical points: (1) the role of *tmt* and *'mnk* (specifying

⁹⁹ Presented here after Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241, though without spaces indicating unmarked word breaks, as the interpretations present here reach different conclusions on where to place these breaks. Marked word breaks (i.e., points at which the scribe inserted word-dividers) are, of course, still indicated.

the location of the servants in question or functioning as a locative predicate with *kl(t)* as the subject?); (2) whether the servants mentioned in l. 20 are distinct from or identical to the servants from whom the present letter is being sent; and (3) the treatment of the graphic element {k} (unified treatment as a series of three subordinate clauses introduced by *kī* or an interplay of three distinct lexemes [the quantifier *kullatu*, “everything,” the adverb *kā*, “thus,” and the conjunction *kī*, “when”).

The interpretation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009¹⁰⁰ proposes a situational backdrop in which the authors of the present letter hope to receive alimentary provisions from the “master” to whom the letter is directed and plan to respond to this provision by having a *ḥupānu*-garment¹⁰¹ prepared for the addressee, drawing exclusively on their own resources to do so. Such an expectation of mutual exchange aligns well with the situation intimated in the first section of this letter, in which the senders were held (personally) financially responsible for making repairs of some sort (as noted above). While the letter clearly indicates that these “servants” were under *Yadurma*’s authority, their financial independence and accountability indicates that they may not have been under his *roof*, perhaps functioning as subordinate agents managing his affairs at another site, either permanently or temporarily, rather than fully dependent household servants. A request for food like that found in l. 22 does not in itself contradict this suggestion, as epistolary communication sheds light on comparable deliveries of provisions sent between

¹⁰⁰ As well as the previous studies on which it is based and subsequent ones in which it appears; see n. 97.

¹⁰¹ Such textiles could serve either as garments or as a covering for a horse and could be manufactured from a variety of materials (see Ribichini and Xella 1985: 39; Vita 2010: 329; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 395). Their value could accordingly vary considerably (Ribichini and Xella 1985: 39, noting a price range of two to ten shekels).

peers¹⁰² and even from inferiors to superiors¹⁰³ (the inverse of the situation suggested by the present letter).

This situational backdrop, however, is compatible with alternative lexical and morphosyntactic analyses of ll. 20-26. My preference for these alternatives is motivated by structural and comparative considerations, which I discuss following this alternative representation of the text:

RS 29.093:20-29

(20) w t̄n . 'bdk	<i>wa t̄anû 'abdêka</i>
(21) t̄mt . 'mnk	<i>t̄ammati 'immānuka</i>
(22) k l ttn . 'akl . lhm	<i>kī la tatinu 'akla lêhumā</i>
(23) w . k tšāl	<i>wa kī tiš'alu</i>
(24) bt . 'bdk	<i>bêta 'abdêka</i>
(25) w . k ymgy	<i>wa kī yamgyiyu</i>
(26) 'bdk . l šlm	<i>'abduka lê šullami¹⁰⁴</i>
(27) 'mk . p l . yšb'l	<i>'immaka¹⁰⁵ pa la yašab 'ilu</i>
(28) ḥpn . l b'ly	<i>ḥupâna lê ba'liya</i>
(29) mnm . iṭ . l 'bdk	<i>MNM 'iṭu lê 'abdi/êka</i>

¹⁰² Among alphabetically written letters, see RS 94.2284 and RS 94.2383⁺.

¹⁰³ Among alphabetically written letters, see RS 18.038 and RS 29.095 (the relationship between the correspondents is not indicated, but the sender places his own name first in the opening address formula). See also RS 94.2479, a letter in which the sender is a subordinate of the addressee and itemizes in his letter alimentary provisions to be delivered to the addressee, and RS 94.2580, a letter from the queen to 'Urtēnu demanding that provisions be made for individuals introduced in the letter.

¹⁰⁴ For the *quttal*-base of the D-stem infinitive, see Tropper 2000/2012: 563-564; Pardee 2003-2004: 278; Huehnergard 2008: 290 n. 107, 321, 404; 2012: 63, 65.

¹⁰⁵ As Hawley (2003: 722 with n. 99) suggests, the PP 'mk following *l šlm* can be understood as a second adjunct of *ymgy* rather than as the complement of *šlm*.

Now your servants' scarlet fabric is there with you. When you do indeed provide food for them, and when you ask (it) of your servants' house, and when your servant comes to you to repay (you), then—whatever your servant has (left there)—he will indeed have a *ḥupānu*-garment made for my master.

Several structural considerations suggest the possibility of this interpretation. First, this approach recognizes in the threefold repetition of *k* in ll. 22-25 an intentional seriation of several temporal¹⁰⁶ sub-conditions (an approach similar to the editor's position). This lexical identification in turn requires us to analyze {*kltn*} in l. 22 as the conjunction *kī* followed by the asseverative *l* and an imperfective verbal form and allows us to identify two important structural parallels. First, the presence of a 2ms imperfective form *ttn* in l. 22 finds a ready parallel in *tšāl* in l. 23:

<i>kī la tatinu 'akla lēhumā</i>	when you do indeed provide food for them
<i>wa kī tiš'alu bêta 'abdêka</i>	and when you ask (it) of your servants' house ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Herdner treated *k* as introducing conditional protases, but the Ugaritic conjunction *k(y)* does not otherwise serve this function in epistolary documents (examples are found almost exclusively in texts concerning hippiatric symptom remediation and omen interpretation; see Tropper 2012: 801-802). The temporal use of *k(y)* enjoys broader attestation and is found in letters (e.g., RS 16.402⁺:14 and RS 94.2406:4 [see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 157, 160]; see Tropper 2012: 801 for further examples).

¹⁰⁷ The resulting syntax, in which the verb $\sqrt{\text{š}}^1$ is employed with an accusative noun referring to the addressee (rather than the object) of the demand, finds parallels in Ugaritic (RS [Varia 4]:11-12, 16-17) and Biblical Hebrew (examples in which the verb means “to ask” include Gen 24:47; 2 Sam 14:18; Jer 38:14; Ps 35:11; for further examples, see *DCH* 8:212, s.v. לָאֵשׁ I, 1.1-2; for examples in which the verb means “to request,” see Deut 14:26; Isa 58:2; Ps 137:3 [and *DCH* 8:214]).

This syntactic evaluation eliminates the need to treat *bt 'bdk* as the subject of *tš'âl*—a position that requires appeal to *ad sensum* agreement involving a plural verbal form with a grammatically singular subject and an unexpected¹⁰⁸ volitive form. This approach also allows us to recognize an important structural parallel existing between ll. 22 and 27, as the asseverative *l* is employed with an imperfective form in both lines:

<i>kī la tatinu 'akla lêhumā</i>	when you do indeed provide food for them
...	...
<i>pa la yašab 'ilu ḥupâna</i>	then he will indeed have a <i>ḥupânu</i> -garment made

I suggest that this structural parallelism serves to underscore the superordinate protasis and apodosis. The real condition here involves the promise of a garment if food is provided, with the other two clauses introduced by *k* constituting further temporal sub-conditions (though they are syntactically construed as conjuncts). This also explains the shift from the use of the unmarked conjunction *w* to the marked conjunction *p* in l. 27, signaling the onset of the apodosis. The series of temporal protases are arranged chronologically and can be represented thus:

¹⁰⁸ The Ugaritic jussive, like its Biblical Hebrew counterpart, expresses speaker volition with respect to another party (Tropper 2012: 721-725), rather than simple deontic modality, for which the imperfective “long” prefix-conjugation was preferred (Tropper 2012: 734-735; for a discussion of the comparable situation in Biblical Hebrew, where a privative opposition between the jussive and “irrealis *yiqtol*” is observable, see Cook 2012: 241-248). A volitive parsing of *tš'âl* is accordingly expected to mean “let them ask (i.e., I want them to ask),” rather than “they must (i.e., are forced) to ask.”

PRINCIPAL PROTASIS*kī la tatīnu ʾakla lêhumā*

when you do indeed provide food for them

SUB-CONDITION 1*wa kī tiš ʾalu bêta ʾabdêka*

and when you ask (it) of your servants' house

SUB-CONDITION 2*wa kī yamġiyu ʾabduka lê šullami ʾimmaka*

and when your servant comes to you to repay (you)

PRINCIPAL APODOSIS*pa la yašab ʾilu ħupâna lê ba ʾliya*then he will indeed have a *ħupânu*-garment

made for my master

Several comparative lexicographic and epistolographic considerations provide further support for this approach. I treat these individually here.

(1) The lexeme {tn} has been universally understood as the numeral *two* in past studies¹⁰⁹ for good reason. After all, this is a letter written from two servants to their master.¹¹⁰ Yet the contextual salience of two servants threatens to obscure a key fact pertaining to the linguistic representation of dual cardinalities in Ugaritic. Specifically, the productivity of dual

¹⁰⁹ E.g., Sanmartín 1977: 264 n. 12 (“und was Deine beiden Diener betrifft: (als sie) dort, mit Dir (waren)”); Herdner 1978: 78 (“Quant-à) tes deux serviteurs (qui sont) là-bas, auprès de toi”); Pardee 1979-1980: 24 (“En ce qui concerne tes deux serviteurs là-bas hez [*sic*] toi ((se trouve) [*sic*] tout”); 2002b: 110 (“Now as for your two servants, there with you is all (one could need)”); 2012b: 31 (“Now as for your two servants, there with you is all (one could need)”); Dietrich and Loretz 1984: 67-68 (“Als Deine (beiden) Diener dort bei Dir waren”); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1999: 55 (“En cambio, (a) tus dos siervos, (cuando están) allí, cabe ti”); 2002: 548 (“Deine zwei Knechte dagegen—wenn sie dort bei Dir sind”); Dijkstra 1999: 159 (“And two of your servants are there with you”); Tropper 2000: 739 (“Und was deine zwei Diener dort bei dir betrifft”), 810 (“Und was deine beiden Diener betrifft, die dort bei dir sind”), 812 (similarly), 884 (“Was deine beiden Diener dort bei dir betrifft”); 2012: 739 (“und deine zwei Diener dort bei dir”), 810 (“Und was deine beiden Diener betrifft, die dort bei dir sind”), 812 (same as preceding), 884 (“Was deine beiden Diener dort bei dir betrifft”); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:89 (“En ce qui concerne tes deux serviteurs, là-bas chez toi (il y a de) tout”); 2009: 241 (“Now as for your two servants, there with you is all (one could need)”); Niehr 2006: 284 (“Und was deine beiden Diener dort bei dir betrifft”).

¹¹⁰ Note, however, that for those who believe that *lmt* indicates the location of these servants (as did Herdner, see above), they must be distinct from the individuals writing the letter.

morphological inflection in Ugaritic renders the presence of the numeral *two* strictly unnecessary. More importantly, examination of other epistolary documents suggests that the use of the numeral *two* is not only unnecessary but in fact unexpected. Elsewhere in the corpus, clear attestations of this numeral can be found only in contexts identifying the number of specific products that are under discussion or are scheduled/requested for delivery.¹¹¹ In such cases, we may assume that the orthographic ambiguity of the consonantal script (which does not disambiguate dual and plural) virtually required the explicit inclusion of the numeral. Even in such cases, however, the numeral could apparently be omitted, as in l. 18 of the present text, where {tqlm} is best understood as the dual /tiqlêma/, “two shekels,”¹¹² and is not preceded by an overt cardinal quantifier. A reference to “your two servants” differs fundamentally from such contexts in that it refers to a pragmatically accessible pair of individuals. Contextual ambiguity is nearly unimaginable, and these servants employ the numeral nowhere else in the letter, content to mark their grammatical number exclusively with dual morphology, as do the two authors of RS 8.315. I argue below that interpreting {tn} as a term referring to scarlet fabric offers a contextually appropriate alternative that does not introduce distributional anomalies like that associated with the cardinal numeral *two*.

(2) Treating ll. 20-21 as a complete sentence, as did the editor, entails an unmarked shift in the discourse topic from that treated in the preceding section. Such shifts are frequently marked by presentatives or extrapositioning in epistolary texts, and previous studies have treated the mention of “your two servants” as a case of such explicit topic-marking.¹¹³ This need not

¹¹¹ See RS 16.264:11-16 (of timbers); RS 17.117:15'-16' (of *ḥupânu*-garments); RS 94.2284:27-28 (of *ḥupânu*-garments).

¹¹² See Herdner 1978: 77.

¹¹³ See translations in n. 109 above, as well as Hawley 2003: 702 for a clear description of this text in the context of such marked topic identification.

count against the proposal, as unmarked transitions among different issues at hand within the body of letters can also be found.¹¹⁴

(3) The specific form of the adverb meaning “there” (*tmt*) may suggest that it functions as a predicate—either following its subject, as in Dijkstra’s (1999: 159) analysis, or preceding it as in that of Pardee (1979-1980: 24), also reflected in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009, presented above. Most interpreters have instead followed Herdner’s (1978: 78) lead (as presented above), treating *tmt* *mnk* as comprising the predicate of an unmarked relative clause (i.e., an adnominal PP, “as for your two servants (who are) there with you, . . .”). While such a function cannot be ruled out absolutely, we should observe that the adverb *tmn(y)* is typically found in expressions that topicalize the addressee’s current location.¹¹⁵ The adverb *tmt*, on the other hand, appears in two other epistolary documents (RS 4.475:18 and RS 94.2391:15’). In both of these texts, it appears clause-finally, once as an adverb (RS 4.475:18) and once as a locative predicate (RS 94.2391:15’), as in the present text for interpretations like those of Dijkstra and Pardee (just noted). With so few examples of *tmt* currently available, this may or may not turn out to be significant, but the proposed analysis brings this text into conformity with the clause-final placement of the other two instances of *tmt* and supports Tropper’s (2012: 739) observation that “*tmt* begegnet im Gegensatz zu *tm* nicht am Satzanfang und ist nur im Briefkorpus belegt.”

(4) This proposal allows us to recognize a more precise contextual sense associated with the verb $\sqrt{\text{ytn}}$ found in l. 22, referring specifically to delivery and accordingly to be compared to

¹¹⁴ E.g., RS 11.872:14 (contrast the nearly identical expression found in RS 16.379:12-13, where presentative topic marking is present); RS 18.031:10 (involving a fronted NP, but not extrapositioning); RS 34.124:10 (the body begins immediately with a question); RS 94.2284:7 (see also ll. 24-31, where the topic shifts abruptly several times); RS 94.2383⁺:6.

¹¹⁵ See Tropper 2012: 739-740 for examples.

several other appearances of this verb in the epistolary corpus.¹¹⁶ The situation in each case pertains specifically to the delivery of provisions or other goods over distance rather than gift-giving and need not, therefore, imply a strict hierarchical/social *dependence* of the senders of this letter on *Yadurma*. In fact, the mutuality entailed by the promise issued in ll. 26-29 speaks against such dependence, as noted further below.

(5) Treating {šlm} in l. 26 as a D-stem form of the verb √šlm¹¹⁷ allows us to connect this line with the situation of financial obligation suggested in the first half of the body of this letter and, more immediately, to the obligation generated by the provision of food discussed in the immediately preceding lines. An expectation of repayment for goods delivered can be found in other letters,¹¹⁸ and support for the presence of this idea in RS 29.093 may be discernible in the appearance of the root √šlm referring to repayment in RS 94.2391:11', 15', a letter sharing a number of lexical items in common with RS 29.093.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ See, e.g., RS 16.264:7-8; RS 17.117:13', 16'-21'; RS 18.140:16'-17'; RS 22.003:6-11 (here clearly in a case of mutual exchange); RS 29.095:18-19; RS 94.2284:4-5, 27-28, 29, 31(?); RS 94.2406:4-5; RS 94.5015:6-7, 12. See also uses of the Š-stem, especially in RS 18.075:20-22, RS 94.2479:21, and RS 94.2592:9'.

¹¹⁷ Comparable lexical evaluations are reflected in the following studies: Herdner 1978: 78 (“si ton serviteur vient pour s’acquitter (?)”); Dietrich and Loretz 1984: 67, 68 (“da sind Deine Knechte zur Bezahlung zu Dir gekommen”); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1999: 55 (“pága(les cuando estén) contigo”); 2002: 548 (“dann bezahle (sie, solange sie) bei Dir (sind)”); Tropper 2000: 495 (“Und wenn(?) deine beiden Diener zu dir kommen, um zu bezahlen”), 565 (“Als/Wenn deine beiden Diener kamen/kommen, um zu bezahlen(?)”), 589, 790; 2012: 495 (“Und wenn dein Diener zum Gruß (d.h. Begrüßungsbesuch) / zur Bezahlung zu dir kommt”), 565 (“Wenn dein Diener zur Bezahlung / zum Gruß zu dir kommt”), 589, 790; Niehr 2006: 284 (“Und wenn dein Diener zu dir kommt, zu bezahlen (?)”); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 807 (“pay them when they are with you”).

Alternative views are found in Sanmartín 1977: 264 n. 12 (“Friede sei mir [*sic*] Dir!”); Pardee 1979-1980: 24 (“Et quand ton serviteur arrivera pour te saluer”), 29; 2002b: 111 (“And when your servant comes to tender to you his formal greetings”); 2012b: (“And when your servant comes to tender to you his formal greetings”); Dijkstra 1999: 159 (“if they arrive in peace to you”); Tropper 2000: 565 (“Wenn deine beiden Diener wohlbehalten(?) ankommen”); 2012: 495 (“Und wenn dein Diener zum Gruß (d.h. Begrüßungsbesuch) / zur Bezahlung zu dir kommt”), 565 (“Wenn dein Diener zur Bezahlung / zum Gruß zu dir kommt”), 589, 790; Hawley 2003: 722 (“Now, (as for) the fact that your servant is going to come to you for (the purpose of) the ‘well-being (gift)’”); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:89 (“Lorsque ton serviteur arrivera pour te saluer”); 2009: 241 (“And when your servant comes to tender to you his formal greetings”).

¹¹⁸ See RS 16.264; RS 22.003:6-11.

¹¹⁹ RS 94.2391 is only partially preserved, but the verb √mgy, a form of the root √šlm (specifically, the noun *šlmt*, “repayment”), the existential *ī*, and the adverb *mt* are found in both letters.

(6) Understanding {tn} as a reference to scarlet fabric¹²⁰ aligns well with the suspicion that this entire section of the letter treats a bilateral exchange involving food and textiles.¹²¹ More importantly, it renders the contents of ll. 27-29 more readily comprehensible. As understood here, l. 20 amounts to an excuse: the servants intend to have a scarlet *ḥupānu*-garment¹²² made for their “master,” but they will not be able to do so immediately, as the needed materials remain “there with” the master. This problem of inventory serves to excuse the servants from immediately providing an in-kind payment for alimentary provisions upon delivery (i.e., to be sent back to the “master” with the envoy that will deliver the food)—the master will simply have to wait until his servant arrives “there,” at which point the promised garment can be manufactured. This also accounts for the expression *mnm it l bdk*: the garment will be manufactured using whatever scarlet fabric is (still) available there upon his arrival. The real-world concern is identical to that expressed in RS 94.2284:18-21,¹²³ in which *ʿAbinaye* responds to a previous letter concerning textiles (including a *ḥupānu*-garment) by providing information regarding which garments remain available and by indicating a willingness to dispose of them

¹²⁰ For the Ugaritic lexeme *tn*, “scarlet,” see Ribichini and Xella 1985: 68-69; Pardee 2003-2004: 199 with n. 745; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 908.

¹²¹ The mention of these types of provisions together can also be found in RS 94.2580 and RS 94.2284 (presumably also RS 94.2545⁺, though the state of preservation precludes certainty).

¹²² The *ḥupānu*-garment could be manufactured from a variety of materials (Ribichini and Xella 1985: 39, citing examples of wool and linen) and could be dyed with different hues, including *iqnū* (see RS 15.082:1; RS 94.2284:18-20), which refers to a blue shade of purple (see Ribichini and Xella 1985: 32; Dietrich 2009: 44-51; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 90-91), and *šmt* (see RS 15.082:1), a term generally believed to refer to a ruddy color (see Ribichini and Xella 1985: 64; Dietrich 2009: 47-48; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 818-819). As *ḥupānu*-garments could be dyed with reddish colors like *šmt*, it is not a stretch to imagine that they may also have been produced with scarlet (*tn*) fabric, even if other attestations of this are not currently available. This position would be strengthened if we were able to affirm straightforwardly that other textiles, such as the *lbš*-garment, could be dyed with either *iqnū* (RS 15.115:16) or *tn* (as, for some, in RS 15.035:8 [see Ribichini and Xella 1985: 68; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 489, 908]), but the latter depends on a questionable interpretation of *lbš tn* in RS 15.035:8, which may refer instead to “two garments” (Pardee 2003-2004: 205 with n. 77). In the latter case, RS 15.035 would offer another example of the ease with which *scarlet* and *two* may be confused in documents treating administrative concerns pertaining to textiles, though the confusion would be moving in the opposite direction of that proposed above for RS 29.093.

¹²³ See similarly RS 17.434⁺:29'-31' (= *KTU* 2.73:7-9).

(we must assume) as requested.¹²⁴ In both cases, the turnover of textiles and fabrics in stock is taken for granted and interacted with as a feature of the pragmatic common ground.

To summarize, this proposal entails recognizing RS 29.093 as a letter from two subordinate but financially independent agents to their superior. The second half of the body makes a typical epistolary request for alimentary provisions and, should the addressee require some form of recompense, repayment will be provided once one of the two servants is able to return to the center of operations where the fabrics necessary for the production of an in-kind repayment are to be found. The result is that, as many have seen, *mnm it l 'bdk* does functionally serve to qualify this process, but the syntax and focus involved are distinct. On this reading (and, in fact, on previous interpretations as well), this clause may very well comprise a subordinate clause/right-dislocated complementizer phrase (as translated above) rather than a syntactically incorporated, adverbial free relative. Of equal importance, the contrastive focus introduced by this clause targets *it* rather than *'bdk*. It means, “whatever your servant *does* have (left),” not “(using) whatever *your servant* has,” and the salient issue is the fabric from which the garment will be made, not (primarily) keeping the ledgers of the two parties cleanly divided. This is not to say that the latter consideration is excluded from view, only that that consideration is expressed (less directly) in ll. 23-24 and (more directly) in ll. 25-27 rather than in l. 29.

¹²⁴ As translated in Bordreuil and Pardee (2009: 250): “Now as concerns the letter (regarding) a *hipânu*-garment [*sic*] and a pair of leggings (that you sent me): Some remain (made) (of) purple wool, partially. If I KĜ any purple wool, I will certainly put (some of those) with them.”

5.2.2.4 Impersonal Indefinite *mnm* Used Independently (Under Negation)

(34) **RS 15.111:18**¹²⁵ (legal)

[w ù]r n`t . in ` . mnm` . bh

[wa `u]nuttu `ênu MNM bi=hu

and u.tax-NOM.M.SG.ABS NEG.EXIST WH=M in=it.3MS

- a. “And there is no *`unuttu*-tax on it at all.”
- b. “And as for an *`unuttu*-tax, there is not any on it.”

Context: RS 15.111 is a royal land grant written in alphabetic script. The sentence in question here serves to exclude legally the application of an *`unuttu*-obligation to the land transferred in the body of the document (for this formula, see Márquez Rowe 2006: 234-238).

Comment: The epigraphy and syntax of this sentence both require comment. Establishing the correct reading of l. 18 has proven difficult. Virolleaud (1957: 23) presented the text as {[w . ùn]t . in[n .] bh} in his *editio princeps*. Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín suggested *in mnm bh*, essentially as presented above, in all three editions of *KTU*.¹²⁶ Tropper initially¹²⁷ returned to Virolleaud’s reading, but later¹²⁸ preferred a new reading, *in mh[k] bh*. The reading suggested by the editors of *KTU* has now been confirmed and found to be even more certain than these scholars had originally suggested in an autopsy-based reexamination of the text published in 2012.¹²⁹ This reading is taken for granted in the presentation of the text above.

¹²⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012.

¹²⁶ Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 167; 1995: 200; 2013: 229.

¹²⁷ Tropper 2000: 244, 821, 822.

¹²⁸ Tropper 2012: 243, 244, 821, 822.

¹²⁹ Hawley and Pardee 2012: 254. See also the earlier statement of Pardee 2003-2004: 142-143.

The syntax of *mnm*, however, remains in question. It may serve as the argument of the negative existential *in*, with *unt* amounting to a left-dislocated constituent (“as for an *unuttu*-obligation, there isn’t *any(thing)* on it”).¹³⁰ Others have treated it as if it modified *unt* in spite of the separation of the two terms by the negative existential.¹³¹ Still others render *mnm* adverbially, in view of the comparably worded exclusion found in RS 16.382:20-21 (*w unt in bh*) which lacks the indefinite (thus, “there is no *unuttu*-obligation on it *at all*”).¹³² I return to this question in the discussion of the syntax of *mnm* below.

5.2.2.5 Uncertain Examples

The following examples are noted for the sake of completeness. I propose no parsing or translation because the fragmentary character of each example precludes certainty regarding the syntax, the semantics, and in the first example, even of the lexeme involved. While the second and third examples almost certainly involve an indefinite pronoun, nothing meaningful regarding syntax or semantics can be gathered due to the state of preservation.

- (35) **RS 18.113A+[B]:13**¹³³ (epistolary)
 w [.] b^r ‘ly’ . ‘mn’[. . .]

¹³⁰ See, perhaps, Hawley and Pardee 2012: 255 (“[Et d’obligation- *unuttu*, il n’y aura point sur (cette maison)”).

¹³¹ Kienast 1979: 448 (“Irgendeine Lehnspflicht,” explicitly suggesting an attributive relationship to *unt* in his commentary). Others translate comparably without explicit syntactic comment: Helzer 1979: 479 (“no [cor]vée”); 1982: 4 (“no *unt*-service”); Miller 1980: 322 (“no [feudal] obligation”).

¹³² Libolt 1985: 361 (“no service requirement whatever”); Sanmartín 1995: 134 n. 7 (“hat keinerlei *unt*-Pflicht”); Pardee 2003-2004: 143 (“no *unt*-duty at all”); Márquez Rowe 2006: 237 n. 89.

¹³³ For the text, see the *editio secunda* (Pardee 2012).

(36) **RS 34.124:33**¹³⁴ (epistolary)

mnm ṛ . ṛ ḥṛṭṛ[. . .]ṛ - ṛ

(37) **RS 94.2450:10'-12'**¹³⁵ (epistolary)

w . ṛ ḁṛ[. . .] (11') mnm . [. . .] (12') ḁn . iṣ[. . .]

5.2.2.6 Rejected Examples

Three further examples that have been proposed in the past are identified here for the sake of explicit exclusion. In each case, either the reading/restoration of {mnm} or the interpretation of this sequence as the indefinite pronoun must be rejected.

(38) **RS 2.[008]⁺ i 36'-38' = KTU 1.4 i 38-40**¹³⁶ (mythological)

ṭlḥn . ṭl . d mlá (37') mnm . dbbm . d (38') msdt ṛ . ḁṛṣ

ṭulḥanu 'ili dū mali'a mīnīma

table-NOM.M.SG.CSTR DN REL full-G.PFV.3MS creature-OBL.M.PL.ABS

dabbābīma dā mōsadāti 'arṣi

creature-OBL.M.PL.ABS DETERM foundation-OBL.F.PL.CSTR earth-GEN.F.SG.ABS

“the table of 'Ilu, which is filled with species(/insects [see below]),

with creatures of the foundations of the earth”

¹³⁴ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 242-243 (with earlier bibliography).

¹³⁵ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 200-201).

¹³⁶ The text as presented here reflects Pardee's epigraphic study of this tablet, currently in preparation and generously made available to me by its author.

The term {*mm*} appearing in l. 37' (= *KTU* 1.4 i 39), while occasionally mistaken for an indefinite pronoun,¹³⁷ is now generally recognized as a plural noun cognate to BH *mī'n*, “type, species,”¹³⁸ for literary reasons presented clearly by Dietrich and Loretz (2009a: 47-48) and Smith and Pitard (2009: 421-422). In fact, we may be able to arrive more directly at the concrete sense suggested in Pardee’s (1997a: 256) translation, “creatures,” and commended as more contextually appropriate than “species” by Smith and Pitard (2009: 421-422) by an alternative etymological route. Specifically, Militarev and Kogan (2005: 204, no. 152) have identified a set of cognate terms in a number of Semitic languages that lead them to reconstruct a lexeme **mVn(Vn)*- referring to a “kind of insect.” These two authors suggest connecting such a term to a putative instance of *mm* in RS 3.367 i 3' (= *KTU* 1.2 iv 3), discussed immediately below, but do not consider the more plausible connection to the present passage, where the parallel term (*dbbm*) makes a reference to some sort of insect entirely appropriate.¹³⁹ In any event, *mm* in this text is not an indefinite pronoun. This is an important exclusion to register, as this text would otherwise furnish the only certain example of a phrase consisting of *mm* + NP incorporated directly into the argument structure of the main VP (see the discussion of syntax below).

¹³⁷ E.g., Albright 1943: 41-42 with n. 25 (“everything (of) beasts”); Aistleitner 1959: 37 (“allerlei Produkten”); 1963: 74 (“allerlei Produkten”).

¹³⁸ E.g., Driver 1956: 93; Gibson 1977: 56; del Olmo Lete 1981: 194; Pardee 1997a: 256; Smith and Pitard 2009: 398; Garbini 2014: 115; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 554.

¹³⁹ Grassi (2019: 98) has recently appealed to this term as well, suggesting, implausibly in my view, that *mn kl mh 'kl*, “of every sort of devourer,” found in Sefire I A 30, should be redivided as *mn klmh 'kl* and interpreted by appeal to Akkadian *mūnu*, *kalmat eqli*, and *'ākilu*. The use of *kl mh* in Sefire is too abundantly exemplified (see ch. 3) to entertain this redivision.

(39) **RS 3.367 i 3' = KTU 1.2 iv 3¹⁴⁰** (mythological)

[. . .]. w b ym . mnḥ l àbd . b ym . irtm . 'mnm'

The reading {'mnm'} at the end of this line, first proposed in the second edition of *KTU*,¹⁴¹ cannot be accepted epigraphically. As noted explicitly by Tropper¹⁴² (with reference to Smith 1994: 319-320) and as confirmed in Pardee's epigraphic evaluation of the tablet (in preparation), only the first {'m'} can be read, at which point the text breaks off, as indicated in earlier studies, since Virolleaud's *editio princeps*.¹⁴³

(40) **RS 18.[400]:6¹⁴⁴** (epistolary)

[tmny 'mk mnm .] šl[m] . . .

Since the publication of RS 18.[400], scholars have assumed that the double formula of well-being could be reconstructed in this fragment based on the graphemes that could be clearly read.¹⁴⁵ More recently, however, Burlingame and Pardee (2019) have argued that RS 18.[400] originally belonged to the same tablet as another epistolary fragment, RS 18.286[A]. The reconstitution of these fragments rules out the presence of the formula under consideration, and with it the reconstructed attestation of the indefinite pronoun *mnm* (Burlingame and Pardee 2019: 194-195).

¹⁴⁰ The text is presented here as it is found in *KTU*³.

¹⁴¹ Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1995: 9; 2013: 9.

¹⁴² Tropper 2000/2012: 244.

¹⁴³ Virolleaud 1935: 30, pl. XI; Herdner 1963: 11; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 9; Smith 1994: 319.

¹⁴⁴ The text is presented here as it is found in *KTU*³ 2.56.

¹⁴⁵ See Dietrich and Loretz 1976: 61. For a complete history of interpretation, see Burlingame and Pardee 2019: 194-195.

5.3 Syntax

Analysis of the indefinite pronouns written {mnm} most appropriately begins with syntax, as this has implications for our assessment of both semantics and morphology. The account offered here is purely descriptive. A diachronic explanatory account is offered in conjunction with the discussion of morphology and grammaticalization below.

5.3.1 Independent *mnm* Under Negation

The first syntactic observation required has been suggested already by the organization of the data as presented above. Specifically, both personal and impersonal *mnm* can be employed independently, as in examples (7) (personal) and (34) (impersonal), repeated here as (41) and (42):

(41) **RS 94.2457:22'-23'¹⁴⁶** (epistolary)

[. . .]mlàtk (23') [. . .]mnm . àl . yns

. . . *mal'aktV=kV* . . . *MNM 'al yanus*

messenger.party-?.F.SG.SUFF=your.2?S WH-M NEG flee-G.JUSS.3MS

“ . . . your messenger party . . . let no one flee (lit. let not anyone flee)!”

¹⁴⁶ For the text see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 194-196; Pardee forthcoming *a*.

(42) **RS 15.111:18**¹⁴⁷ (legal)

[w ù]r n`ṭ . in ṛ . mnm` . bh

[wa `u]nuttu `enu MNM bi=hu

and u.tax-NOM.M.SG.ABS NEG.EXIST WH=M in=it.3MS

a. “And there is no *unuttu*-tax on it at all.”

b. “And as for an *unuttu*-tax, there is not any on it.”

Notably, both examples involve negation. These two attestations allow us to qualify Faber’s (1988) assessment of *mnm* noted above: we cannot accept the position that *mnm* functions exclusively as an indefinite relative. These two examples illustrate that, at least under negation, it can play the role of an independent pronoun. In (41), the personal pronoun fills the role of subject of the following verb *yns*. In (42), *mnm* has been understood as either the argument of the negative existential *in* or adverbially (as noted above). We must now revisit and attempt to resolve this question. As *mnm* clearly plays an argument role in the other example of *mnm* under negation (example (41)), I prefer to treat *mnm* in example (42) similarly as the argument of *in*.

This judgment receives further support by comparing this Ugaritic formula with its Akkadian counterparts. At least part of the impetus for treating *mnm* adverbially here is found in the fact that Akkadian *mimma* can be used adverbially.¹⁴⁸ Yet a crucial syntactic distinction is observable between the use of adverbial *mimma* in Akkadian legal texts and *mnm* in the present example. Specifically, the Akkadian (*p*)*ilku*-exclusion formula is attested with *mimma* preceding the negative existential *yānu*, not following it, as in the Ugaritic example (i.e., *u pilku mimma*

¹⁴⁷ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012.

¹⁴⁸ See Huehnergard 1989: 139-140 for this feature in Ras Shamra Akkadian; the comparison of adverbial *mimma* to *mnm* in the present text is made explicitly by Márquez Rowe 2006: 237 with n. 89.

yānu ina . . .; never ***u pilku yānu mimma ina . . .*).¹⁴⁹ As the Ugaritic expression parts ways with its Ras Shamra Akkadian counterparts at the level of surface syntax, I see no compelling reason to assume that it did not also do so with respect to the grammatical role played by *mm*.

A second piece of evidence in favor of treating *mm* as an argument of *in* in (42) comes from the behavior of *in* itself. The argument of *in* in most cases follows this negative existential particle rather than preceding it (see Tropper 2012: 820). In at least some instances in which the argument is topicalized, so that it precedes the particle, the particle appears in an alternate form, *inn*, as Tropper (2012: 821-822) has demonstrated persuasively. There are certainly exceptions, including the highly relevant RS 16.382:20-21 (*w unt in bh*), but the fact remains that most cases of the basic form *in* are followed by their arguments, and in no other case is *in* (or its expanded forms) modified adverbially in the manner imagined for *mm* here. For these reasons, I argue that (42b) is to be preferred and that *mm* can, accordingly, function as the subject of verbs and the argument of negative existential particles.

5.3.2 Clausal Complementation (Clear Examples)

Both personal and impersonal *mm* can be employed with a clausal complement, in which cases they effectively head free relative clauses. The relevant examples include (8) (personal) and (32)-(33) (impersonal), repeated here:

¹⁴⁹ Among legal texts produced at Ugarit, see RS 16.148⁺ Verso 9'-10' (= *PRU* III, p. 115); RS 16.134:7 (= *PRU* III, p. 141); RS 17.351B Verso 3' (= *PRU* VI, no. 61); RS 18.021:26-27 (= *PRU* VI, no. 45). Further examples drawn from other formulae can be found in “international” documents, including RS 17.319:7 (= *PRU* IV, p. 183); RS 17.314:8 (= *PRU* IV, p. 189; this example involves *lā* rather than *yānu*); and RS 17.232:8-9 (= *PRU* IV, p. 239). Each of these examples illustrates a point already observed by Huehnergard (1989: 140) regarding the adverbial use of *mimma*: “when used adverbially, the pronoun usually stands immediately before (*lā* and) the verb.” The examples just cited show that this can be extended to negative clauses involving *yānu* as well.

(43) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'**¹⁵⁰ (epistolary)

w . ḥp̄t (13') p . mnm h'w' . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa ḥuptu pa MNM huwa wa bi sipri

and *ḥuptu*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any) *ḥuptu*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

(44) **RS 18.075:23-25**¹⁵¹ (epistolary)

w' . à'p . ànk . mnm (24) ḥs'r't . w . uḥy (25) y'msn . tmn

wa 'apa 'anāku MNM ḥasirtu wa 'uḥû=ya

and also I WH=M lack-G.PFV.1CS and brother-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

ya 'ammis=annu tammāna

load-D.JUSS?.3MS=it.3MS there

“And I, too, whatever I lack, <and> my brother should load it there.”

¹⁵⁰ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

¹⁵¹ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which basically agrees at this point with the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1965: 93).

(45) **RS 29.093:27-29**¹⁵² (epistolary)

p l . yšb‘l (28) ḥpn . l b‘ly (29) mnm . ṯt . l ‘bdk

pa la yašab ‘ilu ḥupâna lê ba ‘li=ya

then indeed make-C.IPFV.3MS garment-ACC.M.SG for master-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

MNM ṯtu lê ‘abdi=ka

WH=M EXIST to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

- a. “Then he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (*scil.* you) (out of) whatever your servant has (lit. “whatever there is to your servant”).”
- b. “Then he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (*scil.* you)—whatever your servant has (lit. “whatever there is to your servant”).” (Smoother: “Then, whatever your servant has, he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (*scil.* you).”)

In these examples, a determiner-like syntax for *mnm* is impossible (we can rule out glosses like *any* immediately). Of equal significance, we can reach a clear judgment regarding the syntactic relationship between the *mnm*-clause and the remainder of the sentence in at least two of these examples. As noted in ch. 2 above, clauses headed by items like *whatever* can be syntactically incorporated as arguments within the main clause (*I’ll eat whatever you bake*)—these I described with the conventional term *free relative clause*—or external to that syntax, functioning as a subordinate clause (*Whatever you bake, I’ll eat it*), which I called a *parametric concessive conditional clause*, following work on the subject by König and Haspelmath. In examples (43) and (44), we must be dealing with the latter, as the verb of the main clause has its own object in

¹⁵² For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241.

the form of an enclitic pronominal suffix in both cases. The expressions *mm hw* and *mm hsrt* must accordingly comprise subordinate clauses¹⁵³ comparable to König's and Haspelmath's parametric concessive conditional clauses.

This assessment aligns with the presence of the conjunction *w*, which stands between the *mm*-clause and the main clause in (43) and (44). This syntactic feature is, to a certain degree, ambiguous and requires brief exposition here in view of its significance for discussions pursued below. In Ugaritic, the coordinating conjunction *w* (“and”) can be used to mark the transition from a pragmatic Topic to the pragmatic Comment when the former precedes the latter. The Topic may be a topicalized NP—fully a part of the syntax of the main clause—in which case grammarians have designated the *w* standing between this NP and the predicate of which it is an argument *pleonastic waw*.¹⁵⁴ The Topic may also be a clause—whether a left-dislocated CP¹⁵⁵ or a true subordinate clause¹⁵⁶—in which cases grammarians designate the *w* separating the two as the *waw of apodosi*.¹⁵⁷

The conjunction in both cases serves a single function: it marks the pragmatic boundary between Topic and Comment.¹⁵⁸ The difference captured by the traditional nomenclature is not, however, without significance. In the case of *pleonastic waw*, the constituents appearing on both

¹⁵³ Whether it is more appropriate to describe these as true subordinate clauses or simply as extrapositioned complementizer phrases is beside the point for present purposes, as both analyses would predict comparable syntactic and pragmatic relationships between the clause in question and the main clause: in both cases the clause in question will not comprise an argument of the matrix clause and will instead most frequently play the role of a pragmatic Topic.

¹⁵⁴ See Tropper 2012: 783-785.

¹⁵⁵ As in instances of the formula employed to promote the contents of previous correspondence to the role of discourse Topic, using a left-dislocated complementizer phrase, which can be followed by presentatives like *ht* (as in RS 17.139:5-7) or by the conjunction *w* (as in RS 18.147:9-14 and RS 94.2406:33-35). For the formula in question, see Pardee 1977: 7-8; Tropper 2012: 802-803.

¹⁵⁶ As following the conditional protases appearing in RS 16.379:16-20 or the causal clauses in RS 96.2039:18-24.

¹⁵⁷ See Tropper 2012: 786-787.

¹⁵⁸ This fact is only appreciable in light of linguistic work that has shown that subordinate protases amount to pragmatic Topics, with the apodoses functioning as Comments (see Haiman 1978; Croft 2003: 12; Ebert, Ebert, and Hinterwimmer 2014).

sides of the conjunction belong to a single clause, while for the *waw of apodosis* this is not the case. But as the same conjunction is used in each of these scenarios, its presence in (43) and (44) does not *necessarily* tell us much about the syntactic status of the preceding *mnm*-constituent (though it makes it very likely that that constituent plays a topical role—a fact to which I return below). Yet when the parameter of genre is taken into consideration, the diagnostic value of this conjunction grows. Specifically, while examples of so-called *pleonastic waw* can be identified frequently enough (Tropper 2012: 783-785), these appear exclusively in literary texts and one incantatory text (RIH 78/14). The only prose example Tropper (2012: 784) claims to identify is found in RS 94.2406:3-6, but his identification of the *pleonastic waw* in this case depends on an improbable division of the text¹⁵⁹ (RS 34.124:15 would have made a more likely example). Stated differently, when the conjunction *w* is employed to mark the shift from Topic to Comment in Ugaritic *prose*, the topical element is most often clausal (CP, not NP or DP).

Example (43) is particularly striking in this regard. A left-dislocated *hpt* coreferential with the object of the verb in the matrix clause is not expected to trigger the insertion of *w* (we might expect *w hpt b spr štnn*). It is the insertion of the extra clause, *p mnm hw*, that effectively derails the straightforward syntax of left-dislocation and results in the insertion of the *waw* of apodosis here. This must be identified as a case of syntactic interruption: “As for any/each *huptu*—yes, whoever he may be—record him in the document.”

As both (43) and (44) involve *mnm*-clauses that stand outside the syntax of the main clause, I assume the same to be the case in (45), where *mnm it l' bdk* can be understood as a parametric concessive conditional clause in the right periphery (cf. *I'll eat it, whatever it is*). Nothing precludes the syntactic integration of this constituent as a clause-internal adjunct

¹⁵⁹ See the *editio princeps* of Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee (2012: 157), as well as Sauvage and Pardee 2015.

(represented in (45a)), but its placement at the right edge of the sentence and the clearer evidence for treating (43) and (44) as parametric concessive conditionals lead me to prefer this analysis for (45) as well. This situation can be contrasted with the obvious syntactic incorporation of a semantically comparable relative clause found in the following epistolary example:

(46) **RIH 78/03⁺:6-10¹⁶⁰** (epistolary)

(6) . . . yšlm . . . (9) . . . l . kl . d . ðṭ (10) [l . špš . m]ᵀk . rb

yīšlam . . . lē kulli dī ᵀtu [lē šapši

be.well-G.JUSS.3MS for all-GEN.M.SG.ABS REL EXIST to sun-GEN.F.SG.ABS

ma]lki rabbi

king-GEN.M.SG.ABS great-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“May it be well . . . for everything that the Sun, the Great King has (lit. everything there is to the Sun)”¹⁶¹

The force of the expression *kl d ðṭ* here is closely comparable to that found in *mnm ðṭ* in the text under discussion. Comparison of *kl d* to *mnm* suggests that the latter is in fact taking a clausal complement (as the relative headed by *kl d* must), but contrasting the two examples throws the syntactic dislocation of *mnm* into clearer relief: note that *kl d ðṭ* in example (46) functions as the object of the preposition *l*, with the resulting PP comprising a complement of the main verb *yšlm*. This provides a clear example of syntactic incorporation and is quite distinct from the situation in example (45).

¹⁶⁰ For the text, see Bordreuil and Pardee 2019: 178.

¹⁶¹ The ellipses presented here do not indicate breaks in the text but rather content I have excluded to render the presentation more succinct. Between *yšlm* and *l kl d ðṭ* appears a string of specific entities for which the addressee expresses a wish for well-being. This list is concluded with the domain-widening expression found in l. 9-10, consisting of the universal quantifier heading a relative clause.

With three examples of *mm* + PREDICATE functioning as parametric concessive conditionals, as well as a revised view of the qualified diagnostic role *w* may play in assessing syntactic relationships between topics and comments in prose, we can now turn to cases in which *mm* is followed by a noun phrase.

5.3.3 The Epistolary Expression *mm šlm*

The examples provided above in sec. 5.2.2.1-5.2.2.2, in which *mm* is followed immediately by a noun phrase, provide the greatest challenge to syntactic description. As the alternative translations provided in the sections just mentioned illustrate, these texts are, in theory, susceptible to at least two lines of analysis. For the first of these, *mm* + NP is a DP-like expression “any well-being,” “any word,” etc. For the second, *mm* functions as an indefinite relative *whoever*, *whatever*, just as in the preceding section.

I begin with the examples gathered in sec. 5.2.2.1, as they allow us to reach two important conclusions more readily than other examples: (1) the *mm*-constituent in these examples stands outside of the syntax of the main clause—it is not a syntactically incorporated argument; (2) the *mm*-constituent itself is clausal (i.e., we are required to assume the presence of a zero-copula of some sort). I address each of these in turn.

As noted above, while the lexeme *šlm* could be nominal or verbal, clear epistolary parallels in contemporary letters written in logo-syllabic Akkadian (where the operative phrase, *minummê šulmānu*, clearly involves a noun) provide a strong comparative basis for treating *šlm* as the noun *šalāmu*, “well-being.”¹⁶² The real descriptive advantage afforded by these examples comes in the fact that the verbal form of $\sqrt{\text{t(-)b}}$ (“to return”) in the main clause in *every case* has

¹⁶² See Pardee 2003 for discussion; see also Pardee 2003-2004: 362.

an overt direct object, the noun {rgm} (/rigmu/, “word”). This means that the expression *mm* *šlm* cannot itself function as a syntactically integrated direct object of the verb found in the matrix clause (e.g., **“Send back whatever news/well-being there is there with you”). Instead, as in the examples treated in the immediately preceding subsection, examples (9)-(26) must involve *mm*-constituents that are syntactically discreet from the main clauses that follow—they are either subordinate parametric concessive conditional clauses or left-dislocated complementizer phrases.

This assessment aligns with the regular appearance of the conjunction *w* marking the transition from these *mm*-constituents to the main clause (see examples (11), (14), (15), (24), as well as (28), (29), (30) above). As noted above, the presence of this *waw of apodosis* is unexpected in prose if the constituent it follows is actually part of the following main clause. The formulaic character of the expression concerned in this case (the double-formula of well-being) does not diminish the utility of this syntactic diagnostic in the least. To the contrary, in this case it renders it a surer guide—a fact appreciated when the Ugaritic version of this formula is compared with its Akkadian counterpart employed in contemporary epistolary correspondence written in the latter language and logo-syllabic script. While the request for news is found in over forty Akkadian letters,¹⁶³ the transition from the mention of well-being (*minummê šulmānu*) to the command to send word (*tēma terra*, or similar) is *never* marked by the coordinating conjunction *u*, in spite of the fact that this conjunction was employed frequently enough in Ras Shamra Akkadian in this manner (imitating the syntax of the local language; see Huehnergard 1989: 242). Put differently, the presence of *w* in this formula in its alphabetic Ugaritic form

¹⁶³ Most of these are presented in Pardee 2003. Further examples can be found in the following texts, published after Pardee 2003 and are identified in Pardee forthcoming *a*: RS 92.2017; RS 94.2169; RS 94.2287; RS 94.2299⁺; RS 94.2363; RS 94.2374; RS 94.2412; RS 94.2416⁺; RS 94.2475; RS 94.2478; RS 94.2485; RS 94.2494; RS 94.2523; RS 94.2525; RS 94.2530; RS 94.2540; RS 94.2562; RS 94.2585; RS 94.2957.

cannot be mistaken as an imitation of Akkadian epistolary norms or as a relic of the Akkadian formulary that some have imagined to stand behind these Ugaritic formulae;¹⁶⁴ the use of *w* here is not borrowed but reflects genuine Ugaritic syntax.

Of course, the syntactic independence of *mnm šlm* is no guarantee of its clausal status. It could just as easily represent an extrapositioned topical determiner phrase: “As for any well-being, send back word.” The problem with this approach is the fact that *mnm šlm* never stands alone at the left periphery of the sentence; it is without exception accompanied by prepositional phrases and/or adverbs that render a DP analysis much more difficult. I propose, instead, that the basic syntax of this formulaic expression is found most clearly represented in RS 15.008:16-20, example (12) above, repeated here:

¹⁶⁴ See discussion in ch. 8 below and Burlingame forthcoming *a*.

(47) **RS 15.008:16-20**¹⁶⁵ (epistolary)

w mnm . (17) šlm . ‘m (18) ‘umy (19) ‘my . tt̄b (20) rgm

wa MNM šalāmu ‘imma ‘ummiya

and WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS with mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

‘imma=ya taṭaṭib rigma

with=me.1CS send-C.JUSS.3FS word-ACC.M.SG.ABS

- a. “And any/whatever well-being (there is) with my mother, let her send word (of that) to me.”
- b. “And whatever the well-being (is) with my mother, let her send word (of that) to me.”
- c. “And whatever well-being (is) with my mother, let her send word (of that) to me.”

In this example, the PP *‘m ‘umy* (“with my mother”) is not topicalized as its counterparts in many other examples are. Its placement in this sentence demonstrates that it serves either as an adverbial adjunct to an elided existential (as in (46a))¹⁶⁶ or copula (as in (46b)), or as the predicate itself (as in (46c)). The third of these options does not survive comparison with other examples drawn from sec. 5.2.2.1, as the PP is in all other cases topicalized in a manner incompatible with a predicate analysis. Consider example (10), repeated here:

¹⁶⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 236 (with further bibliography).

¹⁶⁶ For an example of such an elided existential, see RS 94.2284:13, 27. In l. 13, we find the expression *hm iṭ d ytn*, “if **there is** anyone who gave,” while l. 27 has *hm ibt*, “if (**there is**) enmity” (see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 182).

(48) **RS 9.479A:12-15**¹⁶⁷ (epistolary)

‘m . ʾady (13) mnm . šlm (14) rgm . tttb (15) l . ʾbdh

‘*imma* ʾ*adatti*=*ya* *MNM* *šalāmu*

with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma *taṭaṭib* *lê* ʾ*abdi*=*ha*

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.JUSS.3FS to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=her.3FS

- a. “With my lady, any/whatever well-being (there is), let her send word (of that) to her servant.”
- b. “With my lady, whatever the well-being (is), let her send word (of that) to her servant.”
- c. #“With my lady, whatever well-being (is), let her send word (of that) to her servant.”

The most straightforward analysis of ‘*m ʾady* in this example treats it as a topicalized PP *adjunct* to a null copula or existential (as in (48a) and (48b)); a PP *predicate* (as in (48c)) could not be raised above the relative head in this manner. If this analysis is correct, then *mnm šlm* must comprise a clause. We can arrive at such a clausal syntax either by assuming that *mnm* functions as a determiner employed with an elided existential (“whatever/any well-being there is”) or as a complementizer followed by an elided copula (“whatever the well-being is”). I will indicate a preferred solution following further discussion below.

¹⁶⁷ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which confirms the readings indicated in the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1938: 127-131) and *KTU* 2.12.

5.3.4 Other Examples of *mm* + NP

The remaining examples of *mm* + NP involve both personal and impersonal indefinite pronouns. The sole example of *mm* employed with a personal NP is found in example (6) above, repeated here:

- (49) **RS 15.128:5-9**¹⁶⁸ (legal)
- w . mnm . šálm (6) dt . tknn (7) ‘1 . ‘rbnm (8) hn hmt (9) tknn
- wa MNM ša’ ‘ālūma dūti takūnūna ‘alē ‘urubānīma*
- and WH-M inquirer-NOM.M.PL.ABS REL-PL be-G.IPFV.3MP against guarantor-OBL.M.PL.ABS
- hanna humati takūnūna*
- PRES DEM-OBL.M.PL be-G.IPFV.3MP
- a. “And any inquirers that may come (lit. be) should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”
- b. “And whatever inquirers (there may be) who come (lit. be), they should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”
- c. “And whoever the inquirers (are) who may come (lit. be), they should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”

Examples of *mm* followed by an impersonal noun other than *šlm* are found in examples (27), (29), (30), and (31) above, of which the first three are repeated here (the fourth is too fragmentary to be of use for syntactic analysis):

¹⁶⁸ For the text, see Virolleaud 1957: 188; *KTU* 3.3.

(50) **RS 4.475:14-19**¹⁶⁹ (epistolary)

hm . nṭkp (15) m'nk (16) w . mnm (17) rgm . d . tšm' (18) ṭmt . w . št (19) b . spr .

'my

himma naṭkapū ma'nû=ka wa MNM

if strike-N.PFV.3MP answer-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS and WH=M

rigmu dū tišma'u ṭammati wa šit

word-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL hear-G.IPFV.2MS there and put-G.IPV.2MS

bi sipri 'imma=ya

in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS to=me.1CS

- a. “If they have been struck, your answer and any word that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”
- b. “If they have been struck, your answer and any/whatever word (there is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”
- c. “If they have been struck, your answer and whatever the word (is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”

¹⁶⁹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 233 (with earlier bibliography).

(51) **RS 18.075:20-22**¹⁷⁰ (epistolary)

mnm . ʾrštk (21) d [.] ḥsrt . w . ʾnk (22) ʾštn .. l . iḥy

MNM ʾirištu=ka dā ḥasirta wa ʾanāku

WH=M request-NOM.F.SG.SUFF=your.2MS REL lack-G.PFV.2MS and I

ʾašatinu lê ʾiḥt=ya

give-C.IPFV.1CS to brother-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

- a. “Any request/desire of yours that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”
- b. “Any/whatever request/desire of yours (there is) that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”
- c. “Whatever your request/desire (is) that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”

(52) **RS 94.2284:24-25**¹⁷¹ (epistolary)

w mnm . rgm . wttb (25) bb . bnīl . . .

wa MNM rigmu wa taṭīb bîdê¹ binīʾili

and WH=M word-NOM.M.SG.ABS and return-C.IPV.2MS in.care.of PN

- a. “And any/whatever word (there is), <and> send (it) back in care¹ of *Binīʾilu . . .*”
- b. “And whatever the word (is), <and> send (it) back in care¹ of *Binīʾilu . . .*”

¹⁷⁰ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which essentially agrees with the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1965: 93) at this point.

¹⁷¹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 250-252 and Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 180-186.

The syntax of (49) is ambiguous, as the alternative translations offered above indicate, so I begin with the clearer impersonal examples found in (50)-(52). In (50) and (51), the NP following *mm* is further modified by a relative clause introduced by *d*. Treated in isolation, these *mm*-constituents could easily be analyzed as DPs: “any word that you hear,” “any request of yours that you lack,” as indicated in (50a) and (51a). In fact, the coordination of *m nk*, a clear NP, with *mm rgm d tšm tmt* in (50) would seem to suggest that both members of the conjunct should receive the same syntactic analysis as DP constituents (“your answer” and “any word . . .”).

Yet we are not free to treat these expressions in isolation, and when we consider the syntax of these sentences in their entirety, a very different picture emerges. In each of these examples, the *mm*-constituent is followed by the conjunction *w*, which itself precedes the main clause. The fact that the main verb in these clauses lacks an overt object is not an indication that the *mm*-constituent serves as the object¹⁷²—if this were the case, the presence of the intervening conjunction would be highly unexpected in prose, where pleonastic *waw* is rare. Fronting a direct object cannot be shown otherwise to trigger the insertion of *w* before the main verb, even in the case of highly complex direct objects. Consider this example from RS 92.2010:12-20:

RS 92.2010:12-20¹⁷³

(12) w b'ly	<i>wa ba līya</i>
(13) šlm'h'	<i>šalāmahu</i>
(14) w šlm	<i>wa šalāma</i>
(15) nkly	<i>nikkaliya</i>

¹⁷² We must bear in mind that Ugaritic allows object ellipsis when the object is pragmatically accessible. See Tropper 2012: 866-868 for a number of examples, though he treats these uniformly as verbs with “wechselnder Valenz” (2012: 866) and compare Sinclair 1991 and, most recently, Cook 2020 for Biblical Hebrew.

¹⁷³ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2001a: 375-379).

(16) w šlm	<i>wa šalāma</i>
(17) bth . w šlm	<i>bêtihi wa šalāma</i>
(18) šm' rgmk	<i>šāmi 'ī rigmika</i>
(19) n' m 'at ttb	<i>na 'īmi 'atta taṭib</i>
(20) 'm 'bdk	<i>'imma 'abdika</i>

“As for my lord, (news of) his well-being and the well-being of *Nikkaliya* and the well-being of his house and the well-being of those who hear your goodly word, send to your servant (*scil. me!*)!”

In this request for news, the sender identifies no fewer than four direct objects, with each consisting of complex noun phrases. If it were the case that object fronting triggered the insertion of pleonastic *waw*, we would certainly expect to see the conjunction in this example. The fact that the conjunction appears in *every* example of impersonal *mnm* + NP presented above suggests that examples (50)-(52) do not involve simple object fronting. The *mnm*-constituents in these sentences must instead be analyzed as was *mnm šlm* in the preceding section, as constituents standing outside of the syntax of the main clause. The syntax of (50) is highly comparable to that in example (43) above. In both, a *mnm*-constituent follows what likely began as simply a topicalized (or perhaps left-dislocated) NP but effectively interrupts the syntax, resulting in the addition of the *waw* of apodosis and the treatment of the *mnm*-constituent, as well as anything to its left, as part of the left periphery.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Hawley (2003: 707) suggests that *m'nk* in example (50) is actually the object of the main verb *št* and has undergone simple topicalization. I believe that he has correctly identified the syntactic construal with which the

Having excluded a syntactically incorporated DP analysis, we are left with the same two options we arrived at in the preceding section. These *mmm*-constituents are either DPs functioning as the subjects of elided existentials (as in (50b), (51b), and (52a)) or CPs involving an elided copula (as in (50c), (51c), and (52b)). I will argue below that both constructions are in fact involved, and that *mmm* + NP constructions involve both a complementizer *mmm* (taking clausal complements) and a determiner *mmm* (taking nominal complements), but this proposal depends on semantic arguments developed in the next section. At the level of strictly syntactic observations, we are left with no means by which to determine which of the two analyses is to be preferred in each case, so I postpone the solution to the next section.

In example (49), the same two options are available, represented in (49b) and (49c), but a third option also presents itself. As no conjunction *w* stands between the *mmm*-constituent and the main clause, it is also possible to analyze the constituent as fully incorporated syntactically as the subject of the main verb, as in (49a).

5.3.5 Syntactic Summary

The preceding discussion permits several clear syntactic conclusions while leaving other questions open for the moment. First, the pronoun *mmm*—personal and impersonal—can be used independently as a pronoun filling an argument role within its matrix clause. Even if it turns out to function as an indefinite relative in many cases, this is not true in *all* cases, for which reason it would be inappropriate to adopt Faber's (1988) position, which excludes *mmm* from consideration in discussions of indefinite pronouns.

author of this letter began, but the introduction of the clausal *mmm*-constituent interrupted the syntax, resulting in the current circumstance, in which *m'nk* is better analyzed as part of the left periphery (as suggested in Hawley's proposed translation [2003: 707]).

Second, both personal and impersonal *mmm* can take clausal complements, functioning as something comparable to an indefinite relative/free-choice complementizer (*whoever, whatever*). In such cases, the clause in which *mmm* figures appears in the left or right periphery (with only one exception, example (43), shown to involve a syntactic interruption [not unexpected in epistolary correspondence, which may imitate spoken discourse more closely]) and is not syntactically incorporated within the main clause. Such *mmm*-CPs are either true subordinate clauses or extrapositioned CPs.

Third, when followed by a noun, *mmm* can conceivably function either as a complementizer (in which case its complement is not the following NP, but rather the entire verbless clause in which that NP figures) or as a determiner (in which case the noun alone is its complement). Syntactic observations alone do not allow us to determine which of these analyses is to be preferred in each case, though semantic arguments advanced below will indicate that both are involved. In all such cases but one (example (49)), however, the expression in which *mmm* appears must be treated as a clause standing outside the boundaries of the main clause. They uniformly appear in the left periphery, and the sole exception (example (50)) involves syntactic interruption.

Fourth, excepting the examples of *mmm* employed independently, *mmm* always appears at the left edge of the clause in which it figures syntactically. Any constituent that precedes it is either a topicalized constituent of the *mmm*-clause or represents a case of syntactic interruption (anacoluthon). In other words, the constraints placed on the location of *mmm* at surface syntax are similar to those applying to interrogative pronouns discussed in the previous chapter (WH-fronting).

These syntactic observations, and especially the strong tendency for *mmm*-constituents to comprise clausal constituents *external* to the syntax of the main clause represent significant findings, which have not received due attention in previous studies. Tropper's identification of *mmm*-constituents as "Objektsätze" (2012: 787, 902) and "Subjektsätze" (2012: 903) takes syntactic incorporation for granted in a manner that I do not believe the data finally support. Far preferable is his treatment of some such examples as "Modalsätze" involving a subordinate *mmm*-clause (2012: 904) or, even better, as "Verallgemeinernde Nebensätze" (2012: 909). With these latter descriptions, Tropper has correctly intuited the semantics and pragmatics of these expressions, though these can be described more precisely and connected more meaningfully to the syntax and morphology of these pronouns than has been done in the past. I turn to these semantic and pragmatic features in the next section.

5.4 Semantics and Pragmatics

5.4.1 Semantic Distributional Profile

The purpose of this section is to identify the distributional profile of *mmm* from the perspective of semantics and pragmatics, drawing on the theoretical framework elaborated in ch. 2. The first and most obvious semantic feature of *mmm* pertains to the animacy of its referent: both personal and impersonal referents are permitted (as indicated in the organization of examples presented above). While it is possible that we have but one pronoun, for which referential animacy is irrelevant, I judge this unlikely for reasons presented in the next section treating morphology. For the moment, it suffices to observe that referents of both sorts are permitted.

Second, the contexts in which *mmm* appears share a number of features in common that, together, suggest a limited-distribution profile for this pronoun. When used independently, it is

only attested under negation, both modal (as in example (7)) and existential (as in (34) above). I argued in the preceding section that all other examples except one (example (6)) can be identified as involving main-clause-external expressions comprising *parametric concessive conditional* clauses (regardless of whether *mmm* is analyzed as a complementizer or a determiner in each individual case). The quasi-conditional semantics of such constructions was noted in ch. 2, and the fact that such constructions serve to introduce not one protasis but rather a *range* of protases, typically including even those judged by speakers to be unlikely (whence their concessive force), makes them excellent non-veridical contexts. In fact, their incorporation of multiple possible protases makes them effectively modalized contexts—perfect hosts for free choice items (as noted in ch. 2, sec. 2.5.1.2). It is notable in this connection that the verb found in the main clause to which the *mmm*-clause is subordinate is *in every case* either an imperfective or a volitive verbal form. The pronoun *mmm* never appears in an episodic affirmation, nor is the clause to which its host clause is subordinated ever episodic. These distributional facts suggest that *mmm* is a limited-distribution indefinite, licensed independently under negation and otherwise only in contexts expected to license FCIs—a distribution highly comparable to that of English *any*-items, which likewise exhibits a “split personality,” having FCI and API functions (as described in ch. 2).

If *mmm* behaves like a FCI when not used independently under negation, then we are forced to return to the question left open above regarding its syntax when followed by a noun. Is it a determiner (*any* NP, *whatever* NP) or a complementizer (*whoever* PREDICATE, *whatever* PREDICATE)? The difference is potentially significant, as this syntactic distinction has been found to pattern with two varieties of FCI in past studies (see sec. 2.4.2.4.5.2.5 above). As those studies have shown, the syntactic distinction is not always meaningful, but it can be. We need to

determine whether Ugaritic, like some other languages, possessed both definite and indefinite FCIs and whether these were disambiguated syntactically or by some other means.

