Canaano-Akkadian

Shlomo Izre'el

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Preface

This grammatical sketch summarizes my knowledge of Canaano-Akkadian I have acquired over the past 25 years. It also presents an integration of my linguistic apprehension into this field of study, usually taken as part of the study of the Ancient Near Eastern culture and history rather than a branch of linguistic studies. Many Semitists, especially Assyriologists, may find this presentation rather nonconformist, perhaps even odd at some points. I would like to refer them, as well as any interested reader, to the grammatical sketch of Akkadian, forthcoming in this series,[1] where my view of Akkadian grammar will be presented.

Previous versions of this study were read by Jun Ikeda and Ada Wertheimer. I thank them both for their comments. Jun has especially contributed to the final form of this grammar by criticizing my presentation from a deep knowledge of Canaano-Akkadian along with a good understanding of linguistics.

Thanks are due also to Uri Horesh and Jared Miller. Uri, a welcome newcomer to the field of Semitic linguistics, has helped with great skills and linguistic scrutiny, managing technical and non-technical aspects of this work. Jared Miller, my copy editor, himself a student of Akkadian and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, has assisted a great deal in having my ideas brought more clearly to the general public. I further acknowledge with thanks the support by a grant from the Israel Science Foundation.

I could not have become acquainted with this fascinating field of study without my sheer luck which brought me to study at Tel Aviv University under Professor Anson F. Rainey, a great scholar of Canaano-Akkadian, who — for his part — has recently published his comprehensive linguistic compendium of Canaano-Akkadian (Rainey 1996). My main tutor of linguistics, and in particular Semitic linguistics, has been Professor Gideon Goldenberg. I thank both of them for making me a Semitic linguist capable of integrating their learning into his scholarship.

No linguistic study of Canaano-Akkadian could have been written today without the groundbreaking achievement of Professor William L. Moran, now Professor Emeritus at Harvard University, who — in his doctoral dissertation (Moran 1950) — was the first to show that Canaano-Akkadian has a system, and thus is a language, not just an unordered mixture of linguistic features. Many years later, Moran has given the scholarly world his entire knowledge of the Amarna letters in his annotated translations (Moran 1992). Many of the translations given in this grammatical sketch are Moran's. It is to him that I — with great admiration and humble friendship — dedicate this study.[2]*

ana Bill bēliya u šamšiya
rēš mūdê ša ṭupšarrūti akkadīti ina kinaḫḫi
lū šulmu ana muḫḫika
līm ilānū liṣṣurūka

Shlomo Izre'el
Tel Aviv, July 1998

A note to the second printing (2005): Only a few minor corrections have been made, and some recent bibliographical items have been added.

Abbreviations and Symbols

A	adverb
ACT	active voice
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverbial (morphological) marker
ATT	attributive
C	any consonant
CanAkk	Canaano-Akkadian
CanGl	Canaanite gloss
CMP	completive
CONJ	conjunction
D	the D-class of the verb (see 2.5.3)
D	any dental stop
DAT	dative
DIR	directional
DS	direct speech particle
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic particle
ENRG	energic
EXT	extraposition; extraposed element
F	feminine
FOC	focalization particle
H$_A$	adverbial head
H$_{NA}$	general (=nominal/adverbial) head (see 3.1.4.2)
H$_N$	nominal head
IMPFV	imperfective
IMPV	imperative
INF	infinitive
M	masculine
MOD	modal particle
n	the *n*-class of the verb (see 2.5.3)
NACT	non-active voice
NEG	negation
NPRD	non-predicative
NTRL	neutralized morpheme (see 2.2.5)
NWS	Northwest Semitic
O	object
P	predicate
PC	prefix conjugation
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRD	predicative
PRS	presentational particle
PTC	participle
S	subject
S	any sibilant
š	the *š*-class of the verb (see 2.5.3)

SC	suffix conjugation
SG	singular
TMA	Tense-Mood-Aspect
V	verb
V	any vowel
VOC	vocative
VOID	void element
WS	West Semitic
Ø	zero morph
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
:	vocalic length
-	(1) connector of syllabic signs within a transliterated word;
	(2) connector between two morphemes (or other interpretational segments) when represented discontinuously (see note 11)
↔	inverse order of morpheme representation (see note 11)
+	morpheme boundary
#	word boundary
√	root
~	variation; variant
≈	interdigitation of morphemes
→	synchronic change
>	diachronic change
⇔	apposition
⇒	attributive government
{...}	(1) morphemic transcription; (2) conflating rules
•	root radical slot
*	unasttested or restored form
/.../	phonemic transcription
[...]	(1) in transliteration: restoration; (2) phonetic transcription
\	original (Canaanite) gloss marker (see 0.1, end)
<...>	emend in (original scribal omission)
(...)	syntactic unit
/_	in the environment of

Cuneiform signs:	capitals (e.g., *AB*) = logogram (Sumerian value); sign "name" or main value in syllabograms, whenever the actual value is not indicated	
	lower case (e.g., *ab*) = phonemic value	
	superscript (e.g., ^{MEŠ}) = semantic determinative (see 1.1)	
	accent (grave, acute) or subscript numeral at a transliterated sign (e.g., *ár*; *ta$_5$*) = diacritic notation of actual value of a polyphonic sign	

Reference to texts:	no prefix = El-Amarna tablets
	TT = tablets from Taanach
	KL = tablets from Kamid el-Loz