In fact, it is by raising this question concerning definite and indefinite FCIs that we are actually able to get traction on assessing the alternative translations proposed for instances of *mnm* + NP in the preceding section. Consider these examples, repeated from above (examples (9), (27), and (29)):

(53) **RS 8.315:14-18**¹⁷⁵ (epistolary)

tmny (15) 'm . 'adtny (16) mnm . šlm (17) rgm . ttb (18) l . 'bdk

tammāniya 'imma 'adatti=*nāyā* MNM *šalāmu*

there with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=our.1CD WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma *taṭībī* *lē* 'abdê=*ki*

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to servant-OBL.M.DU.SUFF=your.2FS

- a. "There with our lady, any/whatever well-being (there is), send word (of that) to your servants."
- b. "There with our lady, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that) to your servants."

¹⁷⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 234 (with further bibliography).

(54) **RS 4.475:14-19**¹⁷⁶ (epistolary)

hm . nṭkp (15) m'nk (16) w . mnm (17) rgm . d . tšm' (18) ṭmt . w . št (19) b . spr .

'my

himma naṭkapū ma'nû=ka wa MNM

if strike-N.PFV.3MP answer-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS and WH=M

rigmu dū tišma'u ṭammati wa šit

word-NOM.M.SG.ABS REL hear-G.IPFV.2MS there and put-G.IPV.2MS

bi sipri 'imma=ya

in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS to=me.1CS

- a. “If they have been struck, your answer and any/whatever word (there is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”
- b. “If they have been struck, your answer and whatever the word (is) that you hear there, <and> put (them) in a letter to me.”

¹⁷⁶ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 233 (with earlier bibliography).

(55) **RS 18.075:20-22**¹⁷⁷ (epistolary)

mnm . *irštk* (21) *d* [.] *ḥsrt* . *w* . *ānk* (22) *āštn* .. *l* . *iḥy*

MNM 'irištu=*ka* *dā ḥasirta* *wa* 'anāku

WH=M request-NOM.F.SG.SUFF=your.2MS REL lack-G.PFV.2MS and I

'ašatinu *lē* 'iḥt=*ya*

give-C.IPFV.1CS to brother-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

- a. “Any/whatever request/desire of yours (there is) that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”
- b. “Whatever your request/desire (is) that you lack, <and> I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”

In each case, the difference between the (a) translation and the (b) translation is not *only* syntactic. Rather, the (a) translation makes no assumption regarding the existence of the noun following *mnm*, while the (b) translation does. As we have seen in ch. 2 and ch. 4, this distinction in existential presupposition is a hallmark of definite versus indefinite descriptions. This allows us to replace the unanswerable syntactic question with what is perhaps a more meaningful and certainly more assessable semantic one: in each case of *mnm* + NP, is there contextual evidence suggesting an existential bias or presupposition with respect to the principal NP argument of the clause (*šlm*, *rgm*, and *irštk*)? A review of the data shows that both are involved.

First, the epistolary expression *mnm šlm* is best understood as involving an existential presupposition, represented in (53b) above. The basis for this conclusion lies in comparison with alternative formulations of the request for news in which *mnm šlm* typically appears.

¹⁷⁷ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which essentially agrees with the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1965: 93) at this point.

Specifically, alternative forms of this request employ *determined* noun phrases when referring to the addressee’s welfare, both in Ugaritic and Akkadian. A clear Ugaritic example is found in RS 92.2010, repeated here from above:

RS 92.2010:12-20¹⁷⁸

(12) w b ‘ly	<i>wa ba ‘līya</i>
(13) šlm ‘h’	<i>šalāmahu</i>
(14) w šlm	<i>wa šalāma</i>
(15) nkly	<i>nikkaliya</i>
(16) w šlm	<i>wa šalāma</i>
(17) bth . w šlm	<i>bêtihi wa šalāma</i>
(18) šm ‘ rgmk	<i>šāmi ‘ī rigmika</i>
(19) n ‘m àt ttb	<i>na ‘īmi ‘atta taṭib</i>
(20) ‘m ‘bdk	<i>‘imma ‘abdika</i>

Literally: “As for my lord, **his well-being and the well-being of *Nikkaliya* and the well-being of his house and the well-being of those who hear your goodly word, send to your servant (*scil.* me)!**”

Each instance of the noun *šlm* in this excerpt is rendered semantically determined by the presence of pronominal suffixes and genitive nouns (“his well-being,” “*Nikkaliya*’s well-being,”

¹⁷⁸ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2001a: 375-379).

“the well-being of his house,” and “the well-being of those who hear your goodly word”). Ugaritic may lack a productive definite article like that found in Biblical Hebrew, but noun phrases like these are equally determined in both languages, incorporating presuppositions of existence and uniqueness/maximality.

Comparable examples are available in Akkadian as well. In three letters, we find *šulumka* followed by an imperative form of *šapāru* (lit. “send your well-being”) in place of the typical *minummê šulmānu tēma terra* (“whatever (the) well-being (is), send word”).¹⁷⁹ An even more striking example comes from an Akkadian letter from *Eḫli-Tešub* to *Ur-Tešub* (members of the “firm,” whose operation can be associated with the House of *’Urtēnu*),¹⁸⁰ RS 94.2412 (= RSO XXIII no. 61). The request for news appearing toward the end of the letter (ll. 20-22) takes the following form: [ù] *mi-nu-um-me-e šul-ma-nu-ku-nu* (21) [*mi*]-*nu-um-me-e tē-mu-ku-nu* (22) [x]-*’x’ a-na UGU-ḫi šu-pur-ma*, “Whatever your well-being, whatever your message, . . . send (word) to me!”

While these formulations represent statistical outliers, they serve to reveal more clearly the presuppositions of the sender: the referent of Ugaritic *šalāmu* and Akkadian *šulmu/šulmānu* is presupposed to exist. Whatever the addressee’s actual state of affairs, there is always *šlm* to report. This fact can be explained in one of two ways. On the one hand, it may actually suggest a lexical extension of the denotation of *šlm* from “well-being” to “state of affairs” or even “news about one’s well-being.” If the term is situationally neutral, then *šlm* can be presumed reportable regardless of whether the addressee is doing well or poorly.

¹⁷⁹ The first two letters both appear on the same tablet (RS 92.2017, letters 1 and 3 [= RSO XIV, no. 9]). The third (RS 94.2523 [= RSO XXIII, no. 9]) comes from Ḫatti.

¹⁸⁰ See Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 121-123.

On the other hand, this epistolary courtesy routinely begins with a report of the sender's own well-being, and when it does, it never fails to assert such well-being, even when the body of the letter goes on to suggest quite the opposite. It is difficult to understand, for example, how the Hittite overlord can claim to be "exceedingly well" in RS 18.038:3-4 even while he is "perishing" from hunger (RS 18.038:21). Or how does the sender of RS 92.2010 report his own "well-being" in ll. 10-11 only to close with a petition that his master not destroy his household in ll. 21-24? Such examples suggest that reporting one's own well-being was a matter of polite convention, having little to do with one's actual condition. In this light, it is perhaps better to treat the corresponding request for information as a request for *good* news regarding the well-being or health of the addressee, which the sender politely presumes to exist.¹⁸¹ I find this latter line of explanation more compelling, but on either approach, the request is *presuppositional*. The Ugaritic expression *mnm šlm* is accordingly best understood as something comparable to a definite FCI, to be rendered in English as "whatever the well-being is/may be."

Second, example (55) can likewise be best understood by assuming a presuppositional reading. The sender assumes that the addressee will indeed have a request and promises to do what is necessary to meet the associated need. Two semantic features of this example suggest the superiority of this reading (represented in (55b)). First, the NP following *mnm* is determined by the presence of the enclitic pronoun *-k* (*irštk*, "your request"). Second, this NP is further modified by a relative clause that incorporates a *perfective* verbal form: *irštk d ḥsrt*, "your request/desire which *you lack*" (not *"which you may lack," for which *d ṭḥsr* would be

¹⁸¹ This is comparable, in other words, to the colloquial English greeting, "What's the good word?" which can be spoken without any presupposition that the addressee will have good news to share. The presupposition is built into the pragmatics and semantics of the utterance, but it represents a polite—though no less *willful*—presupposition.

expected).¹⁸² In other words, *mnm irštk d ḥsrt* is every bit as presuppositional as *mnm ḥsrt*, “whatever I lack” (and there is a good chance that both involve *mnm* functioning as a complementizer).

Third, the expression *mnm rgm* differs from the two expressions just addressed in terms of the presuppositions that appear to be involved. I have suggested that the addressee’s *šlm* is always presumed existent and reportable and that the request of the addressee of RS 18.075 (example (55)) is likewise presupposed. Yet example (54) seems to differ in this respect. A contextual reading leads me to expect *mnm rgm d tšm ‘ tmt* to comprise a phrase tacked on as a catchall inclusion: “Send your answer along with anything you happen to hear.” This is certainly how most have understood the expression in the past,¹⁸³ and the same would likely apply to the similar expressions found in RS 94.2284 and RS 94.2457 (examples (30) and (31) above). In fact, we have more than intuition to go on in this case, and comparison with example (55) proves vital for capturing this distinction. In contrast to (55), where the NP *irštk* is determined and modified by a relative clause involving a perfective verbal form, the noun *rgm* in example (54) bears no pronominal suffix and, even more importantly, is modified by a relative clause involving an *imperfective* (probably *modal*) prefix-conjugation verbal form: *mnm rgm d tšm ‘ tmt*, “whatever word (there is) that you *may hear* there.” The modal/aspectual distinction between the

¹⁸² Even if the suffix-conjugation may be used for certain volitive expressions (Tropper 2012: 726-727)—a point on which not all are agreed (see Pardee 2003-2004: 361-362)—it is certainly the long prefix-conjugation that is employed for other varieties of modality (Tropper 2012: 734-735). The use of the perfective suffix-conjugation here, in other words, indicates that the addressee is concerned with current/actual needs that he presupposes to exist, not hypothetical future needs that may arise (though the *pragmatic* purpose of this epistolary topos is certainly to indicate that these latter will also be addressed in due course). This assessment holds whether the perfective form is here identified as reflecting the temporal/aspectual viewpoint of the sender or, as an “epistolary perfect” (for which see Pardee and Whiting 1987; Tropper 2000/2012: 704-705), as assuming the temporal/aspectual viewpoint of the addressee upon receiving the letter.

¹⁸³ As a representative sample, see Albright 1934: 26; 1941: 48; Ginsberg and Maisler 1934: 243; Gordon 1949: 117; Ahl 1973: 403; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1975b: 529; Pardee 1987a: 66; 2002b: 108; Cunchillos 1989b: 94; Hawley 2003: 707; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 233.

relative clauses is decisive: the sender of RS 4.475 does not presuppose the existence of such a word, insisting simply that *any word there may be* should be passed on dutifully.

This distinction obtains in one more case, example (6) repeated here:

(56) **RS 15.128:5-9**¹⁸⁴ (legal)

w . mnm . šālm (6) dt . tknn (7) '1 . 'rbnm (8) hn hmt (9) tknn

wa MNM ša' 'ālūma dūti takūnūna 'alê 'urubānīma

and WH-M inquirer-NOM.M.PL.ABS REL-PL be-G.IPFV.3MP against guarantor-OBL.M.PL.ABS

hanna humati takūnūna

PRES DEM-OBL.M.PL be-G.IPFV.3MP

- a. “And any inquirers that may come (lit. be) should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”
- b. “And whoever the inquirers (are) who may come (lit. be), they should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”

The imperfective/modal verb *tknn* in the relative clause modifying *šālm* suggests that the arrival of inquirers is not taken for granted or presupposed. Examples (54) and (56) (as well as examples (30) and (31)) are best understood as incorporating *indefinite-FCI* semantics.

As a final observation in this connection, all instances of *mnm* followed by a clause are best interpreted as involving definite-FCI semantics. The relevant examples (example (8), (32), and (33)) are repeated here:

¹⁸⁴ For the text, see Virolleaud 1957: 188; *KTU* 3.3.

(57) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'**¹⁸⁵ (epistolary)

w . ḥp̄t (13') p . mnm h^ˈw^ˈ . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa ḥuptu pa MNM huwa wa bi sipri

and *ḥuptu*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any/each) *ḥuptu*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

(58) **RS 18.075:23-25**¹⁸⁶ (epistolary)

w^ˈ . à^ˈp . à^ˈnk . mnm (24) ḥs^ˈr^ˈt . w . uḥy (25) y^ˈmsn . tmn

wa 'apa 'anāku MNM ḥasirtu wa 'uḥû=ya

and also I WH=M lack-G.PFV.1CS and brother-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

ya 'ammis=annu tammāna

load-D.JUSS?.3MS=it.3MS there

“And I, too, whatever I lack, <and> my brother should load it there.”

¹⁸⁵ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

¹⁸⁶ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which basically agrees at this point with the *editio princeps* (Viroilleaud 1965: 93).

(59) **RS 29.093:27-29**¹⁸⁷ (epistolary)

p l . yšb‘l (28) ḥpn . l b‘ly (29) mnm . ṯ . l ‘bdk

pa la yašab ‘ilu ḥupâna lê ba ‘li=ya

then indeed make-C.IPFV.3MS garment-ACC.M.SG for master-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

MNM ṯtu lê ‘abdi=ka

WH=M EXIST to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

“Then he shall indeed have a ḥupânu-garment made for my master (scil. you)—
whatever your servant has (lit. “whatever there is to your servant”).”

(Smoother: “Then, whatever your servant has, he shall indeed have a ḥupânu-
garment made for my master (scil. you) (out of that).”)

5.4.2 Semantic Summary and Implications for Syntax

In summary, I have suggested that *mnm*, both personal and impersonal, is licensed as an independent pronoun only under negation. Elsewhere, it functions like a FCI, both definite and indefinite. Unfortunately, the contexts of attestation do not allow us to demonstrate the quantificational variability of this indefinite, as we lack prototypical free-choice contexts that give rise to existential quantificational readings (e.g., *press any key* [not *every key!*] *to continue*). In each of the contexts above, universal quantificational readings appear to be the most salient, though under negation, *mnm* could be interpreted existentially ($\neg\exists$, like Greek nonemphatics) or universally ($\forall\neg$, like Greek emphatics) (I return to this question in the next section). Yet the intensionalized concessive-conditional and negative contexts of attestation support the judgment that *mnm* represents a limited-distribution indefinite more likely to function as an *any*-like item

¹⁸⁷ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241.

(combining elements of FCI and API semantics) than simply as a sensitive counterpart to the Ugaritic universal quantifier *kl*.

The definite and indefinite FCI examples have been distinguished in the preceding discussion on *contextual* and *semantic* grounds, but might there be further syntactic implications? As discussed in ch. 2, these two semantic values are distinguished syntactically in some languages, with determiner FCIs having indefinite semantics, while complementizer FCIs exhibit definite semantics (this is the case for Greek *opjosdhipote*, which can be employed independently, with an NP complement, or with a clausal complement, and also holds, even if only approximately, for English *any NP that VP* versus *whatever VP*). The Ugaritic data do not allow us to decide this matter definitively, but they are *compatible* with such a situation. That is, the data allow us to hypothesize the following model:

(60) **Syntax and Semantics of Ugaritic *mm* (hypothesized)**

- a. Independent: Affective Polarity Item/Negative Polarity Item
(licensed under negation; no free-choice semantics)
- b. Determiner: Indefinite Free Choice Item
(NP complement; indefinite free-choice semantics)
- c. Complementizer: Definite Free Choice Item
(clausal complement; definite free-choice semantics)

I stress the fact that this model is hypothesized, because, as discussed above, there are no internal *syntactic* indicators that allow us to determine finally whether cases of *mm* + NP represent DPs or CPs. But the semantic distinction that *is* observable, coupled with typological and formal

semantic data that suggest that this semantic distinction can map directly onto a syntactic distinction lead me to believe that this hypothesis is a highly plausible one.

Of course, we still have no way to decide whether determiner *mnm* related to its NP complement through simple apposition or through genitive complementation (i.e., the construct relationship),¹⁸⁸ as did other pre-nominal quantifiers like *kl*. Both patterns may have been available in the case of cardinal quantifiers (though when the numeral precedes the determined NP, it is typically impossible to determine the syntactic relationship),¹⁸⁹ and both patterns are attested in Ras Shamra Akkadian (Huehnergard 1989: 138). What I hope to have illustrated is that the question of apposition versus genitive modification is far less significant than the more basic question pertaining to whether *mnm* takes only clausal complements or nominal complements as well (however that complementation is construed), and whether *mnm* may introduce definite and indefinite FCI-like expressions. The latter I have argued can be answered in the affirmative, while the former may reasonably be inferred (though an inference it must remain).

As a second summary point, all cases of non-independent *mnm* were found above to be located in clausal contexts that are separate from the main clause (subordinate clauses or extrapositioned CPs), with the possible exception of example (6). These clauses were identified as parametric concessive conditional clauses, ideal hosts of FCIs (definite and indefinite alike). This syntactic and semantic judgment now requires pragmatic exposition.

¹⁸⁸ These options for Ugaritic *mnm* were first articulated by Ginsberg and Maisler (1934: 250).

¹⁸⁹ See Tropper 2012, ch. 6, for extensive discussion, as well as Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 35-38.

5.4.3 The Pragmatics of Ugaritic *mnm*

The primary context of attestation for Ugaritic *mnm*, both personal and impersonal, is the parametric concessive conditional clause. This is a more precise designation than Tropper’s “Verallgemeinernde Nebensätze” (2012: 909), but even this latter designation is certainly on the right track. As discussed above and in ch. 2, these constructions relate a range of possible protases—including unexpected ones—to a single apodosis. This conditional function means that parametric concessive conditional constructions are best understood pragmatically as Topics.¹⁹⁰ They provide the (hypothetical) given, to which the apodosis provides the Comment. Insofar as they suggest a range of possible protases, perhaps they are better compared to Contrastive Topics,¹⁹¹ but Topics they remain. The morphological analysis offered below will need to take into consideration the fact that *mnm* can head such Topical clauses (unlike, for example, Greek nonemphatics, which, as we have seen, cannot be topicalized).

Just as significantly, the concessive-conditional character of these host clauses allows us better to appreciate the effect *mnm* delivers in its contexts. As noted by König and Haspelmath (discussed in ch. 2), the effect of such constructions is to indicate that the apodosis will hold regardless of which protasis is selected from the domain of possible protases introduced by the parametric concessive conditional. This “domain-widening” effect can be achieved by a number

¹⁹⁰ See Haiman 1978; Croft 2003: 12; Ebert, Ebert, and Hinterwimmer 2014. Hawley, approaching the issue from the perspective of epistolography, has already identified many of the Ugaritic expressions concerned here as pragmatically topical (see Hawley 2003: 702, 704, 705).

¹⁹¹ This comparison is only approximate, but it does account for the intuition that contrast or scalarity—typically associated with Focus rather than Topic—attends such parametric concessive conditionals. On a Contrastive Topical interpretation, we can suggest that an utterance such as, “Whatever the weather is like, I’m going out to play,” amounts to a series of contrasting topics: “If the weather is NICE, I’m going out to PLAY; if the weather is TERRIBLE, I’m STILL going out to play” (comparable to prototypical examples of Contrastive Topic, such as “JOHN wanted CANDY, but JILL wanted ICECREAM”). For a discussion of contrastive Topics, see the helpful treatments of Lambrecht 1994: 291-295 and Büring 2016.

of alternate routes,¹⁹² among which the incorporation of a FCI in the protasis represents a crosslinguistic favorite¹⁹³ and results in the extension of the application of the main clause (the apodosis) to the broadest range imaginable. This is readily appreciable in each of the texts presented above. The epistolary request for news, for example, encourages the addressee to send back any and all news, reflecting a tone of liberality and concern appropriate to polite epistolary correspondence. The use of *mm* in the offer of and request for generous mutuality (as in RS 18.075, examples (29) and (32)) similarly suggests that the individuals concerned should be willing to provide for one another *no matter* the need concerned. Requests for specific information (*mm rgm*, “whatever word”) likewise results in an indiscriminacy effect that urges the addressee to pass along *all information*—not only that deemed most relevant. One of the clearest indications that this pragmatic interpretation is on the right track is furnished by two expressions drawn from a single letter, the second of which appeared as example (8) above:

¹⁹² For example, expressions of indifference (“No matter what you say, I’m going out to play!”), alternatives taken from extremes on a pragmatic scale, thereby implicating everything in between (“Whether it rains or shines, I’m going out to play!”) (for discussion and bibliography, see ch. 2 n. 42).

¹⁹³ See sec. 2.5.1.2 above.

(61) **RS 94.2592:6'-10'¹⁹⁴** (epistolary)

ht . át . kl . bnšm (7') dt . ḥbt̄ . tmn (8') by . spr . št (9') w . štn . hndh (10') 'my

hatti 'atta kulla bunušīma dāti ḥabaṭū tammāna

PRES you.2MS all b.personnel-OBL.M.PL.ABS REL work-G.PFV.3MS there

bi=ya sipri šīt wa šatin

in=ya document-GEN.M.SG.ABS put-G.IPV.2MS and give-Š.IPV.2MS

hannadā=ha 'imma=ya

this=LOC to=me.1CS

“Now as for you, all the *bunušu*-personnel who have worked there you are to record (lit. put) in a document and have (it) delivered here to me.”

(62) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'¹⁹⁵** (epistolary)

w . ḥpt̄ (13') p . mnm h'w' . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa ḥuptu pa MNM huwa wa bi sipri

and *ḥuptu*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any) *ḥuptu*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

The near equivalence existing between *kl bnšm dt ḥbt̄*, “all the *bunušu*-personnel who have worked,” and *ḥpt̄ p mnm hw*, “(any) *ḥuptu*—whoever he may be,” is in keeping with the

¹⁹⁴ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

¹⁹⁵ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

exhaustivity associated with FCIs that has traditionally led many to treat such items as universal quantifiers (\forall). I have discussed in ch. 2 how such quantificational force is not actually asserted by FCIs, but the semantic proximity between the two is crosslinguistically notable and is clearly reflected in these Ugaritic examples as well.

Similar observations regarding a “domain-widening effect” could be made in each case in which *mnm* is employed, with the exception of the two examples of independent *mnm* under negation. Recall that FCIs are not licensed under negation. As noted in ch. 2, items like English *any* function in much the same way FCIs do in most contexts but can also be used under negation, where they behave more like APIs (*any*/Greek nonemphatics [$\neg\exists$]) or NPIs (*ANY*/Greek emphatics [$\forall\neg$]). Which are we dealing with in the case of Ugaritic *mnm* under negation? Certainty cannot be expected on the strength of two data points, but I suggest that both may be involved, and under constraints comparable to those affecting *any*/*ANY*. In example (34), repeated here as (63), *mnm* appears in a legal exclusion for which a comparandum lacking *mnm* is readily available, given here as (64):

- (63) **RS 15.111:18**¹⁹⁶ (legal)
- [w ʔ]r n ʔ . in ʔ . mnm ʔ . bh
- [wa ʔu]nuttu ʔenu MNM bi=hu
- and u.tax-NOM.M.SG.ABS NEG.EXIST WH=M in=it.3MS
- “And as for an ʔunuttu-tax, there is not any on it.”

¹⁹⁶ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012.

(64) **RS 16.382:20-21**¹⁹⁷ (legal)

w ʔnt̚ ʔ.ʔ (21) ʔiʔn [.] bh

wa ʔunuttu ʔenu bi=hu

and u.tax-NOM.M.SG.ABS NEG.EXIST in=it.3MS

“And there is not an ʔunuttu-tax on it.”

While it is impossible to rule out a difference in focus between these, with the former representing an exclusion marked for scalar focus relative to the second, unmarked counterpart, the difference may just as easily be understood as resulting from two distinct *syntactic* approaches to Topic-marking. On the analysis preferred above, the noun ʔnt̚ acts as the Topic in both of these expressions, but it is a left-dislocated topic in (63), while it is simply topicalized (fronted) in (64). The pronoun *mm* in (63), then, may simply play a resumptive role, constituting the overt trace of the extrapositioned constituent and functioning as a simple API-like item unmarked for scalarity.

Assessing the situation in example (7), repeated here as (65), is more difficult due to the break preceding the operative pronoun, but what appears to be the clause-initial placement of *mm* constitutes a point of marked difference with a comparandum like that offered in (66):

¹⁹⁷ For the text, see Hawley and Pardee 2002-2007.

(65) **RS 94.2457:22'-23'¹⁹⁸** (epistolary)

[. . .]mláktk (23') [. . .]mnm . ál . yns

. . . *mal'aktV=kV* . . . *MNM 'al yanus*

messenger.party-?.F.SG.SUFF=your.2?S WH-M NEG flee-G.JUSS.3MS

“ . . . your messenger party . . . let no one flee (lit. let not anyone flee)!”

(66) **RS [Varia 14]:12-14 (= KTU 3.9)** (legal)

ál . ydd (13) mt. mrzḥ (14) w yrgm . . .

'al yiddad mutu marziḥi wa yargum . . .

NEG arise-N.JUSS.3MS man-NOM.M.SG.CSTR *m.association-GEN.M.SG.ABS* and say-G.JUSS.3MS

“Let no member of the *marziḥu* arise and say . . .”

Pre-verbal placement in Ugaritic can be associated with either Topical or Focused

constituents,¹⁹⁹ and the latter appears to be the more plausible here. We can easily imagine that

¹⁹⁸ For the text see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 194-196; Pardee forthcoming *a*.

¹⁹⁹ While the movement of a verbal argument from a canonical post-verbal position to pre-verbal position is often described generally as *topicalization*, such movement can be associated with both Topic-marking and Focus-marking (see Lambrecht 1994: 31, 295, who prefers to describe the latter as *Focus-fronting*). Tropper (2012: 872) must be assumed to have this broader meaning of the term in mind when he states the following regarding pre-verbal placement of subjects in Ugaritic: “Das topikalisierte Subj. ist in der Posie [*sic*] häufig betont. Die betreffende Satzgliedfolge wird wiederholt bei Einführung neuer Handlungsträger oder bei Kontrastierung von Personen gebraucht.” He goes on to suggest that such “Topikalisierung” in prose is typically associated with Topics, not contrastive Foci, as in poetry. Yet examples of Lambrecht’s Focus-fronting can be found in prose as well, as in the following example:

(i) **RS 16.264:7-8**

p ánk . átn (8) 'šm . lk

pa 'anāku 'atinu 'iṣṣīma lē=ka

and I give-G.IPFV.1CS beam-OBL.M.PL.ABS to=you.2MS

“And *I* will give the beams to you.”

Context: the sender of this letter chides the addressee for complaining about not knowing how he will come up with needed wooden beams immediately before uttering (i); the fronted subject pronoun is indicating a contrast (“*I* (not *you*) will give”), not a shift in Topic (“Now as for me, I will give”).

I argue in the next chapter that a number of cases involving the indefinite pronouns *mhk* and *mnk* in juridical texts likewise illustrate the viability of focus-fronting in Ugaritic prose.

orders to ensure that no one flee (as in (65)) may have been attended by a stronger scalar force (“Don’t let ANYONE flee!”). If the interpretations of examples (63) and (65) offered here are correct, then the entailment is that *mnm* under negation could behave more like an API (non-scalar *any*) or more like an NPI (scalar *ANY*), with the difference marked by the application of a syntactic process employed for focusing a constituent rather than by morphology. This is highly comparable to the situation observed in ch. 2, according to which the application of prosodic stress, even without morphological modification, seems to distinguish API-like items such as *any*, Greek nonemphatics, and Korean *-rato* items, from their scalar, NPI-like counterparts (see sec. 2.4.2.5). An account of the morphology of Ugaritic *mnm* must accordingly address its ability to appear in CPs functioning as (contrastive) Topics as well as in negative environments in which scalar Focus may be optionally applied.

5.5 Morphology and Grammaticalization

In this section, I start with the current consensus that {*mnm*} represents two fully grammaticalized indefinite pronouns transparently relatable to Ugaritic WH-morphology.²⁰⁰ The relationship between *mnm* and the interrogatives spelled *mn* and discussed in the preceding chapter is self-evident, and the regularity with which indefinite pronouns incorporate WH-morphology in their morphological composition—discussed in both typological (ch. 2) and comparative Semitic (ch. 3) perspective—renders this connection expected. Since Ugaritic interrogatives, like interrogative pronouns in many languages²⁰¹ represented the personal/non-personal distinction morphologically (*mīya* ~ *mah* and, as I argued in the preceding chapter, *mīna* ~ *manna*), it is reasonable to imagine that forms of *mnm* with personal referents and those with

²⁰⁰ See, e.g., Tropper 2000/2012: 242-244; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 42; Huehnergard 2012: 36.

²⁰¹ See ch. 2 and 3.

non-personal referents were pronounced distinctly, plausibly reflecting *mîna=ma* and *manna=ma*, respectively. The fact that Ras Shamra Akkadian maintains a clear distinction between a personal *mannummê* and an impersonal *minummê*²⁰² is consistent with this assumption regarding the situation in the substrate language.²⁰³ The more pressing questions requiring discussion pertain to (1) the final morpheme, represented graphically as {m}, and its contribution to the semantics of these pronouns; (2) the degree to which these pronouns are grammaticalized as such; and (3) the motivation for employing *mn-* as the WH-morphological base rather than *mh-* or *my-* (i.e., what is the semantic contribution of *-n-* in these indefinites?). The results of these discussions will be related to the crosslinguistic situation in the next section.

The first of these questions is straightforward for those who accept the assumptions I have outlined above, namely, that *mn* consists of an interrogative base *mn* to which a final element *-m* has been added, and I will return to this account in a moment. First, however, I need to address another alternative, which amounts to the null hypothesis for internal derivational accounts of the sort I intend to pursue. Specifically, for those who believe that Ugaritic *mn* reflects a loan from Western Peripheral Akkadian (*mannummê/minummê*),²⁰⁴ the treatment of *mn* as *mn + m* (as assumed above) cannot be taken for granted. This latter position is not altogether groundless, as documented examples of contact-induced borrowing of indefinite pronouns (discussed in ch. 2) illustrate. If Ugaritic *mn* simply reflects the outcome of such a

²⁰² See Huehnergard 1989: 136-139.

²⁰³ I have found no examples of misuse or confusion of these pronouns in locally produced documents. I have found one example of *mannummê* employed with a non-human referent and several of *minummê* employed with human referents in documents of non-local provenance. See, for example, RS 17.116:24'-25' (= *PRU* IV, p. 132), *ma-an-nu-me-e šî-bu-te-ka* (from Amurru); RS 17.341:21', 26' (= *PRU* IV, p. 161), *mi-nu-me-e* ÌR.MEŠ (an international verdict); RS 17.355:9 (= *PRU* IV, p. 209), *mi-nu-me-e* MUNUS.MEŠ (an international verdict); RS 94.2484:3' (= RSO XXIII, no. 44), *mi-nu-um-me-e* DUMU.MEŠ, perhaps from *Ušnatu* (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 94). For a similar situation at Emar, see Seminara 1998: 280.

²⁰⁴ See del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 556 (referring to {mn} in RS 34.124:22 as a possible shortening of the “gewöhnlichen (Ug.-)akk. *mannummê* „irgendeiner““); Dietrich and Loretz 2009b: 122 (“eine Entlehnung des Koine-Babylonischen *mīnummê*”).

borrowing process, then there is no reason to expect its morphological composition to be explainable on internal grounds.

I have already discussed ways in which the distribution of Ugaritic *mnm* differs from that of Akkadian *minummê*,²⁰⁵ and additional examples will be discussed further below. The assumption that points of formulaic similarity between Ugaritic and Akkadian formulae in locally produced texts reflect influence of the latter upon the former (rather than the reverse) is, furthermore, open to question.²⁰⁶ For these reasons, it is methodologically unsound to assume that linguistic contact is responsible for the orthographic compatibility existing between the consonantly written Ugaritic {mnm} and the syllabically written Akkadian *mannummê/minummê*. The fact that the diachronic formation of indefinite pronouns very frequently follows a restricted number of paths, even in completely unrelated languages (as described in ch. 2) leads us to *expect* formal similarities between the indefinite pronominal systems of closely related languages. Such similarities, therefore, should not be taken as indications of contact-induced change unless attempts at internal derivation produce unacceptable results. I argue below that acceptable results are, in fact, achievable. I accordingly proceed to treat {mnm} as consisting of *mn* + *m*, acknowledging that the viability of this approach rests on the possibility of accounting for the use of *mn-* as the WH-morphological base as one that is syntactically and/or semantically *motivated*. If the selection were deemed *ad hoc*, then contact-based argumentation would become more attractive.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Specifically, the frequent use of the *waw* of apodosis in the formulaic request for news suggesting syntactic non-incorporation in Ugaritic, in contrast to the universal lack of such a conjunction in the corresponding Akkadian formula.

²⁰⁶ See discussion in Burlingame forthcoming *a*.

²⁰⁷ The argument would proceed as follows: (1) the line from Akkadian interrogatives *mannum* and *mīnum* to *mannum=mê* and *minum=mê* is a direct one; (2) the use of the interrogative base *mn* rather than *mh/my* in forming the Ugaritic indefinite is unmotivated/*ad hoc*; (3) as the Ugaritic form cannot be satisfactorily explained on internal grounds, and as it aligns perfectly with the morphology of its Akkadian counterpart, which *can* be explained on internal grounds, the Ugaritic form *mnm* is more likely the result of contact-induced borrowing or replication.

Those who have offered a morphological analysis of *mnm* in the past have universally recognized the final *-m* as the enclitic *-m* employed so frequently in Ugaritic.²⁰⁸ This particle is most frequently employed to mark a constituent for Focus²⁰⁹ and is not associated exclusively with one variety of Focus.²¹⁰ We find it employed in contexts where the marked constituent represents a contrastive replacing focus,²¹¹ additive focus,²¹² and scalar additive focus.²¹³ This functional range allows us to recognize in *mîna=ma* and *manna=ma* examples of the broadly attested typological trend for indefinite pronouns to consist morphologically of WH-morphology augmented by a focus particle, a trend that is especially prominent among indefinite pronouns associated with free-choice semantics (Haspelmath 1997: 157-164; see also sec. 2.5.4.1 above). This morphological profile, it turns out, can frequently be associated with a parametric concessive conditional source construction of Haspelmath's *it may be* type (1997: 135-140). Such pronouns start out in parametric concessive conditional clauses with a form of the verb BE,

²⁰⁸ Aistleitner 1963: 187 (“mit verallg. *-m*”); Aartun 1974: 55-56 (“hervorhebendem *-m*”); Loewenstamm 1980: 61 (“enclitic *-ma*”; this is not as explicitly labelled in his original Hebrew study [1958-1959: 76], though the same idea was surely in view); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 283 (“+ *m* encl.”); 2003: 563 (“+ encl. *m*.”); 2015: 556 (“+ encl. *m*.”); Tropper 2000/2012: 243 (“EP *-m*”); Sivan 2001: 59 (+ adverbial *-m*); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56 (“*-m* enclitique”); 2009: 42 (“enclitic’ *-m*”); Huehnergard (2012: 36, 151) is less explicit, but his vocalization (/mannu-mv/ and /minu-mv/) suggests a comparable analysis.

²⁰⁹ See the detailed discussion of Tropper 2012: 825-832.

²¹⁰ In fact, it cannot even be associated exclusively with Focus, as occasional examples of what appear to be pragmatic Topics bear this enclitic particle, e.g., *b=m ty* in RS 11.872:14 or *špš=m* in RS 94.5015:22', both of which seem to activate new topics (and see Tropper 2012: 827). Examples like these are, nevertheless, outliers, as a Focus-marking value is far more frequently discernible.

²¹¹ E.g., RS 96.2039:19-21 (*w l likt 'm mlk w 'mk=m likt*, “I did not send word to the king, but **to YOU** I sent word”).

²¹² Frequent in cultic lists, e.g., RS 1.001:1 (*t' =m*, “also as a *t'*-sacrifice” [see Dietrich and Loretz 1981: 78; Pardee 2000: 18, 30]); RS 1.005:18, 20 (*l 'nt=m*, “Also for ‘Anatu” [see Pardee 2000: 218, 250-251]); RS 1.017:6 (*b 'l=m*, “another *Ba 'lu*” [see Pardee 2000: 293, 300]); see further Tropper 2012: 831.

²¹³ Tropper (2012: 826) is correct in arguing that *-m* added to adverbial noun phrases does not comprise an “adverbial *-m*” (the infelicitous label employed by Sivan 2001: 59). The adverbial syntactic role of such NPs is marked instead by their case, with *-m* functioning independently in its typical functional roles as a clitic (Tropper 2012: 826). Several examples from epistolary texts likely involve scalar additive focus, e.g., the ubiquitous prostration formula *mḥqt=m qlt*, which can be translated, “Even at a distance, I fall (i.e., bow).” The scalar force is detectable regardless of whether this assertion participates in an epistolary fiction evoking the practice of prostration beginning at a distance as one approaches an authority (so Loewenstamm 1967: 42; see further Hawley 2003: 312-314, with previous bibliography; Pardee forthcoming *a*, ad RS 8.315) or serves as a means of insisting that the sender's loyalty remains intact even away from the addressee's watchful eye (Ahl 1973: 76).

which can either survive in the morphology of the pronoun (as in French *qui que ce soit*) or be elided altogether (as in English *whatever* [*< whatever it may be*]). The process can be illustrated as follows:

(67) **Grammaticalization of *it may be* indefinites**²¹⁴

- a. You may have *it_i*, *whatever it_i may be* >
(parametric concessive conditional)
- b. You may have *whatever it may be*. >
(free relative clause)
- c. You may have *whatever-it-may-be/whatever-it-may-be*
(reanalysis: grammaticalized indefinite pronoun, with or without trace of BE)

As noted already, many indefinites derived by such a process exhibit no remnant of the verb BE. In such cases, the language will appear to employ a single lexeme both as an indefinite pronoun and as the head of parametric concessive conditional clauses (in which the verb BE still appears). Haspelmath (1997: 139) describes these cases in the following terms:

In descriptive grammars of European languages, the identity between indefinite pronouns [lacking traces of BE] and the pronouns introducing parametric concessive conditional clauses is often described as if the indefinite pronouns were primary and their function in concessive conditionals secondary. However, the opposite is in fact the case: the indefinite pronouns [lacking traces of BE] are derived from the same kind of source

²¹⁴ See Haspelmath 1997:135-140, 157-164.

construction discussed above [the parametric concessive conditional clause], with the difference that the verb ‘be’ has also been ellipted.

In a Northwest Semitic language like Ugaritic, which makes no regular use of overt copulas, we obviously cannot expect a trace of BE in *it may be* indefinites,²¹⁵ and the fact that Ugaritic *mnm* consists of WH + focus particle, features in parametric concessive conditionals (where its semantics are highly comparable to those of FCIs), but can also be employed independently make it a pristine example of this diachronic trajectory.

Internal data do not permit us to demonstrate the direction of development in the syntax of *mnm*, but Haspelmath’s observation just quoted warrants a hypothesis identifying uses of *mnm* as a complementizer heading parametric concessive conditional clauses as its prototypical distribution, with its determiner role and independent usage arising through further grammaticalization (though all three distributions remain available; the syntactic situation is, therefore, highly comparable to that of Greek *opjosdhipote*). This diachronic hypothesis is supported by another typological trend pertaining to the use of indefinites under negation. Haspelmath (1997: 230-233) observes that indefinites that can be used in both non-negated and negated contexts universally began in the former, with their use in the latter constituting the result of further grammaticalization. The corollary is that indefinite pronouns that start out as specialized negative indefinites (items like those described as *n-words* in ch. 2) remain restricted to such environments through time rather than expanding outward to other functional spaces. We observe, in other words, *two* diachronic typological trends of relevance for our understanding of *mnm*:

²¹⁵ Indeed, Haspelmath (1997: 135) provides the Modern Hebrew indefinite *mi-še-hu* (lit. “who that it (is)”) as an example of this source.

(68) **Relevant diachronic typological trends (unidirectional)**

- a. free-choice free relative > independent indefinite pronoun
- b. non-negative use > use under negation

The behavior of *mmm* aligns with these trends with an almost surprising clarity: we find the pronoun employed *without* negation in parametric concessive conditionals (whether as a complementizer or as a determiner) and exclusively *under* negation when used independently. In other words, we observe a tight isomorphism between the *syntactic selection features* of *mmm* and its *semantic sensitivity* and associated licensing contexts that are both fully in keeping with independently documented crosslinguistic diachronic trends and that suggest that the diachronic development of *mmm* likely followed a similar trajectory. Based on the syntactic, semantic, and typological observations outlined above, I hypothesize the following diachronic trajectory for the development of *mmm*, presented here with reference to semantic featural loss (bleaching) as the most salient feature of this grammaticalization trajectory:

(69) **Diachronic development of *mmm***

- a. Stage 1: complementizer, definite FCI > –maximality
- b. Stage 2: determiner, indefinite FCI > –intensionalization (w_d)
- c. Stage 3: pronoun, API (*any*)

According to this hypothesis, the loss of semantic maximality (associated with the *iota*-operator discussed by Giannakidou and Cheng 2006 and noted in ch. 2 above) results in the broader application of *mmm* in indefinite descriptions (accompanied by a syntactic extension to

determiner-roles). A subsequent loss of intensionalization/the dependent world variable (also discussed in ch. 2) allows its further use in nonveridical contexts like negation (presumably though not demonstrably including episodic negation) and results in a semantic profile highly comparable to that of English *any*-items and a syntactic profile much like that of the Greek FCI *opjodhipote*. In synchronic terms, the end result is a pronoun for which the availability of identity alternatives and domain exhaustification are conversationally implicated (and thus liable to cancellation under negation) rather than semantically asserted (see the discussion of *any* in sec. 2.4.2.4.2.3 for details).

These observations allow us to move to the second question noted above: the degree to which *mînama* and *mannama* are fully grammaticalized indefinite pronouns. If the diachronic grammaticalization trends just discussed do in fact obtain, we must be dealing with a fully grammaticalized pronoun, which has, in fact, undergone further grammaticalization resulting in a widening of its semantic and syntactic features. Of equal importance, the total absence of positive evidence for the use of bare WH-morphology in indefinite functions in Ugaritic virtually excludes the possibility of treating *mnm* as the *productive* combination of WH and the focus particle *-m*. This comes with an interesting implication. Haspelmath (1997: 163) suggests that indefinites consisting of WH + focus particle *presuppose* the availability of bare WH-indefinites as part of the original source construction. That is, such pronouns are formed not from an *interrogative* + focus particle, but from a *bare-interrogative indefinite* + focus particle. If Haspelmath's proposal is to hold for Ugaritic, then the indefinite pronoun *mnm* must not only be fully grammaticalized; it must furthermore have fully supplanted its hypothesized bare-interrogative indefinite source, perhaps pointing to a chronological period well before the period of written attestation as the context in which this process began.

The third, and perhaps most critical question requiring our attention consists of the selection of *mn* rather than *mh/my* as the WH-morphological component from which these *m*-series indefinites were derived. We have no evidence that Ugaritic ever employed reflexes of ***mah=ma* or ***mīya=ma*, though there is no theoretical reason that it should not have.²¹⁶ The importance of this question is twofold. First, as noted already above, an inability to account for this selection would add weight to the position that treats *mnm* as a form resulting from linguistic contact with (Western Peripheral) Akkadian. Second, the fact that the Ugaritic language possesses *two* sets of personal and impersonal interrogative-argument pronouns makes it a typological gem capable of shedding important light on the semantics of free choice and the diachronic sources for FCIs and related items.

It is at this point that recent work on the morphological composition and semantics of FCIs conducted by Giannakidou and Cheng (2006) plays an absolutely critical role in allowing us to account for the Ugaritic pronominal system in a manner that has not previously been possible. As these authors have illustrated and as I have discussed above, FCIs come in what amount to definite and indefinite varieties. The crucial insight of Giannakidou and Cheng 2006 is that definite FCIs may incorporate a *morphological* element representing the natural-language equivalent of the logical definiteness core (which they present in theoretical terms as the *iota*-operator). The implication for Greek is that the FCI *opjosdhipote* consists not only of a WH-morphological element (*pjos*) and a scalar focus particle responsible for the intensionalization of the pronoun's semantics (*dhipote*), but also the element *o*, which is morphologically identical to the *definite article*. A similar situation is observable in Mandarin Chinese, where definite FCIs

²¹⁶ Recall that Arabic (*mahmā*) and Sabaic (*mhmyw*) do employ such indefinites, and note that the impersonal indefinite pronouns belonging to the *k*-series (discussed below) exhibit both interrogative bases (*mh=k* and *mn=k* are both used).

are formed not on bare WH-morphological bases (like *shéi*) but on the d-linked WH-base *nǎ*, which can be related morphologically to the demonstrative *nà* (Giannakidou and Cheng 2006: 137).

The resonance of these descriptions with the Ugaritic situation should be obvious in view of the findings presented in the preceding chapter. I argued there that the Ugaritic interrogatives *mîna* and *manna* are best understood as incorporating a semantic feature of maximality/uniqueness and a presupposition of existence—both associated with definite descriptions—and that this semantic profile accounted for the incorporation of the deictic enclitic =*na* in the morphology of the pronoun. I propose that the selection of this form of the interrogative pronoun as the base for the indefinite pronouns *mînama* and *mannama* can be explained straightforwardly in terms of the definite FCI semantics of the latter, which I have suggested on typological grounds is likely to represent their *prototypical* function. The element *-n*, in other words, represents the natural-language counterpart of the definiteness core in the Ugaritic indefinites *mînama* and *mannama* in exactly the same way that Greek *o* and Mandarin *nǎ* do in their respective systems. And just as in Greek, where *opjodhipote* can also be employed in (syntactically distinct) indefinite FCI expressions, the functional range of Ugaritic *mnm* expanded outward from this original definite-FCI space into indefinite-FCI and API territory, which are similarly distinguished from their definite-FCI counterparts syntactically (complementizer versus determiner versus pronoun).

This account of Ugaritic *mînama* and *mannama* aligns not only with the definite-FCI semantics observable in the majority of attestations noted above, but also with the fact that *mnm* figures so typically in Topical parametric concessive conditional clauses. As prototypically definite FCI descriptions, they make excellent topics (unlike typical APIs with a dependent

variable x_d). As FCI *complementizers*, they necessarily introduce a relative clause (and we have seen that this is in fact the case even of *mnm* as an FCI-determiner), which means that they are auto-licensing (via subtriggering) as is typical of free-choice free relatives (FC-FRs) described in ch. 2. In other words, the morphological and semantic account offered above allows us to make sense of the syntax and pragmatics of *mnm* as well, all in a manner that is in line with attested crosslinguistic trends.

5.6 Summary and Implications

In the preceding discussion, I have argued that {*mnm*} represents two indefinite pronouns, *mînama* and *mannama*. I have shown that both are employed in contexts consistent with the hypothesis that these are limited-distribution indefinites. Like Greek *opjosdhipote*, they may be employed independently, with a NP complement (as a determiner-like item), or with a clausal complement (as a complementizer). The first of these distributions is restricted to negation, where the pronouns behave like nonemphatic APIs, though the application of focus-fronting may generate readings closer to that of *ANY*. In these cases, the pronouns should be translated as “anyone” and “anything.” When used as determiners, these pronouns approximate the semantics of indefinite-FCIs (though synchronically, their intensionalization is implicated rather than asserted) and are best translated as “any/whatever NP.” Such determiners are exclusively (or nearly exclusively—example (6) [RS 15.128] constitutes the only possible exception) found in parametric concessive conditional clauses that do not figure as arguments within the syntax of the main clause. Finally, when used as complementizers, these pronouns have definite-FCI-like semantics (though synchronically, their domain exhaustification is implicated rather than

asserted) and are best translated as “whoever + PREDICATE” and “whatever + PREDICATE.” These likewise appear exclusively in parametric concessive conditional clauses.

I have argued that the last of these distributions represents the original source construction for the grammaticalization of these pronouns. This allows us to recognize a definite-FCI source located in an *it may be* context (a crosslinguistically prominent source for FCIs). The incorporation of a focus particle *-m* in the semantics is therefore expected on typological grounds. The same is true of the selection of the interrogatives *mîna* and *manna* as these incorporate a presupposition of existence and maximality/uniqueness, both features of definite descriptions and therefore making *mn* the natural choice for definite-FCI expressions, in which *-n* represents the natural-language equivalent of the logical *iota*-operator.

Converging typological trends regarding the diachronic trajectories of indefinite pronominal grammaticalization strongly suggest that this prototypical definite-FCI complementizer extended outward into determiner and independent roles, accompanied by the semantic loss of maximality (the definiteness core) and then intensionalization (responsible for the free-choice effect), the latter two remaining synchronically incorporated as *implicatures* rather than *assertions*, and therefore liable to cancellation under negation. Each of these proposals has been shown to find ready parallels in current semantic and typological research.

The most significant implication of these findings for current Ugaritological discussion pertains to the relationship between Ugaritic *mînama* and *mannama*, on the one hand, and Akkadian *mannummê* and *minummê*, on the other. I have shown that the Ugaritic pronouns can be understood on purely internal grounds. A surprising cohesion of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and morphology has emerged from the research in a manner closely aligning with typological parallels, the significance of which for semantic research has only come to light in

the last fifteen years. Ugaritic, therefore, offers data supporting recent work on definite and indefinite FCIs and the non-uniformity of WH-morphology in generating such items. As these data come from a context removed in time from the present by over three millennia, their support becomes all the more significant.

The possibility of such an account should engender considerable skepticism regarding appeals to contact-induced borrowing from Western Peripheral Akkadian. The preceding discussion also positions us to recognize ways in which the Ugaritic and Akkadian pronouns differ from one another and to appreciate the significance of those differences.

First, the morphological input to the grammaticalization process must be recognized as involving distinct logic. The Akkadian WH-morphological components are *mīnum* and *mannum*—the simple impersonal and personal interrogatives. Ugaritic, on the other hand, employs a marked interrogative base employed in quasi-definite descriptions. This selection has been shown to be semantically motivated and is not, therefore, likely to represent a simple imitation of the Akkadian morphology.

Second, I have argued that the Ugaritic indefinite pronouns consist of a WH-morphological component augmented by a focus particle and that this composition aligns with the definite-FCI-like semantics and prototypical complementizer role of the pronoun. A similar composition can be identified for Akkadian *mimma* and *mamma*, but not for *minummê* or *mannummê*, both of which are augmented by the enclitic element *-mê*. The origin of this clitic element has been debated in the past,²¹⁷ but it cannot be identified as an Akkadian additive focus particle (for which *-ma* is employed). Syntactic differences between the two can be identified as well. The Western Peripheral Akkadian pronouns frequently figure in parametric concessive

²¹⁷ See discussion in ch. 3.

conditionals, just like their Ugaritic counterparts, but they may do so as true pronouns rather than as complementizers, in which cases they are construed syntactically as the heads of marked relative clauses, i.e., serving as the antecedents of the Akkadian relativizer *ša* (see Huehnergard 1989: 137-138). This is something Ugaritic *mnm* never does: in all instances identified above in which a relative pronoun appears, the antecedent of the relative is found to be the NP following *mnm*, not *mnm* itself.

With these observations in place, I argue that {*mnm*} (*mînama* and *mannama*) can and should be understood as true Ugaritic pronouns, employed according to Ugaritic-internal syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic principles. Even if they were deployed in the formulae in which they appear in part because of their similarity to their Western Peripheral Akkadian counterparts (a point I am not entirely prepared to concede, in part because of the syntactic distinctions separating the Ugaritic and Akkadian formulae, such as the frequent use of *waw* of apodosis in the former), they were nevertheless used in a manner consistent with Ugaritic grammar and *differing* in important respects from that characterizing the use of *mannummê* and *minummê*.

Chapter 6

The Ugaritic Indefinite *k*-series (*mhk*, *mnk*)

6.0 Introduction

The second indefinite pronominal series identifiable in the Ugaritic language consists of the pronouns *mnk* (personal and impersonal) and *mhk*, each of which may be further augmented in a variety of ways to be discussed below. This series of pronouns is not as well attested as *mmm*, and it has received relatively little systematic attention in the secondary literature, as the history of discussion presented in sec. 5.1 illustrates. Once the identity of these items as pronouns was recognized, virtually no further work was devoted to describing how they relate to *mmm* or other putative indefinite pronouns. In this chapter, I present and discuss all attestations in sec. 6.2. This is followed by a descriptive account of the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of these pronouns as well as a typologically informed proposal for their morphological and diachronic analysis in sec. 6.3-6.5. I close with a discussion of how the *m*-series and *k*-series relate to one another (sec. 6.6) and of the implications of the arguments presented in this chapter (sec. 6.7).

6.1 History of Discussion

As noted in the preceding section, the history of discussion of *mhk* and *mnk* is presented together with that of *mmm* in sec. 5.1 above.

6.2 The *k*-series (*mhk*, *mnk*): Data

The conventions employed here are similar to those guiding the presentation of data in the preceding chapter (see sec. 5.2). Members of the *k*-series make far fewer appearances than their

m-series counterparts, though they are better attested in juridical texts than is *mmm*. As in the preceding chapter, I present the data according to animacy and surface-syntax features first. This presentation will be refined following the morphological and syntactic discussions offered later in the chapter. A brief description of the context of attestation is offered in each case, accompanied by any commentary deemed critical to the interpretation of the indefinite pronoun(s) in question. Finally, each text citation is accompanied by a footnote directing readers to an autopsy-based and, as often as possible, conveniently accessible presentation of the text. This is intended to ensure epigraphic accuracy and to facilitate ready reference for those interested in examining the entire text more closely.

6.2.1 Personal *mnk*

(1) **RS 15.111:12-17¹** (legal)

mnk . (13) m^r n^l km . l . yqh (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ‘bdmlk . . . (17) . . . ‘‘d . ‘lm

MNK MNK=*ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā*

WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this

bîdê ‘abdîmilki . . . ‘adê ‘ālamî

from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“No one at all shall take this house from the possession of ‘*Abdîmilku* . . .

forever.”²

Context: RS 15.111 is a royal grant issued by ‘*Ammittamru* III and concerning a house previously belonging to ‘*Ananiḍarru*, now transferred to ‘*Abdîmilku* (see Hawley and Pardee

¹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

² The ellipses represented above do not indicate breaks in the text; in between the PN ‘*bdmlk* and the PP ‘*d ‘lm* appear the patronym of the individual concerned and mention of his children.

2012). The formula in which *mnk mnkm* appears excludes future seizure of this house from the new recipient or his descendants (i.e., the grant is heritable). For discussion of this formula, see Márquez Rowe (2006: 230-234), who refers to this as the “warranty clause against eviction,” and Hawley and Pardee (2012: 263, 265), who describe it as an “exclusion perpétuelle de reprise.”

Comment: The nature of the construction *mnk mnkm* has received a variety of analyses (as has the lexical evaluation of the pronoun itself; see sec. 5.1 above). I highlight this construction here as I return to it in the course of describing the syntax and semantics of *mnk* further below.

(2) **RS 15.111:12-17³** (legal)

mnk . (13) m^rn^lkm . l . yqḥ (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ‘bdmlk . . . (17) . . . ‘‘d . ‘lm

MNK MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā

WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this

bîdê ‘abdîmilki . . . ‘adê ‘ālamî

from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“No one at all shall take this house from the possession of ‘*Abdîmilku* . . . forever.”

Context: See discussion immediately above.

Comment: See discussion immediately above.

³ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

(3) **RS 15.125:12'-15'⁴** (legal)

w mnkm . l yqḥ (13') spr . mlk . hnd (14') b yd . ṣṭqšlm (15') 'd 'lm

wa MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu sipra malki

and WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS document-ACC.M.SG.CSTR king-GEN.M.SG.ABS

hannadā bi yadi ṣṭqīšalimi 'adê 'ālamī

this from hand-GEN.M.SG.CSTR PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“And no one shall take this royal document from the hand of *Ṣṭqīšalimu* forever.”

Context: Though the opening lines of RS 15.125 have been lost—unfortunate for present purposes, as they almost certainly contained an indefinite pronoun or comparable alternative⁵—the function of the text can nevertheless be identified. This document, authorized by *Niqmaddu* III, the penultimate king of Ugarit, exempts his servant, *Ṣṭqīšalimu*, from 'unuttu-obligation.⁶ The prohibition found in ll. 12'-15' can be compared to the exclusion of future seizure applied to real-property in RS 15.111 (see example (1) above)⁷ but here applies rather to a hypothesized attempt at *documentary* repossession. No one is to deprive *Ṣṭqīšalimu* of the royal document certifying his exemption from 'unuttu-obligation.⁸

⁴ For the text, see Pardee 2010a: 104.

⁵ As I discuss in a forthcoming study (Burlingame forthcoming *a*), attempts to place limits on the range of licit actions that can be taken in the future in Ugaritic juridical texts follow one of three strategies: they inform future action (providing specific instructions), explicitly permit certain actions, or explicitly exclude certain actions. Cases of the last of these strategies involve either a penal disincentive or, as in l. 1' of the present text (and in ll. 12'-15'), a categorical prohibition. Such prohibitions are accompanied in every comparable example by a scalar/domain-extending expression intended to add force to the prohibition. It appears likely, therefore, that an expression such as *bnš bnšm* or *mnk mnkm* would originally have preceded the prohibition found in l. 1' of the present text as its subject.

⁶ This document is not, therefore, a “Freistellungsurkunde” (Kienast 1979: 445) or “record of manumission of a royal slave” (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1995: 168; 2013: 235). See Márquez Rowe 2006: 34, 64 (distinguishing this text explicitly from documents of manumission); Pardee with Hawley 2010: 130.

⁷ As Márquez Rowe (2006: 231) observes.

⁸ Though no precise parallel can be found in other alphabetic legal texts, the heritability/inalienability of such documents appears to be assumed in RS [Varia 31]:13-16 as well (see Burlingame, Hawley, and Pardee in preparation).

6.2.2 Impersonal *mhk/mnk*

6.2.2.1 NP + *mhk* preceding negation

(4) RS 29.095:13-15⁹ (epistolary)

ht ʾt . (14) dbr . hmhkm (15) b lk ʾl tšm

a. *hatti ʾatta dabara ham=MHK=ma bi*

PRES you.2MS word-ACC.M.SG.ABS PRES=WH=K=FOC in

li<bbi>=ka ʾal tašim

heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG put-G.JUSS.2MS

“see, you must not worry about anything at all” (lit. “do not put any word in your heart”)

b. *hatti ʾatta dabara=hu MHK=ma bi*

PRES you.2MS word-ACC.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS WH=K=FOC in

li<bbi>=ka ʾal tašim

heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG put-G.JUSS.2MS

“see, you must not worry about that matter at all” (lit. “do not put any of his/its affair in your heart”)

Context: RS 29.095 bears a letter from *Talmiyānu* to *Pizziya*. The relationship between the two is not specified, but the fact that the sender places his own name first in the address of the letter and gives orders to the addressee suggests that the sender was the addressee’s superior (even more likely if this *Talmiyānu* is the royal family member by this name¹⁰). Within the body of the letter, the sender provides a series of instructions concerning provisions to be made for an

⁹ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Pardee forthcoming *b*).

¹⁰ See Burlingame and Pardee 2019: 199 n. 32 for previous positions and bibliography. See further Pardee forthcoming *b*.

individual named ‘*Adānu*. Nestled in the middle of these instructions is the command not to worry issued in ll. 13-15 (example (4) above). Comparable commands (perhaps better, encouragements) are found in other letters as well—both with indefinite pronouns, as here (see RS 16.379, example (6) below, and RS 18.031, example (7) below), and without them (see RS 15.008:10-12)—allowing us to recognize this as an epistolary *topos*.

Comment: This text provides the only example of the graphic sequence {hmkh} currently available, and different evaluations of the form have been offered in the past. In order to assess these approaches (and one more yet to be considered), more of the context is required:

RS 29.095:9-19¹¹	del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín	Pardee 2002b: 111
	2002: 551	
(09) hnk . tšm ‘m	Was immer auch sei: Wenn Du	Now listen well:
	hörst,	
(10) ‘dn . yštāl	dass die Truppe eine <i>Antwort</i>	As ‘DN has been continually
	haben will	requesting
(11) ‘mnk . pm yqh	von Dir und (<i>irgendein</i>	of you, he may take
	<i>Vorzeichen</i>) bekommen will	
(12) bk . p ‘pr	durch Dich, dann wirst Du (es	a <i>bīku</i> -jar (of wine) by permission
	ihnen) verschaffen. ¹²	of ‘PR.
(13) ht āt .	Du deinerseits	Don’t you

¹¹ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Pardee forthcoming *b*).

¹² This translation depends on the incorrect reading {t‘pr} (see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 552, following the reading suggested in *KTU*¹⁻³ 2.71). The text is in fact to be read {p‘pr} (Pardee forthcoming *a*, forthcoming *b*).

(14) dbr . hmhkm	sollst Dir gar nichts	w<or>ry about
(15) b lk àl tšm	zu Herzen nehmen.	a thing!
(16) ‘d mgyy	Bis ich angekommen bin	Until I arrive
(17) b ‘rm . ḥpr	in der Stadt, sollst Du als Ration	in ‘RM, the rations
(18) ‘dn . dd àkl	der Truppe ein <i>dd</i> Getreide	of ‘DN, (in the amount) of a <i>dūdu</i> -measure
(19) mtr . tn lh	ihr zusätzlich austeilen.	of the left-over grain, give to him.

I begin with a number of lexical and syntactic observations before suggesting an alternative interpretation of the body of this letter. First, the sequence {‘dn} is far more likely to represent the PN spelled this way,¹³ as Pardee suggests,¹⁴ than a common noun preceding the verb {yštàl} (see similarly RS 29.093:11-12, *hlly bn ‘yn yštàl ‘m àmtk*, “Here, *Binu ‘Ayānu* keeps making demands of your maidservant”).

Second, while the sequence {bk} may refer to the *bīku*-vessel, this term is not otherwise attested in Ugaritic prose.¹⁵ In the clear attestation found in RS 2.[014]⁺ i 12 (= *KTU* 1.3), the term appears in parallel with the noun *ks*, and both terms refer contextually to large drinking vessels (not storage vessels). The latter term may appear elsewhere as an item of interest in epistolary correspondence,¹⁶ so we cannot exclude the possibility that the body of this letter treats both vessels (the *bk*, l. 12) and grain (*dd àkl*, l. 18). Yet the frequent use of the verb √lqh with the preposition *bd*¹⁷ and the presence of a scribal error in l. 15 ({b lk} for intended *b lk*)

¹³ See del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 147 with bibliography.

¹⁴ See the translation above, as well as Pardee forthcoming *b*.

¹⁵ See del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 216

¹⁶ See the mock letter RS 16.265:15, but also RS 22.003:11 and perhaps RS 94.2284:30, the interpretation of which remains highly uncertain.

¹⁷ See Pardee 1975: 355-356; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 496-499.

force us to consider the possibility of emendation: *pa=ma yiqqaḥ bî<dê>ka*, “so let him take from you (what he asks).”¹⁸ The absence of an object for $\sqrt{lqḥ}$ can be understood as a case of object-ellipsis—typical in Ugaritic, as in Biblical Hebrew,¹⁹ when the intended object is pragmatically accessible (i.e., belongs to the pragmatic common ground shared by the interlocutors). We may reasonably assume that the addressee of this letter is aware of the specific demands that have been addressed to him by *ʿAdānu*, so the direct object need not be specified.²⁰

Third, the sequence {pʿpr} in l. 12 (incorrectly read as {tʿpr} in earlier editions)²¹ is unlikely to be interpretable by appeal to Akkadian *epēru*, “to provide (persons) with food rations” (*CAD* E, p. 190; *AHW*, p. 223) as a cognate.²² While a verbal form referring to provisions is contextually unproblematic, the relevant cognate for Akkadian *epēru* (and related noun *ipru*) is to be found in the Ugaritic root $\sqrt{ḥpr}$, present in l. 17 of this very text (see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 362; Pardee forthcoming *a* for bibliography). Interpretation must proceed along alternative routes, the most probable of which involves treating {pʿpr} as two words, as does Pardee (see above).

Fourth, the initial {p} of this sequence could be understood as the conjunction *pa* or the noun *pû*, “mouth (> order, command).” Because the conjunction *pa* often introduces a word or clause that builds sequentially on what precedes (“and then,” “and so”), this analysis would be easiest if {ʿpr} were interpretable as something that follows the preceding statement naturally:

¹⁸ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2002: 551) and Hawley (2003: 725) arrive at this sense without emendation, assuming the viability of $\sqrt{lqḥ} + b$, “to take from,” and this may turn out to be correct. Because I have found no comparable example of $\sqrt{lqḥ} + b + NP$ meaning “to take from NP,” where NP refers to the person from whom something is being taken, I provisionally favor the emendation suggested above.

¹⁹ See Sinclair 1991 and Cook 2020. For Ugaritic, see Tropper (2012: 866-868) for a number of examples, though he treats these uniformly as verbs with “wechselnder Valenz” (2012: 866).

²⁰ Similar assumptions stand behind the translation of del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 551 (presented above) and the far more plausible translation of Hawley 2003: 725 (“let him take from you (what he wants”).

²¹ See n. 12 above.

²² This is the position of del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 552; 2003: 173-174; 2015: 170-171.

“let him take from you and then ‘PR.” As no interpretation based on this textual division presents itself, Pardee’s solution (indicated above) provides a nice alternative.

Yet one further possibility is worth considering. While *pa* often functions at the level of phrasal constituents (NPs and VPs), it can also function at levels higher than the clause or sentence. That is, *pa* can serve discourse-structural roles as well, marking a progression in the discourse from one topic to the next, as in RS 29.093:5, where *pa* marks the shift from the address to the salutation (and see RS 2.[022]⁺ i 12-16 [= *KTU* 1.5] for a literary representation of this epistolary function).²³ In at least one case—unfortunately a fragmentary one—it appears to precede an extrapositioned topic: *p ʾt mk tškh*[. . .] “So you, for your part, you will certainly (??) find/be found (??) [. . .]” (RS 17.434⁺:36⁺; Pardee 1983-1984: 326). This invites us to consider whether *ʾpr* may be the topic of what follows rather than the last expression of the sentence that precedes: “And now about ‘PR,” This leads us to the next observation.

Fifth, the presentative *ht* often serves to mark a shift in Topic by *preceding* a topicalized or extrapositioned constituent in a sentence.²⁴ Yet in a number of cases, it serves to mark the shift from Topic to Comment so that it actually *follows* the initial Topic.²⁵ This fact, together with that outlined in the preceding paragraph, allow us to propose an alternative understanding of ll. 12-13: “And now, about ‘PR, see, you should not” Before integrating this into the body of the letter, one further set of observations is required.

²³ See Tropper 2012: 790 for further examples, as well as Hawley 2003: 502-507.

²⁴ As Tropper (2012: 742) describes it, “Im Briefkorpus fungiert das Adverb *ht* als Präsentationspartikel. Es steht durchgehend am Satzbeginn (teilweise nach den Konjunktionen *w* und *im*) und markiert meist einen neuen Textabschnitt bzw. eine neue Argumentationskette.”

²⁵ See RS 17.139:5-7 (*lht šlm k likt ʾmy ʾmy ht ʾmny kll šlm*, “About the letter, the fact that my mother sent a message concerning well-being to me, see, all is well here with me!”). Thanks to an epigraphic reexamination of RS 16.402, to appear in Pardee forthcoming *a*, we can now add RS 16.402:22-24 as a further example: *w mlk b ʾly ʾht ʾlm škn hnk l ʾbdh*, “As for the king, my lord, see now, why has he placed this (i.e., the following) (obligation) on his servant?” (see Pardee 1984a: 216; forthcoming *a*).

Previous studies have interpreted {b‘rm} in l. 17 as a prepositional phrase, with *b*, “in,” and ‘*rm*, either “the city” (with enclitic *-m*) or a TN. Yet this entails construing the verb √*mgy*, “to arrive,” with a *b*-preposition marking the destination—a collocation not otherwise in evidence.²⁶ Since the PP ‘*d mgy*[. . .] in RS 94.2406:22 (example (8) below) modifies the preceding prohibition—also involving the indefinite pronoun *mhk*—perhaps ‘*d mgyy* in the present text is better understood absolutely, “until I arrive.” If {b‘rm} is not a PP modifying *mgyy*, it may instead comprise a single word derived from the root √*b‘r*, “to destroy”—a root employed for describing the destruction of grain in RS 19.011:5-9 (where the term *akl* is also used).²⁷ The form {b‘rm} may be parsed as a Dp suffix-conjugation (*bu ‘‘ara=ma*) or as a G passive participle (*ba ‘uru=ma*),²⁸ in either case bearing an enclitic *-m*. The association of this latter particle with focus marking²⁹ makes its appearance here entirely expected for the global interpretation proposed immediately below. Drawing these various strands together, we arrive at the following:

RS 29.095:9-19³⁰

(09) hnk . tšm ‘m	<i>hannaka tišma ‘=ma</i>
(10) ‘dn . yštál	<i>‘adānu yišta ’’alu</i>
(11) ‘mnk . pm yqḥ	<i>‘immānuka pa=ma yiqqah</i>
(12) bk . p ‘pr	<i>bī<dê>ka pa ‘PR</i>
(13) ht àt .	<i>hatti ’atta</i>

²⁶ Elsewhere, we find *mgy* used absolutely, with an accusative, or with a PP involving *l* or ‘*m* (see Pardee 1975: 357; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 527-528).

²⁷ See further RS 18.075:26 and RS 92.2010:21.

²⁸ Both the G and D of this root are transitive in Biblical Hebrew.

²⁹ Tropper 2012: 825-832.

³⁰ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Pardee forthcoming *b*).

(14) dbr . hmhkm	<i>dabara HMHK=ma</i>
(15) b lk ʾl tšm	<i>bi li<bbi>ka ʾal tašim</i>
(16) ʾd mgyy	<i>ʾadê maḡāyiya</i>
(17) bʾrm . ḥpr	<i>bu ʾʾara=ma ḥipru</i>
(18) ʾdn . dd ʾkl	<i>ʾadâni dūda ʾakli</i>
(19) mtr . tn lh	<i>môtari tin lêhu</i>

Now you listen to this: ʾ*Adânu* keeps making requests of you, so let him take from you!

Now about ʾPR, see, *don't worry about anything*³¹ until I arrive.

(But) the rations of ʾ*Adânu* have been DESTROYED; give him a *dūdu*-measure of the grain that (you have) left over.

The context, in other words, is one in which the sender of this letter intervenes on behalf of ʾ*Adânu*, whose pestering demands, it turns out, were motivated by a situation of dire need (perhaps comparable to that described in RS 19.011). In such a context, the term {ʾpr} may simply be a personal name, as Pardee suggests (see translation above), or, as a term referring to the ʾ*āpiru* (either a single individual or a singular collective³²), whose activities on the margins of society often turned violent, as suggested in RS 94.5015:23'-27'. In either scenario, the responsibility of the addressee of this letter with respect to the two topics of concern—ʾ*Adânu*'s requests and the ʾPR—differs. He is to make immediate provisions for the former, while concerns related to the latter are to be set aside until the sender of this letter arrives.

³¹ This translation is provisional—see further discussion and refinement below.

³² As Pardee (forthcoming *b*) observes, however, this designation is otherwise attested only in the plural.

This brings us back to the odd expression found in l. 14, {dbr . hmhkm}. Comparison of the prohibition in which this NP figures with comparable prohibitions elsewhere³³ underscores the peculiarity of the first {h} of {hmhkm}—a peculiarity that has led some to treat this consonant as a simple scribal mistake.³⁴ Two other approaches have been pursued in the past. The first of these divides the words differently and assumes an alternative lexical analysis: *dbr.hm hkm*, “lead them here.”³⁵ Such an approach cannot be expected to survive comparison with examples (6) and (7) below, the obvious similarity of which requires us to treat {mhkm} as comprising a single lexeme.

The second approach, suggested by Pardee (2003-2004: 52, 135) interprets {hmhkm} as a case of the presentative *han*, which has undergone cliticization, resulting in a form he vocalizes /hammahakama/ (< **han*=*mahaka*=*ma*), noting the quasi-adjectival function of the pronoun—which follows the noun it modifies—as potentially significant for understanding this alternative form (2003-2004: 52). The distribution of Ugaritic *hn* when used in a manner anticipating the development of the definite article in later Northwest Semitic languages was discussed in ch. 4 (see sec. 4.7.3.3), but one point requiring explicit mention here is that it is never used in Ugaritic to link a noun to a following adjective (as it is in Biblical Hebrew). All cases identified to date involve *h(n)* + NP, never NP + *h(n)* + Adjective.

The sole exception pertains to demonstrative pronouns. The incorporation of *hn* into demonstrative pronominal morphology (e.g., *hnd*, “this” < *hn* + *d*) suggests that *hn* may have played just such a linking³⁶ role much earlier in the language, and an expression like that found

³³ See RS 16.379:20-24 (example (6) below) and RS 18.031:26-27 (example (7) below).

³⁴ Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1995: 191; 2013: 203; Tropper 2000/2012: 63; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 551.

³⁵ This division is suggested by the presentation of the text found in Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 165 and is presented explicitly by Israel 1995: 261 (see also Watson 2001: 287).

³⁶ See Hasselbach 2007: 20 for arguments in favor of viewing the role of **hā*/*han* as originally marking a demonstrative as adnominal.

in RS 15.128:7-8 (*ʿrbnm hn hmt*, “these (following) guarantors”)³⁷ may indicate that such combinations (*hn* + adnominal demonstrative) could still be combined productively. If *hn* is otherwise employed in this linking capacity only with demonstratives, accounting for its presence with this indefinite pronoun becomes difficult, though not impossible. We could posit an analogical development based on the fact that only *mhk* and demonstrative pronouns comprise determiner-like lexemes that obligatorily appear post-nominally in Ugaritic. Other quantifiers (such as *kl* and cardinal numerals) may precede the nouns they modify. In such a context, it would not be difficult to imagine the analogical extension of the linker *hn* for post-nominal demonstrative adjectives to the only other post-nominal determiner-like item in the language (i.e., *hmt* : *ʿrbnm hn hmt* :: *mhk* : *dbr hmhk(m)*). We cannot rule this possibility out, but without better or more numerous parallels, it remains a guess.

One further possibility worth considering involves appeal to an alternative division of the sequence concerned. Perhaps Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín (1976: 165) were on the right track but simply placed the division in the wrong place. As a third alternative, therefore, I suggest the following: {*dbr.h mhkm*} (/dabarahu MHK=ma/ = “any word of his; his word, whatever (it may be)”). For this approach, we must either excise the word-divider as a scribal error or allow that word-dividers were rarely placed between a word and an enclitic, even one consisting only of one consonant (as in RS 94.5015:5 {*ʿa`nk.m . bdk*} “I, your servant”).³⁸ The resulting NP involves a subjective genitive (“his word,” i.e., “the word he is saying”), an objective genitive

³⁷ Provided, of course, that this is how the expression is to be understood. Tropper (2012: 230-231) believes that it is and connects this expression to the form *hnmt* appearing elsewhere, taking the latter as a form arising from assimilation (**han=humati* > *hannumati*). For an alternative approach, see Pardee 2003-2004: 137.

³⁸ Tropper’s (2012: 68-70) presentation of the use of word-dividers in the alphabetic cuneiform script employed at Ugarit suggests that such dividers only separated enclitic morphemes from their hosts when these morphemes consisted of at least two syllables (and thus two consonants in the orthography), with cases in which this principal does not obtain relegated to a section treating irregular or mistaken uses of the word-divider (2012: 70 [sec. 21.412 l.]).

(“his word,” i.e., “the word about him”), or an “epexegetical” genitive (“his/its affair,” i.e., “the matter consisting of him/it”),³⁹ resulting in the following possibilities (paraphrased; here I indicate only the paraphrases associated with treating *pr* as a PN, though they may also be applied *mutatis mutandis* to “the *‘āpiru* individual” or “the *‘āpiru* people”):

Now about *‘PR*, see, do not worry about any of what he says until I arrive.

Now about *‘PR*, see, do not worry about any of the report about him until I arrive.

Now about *‘PR*, see, do not worry about any of his (i.e., *that*) affair until I arrive.

I suggest that the last of these affords the clearest sense of the three and is compatible with treating {*pr*} as a PN or a reference to the *‘āpiru* (either as a singular collective or referring to an individual). Incorporating these possibilities, we arrive at the following revised alternative:

RS 29.095:9-19⁴⁰

(09) hnk . tšm´m	<i>hannaka tišma ´=ma</i>
(10) ´dn . yštál	<i>´adānu yišta ´´alu</i>
(11) ´mnk . pm yqḥ	<i>´immānuka pa=ma yiqqaḥ</i>
(12) bk . p ´pr	<i>bî<dê>ka pa ´PR/´āpiru</i>
(13) ht àt .	<i>hatti ´atta</i>
(14) dbr{.}´h mhkm	<i>dabarahu MHK=ma</i>
(15) b lk àl tšim	<i>bi li<bbi>ka ´al tašim</i>

³⁹ As routinely in Biblical Hebrew in the expression *´al dābar* NP, “concerning the matter of NP” (e.g., Gen 12:17; 43:18, *et passim*).

⁴⁰ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Pardee forthcoming *b*).

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| (16) 'd mgyy | 'adê magāyiya |
| (17) b'rm . ḥpr | bu 'ara=ma ḥipru |
| (18) 'dn . dd 'akl | 'adâni dūda 'akli |
| (19) mtr . tn lh | môtari tin lêhu |

Now you listen to this: 'Adânu keeps making requests of you, so let him take from you!

Now about 'PR/the 'āpiru (people/individual), see, do not worry about that affair until I arrive.⁴¹

(But) the rations of 'Adânu have been DESTROYED; give him a dūdu-measure of the grain that (you have) left over.

To summarize the most viable options available, we can (1) delete {h} altogether (likely a rash move, as Pardee [2003-2004: 52] has argued persuasively); (2) we can imagine analogical interference from adjectival demonstrative syntax, resulting in the proclitic introduction of *hn* (possible, though without parallel); or (3) we can divide the sequence differently, treating {h} as a 3ms pronominal suffix belonging to the preceding word. The data currently available do not allow us to arrive at a certain solution, though I provisionally prefer the third of these approaches. We have at our disposal only one other text in which a NP is followed by *mhk* (the example appearing immediately below), and no {h} appears before the pronoun in that text. With a dataset of two and with several imaginable morphosyntactic analyses, we must be content to wait for further data to shed light on this particular text.

⁴¹ Literally, “any affair of his/it do not put in your heart” or “his/its affair, what(so)ever (it may be), do not put in your heart.”

(5) **RS 94.2965:19-24⁴²** (legal)

w . y{.}bnn (20) b . šdm . hnmt (21) unt . mhkm (22) l . ybl (23) untm . bth (24)

ybl

wa yabnīnu bi šadīma hannamati unutta MHK=ma

and PN in field-OBL.M.PL.ABS these u.tax-ACC.M.SG.ABS WH=K=FOC

lā yabilu unutta=ma bēti=hu yabilu

NEG carry-G.IPFV.3MS u.tax-ACC.M.SG.CSTR house-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS carry-G.IPFV.3MS

“And as for *Yabnīnu*, on those (aforementioned) fields he shall not bear any

unuttu-obligation; the unuttu-obligation for his house, however, he shall bear.”

Context: RS 94.2965 identifies specific real-property held by *Yabnīnu* (providing topographical features serving to specify the extent of his holdings) and prohibits future seizure of this property. The sentence presented as (5) appears at the close of the document, which bears no explicit identification of its authorizing institution (the king is not mentioned, and the document lacks the typical seal impression and witnesses). As in RS 15.125:1' (see discussion of example (3) above), this sentence exempts *Yabnīnu* from unuttu-obligations associated with the holdings specified in the first two sections of the document, though it goes on to indicate that he must still render the obligations associated with his house.

Comment: In the discussion of RS 15.111:18 (see sec. 5.2.2.4 above), I noted that unt in mnm bh could be analyzed in one of two manners: the noun unt either comprises a left-dislocated constituent, with *mnm* functioning as the argument of the negative existential predicate *in*, or unt

⁴² For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2012: 141-145).

is the argument, with *mm* functioning adverbially (in the preceding chapter, the former of these analyses was favored). The present text, while syntactically similar, presents no comparable ambiguity. In this case, it is inconceivable that *ybn*, the PP *b šdm hnm*, and *unt* should all function as extrapositioned constituents (“As for *Yabnīnu*, in these fields, as for an *unuttu*-obligation—he will not bear anything”). Instead, we are forced to treat *unt mhkm* as a phrasal constituent (NP) functioning as the direct object of the main verb *ybl*. The syntax of this constituency is taken up in greater detail below.

6.2.2.2 Independent *mhk* Preceding Negation

(6) **RS 16.379:20-24**⁴³ (epistolary)

w . ʔt (21) ʔmy . ʔl . tdḥˁ šˁ (22) w . ʔp . mhkm (23) b . lbk . ʔl . (24) tšt

wa ʔatti ʔummi=ya ʔal tidḥašī wa

and you.2FS mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS NEG be.disturbed-G.JUSS.2FS and

ʔapa MHK=ma bi libbi=ki ʔal tašīti

FOC WH=K=FOC in heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2FS NEG put-G.JUSS.2FS

“As for you, my mother, do not be disturbed; in fact, do not worry at all (lit. ‘do not put anything in your heart’).”

Context: As in the case of example (4) above (RS 29.095), this example incorporates a prohibition of worry, intended to assuage the concerns of the addressee. RS 16.379 is a letter written from the king to the queen mother and appears to report on the outcome of a diplomatic mission carried out by the former. The king closes his letter promising to send information

⁴³ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 237-238 (with further bibliography).

regarding Hittite military movements and encourages his mother not to be bothered by any further concern over the matter.

Comment: The Ugaritic focus particle *ap* typically marks additive or scalar additive focus (“also, even”) and can target NP constituents or larger syntactic/textual units, in which case its use is comparable to that of a conjunction or discourse particle (“moreover, furthermore”).⁴⁴ In the present context, therefore, we must determine whether the target of *ap* is the pronoun *mhkm* or the entire prohibition in which it figures. Either level of application is imaginable, but I suspect—in part due to the fact that the indefinite already bears the focus-marking enclitic *=ma*⁴⁵—that the scope of *ap* is sentential: “in fact/what’s more, do not worry about *anything*” (an extension of the preceding prohibition, which we must then imagine to have had a narrower application: “don’t be disturbed (about this)”).

(7) **RS 18.031:26-27**⁴⁶ (epistolary)

w . aḥy mhk (27) b . lbh . aḥ . yšt

wa ’aḥû=*ya*

MHK bi libbi=hu

and brother-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=K in heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS

’al yašit

NEG put-G.JUSS.3MS

“And let my brother not worry at all (lit. ‘not put anything in his heart’).”

⁴⁴ See del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 83-84; Tropper 2012: 791, 807-808.

⁴⁵ I have found no other examples of *ap* + NP=*ma*. That is, when *ap* is followed by a NP or pronoun immediately, additional focus marking with *=ma* is not attested; only bare NPs or pronouns are used in these cases.

⁴⁶ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 238-239 (with further bibliography).

Context: As in the case of example (4) above (RS 29.095) and the immediately preceding example, this text incorporates a prohibition of worry, quite fitting in this letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit. The sender relates the fact that the addressee’s ships have suffered shipwreck following a violent storm, but that the sender’s agents have recovered the ships, their crew, and their cargo, which are now safely harbored at ‘*Akkāyu*. The good news of the recovery, which we may imagine to soften the blow of the reported damage done to the vessels by the storm, is understandably followed by the encouraging prohibition presented here as example (7).

6.2.2.3 Independent *mh/nk* Following Negation

(8) **RS 94.2406:21-22**⁴⁷ (epistolary)

w ʾt b pk ʾ.ʾ ʾl[...] (22) yʾi mnk ʾʾd mʾgʾ[...]

wa ʾatta bi pi=ka ʾal . . . yaʾi MNK

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

ʾadê maḡ[āyi . . .]

until arrive-G.INF.GEN.CSTR/SUFF

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth until [X] arri[ve(s).]”

Context: RS 94.2406 bears two letters written to ‘*Urtēnu*, one from an unnamed queen, the other from an individual named ‘*Ilîmilku* (possibly, though certainly not necessarily the celebrated scribe of that name). The contents of both letters suggest that political intrigue is underway, as the queen has left Ugarit, apparently in secret. ‘*Urtēnu* seems to learn of this fact only through the present piece of correspondence, in which he is instructed to undertake specific

⁴⁷ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

measures (poorly understood due to the state of the text) to avoid disaster. Example (8) comes from the first of these letters, appearing in the midst of these instructions and effectively ordering 'Urtēnu not to say anything about these developments until someone (whose identity is lost in the break at the end of l. 22) arrives.

Apart from this example and the next, orders to keep quiet on a subject do not appear in other letters written in alphabetic script. A similar expression is found in a logo-syllabic letter written to *Niqmaddu* III by his Hittite overlord. The latter orders him to “say nothing” concerning the *ilku* obligation incumbent upon him,⁴⁸ though the force of the expression in that letter seems to be one prohibiting complaint or objection (not of spreading privileged information). The kind of behavior the prohibition in the present letter is intended to evoke is captured nicely in a letter from the ruler of Gath to Pharaoh (EA 280:37-40)⁴⁹: “And I will not do anything until the king sends word back to his servant.”⁵⁰

Comment: It is of interest that the indefinite pronoun *mnk* is employed here, while *mhk* appears in a nearly identical prohibition issued in the companion letter from 'Ilīmilku (see next example). The significance of this situation is taken up in the discussion of morphology below.

⁴⁸ RS 94.5013:7-8 (= RSO XXIII, no. 7): *ù at-ta il-ka₄ mim-ma la-a ta-qab-bi* (“alors toi, n’objecte rien à l’ilku” [Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 34]).

⁴⁹ See Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 1586.

⁵⁰ See Rainey 1996: I:117; Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015: 1090-1091 (*ù la-a ep-pu-šu mi-im-ma a-`di` yu-šu-`te`-ru LUGAL a-wa-ta₅ a-na ÌR-šu*).

(9) **RS 94.2406:39-40**⁵¹ (epistolary)

w át . b pk . ál . yši (40) mhk . úgr^rt^r

wa 'atta bi pî=ka 'al yaši' MHK

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

'ugārit

TN

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth in 'Ugārit.”

Context: Example (9) appears in the second letter found on this tablet (that of 'Ilîmilku).

Like the previous example, it comprises an order to keep quiet and appears as the final sentence of the letter.

Comment: Once again, note that *mhk* is used here, while *mnk* was used in the nearly identically worded prohibition appearing in the previous example.

6.2.3 Rejected Example

(10) **RS 15.111:18**⁵² (legal)

[w ú]^rn^t . in^r . mnm^r . bh

Comment: As discussed in sec. 5.2.2.4 above, the indefinite pronoun appearing in this line is *mnm*, not *mhk*, as Tropper (2012: 243, 244, 821, 822) has suggested.

⁵¹ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

⁵² For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

6.3 Syntax

Ugaritic *k*-series pronouns can be employed independently (as subjects or objects), or with a preceding nominal associate (both examples function as objects). All cases of personal *mnk* function as subjects, as in examples (1)-(3), repeated here:

- (11) **RS 15.111:12-17**⁵³ (legal)
- mnk** . (13) m^rn^hkm . l . yqh (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ‘bdmlk . . . (17) . . . ‘‘‘d . ‘lm
- MNK MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā*
- WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this
- bîdê ‘abdîmilki . . . ‘adê ‘ālamî*
- from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS
- “No one at all shall take this house from the possession of ‘*Abdîmilku* . . . forever.”

- (12) **RS 15.111:12-17**⁵⁴ (legal)
- mnk** . (13) m^rn^hkm . l . yqh (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ‘bdmlk . . . (17) . . . ‘‘‘d . ‘lm
- MNK MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā*
- WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this
- bîdê ‘abdîmilki . . . ‘adê ‘ālamî*
- from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS
- “No one at all shall take this house from the possession of ‘*Abdîmilku* . . . forever.”

⁵³ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

⁵⁴ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

(13) **RS 15.125:12'-15'**⁵⁵ (legal)

w mnkm . l yqḥ (13') spr . mlk . hnd (14') b yd . ṣṭqšlm (15') 'd 'lm

wa MNK=*ma lā yiqqaḥu* *sipra* *malki*

and WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS document-ACC.M.SG.CSTR king-GEN.M.SG.ABS

hannadā bi yadi *ṣiṭqīšalimi 'adê 'ālamī*

this from hand-GEN.M.SG.CSTR PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“And no one shall take this royal document from the hand of *Ṣiṭqīšalimu* forever.”

Impersonal *mhk/mnk* functions as a subject pronoun in examples (8) and (9) (repeated here), following the negative and main verb in both cases:

(14) **RS 94.2406:21-22**⁵⁶ (epistolary)

w 'at b pk ' . ' 'ā' l' [...] (22) yšī mnk ' ' 'd m' ḡ' [...]

wa 'atta bi pî=*ka* 'al . . . yaši' MNK

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

'*adê maḡ[āyi . . .]*

until arrive-G.INF.GEN.CSTR/SUFF

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth until [X] arri[ve(s).]”

⁵⁵ For the text, see Pardee 2010a: 104.

⁵⁶ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

(15) **RS 94.2406:39-40**⁵⁷ (epistolary)

w . át . b pk . ál . yši (40) mhk . úgr^rt^r

wa 'atta bi pî=ka 'al yaši' MHK

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

'ugārit

TN

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth in 'Ugārit.”

As an object pronoun, impersonal *mhk* appears before the verb of which it is the object, as in examples (6) and (7), repeated here:

(16) **RS 16.379:20-24**⁵⁸ (epistolary)

w . át (21) úmy . ál . tdh^rš^r (22) w . áp . mhkm (23) b . lbk . ál . (24) tšt

wa 'atti 'ummi=ya 'al tidhašī wa

and you.2FS mother-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=my.1CS NEG be.disturbed-G.JUSS.2FS and

'apa MHK=ma bi libbi=ki 'al tašītī

FOC WH=K=FOC in heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2FS NEG put-G.JUSS.2FS

“As for you, my mother, do not be disturbed; in fact, do not worry at all (lit. ‘do not put anything in your heart’).”

⁵⁷ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

⁵⁸ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 237-238 (with further bibliography).

(17) **RS 18.031:26-27⁵⁹** (epistolary)

w . aḥy mhk (27) b . lbh . aḥ . yšt

wa 'aḥû=ya

MHK bi libbi=hu

and brother-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS WH=K in heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS

'al yašit

NEG put-G.JUSS.3MS

“And let my brother not worry at all (lit. ‘not put anything in his heart’).”

The same placement is observable in instances in which *mhk* is used to modify an object NP adnominally (always following the noun concerned), as in examples (4) and (5), repeated here:

⁵⁹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 238-239 (with further bibliography).

(18) **RS 29.095:13-15**⁶⁰ (epistolary)

ht á̇t . (14) dbr . hmhkm (15) b lk á̇l tšm

a. *hatti 'atta dabara ham=MHK=ma bi*

PRES you.2MS word-ACC.M.SG.ABS PRES=WH=K=FOC in

li<bbi>=ka 'al tašim

heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG put-G.JUSS.2MS

“see, you must not worry about anything at all” (lit. “do not put any word in your heart”)

b. *hatti 'atta dabara=hu MHK=ma bi*

PRES you.2MS word-ACC.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS WH=K=FOC in

li<bbi>=ka 'al tašim

heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG put-G.JUSS.2MS

“see, you must not worry about that matter at all” (lit. “do not put any of his/its affair in your heart”)

⁶⁰ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Pardee forthcoming *b*).

(19) **RS 94.2965:19-24⁶¹** (legal)

w . y{.}bnn (20) b . šdm . hnmt (21) ʔnt . mhkm (22) l . ybl (23) ʔntm . bth (24)

ybl

wa yabnīnu bi šadīma hannamati ʔunutta MHK=ma

and PN in field-OBL.M.PL.ABS these u.tax-ACC.M.SG.ABS WH=K=FOC

lā yabilu ʔunutta=ma bēti=hu yabilu

NEG carry-G.IPFV.3MS u.tax-ACC.M.SG.CSTR house-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS carry-G.IPFV.3MS

“And as for *Yabnīnu*, on those (aforementioned) fields he shall not bear any

ʔunuttu-obligation; the *ʔunuttu*-obligation for his house, however, he shall bear.”

These two examples, when compared to (15) and (16) above, also illustrate that *k*-series pronouns may precede or follow the sentential negative/prohibitor, which is uniformly present (discussed further in connection with the semantics of this pronoun below).

Beyond these observations concerning syntactic roles and word order, two further syntactic characteristics of the *k*-series indefinites require special mention as they shed light on the semantics, pragmatics, and morphology of the series and additionally set it clearly apart from members of the *m*-series. I have already hinted at the first of these in describing the argument roles *mhk* and *mnk* fill above. In more explicit terms, these pronouns always fill distributional frames occupied by substantives in Ugaritic and they are fully incorporated syntactically within the main clause of the sentences in which they appear. Unlike *mnm*, they never head parametric concessive conditional clauses (or subordinate clauses of any other sort) and they can never be described as complementizers taking clausal complements. Even in what appear to be adnominal

⁶¹ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2012: 141-145).

roles, they *follow* the modified noun as both attributive adjectives and adnominal genitives do routinely.

The second feature is attested only in RS 15.111 (example (1)-(2) above, repeated here) and consists of the repetition of the indefinite, with the second token augmented by the enclitic particle *-m*:

- (20) **RS 15.111:12-17**⁶² (legal)
- mnk** . (13) **m n km** . l . yqḥ (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ‘bdmlk . . . (17) . . . ‘‘d . ‘lm
- MNK MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā*
- WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this
- bîdê ‘abdîmilki . . . ‘adê ‘ālamî*
- from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS
- “No one at all shall take this house from the possession of ‘*Abdîmilku* . . . forever.”

This construction, which I will refer to as the *X-X=ma* schema, is attested elsewhere, both within Ugaritic and in other chronologically and linguistically proximate corpora, and its compatibility with *mnk* may prove useful in clarifying the semantics and pragmatics of the latter.

Reduplication in Ugaritic—as in many languages⁶³—expresses distributive plurality, “each, every.”⁶⁴ The distributive universal expressed by this construction can take wide or narrow scope

⁶² For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

⁶³ See Moravcsik 1978; Haspelmath 1997: 180.

⁶⁴ See Liverani 1964; 1997; Tropper 2000/2012: 381, 830. Liverani (1964, 1997) suggests that the enclitic *-m* in these constructions is an indefinitizing morpheme (citing Arabic comparanda). I argue that the enclitic element instead carried its typical focus-marking force (additive in this case). The similarity of additive focus particles and coordinating conjunctions has been noted before (e.g., König 1991: 1-2; Blejer 1986: 6; cf. ch. 5 n. 212 above for Ugaritic *-m* marking additive focus), and I suggest on this basis that examples like Ugaritic *bnš bnšm* represent the

relative to sentential negation. Narrow scope (i.e., interpretation under negation) is exemplified in (21):

(21) **RS 18.038:15-16⁶⁵** (epistolary)

‘my . špš . b’lk (16) šnt . šntm . lm . . l . tlk

‘*imma*=*ya* šapši ba’li=*ka* šanata

to=me.1CS sun-GEN.F.SG.ABS master-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS year-ACC.F.SG.ABS

šanata=*ma* lēma lā taliku

year-ACC.F.SG.ABS=FOC why NEG go-G.IPFV.2MS

“Why do you not come to me, the Sun, your master, each year(/year by year)?”

The question indicates that the addressee, ‘*Ammurāpi*’, king of Ugarit, was failing to make regular appearances before his Hittite overlord (“why don’t you come each year?” [¬∀]), not that he *never* made such appearances (“why don’t you come any year?” [∀¬]).⁶⁶ In another example—one of special interest for example (20) above—this distributive universal must be understood to outscope negation:

Ugaritic counterpart to Biblical Hebrew reduplicative expressions that include the coordinating conjunction *wə*. That is, Biblical Hebrew exhibits both simple reduplication (e.g., פֶּשׁ פֶּשׁ, “each person”; *yôm yôm*, “each day; day by day”) and coordinated reduplication (e.g., *yôm wā=yôm*, “each day; day by day”; *šānā^h wə=šānā^h* “each year; year by year”). Ugaritic likewise exhibits simple reduplication (see Tropper 2012: 381) and what amounts to coordinated reduplication of the sort in evidence here, in which the addition of the focus-marker *-m* plays a role comparable to that of the coordinating conjunction in Biblical Hebrew.

⁶⁵ For the text, see Pardee 1981.

⁶⁶ For the interpretation assumed here, see Milano 1980: 194-196; Tropper 2000/2012: 830; 2013: 332; Pardee 2002b: 95; forthcoming *a*; Ford 2008: 278, 281-283.

(22) **RS 16.382:15-18**⁶⁷ (legal)

šḥr . ṭlṛṭṛt (16) **bnš bnšm** . (17) l . yqḥnn . bd (18) bʿln

šahra ṭalātata bunušu bunušu=ma

at.any.future.time b.personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS b.personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS=FOC

lā yiqqaḥanna=nnu bîdê baʿlāna

NEG take-G.ENERG.3MS=it.3MS from PN

“Let no *bunušu* at any future time take it from the possession of *Baʿlānu*.”

The force of the prohibition in this legal text is clear. The intent is not to stipulate a situation in which some *bunušu*-personnel members may seize the real-property treated (though not *all*; i.e., “not every *bunušu* may take” [$\neg\forall$]), but one in which such seizure is categorically prohibited (“no *bunušu* may take” [$\forall\neg$]). The relevance of example (22) for the interpretation of (20) has been recognized since Loewenstamm’s (1958-1959) important study of Ugaritic pronouns, and the identical contexts indicate that example (20) involves the X-X=*ma* construction interpreted with wide scope relative to negation.

The fact that a reduplicative schema of this sort can be applied to the pronoun *mnk* aligns in suggestive ways with the semantic account pursued further below, but I note already at this point that this construction allows us to address a distributional oddity that comes to light in comparative Semitic perspective. I observed in ch. 3 that Hebrew (*kol məʿūw mād^h*) and Phoenician (*kl mnm*) allow the association of certain indefinite pronouns (or comparably functioning minimal unit expressions, if Hebrew *məʿūw mād^h* is understood in these terms) with the lexical universal quantifier *kl* (and the same is true of Aramaic *kl m(n)dʿm*). As this construction appears

⁶⁷ For the text, see Hawley and Pardee 2007. For the interpretation of *bnš bnšm* assumed here, see Loewenstamm 1958-1959: 76 = 1980: 62; Liverani 1964; 1997; Tropper 2000/2012: 831; Hawley and Pardee 2007: 30-31.

in all other branches of Northwest Semitic, the absence of any evidence for ***kl mnm* or ***kl mh/nk* in Ugaritic is striking. I suggest that the reason for this absence can now be identified: Ugaritic employed syntactic reduplication rather than lexical representation of distributive plurality in association with indefinite expressions with which this quantificational value is compatible. In other words, *mnk mnkm* represents the Ugaritic counterpart to *kl* + INDEFINITE PRONOUN found elsewhere in Northwest Semitic.

6.4 Semantics and Pragmatics

6.4.1 Semantic Distributions

Viewed from the perspective of semantic and typological research like that surveyed in ch. 2, the semantic profile of *mhk* and *mnk* becomes both intelligible and highly interesting. This profile has not been accurately described in previous studies precisely because the existence and importance of semantic sensitivity (“polarity” phenomena) have received relatively little⁶⁸ attention in Northwest Semitic studies (a situation that is, happily, beginning to change⁶⁹). While others have recognized already that *mnk* may have personal or impersonal referents and that *mhk* can also be used when impersonal referents are in view (a point reflected in the organization of the data presented above), no study has yet noted the fact that *k*-series pronouns appear only in negated clauses. In fact, this significant distributional restriction has even been obscured by hypothetical glosses that have taken for granted a broader distribution than is actually attested. This applies to virtually all representations of this pronoun in previous reference works, but it is

⁶⁸ For an early recognition of limited-distribution indefinites in comparative Semitic studies, see Brockelmann 1913: 84. He noted that the numeral *one* can be used as an indefinite pronoun in Arabic, but that this is “meist erst in negative Sätzen der Fall . . . und so auch schon in hypothetischen und fragenden Sätzen, die negativem Sinn sich nähern.” In the same way, he observed that Akkadian *edu* (“one”) could be so used especially when accompanied by the negative.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Moshavi 2018, 2019.

most noticeable in cases in which negative contexts are explicitly presented as if representing a special case, a subset of the larger contexts of attestation.⁷⁰ Yet, as the examples gathered above illustrate, the *k*-series pronouns, unlike their *m*-series counterparts, appear only with negation.

In fact, the cases in which these pronouns appear can be defined even more narrowly. Not only is negation present in each of these examples, but, more specifically, *modal* negation (prohibition) is involved in most if not all cases. This is most readily appreciable in examples involving the prohibitor *ʾl* (examples (4), (6)-(9), above), but even those employing the standard negative *l* (examples (1)-(3), (5), above) should in fact be understood comparably. As in Biblical Hebrew, Ugaritic prohibitions can be expressed with either *ʾl* or *l*. In Hebrew, different verbal forms are required in the two cases—the jussive (**yaqtul*∅) with *ʾal*, the imperfective (**yaqtulu*) with *lōʾ*. A similar situation is imaginable in Ugaritic, though some have argued that Ugaritic permitted the combination of *l* with the shorter jussive prefix-conjugation form as well for emphatic prohibitions.⁷¹ Whether the prefix-conjugation forms in examples (1)-(3) and (5) are parsed as jussives (**yaqtul*∅), modal imperfectives (**yaqtulu*), or “cohortatives” (**yaqtula*), the involvement of modal negation is plausible. These expressions do not simply state that a given situation *will* not obtain in the future, but rather stipulate that it *shall* not.

Either or both of these distributional observations—the restriction of *k*-series pronouns to negative contexts and, more specifically, to negative modal contexts—may simply reflect the

⁷⁰ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 267 (“‘cualquier cosa, lo que sea’; negado ‘ninguno, nada’”), 283 (“‘quienquiera, cualquiera’, neg. ‘nadie’”); 2003: 535 (“‘anything, whatever it may be’; negated ‘no-one, nothing’”), 563 (“‘whoever, anyone’, neg., ‘no-one’”); 2015: 529 (“‘anything, whatever it may be’; negated ‘no-one, nothing’”), 556 (“‘whoever, anyone’, neg., ‘no-one’”); Tropper 2000/2012: 242 (“‘wer auch immer; irgendjemand’ (mit Negation: ‘niemand’”), 243 (“‘was auch immer, irgendetwas (mit Negation: ‘nichts’)”); Huehnergard 2012: 151 (“indefinite pronoun ‘anyone, someone’, with negative, ‘no one’”).

⁷¹ See Huehnergard 1989: 253, 255 with n. 207; Pardee 2000: 829-832 (where this possibility is assumed in vocalizing {l. tūdn} in l. 8 as *lā tiʾdanū*; the same is true of Bordreuil and Pardee 2001b: 387); Pardee 2003-2004: 260 with n. 965, 295, 323; Tropper 2000/2012: 729, 815-816 (with a more restrictive evaluation of the phenomenon; for a critique of this position, see the remarks in Pardee 2003-2004 just cited); Hawley and Pardee 2012: 257.

accidental nature of discovery. With only nine examples, certainty is sure to remain elusive. Yet when the syntactic and morphological features of these pronouns are brought into conversation with typological trends documented in recent linguistic studies, such arguments based on partial attestation lose some of their force. For reasons that will become clearer below, I suggest that the *k*-series pronouns are best understood as true negative polarity items (NPIs), which are licensed exclusively under negation. I am aware of no examples of NPIs that appear only in prohibitions, so this feature of the distribution of *k*-series pronouns may be better handled by appeal to pragmatics than to a special variety of semantic sensitivity (otherwise unattested, to my knowledge), and I will develop this case further below. But, unless and until clear counterexamples come to light, the restriction to negated clauses is best recognized as a true reflection of a semantic dependence on negation for licensing among the *k*-series pronouns, and the obligatory presence of the sentential negative indicates that Ugaritic exhibits strict negative concord. If these pronouns are in fact NPIs, then the linguistic profile of NPIs presented in ch. 2 would lead us to expect evidence not only of limited distribution (sensitivity to anti-veridicality) but of scalarity and exhaustivity as well (see sec. 2.4.2.4.3 above, as well as Table 2.5 and Figure 2.9).

6.4.2 Pragmatic Functions

The information-structural uses of *k*-series pronouns can be described in terms of several related observations, each suggesting that these pronouns function as the information-structural Focus in the examples identified above. The frequently observable fronting that these pronouns undergo is, therefore, best understood as Focus-fronting (see examples (1)-(7) [i.e., 77.8% of the data available]). Three considerations allow us to appreciate this role.

First, the *k*-series pronouns can be found following the information-structural Topic (and can, as a result, be distinguished from that Topic), as in the following examples, repeated from (4) and (5) above (the translations have been slightly altered to render the information structure clearer):

(23) **RS 29.095:13-15**⁷² (epistolary)

ht á . (14) dbr . hmhkm (15) b lk á tšm

a. *hatti 'atta dabara ham=MHK=ma bi*

PRES you.2MS word-ACC.M.SG.ABS PRES=WH=K=FOC in

li<bbi>=ka 'al tašim

heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG put-G.JUSS.2MS

“now as for you, you must not worry about ANYTHING AT ALL” (lit. “do not put ANY word in your heart”)

b. *hatti 'atta dabara=hu MHK=ma bi*

PRES you.2MS word-ACC.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS WH=K=FOC in

li<bbi>=ka 'al tašim

heart-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG put-G.JUSS.2MS

“now as for you, you must not worry about that matter AT ALL” (lit. “do not put ANY of his/its affair in your heart”)

⁷² For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Pardee forthcoming *b*).

(24) **RS 94.2965:19-24**⁷³ (legal)

w . y{.}bnn (20) b . šdm . hnmt (21) ùnt . mhkm (22) l . ybl (23) ùntm . bth (24)

ybl

wa yabnīnu bi šadīma hannamati 'unutta MHK=ma

and PN in field-OBL.M.PL.ABS these u.tax-ACC.M.SG.ABS WH=K=FOC

lā yabilu 'unutta=ma bēti=hu yabilu

NEG carry-G.IPFV.3MS u.tax-ACC.M.SG.CSTR house-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS carry-G.IPFV.3MS

“And as for *Yabnīnu*, for THOSE (aforementioned) fields he shall not bear ANY

'UNUTTU-OBLIGATION; the 'unuttu-obligation for his HOUSE, however, he SHALL

bear.”

In (23), the topicalized pronoun *āt* is introduced with the presentative *ht* (itself following the left-dislocated Topic *pr*; see discussion above), while the prohibition of worry represents the new information. Even clearer is (24), which sets up two contrastive Topics and their associated Foci. The fields mentioned in l. 20 and the house mentioned in l. 23 are the two Topics under consideration, associated with the contrasting Foci of 'unuttu-exclusion in ll. 21-22 and obligation in l. 24.

The second observation pertains to other prohibitions like those found in examples (1)-(3) and (6)-(9). As noted above, several of these prohibitions figure in stereotypical expressions within the genres concerned (legal and epistolary). Examples (1)-(3) appear in warranties against repossession or seizure of items conferred by royal authority; examples (6)-(7) comprise typical prohibitions of concern; and examples (8)-(9) order prudent silence. In each case, I argue that the

⁷³ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2012: 141-145).

constituent represented by the *k*-series pronoun is actually the new information, marked for Focus, while the remainder of the expression is taken for granted. To illustrate this, consider the following paraphrases, which present these constituents as Topics (using left dislocation) in the (a) sentences and as Foci (using pseudo-cleft sentences) in the (b) sentences. Only the latter offer a contextually appropriate sense:

(25) **Warranty Against Repossession**

- a. #As for ANYONE, they shall not take X from Y.
- b. Who may take X from Y is NO ONE.

(26) **Prohibition of Worry**

- a. #As for ANYTHING, do not worry about it.
- b. What you should worry about is NOTHING.

(27) **Prohibition of Indiscrete Speech**

- a. #As for ANYTHING, do not say it.
- b. What you should say is NOTHING.

These prohibitions take attempts at repossession and the tendencies toward anxiety or indiscretion for granted as part of the common ground but insist that these tendencies are not to obtain in the specific circumstances under discussion.

Third, *k*-series pronouns appear together with other Focus-marking morphemes, lexemes, and syntagmemes in a high number of cases. As noted already, examples (1)-(2) (a single text)

involve the X-X=*ma* schema incorporating distributive plurality and marked by the Focus-particle *-m*. The same particle is found in examples (3)-(6) as well, so that of the eight texts in which *k*-series pronouns appear, enclitic *-m* is missing in only three. These pronouns are also fronted in all but two examples (examples (8) and (9)). We find the pronoun *mhkm* following the scalar additive focus particle *áp* in example (6), and an additional scalar/domain-extending expression appears in examples (1)-(3), in the PP *'d 'lm*, “forever.”

Each of these distributional observations points in the same direction: *k*-series pronouns are typically marked for Focus and are, at the very least, highly compatible with scalar environments. These facts align nicely with the strict-NPI classification suggested in the preceding section, which predicts the identifiability of exhaustivity (insofar as NPIs represent universal quantifiers) and scalarity (the ordered ranking of the members of the domain from which the pronominal referent is selected). These semantic features, in turn, may better position us to account for the *modal* feature of *k*-series pronominal distribution. Rather than hypothesizing a unique variety of NPI restricted not only to negation but, more narrowly, to prohibition, I suggest that it is the *scalar* quality of these NPIs that makes them especially appropriate for categorical prohibitions of the sort exemplified above. I will argue in sec. 6.6, below, that this also allows us to account for the distributions of *k*-series pronouns vis-à-vis those of *m*-series pronouns under negation. First, however, I show that the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of *mhk* and *mnk* just described can be related directly to their morphological composition.

6.5 Morphology and Grammaticalization

I begin with a point that will likely already be obvious: as *mhk* is attested only in impersonal uses, its WH-morphological component is surely to be identified with the impersonal interrogative *mah* (thus *mah=kV*). The pronoun *mnk*, on the other hand, has personal and impersonal referents and accordingly involves the interrogative pronominal bases *mîna* and *manna* (thus *mîna=kV* and *manna=kV*). A complete morphological account, however, must address two further issues: the identification of the indefiniteness marker shared by the members of this series (*-k*) and the WH-morphological components employed (why are both *mn-* and *mh-* employed but not *my*?). I address each of these in turn, discussing grammaticalization and related typological trends along the way.

6.5.1 Ugaritic Enclitic *-k*

The history of discussion outlined in the preceding chapter has already illustrated the main lines of argumentation pursued for accounting for the morphological profile of *mhk* and *mnk* in the past, but a brief summary will serve to highlight the most salient morphological questions. Among those who have recognized the WH-morphological (and, therefore, pronominal) character of these items, the element *-k(m)* has been identified either as a second-person pronominal suffix or a “deictic” enclitic particle *-k*, followed optionally by an additional enclitic *-m* (i.e., involving clitic stacking).⁷⁴ Others, of course, failed to recognize this pronominal character altogether and/or suggested more exotic accounts of its origins.⁷⁵ Attempts to interpret these forms as incorporating a 2ms pronominal suffix (with *mnkm* involving the 2mp) and meaning “whoever you are,” were quickly problematized by further epigraphic discoveries.

⁷⁴ See sec. 5.1 with n. 10 for details.

⁷⁵ See sec. 5.1 with n. 9-10 for details.

While such an interpretation was, perhaps, imaginable for RS 15.111 and RS 15.125 (examples (1)-(3) above)—the texts in which *k*-series pronouns were first found, and in which their referents were clearly personal—it did not fit so comfortably in the obviously *impersonal* contexts discovered in the sixteenth and eighteen campaigns (RS 16.379 and RS 18.031 [example (6)-(7)]). Those who had assumed a 2ms/2mp interpretation for *mnk(m)* did not attempt to connect this form to the new *mhk*,⁷⁶ but once Loewenstamm (1958-1959) and, shortly thereafter, Virolleaud (1957-1960 [1959]) made the connection between these forms, most⁷⁷ scholars abandoned personal pronominal interpretations of the element *-k(m)*.⁷⁸ The same connection likewise problematized Gordon’s (1965: 434-35, no. 1503) proposed connection between {*mnk*} and Hurrian *mann=okk=ok*, “(he) is not,”⁷⁹ as such a loan could not account for Ugaritic {*mhk*}.

Of those following the position that now represents the consensus who have offered explicit morphological description, all have described *-k* simply as an enclitic particle, sometimes designating it more specifically as a deictic element.⁸⁰ Tropper’s position represents the current

⁷⁶ See sec. 5.1 with n. 14-17 for details.

⁷⁷ Aistleitner (1963: 179) identifies *mhkm* as a form bearing a second-person pronominal suffix but does not attempt to translate it. Others who maintained their support for this approach include Segert 1984: 191 (he is not explicit in this regard, but he identifies *mhkm* as a “(pseudo-)pl.(?)” of *mhk*); a similar position seems to stand behind Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56 (*mnk* is glossed as “cada uno, cualquiera,” while *mnkm* is translated as a plural “cualesquiera”); Williams 2012: 60.

⁷⁸ See sec. 5.1 with n. 17 for details.

⁷⁹ This form appears as the Hurrian gloss of the Akkadian and Ugaritic negatives *lā* in the polyglot vocabulary RS 20.149 ii 7', 12' (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 130) and is a negated form of the verb *mann-*, “to be,” discussed by Laroche (1968: 452-453, 543). See more recently Wegner 2007: 97, 147, 224, 266.

⁸⁰ So Loewenstamm 1958-1959: 75-76 = 1980: 61. Virolleaud (1957-1960 [1959]: 65; 1965: 83) is not explicit in his analysis of *mhk* as “*mh + k*,” but Bron (1973-1979: 708) understood Virolleaud’s presentation in 1959 to have made appeal to the “enclitique -k,” and Dietrich and Loretz (1966: 130) understood his 1965 publication to refer to the “neutrische Fragepronomen *mh* . . . durch das deiktische Element ‘*k*’ erweitert,” an analysis they judged “zweifelloos richtig.” See further Aartun 1974: 42 (describing *k* as a “hervorhebende Partikel”), 49 (ditto), 56 (ditto); Tropper 2000/2012: 243-244 (“dem deiktischen Element *-k*”), 836 (“enklitische Partikel” with “(fern-)deiktische Funktion”); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 267, 283; 2003: 535, 563; 2015: 529, 556 (in all three editions, these scholars present *mhk* as involving *m(h) + k*, identifying the *k* explicitly as “encl.” *k* in the entry devoted to *mnk*); Sivan 2001: 59-60 (“deictic *k*”); Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:56 (*-k* and *-m* are described as “des éléments d’expansion”); 2009: 42 (*-k* and *-m* are described as “expanding elements of uncertain semantic content”).

state of the discussion. Taking up Aartun's (1974: 42, 49, 56) description of *-k* in this pronoun as an emphatic particle ("hervorhebende Partikel"), Tropper suggests that, while Aartun over-identified this enclitic in the language (he believed, for example, that the final *k* of the 1cs independent personal pronoun *ʾnk* could be identified as an example), it remains likely that "die *-k*-Elemente der übrigen Wortformen—zumindest die Merzahl davon—funktional und etymologisch identisch sind" (2000/2012: 836). Tropper suggests that this element can be etymologically (though not, it would appear, synchronically) related to the 2ms pronominal suffix⁸¹ and "besitzt folglich weniger eine betonende, als vielmehr eine (fern-)deiktische Funktion" (2000/2012: 836).

I noted in connection with *mnm* above (sec. 5.5) that some indefinite pronouns can incorporate markers of exhaustivity (the counterpart to the logical *iota*-operator), which may turn out to be morphologically related to deictic elements. It is conceivable, therefore, that a remote-deictic *-k* may have played a role in marking the NPI *mnk* and *mhk* for exhaustivity (a feature of NPI semantics discussed in ch. 2). We must observe, however, that the use of a far-deictic *-k* in Semitic to mark indefinite argument pronouns is otherwise without parallel.⁸² Loewenstamm (1980: 63 = 1958-1959: 77) knew this and viewed it as a point at which Ugaritic morphology contributed something new to the field of comparative Semitic research:

⁸¹ Compare the similar position found in Barth's (1913: 80) seminal study of pronouns in Semitic; a relationship between the two morphemes is rejected by Huehnergard and Pat-El 2018: 194 n. 9. The position taken by these latter scholars is preferable at a practical level: even if a connection between deictic particles and personal pronominal forms may have existed at one point, the connection must be located so remotely in the past of the language family as to be meaningless for synchronic (and even much diachronic) analysis.

⁸² The closest we come is the Old Assyrian indefinite *ayyākamma*, which Kouwenberg (2017: 358) glosses thus: "somewhere (else)' or with a negation 'nowhere.'" This indefinite is, however derived from the interrogative *ayyākam*, "where?" which shows that the element *-ākam* cannot be identified as the indefiniteness marker. This is further suggested by the fact that several locative adverbs bear the same morpheme, which Kouwenberg identifies as a "locative suffix": *annākam*, "here," *ammākam*, "there," and *ašrākam*, "there" (see Kouwenberg 2017: 341-342).

Though the function of *k* as a deictic element had been established long ago, until now *k* had not been attested in the Semitic languages as a component of the indefinite pronouns. The words *mhk*, *mnk* thus once again show the freedom which exists in the Semitic languages in forming pronouns from deictic elements.

A closer look at the comparative situation illustrates that the deictic element *-k* cannot be connected solely to *remote* deixis in Semitic. As Barth had observed already in 1913, a series of related morphological elements consisting of *-k(v)*- “erscheint ferner in anderen hinweisenden Partikeln in örtlicher, zeitlicher und modaler Verwendung” (1913: 81). The etymological conundrums resulting from this situation are many and well known. On the one hand, a number of languages (see especially Arabic, Aramaic, and Gə‘əz) employ an element *-k* for marking distal exophoric demonstrative pronouns.⁸³ On the other hand, comparable morphology is involved in a series of *manner* demonstratives that appear in some languages to serve also as proximate local adverbs (e.g., Biblical Hebrew *kō^h*, “thus; here”).⁸⁴ On occasion, this results in what appear to be cognate terms in closely related Semitic languages that have quite different semantic forces. Consider, for example, the apparent parallel existing between Classical Arabic *hunāka*, “there” (a prime example for a remote-deictic *-k*) and Syriac *hōrkō(ʿ)* (< **hn-kā*⁸⁵), which means “here,” and can, despite the apparent Arabic comparandum, be etymologically related to the adverb **kā*.⁸⁶

⁸³ See Barth 1913: 81-82; Hasselbach 2007.

⁸⁴ See Barth 1913: 81.

⁸⁵ See Rubin 2007.

⁸⁶ Compare related forms (for which see Sokoloff 2009: 592) *ʿaykō(ʿ)*, “where,” *lkō(ʿ)*, “hither,” and *mekkā(ʿ)*, “from here, hence,” all of which may be compared to similar uses of Biblical Hebrew *kō^h* (e.g., *ʿad kō^h*, “up to here, up to now”). See Rubin 2007 for further discussion and alternative approaches.

The implication of this comparative situation should be clear: comparative Semitic data do not warrant the assumption that the force of the morphological element *-k* must in each case be related to or directly derivable from *remote* deixis. They instead force us to consider—at minimum—remote-deictic and manner-deictic semantic possibilities. And if the comparative situation will not allow us to restrict analysis of *-k* to remote deixis, neither will internal data, to which I turn now.

Tropper (2012: 836) identified the lexemes *ɪdk*, *ʔpnk*, *hlk*, *hnk*, *hnkt*, and *mk* (in addition to *mhk* and *mnk*) as incorporating (remote-)deictic *k*. Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2015: 415) propose a nearly identical list (though they exclude *mk*). In Table 6.1, I present each of these lexemes with glosses taken from del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, Tropper 2012, and, where available, Bordreuil and Pardee 2009. This is intended to offer a representative survey of semantic assessments of the lexemes in question.

Table 6.1: Lexemes Incorporating Remote-Deictic (?) *k*

Lexeme	del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015	Tropper 2012	Bordreuil and Pardee 2009
ìdk	“then, and so, so then” (17)	“dann, daraufhin” (744)	“then” (309)
àpnk	“then” (87)	“dann, daraufhin” (744)	extended form of <i>àpn</i> , “then, next” (343)
hlk	“behold!” (333)	“siehe!” (751)	n/a
hnk	“that, this” (339)	“jener(?)”, “folgendes”, “Dies(?)” (231) OR “da, dort”(?) (740)	n/a
hnkt	“that, this” (339)	“folgendes” (232) OR “da, dort”(?) (740)	n/a
mk	“behold!, see!” (536)	“dann, schließlich” (745)	“then” (330)

What stands out at once is the fact that many of these represent obvious discourse particles and sentence connectives. The “remote deictic” semantic force claimed for the enclitic *-k* is scarcely perceivable, and the more salient function for terms like *ʾdk*, *ʾpnk*, and *mk* is to signal discourse transitions (“next, thereupon, etc.”). In his study of typological trends in the grammaticalization of demonstratives, Diessel (1999: 125) states that “[s]entence connectives are either based on pronominal demonstratives that are used as discourse deictics, or they involve a manner (adverbial) demonstrative.” It is, therefore, at least conceivable that some of these elements involve reflexes of a manner-adverbial **kā* rather than a remote-deictic particle. Comparison of Ugaritic *ʾdk* to Arabic *ʾiddāka* (Tropper 2012: 744) is sound and may indeed support treating *-k* in that particle as deriving from the system of exophoric deixis (thus representing an example of Diessel’s first identified source: “pronominal demonstratives that are used as discourse deictics”). But semantic comparison of *ʾpnk*, “afterwards, thereupon,” to Biblical Hebrew *ʾah^arê^y kēn*, which incorporates the manner adverb *kēn* (“so, thus”) could just as easily point in a different direction.

The possibility of an Ugaritic element *-k-* representing manner deixis rather than remote deixis is, furthermore, not a hypothetical one, as Ugaritic features a manner-deictic adverb {k} (*/kā/*, “thus”; cf. Biblical Hebrew *kō^h*), and another set of discourse particles that can be plausibly related to this item. These are represented in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: Lexemes Incorporating Manner-Adverbial *k*

Lexeme	del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015	Tropper 2012	Bordreuil and Pardee 2009
ik	“how?, why?” (41)	“wie (kommt es, daß)?”, “warum?” (753)	“how? how is it that?” (295)
ikm	“how?, why?” (41)	“wie?”, “wie auch immer” (754)	n/a
ikmy	“however that may be” (?) (43)	“wie?”, “wie auch immer, irgendwie”	n/a
iky	“what of?”, “what about?”, “how?, “why?” (44)	“wie? warum?” (753)	extended form of <i>ik</i> , “how? how is it that?” (295)
ùk(y)	“yes, certainly, for certain” (41)	“gewiß, fürwahr”(?) (808)	n/a
bkm	“next, straight away”, “after, immediately after” (217)	“sodann, daraufhin” (745)	n/a
k	“thus, in this way”; “here” (418)	“(genau) so, auf diese Weise, dementsprechend” (747)	n/a
km	“thus, likewise” (438)	“so, ebenso, ebenfalls” (748)	“thus” (319)
kmm	“ditto, in the same amount” (440)	“auch so, desgleichen; ditto” (748)	“also” (319)
kmt	“like(wise)” (442)	“so” (748)	n/a
kn	“thus” (443)	“so” (747)	n/a

If nearly every item in which a morphological item *-k* appears in Ugaritic functions as a discourse particle/sentence connective or is clearly relatable to manner deixis, what internal grounds remain for attributing remote deictic force to this particle? The most critical piece of evidence for this remote-deictic analysis of Ugaritic *-k* is furnished by the pronouns *hnk* and *hnkt*. Observing the clear existence of an Ugaritic demonstrative pronoun *hnd*, “this” (< **hn* + *d*, cf. Biblical Hebrew (*haz=*)*ze^h*, Arabic *hādā*) and the far-deictic values often associated with an element *-k* in other Semitic languages,⁸⁷ many scholars have proposed an Ugaritic demonstrative schema in which a near-deictic *hn-d* stands opposite a remote-deictic *hn-k*,⁸⁸ such that the Ugaritic demonstrative pronominal paradigm can be compared to that found in Arabic, Aramaic, and Gəʿəz.

This hypothesis is a sensible one, but it must remain a hypothesis, as not a single clear example can be found of *hnk(t)* employed as a true remote-deictic pronoun. Table 6.1 above already alludes to this fact: Tropper (2012) considers both demonstrative-pronominal and adverbial parsings of *hnk(t)*, though with an expressed preference for the former. In the former cases, however, he is forced to translate the pronoun as “jener(?),” “folgendes,” and “Dies(?)” (2012: 231-232). These glosses are not compatible with treating *hnk(t)* as an exophoric far demonstrative, and Tropper (2000/2012: 229) admits as much in the introductory remarks of his discussion of Ugaritic demonstrative pronouns:

Die ug. Formen des DemPr lassen sich scheinbar in Form von zwei Reihen anordnen, einer nah- und einer ferndeiktischen Reihe (vgl. Dijkstra 1999, 153):

⁸⁷ For which see Hasselbach 2007.

⁸⁸ For just a few examples, see Dijkstra 1999: 153; Tropper 1999: 98-99; 2000/2012: 231; Sivan 2001: 57-58 (noting the difficulty of the actual attestations); Pardee 2003-2004: 136; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:55; 2009: 41; Gianto 2012: 35; Huehnergard 2012: 36 (with some reserve).

hnd (m.sg.); *hndt* (f.sg.): “diese(r/s)”

hnk (m.sg.); *hnkt* (f.sg.); *hn(h)mt* (pl.): “jene(r/s)”

Eine genauere Untersuchung der Kontexte der genannten Formen spricht allerdings gegen dieses einfache Schema. Die Differenz zwischen *hnd* und *hndt* einerseits und *hnk* und *hnkt* andererseits ist offensichtlich nicht durch das Genus begründet Außerdem ist damit zu rechnen, daß einige oder gar alle Belege von *hndt*, *hnk* und *hnkt* als Adverbien und nicht als DemPrr fungieren.

Indeed, when we consider each of the texts in which *hnk(t)* appears, an exophoric demonstrative value cannot be identified. The examples are arranged here in the order of their discovery (not by form). I refrain from suggesting vocalizations and glosses for the first two examples due to their fragmentary state of preservation.

(28) **RS 15.174:7-10**⁸⁹ (epistolary)

[hl]ny . ìbr`kd` (8) m`k`ry . r`gm . `l` . ` kn`--`[. . .] (9) mlkt . ùgrt (10) hnkt . rgmt

“See, ÌBRKD, my merchant, said to KN . . . of[?] the queen of Ugarit; she has said
as follows: . . .”⁹⁰

(29) **RS 16.402+:10-11**⁹¹ (epistolary)

hn . ìb . d . b . mgšḥ (11) [-[?]]r`-`ib . hn`k` . . .

“see, the enemy who is in MGŠḤ . . . **that (aforementioned)** enemy . . .”⁹²

⁸⁹ The text is presented here following the epigraphic study to appear in Pardee forthcoming *a*.

⁹⁰ See similarly Tropper 2000/2012: 232; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 344; 2015: 340; Marsman 2003: 633.

⁹¹ For the text, see Pardee 1984a: 215-219.

⁹² See similarly Pardee 1984a: 216, 218; Cunchillos 1989a: 329; Tropper 2000/2012: 231.

(30) **RS 16.402⁺:22-24⁹³** (epistolary)

w . mlk . b'ly . 'ht' (23) lm . škn . hnk (24) l . 'bdh . 'ālpm . ššwm

wa malku ba l=î=ya hatti lêma šikkana

and king-NOM.M.SG.ABS master-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS=ya PRES why place-D.PFV.3MS

hannaka lê 'abdi=hu 'alpêma šūšawīma

DEM to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS thousand-OBL.M.DU.ABS horse-OBL.M.PL.ABS

“As for the king, my master, see, why has he imposed **this (following obligation)**

on his servant: two thousand horses?”⁹⁴

(31) **RS 18.147:12-14⁹⁵** (epistolary)

w . bny . hnkt (13) yškn [.] 'anyt (14) ym . . .

wa bin=î=ya hannakati yašakin

and son-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS=ya DEM be-Š.JUSS.3MS

'aniyyāti yammi

ship-OBL.F.PL.CSTR sea-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“Now my son should prepare **the following**: sea-going ships.”⁹⁶

⁹³ For the text, see Pardee 1984a: 215-219.

⁹⁴ See similarly Ahl 1973: 432; Pardee 1976: 269; 1984a: 216; 2002b: 106; 2003-2004: 137; Tropper 2000/2012: 231.

⁹⁵ For the text, see Virolleaud's (1965: 87-88) *editio princeps*.