Mediterranean Sea

Sumur
Irqat
Amurru
Batrun
Lapana
Byblos
Hasi
Lebanon
Beirut
Amqi =Baqa
Sidon
Kumidi
Syria
Damascus
Tyre
Bashan
Hazor
Acre
Lake of Galilee
Ashtartu
(Gath Carmel)
Megiddo
Taanach
Jordan River
Pihili
Shechem
Jordan
Jaffa
Gezer
Jerusalem
Israel
Ashkelon
Dead Sea
Gaza
Lachish
Egypt
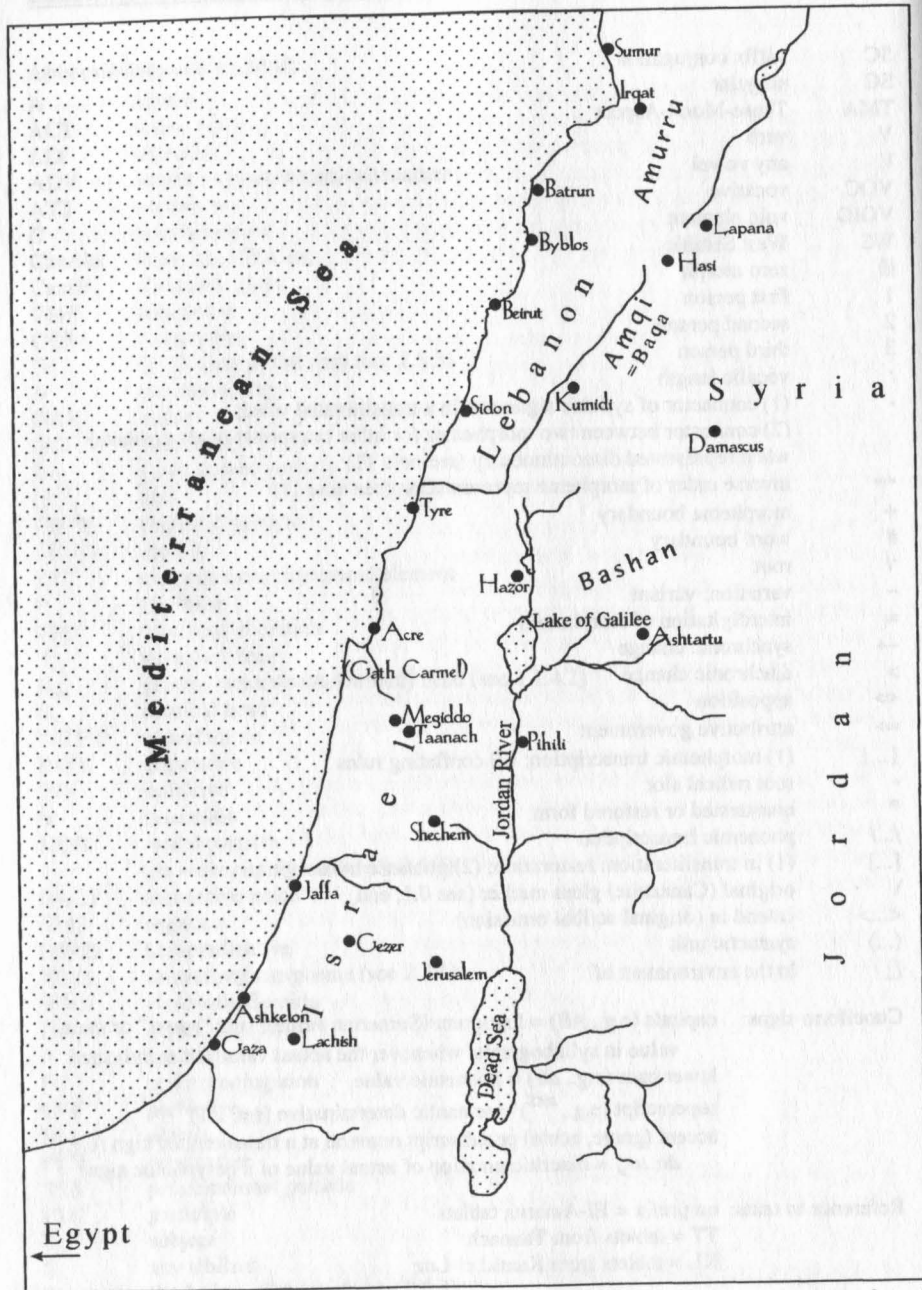
(approximate location)

0. Introduction

0.1. General Background

Akkadian is the common term given to the eastern branch of the Semitic linguistic family. Akkadian languages are attested from ancient Mesopotamia (modern Iraq) since the third millennium BCE. Akkadian was written on clay tablets in the logographic-syllabographic cuneiform script. Akkadian languages were the first written Semitic languages. Offshoots of Akkadian were used as the common administrative, legal and diplomatic communicative media in the ancient Levant since the third millennium BCE in sorts of bilingual diglossia. During the second millennium BCE, what is now termed Peripheral Akkadian is documented not only as the upper diglossic language in these regions, but also as the common lingua franca of the ancient Near East, serving not only the Levantine Semitic societies, but also as the main means of communication between kingdoms and empires, like those of Egypt, Hatti (in Anatolia), and Mitanni (in Syria), and all the more so in their communication with Akkadian speaking Babylonia and Assyria.

Peripheral Akkadian, i.e., the diplomatic lingua franca, developed its own idiosyncratic traits during constant long-term contacts with non-Akkadian languages, both Semitic and non-Semitic. Yet, its characteristic structure did not radically alter from the Akkadian core dialects in the majority of its attested varieties. The most marked interference in many of these dialects and subdialects is the one between Assyrian and Babylonian, the main Akkadian languages of that time. Its attribution to the Akkadian family of languages can clearly be determined.

In the middle of the second millennium BCE, Egypt had conquered the southern part of the Levant and occupied the region which today consists of modern Israel, Lebanon, and the western parts of Jordan and Syria. This area, known as the land of Canaan, was dominated by local city-state rulers, who, for their part, were subordinate to the Egyptian pharaohs. Communication between Egypt and Canaan was carried out, at least partly, by means of messengers carrying clay tablets on which letters were inscribed in cuneiform.

Detachment from the Mesopotamian core regions and its cultural extensions in the West, which followed the Egyptian conquest of Canaan, resulted in the emergence of a mixed Canaanite-Akkadian language for the upper diglossic medium. While letters sent from Egypt to Canaan were written in the Egyptian variety of Peripheral Akkadian, letters from Canaan (i.e., the area from Byblos southward) exhibit a mixed language, in which the Akkadian lexicon almost entirely predominated, but the grammar of which was almost completely predominated by Canaanite, a Northwest Semitic (NWS) language, the mother-tongue of the scribes. Occasionally a purely Canaanite word would appear, either in the flow of the text or serving as a translating or explanatory gloss. These glosses were usually marked as such by a special cuneiform sign (< or ⟨ , here symbolized as a backslash '\').