⁹⁶ See similarly Tropper 2000/2012: 232; Pardee 2002b: 97. A similar function, though distinct syntax, is suggested in Virolleaud's (1965: 87) edition: “Eh bien ! que mon fils, de cette même façon, équipe un navire de (haute) mer.” Linder (1970: 30) and Ahl (1973: 453) follow the editor. Wansbrough (1986: 207) translates, “And let my son thus Prepare ships Sea-going (that) he will despatch.”

(32) **RS 29.095:9⁹⁷** (epistolary)

hnk . tšm´m

hannaka tišma´=ma

DEM listen-G.JUSS.2MS=FOC

“You listen to **this**: . . .”⁹⁸

(33) **RS 94.5015:10-11⁹⁹** (epistolary)

áp . hnkt . ʾl . kʾnt (11) mlḥmt . b . ḥwt . ʾbdk

ʾapa hannakati lā kānat malḥamatu bi ḥuwwati

also DEM NEG be-G.PFV.3FS war-NOM.F.SG.ABS in land-GEN.F.SG.CSTR

ʾabdi=ka

servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

“Furthermore, **(because of) that**, there has not been any war in the land of your servant.”¹⁰⁰

Not one of these examples involves *hnk(t)* functioning as an exophoric demonstrative (“that (over there)”). The closest we come to such a role is the apparently anaphoric function found in example (29), though the text is too fragmentary at this point to be sure even of that. The remaining examples present a challenge to remote-deictic interpretations of *hnk(t)* as they do not refer to text-external referents (as true exophoric demonstratives do) nor even anaphorically to

⁹⁷ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *b*.

⁹⁸ See similarly Pardee 2002b: 111; 2003-2004: 137, 168; forthcoming *b*; Tropper 2012: 231. The indefinite interpretation of *hnk* suggested by del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2002: 551 (“Was immer es auch sei”); 2003: 344 (“what(?) you hear”); 2015: 340 (“what (?) you hear”) is difficult to engage, as these authors do not suggest a rationale for such a construal, but the position cannot be aligned with other, clearer uses of *hnk(t)*.

⁹⁹ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 147-152.

¹⁰⁰ See Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 148; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 340.

referents appearing previously in the discourse. What has, to my knowledge, gone unrecognized until now, however, is the fact that these examples comprise what is, in linguistic terms, a unified and describable set. Specifically, the remaining examples function as *discourse deictics*. Discourse deictics, unlike anaphoric pronouns, refer not to *referents* mentioned within the preceding discourse but rather to discourse propositions as such.¹⁰¹ Their ability to refer backward (anaphorically) or forward (cataphorically) in the discourse further distinguishes them from anaphoric pronouns.¹⁰² This is exactly what we observe of Ugaritic *hnk(t)*, which refers to preceding discourse (as in example (33)) or following discourse (as in examples (28), (30)-(32)). Typological research devoted to the diachronic grammaticalization of such pronouns suggests that discourse deixis need not be expressed by specially marked pronouns (English *this* and *that* are employed both for exophoric and discourse deictic functions), but in some languages they are (Diessel 1999: 103). Of special interest for the present discussion is the fact that “[m]anner demonstratives are frequently used as discourse deictics” (Diessel 1999: 104). This is precisely what we observe in the discourse-deictic use of Biblical Hebrew manner adverbs *kēn* and *kōh* (e.g., *kōh`āmar YHWH*, “YHWH has said thus: . . .”).

To these observations may be added the fact that, at least in some cases, Ugaritic allowed the use of the third-person personal pronouns for anaphoric deixis.¹⁰³ The number of examples involved is debated, but Bordreuil and Pardee (2009: 42) cite a half-dozen cases, each of which may find parallels elsewhere (see Tropper 2012: 230-231, 233). When compared with the one possible example of anaphoric *hnk* noted above in a badly damaged context, it is fair to conclude

¹⁰¹ See Diessel 1999: 100-105, with bibliography.

¹⁰² Diessel 1999: 102.

¹⁰³ Tropper 2012: 230-231, 233; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 42.

that the current state of the evidence suggests that Ugaritic employed *hnd(t)* as a near demonstrative and third-person pronouns for anaphoric and, perhaps, remote exophoric deixis.

I do not intend to argue that Ugaritic *hnk(t)* *could not* have functioned as an exophoric demonstrative—which would amount to an argument from silence—nor even that it *should* be derived from a manner-deictic **kā* rather than from an originally remote-deictic pronoun. Nevertheless, remote deixis cannot be positively identified in the semantics of any *k*-bearing lexeme currently attested in the language, and most, if not all of the actual cases are employed in contexts that are just as easily associated with manner deixis. I have shown that this statement holds true even for *hnk(t)*. Purely formal comparison would lead us to expect this to be the clearest instance of a remote-deictic *k* in the language, but (1) formal comparison can be misleading (as in the case of Syriac *ħwṛkō(ʿ)*, discussed above) and (2) any remote-deictic force this pronoun may have had at one point is no longer empirically observable.

For each of these reasons, I argue that the morphological analysis of the pronouns *mhk* and *mnk* must seriously consider the possibility—even the probability—of a relationship not to the semantics of remote exophoric deixis but rather to that of manner deixis. This position gains immediate comparative support from the fact that, unlike a remote-deictic *k*, which does not otherwise figure in the interrogative or indefinite pronominal systems in Semitic, reflexes of the manner deictic **kā* can be found in interrogatives elsewhere, as in Syriac *ʿayk* (“how?”; probably also in *ʿaykō(ʿ)* [“where?”]) and Biblical Hebrew *ʿēyk/ʿēykā^h/ʿēykākā^h* (“how?”; probably also *ʿēykō^w* [“where?”]).

The challenge for relating a manner-deictic element to the semantics of *mhk* and *mnk* should be obvious: neither pronoun is employed as a manner interrogative/indefinite. The state of typological research devoted to the grammaticalization of manner deictics is not sufficiently

developed to allow for robust comparison, but initial work done in Indo-European may raise an interesting and previously unrecognized possibility. König (2015, 2017) has shown that manner deictics frequently figure in grammaticalization processes that can result in a wide variety of outputs in Indo-European languages, among which we find additive focus markers (1991: 157-158; 2015: 8). Such markers can be employed in non-scalar (“also”) and scalar (“even”) distributions,¹⁰⁴ and the difference is not marked in all languages (König 1991: 66). Additive and scalar additive focus particles, in turn, frequently figure into the morphological composition of indefinite pronouns, with WH + (scalar) additive focus particle comprising a particularly robust crosslinguistic source for indefinites (Haspelmath 1997: 157-164). As just noted, the distinction between scalar and non-scalar additive focus is not consistently marked in all languages, for which reason Haspelmath (1997: 157) treats both additive and marked scalar additive particles together under a single rubric in his study of indefinite pronominal grammaticalization.

We have very few data to work with in evaluating the uses to which manner-deictic *k* could be put in Ugaritic, but three texts merit special consideration, presented here:

¹⁰⁴ The compatibility of manner deictics with scalar additive focus is unsurprising in light of their use for establishing rhetorically motivated comparisons that depend on scalar implicatures (like those noted in Ugaritic immediately below) and their ability to serve as “boosters,” indicating the applicability of a predicate to an especially high degree (as in *He is so tall!*; see König 2015, 2017).

(34) **RS 3.343⁺ i 5-7 (= KTU 1.15)¹⁰⁵**

árḥ . tzġ . l . ḡlh (6') bn . ḥpt̄ . ḡ l ḡmhthm (7') k tnḥn . ḡdmm

ʾarḥu tazġû lê ḡgli=ha banū

cow-NOM.F.SG.ABS cry-G.IPFV.3FS for calf-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=her.3FS son-NOM.M.PL.CSTR

ḤPT̄ lê ḡummahāti=humu kâ tanūḥūna ḡudmîma

ḤPT̄(?) for mother-OBL.F.PL.SUFF=their.3MP thus mourn-G.IPFV.3MP ḡUdmite-NOM.M.PL.ABS

“The cow lows for her calf, the young of the ḤPT̄(?) for their mothers, (even) so

do the ḡUdmites mourn.”¹⁰⁶

(35) **RS 2.[009]⁺ ii 28'-30' (= KTU 1.6; cf. II. 6-9)¹⁰⁷**

k lb . árḥ . l ḡlh . k lb (29') tāt . l imrh . km lb (30') ḡnt . ḡatr . b'1

ka libbi ʾarḥi lê ḡgli=ha

like heart-GEN.M.SG.CSTR cow-GEN.F.SG.ABS to calf-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=her.3FS

ka libbi tu'ati lê ḡimmi=ha

like heart-GEN.M.SG.CSTR ewe-GEN.F.SG.ABS to lamb-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=her.3FS

kāma libbu ʾanati ʾatra ba'li

thus heart-NOM.M.SG.CSTR DN after DN

“As the heart of a cow toward her calf, as the heart of a ewe toward her lamb,

(even) so is the heart of ḡAnatu after Ba'lu.”

¹⁰⁵ The text is presented here following the epigraphic study of this text in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by the author.

¹⁰⁶ The interpretation of this passage is unclear due to lexical semantic challenges associated with the noun *ḥpt̄* and the verb *tnḥn* here. See Pardee 1997c: 337 n. 43; cf. Tropper 2012: 747. The similarity between this passage and the next example lead me to prefer the approach indicated in the translation above. For the verb *tnḥn*, see recently Watson 2018: 389. See also Dietrich 2016: 20-21.

¹⁰⁷ The text is presented here following the epigraphic study of this text in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by the author.

(36) **RS 15.125:2'-4'¹⁰⁸** (legal)

km . špš (3') d brt . kmt . (4') br . šṭqšlm

ka=ma šapši dī barrata kāmati barra

like=FOC sun-GEN.F.SG.ABS REL be.pure-G.PFV.3FS thus be.pure-G.PFV.3MS

šṭqīšalimu

PN

“Like the Sun, which is ‘free’ (lit. ‘pure’), even so is *Šṭqīšalimu* ‘free’”

In examples (34)-(36), comparisons are drawn for rhetorical purposes that depend on the hearer’s ability to recognize the fact that the standard of comparison represents a high point on a pragmatically accessible scale. It is for this reason that translations like Tropper’s “(genau) so” and “ebenso” (see Table 6.2 above) are so appropriate. While Ugaritic *k* is not itself employed as a scalar additive focus particle (“even”), its evident compatibility with scalar additive comparisons of the sort just identified and the results of preliminary typological research into manner deictic grammaticalization suggesting that such items can give rise to additive focus particles together raise the possibility of identifying the *-k* of the pronouns *mhk* and *mnk* as a morpheme marking these pronouns for scalarity, a function perhaps derivable from the originally manner-deictic function of the morpheme involved. As **kā* often takes a shortened form **ka* when enclitic (as in BH *’ēykā^h* < **’ay=ka*), I vocalize the *k*-series pronouns as *mînaka* (personal) and *mahka/mannaka* (impersonal).

Further typological research on manner-deictic grammaticalization will be required before this proposal can be considered typologically well paralleled, but an initial advantage of

¹⁰⁸ For the text, see Virolleaud 1957: 17-18; *KTU*³ 3.12.

this approach is that it provides a more comprehensible and better paralleled account for the current morphological profile of these pronouns. Recall from ch. 2 that Haspelmath (1997: 229) identified five principal source constructions for negative indefinite pronouns:

- (37) Diachronic sources of negative indefinites
- a. Non-negative scalar focus particles, e.g.,
Selkup *ämtä kuty* “nobody” < “even who”
 - b. Negative scalar focus particles, e.g.,
Hungarian *sem-mi* “nothing” < “not even what”
 - c. Diachronic negative absorption, e.g.,
Yaqui *ka-abe* “nobody” < **kaa habe* “not anybody”
Latin *nemo* “nobody” < **ne homo* “not a man”
 - d. Minimal-unit expressions (i.e., minimizers), e.g.,
Irish *dada* “nothing” < “tittle”
French *personne* “nobody” < “person”
Maltese *ħadd* “nobody” < “one”
 - e. Maximal-unit expressions, e.g.,
Spanish *en mi vida* “never” < “in my life”

The proposed etymology discussed here makes Ugaritic *mhk* and *mnk* examples of (37a). None of the other typical source constructions presents a possible analysis of the Ugaritic pronouns. In other words, identifying *-k* in the manner proposed above allows us to situate these pronouns

within a broadly attested crosslinguistic trend of incorporating scalar focus particles in NPI morphology, whereas appeal to a remote-deictic morpheme does not.

Of course, there is no reason that Ugaritic *must* conform to crosslinguistic trends in this respect. We are free to ignore (37) and attempt to account for the semantics of the pronoun by appeal to remote-deixis, but I have already suggested that this represents a descriptive dead end, both semantically and morphologically. Semantically, because we would be forced to analyze *-k* as representing the “definiteness core” (*iota*-operator) represented by *-n* in the pronoun *mmn*. The latter identification was considered well-founded and internally motivated, as *-n* figures in the morphology of the presentative *hn* employed in constructions anticipating the development of the definite article as well as in presuppositional interrogative pronouns (see ch. 4). The element *-k*, on the other hand, cannot be shown to play a comparable exhaustivity-marking role elsewhere (whereas, as we have seen, it *may* be associated with scalarity). This approach also fails morphologically because, as I have argued, an exophoric, remote-deictic value for *-k* cannot be independently established in Ugaritic.

The conformity with typological trends arising from analyzing *mhk* and *mnk* as indicated above is not, however, the only point of interest associated with the proposal. Recognizing *-k* here as derived from a manner-deictic *so* allows us to set up an intriguing, even if only anecdotal, parallel with English *whatso* and *whatsoever*. Like *mhk/mnk*, the Middle English indefinite pronoun *whatso* incorporates the manner-deictic *so* in its morphology. The addition of *ever* to yield *whatsoever* may represent further scalar marking or, perhaps, scalar renewal, and the chronology of attestation aligns with this suggestion, as *whatso* is documented as early as 1200

CE, with *whatsoever* appearing at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Consider the following (uncanny) morphological parallel:

English	<i>what-ever</i>	<i>what-so(-ever)</i>
Ugaritic	<i>mn-m</i>	<i>mn-k(-m)</i>

Much as English *whatsoever* is more strongly marked for scalarity than is *whatever*, *mhk* and *mnk* can be recognized as indefinites that are marked for a higher degree of scalarity than *mmn*. Their use as NPIs is, therefore, not at all surprising, as both the semantics of NPIs (discussed in ch. 2 and above) and typological trends in the diachronic sources for NPIs lead us to expect the marking of scalarity as a routine feature in NPI paradigms, and their appearance in prohibitions and in contexts accompanied by additional scalar items follows as a matter of course.

Comparison with English *whatsoever* raises a second diachronic question: *mhk* and *mnk* are used only as argument pronouns; they never head parametric concessive conditional or free relative clauses, but their morphological composition forces us to ask whether, at an earlier stage, they might have appeared in such contexts. Here we necessarily enter the realm of speculation. The following remarks are offered as an attempt to unite the morphological account just suggested with the semantic and syntactic observations offered earlier in the chapter, but I wish to signal clearly that the data available afford us only the dimmest of glimpses into the “prehistory” of *mhk* and *mnk*. First, however, a word on the English comparanda just introduced.

¹⁰⁹ See the relevant entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (these appear on p. 194 of volume XX of the second printed edition [1989]). In the printed edition, the dates given for *whatso* and *whatsoever* are 1200 and 1250. The online edition now indicates “?c1200” and “c1320,” respectively.

Like *whatever*, *whatsoever* heads free-choice free-relatives in English (though only in more archaic registers; “whatsoever you do,” etc.).¹¹⁰ In contemporary English, it has come to function primarily as a marker of scalarity in affective polarity environments (much like *at-all*),¹¹¹ in which cases it follows the noun with which it is associated:

(38) I see no reason whatsoever(/at all) to adopt that position.

(39) If you hear anything whatsoever(/at all), let me know.

(40) He stole nothing whatsoever(/at all).

Comparison with *whatever* and the examples just cited illustrate the plausibility of deriving *whatsoever* from original *it may be* parametric concessive conditional clauses, and its routinely post-NP placement suggests that these clauses were, in the source construction, conventionally added as appositives:

(41) **Grammaticalization of API scalar *whatsoever***

a. I didn't see anything, whatsoever it may be. >

b. I didn't see anything, whatsoever ~~it may be~~. >

c. I didn't see anything **whatsoever**. ≈ I didn't see anything **at all**.

¹¹⁰ Quirk et al. (1985: 1006) describe the use of *wh-soever* pronouns heading free-relatives as “rare; legal and religious.”

¹¹¹ Quirk et al. describe this role as that of a “postmodifier” (1985: 392), employed for “giving emotive intensification to a negative” (1985: 785).

The morphological composition of Ugaritic *mhk* and *mnk* invites a similar analysis. The presence of scalar focus marking in an indefinite is most frequently associated with either free-choice semantics or negative polarity (Haspelmath 1997: 164), and this may not be coincidental. We have already seen (in the preceding chapter) that FCIs of the *it may be* type (1) originate in parametric concessive conditional source constructions involving free-choice semantics (Haspelmath 1997: 136), (2) frequently incorporate additive or scalar additive focus markers (Haspelmath 1997: 136-137), and (3) may, like *mmm*, discussed in the preceding chapter, come to be used in negative contexts through desemanticization (“bleaching”).

Perhaps Ugaritic *mhk* and *mnk* also originated in such constructions, much like *mmm*, but were marked for a higher degree of scalarity. This would have made them particularly well suited for negative contexts, especially categorical prohibitions like those in which these pronouns actually appear synchronically, and may have facilitated their further grammaticalization as more narrowly distributed NPIs. Such a clausal source construction would allow us to suggest that, like English *whatsoever*, scalar *mhk*-clauses were originally deployed as post-NP appositives. Might this account for the fact that *mmm* precedes the nouns it “modifies” (e.g., *mmm rgm*) while *mhk* obligatorily follows its nominal associates (e.g., *unt mhk m*)?

If such a clausal source construction is imaginable, no evidence of its ongoing productivity can be found. As noted already, *mhk* and *mnk* are fully incorporated syntactically within the argument structure of VP. This is clear from the fact that when *mhk* follows a NP, it does not result in syntactic interruption like that observable for *mmm*, as in this example:

(42) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'¹¹²** (epistolary)

w . ḥp̄t̄ (13') p . mnm h'w' . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa ḥuptu pa MNM huwa wa bi sipri

and *ḥuptu*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any) *ḥuptu*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

The introduction of *mnm* here, as noted above, interrupts the syntax and results in the use of the *waw* of apodosis. The *k*-series pronouns never trigger the insertion of this conjunction.

As a final observation, the fact that *mhk* and *mnk* frequently appear together with other scalar expressions and constructions can be interpreted in one of two ways. First, it is possible that the original scalarity-marking role played by *k* underwent desementicization, requiring renewal through the application of enclitic *-m* or the distributive universal X-X=*ma* schema. Alternatively, and more plausibly, in my view, these examples may simply constitute instances of scalar recursion. Such recursion is commonplace in emphatic or categorical prohibition in English and can result in heavily marked sentences like this:

(43) I don't want ANYone to say ANYthing about ANY of this to ANYone at ANY time for ANYreason whatsoEVER!

¹¹² For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

The categorically prohibitive contexts in which Ugaritic *mhk* and *mnk* appear make this interpretation the more likely one. The presence of an expression like *'d 'lm* (“forever”) in examples (1)-(3), in other words, does not indicate that *mnk* lacked scalar force of its own; the addition of this domain-widening temporal expression instead represents scalar recursion (or perhaps a concord-related phenomenon similar to negative spread) serving to underscore the exceptionless character of the prohibition thus issued.

6.5.2 The WH-morphological Components

As noted above, the personal *k*-series pronoun appears only as *mnk*, while the impersonal *k*-series pronoun is *mhk*, and, in one case, *mnk*. This raises two questions. First, is there a difference between impersonal *mahka* and impersonal *mannaka* that motivates the use of one base or the other? Second, if *mahka* is attested as the preferred impersonal form, why are there no examples of ***mîka* (< ***mîya=ka*)?

With the data currently available, the first question must receive a negative response. The only example of impersonal *mannaka* appears in the following text, found in a letter from an unnamed queen to *'Urtēnu*:

(44) **RS 94.2406:21-22**¹¹³ (epistolary)

w át b pk ʾ . ʾ áʾlʾ[...] (22) yši mnk ʾ ʾ d mʾ ġʾ [...]

wa ʾatta bi pî=ka ʾal . . . yašiʾ mînaka

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

ʾadê mag[āyi . . .]

until arrive-G.INF.GEN.CSTR/SUFF

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth until [X] arri[ve(s).]”

As discussed above, this tablet bears two letters, and in the second letter, from ʾIlîmilku to ʾUrtênu, the sender offers a nearly identical prohibition:

(45) **RS 94.2406:39-40**¹¹⁴ (epistolary)

w át . b pk . ál . yši (40) mhk . úgrʾtʾ

wa ʾatta bi pî=ka ʾal yašiʾ mahka

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

ʾugārit

TN

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth in ʾUgārit.”

If there was ever any difference in meaning between these two prohibitions, it is no longer recoverable. Does example (44) represent a simple mistake? An idiosyncrasy of the queen’s

¹¹³ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

¹¹⁴ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

speech? A stronger or weaker prohibition? Without further data this remains impossible to determine.

If a clear distinction between *mahka* and *mannaka* were identifiable, we might be better positioned to suggest a reason for the non-attestation of ***mîka*. Without a clear picture of the former, however, we can only guess at the latter. Since NPIs semantically assert both exhaustivity and scalarity, it is no surprise to find the WH-morphological component *mn-* employed (a base I argued to be associated with maximality in ch. 4 and 5 above). We can observe at a purely descriptive level that morphological marking of this maximality appears to have been optional, but further data would be required to determine whether this was due to processes of analogy (e.g., analogical interference from *mnm*?) or actually reflective of distinct semantics for *mnk* and *mhk*.

6.6 The *m*-series, the *k*-series, and Linguistic Typology

Given the descriptions of the *m*-series and *k*-series indefinites offered above, how do these two series relate to one another, both in terms of their specific semantic and syntactic features and in terms of their functional distributions in typological terms? The features of each of these series are summarized in Table 6.3:

Table 6.3: Comparison of *m*-Series and *k*-Series Features (Synchronic)

Feature	<i>m</i>-Series	<i>k</i>-Series
classification	<i>any</i> -item (\approx FCI + API)	NPI
q-value (hypothesized)	q-variable(?)	\forall (?)
sensitivity	+nonveridical	+antiveridical
referential variation	variation	variation
scalarmity	scalar implicature	scalar assertion
exhaustivity	exhaustive implicature	exhaustive assertion
syntactic complementation	\emptyset (under negation), NP, VP/Verbless predicate	\emptyset

From a diachronic perspective, I propose that *mnm* originated as a FCI asserting exhaustivity and taking clausal complements (with definite-FCI semantics consistent with the maximality marker *-n-*). Through further grammaticalization, it came to function with NP complements as an indefinite-FCI, and eventually came to function independently under negation as a simple API (resulting in a synchronic distribution much like that of *any*-items). The pronouns *mhk/mnk*, on the other hand, began as items obligatorily marked for scalarity. They may have originated in clausal *it-may-be* contexts placed after nouns and serving to strengthen sentential negation, but they have come to function independently (never in clausal contexts) as true NPIs, depending on overt sentential negation for licensing. Ugaritic is, in this respect, a language exhibiting strict negative concord and, unlike English *n*-words, *k*-series pronouns do not independently contribute sentential negation. Their stronger scalar marking vis-à-vis *mnm* is likely responsible for their preferential use in contexts of categorical prohibition, where *mnm* would not deliver as strong an effect. We can appreciate this by comparing the two examples of *'unuttu*-exclusions involving these two pronouns:

- (46) **RS 15.111:18**¹¹⁵ (legal)
- [w ù]r n`ṭ . in ʾ . mnmʾ . bh
- [wa ʾu]nuttu ʾenu MNM bi=hu
- and u.tax-NOM.M.SG.ABS NEG.EXIST WH=M in=it.3MS
- “And as for an *'unuttu*-tax, there isn't any on it.”

¹¹⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012.

(47) **RS 94.2965:19-24**¹¹⁶ (legal)

w . y{.}bnn (20) b . šdm . hnmt (21) ʾunt . mhkm (22) l . ybl (23) ʾuntm . bth (24)

ybl

wa yabnīnu bi šadīma hannamati ʾunutta MHK=ma

and PN in field-OBL.M.PL.ABS these u.tax-ACC.M.SG.ABS WH=K=FOC

lā yabilu ʾunutta=ma bēti=hu yabilu

NEG carry-G.IPFV.3MS u.tax-ACC.M.SG.CSTR house-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=his.3MS carry-G.IPFV.3MS

“And as for *Yabnīnu*, on those (aforementioned) fields he shall not bear any

ʾunuttu-obligation; the *ʾunuttu*-obligation for his house, however, he shall bear.”

In example (46) it is the simple negative existential *in* that is employed, and the pronoun *mm* in its API-like function serves satisfactorily. In the more strongly marked (47), however, involving categorical prohibition with *l* and a prefix-conjugation verbal form (jussive? modal imperfective?) as well as additional focus-marking (note *mhk=m*), it is the scalar NPI *mhk* that is preferred. Accounting for this difference comes with a practical implication: there is no reason to suspect the legitimacy of the form *mm* in RS 15.111:18 (example (46)). Tropper (2012: 243, 244, 821, 822) does not present his reasons for preferring to read *mhk* rather than *mm* in this text, but the identifiability of a semantic motivation for the distinction between the two texts just discussed illustrates that the reading established by Hawley and Pardee (2012) is both epigraphically preferable and linguistically justifiable.

The synchronic distributions of the *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns are here mapped on the semantic-taxonomic and functional-typological maps discussed in ch. 2:

¹¹⁶ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2012: 141-145).

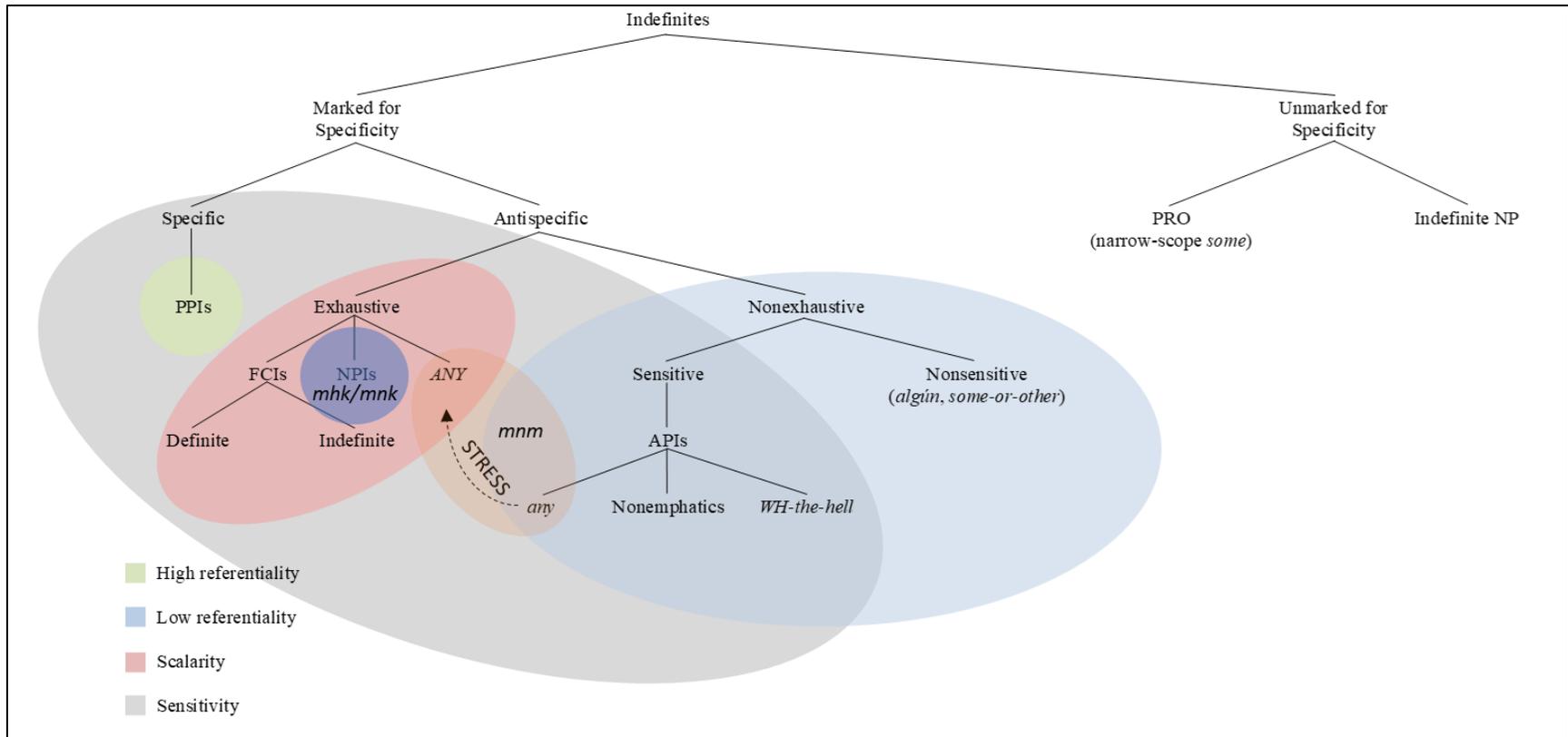


Fig. 6.1: Semantic taxonomy of indefinites with *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns

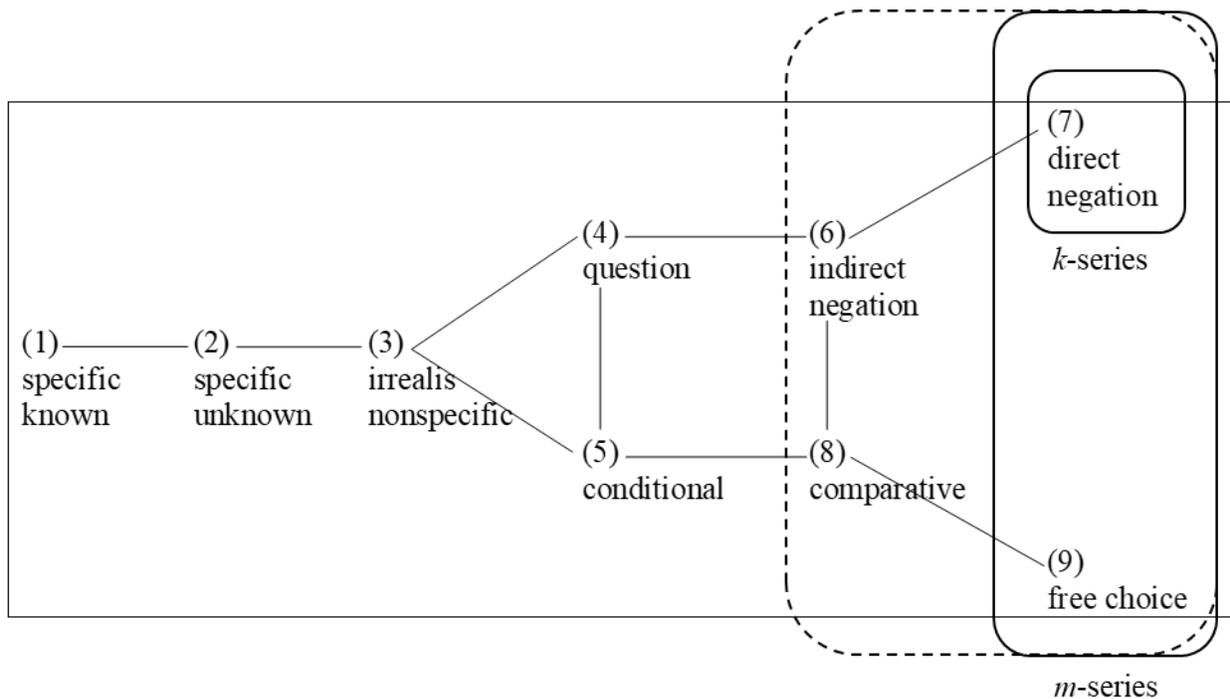


Fig. 6.2: The implicational map (Haspelmath 1997: 4) with *k*-series and *m*-series

In Fig. 6.2, attested functions covered are indicated with a solid line. The dashed line represents the *minimal* functional coverage for *m*-series pronouns *predicted* by Haspelmath’s adjacency principle. That is, if *mnm* can be employed under direct negation (function (7)) and in expressions of free choice (function (9)), typological trends predict that it should also be useable in cases of indirect negation and comparison. We lack attested examples to test this typological trend, but this prediction should be reexamined if future finds extend the empirical foundation for study.

More importantly, both of these representations illustrate that *mnm* and *mhk/mnk* cover a relatively small portion of the functional range typically covered by indefinite pronominal systems. Given the fragmentary nature of the Ugaritic corpus, it is, of course, possible that these

pronouns (especially *mnm*) may have covered more of the map than we are able to witness empirically today. But can we say anything further about how Ugaritic would have encoded functions like those appearing to the left in Fig. 6.2? This question is taken up in the next chapter.

6.7 Summary and Implications

I have argued that *k*-series pronouns are strict NPIs, dependent on antiveridicality for licensing and incorporating exhaustivity and scalarity in their semantics. I have suggested that these semantic features account for the appearance of these pronouns exclusively in contexts of modal negation. The morphological composition of these pronouns involves a WH-morphological base (*mîna*, *mah*, or *manna*), to which a cliticized reflex of the manner-deictic **kā* has been added. The latter, I have proposed, functions as a scalar focus particle, marking the *k*-series overtly for scalarity. Acknowledging the difficulty posed by the fact that manner-deictic **kā* does not function independently as a strict scalar focus particle, I have suggested that its semantics may include scalarity and have shown that manner-deictics do give rise to additive and perhaps scalar additive focus particles based on the modest typological research devoted to manner deictics that is currently available. I find this morphological account more semantically and typologically compelling than attempts to derive *mhk* and *mnk* from notions of remote exophoric deixis. I also suggested that the non-attestation of *kl* (∀) + indefinite pronoun in Ugaritic (compare Phoenician *kl mnm*, Hebrew *kōl mē 'āw mā^h*, Aramaic *kl m(n)d^ʿm*) is due to the preferential use of the X=*ma* schema in Ugaritic for the expression of distributive plurality, and that *mnk mnm* is rightly viewed as the “cognate” expression to the other Northwest Semitic expressions just cited.

Following this account of *mhk* and *mnk*, I have explained how this pronoun differs from *mnm*, and how these differences allow us to understand their distinct distributions, as well as how *mhk* and *mnm* differ from one another when used under negation (a context in which both items are licensed).

This discussion illustrates that the morphology and semantics of the Ugaritic indefinite pronouns can be understood in terms of internal morphological, semantic, and syntactic processes. As in the preceding chapter, in which I argued that attempts to relate Ugaritic *mnm* to Akkadian *minummê* as a calque or borrowing were unfounded, I argue here that the *k*-series pronouns can be understood as true Ugaritic pronominal forms. Gordon's suggested Hurrian etymology can safely be set aside.

Indeed the NPI distribution of *k*-series pronouns in Ugaritic may actually allow us better to understand an unusual feature of Ras Shamra Akkadian. Loewenstamm (1958-1959: 76 = 1980: 61) was the first to observe the formulaic parallels between the prohibition of worry in RS 18.031 and comparable expressions found in letters recovered from El-Amarna. The upshot of this observation was the fact that Ugaritic *mhk* was used in a manner comparable to the Akkadian indefinite *mimma*, a point Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín (1974b: 32) articulated even more explicitly: “*mhk* . . . hat semantisch seine genaue Entsprechung im akk. *mimma* ‘irgend etwas; alles.’” This comparison produces intriguing results in light of the arguments advanced in the present chapter. The pronouns *mamma* and *mimma* appear in a variety of nonveridical contexts in Old Babylonian (and, in some cases, even in veridical contexts). This is also true of their distribution in “Western Periphery” Akkadian,¹¹⁷ where *mimma* and *mamma* routinely appear in conditional protases. Among texts recovered from Ras Shamra but originating elsewhere, we

¹¹⁷ See, e.g., Giacumakis 1970: 35-36 for Akkadian at Alalah; Rainey 1996: I:114-118 for *mimma* in “El-Amarna Canaanite” texts; Seminara 1998: 271-272 for Akkadian at Emar.

similarly find examples of *mimma* and *mamma* employed in nonveridical contexts lacking negation.¹¹⁸ Yet among locally produced texts, *mamma* and *mimma* appear almost exclusively in negated clauses (Huehnergard 1989: 137, 139). There are only two examples of *mamma* appearing in a conditional protasis,¹¹⁹ and *mimma* (as well as *mimmam* and *mimmamma*) appear “always in conjunction with a negative” (Huehnergard 1989: 139).¹²⁰ In other words, unlike Mesopotamian or other varieties of “Western Peripheral” Akkadian, Ras Shamra Akkadian allows *mimma* and *mamma* almost exclusively under negation. Might this reflect the NPI-distribution of Ugaritic *k*-series pronouns? If it does, then this may comprise another instance in which local grammatical phenomena are influencing the “Akkadian” formulary found in locally produced logo-syllabic texts, such that the direction of influence is actually running in the opposite direction of that often assumed in the past.¹²¹

Finally, the fact that the *k*-series pronouns can be found to differ distributionally in significant ways from *m*-series pronouns strengthens the case for viewing *mnm* as an integral part of the Ugaritic indefinite pronominal system. Having shown that Ugaritic exhibits two series of grammaticalized indefinite pronouns, I turn in the next chapter to address some of the functional space *not* clearly covered by these pronouns, as well as other putative examples of indefinite pronouns that have been identified in the literature.

¹¹⁸ See, e.g., RS 94.2530:24-26 (= RSO XXIII, no. 8), a letter from the Hittite King; RS 94.2486:20'-22' (= RSO XXIII, no. 14), a letter from Kizzuwatna; RS 16.270:30-33 (= *PRU* III, p. 41), written under the authority of Šaušgamuwa of Amurru.

¹¹⁹ RS 17.356:9-16 (= *PRU* VI, no. 38) and RS 17.020:2'-6' (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 4); see also Huehnergard 1989: 137.

¹²⁰ The only possible exception, which appears in RS 16.249:32-33 (= *PRU* III, p. 96), depends on an uncertain restoration of the text: *šum-ma ú-ra še-ra* ^m*ta-bi-ia-nu* ù DUMU.MEŠ-šu (33) [*di-n*]*a*(?) *mim*(?)-[*ma*] *it-ti* ^m*kál-be-PI it-ti* DUMU.MEŠ-[š]u . . . (“Si, dans l’avenir, Tabiyanu et ses fils, quelques procès avec Kalbeya (ou) avec ses fils, [entreprennent (?),] . . .” [Nougayrol 1955: 98]); Huehnergard (1989: 139 n. 76) suggests that even this example may have included a negative, though he does not provide a proposed translation of the sentence as a whole, making the proposal difficult to evaluate. Regardless, each of the graphemes concerned is either uncertain or entirely restored.

¹²¹ For bibliographic details and another possible example of this, see Burlingame forthcoming *a*.

Chapter 7

Other Indefinites and Alternatives

7.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have treated the two series of grammaticalized indefinite pronouns found in the Ugaritic language, the *m*-series and the *k*-series. Yet as noted in ch. 1, a staggering array of other indefinite pronouns can be found in the secondary literature produced over the last ninety years. While recent representations of the indefinite pronominal system have settled on a more (appropriately) restricted set of indefinites, several items beyond those discussed in the two preceding chapters are occasionally presented as or treated in connection with indefinite pronouns. I address each of these in the present chapter. None of the items concerned satisfy the definition of *indefinite pronouns* presented in ch. 2; they instead represent alternative strategies for expressing comparably indefinite semantics (though, as I will suggest, some of them may already be on their way toward grammaticalization). This chapter accordingly addresses alternatives to indefinite pronominal use available to speakers or writers of Ugaritic.

The chapter begins with a brief discussion of Ugaritic placeholders. I then turn to other putative indefinites, including those thought to incorporate WH-morphology, relative-pronominal morphology, and the universal quantifier(s). I then close with a discussion of a number of generic nouns used as alternatives for indefinite pronominal expressions. Because the items treated in this chapter do not constitute true indefinite pronouns and accordingly stand outside the proper scope of this work, my purpose is simply to catalog the relevant items and to demonstrate why they are best handled without direct appeal to indefinite pronominal classification. This will serve both to prepare the way for the assessment of productivity offered

in ch. 8 and to inform future research devoted to lexical and syntactic features that are semantically adjacent to the indefinite pronominal system.

7.1 Placeholders (*mnn* and *mnmn*)

In addition to the shorter form *mn*, discussed in ch. 4 as a possible placeholder in RS 16.265:22, the longer form *mnn*, appearing in l. 2 of the same letter, and the form *mnmn*, appearing in RS 24.271:22', require discussion here.

7.1.1 The Possible Placeholder *mnn*

The possibility of identifying the form *mn* appearing in RS 16.265:22 as a placeholder in a mock letter was discussed in ch. 4 above. As I noted there, the form *mnn* also appears in this letter, in l. 2. The formal (i.e., morphological) approach to organization pursued for ch. 4-7 obliged me to postpone discussion of this longer form to the present chapter. There is little to add here, as the same arguments applying in the case of *mn* hold equally for *mnn*. The only remaining question requiring treatment pertains to the final *-n*: if we accept the placeholder hypothesis (rather than simply treat both *mn* and *mnn* as alternative hypocoristica), how should we interpret the optional addition of *-n* evident in the longer form appearing in l. 2 of this letter?

As discussed in ch. 4, Pardee and Whiting (1987: 10-11) were the first to propose treating *mnn* and *mn* in RS 16.265:2, 22 as forms meaning “whomever.” The proposal has, however, been subject to repeated misrepresentation. Among reference grammarians, only Tropper has consistently identified the form *mnn* as an indefinite pronoun. He cites this form as a pronoun meaning “anyone” (1999: 90) or “irgendjemand, wer auch immer” (2002: 27; 2008: 75),

analyzing the form etymologically as the personal interrogative *mn* + enclitic *-n*.¹ In the more detailed treatments found in both editions of his *Ugaritische Grammatik*, Tropper suggests further morphological possibilities (2000/2012: 242):

Sollte *mnn* ein IndPr sein, könnte es entweder als *mn /man(n-)/* + EP *-n* oder als unvollständige Reduplikationsbildung von *mn /man(n-)/* betrachtet werden. Ein Schreibfehler für *mn<m>n* ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen.

The last of these three possibilities, and likely the second as well, can be set aside in light of the attestation, unremarked by Tropper, of the form *mn* in l. 22 of the same letter. Pardee and Whiting (1987: 10 n. 21) made explicit mention of this form, but only the longer form *mnn* is cited in Tropper's works. The appearance of *mn* and *mnn* in the same letter, referring to the same (for this approach, fictitious) individual surely requires us to account for the morphology of the hypothesized placeholder in terms of a bare interrogative optionally augmented by a further *-n*.² One also finds occasional claims that the indefinite form employed as a placeholder in this letter is {*mnm*} rather than the actual form {*mnn*}.³ The correct reading, recognized since the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1957: 39), is {*mnn*}. If we accept the placeholder analysis of *mn*, how do we account for the longer form *mnn*?

¹ See further Tropper and Vita 2019: 488; 2020: 76.

² See Hawley 2003: 77 n. 40 for a particularly clear articulation of the interpretive significance the two forms have when viewed together.

³ The form {*mnn*} is mis-transcribed as {*mnm*} in Ahl 1973: 426 (who offers no interpretation of the form); Hawley (2008b: 78) inadvertently represents the placeholder as *mīnu-ma* (it is correctly presented as *mnn* in Hawley 2003: 21 n. 68, 77 n. 40, 78 n. 44, 214, 519 n. 36); Mandell (2019: 58 with n. 68, 60 n. 78, 65) systematically presents the form in question as {*mnm*}.

Appeals to the Ugaritic enclitic *-n* like those appearing in previous studies⁴ can be made more precise. Tropper (2000/2012: 823-825) has described the information-structural functions typically served by enclitic *-n*, frequently appended to topicalized NPs or marking the apodosis of conditional sentences. He also observes instances in which it appears to be introduced for formal variety in parallel lines of poetry (2000/2012: 824-825). Finally, he notes (though less systematically), that an additional element *-n* can occasionally be found attached to other particles (e.g., *hnd* alongside *hnd-n*; *hl* alongside *hl-n*; *ʾp* alongside *ʾpn*; see Tropper 2000/2012: 825). Notably, most of the examples he cites for this last use of *-n* as an “Erweiterung” involve deixis. This array of uses to which the element(/s?) *-n* is(/are?) put forces us to consider at least three possibilities. First, the long form *mnn* may simply represent *mn*, to which the enclitic *-n* has been productively added for information-structural reasons, in which case no lexeme *mnn* can properly be said to exist. Second, given the high-flown style of RS 16.265, perhaps it simply reflects a desire for variety like that Tropper believes to be identifiable in some cases in poetry. Third, the form *mnn* may represent an alternative, longer form of *mn*, formed by the addition not of one deictic element (*-n*) but two (*-nn*).

The first of these options can be set aside quickly. Nowhere else in the corpus of Ugaritic letters do we observe the addition of Topic-marking enclitics to an element of the address formula. The second possibility, involving appeal to the nebulous category of style, is difficult to falsify, but I note that both instances of *-n* used “aus Gründen der Variation” that Tropper (2000/2012: 824-825) cites involve prepositions (*l // l-n*; *ʾm // ʾm-n*), not nouns or pronouns. This leaves us with the third and, in my view, most plausible approach to accounting for the morphology of *mnn* as a placeholder. I argued in ch. 4 (sec. 4.7.3.3) that, if *mn* is to be

⁴ See especially Tropper 2000/2012: 242; 2002: 27; 2008: 75; Hawley 2003: 77 n. 40, 519 n. 36; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488; 2020: 76.

recognized as a placeholder, the preference for the interrogative form marked with deictic *-n* is a comprehensible one. When we turn our attention to the system of presentative particles (where this *-n* makes many appearances), we find an immediate parallel to the situation observed for *mn* ~ *mnn*: alongside the presentative *hn* (/han=na/), we find two longer forms, *hnn* (/han=na=na/) and *hny* (/han=na=ni=ya/).⁵ Tropper (2000/2012: 738) treats these as local adverbs (“hier”), but their use in epistolary formulae has led Bordreuil and Pardee to identify presentative values for both.⁶ If the presentative *han=na* can undergo further deictic expansion (without any appreciable change in meaning) to yield *han=na=na*, perhaps the placeholder *mî=na* could do the same, resulting in *mî=na=na*:

	simple	expanded
presentative	<i>hn</i>	<i>hnn</i>
placeholder	<i>mn</i>	<i>mnn</i>

The compatibility—both semantically and morphologically—between deictic elements and placeholders (noted in sec. 4.7.3.3) suggests that the morphological isomorphism evident in this set is not coincidental. The form *mnn*, then, can be understood as a semantically equivalent but morphologically extended (via reapplication of the deictic enclitic *-n*) form of *mn*. The two form a morphological pair comparable to that formed by the presentative forms *hn* and *hnn*.

⁵ The vocalization of *hny* as /hannaniya/ (see Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:74; 2009: 58) is based on the syllabic evidence that the related particle *hny* is to be vocalized /halliniya/ (for which see Huehnergard 2008: 121); the shift of /na/ > /ni/ may be conditioned by the following /y/ (Pardee 2003-2004: 249 n. 929).

⁶ See especially Pardee 2003-2004: 116, 365-366; see further Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:160; 2009: 311.

7.1.2 The possible placeholder *mnmn*

The second item requiring discussion here is the form {mnmn} appearing in RS 24.271:22'. The text concerned appears to represent a mixed genre, incorporating both a lengthy list of divinities and what are likely petitions for *šlm* (“well-being”), making this text a rare example of an Ugaritic prayer.⁷ Within the list of divinities, ll. 22'-25' have been identified as especially problematic (Pardee 2000: 695) and have even led some to suggest that the entire text represents a simple scribal exercise. Dietrich and Loretz see this text as such an exercise, stating that “Allein aus dem Abschnitt Z. 22-24 dürfte hervorgehen, daß eine liturgische Erklärung von KTU 1.123 undurchführbar ist” (1981: 74). Pardee (2000: 695-696) rightly resists this tendency to treat difficult texts as incomprehensible student exercises, but he acknowledges that the sequence appearing in l. 22'—the sequence of interest for present purposes, consisting of {mrmnmn}—resists clear interpretation: “Le nombre de répartitions possibles des signes est trop grand pour permettre une interprétation ouest-sémitique qui emporte la conviction” (2000: 704).

Those who have suggested specific solutions have divided this sequence to yield *mr* and *mnmn*, the former interpreted either as the Akkadian lexeme *māru*, “son,” to yield “son of anybody,”⁸ with *mnmn* in this case likely comprising an Akkadian loanword,⁹ or as a form of the Ugaritic root $\sqrt{m(-)r}$, yielding “the blessing of So and So.”¹⁰ As Pardee (2000: 703-704) observes, the frequently cited¹¹ Akkadian comparandum *mār mammāna* lacks the first /n/ of the

⁷ For discussion and bibliography, see Pardee 2000: 694-695; 2002a: 150-153.

⁸ De Moor 1970a: 194, 202 (“Is this Bab. *mār mammāna* < **mār manmāna*? If so, this would be a specimen of the type ‘unknown god’. Or a PN (cf. *ma-ri-ma-na*)?”); 1970b: 313; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1975a: 542 (“das *nomen nescio* oder *nomen nominandum* bedeutet eine Freistelle und ist als akk. Terminus zu verstehen”); Dietrich and Loretz 1981: 74; Xella 1981: 218 (“il dio che non conosco”), 221 (“è il *dio sconosciuto*”); del Olmo Lete 1992: 230 (“El dios desconocido”); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 284; 2003: 563-64; 2015: 557; Tropper 1999: 99; 2000/2012: 242; 2002: 27; 2008: 75; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488; 2020: 76.

⁹ So explicitly Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1975a: 542; Tropper 2000/2012: 242; 2008: 75.

¹⁰ Gray 1978: 98. For the root concerned, see Pardee 1978; for the current state of the question with more recent bibliography, see Burlingame 2018: 55.

¹¹ See those cited in n. 8, above.

form *mnmn*, problematizing a direct comparison of the two. Those who prefer this Akkadian-loan hypothesis cite (perhaps as a mitigating consideration) the appearance of the sequence {*ʾnmnmn*^r-'[. . .]} in RS 5.199:4'.¹² As the latter has been recognized as an Akkadian text written in alphabetic script since Dhorme's (1940) study and as {*mnmn*} appearing in l. 4' has been identified as an indefinite pronoun,¹³ this parallel may support a comparable treatment of {*mrmnmn*} in RS 24.271.¹⁴ Against this position stand the following: (1) both texts are too fragmentary and/or too poorly understood to allow certainty in either case; and (2) a personal indefinite pronoun *manman*- is never employed in locally produced Akkadian texts from Ras Shamra (see Huehnergard 1989: 136-138),¹⁵ problematizing the loan hypothesis.

This situation presents us with the following options: (1) *mnmn* in both texts represents a borrowed Akkadian indefinite *manman*- (otherwise unattested in locally produced Akkadian documents); (2) *mnmn* in RS 24.271 represents an Ugaritic placeholder, formed by reduplication of the basic placeholder *mn* (thus *mînamîna*); (3) neither {*mrmnmn*} in RS 24.271 nor {*ʾnmnmn*^r-'[. . .]} in RS 5.199 can be interpreted with any certainty, and neither *need* involve an indefinite pronoun or placeholder. The third position represents the most cautious one and is adopted here. Even if *mnmn* is taken as a pronominal form, however, it must be recognized as a *placeholder*, not a true indefinite pronoun. This distinction—nearly absent in previous

¹² This reading, presented in the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1939: 124), has been confirmed through personal examination of the tablet (Paris, May 16, 2018).

¹³ Dhorme 1940: 94 (“*ana manmani* . . . Pour n’importe quel . . .”; “Recete magique pour n’importe quel cas”); Gordon 1947: 246; Clemens 2001: 616 with n. 178.

¹⁴ So apparently del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 284; 2003: 563-64; 2015: 557.

¹⁵ Though we may find examples of this such a pronoun in non-local texts like the recently published RS 94.2288⁺:45-47 (= RSO XXIII, no. 34). The editors of the text suggest the following reading and provisional translation for the final sentence of this letter, the content of which suggests a provenance in Hittite territory: DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR.URU ú-[*ga-r*]i-it lu-ú (46) i-tu-du *ma-an-m[a-an[?] ša[?] a[?]-ma[?]]-ta la-a (47) ba-ni-ta i-qab[?]-[*bi[?]*], “Les dieux d’Ugarit *reconnaîtront bien quiconque* a tenu un propos incorrect” (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 72).*

grammatical studies¹⁶—is vital to correctly assessing the boundaries of the indefinite pronominal system. Since we have observed that *mn* (/mîna/) and an extended form *mnn* (/mînana/) may function as Ugaritic placeholders, it would not be surprising to find—should future finds or improved interpretations of current attestations become available—that *mnmn* represents yet another Ugaritic placeholder built on the same WH-morphological base. At present, however, it is safer to note the form without including it in the profile of Ugaritic placeholders or (especially) indefinite pronouns.

7.2 Other Indefinite Pronouns?

The introduction of the distinction between indefinite pronouns and placeholders has allowed us to pare off several putative examples of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns (*mn*, *mnn*, *mnmn*), which previously added to the impression that this system lacked clear boundaries. In the present section, I address all other examples of indefinite pronouns alleged in past studies. These include the form *mm*, forms derived from the determinative/relative *d* (including *ind*, *mndym*, and *mdym*), and forms derived from the universal quantifier (*kl*, *klkl*, *kl*, *kl*).

¹⁶ The textual study of Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín (1975a: 542) makes more appropriate appeal to the category of *nomen nomenandum*.

7.2.1 An indefinite pronoun *mm*?

Past proposals that Ugaritic possessed an indefinite pronoun *mm*, taken to be impersonal¹⁷ or, less frequently, personal,¹⁸ depend on one textual attestation. The text in question is RS 4.475 (discussed in ch. 5), and the relevant context is presented here, after Bordreuil and Pardee (2009: 233):

RS 4.475:5-11

(05) l . tr̄gds	<i>lê targuddassi</i>
(06) w . l . klby	<i>wa lê kalbiya</i>
(07) šm 't . ḥti	<i>šama 'tu ḥata ṯ</i>
(08) nḥtù . ht	<i>naḥta 'ū hatti</i>
(09) hm . inmm	<i>himma 'ēnumama</i>
(10) nḥtù . w . lāk	<i>naḥta 'ū¹⁹ wa la 'ak</i>
(11) 'my . . .	<i>'immaya . . .</i>

¹⁷ Gaster 1935: 475 (assuming a cognate relationship to Biblical Hebrew *mə 'ū^wmā^h*); 1937: 27; Albright 1941: 47; Gordon 1949: 117; Ahl 1973: 403; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1975b: 529; Römer 1977: 146, 150 (treated as adverbial *mimma*); Loewenstamm 1980: 61 n. 33a; Lipiński 1981: 124-125; Pardee 1987: 66 (treated as adverbial *mimma*; for his subsequent change of position, see n. 20 below); Cunchillos 1989a: 278 with n. 12; 1989b: 98; Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 283; 2003: 563; 2015: 557 (though in all three publications, the authors also allow for correction to {m<n>m}). Parker (1967: 27) suggests that the single attestation does not allow one to determine whether it has personal or impersonal referent. Ginsberg and Maisler (1934: 246-247) interpreted the entire form {inmm} as an indefinite expression meaning “wheresoever,” citing Arabic *'aynamā* and Akkadian *'yānumma*,” the latter taken up by Dhorme in his response to Ginsberg and Maisler (1934: 396; “est un bon décalque de l'accadien *yanummu yanumma* (pour *ayanumma*), dérivé de *ayanu* . . . Donc « où ont-ils été emmenés? »”), though without any indication that he was effectively adopting their position at this point (a fact they note in their subsequent reply [Ginsberg and Maisler 1935: 182]).

¹⁸ Aistleitner 1963: 187. Parker (1967: 27) suggests that the single attestation does not allow one to determine whether it has personal or impersonal referent.

¹⁹ For the possibility of *in* negating a finite verbal form, as well as the difficulties associated with parsing {nḥtù} as a participle, see Pardee 2003-2004: 267.

“Regarding *Targuddassi* and *Kalbiya*, I have heard that they have suffered defeat. Now if such is not the case, send me a message (to that effect).”

The sequence in question, bolded above, consists of the graphemes {*innm*}. As interpreted here, this simply consists of the negative existential *in*, to which enclitic *-m* has been applied twice. The warrant for this approach lies in the fact that *in* appears in a number of other expanded forms, including *inn*, *innm*, and, more importantly, *inm* (see Tropper 2012: 821-822). For those who adopt the position represented above,²⁰ *innmm* simply constitutes an additional expanded form of the same negative existential. The forms involving clitic-stacking could in fact be arranged as a symmetrical paradigm: *inn(m)* and *inm(m)*, where *inn* : *innm* :: *inm* : *innmm*. A strong argument in favor of this approach can be found in the similarity of the contexts in which *inm* (attested only once, in RIH 78/12:10) and *innmm* (attested only here) appear:

(1) **RIH 78/12:10-12**²¹

w hm . *inm* . (11) ‘bdmlk (12) npl’ṭ’ . ḥ[. . .]

wa himma ’ēnu=ma ’abdīmilku naplaṭu Ḥ[. . .]

and if NEG=FOC PN save-N.PTCP.M.SG.ABS

“And if *’Abdīmilku* is not saved”²²

²⁰ This position is implied in Segert 1984: 179; Dijkstra 1999: 155-156. More explicit are Tropper 2000/2012: 540, 719, 822; Pardee 2002b: 108; 2003-2004: 85, 267; Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: II:81; 2009: 233; Tropper and Vita 2020: 157.

²¹ For the text, see Bordreuil and Pardee 2019: 183-188.

²² The end of l. 12 and the following four lines are too fragmentary to allow a clear idea of what the apodosis originally expressed.

(2) **RS 4.475:8-11 (see text above)**

ht (9) hm . inmm (10) nḥtū . w . lāk (11) ‘my

hatti himma ’ēnu=ma=ma naḥta ’ū wa la ’ak ’imma=ya

PRES if NEG=FOC=FOC strike-N.PFV.3MP and send-G.IPV.2MS to=me.1CS

“And if they have not been struck, send (word of that) to me!”

Both of these examples come from letters treating military affairs and pertain to the state of a third party. Both involve conditional protases introduced by *hm* and including a form of *in*. And in both the negative existential is paired with a N-stem verbal form referring to the current state of the individual(s) under discussion. The strength of this parallel suggests the plausibility of analyzing *inm* in RIH 78/12:10 and *inmm* in RS 4.475:9 comparably. Tropper (2012: 822; see similarly 2000: 822) makes this point explicitly:

Unwahrscheinlich ist der Vorschlag von KTU² (S. 164, Anm. 1), *inmm* zu *in m<n>m* (“nicht irgendwie”) zu emendieren, da in 2.82:10 [RIH 78/12:10] in einem vergleichbaren Kontext *inm* begegnet.

As we find no further evidence for an indefinite pronoun *mm* and as the parallel with RIH 78/12:10 suggests the suitability of interpreting {*inmm*} in RS 4.475:9 as an expanded form of the negative existential, indefinite ***mm* should be removed from consideration as a member of the Ugaritic lexicon.

7.2.2 The Determinative/Relative *d* and Proposed Derivatives

The discussion of *mînama* and *mannama* in ch. 5 showed that these indefinite pronouns can take clausal complements, in which cases their semantics are comparable to those of free-choice free relatives. How do such examples compare to the semantic situation of simple free relative clauses in Ugaritic? And what grounds might there be supporting the identification of relative-derived indefinite pronouns in the language? These questions are treated in the present section.

7.2.2.1 The Determinative/Relative *d* and Ugaritic Free Relative Clauses

The determinative/relative pronoun *d* appears in a considerable range of uses²³ but contexts of relevance for the present discussion are those in which *d* heads a free relative clause alone (i.e., with no antecedent). Such free relatives in Ugaritic typically incorporate semantic definiteness, referring to specific individuals or items, the identity of which is either unknown or is known but left (at least temporarily) unmentioned. I have found no clear examples in which a modalized/intensionalized force like that attending *mnm*-clauses is clearly or necessarily present. Consider these examples, drawn from several genres:

(3) **RS 2.[003]⁺ iii 38 (= KTU 1.14)²⁴ (myth)**

p d . ïn . b bty . ttn

pa dā 'ênu bi bêti=ya tatin

and REL NEG in house-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS give-G.JUSS.2MS

“Instead, that which is not in my house you must give!”

²³ See Tropper 2000/2012: 234-238, 897-899, and especially del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 252-256.

²⁴ The text is presented following the epigraphic study in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

(4) **2.[004] i 29'** (= *KTU 1.17*)²⁵ (myth)

grš . d . 'šy . lnh

gārišu *dā 'āšiyu* *lêna=hu*

expel-G.ACT.PTCP.M.SG.ABS REL harm-G.ACT.PTCP.M.SG.ABS to=*na*=him.3MS

“(a son . . .) who will drive out the one who does him harm”

(5) **RS 3.340 i 17-18** (= *KTU 1.18*)²⁶ (myth)

[ti](18)ḥd . d it̄ . b kbdk

[*ta*]ḥudī *dā 'itu* *bi kabidi=ki*

seize-G.JUSS.2FS REL EXIST in liver-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=*your*.2FS

“take hold of that which you desire (lit. that which is in your liver)”

(6) **RS 92.2014:1**²⁷ (incantation)

dy . l . yd' . yšhk

dū=ya lā yadū'u *yašūḥu=ka*

REL=*ya* NEG know-G.PASS.PTCP.M.SG.ABS cry-G.IPFV.3MS=*you*.2MS

“(When) the one who is not known cries out to you . . .”²⁸

²⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 172-177.

²⁶ The text is presented following the epigraphic study in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

²⁷ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 221-222, with further bibliography.

²⁸ This is the position reflected in the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2001b; see similarly Ford 2002; Tropper 2012: 234, 476, 805, 835; del Olmo Lete 2014: 173, 176). An alternative approach is suggested by Hawley (2004: 41-48, 63), for whom {dy} is an imperative of √ydy, “cast out.”

(7) **RS 17.117:18'-19'²⁹** (epistolary)

d ʿtt`n ly w št`n`[] (19') b spr

dā tatinu lay=ya wa šīta=nnu bi sipri

REL give-G.IPFV.2MS to=me.1CS and put-G.IPV.2MS=it.3MS in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“What/that which you intend to give to me, record it in a document.”

(8) **RS 94.2592:10'-12'³⁰** (epistolary)

w . ānk (11') yd`t . . d . āš`k`n (12') lhm

a. *wa `anāku yādi`atu dā `ašakkinu lê=humu*

and I.1CS know-G.ACT.PTCP.F.SG.ABS REL assign-D.IPFV.1CS to=them.3MP

“I know what/that which I will assign to them.”

b. *wa `anāku yādi`atu dā `ašakīnu lê=humu*

and I.1CS know-G.ACT.PTCP.F.SG.ABS REL be-Š.IPFV.1CS to=them.3MP

“I know what/that which I will prepare for them.”³¹

Example (3) may provide the clearest case of the use of a free relative to refer to a specific, known entity, as the speaker goes on in the immediately following sentence to specify his demand (namely, the princess *Hurraya*). The force of the free relative certainly cannot incorporate free-choice semantics (#“whatever my house lacks; anything that my house lacks”). Such a force is equally difficult to imagine for example (8). Examples (4)-(7), on the other hand, appear in contexts in which free-choice paraphrases are admissible but are not required. As a

²⁹ For the text, see the autopsy-based study of Pardee 1982: 45, but for the interpretation of the lines concerned, see Caquot 1978: 398 and Pardee 2002b: 109.

³⁰ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198).

³¹ For this alternative, see ch. 5 n. 39, above.

general rule, therefore, free relatives should be understood as definite descriptions, referring to a specific (even if only hypothetical) individual or group of individuals—in some cases identifiable and even known to the speaker. They need not be characterized by referential variation or modalization/intensionalization—in fact, in example (3) and probably (8), they cannot.