Part of this communication has been preserved in the archives of the 14th century BCE Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaton in Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt. The extant Tell el-Amarna corpus consists of the correspondence between Egypt and other states and empires of the period, and especially, the correspondence between Egypt and its Levantine vassals.[1] While the international correspondence is written in Peripheral Akkadian, i.e., the common lingua franca of the ancient Near East, the vassal correspondence consists mainly of texts in Canaano-Akkadian varieties. In addition, texts written in Canaano-Akkadian (henceforth: CanAkk) have been found in sites in the Levant. The corpus of letters written in CanAkk in all its varieties now includes a little fewer than 300 texts and fragments, and covers the area between Amurru at the northern borders of Canaan (in today's southwestern Syria and northern Lebanon), and the desert border in the south. Among the major sites in which such letters were written are Byblos, Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, the Lebanese Baqa (valley), Hazor, Acre, Megiddo, Shechem, Gezer, Jerusalem, Ashkelon, and Trans-Jordanian sites.[2]

0.2 Aim and Scope

The earliest extant direct data of ancient Canaanite, or other NWS dialects, come from first millennium BCE inscriptions, written in consonantal script. Hence, the Amarna letters and their like are not only the earliest documents from which linguistic features of Canaanite can be educed, but, having been written in syllabic cuneiform, they make a unique corpus from which data on the vocalization of Canaanite dialects can be extracted. The substratal dialects reflected in the mixed language of these texts can be reconstructed on evidence educed from the letters after eliminating the non-Canaanite components and comparing them with diachronic reconstructions drawn from extant data from Canaanite inscriptions of the first millennium BCE (Hebrew, Phoenician, and less documented dialects).

The CanAkk corpus represents a linguistic entity of its own, the grammatical (as against the lexical) structure of which can be taken — in the majority of its subcorpora — as Canaanite rather than Akkadian. The Akkadian superstratum and the Canaanite substrata are genetically related: Akkadian is Eastern Semitic; the Canaanite dialects were part of the West Semitic branch. Hence, there are great typological similarities between the two languages, which have amalgamated into a single linguistic entity. Apart from the overall word structure and morphological and phonological similarities, Semitic typology manifests itself most saliently by the nonconcatenative structure of both its nominal and verbal stems. Akkadian and the NWS languages have the same basic morphological structure. CanAkk, although it shows a great persistence in preserving these structures, still manifests some tendency towards a more rigid morphological structure, which is characteristic of language contact. This trait of language contact comes along with other language contact phenomena which have been generated on the basis of differences between the two languages. This

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[1] The Amarna corpus also preserved educational material of cuneiform scribes in Egypt.
[2] Curiously, part of the small corpus of letters from Alashia (today's Cyprus) is written in a similar dialect.

grammatical sketch is aimed at describing linguistic characteristics of the mixed language, not as a random list of grammatical traits from two languages, but as a self-contained system. It endeavors to lay out a model according to which this system could serve its communicative purposes using building blocks from two distinct yet related languages.

Severe obstacles stand in our way when trying to present a systematic description of the linguistic system in which these letters were written. Not only is the corpus too small and heterogeneous, but it is fragmentary and written in the cuneiform system, which is highly polyphonic. In what follows, an endeavor has been made to present this grammatical model on the basis of the extant data, bringing forth its significant structural traits, giving special emphasis to its nature as a continuum of varieties, which are all based on the reorganization of two distinct linguistic systems into a new integrated one.

0.3. Variation

The CanAkk texts are characterized by inherent variation. Variation may be geographically dependent. It may depend on the scribal tradition of different cities, but also on imported traditions or variant local ones. It may appear as the idiosyncrasies of a particular scribe, and may also occur throughout the entire corpus within one and the same text. Variation manifests itself in the form and meaning of both the Akkadian and the Canaanite components of the language, as well as in the employment of either component within the linguistic structure.

There is phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic or stylistic variation. A few examples: The vowels *e* and *i* interchange differently in distinct sites, and thus seem to reflect different rules of allophony. There are different forms of personal and other pronouns in texts from different localities, sometimes in texts written by different scribes of the same city. Different scribes may employ variant forms of verbs, notably among modal forms, which in part may be more related to Akkadian than to Canaanite; others may lean toward idiosyncratic TMA systems. Sentence constituent order has its own variation within the texts, notably between opening formulae and the body of the letter. By and large, opening formulae are very much related to standard Akkadian in both style and language.

Geographic variation is dependent upon scribal traditions and scribal education. By and large, there is correlation between the provenance of a letter and its linguistic structure. The farther south one travels in Canaan the more remote becomes a CanAkk text from Akkadian, and the closer it becomes to the Canaanite vernacular of that region. Yet, the scribe of Jerusalem, a southern city, manifests in his writing features of a northern scribal school. While the northern Byblos letters show a relatively unified system, there are a few letters which were written in a system closer to the language written by scribes of Amurru, at the northern extreme, out of the range of the CanAkk continuum. Towards the end of his reign in Byblos, its prince, Ribhaddi, resided in Beirut, and his letters from that city show a different linguistic system than the rest of his correspondence. Some letters from southern

Palestine employ Akkadian-like modal forms of the verb (e.g., *lilmad*, 366: 11, in a letter sent from a ruler whose other letters form a unique corpus demonstrating extreme Canaanite interference). Some scribal traditions employ the Akkadian morpheme of the 1SG *a:ku* in the suffix conjugation verb — as against the Canaanite *ti* or the hybrid *a:ti*. This is manifest notably at Megiddo, where we know that a cuneiform scribal school existed, one where the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh was tutored.

Most of the subcorpora within the CanAkk corpus show a stable or relatively stable system with ruled variation. Some varieties manifest a more dynamic system, possibly with chaotic margins. Yet others have an even less stable system and seem — at least at this stage of research — to be more chaotic than not. For example, the two letters from Hasi, in the Lebanese Baqa (Amqi), are written in a language which employs the Canaanite person prefixes and modi morphemes only occasionally. In fact, the system seems to fluctuate between Akkadianized internal inflection and Canaanite external inflection for TMA denotation. Confusion occurs when the two systems collide. For example, the WS IMPFV PL allomorph *na* seems to be interchangeable with the Akkadian directional PL allomorph (or rather the Peripheral Akkadian VOID morph) *ni* and with the emphatic marker *mi* in similar contexts:[3]

(1) *ana muḫḫi / ana maḫar ama:nḫatpi i:ribu:na~ni {i+erib+u:+na~ni}* ʿ*apiru:*
     to VOID / to   before Amanhatpi 3+enter+PLM+IMPFV~VOID(DIR) Apiru
     'To/before Amanḫatpi the Apiru entered.' (185: 19-20, 35-6, 39-41; cf. 186: 25-6, 39-40; Hasi)

(2) *u   i:ribu:mi {i:rib+u:+mi} 40 awi:lu:*
     CONJ entered+3PLM+EMPH   40 men
     ištu   libbi ʿ*apiri: ana maḫar a[ma:nḫatpi]*
     from heart Apiru to before Amanḫatpi
     'and 40 men out of the Apiru entered before Amanḫatpi.' (186: 49-51; Hasi)

Curiously, both *na* and *ni* occur together in the verb *išarrapu:nina* 'they burned' (185: 60). Admittedly, we do not fully understand the system of this dialect.