When something closer to free-choice semantics is desired, speakers use *mnm*. A comparable (though certainly not identical) semantic force can also be achieved by use of the universal quantifier heading a relative clause, as in this example:

(9) **RIH 78/03⁺:6-10³²** (epistolary)

(6) . . . yšlm . . . (9) . . . l . kl . d . ʔt (10) [l . špš . m]ʔk . rb

yišlam . . . lē kulli dī ʔtu [lē šapši

be.well-G.JUSS.3MS for all-GEN.M.SG.ABS REL EXIST to sun-GEN.F.SG.ABS

ma]lki rabbi

king-GEN.M.SG.ABS great-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“May it be well . . . for everything that the Sun, the Great King has (lit. everything there is to the Sun)”³³

In spite of this general tendency for Ugaritic free relatives to behave like definite entities (not indefinites or FCIs), there are two contexts in which quite distinct readings emerge: conditions and negation. Consider the following examples:

³² For the text, see Bordreuil and Pardee 2019: 178.

³³ The ellipses presented here do not indicate breaks in the text but rather content I have excluded to render the presentation more succinct. Between *yšlm* and *l kl d ʔt* appears a string of specific entities for which the addressee expresses a wish for well-being. This list is concluded with the domain-widening expression found in l. 9-10, consisting of the universal quantifier heading a relative clause.

(10) **RS 2.[014]⁺ v 32-33 (= KTU 1.3)³⁴ (myth)**

mlkn . àliyn . b'1 . tptn (33) in . d 'lnh

malku=nā 'al'iyānu ba 'lu t̄āpiṭu=nā

king-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=our.1CP mighty-NOM.M.SG.ABS DN rule-G.ACT.PTC.M.SG.SUFF=our.1CP

'ēnu dū 'alē=na=hu

NEG REL over=na=him.3MS

- a. “Our king is Mighty *Ba 'lu!* Our ruler—there is not anyone who is above him!”
- b. #“Our king is Mighty *Ba 'lu!* Our ruler—the one who is above him does not exist (anymore)!”

(11) **RS 92.2016:42³⁵ (colophon)**

w . in d ylm̄dnn

wa 'ēnu dū yalammid=annannu

and NEG REL learn-D.IPFV.3MS=him.3MS

- a. “and there is not anyone who (ever) taught (it) to him”
- b. #“and the one who used to teach (it) to him does not exist (anymore)”

³⁴ The text is presented following the epigraphic study in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author. See also RS 2.[008]⁺ iv 44 (= *KTU* 1.4), where the same affirmation is repeated.

³⁵ For the text, see the *editio princeps* of Caquot and Dalix (2001).

(12) **RS 94.2284:9**³⁶ (epistolary)

k ìn d šìln

kī 'ēnu dū ša'ila=ni

when NEG REL ask-G.PFV.3MS=me.1CS

- a. “when there was not anyone who asked me”
- b. #“when the one who asked me did not exist”

(13) **RS 94.2284:11**³⁷ (epistolary)

w ìn d . ytn . ly

wa 'ēnu dū yatana lay=ya

and NEG REL give-G.PFV.3MS to=me.1CS

- a. “and there was not anyone who gave (any) to me”
- b. #“and the one who gave (any) to me did not exist”

(14) **RS 94.2284:13**³⁸ (epistolary)

hm ìt . d ytn 'l' [. . .]

himma 'ītu dū yatana l[ay=ya]

if EXIST REL give-G.PFV.3MS to=me.1CS

- a. “if there was anyone who gave (any) to me”

Context: negative oath; paraphrase: “there was not anyone who . . .”

- b. #“if the one who gave (any) to me exists/existed”

³⁶ For the text, see the *editio princeps* of Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee (2012: 180-186).

³⁷ For the text, see the *editio princeps* of Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee (2012: 180-186).

³⁸ For the text, see the *editio princeps* of Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee (2012: 180-186).

Not one of these *d*-relatives can be said to have a specific referent, as the infelicity of the (b) translations above indicates. The fact that *d*-relatives can be employed as the argument of the existential *ʔt* and negative existential *ʔn* suggests that, at least in these cases, these expressions are semantically indefinite and are furthermore comparable to the semantics expressed by *mnm* under negation, as discussed in ch. 5, and to an extent, by *mhk/mnk*, as discussed in ch. 6.

A distributional distinction between these constructions is not difficult to discern at a narrowly descriptive level: *mnm* and *mhk/mnk* as predicate arguments under negation are not subject to further modification. If a speaker wished to offer further information about that argument, then a *d*-relative was employed instead, as in the examples above, or a simple participle, as in Biblical Hebrew.³⁹ One further point of distinction emerges as well, especially in comparison with the *k*-series: while (independent) *mnm* and *mhk/mnk* are employed with existential and modal predicates (always negated), the predicate associated with *ʔn* + *d* can be past episodic (see examples (12) and (13)). Only with the discovery of additional examples will we be positioned to determine whether either or both of these distributional differences is consistent or only coincidental.

As a final observation, Ugaritic is not unique in its use of the negative existential followed by a free relative. A number of other Semitic languages allow for identical constructions, which likewise result in API/NPI-like semantics (“there is not who VP” ≈ “no one VP”). During the El-Amarna Period, the expression *yānu ša* surfaces with similar values in several letters from Byblos (EA 75:19, 27-28; EA 91:10-11; EA 113:26-28, 41-42; EA 116:13-

³⁹ See Tropper 2012: 821 (sec. 88.21.b) for Ugaritic and Hebrew examples. Biblical Hebrew does not permit the use of ** *ʔn* *ʔser*—comparable negations obligatorily include an indefinite NP head (e.g., *ʔn* *ʔādām* *ʔser* *lō*(*ʔ*) *yeh*^e*tā*(*ʔ*), “there is not any man who does not sin” [1 Kgs 8:46 // 2 Chron 6:36]) or *ʔn* + participle (as in the example Tropper cites).

14).⁴⁰ Sabaic prohibitions may combine the negative *ʿl* and a *d*-free relative in a similar manner as well (*ʿl d* VP, “let no one VP”).⁴¹ Gəʿəz makes regular use of such expressions (*ʿalbo za*) as a means of negative predication.⁴² The question to address, therefore, is whether *in + d* had undergone (or was undergoing) grammaticalization in Ugaritic, and whether it should, as a result, be considered among indefinite pronouns. I turn to this question in the next subsection.

7.2.2.2 An indefinite pronoun *ind*?

The discovery of two texts during the 1992 and 1994 archaeological seasons at Ras Shamra brought to light a total of three new attestations of the expression *in + d*, presented above as examples (11)-(13). In their edition of the first of these (RS 92.2016), Caquot and Dalix (2001: 403) offered the following remark:

D’après l’orthographe de **ind** sans séparateur, connue maintenant par trois attestations (ici et dans le texte inédit RS 94.2284:9, 11), il est légitime de penser qu’il s’agit d’un nouveau lexème, une particule composée de la particule négative *in* et de l’élément d’allongement *-d*, ce dernier étant étymologiquement identique au pronom relatif. La composition de la particule est donc identique à celle du pronom/adjectif démonstratif *hnd* (< *hn + -d*).

The letter RS 94.2284 was subsequently published by Bordreuil and Pardee,⁴³ with the fuller *editio princeps* appearing in 2012 (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 180-186). In each of

⁴⁰ See also Rainey 1996: III:206. For the texts, see Rainey, Scniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015.

⁴¹ See Beeston 1984: 47; Sjörs 2018: 283; Multhoff 2019: 338.

⁴² See Dillmann 1907: 511.

⁴³ Bordreuil and Pardee 2004: I:155, II:97-99; 2009: 250-252.

these editions, the sequence in question is transliterated and vocalized without a space dividing the two items (thus {ind} /' ênudū/), and Bordreuil and Pardee include *ind* as a negative indefinite pronoun meaning “no one” in their glossaries (2004: II:146; 2009: 298). Several observations lead me to suggest that this sequence need not represent a fully grammaticalized negative indefinite pronoun, though incipient grammaticalization in that direction is conceivable.

First, the correspondence between *hnd* and *ind* suggested by Caquot and Dalix (2001: 403) is coincidental. The demonstrative pronoun *hnd* incorporates the widespread near demonstrative element *d* (< **dū*) and the deictic element *hn* (< *han=na*) (for which, see Hasselbach 2007: 20). The complete consistency with which *in* + *d* is followed by a predicate complement⁴⁴ illustrates that the *-d* element in this sequence carries the function of the relative pronoun *d* (the relative function of which is widespread in Semitic and likely represents a secondary development from its original demonstrative value).⁴⁵

This analysis finds even more persuasive support from the comparanda from other Semitic languages cited in the preceding section, especially the chronologically and geographically proximate instances of *yānu ša* in letters from Byblos. These examples are especially useful, as *ša* must be the Akkadian relativizer, and *yānu ša* must accordingly represent a negative existential followed by a relative clause and not a deictically-augmented negative existential functioning as an indefinite pronoun.

Other internal data point in a similar direction. While the three examples from 1992 and 1994 under discussion each lack a word-divider between the negative existential and the relative

⁴⁴ The complement consists of VP, as in examples (11)-(13), or is verbless, as in example (10) and its parallel cited above.

⁴⁵ See Huehnergard 2006: 114; Hasselbach 2007. Huehnergard and Pat-El (2018) have recently adopted the opposite position, claiming instead that the relative function was primary, the demonstrative secondary.

(thus {ind}), the word-divider is present in example (10) and its parallel.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the fact that *in + d* appears in RS 94.2284 alongside its positive counterpart *it + d* (see example (14) above) leads me to believe that the sequence {in d} was still recognized as consisting of the negative existential and a following free relative.

That being said, we can easily imagine that such a construction may have been subject to syntactic and accompanying lexical reanalysis of the following sort:

(15) **Hypothetical Grammaticalization of *ind***

- a. *'enu [dū VP]*_{free-relative argument of *in*} (reanalysis) >
 “There is not who VP”
- b. [*'enudū*]_{subject} VP
 “No one VP”

Such a development would represent a prime example of Haspelmath’s negative absorption (1997: 203-210) and would accordingly result in a negative indefinite pronoun that does not co-occur with sentential negation. That is, unlike *mnm* and *mhk/mnk*, a theoretical *ind* would contribute the negation of the clause on its own. The internal and comparative data discussed above lead me to conclude that such a development cannot be assumed to have taken place already in the Ugaritic language at the period of attestation, but the consistent omission of the word-divider in prose texts⁴⁷ likely dating to the end of the occupation of the city (see further

⁴⁶ I.e., RS 2.[014]⁺ v 33 // RS 2.[008]⁺ iv 44, in both cases {in . d}.

⁴⁷ Of course, RS 92.2016 itself is an incantation, but the relevant expression appears in the scribal colophon, which represents typical prose.

discussion of dating in ch. 8) may indicate that processes of reanalysis like that outlined in (15) were already underway.

7.2.2.3 An indefinite pronoun *m(n)dym*?

One further example of an indefinite pronoun derived from the relative pronoun *d* has been proposed in past studies. The relevant forms appear in a single document, RS 19.022. Virolleaud (1965: 176) published this document as a letter, and it has been so classified in all three editions of *KTU* (where it appears as 2.62), as well as in the studies of Ahl (1973: 464), Sanmartín (1988: 174), Prosser (2010: 492-494), and Pardee (forthcoming *a*).⁴⁸ The text is damaged, but the first eight preserved lines appear thus (presented here with the translation found in Prosser 2010: 493):

RS 19.022:1'-8'⁴⁹

(1') i[. . .]	<i>broken</i>
(2') d ṛ . - ṛ[] ṛ m ṛ[. . .]	who[. . .]
(3') bnš[--]mdym	man/men, whoever [?] ;
(4') w . b . ṛ gl ṛ b	and in/from <i>Galba</i>
(5') phnn . w .	he/they saw him [?] . And
(6') mndym	whoever
(7') bdnh . ṛ - ṛ	is in his hand(s)
(8') ṛ l ṛ [q] ḥ t	TAKE

⁴⁸ Dijkstra (1999: 142) expressed doubt regarding this classification without explaining his reasons for hesitation.

⁴⁹ The text is presented here following Pardee forthcoming *a*.

At issue is the interpretation of the sequence {mdym} in l. 3' and {mndym} in l. 6'. Virolleaud (1965: 176) only presented a copy and transliteration of the text in his *editio princeps*, making Ahl (1973: 464) the first to attempt a translation. She left {mdym} untranslated while suggesting “the ones expelled” for {mndym} in l. 6' (here apparently assuming a participial form of the root $\sqrt{\text{ndy}}$, [for which see Gordon 1965: 442, no. 1616; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 613]). Fifteen years later, Sanmartín (1988: 174-175) argued that the form in l. 3' should be emended ({m<n>dym})⁵⁰ and that both forms should be interpreted as alphabetic references to the *Ummān-Manda* people, i.e., as gentilic adjectival forms (e.g., /mandīyūma/), and this position now appears in a number of reference works.⁵¹ In his review of Tropper’s *Ugaritische Grammatik* (2000), however, Pardee (2003-2004: 78) observed that “in the first case the line reads {[-(-)]mdym}, i.e., at least one and perhaps two signs preceded the signs in question, and the resemblance between the two forms, may therefore, be only superficial.”

A different possibility is considered in Pardee (forthcoming *a*), adopted by Prosser (2010: 492-494), and it is this approach that requires consideration in the context of the present study. Specifically, these two scholars consider evaluating {mdym} in l. 3' and {mndym} in l. 6' as indefinite pronouns consisting of an interrogative base $m (+ n) + d + y + m$. Both authors are explicit regarding the uncertainty of the interpretation,⁵² but the inherent plausibility of indefinite pronouns incorporating WH-morphology requires us to weigh this possibility heavily. In the absence of further examples and, more importantly, for the reasons stated in the following paragraphs, I refrain from identifying these sequences as indefinite pronouns.

⁵⁰ Here he followed a suggestion already indicated in Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976: 162.

⁵¹ See del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000: 282; 2003: 562; 2015: 555; Tropper 2000/2012: 246. See also Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín (1976: 162; 1995: 188; 2015: 200), who suggest correcting the form in l. 3' to {m<n>dym}, perhaps reflecting a similar view. Tsumura (2005: 148) appears to assume a similar interpretation, though he takes the absence of /n/ in the first appearance as due to assimilation rather than scribal error.

⁵² See Pardee 2003-2004: 78, just quoted, as well as Prosser 2010: 493-494 (noting the broken context that “leaves a high degree of uncertainty over the interpretation of {mdym} and {mndym}”).

First, while the two forms appear in a very fragmentary context, one syntactic point is clear: the second may be construed as an indefinite relative,⁵³ but the former, which is followed immediately by the conjunction *w* cannot be. The form in l. 3', in other words, would necessarily play an argument role (subject or object) independently. While indefinite expressions derived from WH + relative are certainly attested (e.g., Aramaic *man dī*, “whoever”), these obligatorily take predicate complements as true indefinite relatives. To find a relative-derived indefinite without such a complement, as would be required here, would be somewhat surprising.

Second, the study of interrogative pronouns presented above in ch. 4 has shown that an interrogative *mV* cannot be reconstructed as a productive interrogative pronoun for Ugaritic. This virtually excludes the possibility of interpreting these pronouns as impersonal forms. While {*mndym*} could, in theory, reflect /*manna=dū=ya=ma*/, a form {*mdym*} is not expected to arise from **mah=dū=ya=ma* or **manna=dū=ya=ma*. The only way to account for the missing {*n*} in the form in l. 3' without emendation, then, would be to assume a personal referent, thus /*mīdūyama*/ (< **mīya=dū=ya=ma*) and /*mīnadūyama*/.

Third, the source construction for an indefinite pronoun consisting of WH + relative would necessarily involve a bare interrogative indefinite, for which there is no synchronic evidence of ongoing productivity in Ugaritic. If *m(n)dym* represents an indefinite, therefore, it must be a fully grammaticalized form, and presumably comparable in age to the *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns (which likewise depended on an original bare interrogative indefinite source, as discussed above). Put differently, the form cannot have arisen recently as a neologism, as the

⁵³ I.e., governing either a PP predicate, *bdnh* (“whatever/whoever is in his possession,” as in Prosser’s translation above), or, equally conceivably, a VP predicate *lqht* (“whatever/whoever I/you/she took from him”; the latter syntactic arrangement is suggested in Pardee forthcoming *a*).

required morphological input is no longer available in Ugaritic. Yet if it is an older form, why does it appear only here?

Finally, and less significantly, the addition of enclitic *-y* in both examples remains unaccounted for. If the form {*dy*} in RS 92.2014 (presented in example (6) above) is indeed a case of a free relative (rather than an imperative of \sqrt{ydy} , as Hawley [2004] believes), then perhaps a solution lies within reach (as that text would offer an example of a free relative introduced by *dū=ya*).

In a study devoted to gathering and describing attested Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, it is perhaps enough simply to note that the attestations of a putative indefinite *m(n)dym* are too few and too poorly understood to warrant inclusion. But if these forms are to be interpreted with reference to one another and are not taken as a reference to the *Ummān-Manda*⁵⁴ or as an indefinite, how might we understand the forms? One further possibility not previously presented merits consideration, though I offer this more for the sake of completeness than out of a sense of strong conviction—something the fragmentary state of preservation rules out in this case. Specifically, these two forms may represent a personal name.

Apart from grammatical “function words” (especially presentatives and discourse particles), where forms with and without *-n-* seem to proliferate, personal names represent the other major category of lexical items in which similar items appear with and without *-n-*, and the partial viability of the phonological sequence */nC/* is especially marked in representing names (though I am not aware of examples of different spellings of the same PN appearing in a single text).⁵⁵ The attestation of a PN *Mantēnu* at Ugarit is established (see Gröndahl 1967: 240) and has been compared to the similar (and possibly also Hurrian) PN *Mantiya* appearing in Hittite

⁵⁴ The difficulty of this position is noted in Prosser 2010: 493-494.

⁵⁵ See Gröndahl 1967: 205; Burlingame 2020: 197-198 with n. 9, 12, 13, 14.

documents (see Gröndahl 1967: 240; Laroche 1966: 113; Richter 2012: 242). That such a PN should be spelled in alphabetic cuneiform as {mndy}, i.e., with voiced /d/ would occasion no surprise (Gröndahl 1967: 207).

Personal names may bear the enclitic *-ma* in Akkadian texts, even multiple times,⁵⁶ so perhaps we have two mentions of an individual named *Mandiya(=ma)/Maddiya(=ma)* in this text. The syntactic frames in which the two items appear are compatible with (though they certainly do not require) an onomastic solution as well. PNs may follow the noun *bnš* in construct chains (compare l. 3' here⁵⁷ with *bnš klnmw* in RS 9.453:25'). A PN is also imaginable in l. 6', where it could represent the subject of a verbless predication (“and *Mandiya=ma* is under his supervision”), in which case *lqht* in l. 8' would belong with the following lines. Alternatively, the fact that individuals can be “taken” (as in RS 96.2039:4-5) leaves open the possibility of treating *mndym* in l. 6' as the object of *lqht* (“and I/you/she have/has taken *Mandiya=ma* from him”).

Finally, an onomastic solution *may* allow us to connect these data to one other instance of the sequence {mndy} found in the Ugaritic corpus. The administrative text RS 6.216, published by Herdner (1963) as *CTA* 134, includes a number of personal names. In line 5' of the text, Herdner (1963: 224) read {l[-]`dt ḥ`nd[r]t}. Pardee's (2001: 239) epigraphic reevaluation of the text established an improved reading, {`l-`dmnd`y-}, which he translated, “pour ` - `DMND`Y-” (2001: 247). Both texts remain too fragmentary to offer much in the way of mutual enlightenment, but the appearance of *-mndy-* in the document from the sixth campaign in what is

⁵⁶ As in the case of *ma-zi-ra-ma* in RS 16.153:13, 16 (= *PRU* III, p. 146); see van Soldt 1991: 514; 2010b: 320; see further Gröndahl 1967: 53 for the possibility that *-ma* may have, in some cases, marked Semitic hypocoristica.

⁵⁷ Of course, in this case we would be forced to assume that no grapheme is to be restored in the broken space between {bnš} and {mndym} in l. 3', except perhaps a word-divider.

in all likelihood a PN may lend some support to a similar analysis of {mdym} and {mndym} in RS 19.022.

7.2.3 Ugaritic *kl* and Related Quantifier Forms

Several grammatical and lexical studies have indicated an indefinite pronominal status for the Ugaritic universal quantifier *kl*⁵⁸ and the related forms *klkl*,⁵⁹ *kll*,⁶⁰ and *kl*.⁶¹ A number of possible motivations exist for treating the lexical counterpart to the logical universal quantifier as an indefinite pronoun.

First, as discussed in ch. 2, free-choice items have frequently been analyzed (erroneously) as universal quantifiers (giving rise to the “two *any*” hypothesis), and some indefinites (notably strict negative polarity items) may actually incorporate the universal quantifier in their semantics. The semantic proximity existing between indefinites and universals is reflected diachronically as well, as many lexical universal quantifiers originated as free-choice determiners (Haspelmath 1995: 369-376). Perhaps, therefore, the treatment of *kl* and its associates as indefinites simply represents an attempt to capture this proximity.

Second, the form *klkl* has been identified as an indefinite more frequently than other *kl*-derived lexemes, and its reduplicative morphology may be in part responsible for this. Reduplication can be associated with distributive plurality (as discussed in the preceding chapter), but it is also very commonly found in the morphological composition of indefinite

⁵⁸ Tropper 2000/2012: 244; Schniedewind and Hunt 2007: 157.

⁵⁹ Tropper 2000/2012: 245; 2002: 27; 2008: 57; Schniedewind and Hunt 2007: 157; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 435 (a new entry appearing in the third edition of this lexicon); Watson 2018: 393; Tropper and Vita 2019: 488; 2020: 77.

⁶⁰ Cunchillos and Zamora 1995: 56; Tropper 2000/2012: 246; 2002: 27; 2008: 57.

⁶¹ Tropper 2000/2012: 246.

pronouns (Haspelmath 1997: 179-182). Might this fact—well known to Semitists familiar with Akkadian—have influenced the handling of *klkl*?

Third, the form *klkl* appears in two Ugaritic legal texts (RS 16.382:9-10; RS 94.2965:18) in a formulaic expression, of which the typical Akkadian counterpart is *qadu gabbi mimmûšu*.⁶² The latter expression, in spite of incorporating a noun derived from an indefinite pronoun (*mimmû*), clearly exhibits universal quantificational values. Huehnergard (1989: 140) appropriately glosses *mimmû* as “all, everything, property,” and notes that it is always preceded by the universal quantifier *gabbu* in Ras Shamra Akkadian texts. Far from suggesting an indefinite value for Ugaritic *klkl*, this equivalence instead illustrates its universal quantificational value.

Fourth, and perhaps most significantly, the Biblical Hebrew cognate universal quantifier *kōl* exhibits unusual behavior for a universal quantifier. Specifically, it frequently behaves like an API in sentences involving conditions and negation:

(16) **Gen 3:1 (MT)**

lō(ʾ) tōkālū^w mik=kōl ʿēš hag=gān

NEG eat-G.IPFV.3MP from=all tree-M.SG.CSTR DEF=garden-M.SG.ABS

- a. “You shall not eat from any tree in the garden.”
- b. #“You shall not eat from every tree in the garden.”

⁶² See Márquez Rowe 2006: 224; this fact is cited explicitly by Tropper (2000/2012: 245) as support for his claim that “ug. *klklh* entspricht semantisch akk.EA *gabbi/kali mimmi* . . . und akk. *mimma šum/nšu*.”

(17) **Jdgs 13:14 (MT)**

wə=kol tum 'ā^h 'al tō(')kal

and=all uncleaness-F.SG.ABS NEG eat-G.JUSS.2MS

- a. “And you are not to eat anything unclean.”
- b. #“And you are not to eat everything unclean.”

(18) **2 Sam 12:3 (MT)**

wə=lā=rāš 'ē^yn kōl kī^y 'im kibśā^h 'aḥat qəṭannā^h

and=to.the=poor-M.SG.ABS NEG all except lamb-F.SG.ABS one-F.SG.ABS small-F.SG.ABS

- a. “But the poor man did not have anything except one small ewe-lamb.”
- b. #“But the poor man did not have everything except one small ewe-lamb.”

(19) **Lev 27:11 (MT)**

wə='im kol bəhēmā^h ṭəmē'ā^h . . . wə=he^e mī^yd

and=if all animal-F.SG.ABS unclean-F.SG.ABS and=stand-C.IPFV(wSC).3MS

'et hab=bəhēmā^h lipnê^y hak=kōhēn

ACC DEF=animal-F.SG.ABS before DEF=priest-M.SG.ABS

- a. “But if (it is) any unclean animal . . . then he shall place the animal before the priest.”
- b. #“But if (it is) every unclean animal . . . then he shall place the animal before the priest.”

Others have noted the (typologically unusual) fact that the Hebrew universal seems to be employed in free-choice expressions as well.⁶³ Perhaps the Ugaritic grammarians cited above believe that Ugaritic, like Hebrew, allowed *kl* and its derivatives to appear in free-choice and other affective environments, in which indefinite semantics are more easily attributed to the forms.

Each of these four observations underscores the legitimacy of examining Ugaritic universal quantifiers to determine whether any (or all) of them may appear in distributions ordinarily associated with indefinites or exhibit other behavior consistent with quantificational variability (unusual for a lexical *universal*). Such proposals must, however, be evaluated on the strength of the examples they invoke. And here we arrive at the real oddity of this proposal: while a number of scholars (cited above) have claimed indefinite values for these *kl*-items, when they provide actual text examples, they translate the lexemes in question as true universals in nearly every case. Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2015: 435) present *klkl* as a noun (*sic*) meaning “anybody, anyone, anything possible, anything at all,” yet in the text examples they cite, they translate the term as “everything,” “every thing,” and “completely” or “everyone.” Tropper (2000/2012: 244-246) presents a number of examples for each of these *kl*-items, yet he translates them with “alle” or “jeder” in nearly every case. The only exception comes from RS 24.260:10, which he presents thus: “*kl l ylh̄m bh* ‘ein jeglicher(?) darf/soll davon essen’ 1.115:10 (alt.: *kl l ylh̄m* ‘jedweder darf/soll fürwahr davon essen’ . . .)” (2000/2012: 246). Yet even in this example, there is no reason to doubt a true (distributive-)universal value (see Pardee 2000: 644, “chacun en mangera”).

⁶³ See Glinert 1982: 461; Haspelmath 1997: 156 n. 13; Mittwoch 2001: 280 n. 10.

As the proponents of this alignment of *kl* and related derivatives have not yet presented an example in which *kl* must mean “any(thing/one),” I see no reason to attribute indefinite values to these quantifiers. The Hebrew data noted above, however, suggest that a review of examples of *kl* in conditions and under negation would be the place to start to determine whether this proposal merits further consideration. The only such example I have identified comes from a letter discussed several times already (RS 94.2592):

- (20) **RS 94.2592:3'-5'⁶⁴** (epistolary)
- w . ʾānk . ʾinny (4') yd't . kl . bnšm (5') dt . ḥbt̄ . t̄mn
- wa ʾanāku ʾēnu=na=ya yādi ʾatu kulla*
- and I.1CS NEG=*na=ya* know-G.ACT.PTCP.NOM.F.SG.ABS all-ACC
- bunušīma dāti ḥabaṭū t̄ammāna*
- b.personnel-OBL.M.PL.ABS REL work-G.PFV.3MP there*
- a. “I do not know **any** of the *bunušu*-personnel who have worked there.”
- b. “I do not know **all** of the *bunušu*-personnel who have worked there.”

With this statement, the sender of RS 94.2592 provides an explanation for her immediately following demand: “Now you are to record all of the *bunušu*-personnel who have worked there in a document and have it sent to me here” (*ht ʾt kl bnšm dt ḥbt̄ t̄mn by spr št w štn hndh ʾmy*). The context allows for either (20a) or (20b): the sender may want an exhaustive roster because she does not know *any* of their names or simply because she does not know *all* of them. The

⁶⁴ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198).

latter has been preferred by previous interpreters.⁶⁵ Even Tropper (2012: 718, also 822), who, as we have seen, supports an indefinite classification of *kl*, assumes that the universal in this case outscopes negation: “Ich (fem.) aber kenne nicht alle Sklaven die (von) dort weggelaufen sind.”⁶⁶

Until clear examples are available for Ugaritic *kl*, *klkl*, *kll*, or *kl̄t* employed with semantics other than that of a universal quantifier, we will be better served by simply acknowledging the semantic proximity occasionally existing between such quantifiers and true indefinites than by suggesting an indefinite classification for Ugaritic *kl*-items.

7.3 Indefinite Pronouns Derived from Generic Nouns?

I discussed in ch. 2 the fact that many indefinite pronouns are formed on non-interrogative bases, among which generic nouns hold pride of place (see sec. 2.2; 3.5.4.1). At the same time, generic nouns also comprise one of the leading *alternative* strategies for indefinite pronominal use (see sec. 2.6.2). This entails that generic nouns (nouns referring to a general ontological category, such as *person*, *thing*, etc.) and other related items (such as the numeral *one*) are (1) likely to appear in distributional frames comparable to those in which indefinite pronouns appear and (2) are likely to undergo grammaticalization to generate further indefinite pronouns over time. These observations have been made in the past with respect to other Semitic languages as well. Note, for example, Brockelmann’s (1913: 84) early observation that the numeral *one* can be used as an indefinite pronoun in Arabic, but that this is “meist erst in negative Sätzen der Fall . . . und so

⁶⁵ Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 197 (“Et moi, pour ma part, je ne sais pas du tout (qui sont) tous les membres du personnel”); Prosser 2010: 545-546 (“Now, I myself do not know all of the men who are working as *hpt*-personnel there”); del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 942 (“and I do not know all the individuals who are *h̄*.”).

⁶⁶ This translation depends on glossing the verb $\sqrt{hb\bar{t}}$ as “to flee” (rather than “to work, labor”), a widely held view in Ugaritic lexicography (see del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 381, with further bibliography). For the view that this verb refers instead to performing labor (a view supported by more recent textual finds), see Pardee 2003-2004: 70-71.

auch schon in hypothetischen und fragenden Sätzen, die negativem Sinn sich nähern.” Moshavi’s (2018) recent study of Biblical Hebrew *dābār* (“word, thing”), in which she argues that this noun appears in distributions identical to those of the indefinite *mə’ūw mā^h* but is not itself yet fully grammaticalized as an indefinite pronoun (as it is in Modern Hebrew), provides another example. An assessment of the Ugaritic indefinite pronominal system must, therefore, consider whether generic nouns and related items are comparably used and whether they evince processes of grammaticalization or simply represent alternative strategies.

In fact, the data available to us illustrate the use of some generic nouns in distributions highly comparable to those of indefinite pronouns. This has, at times, led scholars to treat such nouns as if they were in fact indefinite pronouns (at least in translation). I will suggest in this section that no generic noun or comparable item can be identified as functioning as a true indefinite argument pronoun, though two examples of generic noun phrases employed in adverbial functions may be farther along on a grammaticalization path toward pronominal status.

The expressions concerned in Ugaritic include the following: *āhd* (“one”), *mt* (“man”), *ādm* (“man”), and *bnš* (“person”), as well as adverbial uses of *ātr* (“place”) and *šhr tltt* (lit. “at dawn [i.e., tomorrow], on [day] three [i.e., the day after tomorrow]”). I note each of these, briefly, in turn.

The cardinal numeral *āhd*, “one,” functions in many languages as a minimal unit expression, and as such, it appears frequently in downward-entailing environments and especially in association with negation (see Haspelmath 1997: 183-184). A comparable situation obtains in Ugaritic, as the following examples illustrate:

- (21) **RS 15.013:4-5(?)**⁶⁷ (administrative)
- w . pát . àḥt (5) in . bhm
- wa PÁT ’aḥḥattu ’ēnu bi=humu
- and edge(?)-NOM.F.SG.ABS one-NOM.F.SG.ABS NEG in=them.3MP
- “And there is not a single *pát* (edge?) in them.”⁶⁸

- (22) **RS 94.2592:2**⁶⁹ (epistolary)
- ù . àḥd . inn
- ’ū ’aḥḥadu ’ēnuna
- and one NEG
- “And there is not one . . .”⁷⁰

Generic nouns referring to human beings likewise appear in distributions comparable to those in which indefinite pronouns figure. Consider this example, involving the noun *mt*, which can be readily compared to prohibitive contexts in which personal *mînaka* and *mînama* appear:

⁶⁷ For the text, see the *editio princeps* of Virolleaud (1957: 172) and *KTU* 4.136.

⁶⁸ The interpretation of this text remains uncertain, in part due to the fact that the term meaning “edge” ordinarily appears as {pât} in the singular, not {pát}, as here. Without a clearer understanding of what the objects under discussion are (namely, *šmdm* (*tlm*?) and what it is they are here said to lack, it remains impossible to rule out an alternative translation, “And they lack a single *pát*” (a possibility noted in Tropper 2002: 110 n. 266; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 649; preferred by Sanmartín 1991: 199 n. 158 and McGeough 2011: 100). Tropper (2000/2012: 821) prefers the approach indicated in example (21) above, and I find this to be the most straightforward possibility as well (the second alternative just noted should be expressed with a form of $\sqrt{\text{hsr}}$, “to lack,” not the negative existential). Others adopting this position (regardless of their lexical assessment of {pát}) include Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1973: 99; Dijkstra and de Moor 1975: 179 n. 82; and Widbin 1985: 49.

⁶⁹ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198).

⁷⁰ The rest of the line is lost, rendering a more complete presentation impossible.

(23) **RS [Varia 14]:12-14 (= KTU 3.9) (legal)**

àl . ydd (13) mt. mrzḥ (14) w yrgm . . .

ʿal yiddad mutu marziḥi wa yargum . . .

NEG arise-N.JUSS.3MS man-NOM.M.SG.CSTR m.association-GEN.M.SG.ABS and say-G.JUSS.3MS

“Let no member of the *marziḥu* arise and say . . .”

(24) **RS 15.111:12-17⁷¹ (legal)**

mnk . (13) mⁿkm . l . yqḥ (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ʿbdmlk . . . (17) . . . ʿd . ʿlm

mînaka mînaka=ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā

WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this

bîdê ʿabdîmilki . . . ʿadê ʿālamî

from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“No one at all shall take this house from the possession of *ʿAbdîmilku* . . . forever.”

(25) **RS 94.2457:22'-23'⁷² (epistolary)**

[. . .]mlātk (23') [. . .]mnm . àl . yns

. . . *mal'aktV=kV* . . . *mînama ʿal yanus*

messenger.party-?.F.SG.SUFF=your.2?S WH-M NEG flee-G.JUSS.3MS

“. . . your messenger party . . . let no one flee (lit. let not anyone flee)!”

⁷¹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

⁷² For the text see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 194-196; Pardee forthcoming *a*.

This noun may be used with a similarly non-specific referent in a divinatory protasis found on an inscribed lung model:

(26) **RS 24.277:23**⁷³ (divinatory)

hm mt y'1

himma mutu ya'lu

if man-NOM.M.SG.ABS go.up-G.IPFV.3MS

“if a man/someone attacks”⁷⁴

The noun *adm* (cognate to Biblical Hebrew *'ādām*) has been similarly handled in a letter from the Hittite king to *'Ammurāpi*:

(27) **RS 18.038:33-34**⁷⁵ (epistolary)

adm (34) a₁tr . i₁ . bqt

'adama 'atra 'itu baqqit

man-ACC.M.SG.ABS place-ACC.M.SG.ABS EXIST seek-D.IPV.2MS

“Search for such a man/someone, wherever he may be, . . .”⁷⁶

Ford (2008), who advocates treating *adm* here as an indefinite reference to “someone,” draws an explicit comparison to the putative use of the generic noun *bnš*, “person,” in

⁷³ For the text and interpretation, see Pardee 2000: 712-727 (esp. p. 723); 2002a: 129-131.

⁷⁴ The English indefinite *someone* is employed as a translation equivalent by Pardee (2002a: 131).

⁷⁵ For the text see Pardee 1981; for the interpretation assumed here, see Pardee 2002b: 95.

⁷⁶ Pardee translates “A man” (1981: 152) and “(Such) a man” (2002b: 95), though he compares the use of the term here to the indefinite use of Biblical Hebrew *'ādām*, “anyone” (1981: 156), a comparison Ford (2008: 290-295) depends on to suggest a more obviously indefinite value for the noun, translating, “(from) someone, wherever it may be, request” (2008: 278).

comparably indefinite distributions. The examples typically cited (and which Ford [2008: 292-293] does in fact cite) are presented here, followed by nearly identical expressions involving the *k*-series personal NPI *mînaka*:

(28) **RS 16.382:15-18**⁷⁷ (legal)

šħr . tġ'ġ't (16) **bnš bnšm** . (17) l . yqħnn . bd (18) b'ln

šħra talāṭata bunušu bunušu=ma

at.any.future.time *b*.personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS *b*.personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS=FOC

lā yiqqaḥanna=nnu bîdê ba'lāna

NEG take-G.ENERG.3MS=it.3MS from PN

“Let no *bunušu* at any future time take it from the possession of *Ba'lānu*.”

(29) **RS 94.2965:11-14**⁷⁸ (legal)

bnš . l . yqħ (12) 'psm . hnmt (13) bd . ybnn (14) 'd . 'l'm

bunušu lā yiqqaḥ(u) 'upasīma hannamati

b.personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS NEG take-G.IPFV/JUSS.3MS boundary-OBL.M.PL.ABS these

bîdê yabnīni 'adê 'ālamī

from PN forever

“No *bunušu* shall take these boundary stones from *Yabnīnu*, forever.”

⁷⁷ For the text, see Hawley and Pardee 2007. For the interpretation of *bnš bnšm* assumed here, see Loewenstamm 1958-1959: 76 = 1980: 62; Liverani 1964; 1997; Tropper 2000/2012: 831; Hawley and Pardee 2007: 30-31.

⁷⁸ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2012: 141-145).

(30) **RS 15.111:12-17**⁷⁹ (legal)

mnk . (13) **m^rn^hkm** . l . yqḥ (14) bt . hnd . bd (15) ‘bdmlk . . . (17) . . . ‘^hd . ‘lm

mînaka mînaka=ma lā yiqqaḥu bêta hannadā

WH=K WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS house-ACC.M.SG.ABS this

bîdê ‘abdîmilki . . . ‘adê ‘ālamî

from PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“No one at all shall take this house from the possession of ‘*Abdîmilku* . . . forever.”

(31) **RS 15.125:12'-15'**⁸⁰ (legal)

w **mnkm** . l yqḥ (13') spr . mlk . hnd (14') b yd . ṣṭqšlm (15') ‘d ‘lm

wa MNK=ma lā yiqqaḥu sipra malki

and WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS document-ACC.M.SG.CSTR king-GEN.M.SG.ABS

hannadā bi yadi ṣṭqîšalimî ‘adê ‘ālamî

this from hand-GEN.M.SG.CSTR PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“And no one shall take this royal document from the hand of *Ṣṭqîšalimu* forever.”

The obvious similarity between these expressions (as well as their Akkadian counterparts in locally produced Akkadian land grants) has led many in the past to treat *bnš* in these contexts as true indefinite expressions: “no one shall take.” The translations offered above represent the alternative approach, discussed by Hawley and Pardee (2007: 30-31), which remains equally plausible. Because this use of *bnš* appears only in legal texts, we have no way to be certain that

⁷⁹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012: 252-253.

⁸⁰ For the text, see Pardee 2010a: 104.

the term is not being employed with narrower, technical application to royal personnel members (the *bunušū malki*), in which case (28) and (29) would *not* be synonymous with (30) and (31), but would rather incorporate what could turn out, legally speaking, to represent a significant distinction. The former would preclude repossession by any member of the royal personnel, while the latter would exclude repossession by anyone at all.

None of these generic nouns is attested in indefinite uses with sufficient regularity or with a sufficient spread across genres to suggest full or even partial grammaticalization. They are better recognized as alternative approaches to indefinite expression, standing alongside true indefinite pronouns as means available to speakers/writers to make non-specific reference to individuals or entities under discussion.

Where we may observe something closer to grammaticalized indefinite expressions derived from generic nouns is in two adverbial expressions. The first of these involves the noun *ʾtr*, “place,” which may be used in two texts as an indefinite relative,⁸¹ “wherever”:

- (32) **RS 18.038:33-34⁸²** (epistolary)
- ʾadm (34) *ʾtr . it̄ . bqt*
- ʾadama* *ʾatra* *ʾitu baqqit̄*
- man-ACC.M.SG.ABS place-ACC.M.SG.ABS EXIST seek-D.IPV.2MS
- “Search for such a man, wherever he may be, . . .”

⁸¹ See similarly del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (1996-2000: 62; 2003: 127; 2015: 124), who register {*ʾtr*} in the first text cited below as an adverb meaning “where.”

⁸² For the text see Pardee 1981; for the interpretation assumed here, see Pardee 2002b: 95.

(34) **RS 29.093:27-29**⁸⁵ (epistolary)

p l . yšb'1 (28) ḥpn . l b'ly (29) **mnm . it̄** . l 'bdk

pa la yašab'ilu ḥupâna lê ba'li=ya

then indeed make-C.IPFV.3MS garment-ACC.M.SG for master-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

mannama 'itu lê 'abdi=ka

WH=M EXIST to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

“Then, whatever your servant has, he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (*scil.* you).”

(35) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'**⁸⁶ (epistolary)

w . ḥpt̄ (13') p . **mnm h'w'** . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa ḥuptu pa mînama huwa wa bi sipri

and *ḥuptu*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any) *ḥuptu*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

Of similar interest is the binomial temporal expression *šhr tltt*, which strictly means “at dawn (i.e., tomorrow), on (day) three (i.e., the day after tomorrow),” but which functions as something much closer to a scalar indefinite in Ugaritic legal prohibitions:

⁸⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241.

⁸⁶ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

(36) **RS 16.382:15-18**⁸⁷ (legal)

šḥr . tlt̄t̄ (16) bnš bnšm . (17) l . yqḥnn . bd (18) bʿln

šahra talātata bunušu bunušu=ma

at.any.future.time b.personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS b.personnel-NOM.M.SG.ABS=FOC

lā yiqqaḥanna=nnu bîdê baʿlāna

NEG take-G.ENERG.3MS=it.3MS from PN

“Let no *bunušu* at any future time at all take it from the possession of *Baʿlānu*.”

(37) **RS [Varia 31]:11-13**⁸⁸ (legal)

ʾal . šḥr . tlt̄t̄ (12) ybqt̄ . šmhm (13) b . spr

ʾal šahra talātata yabaqqit̄ šuma=humā

NEG any.time.at.all seek-D.JUSS.3MS name-ACC.M.SG.SUFF=their.3MD

bi sipri

in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“At no future time at all should anyone seek their name in a document.”

The precise classification of this indefinite expression is difficult to determine due to the availability of only two examples (provided above), of which the second is of disputed interpretation (see Burlingame forthcoming *a* for details), but its force clearly goes beyond the literal referent of the two nouns of which the expression is composed. In a forthcoming study (Burlingame forthcoming *a*), I liken elements of the behavior of *šḥr tlt̄t̄* to FCIs and closely

⁸⁷ For the text, see Hawley and Pardee 2007. For the interpretation of *bnš bnšm* assumed here, see Loewenstamm 1958-1959: 76 = 1980: 62; Liverani 1964; 1997; Tropper 2000/2012: 831; Hawley and Pardee 2007: 30-31.

⁸⁸ For the text, see the *editio princeps* of Bordreuil and Pardee (2010: 9-10). For the genre and interpretation, see Burlingame forthcoming *a*; Burlingame, Hawley, and Pardee in preparation.

related items. This comparison is heuristic, offered as a convenient means of introducing issues of limited distribution and scalarity. The semantic (and often morphological) incorporation of disjunction in FCIs also provides a nice parallel for the disjunction arguably involved in the lexical composition of this Ugaritic expression (“tomorrow (**or**) the third day”). I do not, however, intend to suggest that *šhr tltt* is itself a FCI. As I describe it in Burlingame forthcoming *a*, it is “an indefinite expression most readily comparable to free choice items and *any(-at-all)* type expressions in English and other languages.” The latter member of this conjunct is included intentionally: *šhr tltt* is, in strict linguistic terms, perhaps more like NPIs than FCIs. But like strongly scalar NPIs and NPI-like items (such as English *ANY*), it shows important points of overlap with FCIs. In particular, the use of the expression under negation seems to invite the interlocutor to entertain a number of identity alternatives for the indefinite, including those deemed least likely, and to apply the sentential negative equally to all. To capture this overlap, consider the following:

(38) I didn’t see ANYone at ALL! (NPI-like *any-at-all*)

(39) Pick ANYone at ALL—I didn’t see them! (FCI-like *any-at-all*)

Strongly scalar negations like (38) involving *ANY* are, in distributional terms, most readily comparable to NPIs (as discussed in ch. 2). But their scalarity and their ill-suitedness to out-of-the-blue deployment suggests that something closer to (39) may actually motivate their use (and the formal overlap so frequently existing between NPI-like distributions and FCI-like distributions is, in diachronic terms, probably not coincidental). Ugaritic *šhr tltt* similarly appears

in strongly scalar prohibitions, for which paraphrases comparable to (39) are particularly appropriate, as indicated here:

(40) **Free-Choice/Indifference Paraphrase of (36)**

- a. Pick ANY future time at ALL—repossession is STILL illicit.
- b. It doesn't matter WHAT future time you consider, repossession is illicit.

(41) **Free-Choice/Indifference Paraphrase of (37)**

- a. Pick ANY future time at ALL—litigation is STILL illicit.
- b. It doesn't matter WHAT future time you consider, litigation is illicit.

In any event, we may be fairly certain that this binomial does not make literal reference to the two days following the conclusion of the legal transaction these texts record, but rather extends the prohibition provided in each case to any future time imaginable.

To summarize, while the generic noun *àtr* and the generic binomial *šhr tltt* may exhibit syntactic and semantic distributions indicative of partial grammaticalization, the remaining examples of generic nouns and the numeral *one* discussed above should be viewed as alternative strategies for indefinite expression rather than as true indefinite pronouns.

7.4 Conclusions

The preceding discussion leads me to conclude that the Ugaritic language exhibited only two series of fully grammaticalized indefinite pronouns, the *m*-series and the *k*-series. I have suggested that *mn* and *mnn* in RS 16.265—if they are not simply personal names—function as

placeholders rather than as true indefinite pronouns. The lexeme *mnmn* was set aside as belonging to a context too poorly understood to allow for certain lexical identification, though it may turn out to represent either a genuine Ugaritic (*mīnamīna*) or borrowed Akkadian (*manman-*) pronoun functioning as a placeholder. Even in the latter case, however, the function is distinct from that of true indefinite pronouns. The putative pronoun *mm* has been identified as a lexicographic ghost, as the sole example represents a case of clitic stacking following the negative existential *in*.

The Ugaritic relative *d* exhibits the semantically unexpected but comparative-linguistically unsurprising ability to introduce indefinite free relatives in conditional and negative environments. While the co-occurrence of the negative existential *in* and a *d*-free relative in several texts may suggest that Ugaritic *in + d* was starting down a grammaticalization pathway that produced comparable expressions in other Semitic languages (especially Gə‘əz *’albo za-*), other factors suggest that this was at best incipient in Ugaritic. The graphic sequences {mdym} and {mndym} appear in contexts too poorly understood to warrant inclusion, though I have argued that they may be better handled without appeal to indefinite pronominal classification, suggesting an onomastic evaluation as a provisional alternative.

Finally, I treated a number of generic nouns and related expressions, which are employed in Ugaritic as alternatives to indefinite pronominal use. These alternatives figure importantly in the assessment of productivity and textual and social distribution of indefinite pronominal use provided in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Social and Textual Distributions: Productivity, Register, Genre, and Style

8.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have presented linguistic analyses of the Ugaritic interrogative pronouns and indefinite pronouns incorporating WH-morphology. I have argued that only the *m*-series pronouns (*mannama* and *mînama*) and *k*-series pronouns (*mahka*, *mannaka*, and *mînaka*) represent indefinite pronouns in the terms outlined in ch. 2. I have also suggested that the morphological composition of each of these pronouns can be understood with reference to language-internal developments in such a way that a correlation between syntax, semantics, and morphology is recognizable, itself conforming to typological norms and consistent with the observable tendency across the Semitic language family for individual languages to employ innovative WH-morphological indefinite pronouns.

The present chapter is designed to nuance and extend this analysis in two ways. The first objective is more narrowly linguistic and consists of an assessment of the productivity of these pronouns within the Ugaritic language as it was spoken during the last century of the Late Bronze Age. This is a topic to which the Ugaritic corpus lends itself uniquely among Northwest Semitic corpora, consisting as it does of texts recovered in controlled excavations and representing a wide range of genres. I assess linguistic productivity in this discussion by treating the extra-textual (social) and textual (genre) distributions of these pronouns in an effort to determine where they stood on the spectrum running from full availability to all speakers in all situations to narrowly constrained availability to specific dialects/sociolects or stereotyped and perhaps frozen formulaic expressions.

In the first section below (sec. 8.1), I examine the distribution of the Ugaritic *m*-series and *k*-series with respect to a number of proxy indicators of social distribution, including the findspots of tablets in which these pronouns appear (sec. 8.1.1), any information that can be gleaned based on known individuals involved in the texts in which they figure (sec. 8.1.2), and their distribution through time, to the extent that this is discernible (sec. 8.1.3). The results are analyzed to determine whether indefinite pronouns from these two series can be associated with a particular social or chronological subset of the corpus. In the second section (sec. 8.2), I address the use of these pronouns by genre (sec. 8.2.1) and examine their formulaic and non-formulaic uses (sec. 8.2.2). The findings are evaluated to determine whether the social and textual distributions of these pronouns can shed light on their productivity in the language and/or registers or text-pragmatic functions with which their use was closely associated (sec. 8.3).

This relates to the second objective of the chapter, which is to illustrate in practice what was suggested in principle in the introduction to the present study (ch. 1). I claimed there that indefinite pronouns provide a compelling and fruitful object of study precisely because they are tightly connected to a wide range of semantic and pragmatic features of language and yet are empirically detectable in written texts in a way that such features—frequently expressed through stress, pitch, and body language—rarely are. I suggested that following these pronouns closely would lead to more significant literary and historical findings than one would ordinarily anticipate, delivering outsized results for their otherwise unassuming place in the grammar. My purpose in the present chapter is to show that this is in fact the case and to offer preliminary results that provide both a proper conclusion to this study and a starting point for future investigation.

8.1 Social Distribution

In this section, I present the texts in which indefinite pronouns appear together with their findspots, individuals associated with their production, and, where possible, their dating. Each of these is provided rapidly, as the picture that almost immediately emerges is one inconsistent with treatment of indefinite pronouns as features of a particular dialect or sociolect of Ugaritic. We rather observe a broad distribution in space, society, and time. This alone does not demonstrate their productivity in the language, but it represents a first and significant step in that direction.

8.1.1 Spatial Distribution

Tables 8.1 and 8.2 present the *m*-series and *k*-series pronominal attestations together with their findspots as indicated in *TEO*.¹

¹ Bordreuil and Pardee 1989; texts recovered after this publication are indexed online by the Ras Shamra Tablet Inventory (RSTI) project of the OCHRE Data Service of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (<http://ochre.lib.uchicago.edu/RSTI/teo.html>).

Table 8.1: Spatial Distribution of *m*-Series Pronouns²

Lexeme	Citation	Findspot (TEO)
<i>mannama</i>	RS 04.475:14-19	Acropole, M. du Grand Prêtre «Tr. 7 VI, p.t. 4-5» (= p.t. 431)
	RS 08.315:14-18	Ville Basse Est «Chantier IV, p.t. 358 à 0,10?»
	RS 09.479A:12-15	Butte NW Tell «p.t. S501 à 1,70»
	RS 11.872:11-13	Palais Royal (Archives Ouest)
	RS 15.008:16-20	Palais Royal, pièce 53 (Archives Est), p.t. 72, 73, à 0,70
	RS 15.111:18	Palais Royal, cour VI (Archives Centrales), p.t. 174 à 1,0
	RS 16.137[bis]:10-12	Palais Royal, pièce 64 (Archives Centrales), p.t. 537
	RS 16.379:9-11	Palais Royal, pièce 64 (Archives Centrales), p.t. 537 à 2,95
	RS 17.139:7-9	Palais Royal, pièce 56 (Archives Est), p.t. 901 à 1,10
	RS 18.031:7-9	Palais Royal, cour V (four), p.t. 1331 à 2,90
	RS 18.075:20-22	Palais Royal, cour V (four), p.t. 1331
	RS 18.075:23-25	Palais Royal, cour V (four), p.t. 1331
	RS 18.147:7-8	Palais Royal, cour V (four), p.t. 1331 à 2,90
	RS 18.287:4'-6'	Palais Royal «Palais . . . tamisage des déblais» (ed. pr.)
	RS 19.102:20-24	Palais Sud, pièce 203, p.t. 1678 à 2,30
	RS 19.158B:5'-6'	Palais Sud, pièce 204, p.t. 1647 à 2,30
	RS 20.199:14-17	Quartier Résidentiel, M. de Rapanu, pièce 6, p.t. 1821 à 1,0
	RS 29.093:27-29	Quartier Résidentiel, Tr. 101 E, p.t. 4647 à 0,80
	RS 34.124:8-9	Tas de déblais
	RS 92.2005:10-13	Quartier Sud Centre
	[RS 92.2005:30-32]	Quartier Sud Centre
	RS 94.2284:24-25	Quartier Sud Centre
	RS 94.2457:20'-22'	Quartier Sud Centre
	RS 94.2479:7-10	Quartier Sud Centre
	[RS 94.5003+:9-12]	Quartier Sud Centre
	<i>mînama</i>	RS 15.128:5-9
RS 94.2457:22'-23'		Quartier Sud Centre
RS 94.2592:12'-14'		Quartier Sud Centre
<i>MNM</i>	RS 34.124:33	Tas de déblais
	RS 94.2450:10'-12'	Quartier Sud Centre

² Throughout this chapter, I include the two examples of {mnm} found in RS 34.124 and RS 94.2450 (represented under *MNM* in this table), as these likely represent *m*-series indefinite pronouns. I separate them from lexeme-specific statistics, as it is impossible to determine with certainty whether they represent *mînama* or *mannama*. As they probably represent one of these, however, I do include them in tallies relating the *m*-series as a whole.

Table 8.2: Spatial Distribution of *k*-Series Pronouns

Lexeme	Citation	Findspot (<i>TEO</i>)
<i>mahka</i>	RS 16.379:20-24	Palais Royal, pièce 64 (Archives Centrales), p.t. 537 à 2,95
	RS 18.031:26-27	Palais Royal, cour V (four), p.t. 1331 à 2,90
	RS 29.095:13-15	Quartier Résidentiel, Tr. 13 S, p.t. 4661 à 1,20
	RS 94.2406:39-40	Quartier Sud Centre
	RS 94.2965:19-24	Quartier Sud Centre
<i>mannaka</i>	RS 94.2406:21-22	Quartier Sud Centre
<i>mînaka</i>	RS 15.111:12-17(x2)	Palais Royal, cour VI (Archives Centrales), p.t. 174 à 1,0
	RS 15.125:12'-15'	Palais Royal, pièce 31 (Archives Centrales), p.t. 155 à 2,80

As these tables illustrate, both series are attested widely across the site. This is especially true of the *m*-series. The *k*-series pronouns are not as widely distributed, but there are also far fewer total examples. The absence of both series from the North Palace at the neighboring site of Ras Ibn Hani is surely due to the nature of the textual corpus recovered from this site. According to Lagarce's (2019: 18) reconstruction of events, the North Palace was occupied by members of the royal family and administration only during the middle of the thirteenth century, while repairs were being made to the Royal Palace in Ugarit following an earthquake. Once these repairs had been completed, the administrators returned to Ugarit, taking with them all documents deemed sufficiently significant to require preservation and leaving less important documents behind. The final state of the archives, in other words, represents not the variety we expect for a living archive but rather the abandoned or forgotten texts culled from such an archive. The result has direct bearing on the genres found in the North Palace, which are predominately economic in character. As Pardee's (2019) catalog of Ugaritic texts from the site illustrates, legal texts functioning as actual instruments of legal procedure (a distinction discussed in greater detail below) are altogether absent, and only six epistolary documents have been recovered from this palace, all of which are fragmentary.

8.1.2 Individuals

Productivity and possible sociolinguistic factors influencing indefinite pronominal distribution can also be assessed by considering the individuals in relation to whom these texts were produced. Too little is currently known regarding the specific roles played by scribes in producing texts of different genres. They certainly played an active role in composing legal texts (Márquez Rowe 2006), but did they do the same with letters? Or do such epistolary documents reflect the speech of their senders more directly? To the extent that scribes were responsible for selecting and arranging the content of the texts they produced, they become more significant for sociolinguistic purposes even than the nominal “authors” or authority figures in whose names the texts were written.

Unfortunately, Ugaritian scribes did not typically identify themselves (never in epistolary documents and only rarely³ in alphabetic cuneiform legal documents), making it impossible to evaluate pronominal distribution relative to the sociological features of the scribes who put them into writing. But we can assess the degree to which patterns of usage align with sociological features of other individuals identified in the texts in which these pronouns appear. In Tables 8.3 and 8.4, therefore, I present *m*-series pronouns and *k*-series pronouns together with the names of the individuals identified as the senders (letters) or authorities (legal texts; for RS 15.128, I provide the names of the guarantors) and as the addressees (letters) or beneficiaries (legal texts) of the texts. I include relational designations and titles where these are indicated in the texts.

³ The first letter of the scribe’s name is preserved in RS 15.111; the scribe of RS 19.066 is preserved (*brqn*); see Pardee with Hawley 2010.

Table 8.3: Individual Anchors for *m*-Series Pronouns

Lexeme	Citation	Sender/Authority	Addressee/Beneficiary
<i>mannama</i>	RS 04.475:14-19	ᵛwrᵛr	ᵛlsy
	RS 08.315:14-18	tlmyn, ᵛᵛtᵛmlk (servants)	mother, lady (prob. queen)
	RS 09.479A:12-15	tlmyn (servant)	Queen (lady)
	RS 11.872:11-13	King of Ugarit (son)	Queen (mother)
	RS 15.008:16-20	tlmyn	ᵛryl (mother, [queen])
	RS 15.111:18	ᵛmtᵛmr (III, king)	ᵛbdᵛmlk (bn ᵛmtrᵛn)
	RS 16.137[bis]:10-12	ᵛllᵛr (servant)	Queen (lady)
	RS 16.379:9-11	King of Ugarit (son)	Queen (mother)
	RS 17.139:7-9	King of Ugarit	ᵛryl (mother, [queen])
	RS 18.031:7-9	King of Tyre	King of Ugarit
	RS 18.075:20-22	?	? (brother)
	RS 18.075:23-25	?	? (brother)
	RS 18.147:7-8	pᵛgn (father)	King of Ugarit (son)
	RS 18.287:4'-6'	?	? (master)
	RS 19.102:20-24	ᵛbd[...] (servant)	yᵛbnᵛn (master)
	RS 19.158B:5'-6'	?	?
	RS 20.199:14-17	ᵛrᵛgᵛttᵛb (servant)	Queen (lady)
	RS 29.093:27-29	pᵛnhᵛt, yᵛrmᵛhd (servants)	yᵛdrᵛm (master)
	RS 34.124:8-9	King of Ugarit (son)	Queen (mother)
	RS 92.2005:10-13	ᵛzilt (son)	ᵛurtᵛn (father) ᵛbdᵛr-ᵛr (mother)
	[RS 92.2005:30-32]	ᵛzilt	ᵛaby (sister)
	RS 94.2284:24-25	ᵛabny (sister)	ᵛurtᵛtb ᵛurtᵛn (brother)
	RS 94.2457:20'-22'	?	?
RS 94.2479:7-10	<i>sākinu</i> (servant)	Queen (lady)	
[RS 94.5003+:9-12]	?	Queen (mother)	
<i>mīnama</i>	RS 15.128:5-9	mtᵛn (bn ᵛbdym), ᵛlrb (bn ᵛilyn), ᵛbdᵛadt (bn ᵛbdkb)	mtᵛn (bn ᵛayᵛah)
	RS 94.2457:22'-23'	?	?
	RS 94.2592:12'-14'	?	?
<i>MNM</i>	RS 34.124:33	King of Ugarit (son)	Queen (mother)
	RS 94.2450:10'-12'	?	?

Table 8.4: Individual Anchors for *k*-Series Pronouns

Lexeme	Citation	Sender/Authority	Addressee/Beneficiary
<i>mahka</i>	RS 16.379:20-24	King of Ugarit (son)	Queen (mother)
	RS 18.031:26-27	King of Tyre	King of Ugarit
	RS 29.095:13-15	<i>tlmyn</i>	<i>pzy</i>
	RS 94.2406:39-40	<i>ilmlk</i>	<i>urtn</i> (brother)
	RS 94.2965:19-24	—	<i>ybn</i>
<i>mannaka</i>	RS 94.2406:21-22	Queen of Ugarit	<i>urtn</i>
<i>mînaka</i>	RS 15.111:12-17	<i>mtt̄mr</i> (III, king)	<i>bdmlk</i> (bn <i>amtrn</i>)
	RS 15.111:12-17	<i>mtt̄mr</i> (III, king)	<i>bdmlk</i> (bn <i>amtrn</i>)
	RS 15.125:12'-15'	<i>nqmd</i> (III, king)	<i>st̄qšlm</i>

These tables illustrate that indefinite pronouns are frequently found in letters from and/or to members of the royal family and in legal documents issued under direct royal authority. This is not itself surprising, as the royal administration is responsible for most of the alphabetic Ugaritic texts of these genres that we possess. Yet several examples of texts in which *m*-series pronouns appear cannot be directly connected to the royal family (RS 4.475, RS 19.102, RS 29.093, RS 92.2005, RS 94.2284, and RS 15.128).

We possess fewer examples of *k*-series pronouns, but the second letter found on the tablet RS 94.2406 (from *ilmlk* to *urtn*) has a non-royal sender and receiver. The case of RS 29.095 is ambiguous, as *tlmyn* could be the member of the royal family bearing that name or another individual with the same name.⁴

Two letters including *mannama* (RS 18.031 and RS 18.147) and one including *mahka* (RS 18.031) have foreign rulers as their senders: the king of Tyre is identified as the sender of RS 18.031, while the individual *pgn* who sent RS 18.147, describes himself as the “father” of the king of Ugarit (using the term {*ab*} rather than the term typically employed in prose, {*adn*}, likely underscoring the political nature of the relationship) and must accordingly be a foreign

⁴ See Burlingame and Pardee 2019: 199 n. 32 for bibliography on this individual. For the identity of the individual bearing this name in RS 29.095, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, ad loc.

ruler (possible identifications are presented in Pardee forthcoming *a*). Also noteworthy is the fact that the *m*-series and *k*-series are represented in letters from both male and female senders.

Taking what little we know about many of these individuals into consideration, a picture emerges that is comparable to that developed in the preceding section. Neither social rank nor gender appear to constrain indefinite pronominal use, suggesting a broader availability of these pronouns in sociolinguistic terms.

8.1.3 Chronological Distribution

Solidly datable Ugaritic texts are relative few and far between, but a number of the texts in which *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns appear can be dated with some precision:

Table 8.5: Chronological Anchors for *m*-Series Pronouns⁵

Lexeme	Citation	Anchor	Date
<i>mannama</i>	RS 08.315:14-18	<i>tryl</i> ?	last third of 13 th c., possibly into 12 th c.
<i>mannama</i>	RS 15.008:16-20	<i>tryl</i>	last third of 13 th c., possibly into 12 th c.
<i>mannama</i>	RS 15.111:18	<i>ḿttmr</i> (III)	middle third of 13 th c.
<i>mannama</i>	RS 17.139:7-9	<i>tryl</i>	last third of 13 th c., possibly into 12 th c.
<i>mannama</i>	RS 92.2005:10-13	<i>ḥrtn</i>	late-13 th to early 12 th c.
[<i>mannama</i>]	[RS 92.2005:30-32]	<i>ḥrtn</i>	late-13 th to early 12 th c.
<i>mannama</i>	RS 94.2284:24-25	<i>ḥrtn</i>	late-13 th to early 12 th c.

Table 8.6: Chronological Anchors for *k*-Series Pronouns⁶

Lexeme	Citation	Anchor	Date
<i>mahka</i>	RS 94.2406:39-40	<i>ḥrtn</i>	late-13 th to early 12 th c.
<i>mannaka</i>	RS 94.2406:21-22	<i>ḥrtn</i>	late-13 th to early 12 th c.
<i>mînaka</i>	RS 15.111:12-17	<i>ḿttmr</i> (III)	middle third of 13 th c.
<i>mînaka</i>	RS 15.111:12-17	<i>ḿttmr</i> (III)	middle third of 13 th c.
<i>mînaka</i>	RS 15.125:12'-15'	<i>nqmd</i> (III)	last quarter of 13 th c.

⁵ For the dates suggested here and in the next table for *tryl*, *ḿttmr*, and *nqmd*, see Singer 1999; van Soldt 1991: 15-18; Yon 2006: 24. For *ḥrtn*, the suggested dating is based on the date of the archives found in the “House of *Ḥrtēnu*” (the relevant details of which are summarized, with bibliography, in Burlingame 2020: 199-200 n. 17); *Ḥrtēnu* was a contemporary of *Ḥlīmilkū* the scribe, the chronological location of whom is discussed (with bibliography) in Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2015.

⁶ See previous note.

While not all attested indefinite pronouns appear in securely datable texts, those that do suffice to establish a chronological range of usage for each *series*. Pronouns from both series can be found in datable texts coming from the reign of 'Ammittamru III, under whose authority Ugaritic was likely first recorded in alphabetic cuneiform (Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2015), down to the period during which 'Urtēnu was active, in the years leading up to the destruction of the city. We lack evidence that would allow us to demonstrate the use of these pronouns specifically during the reign of the last king of Ugarit, 'Ammurāpi', but their availability during the reign of his predecessor, Niqmaddu III, and routinely in texts recovered from the "House of 'Urtēnu," most of which date to the reigns of Niqmaddu III and 'Ammurāpi', suggests that these pronouns remained available features of the written language for the entire period during which Ugaritic texts were produced.

8.1.4 Discussion

The distribution of indefinite pronouns and pronoun series cannot be shown to pattern in meaningful ways with findspot, specific sociological features of the individuals responsible for their use, or a particular chronological window. Instead, both series are available for use in texts found across the site of Ras Shamra, composed at the direction of individuals coming from a range of social positions and including men and women, and dating from the beginning of Ugaritic textual production using alphabetic cuneiform to the final decades of the history of the city. I conclude from these facts that dialect, sociolect, and diachrony can likely be excluded from consideration as factors directly or significantly defining indefinite pronominal distribution.

8.2 Textual Distribution

Far more suggestive are the ways in which indefinite pronominal distribution aligns with literary genre. The data relevant to the present section are presented in the following tables arranged by lexeme. The distributional parameters are discussed individually in the following subsections.

Table 8.7: Textual Distribution of *m*-Series Pronouns

Lexeme	Citation	Genre	Formula/Motif	Waw-Ap.
<i>mannama</i>	RS 04.475:14-19	epistolary	send word	+
	RS 08.315:14-18	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 09.479A:12-15	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 11.872:11-13	epistolary	information request	+
	RS 15.008:16-20	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 15.111:18	legal: grant	exemption	n/a
	RS 16.137[bis]:10-12	epistolary	information request	?
	RS 16.379:9-11	epistolary	information request	+
	RS 17.139:7-9	epistolary	information request	+
	RS 18.031:7-9	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 18.075:20-22	epistolary	provision	+
	RS 18.075:23-25	epistolary	provision	+
	RS 18.147:7-8	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 18.287:4'-6'	epistolary	information request	?
	RS 19.102:20-24	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 19.158B:5'-6'	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 20.199:14-17	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 29.093:27-29	epistolary	non-formulaic	n/a
	RS 34.124:8-9	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 92.2005:10-13	epistolary	information request	–
	RS 94.2284:24-25	epistolary	send word	+
	RS 94.2457:20'-22'	epistolary	send word	?
	RS 94.2479:7-10	epistolary	information request	+
	[RS 92.2005:30-32]	epistolary	information request	?
[RS 94.5003 ⁺ :9-12]	epistolary	information request	–	
<i>mînama</i>	RS 15.128:5-9	legal: guarantee	non-formulaic	–
	RS 94.2457:22'-23'	epistolary	non-formulaic	n/a
	RS 94.2592:12'-14'	epistolary	non-formulaic	+
<i>MNM</i>	RS 34.124:33	epistolary	non-formulaic	?
	RS 94.2450:10'-12'	epistolary	?	?

Table 8.8: Textual Distribution of *k*-Series Pronouns

Lexeme	Citation	Genre	Formula/Motif	Encl. -<i>m</i>
<i>mahka</i>	RS 16.379:20-24	epistolary	do not worry	+
	RS 18.031:26-27	epistolary	do not worry	–
	RS 29.095:13-15	epistolary	do not worry	+
	RS 94.2406:39-40	epistolary	non-formulaic	–
	RS 94.2965:19-24	legal: confirm.	exemption	+
<i>mannaka</i>	RS 94.2406:21-22	epistolary	non-formulaic	–
<i>mînaka</i>	RS 15.111:12-17	legal: grant	warranty	–
	RS 15.111:12-17	legal: grant	warranty	+
	RS 15.125:12'-15'	legal: exemp.	warranty	+

8.2.1 Genre

The Ugaritic textual corpus has been classified generically in a number of different manners. The compendium to which reference is most frequently made by researchers, *KTU* (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976; 1995; 2013), organizes the texts into the following categories: literary and religious texts (*KTU* 1), epistolary texts (*KTU* 2), legal and juridical texts (*KTU* 3), economic texts (*KTU* 4), scribal exercises (*KTU* 5), inscriptions (*KTU* 6), and various unclassified, illegible, and unpublished texts (*KTU* 7-10). This classificatory schema pays greatest attention to content (note the hybrid category of “literary and religious texts”). The contributions of Caquot and Sznycer to the *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* divide the texts into two overarching categories: literary texts (including myths, legends, ritual texts, divinatory texts, medical and hippiatric texts, and [surprisingly] letters) (Caquot 1979: 1361-1417) and administrative and economic texts (Sznycer 1979: 1417-25). Hawley (2012) has recently applied Oppenheim’s (1977: 13) classic functional dichotomy in terms relating to the purposes and processes of textual production, with texts falling into the two overarching categories of traditional (school texts, learned compendia, literary and poetic texts [including mythological and para-mythological texts]) and ephemeral texts (including legal texts, letters, administrative lists and accounts, and

cultic memoranda). The last of these will be taken as a point of departure, though further refinements in subcategorization will be incorporated below as needed.

8.2.1.1 Genres in which Indefinite Pronouns Appear

The data presented above illustrate that the *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns appear in only two genres: epistolary and juridical documents. Both of these comprise non-literary, administrative genres produced primarily in connection with the royal administration. The genre-specific distributions for each lexeme are summarized in this table:

Table 8.9: Generic Distribution by Lexeme

Lexeme	Genre	Texts	Attestations
<i>mannama</i>	epistolary	23	24
	legal	1	1
<i>mînama</i>	epistolary	2	2
	legal	1	1
<i>MNM</i>	epistolary	2	2
	legal	0	0
<i>mahka</i>	epistolary	4	4
	legal	1	1
<i>mannaka</i>	epistolary	1	1
	legal	0	0
<i>mînaka</i>	epistolary	0	0
	legal	2	3

The only indefinites restricted to a single genre are *mannaka*, which appears in only one (epistolary) text and *mînaka*, which appears in two legal texts. The low number of total attestations in both instances precludes treating these as genre-specific indefinites. These data are summarized similarly here by genre:

Table 8.10: Lexeme Frequency by Genre

Lexeme	Epistolary	Legal	Total
<i>mannama</i>	24	1	25
<i>mînama</i>	2	1	3
<i>MNM</i>	2	0	2
<i>mahka</i>	4	1	5
<i>mannaka</i>	1	0	1
<i>mînaka</i>	0	3	3
Total	33	6	39

Each indefinite pronoun except *mînaka* is better attested in letters than in juridical documents, but this can in most instances be understood to reflect the relative abundance of the two genres: we have at our disposal 119 Ugaritic letters⁷ but only 28 Ugaritic legal documents.⁸ In fact, the body of legal documents can be further subdivided based on a distinction proposed in Burlingame, Hawley, and Pardee (in preparation) between the *instruments* of legal practice and mere *mentions* of legal proceedings appearing in texts of other genres. All attested examples of indefinite pronouns appear in legal documents of the former sort, which number only seventeen.⁹

⁷ This tally counts individual letters, not tablets; tablets bearing two letters are accordingly counted twice (and indicated with a lowercase *a* or *b* placed after the inventory number). The texts include the following (treated in Pardee forthcoming *a*): RS 1.[081]; RS 1.[084]⁺; RS 1.013⁺; RS 1.018; RS 1.020; RS 1.021; RS 1.026⁺; RS 1.032; RS 1-11.[062]; RS 1-11.[118]; RS 2.[026]; RS 3.334; RS 3.427; RS 4.475; RS 8.315; RS 9.479A; RS 11.872; RS 15.007; RS 15.008; RS 15.098; RS 15.107; RS 15.158; RS 15.174; RS 15.191[A]; RS 16.078⁺; RS 16.137[bis]; RS 16.196⁺; RS 16.264; RS 16.265a; RS 16.265b; RS 16.379; RS 16.394; RS 16.401; RS 16.402⁺; RS 17.063; RS 17.117; RS 17.139; RS 17.327; RS 17.434⁺; RS 18.[312]; RS 18.[364]; RS 18.[380]; RS 18.[386]; RS 18.[387]a; RS 18.[387]b; RS 18.[443]; RS 18.[482]⁺; RS 18.[500]; RS 18.[508]; RS 18.[528]; RS 18.[565]; RS 18.[566]; RS 18.[568]; RS 18.031; RS 18.038; RS 18.040; RS 18.075; RS 18.113A⁺[B]; RS 18.134; RS 18.140a; RS 18.140b; RS 18.147; RS 18.148a; RS 18.148b; RS 18.250[D]; RS 18.285[A]; RS 18.286[A]⁺; RS 18.286[B]; RS 18.287; RS 19.011; RS 19.022; RS 19.029; RS 19.102a; RS 19.102b; RS 19.158 B; RS 19.181A⁺B; RS 20.199; RS 22.003; RS 24.660G; RS 29.093; RS 29.095; RS 34.124; RS 34.148; RS 34.356a; RS 34.356b; RS 88.2159; RS 92.2005a; RS 92.2005b; RS 92.2010; RS 94.2273; RS 94.2284; RS 94.2383⁺; RS 94.2391; RS 94.2406a; RS 94.2406b; RS 94.2428; RS 94.2429; RS 94.2450; RS 94.2457; RS 94.2479; RS 94.2537; RS 94.2545⁺; RS 94.2580; RS 94.2592; RS 94.2946; RS 94.2957; RS 94.2960; RS 94.5003⁺; RS 94.5009; RS 94.5015; RS 96.2039; RS 2000.2237.01; RS [Varia 4]; RIH 77/01; RIH 77/21A; RIH 77/25⁺; RIH 78/03⁺; RIH 78/12; RIH 78/25.

⁸ The roster of juridical documents to be treated in a study of Ugaritic juridical texts in preparation by Dennis Pardee, Robert Hawley, and myself includes the following: RS 5.197⁺; RS 11.772⁺; RS 15.093; RS 15.111; RS 15.125; RS 15.128; RS 16.191⁺; RS 16.382; RS 16.416; RS 17.[468]⁺; RS 17.007⁺; RS 17.074; RS 18.023; RS 18.035; RS 18.111; RS 18.113; RS 18.118; RS 19.066; RS 19.073; RS 19.166; RS 94.2168; RS 94.2965; RS [Varia 14]; RS [Varia 31]; RIH 83/12; RIH 83/39⁺; RIH 84/03; RIH 84/08.

⁹ RS 11.772⁺; RS 15.093; RS 15.111; RS 15.125; RS 15.128; RS 16.191⁺; RS 16.382; RS 17.074; RS 18.023; RS 18.035; RS 18.113; RS 18.118; RS 19.066; RS 94.2168; RS 94.2965; RS [Varia 14]; RS [Varia 31].

This means that Ugaritic letters outnumber legal instruments 7:1, a far greater ratio than the relationship of epistolary to legal attestations for any indefinite pronoun except *mannama*. Yet the majority of attestations of this pronoun appear in the epistolary *information request* formula.¹⁰ If we exclude these examples from consideration, we are left with five epistolary attestations of *mannama*, resulting in a 5:1 adjusted ratio for epistolary to legal attestations (again, less significant than the 7:1 ratio of epistolary texts to legal texts).

In fact, incorporating the subdivision of legal texts just identified allows us to recognize that indefinite pronouns are actually proportionately every bit as likely to appear in legal texts as in epistolary texts (epistolary: 33 total attestations in a genre represented by 119 texts [27.7%]; legal: 6 total attestations in a genre represented by 17 texts [35.3%]).

Examining the generic distribution in terms of the two series (for which we can include the two examples of *MNM* as well), on the other hand, suggests a more interesting relationship between pronominal form and genre:

Table 8.11: Series Frequency by Genre

Lexeme	Epistolary	Legal	Total
<i>m</i> -Series	28	2	30
<i>k</i> -Series	5	4	9
Total	33	6	39

This summary shows that the *k*-series is statistically better represented in legal texts than epistolary texts, even though its appearances in the former are numerically greater: with 4 attestations in a genre represented by 17 texts, its generic density stands at 23.5% in legal texts, while its 5 attestations in a genre represented by 119 texts yield a generic density of 4.2%. For *m*-

¹⁰ I use this term, coined in Hawley 2003, throughout the present chapter.

series pronouns, the reverse is the case. Employing the same method of calculation, we arrive at a generic density for the *m*-series of 23.5% (28/119) for epistolary documents and 11.8% (2/17) for legal texts. The significance of these statistics will be discussed further below in sec. 8.2.4, once further textual-distributional parameters have been considered.

8.2.1.2 Negative Space: Genres in which Indefinite Pronouns Do Not Appear

The previous subsection addresses the genres in which indefinite pronouns are actually attested. But what about other genres appearing in the Ugaritic textual corpus? Where do these indefinite pronouns *fail* to appear? Ephemeral texts lacking indefinite pronouns include administrative lists, accounts, and cultic memoranda. No traditional text (including scribal exercises, mythological poetic narratives, para-mythological poems, scientific texts [divinatory compendia and hippiatric manuals], and incantatory texts) exhibits indefinite pronominal usage.

This raises an obvious question: is the absence of indefinite pronouns in the genres just noted a simple result of the absence of opportunity for their use or does it shed light on genre/register-related *restrictions* on the distribution of these pronouns? In some instances, we are doubtless faced with the former scenario. For example, the failure of indefinite pronouns to appear in lists of names, product inventories, and sacrificial lists occasions no surprise. Their absence from lengthy poetic narratives, on the other hand, is harder to explain as the result of mere coincidence.

Two methods may be employed to determine whether the absence of indefinites in a given genre is likely to reflect a simple absence of opportunity or lexical choices made by the author. The first of these involves comparison with analogous genres written in Akkadian from Ras Shamra. The second involves examining the Ugaritic genres lacking indefinites for examples

of “missed opportunities”—places in which an indefinite *could* have been used but has been replaced by an alternative strategy.

Data drawn from comparison with the corpus of locally produced texts written in logographic syllabic script suggest that these holes in the distribution of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns may be meaningful. Note, for example, that while the considerable majority of indefinite pronominal attestations in locally produced Akkadian documents appear in legal texts (with a number of attestations in locally produced letters as well), such pronouns can also be found in one Akkadian administrative list¹¹ and a number of literary texts, including those treated by Huehnergard (1989) and van Soldt (1991) as locally copied.¹²

A similar picture emerges when we examine the Ugaritic genres in which indefinites fail to appear. Several administrative lists, for example, do provide contexts in which indefinites could theoretically have been employed. As we have seen, both *mnm* and *mhk* may be employed in statements of absence/non-application, of which administrative texts provide a number of examples. Consider RS 10.090:1-2 (*mḏrḡlm d inn msgm lhm*, “*mḏrḡl*-personnel who do not have *msg*-items (“leather hides?”)”), RS 15.034:6-7 (*w l tt mrkbtm inn utpt*, “and two chariots do not have a quiver”), and RS 16.128:4-5 (*bdl ar dt inn mhr lhm*¹, “*bdl*-personnel of ‘Aru who have no *mhr*”). These texts may be compared to RS 15.111:18 ([*w u*] *nt in mnm bh*, “and as for an *unt*-obligation, there is not any on it”). In fact, a similar instance involving the numeral *one*, quite possibly functioning as a minimal unit expression, was discussed in the previous chapter: RS 15.013:4-5 (*w pat aht in bhm*, “and there is not a single *pat* in them”). Comparison with RS

¹¹ The text is RS 19.071:6 (= *PRU* VI, no. 114): *ù(?) mi-nu-um-me-e*.MEŠ GIŠ.MEŠ (“et (toute autre) espèce de bois” [Nougayrol 1970: 95]).

¹² See, e.g., incantations: RS 15.152 (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 17B); RS 17.155 (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 17A); uncertain literary excerpt: RS 34.180,8 verso 7' (= *RSO* VII, no. 43; *mannummê*); wisdom: RS 22.439 ii 26 (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 163; *mimma*); RS 23.034⁺:7 (see Arnaud 2007: 145; *mamma*); RS 25.130 (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 164); RS 25.424:9' (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 166; *mamma*).

15.111:18 suggests that ***w pāt in mnm bhm* should, in theory, be equally possible from the standpoint of syntax and semantics.

Two incantations provide similarly suggestive contexts. In RS 22.225, an incantation against the evil eye, we find a robust series of alternatives spelled out explicitly where an indefinite pronoun might have been employed in a more prosaic text. Rather than simply employ an expression such as ***mnm 'n (w) ttb* (“whatever evil eye (there may be), let it turn back!”), the author of this text specifies a series of “eyes,” including the eye of the gatekeeper (*'n tgr*), the eye of the assembly (*'n phr*), the eye of the tax-collector (*'n mhr*), and the eye of the denouncer(?) (*'n bty*).¹³ Akkadian incantations make free use of indefinite pronouns (as *catchall* expressions)¹⁴ as well as serial disjunction,¹⁵ actually spelling out multiple imagined evils to which/whom the incantation is asserted to apply. While we find the latter strategy in the Ugaritic incantation RS 22.225, we do not observe the former (see similarly RIH 78/20).

Two further alternative strategies may appear in the incantation RS 92.2014. The first of these remains a topic of debate, while the second is more straightforward. The first line of the text begins with the expression *dy l yd' yshk*. For Hawley (2004), *dy* is in imperative of \sqrt{dy} , “to cast out,” and the first three words comprise directions for the performer of the incantation: “Cast out (the culprit) from ‘the recognized one’ (as follows)” (2004: 63). Del Olmo Lete (2014: 173, 184-187) believes *dy l yd'* comprises a free relative, “He who does not know,” i.e., an inexpert

¹³ For the text and a discussion of these terms, the interpretation of which remains uncertain, see Pardee 2002a: 161-166; 2008.

¹⁴ See, for example, the expression *mimma lemnu*, “any evil,” appearing in *Maqlû* (e.g., I 139; for the text, see Abusch 2016) and also employed in the locally copied incantation RS 15.152//RS 17.155 (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 17; Arnaud 2007: 77), in l. 10 of which we find reference to [*mim-m*]a HUL *mim-ma* NU.DU₁₀ in an adjuration translated thus by Arnaud (2007: 80): “[Que tout] mal, que tout ce qui n’est pas bon qui se trouve dans ton corps et tes [muscles,] que la [cé]phalée, (grâce à) l’exorciste des dieux Marduk, soient effacés.”

¹⁵ See *Maqlû* I 135-143, II 39-75 (Abusch 2016: 289-290, 292-294), for two striking examples—in both cases, a series of possible offenders are identified and the indefinite expression *mimma lemnu* is appended at the end to cover any sources of evil not already mentioned.

magician. The relevant interpretation for present purposes, however, is that proposed by the editors of the text (Bordreuil and Pardee 2001b: 387-391), for whom this free relative refers to an unknown assailant—whether that assailant is the serpent preparing to strike (as the editors believed)¹⁶ or an unidentified sorcerer who has conjured the attack (so Ford 2002). In either scenario, we may note that unknown assailants can be addressed explicitly in Akkadian incantatory texts using indefinite pronouns.¹⁷ If this line of interpretation of *dy l yd'* is correct, then it provides an example of the use of a free relative where an indefinite pronoun might have been used.

The second alternative strategy appearing in this text is found in l. 10, in which the incantation calls on the “tormentors” (*dbbm*) and “sorcerers” (*kšpm*) not to give ear to “the word of the evil man, the word of (any) person” (*hwt rš' hwt bn nšm*). The generic noun phrase *bn nšm* (*/binu našīma/*, “a son of people/humanity”) has a significantly broader referent than the more specific designation preceding it, *rš'* (*/raša'u/*, “the evil (man)”). Its incorporation accordingly introduces a domain-widening effect (captured in several translations by the addition of the word *any*¹⁸). The similar use of *mm* in RS 94.2592:12'-14' and of *mhk* in RS 29.095:13-15 and RS 94.2965:19-24 suggests that such pronouns could also have been employed here.

Incantations are not the only texts in which serial disjunction can be employed as an alternative to indefinite expression. The same situation can be observed in the ritual text RS 1.002, where a lengthy list of alternative sources of hypothetical “sin” is repeated in each section of the text.¹⁹ This disjunctive spelling out of different varieties of sin might have been expressed

¹⁶ See further Pardee 2002a: 158-159.

¹⁷ See, e.g., the use of the pronoun *attamannu*, “whoever you are” throughout *Maqlû* (see Abusch 2016; *CAD* A/2, p. 509).

¹⁸ See Pardee 2002b: 159; Ford 2002: 120, 144; Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 221.

¹⁹ For the text, see Pardee 2000: 92-142; 2002b: 77-83.

more succinctly with an indefinite pronoun: *mnm ḥtū* (“whatever sin”). In fact, the latter expression may even appear in an Ugaritic letter, if Bordreuil and Pardee’s (2009: 242) proposed interpretation of the fragmentary RS 34.124:33 (*{mnm ḥtū[. . .]}*, “Whatever si[n? . . .]”) is correct.

Ritual texts provide another example of an alternative strategy employed where indefinites might otherwise be expected. RS 1.003⁺:52-53 indicates that “the king may speak as he wishes” (*k lbh yr[gm] mlk*; lit. “according to his heart the king shall speak”). This quodlibetic expression might have been expressed just as easily using the FCI-like indefinite *mannama* (e.g., ***mnm (it) b lbh (w) yrgm mlk*, “the king shall say whatever is in his heart (i.e., whatever he wishes)”).

Finally, literary texts (narrative poetry) likewise provide contexts hospitable to indefinite pronouns, but in which alternative strategies appear instead. Consider, for example, the free relatives noted in the previous chapter, including that found in RS 3.340 i 17-18 (= *KTU* 1.18; *[ti]hd d it b kbdk*, “take hold of that which you desire (lit. that which is in your liver)”). This quodlibetic expression, when considered together with that noted in the previous paragraph, illustrates the flexibility with which such ideas could be communicated.

What each of the examples cited here illustrates is that the exclusion of indefinite pronouns from the genres in which they fail to appear cannot be attributed to an absence of opportunity for their use. This suggests that the use of alternative strategies—including minimal unit expressions, generic nouns, free relatives, and serial disjunctions—to the exclusion of indefinite pronouns reflects lexical decisions made by the authors (or, in the case of traditional texts perhaps, their predecessors). The significance of this choice will be discussed in sec. 8.2.4 below. First, however, I address the use to which indefinite pronouns are put in the genres in

which they do appear regularly. As we shall see, alternative strategies were available in these genres, too, and their use allows us better to assess the productivity of the Ugaritic *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns in the language.

8.2.2 Formulaic and Non-Formulaic Use

The discussion pursued in this section begins with an observation concerning the relative frequency with which Ugaritic indefinite pronouns appear in formulaic and freely formed expressions. First, however, I must define several terms. The distinction between true *formulae* and recurring *motifs* in a given genre is an important one. I will use the former term to refer to expressions (1) that appear so frequently in a given genre that they appear to be nearly or completely reflexively added and (2) that have a formulation admitting very little compositional variety. The latter term will be applied to expressions related to topics that are simply likely to come up in a given genre; they may or may not be present and are characterized by a higher degree of compositional variety.

Defined in these terms, only the *information request* among the diverse formulae and topoi identified in Table 8.7 and 8.8 can clearly qualify as a formula. The request for specific news (“send word”),²⁰ expressions concerning liberality of mutual provisioning (“provision”),²¹

²⁰ Similar requests appear elsewhere (see Albright 1944a; Parker 1967: 27; Rainey 1971: 160-161; 1977: 41-42; 1995-1996: 117-118; 1996b: 304; Pardee 2003: 465 n. 63), and some have accordingly treated this as “a standard stock expression” (Rainey 1995-1996: 117; 1996b: 9). Such a designation is not warranted in the case of the Ugaritic corpus. Note, for example, that while the expression *mmm rgm* appears in three texts, a similar request lacking the indefinite is attested in RS [Varia 4]:17-19 (*w rgm t̄b l aḥk l adnk*, “send back word to your brother, your father”), noted again below. Hawley’s (2003: 760 n. 164) more careful designation of these expressions as representing a “motif” is to be preferred.

²¹ The only clear Ugaritic example of this motif is found in RS 18.075 (though Pardee forthcoming *a* notes that this motif stands behind the elaborate mock letter found in RS 16.265). The motif is better attested in Akkadian letters found at Ras Shamra, including the following examples (most of which are also identified in Pardee forthcoming *a*): RS 15.024⁺:9-22 (= *PRU* III, p. 18); RS 17.116:29'-30' (= *PRU* IV, p. 132); RS 20.003:10-13 (= *Ugaritica* V_N, no. 26); RS 22.393 verso 1'-6' (= *PRU* VI, no. 16); RS 94.2179:9-13 (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 2; demand on behalf of a third party); RS 94.2408:20-22 (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 26); RS 94.2416⁺:28-30 (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 62); RS 94.2427⁺ (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 75; multiple fragmentary examples); RS 94.2483:24-26 (demand on behalf of a third party), 27-29 (=

prohibitions of worry,²² and even legal exemption²³ and warranty²⁴ clauses come closer to representing motifs, as these appear less frequently and are formulated with greater variety (as we shall see).

Nevertheless, the incidence of indefinite pronominal use in formulaic expressions is significant. Consider the following summary (excluding the two uncertain examples of *MNM*):

Table 8.12: Frequency of Formulaic Usage

Pronoun	Formula	Motif	Non-Formulaic	Total
<i>mannama</i>	18	6	1	25
<i>mînama</i>	0	0	3	3
<i>mahka</i>	0	4	1	5
<i>mannaka</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>mînaka</i>	0	3	0	3
Total	18	13	6	37

As 18 of the 37 interpretable attestations (i.e., 48.6%) appear in formulaic expressions and a further 13 (35.3%) appear in more or less stereotypical expressions, the need for an assessment of productivity is acute. Does this relative frequency suggest that indefinite pronominal use was essentially tied to a handful of genre-specific expressions that were merely included pro forma? Might their inclusion, in other words, reflect scribal and notarial norms rather than productive

RSO XXIII, no. 56); RS 94.2485:28-38 (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 63); RS 94.2549:7'-16' (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 109); RS 94.2571:11-22 (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 21); RS 94.2582:3'-8' (= *RSO* XXIII, no. 110; orders that a previous demand be sent; distinct from mutual provision motif); RIH 81/04:20'-24' (*RIH II*, no. 159).

²² As Loewenstamm (1958-1959: 76 = 1980: 61) observed, this prohibition finds a number of parallels in letters from El-Amarna (e.g., EA 34:12-13 [Alašiya]; EA 35:12, 15, 35 [Alašiya]; EA 38:29-30 [Alašiya]; EA 165:28-29 [Amurru]; EA 167:16-17 [Amurru]; EA 170:7-8, 41 [Amurru; see Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman 2004: 114-115]; for provenances, see Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015); see further Vrolleaud 1965: 83; Parker 1967: 27. The restriction of these EA examples to Amurru and Alašiya is of interest in light of the appearance of the same motif in the Ugaritic RS 18.031, a letter from the king of Tyre. Might this expression comprise another epistolary feature shared by Tyre and Alašiya, alongside the similar ductus observable in documents from these two places (invoked several times by Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat [2016: 165, 184, 190])? Another potentially relevant example from the Amarna correspondence is worded differently and appears in EA 20:60-63 (from Tušratta, King of Mittani).

²³ See Márquez Rowe 2006: 234-241.

²⁴ See Márquez Rowe 2006: 230-234.

patterns available in the language? And if they are not productive features of the local language, might they reflect features adopted from the languages or formularies of (an)other regional language(s)?

In this section, I argue that these questions must receive a negative answer on the basis of the following pieces of evidence: (1) for each formula/motif in which indefinite pronouns appear, alternative formulations lacking the indefinite are also available, suggesting that the decision to include the indefinite was, in fact, a *decision* (sec. 8.2.2.1); (2) indefinite pronouns appear in completely non-formulaic expressions as well (sec. 8.2.2.2); (3) functional and grammatical consistency can be recognized between formulaic and non-formulaic uses, a point that also speaks against non-local origins for some of these formulaic expressions (sec. 8.2.2.3).

8.2.2.1 Indefinite Pronouns are Optional in All Formulae and Motifs

First, none of the formulaic expressions or motifs in which indefinite pronouns appear can be said to require the presence of the indefinite. The *information request* formula comes closest, and I return to it below. First, however, consider the following summary table concerning the use and non-use of indefinite pronouns with other attested motifs:

Table 8.13: Motifs with and without Indefinite Pronouns

Motif	+ Indefinite Pronoun	– Indefinite Pronoun
SEND WORD (EPISTOLARY)	RS 04.475:14-19 (<i>mannama</i>) RS 94.2284:24-25 (<i>mannama</i>) RS 94.2457:20'-22' (<i>mannama</i>)	RS [Varia 4]:17-19
PROVISION (EPISTOLARY)	RS 18.075:20-22 (<i>mannama</i>) RS 18.075:23-25 (<i>mannama</i>)	(RS 16.265 ^a) cf. RS 94.2416 ⁺ :28-30 (Akk.) cf. RS 94.2485:28-34 (Akk.) cf. RIH 81/04:20'-24' (Akk.)
DO NOT WORRY (EPISTOLARY)	RS 16.379:20-24 (<i>mahka</i>) RS 18.031:26-27 (<i>mahka</i>) RS 29.095:13-15 (<i>mahka</i>)	RS 15.008:12 RS 16.379:20-21
EXEMPTION (LEGAL)	RS 15.111:18 (<i>mannama</i>) RS 94.2965:19-24 (<i>mahka</i>)	RS 16.382:20-21
WARRANTY (LEGAL)	RS 15.111:12-17 (<i>mînaka</i>) x2 RS 15.125:12'-15' (<i>mînaka</i>)	RS 16.382:15-20 ^b RS 94.2965:11-14 cf. RS [Varia 14]:12-17 ^c cf. RS [Varia 31]:11-13 ^d

^a The mock letter found on the tablet RS 16.265 makes a series of specific demands without employing an indefinite pronoun—this provides another example of serial conjunction/disjunction (described below as “spell-out”) as an alternative for indefinite pronominal use (see further n. 21 above).

^b This clause prohibits the repossession of documentary property rather than real property (as in RS 15.111 and RS 15.125). The prohibitions are so similarly formulated, however, that they can reasonably be considered together.

^c This is a prohibition of future litigation, which is distinct from the warranty against eviction. I mention this example because, like the warranty against eviction, prohibitions of litigation in locally produced Akkadian deeds routinely incorporate indefinite pronouns (see Márquez Rowe 2006: 248). I accordingly take the attestation of Ugaritic prohibitions of future litigation lacking the indefinite pronoun to be relevant here.

^d Same as previous example (see previous note).

The fact that each of these motifs could be formulated with or without an indefinite pronoun shows that the inclusion of such pronouns was not obligatory, and the use of both *mannama* and *mahka* in two similar exemption clauses points in the same direction. This does not prove that the expressions in which indefinite pronouns *do* appear represented colloquial or productively

available expressions (though they may), but it does show that writers were not *required* to include such indefinites, which represents an important step toward demonstrating productivity.

In the case of the information request formula, however, use of the indefinite pronoun is so routine that one may legitimately wonder whether alternatives were in fact available. The host formula (the “double formula of well-being”) is attested in eighteen Ugaritic texts and over forty Akkadian texts (see Pardee 2003, as well as ch. 5 n. 163), and as the examples gathered in sec. 5.2.2.1 illustrate, the formulation of the information request is highly standardized. What variation is detectable pertains to word order and the designations employed for the sender and addressee of the letter. The pronoun *mannama* (and, in Akkadian letters, *minummê*) appears so frequently that it is tempting to believe that those who used it had no other choice. This is not, however, the case. The alternative formulation found in RS 92.2010 provides an example—much like those observed above—of the use of serial conjunction in place of an indefinite pronoun:

RS 92.2010:12-20²⁵

(12) w b'ly	<i>wa ba'liya</i>
(13) šlm'h'	<i>šalāmahu</i>
(14) w šlm	<i>wa šalāma</i>
(15) nkly	<i>nikkaliya</i>
(16) w šlm	<i>wa šalāma</i>
(17) bth . w šlm	<i>bêtihi wa šalāma</i>
(18) šm' rgmk	<i>šāmi 'i rigmika</i>
(19) n'm āt ttb	<i>na'imi 'atta taṭib</i>

²⁵ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil and Pardee 2001a: 375-379).

(20) ‘m ‘bdk

‘*imma* ‘*abdika*

“As for my lord, (news of) his well-being and the well-being of *Nikkaliya* and the well-being of his house and the well-being of those who hear your goodly word, send to your servant (*scil.* me)!”

As discussed in ch. 5, the effect of *mannama* in the information request is to introduce a domain-widening effect: whatever the news regarding the addressee’s welfare may be—any and all— it is to be sent.²⁶ The alternative formulation found in RS 92.2010 accomplishes the same end by providing an exhaustive itemization of individuals of whose well-being the sender wishes to learn. Yet one example of an alternative formulation does not change the fact that most instances of this formula are so rigidly composed that it is difficult to regard their features—including the indefinite pronoun *mannama*—as a meaningful indication of productive linguistic patterns. One factor, however, may be more suggestive in this respect, and I return to this further below in sec. 8.2.2.3.

8.2.2.2 Indefinite Pronouns are Attested in Non-Formulaic Expressions

The second consideration that suggests indefinite pronominal productivity in the Ugaritic language is also perhaps the most obvious: these pronouns do appear in expressions that are neither formulaic nor even stereotypical. In fact, the pronouns *mînama* and *mannaka* are currently attested *only* in expressions judged non-formulaic.

²⁶ This is what Pardee (2003-2004: 399) described so aptly as “an expression of completeness.”

Non-formulaic examples are repeated here from the previous chapters (excluding the fragmentary RS 34.124:33, though its non-formulaic character is nearly certain):

(1) **RS 29.093:27-29**²⁷ (epistolary)

p l . yšb 'l (28) ḥpn . l b 'ly (29) mnm . it̄ . l 'bdk

pa la yašab 'ilu ḥupâna lê ba 'li=ya

then indeed make-C.IPFV.3MS garment-ACC.M.SG for master-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

mannama 'itu lê 'abdi=ka

WH=M EXIST to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

“Then, whatever your servant has, he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (*scil.* you) (out of that).”

(2) **RS 15.128:5-9**²⁸ (legal)

w . mnm . šalm (6) dt . tknn (7) 'l . 'rbnm (8) hn hmt (9) tknn

wa mînama ša ' 'ālūma dūti takūnūna 'alê

and WH-M inquirer-NOM.M.PL.ABS REL-PL be-G.IPFV.3MP against

'urubānīma hanna humati takūnūna

guarantor-OBL.M.PL.ABS PRES DEM-OBL.M.PL be-G.IPFV.3MP

“And any inquirers that may come (*lit.* be) should come (*lit.* be) before these (following) guarantors.”

²⁷ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241.

²⁸ For the text, see Viroilleaud 1957: 188; *KTU* 3.3.

(3) **RS 94.2457:22'-23'²⁹** (epistolary)

[. . .]mláktk (23') [. . .]mnm . àl . yns

. . . *mal'aktV=kV* . . . *mînama 'al yanus*

messenger.party-?.F.SG.SUFF=your.2?S WH-M NEG flee-G.JUSS.3MS

“ . . . your messenger party . . . let no one flee (lit. let not anyone flee)!”

(4) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'³⁰** (epistolary)

w . h̄pt̄ (13') p . mnm h'w' . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa h̄pt̄u *pa mînama huwa* *wa bi sipri*

and *h̄pt̄u*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any) *h̄pt̄u*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

(5) **RS 94.2406:21-22³¹** (epistolary)

w àt b pk ' . ' à'1'[...] (22) yš̄i mnk ' ' 'd m'g' [...]

wa 'atta *bi pî=ka* *'al . . . yaš̄i'* *mannaka*

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

'adê mag[āyi . . .]

until arrive-G.INF.GEN.CSTR/SUFF

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth until [X] arri[ve(s).]”

²⁹ For the text see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 194-196; Pardee forthcoming *a*.

³⁰ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

³¹ For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

(6) **RS 94.2406:39-40**³² (epistolary)

w át . b pk . ál . yši (40) mhk . ùgr˘t˘

wa ˘atta bi pî=ka ˘al yaši˘ mahka

and you.2MS from mouth-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS NEG go.out-G.JUSS.3MS WH=K

˘ugārit

TN

“As for you, let nothing come out of your mouth in ˘Ugārit.”

Each of these examples involves an assertion or directive closely connected to the purpose of the letter or document. There is no evidence for genre/formulary-related constraints involved in the compositional constituency of these examples. This is true even in the case of RS 15.128 (example (2)): other Ugaritic guarantee texts do not include comparable expressions (or indefinite pronouns),³³ and Akkadian guarantee texts from Ras Shamra, like their Ugaritic counterparts, exhibit more flexible formulation than other varieties of legal documents (van Soldt 2010a: 121).

One of these examples also exhibits a certain syntactic flexibility relative to its formulaic counterparts. While *mannama* in the information request formula always appears within a clause located at the left periphery of the sentence, example (1) features this pronoun in a comparable function (introducing a parametric concessive conditional clause) but located in the right periphery (the only such example).

If these indefinite pronouns represented relic expressions known only in frozen formulae, we would not expect to find them employed in non-formulaic expressions like those gathered

³² For the text, see the *editio princeps* (Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 156-162).

³³ These include RS 18.035; RS 18.118; and RS 19.066 (see Pardee with Hawley 2010: 133-134).

here. Even if they did, we would expect them to adhere fairly rigidly to the syntax of their typical formulaic representatives. This is not the case for at least one example, which suggests that these pronouns were productive.

8.2.2.3 Formulaic and Non-Formulaic Attestations Exhibit Grammatical Consistency

In this third section, I present evidence that suggests that we should go one step further: not only do non-formulaic examples of these indefinites illustrate their productive availability within the language, but certain points of grammatical continuity between formulaic and non-formulaic expressions suggest that even the former may be assumed to represent productive patterns.

Beginning with *k*-series pronouns, recall from ch. 6 that all attested examples appear in negated clauses comprising either direct, second-person prohibitions or negated third-person deontic modal expressions. As this distributional fact holds across all attestations, it obviously applies to examples appearing in stereotypical motifs as well as in non-formulaic expressions. We can observe further that *mahka* is attested in post-nominal position in two distinct motifs drawn from separate genres (*dbr hmhkm* in RS 29.095:14 and *unt mhkm* in RS 94.2965:21). The optionality of adding enclitic *-m* (noted in Table 8.8 above) also holds across the data-set: epistolary examples appear with and without the enclitic, as do legal examples (though the only attestation of a *k*-series pronoun without the enclitic in a legal text is *mînaka* in the expression *mînaka mînakama* in RS 15.111). This optionality can be observed even within a single motif: prohibitions of worry appear with (RS 16.379; RS 29.095) and without (RS 18.031) the enclitic. These points of flexibility and continuity result in a distributional profile consistent with the hypothesis that *k*-series indefinites comprised productive features of the language.

The same holds for *m*-series pronouns. As discussed in ch. 5, a domain-widening effect is detectable in all examples, and a limited-distribution profile is consistent. We can observe that *mannama* and *mînama* are attested as independent pronouns only under negation, a distribution frame attested both in non-formulaic expressions (RS 94.2457, epistolary) as well as more typical motifs (RS 15.111:18, legal).

One of the most interesting grammatical features of relevance for an evaluation of *m*-series pronouns, however, is the use of the *waw of apodosis* discussed in ch. 5. This conjunction cannot be employed in all contexts in which *m*-series pronouns are used, and such contexts are indicated with “n/a” in the final column of Table 8.7 above. In other cases, the context is too damaged to determine whether or not the conjunction was present (marked with “?” above). But among those contexts that exhibit *mnm* introducing a subordinate clause that precedes the main clause and that are sufficiently preserved to assess the use or non-use of the *waw* of apodosis, an interesting picture emerges, as Table 8.14 illustrates (in this summary table, texts marked “n/a” and “?” in Table 8.7 above are excluded):

Table 8.14: Distribution of *waw* of Apodosis with *m*-Series Indefinites

Formula/Motif	Status	+ <i>waw</i>-apod.	– <i>waw</i>-apod.	Total
INFORMATION REQUEST (EPISTOLARY)	FORMULA	4 (26.7%)	11 (73.3%)	15
SEND WORD (EPISTOLARY)	MOTIF	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
PROVISION (EPISTOLARY)	MOTIF	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2
NON-FORMULAIC	NON-FORM.	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
Total		9 (42.9%)	12 (57.1%)	21

Without a larger data-set, we cannot be certain that the trends observable here are representative. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that expressions exhibiting greater flexibility in formulation—motifs and non-formulaic expressions—also exhibit the most regular attestation of *waw* of apodosis: 50% of non-formulaic examples and 100% of semi-stereotyped examples. To put this

differently, the incidence of *waw* of apodosis is highest in those expressions for which the fewest formal constraints exist, and this makes sense in view of the evidence independently available for the use of *waw* of apodosis elsewhere in the language (discussed in ch. 5).

It is this fact that makes the appearance of the same conjunction in over a quarter of the examples of the information request formula so significant. I noted in ch. 5 that, while the request for news is found in over forty Akkadian letters,³⁴ the transition from the mention of well-being (*minummê šulmānu*) to the command to send word (*tēma terra*, or similar) is *never* marked by the coordinating conjunction *u*, in spite of the fact that this conjunction was employed frequently enough in Ras Shamra Akkadian in this manner (traditionally understood as Ugaritic substrate interference; see Huehnergard 1989: 242). Put differently, the presence of *w* in this formula in its alphabetic Ugaritic form cannot be mistaken as an imitation of Akkadian epistolary norms.

Of course, it does not necessarily follow from this observation alone that the occasional appearance of the *waw* of apodosis in the Ugaritic formula must represent a local West-Semitic feature (the position taken in ch. 5 and defended immediately below). In his study of this “double formula of well-being,” Pardee (2003: 466) observed that the impossibility of accounting for the formula as an imported Mesopotamian feature “laisse ouverte la question de savoir si elle est d’origine ouest-sémitique, mais syrienne, ou d’origine anatolienne.” He noted further that a similar formula can actually be found in Hittite epistolary documents, adding, “L’aire d’usage actuellement connue correspondant au territoire sous contrôle hittite, on peut penser que l’usage ougaritien et émarite constitue un calque sur l’usage hittite” (2003: 466 n. 66).

³⁴ Most of these are presented in Pardee 2003. Further examples can be found in the following texts, published after Pardee 2003 and are identified in Pardee forthcoming *a*: RS 92.2017; RS 94.2169; RS 94.2287; RS 94.2299⁺; RS 94.2363; RS 94.2374; RS 94.2412; RS 94.2416⁺; RS 94.2475; RS 94.2478; RS 94.2485; RS 94.2494; RS 94.2523; RS 94.2525; RS 94.2530; RS 94.2540; RS 94.2562; RS 94.2585; RS 94.2957.

This suggestion becomes a more interesting one to consider with reference to the use of the *waw* of apodosis in a number of the Ugaritic examples, because the corresponding Hittite formula employs the conjunction *nu* (“and”) identically. Hawley (2003: 776-777) identified three examples of the double formula in Hittite, of which two employ the conjunction *nu* to introduce the request for news. The same holds for instances of the request for news appearing alone in examples identified by Hagenbuchner (1989: 1:71). I present one of these, KBo 18.54 obv. 3-6, here, following the representation of the text and translation suggested by the editors of the *CHD* (L-N, p. 102, *mahhan* 1b; cf. Hagenbuchner 1989: 2:57-58):

MAḤAR ^dUTU-ŠI SAL.LUGAL *aššul kuit mahhan* ŠÀ ERÍN.MEŠ *šarikuwayakan U ŠÀ*
ERÍN.MEŠ UKU.UŠ *hattulannaza kuit mahhan numu* EN-YA EGIR-*pa ŠUPUR*

“Write back to me, O my lord, how it is with (lit. what the well-being is like before) Your Majesty and the Queen, and what the state of health(?) is like among the š.-troops and the UKU.UŠ soldiers!”

The placement of a WH-morphological expression (*kuit mahhan*) at the front of the request for news, followed by the conjunction *nu* (*nu=mu*) used to introduce the main clause including the Akkadogram *ŠUPUR* bears an obvious resemblance to the Ugaritic formula. The same compositional features are evident in the other examples Hagenbuchner (1989: 1:71) cites, and she notes explicitly the consistent use of *nu=mu* to introduce the “Hauptsatz.” Might this syntactic similarity, together with the geographic distribution of the double formula of well-being noted by Pardee (2003: 466) suggest a Hittite origin for this formula after all?

It is at this point that the evidence furnished by the non-formulaic Ugaritic expressions becomes so critical. Because the *waw* of apodosis appears in higher concentrations outside of this formula than inside it, it is unlikely that the use of this conjunction represents an Ugaritic calque on the Hittite use of *nu=mu*. In fact, given the total absence of the conjunction in Akkadian examples of this formula from Ras Shamra, one instead gets the impression that a productive feature of the Ugaritic language has been permitted to “invade” an otherwise essentially fixed formula in the handful of examples in which it is present. In other words, in roughly one quarter of the Ugaritic examples of this formula, the syntax of the formula has been adjusted to reflect the typical *Ugaritic* syntactic requirements of what we must recognize as an authentic *Ugaritic* indefinite pronoun *mannama*.

This does not answer the larger historical question pertaining to the actual origin of this formulaic expression, but it does suggest that the use of the pronoun *mannama* figuring in its Ugaritic instantiations should be taken to reflect or, at least, to be consistent with patterns of usage productively available in the language.

Before closing this discussion of the information request, I call attention to one further piece of the puzzle that has not, to my knowledge, been noted in previous studies. Others have noted already that Akkadian letters found at Ras Shamra typically express the information request with one of two verbs, *turru* (D-stem of *tāru*) or *šapāru* (G). As Pardee (2003: 463) has observed:

La formule accadienne de retour de nouvelles se différencie de la formule ougaritique en ce qu'elle manifeste davantage de variété dans l'expression verbale. En effet, si en ougaritique on ne trouve que TTB, en accadien on rencontre deux verbes principaux: (1)

šapāru, “écrire”, à la deuxième personne du singulier, impératif ou présent-futur; (2) *tāru*, schème-D, qui correspond par son sens à TB, schème-Š, en ougaritique, à savoir “renvoyer.”

Yet this formula has not yet been treated with the parameter of *original* provenance in view. While each of these varieties of the formula are found in Akkadian letters recovered from Ras Shamra, not all of these letters were actually produced locally. As one might imagine, the number of letters produced in Ugarit that also *remained* in Ugarit is not very great: van Soldt (1991) included twenty-three³⁵ Akkadian letters in his corpus of locally produced texts, while Huehnergard (1989) included only seventeen.³⁶ Other letters have come to light since these publications, and Table 8.15 includes all letters that have been identified as originating in Ugarit and that exhibit the information request. The result of partitioning the data by provenance is significant: locally produced letters only exhibit the information request involving the combination of the noun *tēmu* (“word”) and a form of the verb *turru* (D-stem of *tāru*).

³⁵ Aphek 52055/1; Cairo 4783; RS 15.014; RS 16.112; RS 17.239; RS 17.315; RS 17.455; RS 19.070; RS 20.013; RS 20.023; RS 20.168⁺; RS 20.178; RS 20.181A⁺; RS 20.184; RS 20.200C; RS 20.238; RS 20.243; RS 23.368; RS 34.161; VAT 1690; VAT 1692; VAT 1693; VAT 1694.

³⁶ Aphek 52055/1; Cairo 4783; RS 16.112; RS 17.239; RS 17.455; RS 19.070; RS 20.013; RS 20.023; RS 20.168⁺; RS 20.178; RS 20.184; RS 20.200C; RS 20.238; VAT 1690; VAT 1692; VAT 1693; VAT 1694.

Table 8.15: Akkadian Letters Produced in Ugarit with Information Request

Text	Provenance	“Word”	“Return”
RS 17.383	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999); Hatti (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 17.422	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999); Hatti (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.013 no. 2	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.019	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.023 no. 1	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.023 no. 2	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.178 no. 1	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	[turru]
RS 20.178 no. 2	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.219	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999); Siyannu (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 32.204 no. 1	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 32.204 no. 2	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 34.161 no. 1	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991); unknown (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 94.2169	Ugarit (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 35)	ṭêmu	turru

Table 8.16: Letters Employing *ṭêmu* + *turru*

Text	Provenance	“Word”	“Return”
RS 16.111	Amurru (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 94.2478	Beirut (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 139)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 94.2287	Qadeš (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 98)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 94.2416 + 94.2418	Tyre (Arnaud 1999-2000: 166)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 94.2485	Tyre (Arnaud 1999-2000: 166)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.023 no. 1	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.023 no. 2	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 17.383	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999); Hatti (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 17.422	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999); Hatti (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.019	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.219	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999); Siyannu (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 32.204 no. 1	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 32.204 no. 2	Ugarit (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 94.2169	Ugarit (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 35)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 34.161 no. 1	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991); unknown (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.013 no. 2	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.178 no. 1	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	[turru]
RS 20.178 no. 2	Ugarit (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1989; 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 01.[057]	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 17.428	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.189 D	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 20.227 no. 1	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	[ṭêmu]	turru
RS 20.227 no. 2	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	[ṭêmu]	turru
RS 21.201	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru
RS 34.164	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	turru

Table 8.17: *Ø + šapāru*

Text	Provenance	“Word”	“Return”
RS 34.173	Aštata (Huehnergard 1999)	Ø	šapāru
RS 34.141	Aštata (Huehnergard 1999)	Ø	šapāru
RS 34.134 no. 1	Aštata (Huehnergard 1999); Emar (Arnaud 1991: 68)	Ø	šapāru
RS 34.134 no. 2	Aštata (Huehnergard 1999); Emar (Arnaud 1991: 68)	Ø	šapāru
RS [Varia 26]	Emar (Huehnergard 1999)	Ø	šapāru
RS 94.2412	Tyre (Arnaud 1999-2000: 166)	Ø	šapāru
RS 94.2540	uncertain	Ø	šapāru

Table 8.18: *šulum + šapāru*

Text	Provenance	“Word”	“Return”
RS 92.2017 no. 1	uncertain	šulumka	šapāru
RS 92.2017 no. 3	uncertain	šulumka	šapāru
RS 94.2523	“monde hittite” (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016)	šulumka	šapāru

Table 8.19: *ṭêmu + šapāru*

Text	Provenance	“Word”	“Return”
RS 12.005	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	[ṭêmu]	šapāru
RS 15.033	Hatti (van Soldt 1991; Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	šapāru
RS 17.078	Carchemish (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	šapāru
RS 18.089	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	šapāru
RS 19.050	uncertain (Huehnergard 1999)	ṭêmu	šapāru
RS 94.2562	“monde hittite” (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016)	[ṭêmu]	šapāru
RS 94.2585	“monde hittite” (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016)	ṭêmu	šapāru

Several patterns are immediately noticeable: *ṭêmu + turru* is found in letters from the Mediterranean coastal corridor; $\emptyset + \check{s}ap\bar{a}ru$ appears in letters from the Middle Euphrates³⁷; and several examples of *ṭêmu + \check{s}ap\bar{a}ru* originate in Hittite territory. In fact, this last observation turns out to have predictive value when we turn to the “uncertain” examples in this group (Table 8.19). The first such example, RS 12.005, may not actually exhibit the formula in question. Nougayrol restored *ṭêma \check{s}appara*—a highly unlikely restoration for reasons explained in Burlingame (in preparation)—by analogy to the letter appearing immediately prior in *PRU* III (RS 15.033). The next two examples—RS 18.089 (= *PRU* VI, no. 15) and RS 19.050 (= *PRU* VI, no. 14)—are two letters from a single individual, *Urḫa’ē*. In RS 19.050, *Urḫa’ē* announces that he is entering Hittite territory and sends a man bearing a Hittite name (*Kunaziti*) to his addressee. In RS 18.089, he pronounces a benediction on his addressee in the name of the “thousand gods,” suggesting that he has at this point entered Hatti. With these observations in place, I suggest that *ṭêmu + \check{s}ap\bar{a}ru* represents a formula specific to scribal norms observed within Hittite territory. The preference for the verb *\check{s}ap\bar{a}ru* occasions no surprise in this case—recall that the corresponding item in letters written in Hittite is the Akkadogram *\check{S}UPUR* (Hagenbuchner 1989: 1:71).

Applying these findings to the question of productivity raised above, I argue that the formulation of the Ugaritic information request must be recognized as a local feature. Its use of the *waw* of apodosis agrees with patterns independently observable in the language, and the use of the verb $\sqrt{t(-)}b$, “to return” (never $\sqrt{l}’k$ “to send”), agrees with the semantics of the Akkadian information request uniformly found in locally produced letters (where *turru* is invariably used) and stands in contrast to the use of the verb *\check{s}ap\bar{a}ru* in letters from Hittite territory.

³⁷ The one exception, RS 94.2412, is a letter from *Eḫli-Tešub* to *Ur-Tešub* concerning oil, and the former may simply be an Ugaritian working abroad in Tyre (Malbran-Labat and Roche 2007: 96).

The data available do not allow us to claim a West-Semitic *origin* for the formula or to rule out a Hittite one. What they do allow us to demonstrate, however, is that, *in its current form*, the Ugaritic information request can be understood to reflect local, West-Semitic linguistic patterns and formulaic peculiarities in such a way that it should not be assumed to incorporate lexical or syntactic features borrowed from other regional languages or traditions.

8.3 Discussion: Ignorance, Indifference, and Evasion

In the preceding discussion, I have shown that Ugaritic indefinite pronouns exhibit a tight restriction to epistolary and legal texts. I illustrated that genres in which these pronouns do not appear furnish contexts in which they could have and that analogous texts in Akkadian do in fact include indefinite pronouns. The exclusion of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns from these genres, in other words, must reflect either genre/register-related features of the pronouns or a general lack of productive availability (i.e., they were used only in genres accompanied by a robust formulary and included as a matter of course rather than due to active selection). A study of the formulaic and non-formulaic examples showed that the latter scenario is not likely to have been the case. These pronouns are distributed in epistolary and legal texts in a manner suggesting their availability to writers regardless of formulaic constraints.

If the generic distribution of these pronouns is taken to reflect intentional linguistic decisions, then (1) they require explanation and (2) they may be able to shed light on finer details of Ugaritic register and genre. In this section, I discuss three observations and the related conclusions that can be drawn from the distributions outlined above.

The first of these pertains to the distribution of *k*-series and *m*-series pronouns *within* the genres in which they appear. As noted in sec. 8.2.1.1, when the number of texts representing

epistolary and legal procedural texts are taken into consideration, the *k*-series pronouns are statistically over five times more likely to appear in legal texts than in epistolary texts, while *m*-series pronouns are twice as likely to appear in epistolary texts as in legal texts (see Table 8.11 and discussion). This generic distribution can be understood in terms of (and, therefore, lends indirect support to) the semantic evaluation of the two pronouns offered in ch. 5-6 (see especially sec. 6.6). Because *k*-series indefinite pronouns represent scalar negative polarity items, they appear most naturally in contexts of categorical prohibition (and, we may speculate, denial). Prohibitions of this sort appear regularly in the warranty and exemption clauses of legal texts. Such clauses need not incorporate indefinites—some employ alternative domain-widening, scalar expressions (such as *d'lm*, “forever,” *šhr tltt*, “at any future time,” or both [see Burlingame forthcoming *a*])—but when indefinites are to be used, it is no surprise that the scalar negative polarity items *mahka* and *mînaka* are preferred. Notably, where these pronouns do appear in epistolary documents, it is in the (statistically rarer) categorical prohibitions found in that genre.

On the other hand, the *m*-series pronouns do not assert scalarity. They still introduce a domain-widening effect, making them appropriate for use in a wider range of contexts, but in contexts strongly marked for scalarity, they are less appropriate than the *k*-series, accounting for their general absence from legal texts. The two exceptions prove the rule: (1) in RS 15.128, the pronoun *mînama* is employed to refer to future inquirers whose identity is unknown, but the sentence simply informs future action³⁸; (2) in RS 15.111:18, the *'unuttu*-exemption clause

³⁸ The strategies employed in Ugaritic legal texts for constraining or directing future third-party actions are gathered and typologically organized in Burlingame forthcoming *a*. I suggest there that such strategies can be organized into three categories (the third of which exists in two varieties): (I) informing future action, (II) allowing future action, (III.A) preventing future action by penal disincentive, and (III.B) preventing future action by categorical prohibition. RS 15.128:5-9 represents an example of strategy I.

involves the simple negative existential *in* rather than a negated modal verb (like that used with the example of *mahka* found in RS 94.2965). The relative frequency with which *k*-series and *m*-series pronouns appear in legal and epistolary texts, therefore, can be seen to relate directly to their semantics.

Second, the alternatives to indefinite pronominal use appearing both in genres in which indefinites are used and, especially, in genres in which they are not are of linguistic interest. Here I call attention to two of these strategies in particular. In contexts explored above where *k*-series indefinite pronouns might have been expected, generic nouns and minimal unit expressions were employed as alternatives. Where *m*-series pronouns might have been used, serial conjunction/disjunction was employed. I note here simply that these alternatives are *expected* to be available and do not impeach the productive availability of the pronouns concerned. Minimal unit expressions commonly appear as alternatives to negative polarity items (and, in diachronic terms, not infrequently serve as source constructions for new negative polarity items). Speakers of English can assert *I didn't say anything* and *I didn't say a word* with equal ease, and the availability of the latter is not relevant to the productivity of the former (see ch. 2 for further discussion of minimal unit expressions).

The use of lengthy disjuncts or conjuncts as alternatives to *m*-series pronominal use is similarly expected. Discussing concessive conditional clauses in ch. 2, I noted Haspelmath and König's (1998) identification of three subclasses of such expressions, the polar concessive conditional ("even if it rains, we will go out"), the parametric concessive conditional ("whatever the weather will be, we will go out") and the alternative concessive conditional ("whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go out"). The second of these comprises the host construction of central interest for understanding *m*-series pronouns, but the third is of note in connection with

the alternative strategy under discussion here. In the English example cited, the alternatives introduced represents a merism, identifying extreme points on a given scale and implicating everything in between. In cognate literature, such alternatives can actually be employed together with indefinite expressions to provide a more explicit “spell-out” of the referent. Consider this Phoenician example appearing in the fourth line of the pectoral inscription of *’Ešmun ’azor’s* sarcophagus (late-sixth century BCE³⁹):

(7) **KAI 14:4 (see also 14:20)**

qnmy ’t kl mmlkt wkl ’dm ’l ypth ’yt mškb z

qanūmmiyā ’attā kul mamlakōt wa=kul ’adōm

whoever you.2MS all king-F.SG.ABS and=all man-M.SG.ABS

’al yiptaḥ ’iyyūt maškōb zī

NEG open-G.JUSS.3MS OBJ sarcophagus-M.SG.ABS this-M.SG

“Whoever you are—every king and every commoner—let him not open this sarcophagus!”

The conjunct referring to king and commoner creates a merism underscoring the universal application of the prohibition and thereby rendering the indefinite *qnmy ’t*, “whoever you are,” more explicit. Lengthier conjuncts serve much the same purpose.

The availability of alternatives like these are linguistically expected and their appearance together with or in place of indefinite pronouns is exactly what one anticipates in a living language. But this leads us to the third distributional fact requiring consideration: the complete

³⁹ For details regarding the inscription and its dating, see Burlingame 2018.

restriction of indefinite pronouns to letters and legal texts. The hypothesis that best accounts for this distribution is that Ugaritic indefinite pronouns are not actually *genre*-specific features but rather *register*-specific features. I mentioned Biber and Conrad's (2009) study of register, genre, and style briefly in ch. 2, but here I discuss the distinction between these three features as a means of identifying the *significance* of the distribution of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns discussed above.

Variation within a language at a single point in time can be accounted for by appeal to a number of different factors. Dialect (whether geographically or sociologically configured⁴⁰), for example, can be invoked to account for systematic differences existing between two texts that are nominally composed in the same language and at the same time. I have argued in sec. 8.1 above that neither diachronic nor dialectal parameters are likely to account for the distribution of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns. But variation can also be produced by differences in register, genre, and style. Biber and Conrad (2009) define these terms in the following ways, emphasizing that register, genre, and style represent *perspectives*—ways of viewing a text—rather than facts about the text:

(8) **Definitions (Biber and Conrad 2009: 2)**

- a. *register perspective*: “The register perspective combines an analysis of linguistic characteristics that are common in a text variety with analysis of the situation of use of the variety. The underlying assumption of the register perspective is that core linguistic features like pronouns and verbs are

⁴⁰ Biber and Conrad 2009: 11.

functional, and, as a result, particular features are commonly used in association with the communicative purposes and situational context of texts.”

- b. *genre perspective*: “The genre perspective is similar to the register perspective in that it includes description of the purposes and situational context of a text variety, but its linguistic analysis contrasts with the register perspective by focusing on the conventional structures used to construct a complete text within the variety.”
- c. *style perspective*: “The style perspective is similar to the register perspective in its linguistic focus, analyzing the use of core linguistic features that are distributed throughout text samples from a variety. The key difference from the register perspective is that the use of these features is not functionally motivated by the situational context; rather, style features reflect aesthetic preferences, associated with particular authors or historical periods.”

This threefold distinction offers a useful place to begin as we seek to make sense of the distributional situation outlined above. I consider these three perspectives as they relate to Ugaritic indefinite pronouns in reverse order.

First, we might be tempted to attribute the absence of indefinite pronouns in traditional literary texts to considerations of style. Matters of taste are hard to reconstruct and even harder to test in ancient corpora, but might it be the case that authors simply rejected indefinites in literary composition for purely aesthetic reasons? This may have been a factor, but style *alone* cannot account for the entire distribution we observe. Surely the composition of ephemeral administrative lists was not governed by the same aesthetic as that directing literary composition,

yet indefinite pronouns are absent from both. Furthermore, I have discussed repeatedly above that the use of indefinite pronouns in the genres in which they appear *are* tightly connected to functional demands associated with those texts—they are not incidental adornments but rather play a role in creating the semantic and pragmatic effects the texts are designed to achieve. Style as defined above is not related to such functional considerations.

Throughout this chapter, I have employed the parameter of text variety (genre) as an organizational and investigative principle. This has facilitated the recognition of suggestive distributional constraints. Given this situation, might we understand the use of indefinite pronouns as features of epistolary and juridical genre? This rubric, too, fails to account for the distributions observed. Biber and Conrad (2009: 54) describe genre markers in the following terms:

Genre markers are the distinctive expressions and devices that are used to structure a text from a particular genre. Genre markers are not pervasive; rather, they normally occur only one time in a text. As such, they are also not frequent. But they are distinctive, normally being formulaic and occurring in only a particular location of a text from a particular genre (often at the beginning or end).

This description does not apply to the pronouns studied here. I have illustrated in the preceding section that indefinite pronouns appear in both formulaic and non-formulaic expressions in both genres. All epistolary examples appear within the *body* of the letter,⁴¹ and none of their uses in

⁴¹ See Hawley 2003 for an extensive and thoroughly documented analysis of Ugaritic epistolary structure.

that genre could be described as playing a role in structuring the conventional progression of the text according to text-variety-specific norms.