Variation manifests itself on a major scale in the interplay between Canaanite and Akkadian components within the overall system. Notably, Akkadian-like forms may be inserted into the course of the text, subject to linguistic and extralinguistic constraints. Such forms have been termed "Akkadianisms". Being borrowings from a system distinct from CanAkk, Akkadianisms are subject to different morphological and morphophonological rules. A frequent Akkadianized form is the verb *amqut* 'I fall', a 1SG PFV verb derived from √*mqt*

[3]For the reader's convenience and space economy, examples in this and other sections will lack the morphological analyses of nouns and pronouns for number, gender and case. Most of these data will be implicit in the respective lexical gloss. Full analyses of the nominal morphology will be available in sections where these are necessary for the grammatical description. For the transcription see below, note 5.

'fall', which occurs in opening formulae, where the sentence constituent order is SOV as in Akkadian:

(3) *ana šarri be:liya umma tagi ardika*
     to   king lord+my thus Tagi servant+your
     ana še:pi: šarri be:liya sebe:tšu u   sebe:ta:n amqut {a+mqut}
     to   feet king lord+my 7+times CONJ 7+ADV   1SG+fall
     'To the king, my lord: Message of Tagi, your servant: At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times I fall.' (264: 1-4; Gath Carmel)

Specific Akkadian semantemes or verbal stems may inhibit the affixation of Canaanite morphemes onto them. One such semanteme is the verb √*ide* 'know', which in Akkadian is treated syntactically as a nominal form, and in many CanAkk varieties is taken "as is" regarding its morphology as well:

(4) *i:de {i+ide} libbi šarri be:li inu:ma ninaṣṣaru {n+inaṣṣar+u} irqata ana ša:šu*
     3SGM+know heart king lord H_NA 1PL+guard+IMPFV   Irqata to   him
     '(May) the heart of the king, the lord, know that we guard Irqata for him.' (100: 8-10; Irqata)

Some scribes would not add the Canaanite 3SGM person morpheme *y* to salient Akkadianized stems, like the one with an infixed *t*:

(5) *u   inu:ma ištemi {Ø+ištemi} awat   šarri be:liya*
     CONJ when 1SG+hear   utterance king lord+my
     inu:ma ištappar {i+štappar} ana ardišu   u   yiḫdi {y+iḫdi+Ø} libbiya
     H_NA   3SGM+write   to servant+his CONJ 3SGM+rejoice+PFV heart+my
     u   yišaqqi {y+išaqqi+Ø} re:šiya
     CONJ 3SGM+rise+PFV   head+my
     u   innamru: {innamir+u:} 2 i:na:ya \ʿe:na:ya
     CONJ lighten_NACT+PLM   2 eye+DU+my \ eye+DU+my (CanGl)
     ina šame: awat   šarri be:liya
     in hearing utterance king lord+my
     'And when I heard the message of the king, my lord, that he sent to his servant, then my heart was glad and my head was raised and my eyes were lightened when hearing the message of the king, my lord.' (144: 13-18; Sidon)

Extra-systemic unordered Akkadianisms are found in these texts either as idiosyncrasies of a scribe or a specific scribal school, or, more commonly, as switches from the system, switches which are bound by extra-linguistic constraints. Thus, the mentioning of the pharaoh may trigger the use of an occasional Akkadianism. For example, the specific Akkadian repetitive form *eltenemme* 'I keep listening', reflecting the contemporary Akkadian rule of $š \rightarrow l/\_\begin{Bmatrix} D \\ s \end{Bmatrix}$ (see 1.3.2. below), comes in the context of referring to the pharaoh's

orders. When, in the same passage, another persona is referred to, the CanAkk counterpart of this form, *ištemu*, is used:

(6) *u   anumma elteneme   ana awate: šarri be:liya*
     CONJ now   I-keep-listening to uutterances king lord+my
     u   ištemu {Ø+išteme+u} [ana] awate: ma:ya
     CONJ 1SG+hear+IMPFV   to   utterances Maya
     ra:biṣ   šarri be:liya ...
     commissioner king lord+my
     'And now I keep listening to the messages of the king, my lord, and I keep listening to the messages of Maya, the commissioner of the king, my lord, ...'
     (300: 23-8; Gezer)

The linguistic variation manifested in the CanAkk corpus is too complex to deal with in a grammatical sketch like this one. There will be no attempt to cover all its aspects or to give variation as an inherent feature of CanAkk the place it deserves from the theoretical point of view. Rather, a skeletal model of the grammatical structure — along with its variational aspect — is endeavored.

1. Phonology

1. 1. Orthography

The Akkadian cuneiform script consisted of syllabograms, logograms, and so-called determinatives, i.e., purely graphic semantic denominators and markers of quantification. The syllabary used in the CanAkk texts is mainly Babylonian, closer in structure and phonemic values to the Old and Middle Babylonian offshoots of Akkadian (from the first half of the second millennium BCE to the 14th century BCE), yet there are some indications that it is rooted in much earlier scribal traditions. In texts from some sites direct influence of the Assyrian syllabary is attested. A local Syrian syllabary, which emerged in non-Semitic linguistic zones where Hurrian and Hittite were written, is manifested to various degrees in many of the local traditions.

The cuneiform syllabary is polyphonic to a large extent. In many cases it does not distinguish between voiced, voiceless and ejective consonants and between the vowels *e* and *i*. Some scribal schools had a simpler syllabary than ones attested from either Mesopotamian or Peripheral Akkadian traditions. The so-called Hurro-Hittite syllabary is even less clear in the distinction between consonants of similar or related articulation than the syllabary inherited or contemporaneously borrowed from genuine Mesopotamian scribal schools.

CanAkk scribes show great variety in their use of their respective writing systems, either in the representation of phonemes or in their marking of consonant doubling and vocalic length. While consonant doubling can, in the majority of cases, be predicted from either the

syllabic structure or by using methods of comparative linguistics, determining vocalic length is in many cases problematic, sometimes even unsolvable. This is especially true when trying to figure out the phonological shape of the mixed language.