This brings us to the register perspective. Register features are pervasive within the register and are directly connected to the linguistic function of the register concerned: “linguistic features tend to occur in a register because they are particularly well suited to the purposes and situational context of the register” (Biber and Conrad 2009: 6). Biber and Conrad (2009: 53) also distinguish between register *features*, which occur most frequently in the register under consideration but are not limited to that register, and register *markers*, which are restricted to a single register. This description offers a much better fit for the behavior of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, which serve functional roles appropriate to the communicative intents associated with letters and legal texts. This perspective on indefinite pronominal distribution pushes us to ask *why* indefinite pronouns are so appropriately suited to epistolary and legal textual expression and yet excluded from other text varieties. I submit as a preliminary hypothesis that the answer may lie in the domain-widening effects associated with both series of indefinite pronouns and, more specifically, the epistemic and dispositional implicatures associated.

The epistemic implicature of indefinite pronominal use is one of ignorance. As I discussed in ch. 7, free relatives are employed when the referent is known but the speaker does not wish to provide a more specific designation (compare Haspelmath’s *specific known* indefinite pronouns; see ch. 2), as in this example from the narrative poem *Kirta*:

(9) **RS 2.[003]⁺ iii 38 (= KTU 1.14)⁴² (myth)**

p d . in . b bty . ttn

pa dā 'enu bi bêti=ya *tatin*

and REL NEG in house-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS give-G.JUSS.2MS

“Instead, that which is not in my house you must give!”

That *Kirta* knows that to which he refers becomes clear in the following lines, where he specifies his demand explicitly. The Ugaritic indefinite pronouns, on the other hand, are only employed when the writer cannot identify the referent.

The dispositional implicature associated with indefinite pronouns in Ugaritic is one of indifference or irrelevance. The free-choice implicature of *m*-series pronouns and the scalarity of *k*-series pronouns deliver the “domain-widening” effect discussed at a number of points above, indicating that the writer’s assertion, offer, or prohibition will apply regardless of the specific circumstances.

These two effects, I propose, are responsible for the well-suitedness of indefinite pronouns to epistolary and juridical composition, and their exclusion from other genres can be understood more clearly when we direct attention to the point at which several of the parameters investigated above converge. We need to determine what functional feature letters and legal texts share in common that other genres lack and that creates the demand for indefinite expressions that come with the epistemic and dispositional effects just identified. The most direct approach to identifying such functional features was applied successfully in Hawley’s 2003 study of Ugaritic epistolography. As he showed there (as well as in Hawley 2008b), speech-act theory provides a

⁴² The text is presented following the epigraphic study in preparation by Pardee, generously made available to me by its author.

useful framework within which to examine and classify letters (and parts of letters) in terms of their linguistic function. Drawing on classic works by Austin, Searle, and Sadock, Hawley classified letters as directive, assertive, commissive, expressive, or performative and illustrated that examples of each of these functions can indeed be found in the Ugaritic epistolary corpus.

When we turn to the examples of *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns gathered in ch. 5-6 with this framework in mind, a striking coherence of the data becomes appreciable. Every sentence in which an indefinite pronoun appears in the Ugaritic corpus can be classified as either directive or commissive. The reader is invited to revisit the examples arranged in sec. 5.2 and 6.2 above, but I offer several illustrative examples here. Directive examples are most numerous, including volitives, imperatives, and prohibitions:

(10) **RS 15.128:5-9**⁴³

(legal)

w . mnm . šālm (6) dt . tknn (7) '1 . 'rbnm (8) hn hmt (9) tknn

wa mīnama ša''ālūma dūti takūnūna 'alê

and WH-M inquirer-NOM.M.PL.ABS REL-PL be-G.IPFV.3MP against

'urubānīma hanna humati takūnūna

guarantor-OBL.M.PL.ABS PRES DEM-OBL.M.PL be-G.IPFV.3MP

“And any inquirers that may come (lit. be) should come (lit. be) before these (following) guarantors.”

⁴³ For the text, see Viroilleaud 1957: 188; *KTU* 3.3.

(11) **RS 94.2592:12'-14'**⁴⁴ (epistolary)

w . ḥp̄t̄ (13') p . mnm h'w' . w (14') b . spr . štnn

wa ḥuptu pa mannama huwa wa bi sipri

and *ḥuptu*-NOM.M.SG.ABS and WH-M he.3MS.NOM and in document-GEN.M.SG.ABS

šīt=annannu

put-G.IPV.2MS=him.3MS

“And (any) *ḥuptu*—whoever he is—put (i.e., note) him (i.e., his name) in a document.”

(12) **RS 8.315:14-18**⁴⁵ (epistolary)

tmny (15) 'm . 'adt̄ny (16) mnm . šlm (17) rgm . tt̄b (18) l . 'bdk

tammāniya 'imma 'adatti=nāyā mannama šalāmu

there with lady-GEN.F.SG.SUFF=our.1CD WH=M well.being-NOM.M.SG.ABS

rigma taṭībī lē 'abdê=ki

word-ACC.M.SG.ABS send-C.IPV.2FS to servant-OBL.M.DU.SUFF=your.2FS

“There with our lady, whatever the well-being (is), send word (of that) to your servants.”

⁴⁴ For the text, see Bordreuil, Hawley, and Pardee 2012: 196-198.

⁴⁵ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 234 (with further bibliography).

(13) **RS 15.125:12'-15'**⁴⁶ (legal)

w mnkm . l yqḥ (13') spr . mlk . hnd (14') b yd . ṣṭqšlm (15') 'd 'lm

wa mīnaka=ma lā yiqqaḥu sipra malki

and WH=K=FOC NEG take-G.IPFV.3MS document-ACC.M.SG.CSTR king-GEN.M.SG.ABS

hannadā bi yadi ṣṭqīšalimi 'adê 'ālamī

this from hand-GEN.M.SG.CSTR PN until ever-GEN.M.SG.ABS

“And no one shall take this royal document from the hand of *Ṣṭqīšalimu* forever.”

Examples of commissive uses—uses that commit the speaker to a specific course of action—can also be found:

(14) **RS 18.075:20-22**⁴⁷ (epistolary)

mnm . irštk (21) d [.] ḥsrt . w . ānk (22) āštn .. l . iḥy

mannama 'irištu=ka dā ḥasirta wa 'anāku

WH=M request-NOM.F.SG.SUFF=your.2MS REL lack-G.PFV.2MS and I

'ašatinu lê 'iḥî=ya

give-C.IPFV.1CS to brother-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

“Whatever your request/desire (is) that you lack, I will have (it) delivered to my brother (*scil.* you).”

⁴⁶ For the text, see Pardee 2010a: 104.

⁴⁷ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which essentially agrees with the *editio princeps* (Viroilleaud 1965: 93) at this point.

(15) **RS 29.093:27-29⁴⁸** (epistolary)

p l . yšb 'l (28) ḥpn . l b 'ly (29) mnm . ṭ . l 'bdk

pa la yašab 'ilu ḥupâna lê ba 'li=ya

then indeed make-C.IPFV.3MS garment-ACC.M.SG for master-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

mannama 'itu lê 'abdi=ka

WH=M EXIST to servant-GEN.M.SG.SUFF=your.2MS

“Then, whatever your servant has, he shall indeed have a *ḥupânu*-garment made for my master (scil. you) (out of that).”

Even an apparently assertive example like the following is better understood in pragmatic terms as a directive or commissive expression:

(16) **RS 15.111:18⁴⁹** (legal)

[w ṭ] 'n 't . in ' . mnm ' . bh

[wa 'u]nuttu 'ênu mannama bi=hu

and u.tax-NOM.M.SG.ABS NEG.EXIST WH=M in=it.3MS

“And as for an *'unuttu*-tax, there is not any on it.”

The purpose of this statement in a royal grant like RS 15.111 is not simply to provide incidental information to the participants in the transaction. It must instead be understood either as a directive (i.e., no one may demand an *'unuttu*-obligation from this individual) or commissive (i.e., I, the king, will not exact an *'unuttu*-obligation from this individual) expression. These may

⁴⁸ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 240-241.

⁴⁹ For the text, see the autopsy-based presentation found in Hawley and Pardee 2012.

simply represent two sides of the same coin, but the former possibility finds explicit representation in RS 15.125:1'-5', which stipulates that no one may “seize” (√'ḥd) *Šiṭqīšalimu* for *'unuttu*-service (see Pardee 2010a: 104).

This distributional fact is remarkable and, I argue, it reveals the functional feature shared by epistolary and juridical texts that accounts for the distribution of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns. Of course, both epistolary and legal texts incorporate sentences of other sorts as well. Hawley (2008b) shows this clearly for epistolary texts, and examples come quickly to mind from juridical texts (such as the assertions with which royal grants often begin, outlining the transfer of property or its physical extent descriptively [see RS 16.382 and RS 94.2965 for two clear examples]). But it is the self-obligating commissive expressions and the other(s)-obligating directive expressions that feature prominently in both genres and that, without exception, comprise the hosts of Ugaritic indefinite pronouns.

Other genres do not exhibit such speech acts with nearly the same frequency, and this fact alone offers the start of an explanation for the absence of indefinites in those genres. But this is not the whole story. After all, we find imperatives routinely in reported discourse in literary texts (see Tropper 2012: 720-721 for examples) and “prescriptive sacrificial rituals” (Pardee 2002b: 25), and incantations (like RS 92.2014 and RIH 78/20) incorporate directive forms freely as well. It is, therefore, not *only* the fact that letters and legal texts exhibit directive and commissive contexts that accounts for their use of indefinites. It is at this point that we must return to the epistemic and dispositional effects of indefinite pronominal usage identified above.

Letters and legal texts, unlike incantatory texts, prescriptive ritual texts, or literary texts, address an assumed interlocutor actively. A common ground is taken for granted and engaged. Directives found in these genres, therefore, are not like those found in prescriptive ritual texts—

which can be compared to the imperatives found in cooking recipes, providing a simple how-to and, in function terms, bordering on something closer to simple assertion (effectively, “this is how the sacrifice is done”). They instead seek to *persuade*, to *compel*, or (in the case of self-obligation), to *commit* to a specific course of action, and concerns for politeness (in letters) and persuasion (in letters and legal texts) are ever present. It is in this context that the epistemic and dispositional effects associated with *m*-series and *k*-series indefinites come into play.

In directive examples like (10) and (11) above, the domain widening achieved by the scalar and exhaustive implicatures of *m*-series pronouns discussed in ch. 5 and 6 results in the indifference effect so frequently discussed in association with free choice items and related expressions. The effect in the context of a positive directive like those found in (10) and (11) is to underscore the application of the directive regardless of the circumstances (no exceptions or excuses!). The same holds for *k*-series pronouns used in prohibitions like (13), as their scalarity converts the prohibition into a strongly marked categorical prohibition.

In a directive like that found in (12), on the other hand, the writer is not giving orders but expressing polite concern. In such a context, the indifference effect results in an open-ended request for any and all good news. The generosity this expresses is augmented by the epistemic ignorance effect: the writer does not presume to *know* the addressee’s state of affairs; she instead implies her ignorance of her addressee’s welfare, even as she professes a generous desire to know anything about it that the addressee is willing to share.

The same elements are involved in commissive examples as well. In examples like (14) and (15), the indifference/irrelevance effect results in a promise characterized by complete liberality. The writer will do whatever is required to meet the needs of the addressee.

We may wonder—though here we must speculate—whether the epistemic ignorance effect may also have been employed as a means of evasion or, perhaps better, polite euphemism.

I have in mind the directive counterpart to example (14) reproduced here:

(17) **RS 18.075:23-25⁵⁰** (epistolary)

w ʿ . à ʿ p . à nk . mnm (24) ḥs ʿ r ʿ t . w . uḥy (25) y ʿ msn . ṭmn

wa ʿapa ʿanāku mannama ḥasirtu wa ʿuḥû=ya

and also I WH=M lack-G.PFV.1CS and brother-NOM.M.SG.SUFF=my.1CS

ya ʿammis=annu ṭammāna

load-D.JUSS?.3MS=it.3MS there

“And I, too, whatever I lack, my brother should load it there.”

At the most obvious and most relevant level, the use of *mannama* here indicates that the sender of RS 18.075 expects to benefit from his addressee’s reciprocity, which should be characterized by the same liberality as that to which he has just committed himself. One wonders, however, whether this indefinite expression may have also served as a veneer to render more polite what really amounted to a *demand* (and could be expressed as such when the situation required⁵¹):

“You will provide whatever I need—I can’t imagine what that would be, but let’s worry about that later. What’s that between friends, after all?”

Directive expressions found in other genres are not designed to persuade in these ways.

In fact, it is tempting to regard the epistemic ignorance effect as a key feature blocking the use of

⁵⁰ For the text, see Pardee forthcoming *a*, which basically agrees at this point with the *editio princeps* (Virolleaud 1965: 93).

⁵¹ See, e.g., the Akkadian letters RS 94.2374:25-27 (= RSO XXIII, no. 78); RS 94.2582 (RSO XXIII, no. 110), and especially RS 94.2485:28-38 (= RSO XXIII, no. 63).

indefinite pronouns in poetic narratives and incantations. Given the choice between an open-ended adjuration of “any evil” and a more precise serialization of specific threats, it is not surprising to find Ugaritian magicians opting for the latter, in view of the importance of an awareness of the most likely threats for a magician’s competence.⁵² This is also in keeping with the poetic form such incantations take, a feature they share in common with other literary texts. The regular use of poetic parallelism obliges the magician and the poet alike to draw on a robust lexical command to express ideas in parallel iterations, a fact that virtually commits them from the outset to serial conjunction or disjunction of the sort identified above as a leading alternative to indefinite pronominal use in precisely these genres. Indefinite pronouns may achieve a comparable semantic and pragmatic effect, but they do so too expediently for the compositional techniques employed by the poets of Ugarit. Neither do the associated implicatures of ignorance and indifference comport with the objectives of these experts, whom the task at hand and, in some cases, tradition obliged to exhibit and, like *’Ilmilku* the Šubbanite (RS 92.2016:42’),⁵³ even to assert their knowledge and literary competence.

8.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have argued that the social and textual distributions in which Ugaritic indefinite pronouns appear demonstrate their productive availability within the language. I have argued that proxy indicators for dialectal, sociolinguistic, and diachronic variation (including spatial

⁵² This point is underscored by Ford 2002 and del Olmo Lete 2014: 184-187 and holds as a general observation regardless of whether their specific interpretations of *dy l yd’* in RS 92.2014:1 is adopted.

⁵³ See the colophon RS 92.2016:40’-43’, the effect of which is aptly summarized by Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley (2015: 253):

The last colophon cited above betrays a degree of self-awareness, not to mention self-proclamation, that is also without parallel in the Ugaritic corpus . . . the scribe was claiming to be himself a poet, not to have been taught, but to have learned, by osmosis as it were, the poet’s knowledge and art from his immediate predecessors in the line of tradents that went back centuries if not millennia.

distribution of texts in which these pronouns appear, individual anchors associated with their production, and diachronic distribution of datable examples) suggest broad productivity. These pronouns cannot be associated with texts emanating from a single archive, social group, or chronological period, but rather appear in texts associated with a range of each of these.

When considered relative to literary genre, on the other hand, indefinite pronominal distribution is far more narrowly constrained. I have argued that the restriction of these pronouns to epistolary and legal documents illustrates their character as register-specific features, appropriate to communication characterized by directive and commissive speech acts. The epistemic ignorance effect and the dispositional indifference/irrelevance effect of *m*-series and *k*-series indefinite pronouns makes them perfect candidates for use in such “conversational” texts, which assume the existence of an interlocutor and are designed to persuade or compel that interlocutor to commit to a certain course of action. I have also illustrated that the relative distribution of *m*-series and *k*-series pronouns in epistolary and juridical documents follows naturally from the semantic and pragmatic discussions offered in ch. 5-6 and, therefore, supports the analysis indicated there.

Finally, I have offered a provisional way of understanding the absence of indefinite pronouns in genres in which they do not appear. The fact that such genres do not attempt to engage a real interlocutor in quite the same way as epistolary and legal texts may explain their abstinence from indefinite pronominal use in part, but I suspect that other factors related to style and linguistic anthropology are involved as well. Specifically, I suggested that the preference for generic nouns (including minimizers), free relatives, and serial disjunction/conjunction in these genres aligns more readily with stylistic constraints (poetic parallelism) and linguistic-anthropological factors (the importance of occupational competence for magicians)

characterizing these genres. Future studies of Ugaritic genre should take up this question of how ignorance and awareness are presented in each genre, examining a wider range of features including markers of epistemic modality, specificity, and anti-specificity to determine whether these provisional suggestions hold within a more comprehensive framework of investigation.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

This study began with the claim that efforts to describe indefinite pronouns are most likely to succeed when they are informed by broader linguistic and comparative considerations. After gathering and integrating the findings of typological linguistic, formal semantic, and comparative Semitic research, I first examined the Ugaritic interrogative pronouns, arguing that only four such pronouns existed in the language: *mīya* and *mīna* (“who?”) alongside *mah* and *manna* (“what?”). The research has shown that interrogative pronouns bearing *-na* are employed in more strongly presuppositional contexts, involving presuppositions of existence and/or uniqueness. No certain examples of indefinite pronouns identical to bare interrogatives can be identified.

Next, I presented the data for the Ugaritic *m*-series. I argued that Ugaritic possessed a personal indefinite *mīnama* and an impersonal indefinite *manna*. Both of these pronouns behave much like English *any*, insofar as they appear in free-choice and affective-polarity contexts. They may take clausal complements or nominal complements and can also be employed independently under negation. I suggested a diachronic account for their current morphological composition that allows us to recognize these pronouns as genuine Ugaritic pronouns. Their semantics, syntax, and morphology align in a manner consistent with language-internal features, rendering appeal to linguistic influence from Western Peripheral Akkadian *minummê* unnecessary.

I then turned to the *k*-series pronouns, *mahka*, *manna*, and *mīnaka*. I showed that the distributions of these pronouns indicate their status as scalar negative polarity items, a fact accounting for their appearance exclusively in prohibitions and negated modal expressions (not

observed in previous studies). Their morphological composition was similarly explained in language-internal terms. The relationship between the *m*-series and *k*-series was discussed and related to the typological findings outlined in ch. 2.

The final lexically oriented chapter took up the remainder of items identified in past studies as indefinite pronouns. I argued that each of these is better classified in different terms and described how these alternative strategies relate semantically to Ugaritic indefinite pronouns of the *m*- and *k*-series. The result of this linguistic investigation is a significantly reduced repertoire of true indefinite pronouns in the Ugaritic language and one in which syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and morphology can be seen to align in intelligible ways that do, in fact, conform to trends observable across human language.

In the final chapter, I examined the social and textual distribution of indefinite pronominal use. These pronouns were found to be broadly available in sociolinguistic terms but much more narrowly constrained with respect to literary genre. This fact was explained in terms of linguistic register, and the specific semantic features of the *m*- and *k*-series pronouns that make them appropriate for use in the register characterizing epistolary and juridical texts were identified. The formulaic and non-formulaic uses of these pronouns were examined as well, leading to the conclusion that all attested uses follow Ugaritic linguistic patterns and are not likely to reflect linguistic interference from other regional languages.

This study represents a starting point. It comprises a single sounding in one set of indefinite pronouns designed to illustrate the value of such study and to outline one way of pursuing it. It is now up to future research to take up, test, and further refine these conclusions and their implications for our understanding of the Ugaritic language and the historical processes that gave rise to this remarkable body of texts from the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Ugarit.

Abbreviations

Linguistic and Glossing

$\llbracket \]$	extension (e.g., $\llbracket \text{person} \rrbracket$ refers to the extension of the predicate <i>person</i>)
\forall	universal quantifier (“(for) all”)
\exists	existential quantifier (“there is”)
\in	“is a member of the set of”
\wedge	“and” (logical conjunction)
\subseteq	“is a subset of”
\nrightarrow	“does not entail”
\rightarrow	“entails”
\Rightarrow	“implies; conversationally implicates”
\neg	“not” (logical negation)
API	affective polarity item
CL	classifier
CP	complementizer phrase
DE	downward entailment
DN	divine name
DP	determiner phrase
FC-FR	free-choice free-relative
FCI	free-choice item
iff	“if and only if”
NC	negative concord
NP	noun phrase
NPI	negative polarity item
PI	polarity item
PN	personal name
PP	prepositional phrase
PPI	positive polarity item
PRES	presentative
TN	toponym
VP	verb phrase
$w\text{SC}$	Hebrew “ <i>waw</i> -consecutive + suffix-conjugation” (<i>wəqāṭal</i>)
w	world variable
w_d	dependent world variable
w_0	refers to the actual world
x_d	dependent variable
λ	lambda operator

Bibliographic

<i>AHw</i>	von Soden 1959-1981
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
<i>BDB</i>	Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1906
<i>CAD</i>	Oppenheim <i>et al.</i> 1956-2010
<i>CHD</i>	Güterbock and Hoffner 1980-

<i>CTA</i>	Herdner 1963
<i>DCH</i>	Clines 1993-2010
<i>EA</i>	El-Amarna (see Rainey, Schniedewind, and Cochavi-Rainey 2015)
<i>GAG</i>	von Soden 1995
Gesenius ¹⁸	Gesenius 2013
<i>GKC</i>	Kautzsch 1910
<i>HALOT</i>	Koehler and Baumgartner 1994-2000
<i>KAI</i>	Donner and Röllig 1966-1969
<i>KBo</i>	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
<i>KTU</i> ⁽¹⁻³⁾	Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976, 1995, 2013
<i>KUB</i>	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text (as represented in BHS)
<i>PRU II</i>	Virolleaud 1957
<i>PRU III</i>	Nougayrol 1955
<i>PRU IV</i>	Nougayrol 1956
<i>PRU V</i>	Virolleaud 1965
<i>PRU VI</i>	Nougayrol 1970
<i>RIH II</i>	Bordreuil, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2019
<i>RS</i>	Ras Shamra (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1989)
<i>RSO VII</i>	Bordreuil 1991
<i>RSO XIV</i>	Yon and Arnaud 2001
<i>RSO XXIII</i>	Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016
<i>TAD D</i>	Porten and Yardeni 1999
<i>TEO</i>	Bordreuil and Pardee 1989
<i>Ugaritica V_N</i>	Nougayrol 1968

References

- Aartun, K. 1974. *Die Partikeln des Ugaritischen, 1. Teil: Adverbien, Verneinungspartikeln, Bekräftigungspartikeln, Hervorhebungspartikeln*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 21/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Abusch, T. 2011. "The Revision of Babylonian Anti-Witchcraft Incantations: The Critical Analysis of Incantations in the Ceremonial Series *Maqlû*." In *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, edited by G. Bohak, Y. Harari, and S. Shaked, 11-41. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 15. Leiden: Brill.
- Abusch, T. 2016. *The Magical Ceremony Maqlû: A Critical Edition*. Ancient Magic and Divination 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Acquaviva, P. 1997. "The Logical Form of Negation: A Study of Operator-Variable Structures in Syntax." PhD diss., Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa.
- Adler, H. P. 1976. *Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 201. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Agha, A. 2015. "Enregisterment and Communication in Social History." In *Registers of Communication*, edited by A. Agha and Frog, 27-53. Studia Fennica Linguistica 18. Helsinki: Finnish Literary Society.
- Ahl, S. W. 1973. "Epistolary Texts from Ugarit: Structural and Lexical Correspondences in Epistles in Akkadian and Ugaritic." PhD diss., Brandeis University.
- Aistleitner, J. 1959. *Die mythologischen und kultischen texte aus Ras Shamra*. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 8. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Aistleitner, J. 1963. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig: Philologisch-historische Klasse 106.3. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Albright, W. F. 1934. "Archaeological News from Syria." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 54: 24-27.
- Albright, W. F. 1941. "Two Letters from Ugarit (Ras Shamra)." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 82: 43-49.
- Albright, W. F. 1944a. "A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B. C." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 94: 12-27.
- Albright, W. F. 1944b. "The 'Natural Force' of Moses in the Light of Ugaritic." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 94: 32-35.

- Albright, W. F. 1958. "Specimens of Late Ugaritic Prose." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 150: 36-38.
- Al-Jallad, A. 2014. "Final Short Vowels in Gə'əz, Hebrew 'attâ, and the Anceps Paradox." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 59: 315-327.
- Al-Jallad, A. 2015a. *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 80. Leiden: Brill.
- Al-Jallad, A. 2015b. "What's a Caron between Friends? A Review Article of Wilmsen (2014), with Special Focus on the Etymology of Modern Arabic šī." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 72: cols. 34-36.
- Al-Jallad, A. 2020. *The Damascus Psalm Fragment. Middle Arabic and the Legacy of Old Ḥigāzī*. Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Near East 2. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Aloni, M., and A. Port. 2015. "Epistemic indefinites and methods of identification." In *Epistemic Indefinites: Exploring Modality Beyond the Verbal Domain*, edited by L. Alonso-Ovalle and P. Menéndez-Benito, 117-140. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alonso-Ovalle, L., and P. Menéndez-Benito. 2003. "Some Epistemic Indefinites." In *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society*, edited by M. Kadowaki and S. Kawahara, 1-12. Amherst: GLSA.
- Alonso-Ovalle, L., and P. Menéndez-Benito. 2015. "Epistemic indefinites: an overview." In *Epistemic Indefinites: Exploring Modality Beyond the Verbal Domain*, edited by L. Alonso-Ovalle and P. Menéndez-Benito, 1-27. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. 1967. *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente*. Rome: Istituto di studi del vicino oriente.
- Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. 1981. "I pronomi MY e M' in punico." *Vicino Oriente* 4 (1981): 1-7.
- Appleyard, D. 1977. *A Comparative Approach to the Amharic Lexicon*. Monographic Journals of the Near East: Afroasiatic Linguistics 5/2. Malibu: Undena.
- Archi, A. 2006. "Eblaite in Its Geographical and Historical Context." In *The Akkadian Language in Its Semitic Context. Studies in the Akkadian of the Third and Second Millennium BC*, edited by G. Deutscher and N. J. C. Kouwenberg, 96-109. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 106. Istanbul: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Arnaud, D. 1991. "Une correspondance d'affaires entre ougaritains et emariotes (n° 30–36)." In *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville*. Les textes de la 34e campagne (1973)*, edited by P.

- Bordreuil, 65-78. Ras Shamra–Ougarit VII. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Arnaud, D. 1999. “Prolégomènes à la rédaction d’une histoire d’Ougarit II: les bordereaux de rois divinisés.” *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 41: 153-173.
- Arnaud, D. 1999-2000. “Une bêche-de-mer antique. La langue des marchands à Tyr à la fin du XIII^e siècle.” *Aula Orientalis* 17-18: 143-166.
- Arnaud, D. 2007. *Corpus des textes de bibliothèque de Ras Shamra–Ougarit (1936-2000) en sumérien, babylonien et assyrien*. Aula Orientalis Supplementa 23. Sabadell: Editorial AUSA.
- Astour, M. C. 1971. “A Letter and Two Economic Texts.” In *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, edited by L. R. Fisher, 23-29. Analecta Orientalia 48. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Avanzini, A. 2004. *Corpus of South Arabian inscriptions I-III: Qatabanic, Marginal Qatabanic, Awsanite Inscriptions*. Arabia antica 2. Pisa: PLUS.
- Avishur, Y. 1979. כתובות פיניקיות והמקרא. 2 vols. Jerusalem: E. Rubenstein.
- Avishur, Y. 2000. *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible: Select Inscriptions and Studies in Stylistic and Literary Devices Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible*. Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publication.
- Baker, C. L. 1970. “Double Negatives.” *Linguistic Inquiry* 1: 169-186.
- Baldi, P. 1990. “Introduction: The Comparative Method.” In *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*, edited by P. Baldi, 1-13. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Barth, J. 1913. *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung.
- Barwise, J. 1981. “Scenes and Other Situations.” *Journal of Philosophy* 78: 369-397.
- Bauer, H. 1934. “Bemerkungen zu Tafel C von Ras Schamra.” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 37: col. 205-206.
- Bauer, H. 1936. *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra*. Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 168. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Bauer, H., and P. Leander. 1922. *Historische Grammatik der Hebraischen Sprache des alten Testaments*. Halle: M. Niemeyer.

- Beck, S. and H. Rullmann. 1999. "A flexible approach to exhaustivity in questions." *Natural Language Semantics* 7: 249-298.
- Beeston, A. F. L. 1984. *Sabaic Grammar*. Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 6. Manchester: Journal of Semitic Studies.
- Beeston, A. F. L., et al. 1982. *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- Bekins, P. 2014. *Transitivity and Object Marking in Biblical Hebrew*. Harvard Semitic Studies 64. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Ben-Ḥayyim, Z. 2000. *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with the Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions: A Revised Edition in English*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Berger, P. 1888. "Inscriptions néopunique de Cherchell, en l'honneur de Micipsa." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 2: 35-46.
- Bergsträsser, G. 1928. *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen : Sprachproben und grammatische Skizzen*. Munich: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Bhat, D. N. S. 2004. *Pronouns*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Bhat, S. 2004. *Pronouns*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biber, D., and S. Conrad. 2009. *Register, Genre, and Style*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blau, J. 1969. "Some Problems of the Formation of the Old Semitic Languages in the Light of Arabic Dialects." In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies, held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1969*, 38-44. Jerusalem.
- Blau, J. 1985. "On some Arabic Dialectal Features Paralleled by Hebrew and Aramaic." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 76: 5-12.
- Blau, J., and S. E. Loewenstamm. 1970. "Zur Frage der Scriptio Plena im Ugaritischen und Verwandtes." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2: 19-33.
- Blejer, H. A. R. 1986. "Discourse Markers in Early Semitic, and Their Reanalyses in Subsequent Dialects." PhD. diss. The University of Texas at Austin.
- Bond, O. 2010. "Language Documentation and Language Typology." In *Language Documentation and Description, vol. 7*, edited by P. K. Austin, 238-261. London: SOAS.

- Bordreuil, P., R. Hawley, and D. G. Pardee. 2012. “Lettres (n^{os} 58-78).” In *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville***. Textes 1994-2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la Maison d’Ourtenou*, P. Bordreuil, D. G. Pardee, with R. Hawley, 147-203. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XVIII. Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee 2012. “Textes juridiques (n^{os} 56-57).” In *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville***. Textes 1994-2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la Maison d’Ourtenou*, P. Bordreuil, D. G. Pardee, with R. Hawley, 135-145. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XVIII. Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee, with R. Hawley. 2012. *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville***. Textes 1994-2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la maison d’Ourtenou*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XVIII. Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 1989. *La trouvaille épigraphique de l’Ougarit I. Concordance*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit V. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 1991. “Les textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques.” In *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville*. Les textes de la 34e campagne (1973)*, edited by P. Bordreuil, 139-168. Ras Shamra–Ougarit VII. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 2001a. “Lettres.” In *Études ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985-1995*, edited by M. Yon and D. Arnaud, 371-386. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XIV. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 2001b. “Une incantation.” In *Études ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985-1995*, edited by M. Yon and D. Arnaud, 387-391. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XIV. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 2004. *Manuel d’ougaritique*. 2 vols. Paris: Geuthner.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 2009. *A Manual of Ugaritic*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 3. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 2010. “Textes alphabétiques inédits du Musée du Louvre.” In *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit. Papers read at a symposium in Leiden, 13-14 December 2007*, edited by W. H. van Soldt, 1-15. Publications de l’Institut historique-archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 114. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten.
- Bordreuil, P., and D. G. Pardee. 2019. “Les textes ougaritiques.” In *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l’âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*, edited by P. Bordreuil, D. G. Pardee, and C. Roche-Hawley, 39-280. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 214. Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient.

- Bordreuil, P., D. G. Pardee, and C. Roche-Hawley, ed. 2019. *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l'âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 214. Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient.
- Bordreuil, P., ed. 1991. *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville*. Les textes de la 34e campagne (1973)*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit VII. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Borger, R. 2010. *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon. Zweite, revidierte und aktualisierte Auflage*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 305. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Brandtler, J. 2019. “The Question of Form in the Forming of Questions: The Meaning and Use of Clefted *wh*-interrogatives in Swedish.” *Journal of Linguistics* 55: 755-794.
- Brockelmann, C. 1906. *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*. Sammlung Göschen 291. Leipzig: G. J. Göschen.
- Brockelmann, C. 1908. *Grundriß der vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen. I. Laut- und Formenlehre*. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard.
- Brockelmann, C. 1913. *Grundriß der vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen. II. Syntax*. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard.
- Bron, F. 1973-1979. “L’element pronominal *mh-* en ougaritique, sud-arabique et arabe.” *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d’études chamito-semitiques* 18-23: 707-709 (June 20, 1979).
- Brooke, G. J. 1979. “The Textual, Formal, and Historical Significance of Ugaritic Letter RS 34.124 (= *KTU* 2.72).” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11: 69-87.
- Brown, F., S. Driver, and C. Briggs. 1907. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.
- Büring, D. 2016. “(Contrastive) Topic.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, edited by C. Féry and S. Ishihara, 64-85. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Burlingame, A. R. 2018. “‘Ešmun‘azor’s Exchange: An Old Reading and a New Interpretation of Line 19 of ‘Ešmun‘azor’s Sarcophagus Inscription (AO 4806 = *KAI* 14).” *Semitica et Classica* 11: 35-69.
- Burlingame, A. R. 2020. “New Evidence for Ugaritic and Hittite Onomastics and Prosopography at the End of the Late Bronze Age.” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 110: 196-211.
- Burlingame, A. R. Forthcoming a. “Constraining the Future in Ugaritic Juridical Composition and the Indefinite Semantics of *šhr* *iltt*.” *Ougarit, 90 ans après*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XXVIII. Leuven: Peeters.

- Burlingame, A. R. Forthcoming *b*. “Ugaritic Emotion Terms.” In *Handbook of Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by K. Sonik and U. Steinert. Routledge.
- Burlingame, A. R. In preparation. “Notes on Akkadian Epistolography at Ugarit.”
- Burlingame, A. R., and D. G. Pardee. 2019. “Two Fragments from a Single Tablet? A New Proposal Regarding the Epistolary Fragments RS 18.286[A] and RS 18.[400], with Discussion of RS 18.286[B].” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 46: 186-203.
- Burlingame, A. R., R. Hawley, and D. G. Pardee. In preparation. “The Boundaries of Literary Genre in Ugaritian Administration and Law: A New Intermediate Genre.” In *Administrations et pratiques comptables au Proche-Orient ancien*, edited by É. Bordreuil, V. Matoïan, and J. Tavernier. Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain. Leuven: Peeters.
- Butts, A. M. 2018. Review of Kogan 2015. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 77: 144-149.
- Callaham, S. N. 2010. *Modality and the Biblical Hebrew Infinitive Absolute*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 71. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Campbell, D. R. M. 2015. *Mood and Modality in Hurrian*. Languages of the Ancient Near East 5. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Campbell, E. F., Jr. 1975. *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*. Anchor Bible 7. New York: Doubleday.
- Campbell, L. 2013. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. 3d ed. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Caquot, A. 1975. “Hébreu et Araméen.” *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75: 423-432.
- Caquot, A. 1978. “Correspondance de ‘Uzzin fils de Bayaya (RS 17.63 et 17.117).” In *Ugaritica VII*, edited by I. Schaeffer de Chalon and A. Schaeffer-Boehling, 389-398. Mission de Ras Shamra XVIII. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique XCIX. Paris: Geuthner.
- Caquot, A. 1979. “La littérature ugaritique.” In *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, vol. 9, edited by H. Cazelles and A. Feuillet, 1361-1417. Paris: Lotouzey et Ané.
- Caquot, A. 1985. “Une nouvelle interprétation de KTU 1.19 I 1-19.” *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 2: 93-114.
- Caquot, A., and A.-S. Dalix. 2001. “Un texte mythico-magique.” In *Études ougaritiques I: Travaux 1985-1995*, edited by M. Yon and D. Arnaud, 393-405. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XIV. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

- Caquot, A., M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner. 1974. Textes ougaritiques. Tome I: Mythes et légendes. Introduction, traduction, commentaire. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 7. Paris: Le Cerf.
- Casado Velarde, M. 2000. "Las formas *fulano, mengano, zutano, perengano* y su funcionamiento como ordenadores del discurso." In *Lengua y discurso. Estudios dedicados al profesor Vidal Lamíquiz*, edited by P. Carbonero Cano, M. Casado Velarde, and P. Gómez Manzano, 183-195. Madrid: ARCO/LIBROS.
- Cassuto, U. 1941. "מותו של בעל (לוח AB I* מכתבי ראס־שמרה)." *Tarbiz* 12: 169-180.
- Catagnoti, A. 2012. *La grammatica della lingua di Ebla*. Quaderni di Semitistica 29. Firenze: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, Medioevo e Rinascimento e Linguistica Università di Firenze.
- Chaîne, M. 1907. *Grammaire éthiopienne*. Beirut: Imprimerie catholique.
- Charpin, D. 1987. "Tablettes présargoniques de Mari." *Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires* 5: 65-127.
- Charpin, D. 1988. "Les représentants de Mari à Ilân-Sûrâ." In *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/2*, by D. Charpin, F. Joannès, S. Lackenbacher, and B. Lafont, 31-137. Archives Royales de Mari XXVI. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Chatzikonstantinou, A. 2016. "Semantic and Prosodic Processing of the Negative Polarity Items in Greek." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- Chellia, S. L., and W. J. de Reuse. 2011. *Handbook of Descriptive Linguistic Fieldwork*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Cheng, L. L.-S., and A. Giannakidou. 2013. "The Non-uniformity of Wh-indeterminates with Polarity and Free Choice in Chinese." In *Strategies of Quantification*, edited by K.-H. Gil, S. Harlow, and G. Tsoulas, 123-151. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 44. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cheung, C. C.-H. 2014. "Wh-Fronting and the Left Periphery in Mandarin." *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 23: 393-431.
- Civil, M. 1984. "Notes on the 'Instructions of Šuruppak'." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43: 281-298.
- Clemens, D. M. 2001. *Sources for Ugaritic Ritual and Sacrifice. Vol. I: Ugaritic and Ugarit Akkadian Texts*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 284.1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Clermont-Ganneau, C. S. 1880-1897. *Études d'archéologie orientale*. 2 Vols. Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études 113. Paris: É. Bouillon.

- Clermont-Ganneau, C. S. 1905. *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*. Vol. 6. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Clines, D. J. A., ed. 1993-2011. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.
- Coats, G. W. 1970. "Self-Abasement and Insult Formulas." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 89: 14-26.
- Cohen, E. 2005. *The Modal System of Old Babylonian*. Harvard Semitic Studies 56. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Cohen, E. 2012. *Conditional Structures in Mesopotamian Old Babylonian*. Languages of the Ancient Near East 4. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Cohen, E. 2019. "The Interrogative Element *'ayy- in Semitic." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 169: 327-342.
- Comrie, B. 1989. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Comrie, B. 1993. "Typology and reconstruction." In *Historical Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives*, edited by C. Jones, 74-97. London: Longman.
- Condoravdi, C. 2015. "Ignorance, Indifference, and Individuation with *Wh-ever*." In *Epistemic Indefinites: Exploring Modality Beyond the Verbal Domain*, edited by L. Alonso-Ovalle and P. Menéndez-Benito, 213-243. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cook, J. A. 2012. *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 7. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Cook, J. A. 2020. "Finding Missing Objects in Biblical Hebrew (with an Appendix on Missing Subjects)." *Journal for Semitics* 29: 1-21.
- Cooke, G. A. 1903. *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cooper, A. 1988. "Two Exegetical Notes on *Aqht*." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 20: 19-26.
- Couroyer, B. 1977. "Alternances de pronoms personnels en égyptien et en sémitique." *Revue Biblique* 84: 365-374.
- Cowley, A. 1929. "Two Aramaic Ostraka." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1929.1: 107-112.

- Croft, W. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croft, W. 2003. *Typology and Universals. Second Edition*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Crystal, D. 2008. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cunchillos, J.-L. 1989a. "Correspondance: Introduction, Traduction Commentaire." In *Textes Ougaritiques II: Textes Religieux, Rituels, Correspondance*, edited by A. Caquot, J.-M. de Tarragon, and J.-L. Cunchillos, 239-421, 446-478. Littératures anciennes du proche-orient 14. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Cunchillos, J.-L. 1989b. *Estudios de epistolografía ugarítica*. Institución San Jerónimo para la investigación bíblica: fuentes de la ciencia bíblica 3. Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo.
- Cunchillos, J.-L., and J.-Á. Zamora. 1995. *Gramática Ugarítica Elemental*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.
- Dahl, Ö. 1999. Review of Haspelmath 1997. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 22: 663-678.
- Dahood, M. 1959. "The Value of Ugaritic for Textual Criticism." *Biblica* 40: 160-170.
- Dahood, M. 1979. "A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 32) by Richard S. Tomback (Review)." *Biblica* 60: 429-435.
- Davis, R. C. 2018. "The Derivation of the Interrogative π in Hebrew." *Hebrew Studies* 59: 25-38.
- Dayal, V. 1997. "Free Relatives and *Ever*: Identity and Free Choice Readings." *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 7: 99-116.
- Dayal, V. 1998. "Any as Inherently Modal." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21: 433-476.
- de Moor, J. C. 1970a. "The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2: 187-228.
- de Moor, J. C. 1970b. "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra II." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2: 303-327.
- de Moor, J. C. 1971. *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu According to the Version of Ilmilku*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 16. Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker.
- de Moor, J. C. 1987. *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Religious Texts Translation Series NISABA 16. Leiden: Brill.

- de Moor, J. C. 2008. "How Ilimilku Lost his Master (RS 92.2016)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 40: 179-189.
- de Moor, J. C., and K. Spronk. 1982. "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (I)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 14: 153-171.
- de Moor, J. C., and K. Spronk. 1987. *A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Semitic Study Series 6. Leiden: Brill.
- de Vaux, R. 1939. "Les ostraka de Lachis." *Revue Biblique* 48: 181-206.
- Degen, R. 1969. *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10-8. Jh. v. Chr.* Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 38.3. Mainz: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
- del Olmo Lete, G. 1981. *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan según la tradición de Ugarit. Textos, versión y estudio*. Institución San Jeronimo para la Investigación Bíblica, Fuentes de la Ciencia Bíblica 1. Madrid: Ediciones Cristianidad.
- del Olmo Lete, G. 1992. *La religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit: Estudio textual*. Aula Orientalis Supplementa 3. Sabadell: Editorial AUSA.
- del Olmo Lete, G. 1996. *El continuum cultural cananeo. Pervivencias canneas en el mundo fenicio-púnico*. Aula Orientalis Supplementa 14. Sabadell: AUSA.
- del Olmo Lete, G. 2014. *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit with a Contribution by Ignacio Márquez Rowe*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 4. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín. 1996-2000. *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica*. 2 vols. Aula Orientalis Supplementa 7-8. Sabadell: Editorial AUSA.
- del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín. 1999. "Los problemas profesionales de una pareja de augures: la carta ugarítica KTU 2.70." In *De Oriente a Occidente: homenaje al Dr. Emilio Olávarri*, 53-58. Bibliotheca Salmanticensis 205. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia.
- del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín. 2002. "Drei ugaritische Briefe: KTU 2.70, 2.71, 2.72." In *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, edited by O. Loretz, K. A. Metzler, and H. Schaudig, 547-558. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 281. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín. 2003. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Trans. W. G. E. Watson 2 vols. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.67. Leiden: Brill.

- del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín. 2015. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 3d rev. ed. 2 vols. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.112. Leiden: Brill.
- Demeke, G. A. 2017. *A Diachronic Grammar of Amharic*. Grammatical Changes in Semitic. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- den Dikken, M., and A. Giannakidou. 2002. "From *Hell* to Polarity: 'Aggressively Non-D-Linked' *Wh*-Phrases as Polarity Items." *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 31-61.
- Dercksen, J. G. 2001. "'When we met in Ḫattuš'. Trade according to Old Assyrian Texts from Alishar and Boğazköy." In *Veenhof anniversary volume: Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by W. H. van Soldt, J. G. Dercksen, N. J. C. Kouwenberg, and Th. J. H. Krispijn, 39-66. Leiden : Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Deutscher, G. 2000. *Syntactic Change in Akkadian: The Evolution of Sentential Complementation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dhelverúdhí, R. 1989. "I dhiaforés xrisís tú *kanís*: mja prospáthja erminías." In *Studies in Greek Linguistics: Proceedings of the 9th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics*, 407-426. Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis.
- Dhorme, É. 1933. "Deux tablettes de Ras-Shamra de la campagne de 1932." *Syria* 14: 229-237.
- Dhorme, É. 1934. "La lettre d'Ewir-shar." *Syria* 15: 395-396.
- Diessel, H. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, Function, and Grammaticalization*. Typological Studies in Language 42. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Diessel, H. 2003. "The Relationship between Demonstratives and Interrogatives." *Studies in Language* 27: 635-655.
- Dietrich, M. 2009. "Trumpet Snails and Purple Snails as an Indication of the Transfer of Religion and Technology in the Eastern-Mediterranean Region." In *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*, edited by G. Galil, M. Geller, and A. Millard, 35-57. Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 130. Leiden: Brill.
- Dietrich, M. 2016. "Beschreibungslieder von Mensch und Tier im Kirtu-Epos." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 47: 7-40.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 1966. "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (I)." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 23: 127-33.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 1981. "Neue Studien zu den Ritualtexten aus Ugarit (I). Ein Forschungsbericht." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 13: 63-100.

- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 1984. "Der Brief KTU 2.70 (RS 29.93)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 16: 63-68.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 1985. "Historisch-chronologische Texte aus Alalah, Ugarit, Kamid el-Loz/Kumidi und den Amarna-Briefen." In *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden Historisch-chronologische Texte*, by M. Dietrich, H. M. Kümmel, O. Loretz, and H. Otten, 496-520. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments I/5. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 1988. *Die Keilalphabet. Die phönizische-kanaanäischen und altarabischen Alphabet in Ugarit*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 1994. "Ugaritisch *it*, *tyndr* und hebräisch *šh*, *šy* (KTU 1.14 IV 38; 2.13:14-15; 2.30:12-14a)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 26: 63-72.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 1997. *Mythen und Epen IV*. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments III/6. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 2009a. "Der ugaritischen Parallelismus *mn* || *dbb* (KTU 1.4 I 38–40) und die Unterscheidung zwischen *dbb* I, *dbb* II, *dbb* III." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41: 47-49.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz. 2009b. "Die Keilalphabetischen Briefe aus Ugarit (I)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41: 109-164.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 1973. "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VII): Lexikographische Einzelbemerkungen." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5: 79-104.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 1974a. "*KŪN-š* und *šKN* im Ugaritischen." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 6:47-53.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 1974b. "Zur Ugaritischen Lexikographie (XI)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 6: 19-38.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 1975a. "Bemerkungen zu RS 24.271 = Ug. 5, S. 584 Nr. 10." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7: 542.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 1975b. "Der Brief RS 4.475 = CTA 53." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7: 529-30.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 1976. *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit einschließlich der keilalphabetischen Texte außerhalb Ugarits. Teil I Transkription*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 24/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.

- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 1995. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. 2d enl. ed. *Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens* 8. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. 2013. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. 3d enl. ed. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 360.1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Dijkstra, M. 1999. "Ugaritic Prose." In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, 140-164. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.39. Leiden: Brill.
- Dijkstra, M., and J. C. de Moor. 1975. "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhātu." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7: 171-215.
- Dillmann, A. 1865. *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino. Adiectum est vocabularium Tigre dialecti septentrionalis compilatum a Werner Munzinger*. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel.
- Dillmann, A. 1899. *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache. 2. verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage von C. Bezold*. Leipzig: C. H. Tauchnitz.
- Dillmann, A. 1907. *Ethiopic Grammar*. 2d ed., enlarged and improved by C. Bezold. Trans. J. A. Crichton. London: Williams & Norgate.
- Dion, P.-E. 1974. *La langue de Ya`udi. Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest*. Waterloo: Editions SR.
- Dion, P.-E. 1981. "The Aramaic 'Family Letter' and Related Epistolary Forms in Other Oriental Languages and in Hellenistic Greek." *Semeia* 22: 59-76.
- Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W. et al. 2005. *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Donner, H. 1959. "Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im Alten Testament." In *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet*, edited by R. von Kienle et al., 105-146. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Donner, H., and W. Röllig. 1966-1969. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 2d ed. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Dossin, G., with A. Finet. 1978. *Correspondance féminine*. Archives Royales de Mari X. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Dowty, D. 1994. "The Role of Negative Polarity and Concord Marking in Natural Language Reasoning." *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 4: 114-144.

- Driver, G. R. 1956. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. Old Testament Studies III. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Durand, J.-M. 2000. *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari. Tome III*. Littératures du Proche-Orient 18. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Dussaud, R. 1927. "G. Levi della Vida—Le iscrizioni neopuniche della Tripolitana (Review)." *Syria* 8: 365-366.
- Ebeling, E. 1915. "Glossar." In *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, by J. A. Knudtzon, 1358-1583. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Ebert, C., C. Ebert, and S. Hinterwimmer. 2014. "A Unified Analysis of Conditionals as Topics." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 37: 353-408.
- Eckardt, R. 2003. "Meaning change in conceptual Montague semantics." In *Words in Time: Diachronic Semantics from Different Points of View*, edited by R. Eckardt, K. von Heusinger, and C. Schwarze, 225-247. Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 143. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Eckardt, R. 2006. *Meaning Change in Grammaticalization: An Enquiry into Semantic Reanalysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eissfeldt, O. 1960. "The Alphabetical Cuneiform Texts from Ras Shamra Published in "Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit", Vol. II, 1957." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 5: 1-49.
- Eitan, I. 1928. "Hebrew and Semitic Particles—Continued: Comparative Studies in Semitic Philology." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 44: 254-260.
- Elat, M. 1979. "The Monarchy and the Development of Trade in Ancient Israel." In *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II. Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978*, edited by E. Lipiński, 527-546. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 6. Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek.
- Epps, P. 2010. "Linguistic Typology and Language Documentation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology*, edited by J. J. Song, 634-649. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, N., and A. Dench. 2006. "Introduction: Catching language." In *Catching Language: The Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing*, edited by F. K. Ameka, A. Dench, and N. Evans, 1-39. Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 167. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Faber, A. 1988. "Indefinite Pronouns in Early Semitic." In *Fucus: A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman*, edited by Y. L. Arbeitman, 221-238. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

- Faber, A. 1991. "The Diachronic Relationship between Negative and Interrogative Markers in Semitic." In *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday November 14th, 1991. Volume I*, edited by A. S. Kaye, 411-429. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Faber, A. 1997. "Genetic Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages." In *The Semitic Languages*, edited by R. Hetzron, 3-15. Routledge Language Family Descriptions. London: Routledge.
- Fălăuș, A. 2018. "Positive polarity indefinites? On how (not) to identify them: An exhaustification-based perspective." *Linguistics* 56: 301-331.
- Fales, F. M., and G. F. Grassi. 2016. *L'aramaico antico. Storia, grammatica, testi commentati con un'appendice paleografica di Ezio Attardo*. Udine: Forum.
- Farkas, D. F. 1992. "On the Semantics of Subjunctive Complements." In *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory: Papers from the 20th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XX), Ottawa, 10-14 April 1990*, edited by P. Hirschbühler and K. Koerner, 69-104. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series IV, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 91. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Février, J.-G. 1951. "L'inscription funéraire de Micipsa." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 45: 139-150.
- Février, J.-G. 1952. "Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik, Forme le volume 32 des Analecta Orientalia by Johannes Friedrich (Review)." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 46: 221-225.
- Fischer, W. 1972. *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium. Neue Serie, 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Fischer, W. 1997. "Classical Arabic." In *The Semitic Languages*, edited by R. Hetzron, 187-219. Routledge Language Family Descriptions. London: Routledge.
- Fisher, L. R. 1975. "Literary Genres in the Ugaritic Texts." In *Ras Shamra Parallels: Vol. II*, edited by L. R. Fisher, 131-152. Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes Scientifcae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui 50. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. 1995. *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. Rev. ed. Biblica et Orientalia 19/A. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Fleischer, H. L. 1885-1888. *Kleinere Schriften*. 3 vols. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.
- Ford, J. N. 2002. "The New Ugaritic Incantation against Sorcery RS 1992.2014." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 34: 119-152.

- Ford, J. N. 2008. "The Ugaritic Letter RS 18.038 (KTU² 2.39) and the Meaning of the Term *spr* 'Lapis Lazuli' (= BH יָפִיר 'Lapis Lazuli')." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 40: 277-338.
- Foster, B. 1996. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. 2d ed. Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Fox, A. 1995. *Linguistic Reconstruction: An Introduction to Theory and Method*. Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, B. A. 2010. "Introduction." In *Fillers, Pauses and Placeholders*, edited by N. Amiridze, B. H. Davis, and M. Maclagan, 1-9. Typological Studies in Language 93. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Friedrich, J., W. Röllig, and M. G. Amadasi Guzzo. 1999. *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*. 3d ed. Analecta Orientalia 55. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Fronzaroli, P. 1955. *Leggenda di Aqhat. Testo ugaritico*. Firenze: Sansoni.
- Fronzaroli, P. 1982. "Per una valutazione della morfologia eblaita." *Studi Eblaiti* 5: 93-120.
- Fronzaroli, P. 2005. "Structures linguistiques et histoire des langues au III^e millénaire av. J.-C." *Quaderni di semitistica* 25: 155-167.
- Fuentes Estañol, M.-J. 1980. *Vocabulario fenicio*. Biblioteca Fenicia 1. Barcelona: Biblioteca Fenicia.
- Garbini, G. 1960. *Il semitico di nord-ovest*. Istituto Universitario di Napoli: Quaderni della Sezione Linguistica degli Annali 1. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Garbini, G. 1988. *Il semitico nordoccidentale: Studi di storia linguistica*. Studi Semitici, Nuova serie 5. Rome: Università degli Studi "La Sapienza."
- Garbini, G. 2014. *Il Poema di Baal di Ilumilku*. Studi biblici fondati da Giuseppe Scarpat 176. Brescia: Paideia.
- Gaster, T. H. 1935. "Notes on Ras Shamra Texts." *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 38: 473-477.
- Gaster, T. H. 1937. "New Light on Early Palestinian Religion. More Texts from Ras Shamra." *Religions* 18: 7-36.
- Gaster, T. H. 1946. "A Canaanite Ritual Drama: The Spring Festival at Ugarit." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 66: 49-76.
- Gelb, I. J. 1935. *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*. Oriental Institute Publications 27. Researches in Anatolia 6. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Gelb, I. J. 1952. *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*. MAD 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gelb, I. J. 1955. *Old Akkadian Inscriptions in Chicago Natural History Museum. Texts of Legal and Business Interest*. Fieldiana: Anthropology 44.2. Chicago Natural History Museum Publication 748. Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum.
- Gelb, I. J. 1957. *Glossary of Old Akkadian*. MAD 3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gelb, I. J. 1961. *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*. MAD 2. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gelb, I. J., and B. Kienast. 1990. *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.* Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 7. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Gelb, I. J., P. Steinkeller, and R. Whiting. 1989. *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus*. 2 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 104. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gerlach, B. 2002. *Clitics between Syntax and Lexicon*. Linguistik Aktuell 51. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Gesenius, W. 2013. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, edited by R. Meyer, U. Rütterswörden, J. Renz, and H. Donner. 18th ed. Berlin: Springer.
- Giacumakis, G. 1970. *The Akkadian of Alalah*. Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 59. The Hague: Mouton.
- Giannakidou, A. 1994. "The Semantic Licensing of NPIs and the Modern Greek Subjunctive." *Language and Cognition: Yearbook of the Research Group for Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics* 4: 55-68.
- Giannakidou, A. 1995. "Subjunctive, Habituality and Negative Polarity Items." *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 5: 94-111.
- Giannakidou, A. 1998. *Polarity Sensitivity as (Non)Veridical Dependency*. Linguistik Aktuell 23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Giannakidou, A. 1999. "Affective Dependencies." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 22: 367-421.
- Giannakidou, A. 2000. "Negative . . . Concord?" *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18: 457-523.
- Giannakidou, A. 2001. "The Meaning of Free Choice." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 24: 659-735.

- Giannakidou, A. 2004. "Domain Restriction and the Arguments of Quantificational Determiners." *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 14: 110-126.
- Giannakidou, A. 2006a. "N-words and Negative Concord." In *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, edited by M. Everaert, H. van Riemsdijk, R. Goedemans, and B. Hollebrandse, vol. 3, 327-392. Malden: Blackwell.
- Giannakidou, A. 2006b. "Only, emotive factive verbs, and the dual nature of polarity dependency." *Language* 82: 575-603.
- Giannakidou, A. 2007. "The Landscape of EVEN." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25: 39-81.
- Giannakidou, A. 2010. "The Dynamics of Change in Dutch *enig*: From Nonveridicality to Strict Negative Polarity." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 861-875.
- Giannakidou, A. 2011. "Negative and positive polarity items." In *Semantics: An International Handbook*, edited by P. Portner, C. Maienborn, and K. Heusinger, vol. 2, 1660-1712. 2 vols. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 33.1-2. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Giannakidou, A., and H. Zeijlstra. 2017. "The Landscape of Negative Dependencies: Negative Concord and N-words." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, edited by M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk, 1-38. 2d ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Giannakidou, A., and J. Quer. 2013. "Exhaustive and Non-Exhaustive Variation with Free Choice and Referential Vagueness: Evidence from Greek, Catalan, and Spanish." *Lingua* 126: 120-149.
- Giannakidou, A., and L. L.-S. Cheng. 2006. "(In)Definiteness, Polarity, and the Role of wh-morphology in Free Choice." *Journal of Semantics* 23: 135-183.
- Giannakidou, A., and S. Yoon. 2016. "Scalar Marking without Scalar Meaning: Nonscalar, Nonexhaustive *even*-marked NPIs in Greek and Korean." *Language* 92: 522-556.
- Gianollo, C. 2013. "Latin *aliquis* as an epistemic indefinite." In *Proceedings of the VI Nereus International Workshop: Theoretical Implications at the Syntax-Semantics Interface in Romance*, edited by S. Chiriacescu, 55-82. Arbeitspapier: Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Konstanz 127. Konstanz: Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.
- Gianto, A. 1991. Review of Caquot, Tarragon, and Cunchillos 1989. *Orientalia* 60: 128-131.
- Gianto, A. 2010. "Grief, Joy, and Anger in Ugaritic Literary Texts." In *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit: Papers Read at a Symposium in Leiden, 13-14 December 2007*, edited by W. H. van Soldt, 45-57. Publications de l'Institut historique-

- archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 114. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten.
- Gianto, A. 2012. "Ugaritic." In *Languages from the World of the Bible*, edited by H. Gzella, 28-54. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Gibson, J. C. L. 1977. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Gibson, J. C. L. 1982. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Mixed Dialect of Arslan Tash*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1932-1933. "לעלילת אל־אֵין־בעל." *Tarbiz* 4: 106-119.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1935. "Notes on 'The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods.'" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23: 45-72.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1936a. כתבי איגרת. Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1936b. "The Rebellion and Death of Ba'lu." *Orientalia* 5: 161-198.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1937. "A Grammar of the Phoenician Language (American Oriental Series, Vol. 8) by Zellig S. Harris (Review)." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 56: 138-143.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1945. "The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 98: 15-25.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1946. *The Legend of King Keret: A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age*. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Supplementary Studies 2/3. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1950. "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by J. B. Pritchard, 129-155. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1955. "Ugaritic Myths and Epics." In *Religions of the Ancient Near East. Sumero-Akkadian Religious Texts and Ugaritic Epics*, edited by I. Mendelsohn, 223-282. New York: Liberal Arts Press.
- Ginsberg, H. L. 1963. "'Roots below and Fruit above' and Related Matters." In *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday, 20 August 1962*, edited by D. W. Thomas and W. D. McHardy, 72-76. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Ginsberg, H. L., and B. Maisler. 1934. "Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine." *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 14: 243-267.

- Ginsberg, H. L., and B. Maisler. 1935. "The Ewirižar Letter: A Reply." *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15: 181-184.
- Glinert, L. 1982. "Negative and Non-Assertive in Contemporary Hebrew." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45: 434-470.
- Goldenberg, G. 1977. "Imperfectly-Transformed Cleft Sentences." In *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, edited by A. Shin'an, 1:127-133. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.
- Goldenberg, G. 1998. "Imperfectly-Transformed Cleft Sentences." In *Studies in Semitic Linguistics: Selected Writings*, 116-122. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Goldenberg, G. 2002. "Semitic Linguistics and the General Study of Language." In *Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the 21st Century*, edited by Sh. Izre'el, 21-41. Israel Oriental Studies 20. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Goldenberg, G. 2013. *Semitic Languages: Features, Structures, Relations, Processes*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Gordon, C. H. 1938. "The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets." *Orientalia* n.s. 7: 32-63.
- Gordon, C. H. 1940. *Ugaritic Grammar: The Present State of the Linguistic Study of the Semitic Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra*. Analecta Orientalia 20. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Gordon, C. H. 1943. "The Poetic Literature of Ugarit." *Orientalia* n.s. 12: 31-75.
- Gordon, C. H. 1947. *Ugaritic Handbook*. Analecta Orientalia 25. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Gordon, C. H. 1949. *Ugaritic Literature: A Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Texts*. Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici 98. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Gordon, C. H. 1955. *Ugaritic Manual*. Analecta Orientalia 35. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Gordon, C. H. 1965. *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indices*. Analecta Orientalia 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Gordon, C. H. 1998. *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indices*. Revised Reprint. Analecta Orientalia 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.

- Goren, Y., I. Finkelstein, and N. Na'aman. 2004. *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology.
- Gragg, G. B. 1973. "Linguistics, Method, and Extinct Languages: The Case of Sumerian." *Orientalia* 42: 78-96.
- Grande, B. M. 1972. *Introduction to the Comparative Study of the Semitic Languages*. Moscow: Nauka (Russian).
- Grassi, G. F. 2019. "Uccellacci e uccellini: La liste des oiseaux de Deir 'Alla et le lexique des animaux en araméen ancien." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 46: 88-113.
- Gray, J. 1955. *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra: A Social Myth of Ancient Canaan*. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 5. Leiden: Brill.
- Gray, J. 1957. *The Legacy of Canaan: The Ras Shamra Texts and Their Relevance to the Old Testament*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 5. Leiden: Brill.
- Gray, J. 1964. *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra: A Social Myth of Ancient Canaan*. 2d ed. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 5. Leiden: Brill.
- Gray, J. 1965. *The Legacy of Canaan: The Ras Shamra Texts and Their Relevance to the Old Testament*. 2d, rev. ed. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 5. Leiden: Brill.
- Gray, J. 1978. "Canaanite Religion and Old Testament Study in the Light of New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra." In *Ugaritica VII*, edited by I. Schaeffer de Chalon and A. Schaeffer-Boehling, 79-108. Mission de Ras Shamra XVIII. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique XCIX. Paris: Geuthner.
- Gray, L. H. 1934. *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics*. Columbia University Studies in Comparative Linguistics 1. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Greenberg, J. H., ed. 1963. *Universals of Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Greenberg, J. H., ed. 1966. *Universals of Language*. 2d ed. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Greenberg, J. H. 1950. "The Patterning of Root Morphemes in Semitic." *Word* 6: 162-181.
- Greenberg, J. H. 1991. "The Semitic 'Intensive' as Verbal Plurality." In *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday November 14th, 1991*, edited by A. S. Kaye, 577-87. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Greenfield, J. C. 1976. "Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament by Joseph A. Fitzmyer (Review)." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35: 59-61.