1.2. The Phonemic System

The cuneiform syllabary represents the following phonemic inventory, which seems to be representative of the contemporary Akkadian superstratum[4] and of the structural representation of CanAkk:[5]

		LABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATO-ALVEOLAR	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS:	VOICELESS	*p*	*t*			*k*	*ʾ*
	VOICED	*b*	*d*			*g*	
	EJECTIVE		*ṭ*			*q*	
FRICATIVE:	VOICELESS			*s*	*š*	*ẖ*	
	VOICED			*z*			
	EJECTIVE			*ṣ*			
LATERAL:				*l*			
ROLLED(?):				*r*			
NASAL:		*m*		*n*			

vowels: *i, e, a, u*

In addition, a vocalic length segment /:/ has a phonemic status in both Akkadian and the West Semitic substrata.

Akkadian has gone through many phonological shifts in its consonantal inventory vis-à-vis Northwest Semitic languages. Also, the respective vocalic systems of Akkadian and the West Semitic dialects are different. Thus the Canaanite component is deficiently represented in the script, which suits, *mutatis mutandis*, the phonemic inventory of contemporary Akkadian. The Akkadian script was unable to represent pharyngeal and other consonants which may have been part of the Canaanite phonemic system (*h*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *ś*, and possibly also *ḏ*, *ṯ*, *ġ*, *ẓ* and *ḍ*), as well as the vowel *o*. The consonantal allophones of *u* and *i*, i.e., *w* and *y*, which occur when followed by a vowel, are all represented in the script by the same sign

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[4] The articulation points are rough approximations based on the phonemic status of the respective phones and on comparative data.

[5] Note approximate or alleged IPA equivalents to the Semitic phones: *ʾ*=ʔ; *ʿ*=ʕ; *ḏ*=ɗ; *ḏ*=ð; *ġ*=ɣ; *h*=h; *ḫ*=x; *q*=kʾ; *ṣ*=t͡s; *ś*=ɬ; *š*=ʃ; *ṭ*=tʾ; *ṯ*=θ; y=j; *ẓ*=θʾ.

$(\mathcal{F} = \left\{ \begin{matrix} w \\ y \end{matrix} \right\} V)$. The only exception is the string *ia* [ya], which may be represented by either this sign or, more commonly, by the sign *IA* (*i+a*; 茁茅). Consonantal doubling is not regularly represented in the script, vocalic length only rarely.

The syllabograms which include Akkadian /š/ — while representing a phoneme which in Mesopotamia or in some peripheral areas might have been pronounced as a fricative-lateral[6] — stand in their representation of local lexemes (mostly proper names or Canaanite glosses) for both palato-alveolar /š/ and lateral-fricative /ś/, as well as, at least potentially, for the fricative voiceless interdental /t/. These were probably three distinct phonemes in at least some of the Canaanite dialects, notably that of Jerusalem. This can be educed from historical reconstruction of later Canaanite dialects. In 14th-century BCE Jerusalem, however, scribal practice distinguished between Canaanite /ś/ and /š/ by using two distinct sets of syllabograms for each; the first set is used also for representing local /t/:

(7)   *šA-de₄-e* /śade:/ 'field' (287: 56); CanGl

(8)   *šA-ak-mi* /takmi/ 'Shechem' (289: 23)

(9)   *ú-ru-SA-lim* /urušalim/ 'Jerusalem' (287: 25)

In other dialects, the syllabograms which include the phoneme /š/ may have represented a single phoneme, probably a palato-alveolar one, as is the case in later Phoenician.

Both Akkadian and the NWS dialects had an equivocal phonological ambience for the vowels *i* and *e*. While in Akkadian *i* and *e* may have been phonemically distinct, in the majority of instances they were interchangeable according to phonological or morphophonological rules. The scant data on NWS dialects of later periods allow us to surmise that short *i* and *e* were not phonemically distinguished in the 14th century BCE. Research in transliterated NWS vocables from this period suggest that Canaanite and other NWS dialects differed in the allophonic distribution of their single phoneme /i/. The respective writing systems of the distinct varieties of the CanAkk texts suggest that local phonology had affected the pronunciation in the mixed language. For example, in the land of Amurru pronunciation as either *i* or *e* was constrained by length and accent; data from the Lebanese Baqa suggest a unanimous pronunciation of that phoneme as [e]; in southern Canaan, in the city-state of Gezer, *i* and *e* were confused in writing, and one is unable to suggest any constraints on their appearance. In some cases, local varieties reflect morphological variation, which is the result of drawing from different primary sources. In some of these cases such variants may have had support in local phonological features. This is the case, e.g., with the infinitive forms *i-re-ba* /ire:ba/ 'enter' (114: 37; Byblos) vs. *e-re-ba* /ere:ba/ (98: 20; Beirut?).

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[6]The Akkadian phoneme which is commonly transcribed as /š/ might have been a lateral-fricative rather than palato-alveolar, thus reflecting a historical change of š>ś rather than what may be implied from the common representation of this phoneme in Assyriological studies.

Phonologically distinct long *e* is attested in cases where Proto-Canaanite diphthongs can be restored. In the mixed language, cognate forms have a long *i* as in Akkadian.

The existence of a phoneme *o* can be surmised only for the Canaanite component, and only in cases where a whole lexeme is employed, either as a gloss or within the text flow. In all these cases, it is a long *o*, the result of the Canaanite shift 'a:>'o:[7] or, again, of a contracted diphthong. In the mixed language, cognate forms have a long *a* instead.

1.3. Phonological and Morphophonological Rules

By and large, it is assumed that general phonological rules which form part of the linguistic structure of the mixed language represent substratal features. Most, though not all, of the phonological mechanisms which are taken over from Akkadian are to be regarded as part of the morpholexical component of the language. These latter features are too diverse to be listed as part of the grammatical structure of the mixed language. In what follows, the more general phonological or morphophonological rules of CanAkk will be listed, as well as a few less general rules or (morpho)phonological variants which are constricted to the Akkadian component of the language, but still bear significance for the variational aspect of CanAkk.

1.3.1. Rigid traditional spelling habits usually prevent the surfacing of phonetic or phonological features. Nevertheless, the following phonological or morphophonological rules which form part of the linguistic structure of CanAkk have been detected:

$n \rightarrow C_1/\_C_1$

(10)   *iš-ti-mu-uš-šu* ←/ištimuššu/ ←*ištimunšu* 'I have indeed heard it' (320: 20, Ashkelon)

(11)   *nu-ub-ba-lu-uš-šu* ←/nubbaluššu/ ←*nubbalunšu* 'we will indeed bring him' (245: 7, Megiddo)

While in both Akkadian and Canaanite *n* was assimilated to the following consonant, the above examples show that this rule was also a synchronic feature of the mixed language, since this assimilation overrides the boundary between Canaanite (*un*) and Akkadian (*šu*) morphs.

Non-application of this rule:

(12)   *i-tan-ḫu* /i:tanḫu/ 'I have tired myself out' (306: 19; southern Canaan)

(13)   *ia-an-ḫa-mu* /yanḫamu/ 'Yanhamu' (personal name; *passim*)

(14)   *ia-an-aṣ-ni* /yanʾaṣni/ 'he despised me' (137: 23; Byblos)

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[7]Note *magidda*: 'Megiddo', Hebrew *mgiddo*; ʿ*akka*: 'Acre', Hebrew ʿ*akko*. Both may represent the retention of *a*: in an unaccented syllable. Geographical names may be extremely conservative, however.

$a \rightarrow i/\_ \dot{h}(i) \d{s}$

(24) *maḥiṣ→mì-ḫi-iṣ /miḥiṣ/* 'he was struck down' (264: 8, 12; Gath Carmel)

This rule has further become morphophonological and affected the inflection of this verb. This is shown by the form *mì-iḫ-ṣú(-mì) miḥṣu:(mi)* 'they were struck down' (*maḥiṣ→miḥiṣ; miḥiṣ+u:→miḥṣu:*) (313: 4, 19; unknown provenance); cf., from another site: *maḥiṣa:→mì-ḫi-ṣa /miḥiṣa:/* 'they(DU) were struck down' (335: 8; southern Palestine)

$\d{s} \rightarrow š/\_ š$

(25) *yi-ma-ḫa-aš-ši* (←*yimaḫḫaṣ+ši*) 'he killed her' (252: 19; Shechem)

This is a solitary form; hence, it is unknown whether this occurrence reflects a general rule or just an ad hoc assimilation.[8]

$V \rightarrow null/ \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \# \end{Bmatrix} VC\_CV$

(26) *na-ṣi-ra-at /naṣrat/* ←*naṣir+at* 'she is guarded' (127: 29; Byblos)

This rule, although it stems not from the Canaanite substrata but from the Akkadian superstratum, is general to the system of CanAkk word formation. Still, all over the land of Canaan there are attestations of the preservation of vowels in similar environments, either in Canaanite glosses or in some formations of inflected forms, either ad hoc or as an idiosyncrasy of a certain scribe:

(27) *a-pa-ru /ˁaparu/* 'dust' (Beirut; 141: 4); CanGl

(28) *ḫa-si-lu /ḫasilu:/* 'they have been extinguished' (263: 13; central Palestine); CanGl

(29) *a-ba-da-at /ˀabadat/* 'she is lost' (288: 52; Jerusalem); CanGl

(30) *pa-ṭa-ra-at /paṭarat/* (for Akkadian *paṭrat*) 'she has deserted' (286: 35 and *passim* in Jerusalem)

(31) *ša-pa-ra /šapara/* 'he sent' (Canaanite pattern with Akkadian root; 65: 7; southern Canaan; cf.*ša-ap-ra /šapra/*, 283: 7; southern Canaan)

The solitary form

(32) *ma-aḫ-ṣú-ú /maḥṣu:hu/* (←*maḥaṣ+u:+hu*) 'they killed him' (245: 14; Megiddo)

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[8]Akkadian of the core and some peripheral dialects attest a morphophonological rule which brings about reciprocal assimilation of the last dental or sibilant consonant of a word to the first consonant (/š/) of an annexed 3rd person pronominal suffix (e.g., *awat+šu→awaSSu* 'his speech'; the precise phonemic nature of the resulting sibilant is unknown). CanAkk does not show this change. In CanAkk, as is the case in some peripheral Akkadian dialects, morphological boundaries may inhibit some of the phonological or morphophonological rules attested in Akkadian dialects of Mesopotamia.

shows that under certain conditions a vowel deletion may nevertheless take place, at least in some of the substrate dialects.

In some cases, hypercorrected forms show the application of this rule where it would not be applied in Akkadian:

(33) *ti-ir-bu* /tirbu/ (←*te:ribu*) 'you entered' (102: 11; Byblos)

(34) *ir-bu-ni₇* /irbu:ni/ (←*i:ribu:ni*) 'they entered' (127: 22; Byblos; cf. *i-ri-bu-nim*, same line, in a similar context)

1.3.2. The following are rules which form part of the Akkadian morpholexical component, not of the general phonological system of CanAkk. The rules or (morpho)phonological variants listed herein are of interest, being either significant in representing variation in the linguistic continuum of CanAkk or reflecting general Akkadian phonological or morphophonological rules of contemporary Akkadian dialects, which penetrated CanAkk on ad hoc bases, mainly in Akkadianisms.

$$\check{s} \rightarrow l/\_\begin{Bmatrix} D \\ S \end{Bmatrix}$$

(35) *eštenemme* → /eltenemme/ 'I keep listening' (300: 23; Gezer)

This rule, which probably should be interpreted as the change of [ł]→[l] before dental stops or sibilants, was a relatively late rule in Akkadian, and is applied only rarely in CanAkk texts. Forms attesting this change are to be interpreted as Akkadianisms.

$$d \rightarrow n/\_d$$

(36) *i-na-an-din-ni* /inandinni/ {inaddinni} 'he gives me' (154: 13; Tyre)

This rule reflects a more general rule of nasalization of double voiced consonants, which is widespread in contemporary Akkadian of the core, northern Peripheral Akkadian dialects and Egyptian Akkadian. It is attested in Canaan only very scarcely in letters from Tyre, and seems to reflect not real nasalization, but a lexically constrained spelling pronunciation (i.e., [nd]). The writing of the Tyre scribe reflects close acquaintance with Egyptian language and culture.

$$VwV \sim VmV$$

(37) *a-wa-ta₅* /awata/ 'speech', 'utterance' (*passim*)

(38) *a-ma-ta₅*$^{(ME\check{S})}$ /amata/ 'speech', 'utterance' (149: 13 etc., Tyre)