- Greenstein, E. 1974. "Two Variations of Grammatical Parallelism in Canaanite Poetry and Their Psycholinguistic Background." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 6: 87-105.
- Greenstein, E. 1977. "One More Step on the Staircase." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9: 77-86.
- Greenstein, E. 1997. "Kirta." In *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, edited by S. B. Parker, 9-48. Writings from the Ancient World 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Grégoire, J. P. 1996. *Contribution à l'histoire sociale, économique, politique et culturelle du proche orient ancien. AAICAB 1 Les sources 1*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Grégoire, J. P. 2000. *Contribution à l'histoire sociale, économique, politique et culturelle du proche orient ancien. AAICAB 1 Les sources 2*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Gröndahl, F. 1967. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. Studia Pohl: Dissertationes Scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui 1. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Güterbock, H. G., and H. A. Hoffner, ed. 1980-. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Gzella, H. 2004. *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 48. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gzella, H. 2005. Review of Bordreuil and Pardee 2004. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 62: col. 309-314.
- Gzella, H. 2007. "Some Penciled Notes on Ugaritic Lexicography." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 64: col. 527-567.
- Gzella, H. 2010. "Linguistic Variation in the Ugaritic Letters and Some Implications Thereof." In *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit: Papers Read at the Symposium in Leiden, 13-14 December 2007*, edited by W. H. van Soldt, 58-70. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 114. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Gzella, H. 2012. "Some General Remarks on Interactions between Aspect, Modality, and Evidentiality in Biblical Hebrew." *Folia Orientalia* 49: 225-232.
- Hackett, J. and N. Pat-El. 2010. "On Canaanite and Historical Linguistics: A Rejoinder to Anson Rainey." *Maarav* 17: 173-188.
- Haelewyck, J.-C. 2006. *Grammaire comparée des langues sémitiques: Éléments de phonétique, de morphologie et de syntaxe*. Langues et cultures anciennes 7. Brussels: Éditions Safran.
- Hagenbuchner, A. 1989. *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*. 2 vols. Texte der Hethiter 15. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

- Haiman, J. 1978. "Conditionals are Topics." *Language* 54: 564-589.
- Hale, M. 2007. *Historical Linguistics: Theory and Method*. Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 21. Malden: Blackwell.
- Harris, A. C., and L. Campbell. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-linguistic Perspective*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, Z. 1936. *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. American Oriental Series 8. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Harris, Z. S. 1936. *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. American Oriental Series 8. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Haspelmath, M. 1995. "Diachronic Sources of 'All' and 'Every.'" In *Quantification in Natural Languages. Volume I*, edited by E. Bach, E. Jelinek, A. Kratzer, and B. H. Partee, 363-382. Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 54. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Haspelmath, M. 1997. *Indefinite Pronouns*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. 2003. "The Geometry of Grammatical Meaning: Semantic Maps and Cross-Linguistic Comparison." In *The New Psychology of Language*, edited by M. Tomasello, vol. 2, 211-42. Mahwah: Erlbaum.
- Haspelmath, M. 2004. "Does linguistic explanation presuppose linguistic description?" *Studies in Language* 28: 554-579.
- Haspelmath, M. 2007. "Pre-established categories don't exist: Consequences for language description and typology." *Linguistic Typology* 11: 119-132.
- Haspelmath, M. 2008. "A Frequentist Explanation of Some Universals of Reflexive Marking." *Linguistic Discovery* 6: 40-63.
- Haspelmath, M. 2010a. "Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in crosslinguistic studies." *Language* 86: 663-687.
- Haspelmath, M. 2010b. "Framework-free Grammatical Theory." In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, edited by B. Heine and H. Narrog, 341-365. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. 2012. "How to compare major word-classes across the world's languages." *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics, Theories of Everything* 17: 109-130.

- Haspelmath, M., and König, E. 1998. "Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe." In *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*, edited by J. van der Auwera, 563-640. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hasselbach, R. 2005. *Sargonic Akkadian: A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hasselbach, R. 2006. "The Ventive/Energic in Semitic—A Morphological Study." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 156: 309-328.
- Hasselbach, R. 2007. "Demonstratives in Semitic." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127: 1-27.
- Hasselbach, R. 2011. "Early Canaanite and Old Aramaic Case in the Light of Language Typology." In *Grammatical case in the languages of the Middle East and Europe. Acts of the international colloquium Variations, concurrence et evolution des cas dans divers domaines linguistiques, Paris, 2-4 April 2007*, edited by M. Fruyt, M. Mazoyer, and D. G. Pardee, 101-111. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 64. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hasselbach, R. 2013. *Case in Semitic: Roles, Relations, and Reconstruction*. Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hasselbach, R. and J. Huehnergard. 2007. "Northwest Semitic Languages." In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by K. Versteegh, vol. 3, 408-422. Leiden: Brill.
- Hawley, R. 2003. "Studies in Ugaritic Epistolography." PhD diss., The University of Chicago.
- Hawley, R. 2004. "Hyssop in the Ugaritic Incantation RS 92.2014." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 4: 29-70.
- Hawley, R. 2008a. "Apprendre à écrire à Ougarit : une typologie des abécédaires." In *D'Ougarit à Jérusalem. Recueil d'études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil*, edited by C. Roche, 215-232. Orient et Méditerranée 2. Paris: De Boccard.
- Hawley, R. 2008b. "Epistolary Function and the Archiving of Ugaritic Letters." Pages 63-85 in *La lettre d'archive. Communication administrative et personnelle dans l'Antiquité proche-orientale et égyptienne. Actes du colloque de l'université de Lyon 2 9-10 juillet 2004*. Edited by L. Pantalacci. TOPOI Supplément 9. Le Caire : Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale.
- Hawley, R. 2012. "Ugarit." Oxford Bibliographies Online: Biblical Studies, edited by C. Matthews. Oxford University Press (<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>).
- Hawley, R., and D. G. Pardee. 2002-2007. "Le texte juridique RS 16.382: Nouvelle étude épigraphique." *Semitica* 52-53: 15-35.

- Hawley, R., and D. G. Pardee. 2012. "Les dons royaux en langue ougaritique : nouvelle étude épigraphique de RS 15.111." In *Études ougaritiques II*, edited by V. Matoïan, M. Al-Maqdissi, and Y. Calvet, 251-273. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XX. Leuven: Peeters.
- Hawley, R., D. G. Pardee, and C. Roche-Hawley. 2015. "The Scribal Culture of Ugarit." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 2: 229-267.
- Hawley, R., F. Malbran-Labat, and C. Roche. 2008. "Pour une étude sur les textes de l'« ex-four » dans l'« ex-Cour V » du Palais royal d'Ougarit." In *Le mobilier du Palais royal d'Ougarit*, edited by V. Matoïan, 327-342. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 17. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- Heim, I. 1982. *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics. New York: Garland.
- Heim, I. 1984. "A Note on Negative Polarity and Downward Entailingness." In *Proceedings of NELS 14*, edited by C. Jones and P. Sells, 98-107. Amherst: GLSA.
- Heim, I., and A. Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in Generative Grammar*. Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 13. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heltzer, M. 1970. "Royal Economy in Ancient Ugarit." In *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II. Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978*, edited by E. Lipiński, 459-496. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 6. Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek.
- Heltzer, M. 1982. *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit (Royal Service-System, Taxes, Royal Economy, Army and Administration)*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Herdner, A. 1949. "La légende cananéenne d'Aqhat d'après les travaux récents." *Syria* 26: 1-16.
- Herdner, A. 1963. *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*. Mission de Ras Shamra X; Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique LXXIX. Paris: Geuthner.
- Herdner, A. 1978. "Lettre de deux serviteurs à leur maître." In *Ugaritica VII*, edited by I. Schaeffer de Chalon and A. Schaeffer-Boehling, 75-78. Mission de Ras Shamra XVIII. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique XCIX. Paris: Geuthner.
- Hetzron, R. 1972. *Ethiopian Semitic: Studies in Classification*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Hetzron, R. 1974. "La division des langues sémitiques." In *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique Sémitique et Chamito-Sémitique, Paris 16-19 juillet, 1969*, edited by A. Caquot and D. Cohen, 181-194. Paris: Mouton.
- Hetzron, R. 1975. "Genetic Classification and Ethiopian Semitic." In *Hamito-Semitic*, edited by J. Bynon and T. Bynon, 103-127. The Hague: Mouton.
- Hetzron, R. 1976. "Two Principles of Genetic Reconstruction." *Lingua* 38: 89-104.
- Hetzron, R. 1977. "Innovations in the Semitic Numeral System." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 22: 167-201.
- Hilgert, M. 2002. *Akkadisch in der Ur III-Zeit*. IMGULA 5. Münster: Rhema.
- Himmelmann, N. P. 2016. "What about typology is useful for language documentation?" *Linguistic Typology* 20: 473-478.
- Hirschfeld, H. 1927. "Gleanings in Semitic Epigraphy." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 1927: 103-104.
- Hock, H. H. 1991. *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. 2d rev. and updated ed. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hock, H. H., and B. D. Joseph. 2009. *Language History, Language Change, and Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. 2d rev. ed. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hoeksema, J. 1983. "Negative Polarity and the Comparative." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1: 403-434.
- Hoeksema, J. 2010. "Dutch ENIG: From Nonveridicality to Downward Entailment." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 837-859.
- Hoftijzer, J. 1982. "Quodlibet Ugariticum." In *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by G. van Driel, Th. J. H. Krispijn, M. Stol, and K. R. Veenhof, 121-127. Leiden: Brill.
- Hoftijzer, J. 1983. "Ugaritische Brieven uit de Tijd van de Ondergang van de Stad." In *Schrijvend Verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten Vertaald en Toegelicht*, edited by K. R. Veenhof, 94-99. Ex Oriente Lux 24. Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux.
- Hoftijzer, J. and K. Jongeling. 1995. *Dictionary of the North-west Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.21. Leiden: Brill.
- Hoftijzer, J., and van Soldt. W. H. 1991. "Texts from Ugarit Concerning Security and Related Akkadian and West Semitic Material." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 23: 189-216.

- Holmstedt, R. D. 2010. *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*. Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible. Baylor: Baylor University.
- Holmstedt, R. D. 2013. "The Syntax and Pragmatics of Subject Pronouns in Phoenician." In *Linguistic Studies in Phoenician in Memory of J. Brian Peckham*, edited by R. D. Holmstedt and A. Schade, 84-110. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Holmstedt, R. D. 2016. *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 10. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Hopper, P. J., and E. C. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. 2d ed. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horn, L. 2000. "Pick a Theory (Not Just *Any* Theory): Indiscriminatives and the Free-Choice Indefinite." In *Negation and Polarity: Syntactic and Semantic Perspectives*, edited by L. R. Horn and Y. Kato, 147-192. Oxford Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Huehnergard, J. 1987. "The Feminine Plural Jussive in Old Aramaic." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 137: 266-277.
- Huehnergard, J. 1989. *The Akkadian of Ugarit*. Harvard Semitic Studies 34. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Huehnergard, J. 1991. "Remarks on the Classification of the Northwest Semitic Languages." In *The Balaam text from Deir 'Alla re-evaluated : proceedings of the international symposium held at Leiden, 21-24 August 1989*, edited by J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, 282-293. Leiden: Brill.
- Huehnergard, J. 1992. "Languages of the Ancient Near East." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by D. N. Freedman, vol. 4, 155-170. New York: Doubleday.
- Huehnergard, J. 1999. "The Akkadian Letters." In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, 375-389. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.39. Leiden: Brill.
- Huehnergard, J. 2002. "Comparative Semitic Linguistics." In *Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the 21st Century*, edited by S. Izre'el, 119-150. Israel Oriental Studies XX. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Huehnergard, J. 2005. "Features of Central Semitic." In *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran*, edited by A. Gianto, 155-203. Biblica et Orientalia 48. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Huehnergard, J. 2006. "Proto-Semitic and Proto-Akkadian." In *The Akkadian Language in Its Semitic Context: Studies in the Akkadian of the Third and Second Millennium BC*, edited by G. Deutscher and N. J. C. Kouwenberg, 1-18. Publications de l'Institut historique-

- archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 106. Istanbul: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Huehnergard, J. 2008. *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. Revised edition. Harvard Semitic Studies 32. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Huehnergard, J. 2012. *An Introduction to Ugaritic*. Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Huehnergard, J. and A. D. Rubin. 2011. "Phyla and Waves: Models of Classification of the Semitic Languages." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 259-278. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Huehnergard, J., and N. Pat-El. 2007. "Some Aspects of the Cleft in Semitic Languages." In *Studies in Semitic and General Linguistics in Honor of Gideon Goldenberg*, edited by T. Bar and E. Cohen, 325-342. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 334. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Huehnergard, J., and N. Pat-El. 2018. "The Origin of the Semitic Relative Marker." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 81: 191-204.
- Huehnergard, J., and N. Pat-El. 2019. "Introduction to the Semitic Languages and Their History." In *The Semitic Languages. Second Edition*, edited by J. Huehnergard and N. Pat-El, 1-21. Routledge Language Family Series. London: Routledge.
- Hutton, J. M. 2002-2003. "'Abdi-Aširta, the Slave, the Dog': Self-Abasement and Invective in the Amarna Letters, the Lachish Letters, and 2 Sam 3:8." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 15-16: 2-18.
- Idiatov, D. 2007. "A Typology of Non-Selective Interrogative Pronominals." PhD diss. Universiteit Antwerpen.
- Ismael, F., et al. 1996. *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Israel, F. 1995. "Études de grammaire ougaritique." In *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin – 1^{er} juillet 1993*, edited by M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil, 255-262. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XI. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Izre'el, S. 1991. *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*. 2 vols. Harvard Semitic Studies 40-41. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Jacobson, P. 1995. "On the Quantificational Force of English Free Relatives." *Quantification in Natural Languages. Volume II*, edited by E. Bach et al., 451-486. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.

- Jongeling, K. 2008. *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Joüon, P., and T. Muraoka 2006. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Rev. English ed. Subsidia Biblica 27. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Kautzsch, E., ed. 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Translated by A. E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Kearns, K. 2011. *Semantics*. 2d ed. Palgrave Modern Linguistics. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Khan, G. 2017. Review of *Case in Semitic*, by R. Hasselbach. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 76: 191-192.
- Khanjian, J. 1975. "Wisdom." In *Ras Shamra Parallels: Vol. II*, edited by L. R. Fisher, 371-400. *Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes Scientifcae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* 50. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Kienast, B. 1979. "Rechtsurkunden in ugaritischer Sprache." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11: 431-452.
- Kienast, B. 2001. *Historische Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kienast, B., and K. Volk 1995. *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur (SAB)*. *Freiburger Altorientalische Studien* 19. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Kienast, B., and W. Sommerfeld. 1994. *Glossar zu den Altakkadischen Königsinschriften*. *Freiburger Altorientalische Studien* 8. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Klima, E. S. 1964. "Negation in English." In *The Structure of Language. Readings in the Philosophy of Language*, edited by J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz, 246-323. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Knooihuizen, R. 2015. "Convergence in Generic Pronouns: Language Contact and Faroese *mann*." *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 47: 220-243.
- Knudtzon, J. A. 1915. *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Knutson, F. B. 1975. "Literary Genres in PRU IV." In *Ras Shamra Parallels: Vol. II*, edited by L. R. Fisher, 153-214. *Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes Scientifcae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* 50. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Koehler, L., and W. Baumgartner. 1994-2000. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament in English*. Translated by M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill.

- Kogan, L. 2015. *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- König, E. 1986. "Conditionals, Concessive Conditionals and Concessives: Areas of Contrast, Overlap and Neutralization." In *On Conditionals*, edited by E. C. Traugott et al., 229-246. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- König, E. 1988. "Concessive Connectives and Concessive Sentences: Cross-Linguistic Regularities and Pragmatic Principles." In *Explaining Language Universals*, edited by J. A. Hawkins, 145-166. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- König, E. 1991. *The Meaning of Focus Particles: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Routledge.
- König, E. 1992. "From Discourse to Syntax: The Case of Concessive Conditionals." In *Who Climbs the Grammar-Tree*, edited by R. Tracy, 423-433. Linguistische Arbeiten 281. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- König, E. 2015. "Manner Deixis as Source of Grammatical Markers in Indo-European Languages." In *Perspectives on Historical Syntax*, edited by C. Viti, 35-60. Studies in Language Companion Series 169. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- König, E. 2017. "The Deictic Identification of Similarity." In *Similitive and Equative Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, edited by Y. Treis and M. Vanhove, 143-164. Typological Studies in Language 117. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kouwenberg, N. J. C. 2010. *The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background*. Languages of the Ancient Near East 2010. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Kouwenberg, N. J. C. 2011. "Akkadian in General." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 330-340. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Kouwenberg, N. J. C. 2015. Review of *Case in Semitic*, by R. Hasselbach. *Orientalia* 84: 123-129.
- Kouwenberg, N. J. C. 2017. *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.118. Leiden: Brill.
- Kozhanov, K. 2015. "Lithuanian Indefinite Pronouns in Contact." In *Contemporary Approaches to Baltic Linguistics*, edited by P. M. Arkadiev, A. Holvoet, and B. Wiemer, 465-490. Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 276. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Krahmalkov, C. R. 2000. *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 90. *Studia Phoencia* 15. Leuven: Peeters.

- Krahmalkov, C. R. 2001. *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.54. Leiden: Brill.
- Kramers, J. H. 1949. *De semietische talen*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kratzer, A., and Shimoyama, J. 2002. "Indeterminate Pronouns: The View from Japanese." In *The Proceedings of the Third Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*, edited by Y. Otsu, 1-25. Tokyo: Hituzi Shobo.
- Kraus, F. R. 1976. "Einführung in die Briefe in altakkadischer Sprache." *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptische Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* 24: 74-104.
- Krifka, M. 1995. "The Semantics and Pragmatics of Polarity Items in Assertion." *Linguistic Analysis* 15: 209-257.
- Kristensen, A. L. 1977. "Ugaritic Epistolary Formulas: A Comparative Study of the Ugaritic Epistolary Formulas in the Context of the Contemporary Akkadian Formulas in the Letters from Ugarit and Amarna." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9: 143-158.
- Kühne, C. 1973. *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 17. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Kuryłowicz, J. 1945-1949. "La nature des procès dits 'analogiques.'" *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 5: 15-37.
- Labat, R. 1988. *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne. Signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes*. 6th ed, with additions by F. Malbran-Labat. Paris: Librairie orientale P. Geuthner.
- Lackenbacher, S., and F. Malbran-Labat. 2016. *Lettres en akkadien de la « Maison d'Urtēnu ». Fouilles de 1994*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XXIII. Leuven: Peeters.
- LaCocque, A. 2004. *Ruth. A Continental Commentary*. Translated by K. C. Hanson. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- Ladusaw, W. A. 1979. "Polarity Sensitivity as Inherent Scope Relations." PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin.
- Lagarce, J. "Avant-propos. Le contexte archéologique des textes de l'âge du Bronze récent découverts à Ras Ibn Hani (1977 à 2002)." In *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l'âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*, edited by P. Bordreuil, D. G. Pardee, and C. Roche-Hawley, 13-22. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 214. Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient.
- Lagarce, J. et al. 1984. "Les découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques de Ras Ibn Hani (Syrie) en 1983 : un lot d'archives administratives." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 128: 398-438.

- Laka, I. 1990. "Negation in Syntax: The Nature of Functional Categories and Projections." PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Lam, J. 2019. "The Meaning of *māt* in KTU 1.14 I:38 (Kirta): A Review of Previous Solutions and a New Proposal." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 50: 179-191.
- Lam, J., and D. G. Pardee. 2012. "Diachrony in Ugaritic." In *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, edited by C. L. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit, 407-431. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Lambdin, T. O. 1978. *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)*. Harvard Semitic Studies 24. Missoula: Scholars Press.
- Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representation of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 71. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Lambrecht, K. 2001. "A Framework for the Analysis of Cleft Constructions." *Linguistics* 39: 463-516.
- Lane, E. W. 1963-1893. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 vols. London: Williams & Norgate.
- Largement, R. 1949. *La naissance de l'aurore. Poème mythologique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit*. Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia 2.2. Gembloux: J. Duculot.
- Laroche, E. 1966. *Les noms des Hittites*. Études Linguistiques IV. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- Laroche, E. 1968. "Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra." In *Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit, commentaires des textes historiques (première partie)*, edited by J.-C. Courtois, 447-544. Mission de Ras Shamra XVI. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique LXXX. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Lass, R. 1997. *Historical Linguistics and Language Change*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawler, J. M. 1971. "any Questions?" In *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 163-173. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lazard, G. 2002. "Transitivity Revisited as an Example of a More Strict Approach in Typological Research." *Folia Linguistica* 36: 141-190.
- Lee, C. 1999. "Types of NPIs and Nonveridicality in Korean and Other Languages." In *Syntax at Sunset 2*. E, edited by G. Storto, 96-132. UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics 3. Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California.

- LeGrand, J. E. 1975. “*Or and Any: The Semantics and Syntax of Two Logical Operators.*” PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- Lemaire, A. 1977. *Inscriptions hébraïques I. Les ostraca*. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 9. Paris: Cerf.
- Lemaire, A. 1981. *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l’ancien Israël*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 39. Fribourg: University Press.
- Lénárt-Cheng, H. 2015. “The Role of Indefinite Pronouns in Modeling Wholeness: Gertrude Stein’s ‘Everybody’s Autobiography.’” *Amerikastudien* 60: 275-292.
- León-Castro, M., and D. Repede. 2018. “El pronombre indefinido *uno* como estrategia de impersonalización: un estudio en el corpus oral Preseña-Sevilla.” *Nueva Revista del Pacífico* 69: 67-89.
- Leslau, W. 1995. *Reference Grammar of Amharic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W. 1997. *Ethiopic Documents: Argobba: Grammar and Dictionary*. Aethiopistische Forschungen 47. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W. 2000. *Introductory Grammar of Amharic*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium 21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, W. 2006. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge‘ez (Classical Ethiopic): Ge‘ez-English / English-Ge‘ez with an Index of the Semitic Roots*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Levi della Vida, G. 1927. “Le iscrizioni neopuniche della Tripolitania.” *Libya* 1 (*Rivista della Tripolitania* 3): 91-116.
- Levi della Vida, G., and M. G. Amadasi Guzzo. 1987. *Iscrizioni Puniche della Tripolitania (1927-1967)*. Monografie di Archeologia Libica 22. Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Levine, B. A. 1993. *Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible 4. New York: Doubleday.
- Lewis, D. 1975. “Adverbs of Quantification.” In *Formal Semantics of Natural Language: Papers from a Colloquium Sponsored by the King’s College Research Centre, Cambridge*, edited by E. L. Keenan, 3-15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, T. J. 1997. “The Birth of the Gracious Gods.” In *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, edited by S. B. Parker, 205-18. Writings from the Ancient World 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Lewis, T. J. 2013. “The Sha‘tiqatu Narrative from the Ugaritic Story about the Healing of King Kirta.” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 13: 188-211.

- Li, T. 2013. "Syriac Enclitic Pronouns Added to ܐܘܪܝܢ and ܐܘܪܝܢܐ." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58: 65-99.
- Libolt, C. 1985. "Royal Land Grants from Ugarit." PhD diss. University of Michigan.
- Lidzbarski, M. 1898. *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften I: Text*. Weimar: Emil Felber.
- Lidzbarski, M. 1908. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. Vol. 2. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann.
- Lindenberger, J. M. 2003. *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters. Second Edition*. Writings from the Ancient World 14. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Linder, E. 1970. "The Maritime Texts of Ugarit: A Study in Late Bronze Age Shipping." PhD diss., Brandeis University.
- Linebarger, M. 1980. "The Grammar of Negative Polarity." PhD diss., MIT.
- Linebarger, M. 1987. "Negative Polarity and Grammatical Representation." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 10: 325-387.
- Lipiński, E. 1981. "Allusions historiques dans la correspondance ougaritique de Ras Shamra: Lettre de Ewri-šarri à Pilsiya." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 13: 123-26.
- Lipiński, E. 1997. *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 80. Leuven: Peeters.
- Lipiński, E. 2001. *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. 2d ed. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 80. Leuven: Peeters.
- Liverani, M. 1964. "Un tipo di espressione indefinite in accadico e in ugaritico." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 39: 199-202.
- Liverani, M. 1997. "A Canaanite Indefinite Idiom in the Amarna Letters." *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1997.4: 119-120 (no. 127).
- Lloyd, J. B. 1990. "The Banquet Theme in Ugaritic Narrative." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 22: 169-193.
- Loewenstamm, S. E. 1958-1959. "הערות לתורת הכינויים באוגריתית לאור הכנענית." *Lešonenu* 23: 72-84.
- Loewenstamm, S. E. 1959. "Virolleaud's New Publication of Ugaritic Texts." *Tarbiz* 28: 244-250 (Hebrew).

- Loewenstamm, S. E. 1967. "Prostration from Afar in Ugaritic, Accadian and Hebrew." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 188: 41-43.
- Loewenstamm, S. E. 1980. *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 204. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Luckenbill, D. D. 1924. *The Annals of Sennacherib*. Oriental Institute Publications 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mandell, A. H. 2015. "Scribalism and Diplomacy at the Crossroads of Cuneiform Culture: The Sociolinguistics of Canaanite-Akkadian." PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles.
- Mandell, A. H. 2019. "When Form is Function: A Reassessment of the *marziḥu* Contract (KTU 3.9) as a Scribal Exercise." *Maarav* 23: 39-67.
- Manzotti, E., and A. Rigamonti. 1991. "La negazione." In *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, edited by L. Renzi, G. Salvi, and A. Cardinaletti, 245-320. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Margalit, B. 1976. "Studia Ugaritica II: 'Studies in *Krt* and *Aqht*.'" *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8: 137-192.
- Margalit, B. 1984. "Lexicographical Notes on the *Aqht* Epic (Part II: KTU 1.19)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 16: 119-179.
- Margalit, B. 1989. *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht: Text, Translation, Commentary*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 182. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Margueron, J.-C. 1995. "Notes d'archéologie et d'architecture orientales, 7.-Feu le four à tablettes de l'ex « cour V » du palais d'Ugarit." *Syria* 72: 55-73.
- Márquez Rowe, I. 1992. "Akkadisms in Ugaritic Texts. KTU 2.41:14-22: A Suggestion." *Aula Orientalis* 10:152-154.
- Márquez Rowe, I. 2006. *The Royal Deeds of Ugarit: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Diplomats*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 335. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Marsman, H. J. 2003. *Women in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East*. Oudtestamentische Studiën 49. Leiden: Brill.
- Martínez Borobio, E. 2003. *Arameo antiguo. Gramática y textos comentados*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- Matras, Y. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Matthewson, L. 2013. "Strategies of Quantification in St'át'imcets and the Rest of the World." In *Strategies of Quantification*, edited by K.-H. Gil, S. Harlow, and G. Tsoulas, 15-38. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 44. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mazzini, G. 2009. "On the Problematic Term *syr/d* in the New Old Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41: 505-507.
- McGeough, K. M. 2011. *Ugaritic Economic Tablets: Text, Translation and Notes*, edited by M. S. Smith. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 32. Leuven: Peeters.
- Meyer, R. 2011. "Amharic." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 1178-1212. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Michalowski, P. 1993. *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*. Writings from the Ancient World 3. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Michel, C, and P. Garelli. 1997. *Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe, volume I (Kt90/k)*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Milano, L. 1980. "Osservazioni sul bilinguismo ugaritico-accadico." *Vicino Oriente* 3: 179-197.
- Militarev, A., and L. Kogan. 2005. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary Vol. II Animal Names*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 278/2. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Miller, C. L. 1996. *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 55. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Miller, C. L. 1999. "Patterns of Verbal Ellipsis in Ugaritic Poetry." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 31: 333-372.
- Miller, C. L. 2004. "Methodological Issues in Reconstructing Language Systems from Epigraphic Fragments." In *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, edited by J. K. Hoffmeier and A. Millard, 281-305. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Miller, C. L. 2005. "Linguistics." In *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books*, edited by B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson, 657-669. Downers Grove: InterVarsity.
- Miller, G. I. 1980. "Studies in the Juridical Texts from Ugarit." PhD diss. The Johns Hopkins University.
- Miller, P. D., Jr. 1971. "The *MRZĤ* Text." In *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, edited by L. R. Fisher, 37-49. Analecta Orientalia 48. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.

- Mithun, M. 1990. "The role of typology in American Indian historical linguistics." In *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*, edited by P. Baldi, 33-55. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mithun, M. 2016. "Typology, Documentation, Description, and Typology." *Linguistic Typology* 20: 467-472.
- Mittwoch, A. 2001. "Perfective Sentences under Negation and Durative Adverbials: A Double-Jointed Construction." In *Perspectives on Negation and Polarity Items*, edited by J. Hoeksema, H. Rullmann, V. Sánchez-Valencia, and T. van der Wouden, 265-282. *Linguistik Aktuell* 40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Montague, R. 1969. "On the Nature of Certain Philosophical Entities." *The Monist* 53: 159-194.
- Montgomery, J. A. 1934. "Ras Shamra Nates. II." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 54: 60-66.
- Moran, W. L. 1950. "A Syntactical Study of the Dialect of Byblos as Reflected in the Amarna Tablets." PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University.
- Moran, W. L. 2003. *Amarna Studies: Collected Writings*. Harvard Semitic Studies 54. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Moravcsik, E. A. 1978. "Reduplicative Constructions." In *Universals of Human Language. Volume III: Word Structure*, edited by J. H. Greenberg, 298-334. Stanford: Stanford University.
- Moscatti, S. 1960. *Lezioni di linguistica semitica*. Università di Roma: Centro di studi semitici: Sussidi didattici 1. Rome: Centro di studi semitici, Istituto di studi orientali, Università.
- Moscatti, S. 1964. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Moshavi, A. 2018. "On the Possible Grammaticalization of דָּבָר as an Indefinite Pronoun in Biblical Hebrew." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 44: 41-60.
- Moshavi, A. 2019. "Biblical Hebrew מְאֹדָּה: An Emphatic Negative Polarity Item." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 64: 67-90.
- Multhoff, A. 2019. "Ancient South Arabian." In *The Semitic Languages. Second Edition*, edited by J. Huehnergard and N. Pat-El, 321-341. London: Routledge.
- Nebes, N. 1994. "Zur Form der Imperfektbasis des unvermehrten Grundstammes im Altsüdarabischen." In *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag, vol. 1: Semitische*

- Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südsemitistik*, edited by W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeller, 59-81. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Niehr, H. 2006. "Briefe in ugaritische Sprache." In *Briefe*, edited by B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm, 279-288. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, neue Folge 3. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Nöldeke, T. 1904. *Compendious Syriac Grammar*. With a table of characters by J. Euting. Trans. J. A. Crichton. London: Williams & Norgate.
- Nougayrol, J. 1950. "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne conservés au musée du Louvre (III)." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 44: 1-44.
- Nougayrol, J. 1955. *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III. Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales*. Mission de Ras Shamra VI. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Nougayrol, J. 1956. *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III. Textes accadiens des archives sud (Archives internationales)*. Mission de Ras Shamra IX. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Nougayrol, J. 1968. "Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit." In *Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit, commentaires des textes historiques (première partie)*, edited by J.-C. Courtois, 1-446. Mission de Ras Shamra XVI. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique LXXX. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Nougayrol, J. 1970. *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit VI. Textes en cunéiformes babyloniens des archives du grand palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit*. Mission de Ras Shamra XII. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- O'Leary, D. L. 1923. *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. Repr. 2010. *Lincom Orientalia* 5. Munich: Lincom.
- Oppenheim, A. L. 1977. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Oppenheim, A. L. et al. 1956-2010. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 21 vols. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Padučeva, E. V. 1985. *Vyskazyvanie i ego sootnesennost' s dejstvitel'nost'ju*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Pardee, D. G. 1975. "The Preposition in Ugaritic." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7: 329-378.
- Pardee, D. G. 1976. "The Preposition in Ugaritic." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8: 215-322, 483-493.
- Pardee, D. G. 1977. "A New Ugaritic Letter." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 34: col. 3-20.

- Pardee, D. G. 1978. "The Semitic Root *mrr* and the Etymology of Ugaritic *mr(r) || brk*." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 10: 249-288.
- Pardee, D. G. 1979. "More on the Preposition in Ugaritic." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11: 685-692.
- Pardee, D. G. 1979-1980. "La lettre de *pnht* et de *ymhd* à leur maître." *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 29-30: 23-35.
- Pardee, D. G. 1980. Review of Gibson 1978. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 37: 269-291.
- Pardee, D. G. 1981. "A Further Note on *PRU V*, no. 60." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 13: 151-156.
- Pardee, D. G. 1982. "New Readings in the Letters of 'zn bn byy." *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft* 19: 39-53.
- Pardee, D. G. 1983-1984. "The Letter of Puduḥepa: The Text." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 29-30: 321-329.
- Pardee, D. G. 1984a. "Further Studies in Ugaritic Epistolography." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 31: 213-230.
- Pardee, D. G. 1984b. "Three Ugaritic Tablet Joins." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43: 239-245.
- Pardee, D. G. 1984c. "Will the Dragon Never Be Muzzled?" *Ugarit-Forschungen* 16: 251-255.
- Pardee, D. G. 1987a. "'As Strong as Death.'" In *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope*, edited by J. H. Marks and R. M. Good, 65-69. Guilford: Four Quarters.
- Pardee, D. G. 1987b. "Epigraphic and Philological Notes." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 19: 199-217.
- Pardee, D. G. 1988. *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit IV. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Pardee, D. G. 1990. Review of *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49: 88-94.
- Pardee, D. G. 1997a. "The Ba'lu Myth." In *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, edited by W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., 241-274. Leiden: Brill.
- Pardee, D. G. 1997b. "Dawn and Dusk (1.87)." In *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, edited by W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., 274-83. Leiden: Brill.

- Pardee, D. G. 1997c. "The Kirta Epic." In *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, edited by W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., 333-343. Leiden: Brill.
- Pardee, D. G. 1997d. "The 'Aqhatu Legend." In *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, edited by W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., 343-356. Leiden: Brill.
- Pardee, D. G. 1997e. "Ugaritic." In *The Semitic Languages*, edited by R. Hetzron, 131-144. London: Routledge.
- Pardee, D. G. 2000. *Les textes rituels. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XII*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Pardee, D. G. 2001. "Épigraphie et structure dans les textes administratifs en langue ougaritique: les exemples de RS 6.216 et RS 19.017." *Orientalia* 70: 235-282.
- Pardee, D. G. 2002a. *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*. Writings from the Ancient World 10. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Pardee, D. G. 2002b. "Ugaritic Letters." In *The Context of Scripture: Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, edited by W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., 87-116. Leiden: Brill.
- Pardee, D. G. 2003. "Une Formule Épistolaire en Ougaritique et Accadien." In *Semitic and Assyriological Studies Presented to Pelio Fronzaroli by Pupils and Colleagues*, edited by P. Marrassini, 446-475. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Pardee, D. G. 2003-2004. "Review of Josef Tropper. *Ugaritische Grammatik*." *Archiv für Orientforschung Online Version* 50.1: 1-404.
- Pardee, D. G. 2004. "Ugaritic." In *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, edited by R. D. Woodard, 288-318. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Pardee, D. G. 2007a. "Ougarit. – L'étiquette RS 17.073 et les « enquêteurs » du royaume d'Ougarit." *Semitica* 52-53: 149-153.
- Pardee, D. G. 2007b. Review of Smith 2006. *Review of Biblical Literature* 03/2007.
- Pardee, D. G. 2007c. "RS 18.028 et le palais royal d'Ougarit comme acheteur de biens." *Syria* 84: 57-68.
- Pardee, D. G. 2007d. "The Ugaritic Alphabetic Cuneiform Writing System in the Context of Other Alphabetic Systems." In *Studies in Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics Presented to Gene B. Gragg*, edited by C. L. Miller, 181-200. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 60. Chicago: University of Chicago.

- Pardee, D. G. 2007e. "Ugaritic Morphology." In *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*, edited by A. S. Kaye, 49-74. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Pardee, D. G. 2008. "RS 22.225 : étude épigraphique suivie de quelques remarques philologiques." In *D'Ougarit à Jérusalem. Recueil d'études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil*, edited by C. Roche, 3-20. Orient et Méditerranée 2. Paris: De Boccard.
- Pardee, D. G. 2009. "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 356: 51-71.
- Pardee, D. G. 2010a. "RS 94.2168 and the Right of the Firstborn at Ugarit." In *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit: Papers Read at a Symposium in Leiden, 13-14 December 2007*, edited by W. H. van Soldt, 94-106. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 114. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten.
- Pardee, D. G. 2010b. "Un chant nuptial ougaritique (RS 5.194 [CTA 24]. Nouvelle étude épigraphique suivie de remarques philologiques et littéraires." *Semitica et Classica* 3: 13-46.
- Pardee, D. G. 2011. "Ugaritic." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, 460-472. Handbücher zu Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Pardee, D. G. 2012a. "RS 18.113A+B, lettre d'un serviteur du roi d'Ougarit se trouvant à Chypre." In *From Ugarit to Nabataea: Studies in Honor of John F. Healey*, edited by G. A. Kiraz and Z. Al-Salameen, 167-206, 271-272. Piscataway: Gorgias.
- Pardee, D. G. 2012b. *The Ugaritic Texts and the Origins of West Semitic Literary Composition. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 2007*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Pardee, D. G. 2019. "Catalogue raisonné des textes de Ras Ibn Hani 1977-2002." In *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l'âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*, edited by P. Bordreuil, D. G. Pardee, and C. Roche-Hawley, 31-36. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 214. Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient.
- Pardee, D. G. and R. M. Whiting. 1987. "Aspects of Epistolary Verbal Usage in Ugaritic and Akkadian." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50: 1-31.
- Pardee, D. G. Forthcoming a. *Les textes épistolaires*.
- Pardee, D. G. Forthcoming b. "The Ugaritic Letter RS 29.095." To appear in a forthcoming Festschrift.

- Pardee, D. G., et al. 1982. *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. A Study Edition*. Sources for Biblical Study 15. Chico: Scholars.
- Pardee, D. G., with R. Hawley. 2010. "Les textes juridiques en langue ougaritique." In *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques*, edited by S. Démare-Lafont and A. Lemaire, 125-140. École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques II; Hautes Études Orientales: Moyen et Proche-Orient 4, no. 48. Geneva: Droz.
- Parker, S. B. 1967. "Studies in the Grammar of Ugaritic Prose Texts." PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University.
- Parker, S. B. 1997. "Aqhat." In *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, edited by S. B. Parker, 49-80. Writings from the Ancient World 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Pat-El, N. 2009. "The Development of the Semitic Definite Article: A Syntactic Approach." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 54: 19-50.
- Pat-El, N. 2012. "On Verbal Negation in Semitic." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 162: 17-45.
- Pat-El, N. 2013. "On Negation in Phoenician." In *Linguistic Studies in Phoenician in Memory of J. Brian Peckham*, edited by R. D. Holmstedt and A. Schade, 47-67. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Pat-El, N. 2016. Review of Wilmsen, David, *Arabic Indefinites, Interrogatives, and Negators: A Linguistic History of Western Dialects* (2014). *Journal of Semitic Studies* 61: 292-295.
- Pat-El, N. 2017a. "Digging Up Archaic Features: 'Neo-Arabic' and Comparative Semitic in the Quest for Proto Arabic." In *Arabic in Context: Celebrating 400 Years of Arabic at Leiden University*, edited by A. Al-Jallad, 441-475. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 89. Leiden: Brill.
- Pat-El, N. 2017b. Review of Kogan, Leonid, *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses* (2015). *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 112: 153-156.
- Pat-El, N., and A. Wilson-Wright. 2016. "The Features of Canaanite: A Reevaluation." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 166: 41-55.
- Pat-El, N., and A. Wilson-Wright. 2018. "Features of Aramaeo-Canaanite." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138: 781-806.
- Pat-El, N., and A. Wilson-Wright. 2019. "The Subgrouping of Samalian: Arguments in Favor of an Independent Branch." *Maarav* 23: 371-387.
- Payne Smith, J., ed. 1903. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus by R. Payne Smith*. Oxford: Oxford University.

- Payne, J. R. 1985. "Negation." In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Volume I: Clause Structure*, edited by T. Shopen, 197-242. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Penka, D. 2011. *Negative Indefinites*. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 32. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pennacchietti, F. 1963. "I pronomi arabi *man*, *mā* e *'ayyun* nell'ambito semitico." PhD diss., Rome.
- Pesetsky, D. 1987. "Wh-in-Situ: Movement and Unselective Binding." In *The Representation of (In)definiteness*, edited by E. J. Reuland and A. G. B. ter Meulen, 98-129. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Podlesskaya, V. I. 2010. "Parameters for Typological Variation of Placeholders." In *Fillers, Pauses and Placeholders*, edited by N. Amiridze, B. H. Davis, and M. Maclagan, 11-32. Typological Studies in Language 93. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Poebel, A. 1932. *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Person sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Assyriological Studies 3. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Porkhomovsky, V. 1997. "Modern South Arabian Languages from a Semitic and Hamito-Semitic Perspective." *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 27: 219-223.
- Porten, B., and A. Yardeni. 1999. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt 4: Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Department of the History of the Jewish People.
- Praetorius, F. 1886. *Äthiopische Grammatik mit Paradigmen, Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar*. Porta linguarum orientalium, Alte Serie 7. Leipzig: H. Reuther.
- Praetorius, F. 1904. "Zur Ešmūn'āzār-Inschrift." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 58: 198.
- Praetorius, F. 1906. "Zu phönizischen Inschriften." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60: 165-168.
- Progovac, L. 1994. *Positive and Negative Polarity: A Binding Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prosser, M. C. 2010. "Bunušu in Ugaritian Society." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- Qimron, E. 1986. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Harvard Semitic Studies 29. Atlanta: Scholars.

- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Rahmouni, A. 2008. *Divine Epithets in the Ugaritic Alphabetic Texts*. Trans. J. N. Ford. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.93. Leiden: Brill.
- Rainey, A. F. 1968. "The Scribe at Ugarit: His Position and Influence." *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings* 3.4: 126-147.
- Rainey, A. F. 1971. "Observations on Ugaritic Grammar." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3: 151-172.
- Rainey, A. F. 1977. "Verbal Usages in the Taanach Texts." *Israel Oriental Studies* 7: 33-64.
- Rainey, A. F. 1987. "A New Grammar of Ugaritic." *Orientalia* n.s. 56: 391-402.
- Rainey, A. F. 1995-1996. "A New English Translation of the Amarna Letters." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 42-43: 109-121.
- Rainey, A. F. 1996. *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*. 4 vols. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.25. Leiden: Brill.
- Rainey, A. F. 1996b. "Who Is a Canaanite? A Review of the Textual Evidence." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 304: 1-15.
- Rainey, A. F., Schniedewind, W. M., and Z. Cochavi-Rainey. 2015. *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.110. Leiden: Brill.
- Rankin, R. L. 2006. "The Interplay of Synchronic and Diachronic Discovery in Siouan Grammar-writing." In *Catching Language: The Standing Challenge of Grammar Writing*, edited by F. K. Ameka, A. Dench, and N. Evans, 527-547. Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 167. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ratcliffe, R. R. 1998. "Defining Morphological Isoglosses: The 'Broken' Plural and Semitic Subclassification." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57: 81-123.
- Rawlins, K. 2015. "Indifference and scalar inferences in free relatives." In *Epistemic Indefinites: Exploring Modality beyond the Verbal Domain*, edited by L. Alonso-Ovalle and P. Menéndez-Benito, 267-288. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reckendorf, H. 1898. *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*. Leiden: Brill.
- Reckendorf, H. 1921. *Arabische Syntax*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.

- Renfroe, F. 1986. "Methodological Considerations Regarding the Use of Arabic in Ugaritic Philology." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 18: 33-74.
- Renfroe, F. 1992. *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 5. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Renz, J. 1995. *Die althebräischen Inschriften. Teil 1: Text und Kommentar*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Retsö, J. 2011. "Classical Arabic." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 782-810. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Ribichini, S., and P. Xella. 1985. *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit*. Collezione di Studi Fenici 20. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Richey, M. 2019. "Visions of Gods and Monsters: Levantine and Mesopotamian Iconographies of Divine Combat and Their Textual Impressions." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- Richter, T. 2012. *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Richter, T. 2016. *Vorarbeiten zu einem hurritischen Namenbuch. Erster Teil: Personennamen altbabylonischer Überlieferung vom Mittleren Euphrat und aus dem nördlichen Mesopotamien*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rin, S., and Sh. Rin. 1996. *Acts of the Gods. The Ugaritic Epic Poetry. A Revised and Expanded Edition*. Philadelphia: Inbal.
- Rin, S., with Sh. Rin. 1968. *Acts of the Gods. The Ugaritic Epic Poetry Transliterated, Transcribed and Interpreted*. Jerusalem: Israel Society for Biblical Research.
- Römer, W. H. Ph. 1977. "Zur Deutung zweier Briefe aus Ugarit in alphabetischer Keilschrift." In *Übersetzung und Deutung. Studien zu dem Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt Alexander Reinhard Hulst gewidmet von Freunden und Kollegen*, 135-53. Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- Roque Amaral, E. T. 2017. "Sobre las construcciones indefinidas para humanos en español." *Todas as letras* 19: 274-95.
- Rosenthal, F. 1952. "Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik by Johannes Friedrich (Review)." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 72: 171-173.
- Rubin, A. D. 2005. *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*. Harvard Semitic Studies 57. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Rubin, A. D. 2007. "On Syriac *hārḳā* and Aramaic *r < *n*." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 66: 123-124.

- Rubin, A. D. 2008a. "Interrogatives in Mehri: Their Use and Etymologies." *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 48: 75-90.
- Rubin, A. D. 2008b. "The Subgroupings of the Semitic Languages." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2: 61-84.
- Rubin, A. D. 2010. *The Mehri Language of Oman*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 58. Leiden: Brill.
- Rubin, A. D. 2014. *The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman. Grammar and Texts*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 72. Leiden: Brill.
- Rullmann, H., and S. Beck. 1998. "Presupposition projection and the interpretation of which-questions." *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 8: 215-232.
- Sanmartín, J. 1977. "Glossen zum ugaritischen Lexikon." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 9: 263-268.
- Sanmartín, J. 1988. "Glossen zum ugaritischen Lexikon (V)." *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 5: 171-180.
- Sanmartín, J. 1991. "Isoglosas morfológicas eblaítico-ugaríticas: la trampa lexicográfica." *Aula Orientalis* 9: 165-217.
- Sanmartín, J. 1995. "Wirtschaft und Handel in Ugarit: Kulturgrammatische Aspekte." In *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient: Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Band I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien Palästinas 7. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Sauren, H., and G. Kestemont. 1971. "Keret, roi de Ḫubur." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3: 181-221.
- Scheil, V. 1902. *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*. Mémoires de l'IFAO 1. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Schipper, J. 2016. *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Yale Bible 7D. New Haven: Yale University.
- Schniedewind, W. M. 2019. *The Finger of the Scribe: How Scribes Learned to Write the Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Schniedewind, W. M., and J. H. Hunt. 2007. *A Primer on Ugaritic: Language, Culture, and Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Segert, S. 1976. *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck.
- Segert, S. 1984. *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Segert, S. 1997. "Phoenician and the Eastern Canaanite Languages." In *The Semitic Languages*, edited by R. Hetzron, 174-186. Routledge Language Family Descriptions. London: Routledge.
- Seminara, S. 1998. *L'accadico di Emar*. Materiali per il Vocabolario Sumerico 6. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza.
- Shields, K. 2010. "Linguistic Typology and Historical Linguistics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology*, edited by J. J. Song, 551-567. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sideltsev, A. 2018. "Dream Syntax: Hittite *imma* and *mān* as Indefiniteness Markers." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 168: 301-332.
- Silverman, M. H. 1974. "Kananäische und Aramäische Inschriften, Band II: Kommentar—zweite, durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage by H. Donner; W. Röllig; O. Rössler (Review)." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94: 266-272.
- Simeone-Senelle, M.-C. 2011. "Modern South Arabian." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 1073-1113. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Sinclair, C. 1991. "The Valence of the Hebrew Verb." *JANESCU* 20: 63-81.
- Singer, I. 1999. "A Political History of Ugarit." In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, 603-733. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.39. Leiden: Brill.
- Sivan, D. 1996. "A Note on the Use of the 'u-Sign in Ugaritic Roots with First 'aleph." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 28: 555-559.
- Sivan, D. 2001. *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. 2d impression with corrections. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.28. Leiden: Brill.
- Sjörs, A. 2018. *Historical Aspects of Standard Negation in Semitic*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 91. Leiden: Brill.
- Slade, B. 2015. "Sinhala Epistemic Indefinites with a Certain *je ne sais quoi*." In *Epistemic Indefinites: Exploring Modality Beyond the Verbal Domain*, edited by L. Alonso-Ovalle and P. Menéndez-Benito, 82-99. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Slouschz, N. 1942. *Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions Edited with Commentary*. Tel-Aviv: Dvir (Hebrew).
- Smith, D. E. 1975. "Wisdom Genres in RS 22.439." In *Ras Shamra Parallels: Vol. II*, edited by L. R. Fisher, 215-247. *Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes Scientificaе de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* 50. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.

- Smith, M. S. 1994. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume I. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 55. Leiden: Brill.
- Smith, M. S. 1997. "The Baal Cycle." In *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, edited by S. B. Parker, 81-180. Writings from the Ancient World 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Smith, M. S. 2006. *The Rituals and Myths of the Feast of the Goodly Gods of KTU/CAT 1.23: Royal Constructions of Opposition, Intersection, Integration, and Domination*. Resources for Biblical Studies 51. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Smith, M. S., and W. T. Pitard. 2009. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume II. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3-1.4*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 114. Leiden: Brill.
- Smyth, H. W. 1920. *Greek Grammar*. Revised by G. M. Messing. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Sokoloff, M. 2009. *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Sokoloff, M. 2017. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. 3d rev. and exp. ed. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University.
- Sommerfeld, W. 2003. "Bemerkungen zur Dialektgliederung Altakkadisch, Assyrisch und Babylonisch." In *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*, edited by G. J. Selz, 569-586. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 274. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Spencer, A., and A. R. Luís. 2012. *Clitics: An Introduction*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stade, B. 1875. "Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phönizischen und Hebräischen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades: Ein Beitrag zur morgenländischen Sprachkunde." In *Morgenländische Forschungen: Festschrift Herrn Professor Dr. H. L. Fleischer zu seinem fünfzigjährigen doctorjubiläum am 4. März 1874 gewidmet*, edited by H. Derenbourg, et al., 167-232. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Stalnaker, R. 1978. "Assertion." In *Pragmatics*, edited by P. Cole, 315-332. *Syntax and Semantics* 9. New York: Academic Press.
- Stein, P. 2003. *Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen*. Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel 3. Rahden: Leidorf.
- Stein, P. 2010. *Die altsüdarabischen Minuskelinschriften auf Holztafeln aus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*. 2 vols. Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel 5. Tübingen: Wasmuth.

- Stein, P. 2011. "Ancient South Arabian." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 1042-1073. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Stein, P. 2013. *Lehrbuch der sabäischen Sprache. I. Teil: Grammatik*. Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum Orientis 4.1 Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Streck, M. P. 2010. "Großes Fach Altorientalistik: Der Umfang des keilschriftlichen Textkorpus." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 142: 35-58.
- Streck, M. P. 2011a. "Babylonian and Assyrian." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 359-396. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Streck, M. P. 2011b. "Eblaite and Old Akkadian." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 340-359. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Szabolcsi, A. 2004. "Positive Polarity – Negative Polarity." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22: 409-452.
- Sznycer, M. 1979 "Documents administratifs et économiques." In *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, vol. 9, ed. H. Cazelles and A. Feuillet, 1417-1425. Paris: Lotouzey et Ané.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. 1925. "Un hymne à Ištar de la haute époque babylonienne." *Revue d'Assyriologie* 22: 169-177.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. 1928. *Tablettes cappadociennes. Deuxième série. Textes Cunéiformes XIV*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. 1937. "Trois contrats de Ras-Shamra." *Syria* 18: 245-255.
- Tomback, R. S. 1978. *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 32. Missoula: Scholars Press.
- Tomioka, S. 2009. "Why Questions, Presuppositions, and Intervention Effects." *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 18: 253-271.
- Torrey, C. C. 1912. "New Notes on Some Old Inscriptions." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 26: 77-92.
- Torrey, C. C. 1937. "A New Phoenician Grammar." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 57: 397-410.

- Toyota, J. 2005. "Politeness as a Distancing Device in the Passive and in Indefinite Pronouns." In *Opening Windows on Texts and Discourses of the Past*, edited by J. Skaffari et al., 319-339. *Pragmatics and Beyond*, n.s. 134. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Tropper, J. 1990. *Der ugaritische Kausativstamm und die Kausativbildungen des Semitischen. Eine morphologisch-semantische Untersuchung zum Š-Stamm und zu den umstrittenen nichtsibilantischen Kausativstämmen des Ugaritischen*. *Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 2*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tropper, J. 1993. *Die Inschriften von Zincirli: Neue Edition und vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, sam'arischen und aramäischen Textkorpus*. *Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 6*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tropper, J. 1994a. "Die enklitische Partikel -y im Ugaritischen." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 26: 473-82.
- Tropper, J. 1999. "Ugaritic Grammar." In *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, edited by W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, 91-121. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.39. Leiden: Brill.
- Tropper, J. 2000. *Ugaritische Grammatik*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 273. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tropper, J. 2002. *Ugaritisch: Kurzgefasste Grammatik mit Übungstexten und Glossar*. *Elementa Linguarum Orientis* 1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tropper, J. 2002a. *Altäthiopisch: Grammatik des Ge'ez mit Übungstexten und Glossar*. *Elementa Linguarum Orientis* 2. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tropper, J. 2003. "Sekundäres wortanlautendes Alif im Arabischen." In *Studia Semitica*, edited by L. Kogan, 190-216. *Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute* 3. Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities.
- Tropper, J. 2008. *Kleines Wörterbuch des Ugaritischen*. *Elementa Linguarum Orientis* 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Tropper, J. 2012. *Ugaritische Grammatik: Zweite, stark überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 273. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tropper, J. 2013. "Enklitisches Mem im Biblisch-Hebräischen und im (Biblisch-)Aramäischen." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 44: 329-341.
- Tropper, J., and J.-P. Vita. 2004. "Texte aus Ugarit." In *Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben*, by H. Freydank et al., 111-128. *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge* 1. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

- Tropper, J., and J.-P. Vita. 2010a. *Das Kanaan-Akkadische der Amarnazeit*. Lehrbücher orientalischer Sprachen I.1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tropper, J., and J.-P. Vita. 2010b. “Die ugaritische Gefäßbezeichnung spl/saplu und die Rechtsurkunde RS [Varia 31].” *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 27: 19-25.
- Tropper, J., and J.-P. Vita. 2019. “Ugaritic.” In *The Semitic Languages. Second Edition*, edited by J. Huehnergard and N. Pat-El, 482-508. Routledge Language Family Series. London: Routledge.
- Tropper, J., and J.-P. Vita. 2020. *Lehrbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. Münster: Zaphon.
- Tropper, J., and R. Hasselbach-Andee. 2021. *Classical Ethiopic: A Grammar of Gə‘əz*. Languages of the Ancient Near East 10. University Park: Eisenbrauns.
- Tsumura, D. T. 1991. “Vowel Sandhi in Ugaritic.” In *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, edited by M. Mori, H. Ogawa, and M. Yoshikawa, 427-435. Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Tsumura, D. T. 1997. “Vowel sandhi in Biblical Hebrew.” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 109.
- Tsumura, D. T. 2005. “‘Misspellings’ in Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit: Some Cases of Loss or Addition of Signs.” In *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard*, edited by P. Bienkowski, C. Mee, and E. Slater, 143-153. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 426. New York: T&T Clark.
- Tubiana, J. 1963. “A propos de l’amharique *məndən*.” *Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d’études chamito-sémitiques* 9: 15-17.
- van den Branden, A. 1969. *Grammaire phénicienne*. Bibliothèque de l’Université Saint-Esprit 2. Beyrouth: Librairie du Liban.
- van der Wouden, T. 1994. “Negative Contexts.” PhD diss., University of Groningen.
- van Soldt, W. H. 1991. *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 40. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- van Soldt, W. H. 2010a. “The Akkadian Legal Texts from Ugarit.” In *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques*, edited by S. Démare-Lafont and A. Lemaire, 85-124. École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques II; Hautes Études Orientales: Moyen et Proche-Orient 4, no. 48. Geneva: Droz.

- van Soldt, W. H. 2010b. "The Ugaritic Suffixes *-āyu* and *-ānu*." In *Von Göttern und Menschen. Beiträge zu Literatur und Geschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Brigitte Gronenberg*, edited by D. Shehata, F. Weiershäuser, and K. V. Zand, 307-321. Cuneiform Monographs 41. Leiden: Brill.
- Vendler, Z. 1962. "Each and Every, Any and All." *Mind*, n.s. 71 (no. 282): 145-160.
- Vendler, Z. 1967. "Each and Every, Any and All." In *Linguistics in Philosophy*, by Z. Vendler, 70-96. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Verreet, E. 1984. "Beobachtungen zum ugaritischen Verbal-System." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 16: 307-321.
- Virolleaud C. 1936b. *La légende phénicienne de Danel. Texte cunéiforme alphabétique avec transcription et commentaire, précédé d'une introduction à l'étude de civilisation d'Ugarit*. Mission de Ras-Shamra 1. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 21. Paris: Geuthner.
- Virolleaud, C. 1933. "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux. Poem phenicien de Ras-Shamra." *Syria* 14: 128-51.
- Virolleaud, C. 1934a. "Fragment nouveau du poème de Môt et d'Aleyn-Baal." *Syria* 15: 226-43.
- Virolleaud, C. 1934b. "La mort de Baal, poème de Ras-Shamra (Ie AB)." *Syria* 15: 305-36.
- Virolleaud, C. 1935. "La révolte de Košer contre Baal. Poème de Ras Shamra (III AB, A)." *Syria* 16: 29-45.
- Virolleaud, C. 1936a. *La légende de Keret roi des Sidoniens*. Mission de Ras-Shamra 2. Paris: Geuthner.
- Virolleaud, C. 1938. "Textes alphabétiques de Ras-Shamra provenant de la neuvième campagne." *Syria* 19: 127-141.
- Virolleaud, C. 1941. "Le roi Kéret et son fils (II K), 1^{re} partie. Poème de Ras-Shamra." *Syria* 22: 105-136.
- Virolleaud, C. 1944-1945. "Fragments mythologiques de Ras-Shamra." *Syria* 24: 1-23.
- Virolleaud, C. 1953. "Les nouveaux textes alphabétiques de Ras-Shamra (XVI^e campagne, 1952)." *Syria* 30: 187-95.
- Virolleaud, C. 1957. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit II. Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives est, ouest et centrales*. Mission de Ras Shamra VII. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

- Virolleaud, C. 1957-1960. "Séance du 18 novembre 1959." *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-semitiques* 8: 65-66 (Nov. 20, 1959).
- Virolleaud, C. 1965. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit V. Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives sud, sud-ouest et du petit palais*. Mission de Ras Shamra XI. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Vita, J.-P. 1998. "Datation et genres littéraires à Ougarit." In *Proche-Orient ancien: temps vécu, temps pensé: Actes de la table-ronde du 15 Novembre 1997 organisée par l'URA 1062 "Études Sémitiques"*, edited by F. Briquel-Chatonnet and H. Lozachmeur, 39-82. Antiquités Sémitiques 3. Paris: Maisonneuve.
- Vita, J.-P. 2010. "Textile Terminology in the Ugaritic Texts." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, edited by C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch, 323-337. Ancient Textile Series 8. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Vita, J.-P. 2012. "The Scribal Exercise RS 16.265 from Ugarit in Its Near-Eastern Context." In *The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*, edited by T. Boiy et al., 645-652. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 220. Leuven: Peeters.
- Vita, J.-P. 2013. "Interactions à Ougarit entre textes administratifs et textes d'un autre genre (lettres, textes juridiques, rituels, étiquettes)." In *Études Ougaritiques III*, edited by V. Matoïan and M. al-Maqdissi, 403-416. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XXI. Leuven: Peeters.
- Vogt, H. 1971. *Grammaire de la langue géorgienne*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Voigt, R. 1987. "The Classification of Central Semitic." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32: 1-21.
- von Fintel, K. 2000. "Whatever." *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 10: 27-39.
- von Landau, W. F. 1905. *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients IV: Eine Inschrift aus Heldua; Tammûz; Tanit pnê-ba'al; Eine Gemme; Worterklärungen*. Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer.
- von Soden, W. 1931. "Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen, Teil I." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 40: 163-227.
- von Soden, W. 1959-1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- von Soden, W. 1967. "Kleine Beiträge zum Ugaritischen und Hebräischen." In *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*, edited by B. Hartmann et al., 291-300. *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 16. Leiden: Brill.
- von Soden, W. 1995. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. 3., ergänzte Auflage*. *Analecta Orientalia* 33. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

- Waltke, B. K., and M. O'Connor. 1990. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Wansbrough, J. 1986. "Ugaritic in Chancery Practice." In *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers Read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4-8 July, 1983*, edited by K. R. Veenhof, 205-209. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandaise de Stamboul 57. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten.
- Wasserman, N. 2012. *Most Probably: Epistemic Modality in Old Babylonian*. Languages of the Ancient Near East 3. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Watson, W. G. E. 1971. "More on Shared Consonants." *Biblica* 52: 44-50.
- Watson, W. G. E. 1992. "Final *-m* in Ugaritic." *Aula Orientalis* 10: 223-252.
- Watson, W. G. E. 1994. "Comments on Ugaritic *wn*." *Aula Orientalis* 12: 229-232.
- Watson, W. G. E. 1995. "Ugaritic Onomastics (4)." *Aula Orientalis* 13: 217-229.
- Watson, W. G. E. 1996. "Further Comments on Ugaritic *wn*." *Aula Orientalis* 14: 285-287.
- Watson, W. G. E. 2001. "Some Comments on DLU vol. I." *Aula Orientalis* 19: 281-293.
- Watson, W. G. E. 2007. *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic*. *Aula Orientalis Supplementa* 19. Sabadell: AUSA.
- Watson, W. G. E. 2018. "Updates for the Ugaritic Lexicon: New Meanings and Overlooked Cognates." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 49: 379-398.
- Wegner, I. 2007. *Hurritisch. Eine Einführung. 2., überarbeitete Auflage*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Weninger, S. 2011. "Old Ethiopic." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by S. Weninger, G. Khan, M. P. Streck, and J. C. E. Watson, 1124-1142. *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft* 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Widbin, R. B. 1985. "The East Archives in Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit: A Structural and Socio-Economic Analysis." PhD diss., Brandeis University.
- Williams, M. 2012. *Basics of Ancient Ugaritic: A Concise Grammar, Workbook, and Lexicon*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Wilmsen, D. 2014. *Arabic Indefinites, Interrogatives, and Negators*. *Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics* 14. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Wirth, J. R. 1999. Review of *Indefinite Pronouns*, by M. Haspelmath. *Anthropological Linguistics* 41: 150-157.
- Woods, C. 2001. "The Deictic Foundations of the Sumerian Language." PhD diss. Harvard University.
- Wright, D. P. 2001. *Ritual in Narrative: The Dynamics of Feasting, Mourning, and Retaliation Rites in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Wright, W. 1890. *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages from the Papers of the Late William Wright*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, W. 1896-1898. *Arabic Grammar. Translated from the German of Caspari and Edited with Numerous Additions and Corrections by W. Wright*. 3d ed. Rev. W. R. Smith and M. J. De Goeje. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wyatt, N. 1992. "The Titles of the Ugaritic Storm-God." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 24: 403-24.
- Wyatt, N. 1998. *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilmilku and His Colleagues*. The Biblical Seminar 53. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Wyatt, N. 2002. *Religious Texts from Ugarit. 2nd Edition*. The Biblical Seminar 53. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Xella, P. 1973. *Il mito di Šhr e Šlm. Saggio sulla mitologia ugaritica*. Studi Semitici 44. Rome: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente.
- Xella, P. 1981. *I testi rituali di Ugarit-I. Testi*. Pubblicazioni del Centro di Studio per la Civiltà Fenicia e Punica 21. Studi Semitici 54. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Yogev, J., and Sh. Yona. 2014. "A Poetic Letter: The Ugaritic Tablet RS 16.265." *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 31: 51-58.
- Yon, M. 2006. *The Royal City of Ugarit on the Tell of Ras Shamra*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Yon, M., and D. Arnaud, ed. 2001. *Études ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985-1995*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit XIV. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Youngblood, R. F. 1961. "The Amarna Correspondence of Rib-Haddi, Prince of Byblos (EA 68-96)." PhD diss., Dropsie.
- Zehnder, T. 2010. *Die hethitischen Frauennamen. Katalog und Interpretation*. Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 29. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Zetterstéen, K. V. 1914. *De Semitiska Språken*. Uppsala: Askerberg.

Zimmern, H. 1898. *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen: Elemente der Laut- und Formenlehre*. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard.

Zwarts, F. 1986. "Categoriale Grammatica en Algebraische Semantiek. Een studie naar negatie en polariteit in het Nederlands." PhD diss., University of Groningen.

Zwarts, F. 1995. "Nonveridical Contexts." *Linguistic Analysis* 25: 286-312.

Zwarts, F. 1998. "Three Types of Polarity." In *Plurality and Quantification*, edited by F. Hamm and E. Hinrichs, 177-238. *Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy* 69. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Zwicky, A. M. 1985. "Clitics and particles." *Language* 61: 283-305.