In Babylonian, this variation can be described — at least in part, or in its first stage — as the nasalization of intervocalic *w* ($w \rightarrow \tilde{w}/V\_V$). In CanAkk the application of this rule is dependent on the scribal tradition, and within the CanAkk stretch it is attested only in Tyre.

$$V_{(case, MOD-DIR, ADV)} \sim Vm$$

(39) *ša-na-am* /šana:m/ {šani:+a} second+CMP 'other' (136: 41; Byblos)

(40) *i-ru-da-am* /i:rudam/ {Ø+i:rud+a} 1SG+serve+MOD 'I will serve' (300: 20; Gezer)

(41) *ia-nu-um* /ya:nu/ NEG 'there is no' (87: 18; Byblos)

Additional [m] ("mimation") on some morphs (case endings, directional and adverbial indicators) at word final position is a feature of older phases of Akkadian.[9] It is added sporadically in script — and perhaps also pronounced as a linguistic decorum or as a hypercorrection — by some scribes on certain words or morphs, sometimes quite systematically. In some adverbial forms this [m] may have had a phonological reality (see below, 2.6.2.2).

2. Morphology

2.1. Word Structure

Derivation in Semitic languages is produced by either internal or external affixation. All verbs and the majority of nouns are derived via interdigitation of roots and patterns, thus forming a stem. The root morpheme is a nonconcatenative (hence unpronounceable) unit consisting of three (or, rarely, more) radicals. Thus, a stem is set up by interdigitation of root radicals into a pattern in specific places, mostly in a tripartite slot structure. The root relates to the etymon and thus forms the link between the grammar and the lexicon.

In CanAkk, as is the case in Akkadian, roots can be purely consonantal, or they may consist of both consonants and vowels. Patterns may be purely vocalic or they may consist of both vowels and augments. Augments can be consonantal, chosen from a small closed set of consonants (ʾ, *m*, *n*, *š* and *t*), or they may consist of length or reduplication. An augment may be part of the pattern, or it may be added to the radicals, thus forming an augmented, secondary root from which the resulting stem would be set up.

Inflection, too, is produced by either internal or external affixation. Gender, number, case and personal inflection are marked by external affixes; voice is marked by stem-internal affixes or by ablaut; TMA categories are marked by external and internal affixes, as well as by ablaut.

Nominal formation in CanAkk is very similar to that of Akkadian, with very few changes in individual patterns. In contrast, verb formation is markedly different. The difference lies mainly in the relative rigidity of the internal patterns in CanAkk and by its marked usage of Canaanite external morphemes. This will be shown in some detail below.

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[9]Contemporary Akkadian preserved mimation when not word final, i.e., when followed by an enclitic particle or by a pronominal suffix. There is no indication of a similar feature in CanAkk.

2.2. The Noun

Semitic nouns are inflected for gender, number and case. Akkadian and Canaanite share similar systems for marking these categories, and hence, CanAkk does also. Furthermore, both linguistic sources have similar morphological markers for gender and case, and partially, also for number. As is frequently the case with linguistic admixture, the bulk of the lexicon is that of one of the languages, in the case of CanAkk, that of the Akkadian superstratum. Due to the similarity of the nominal morphemic markers, little in the system of the mixed language has changed.

2.2.1. The Nominal Chain

The nominal chain is construed in the following order:

STEM+DERIVATIONAL-AFFIXES+NUMBER+GENDER+CASE+PRONOMINAL- AFFIX+ENCLITIC-PARTICLE

2.2.2. Stem and Derivational Affixes

Nominal stems can be either indivisible units or comprised of a root and a pattern. Basic nouns are usually of the first type. Examples:[10]

> *abu* 'father'; *a:lu* 'city'; *ba:bu* 'gate'; *idu* 'arm'; *kalbu* 'dog'; *libbu* 'heart'; *ma:tu* 'land'; *qa:tu* 'hand'; *ṣa:bu* 'troops'; *šamu:* 'heaven'; *u:mu* 'day'

Derivatives can be formed either by external suffixes or by root extraction and interdigitation with one of the productive patterns. Examples:

> *aḫḫu:tu* 'brotherhood', 'alliance' (←*aḫu* 'brother'); *ara:du* 'serve(INF)', *i:rudu* 1SG+serve+IMPFV 'I serve' (←*ardu* 'servant'; a neologism of CanAkk)

Of the extraneous derivational morphemes, the predominant one in CanAkk texts is **u:t** for abstract nouns (*aḫḫ+u:tu*).

One example of an attested pattern of nominal derivation is **ma••a•**, commonly used for localities or related meanings; e.g., *maṣṣaru* 'guard' (←*manṣaru*; √*nṣr*).

Participles and infinitives share with verbs their capacity of root extraction by class formatives (2.5.3). Like verbs, the patterns of these two nominal forms are interrelated with the respective classes:

> •*a:•i•* — participle of the plain class; e.g., *ra:biṣu* 'commissioner' (√*rbṣ*)
> •*a•a:•* — infinitive of the plain class; e.g., *paṭa:ru* 'release' (√*pṭr*)
> •*u••u•~u••a(:)•* — infinitive of the D-class; e.g., *urrud šarri* serve king+ATT 'to serve the king' (253: 28; Shechem); *ana urra(:)di* to serve+ATT (294: 19-20; southern Palestine) (√*urd*)

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[10]All nouns are given in their dictionary form with the predicative ("nominative") case ending.

The second variant is either a Canaanite pattern, to be restored with a short *a*, or, if the vowel *a* should be interpreted as long, it may be a CanAkk innovation, formed as a hybrid according to both Canaanite and Akkadian practices.

2.2.3. Gender

Like Semitic languages in general, CanAkk has two genders, masculine and feminine, which are applicable to all nouns. Gender marking is general in the adjective. In the substantive, the masculine is unmarked; the feminine can be either marked or unmarked. The feminine marker is *at~t*. Variation is confined to the singular. It is morphophonemic and depends on the lexeme. Examples:

(42) *dannu* {*dann+u*} strong+PRD 'strong(M)' (137: 29; Byblos)

(43) *dannatu* {*dann+at+u*} strong+F+PRD 'strong(F)' (137: 101; Byblos)

(44) *maṣṣartu* {*maṣṣar+t+u*} guard+F+PRD 'guard' (289: 36; Jerusalem)

The most notable deviations from Akkadian are:

(1) A few adaptations of gender, e.g.: *a:lu* 'city', M in Akkadian, F in CanAkk, most probably under the influence of the substrata dialects; *awatu* 'speech', 'utterance' is F in Akkadian, M in most varieties of CanAkk.

(2) Innovations in noun formation for gender adaptation, e.g., CanAkk *ipšu* (M) vs. Akkadian *epištu* (F) 'deed'.

2.2.4. Number

The singular is unmarked. The Akkadian plural marker in substantives is the vocalic length segment /:/, and it is attached to the first vowel which follows the segment:

> *šarr+:+u* (stem+PL+PRD) → *šarru:* 'kings'
> *šarr+:+at+u* (stem+PL+F+PRD) → *šarra:tu* 'queens'[11]

Masculine adjectives are marked by the morpheme **ut**, e.g.:

> *dann+:+ut+u* (stem+PL+ADJ+PRD) → *dannu:tu* 'strong(PLM)'

CanAkk marking for the plural substantive is the Akkadian one, with some appropriation of the adjectival plural combined morph **u:t** for substantives of the human class (e.g., *ḫazannu:tu* 'mayors', *ardu:tu* 'servants'; *abbu:tu* 'fathers'). This phenomenon is not confined

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[11]Transcription procedure indicates length following vowels; hence, in analysis of nouns, symbols for gender and number may not appear in their morphological order. Whenever analysis is made for morphemes in inverse order, this will be indicated by the symbol ↔ instead of the morphological boundary symbol + (PRD↔PL). In cases where morphemes are represented discontinuously, they will be indicated by a hyphen (e.g., PL-F for *a:t*, where : is the PL morpheme, *at* is the F morpheme).

strictly to CanAkk, but is an expansion in peripheral Akkadian dialects of a more restricted peculiarity in the Akkadian languages of the core.

Certain lexemes attest the morph *a:n* added to the stem when in the plural; e.g., *a:la:nu:* 'cities'. This is probably a carry-over from Akkadian, although there are some indications that Canaanite dialects had similar plural formation as well (using the cognate morph *o:n*).

Canaanite dialects marked free PLM nouns (both substantives and adjectives) by an additional *ma* syllable at word end (an element left unnoticed in the nominal chain above). Examples are attested in Canaanite glosses, e.g., *šamu:ma* 'heaven' (211: 17; unknown provenance). The PLF was probably indicated by *o:t*, as is attested from later Canaanite dialects.

PLF nouns are rarely attested in CanAkk texts, yet they seem to be marked in writing by the sign *te*. This spelling convention was taken over from Assyrian, and was transferred to other words whose final syllable starts with *t*. Hence, there seems to be no morphological significance to this spelling, although the possibility of pronunciation with *e* by some or even most speakers can not be discounted. In any case, the phonological reality behind this spelling is questionable (cf. 1.2), and is impossible to determine for most varieties.[12] It is possible, however, that at least in some cases the difference between the SG and PL was marked at word end also in the feminine, whether or not the length segment remained — tautologically — in its original location before the F marker. In the following example, it is only the sign *te* — and the plural determinative *MEŠ* (not a linguistic constituent) — that indicates plurality, and one may surmise that plurality may have been marked by the length segment *:* (not indicated in the script) following the F marker as in masculine substantives:

(45) *ma:d mim   šarri ana libbiši*

much property king in inside+her

marši:te:.^{MEŠ} {rši≈ma••i•+t+:+e} ab<bu:>tinu   pa:na:nu

capital+F+PL+NPRD   father+PL+NPRD+our formerly

'There is much of the king's property in it, assets of our forefathers of the past.' (137: 74-5; Byblos)

In some cases, plural nouns are marked only in spelling, the linguistic form remaining the singular one. Example:

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[12] At least in some cases, notably with the lexeme *awatu* 'speech', 'utterance', one may think of a phonological distinction between SG and PL in the last syllable: *a-wa-ti* in ATT position, hence SG, vs. *a-wa-te* in CMP position, hence PL (108: 49-50 and 66 respectively; Byblos). However, recalling that length is usually not represented in script, these respective spellings may be interpreted not necessarily as a phonological distinction between *e* and *i*, but rather as the representation of the morphological distinction between /awati/ [awati] (utterance+ATT) and /awati:/ [awate:] (utterance+NPRD↔PL). Note that *awatu* is M in most varieties of CanAkk. Hence, whether there was a difference in pronunciation or not, this difference may have been non-phonemic.

(46) *a-wa-ta₅^{MEŠ} {awat+a} bana:ta*

utterance+CMP   nice+PL-F+CMP

'nice words' (286: 62-3; Jerusalem)

Dual marking is confined to body members: eyes, hands, feet. It is differentiated from the plural by using a distinct predicative case marker (see below).

2.2.5. Case

The Semitic case system consists of markers of syntactic relations (cf. 3.1). It is tripartite in the singular, bipartite in the plural. CanAkk shows the following:

SG: *u* (predicative)[13]   PL: *u* (predicative)
           a (completive)   *i~e* (non-predicative)
           i (attributive)[14]

Proper nouns are usually not inflected for case.

Variation between *i* and *e* may have been allophonic or it may have been confined by spelling conventions (see 1.1; 1.2; cf. 2.2.4).

In contrast to both Akkadian and WS, plural adjectives in many varieties of CanAkk are triptotic. This is a morphological attraction of the adjectival combined morph *u:t*, which is identical to the abstract noun marker. It may also occur in substantives of the same form. Examples:

(47) *awate: {awat+:+e} šarru:ta*

utterance(M)+PL+NPRD false+PL-ADJ+CMP

'treacherous words' (117: 29; Byblos)

(48) *ḫazannu:ta {ḫazannu+:+ut+a}*

mayor+PL+ADJ+CMP

'mayors' (74: 34; Byblos)

Further attraction to the feminine marker of the governing substantive may also occur, albeit rarely:

(49) *awata {awat+a} bana:ta {bani+:+at+a}*

utterance+CMP   nice+PL+F+CMP

'nice words' (286: 62-3; Jerusalem)

The dual, which is predicted to have the opposition between *a* for PRD and *i* (or *e*) for NPRD, has only one clear attestation:

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[13] The predicative is also the dictionary form of the noun.

[14] In the conventional terminology: "nominative", "accusative" and "genitive", respectively. The terms used here reflect better, in my opinion, the essence of the case morphemes as markers of syntactic relations.

(50) ʕe:na:ya {ʕe:n+a:+ya}
eye+DU-PRD
'my eyes' (144: 17; Sidon); CanGl

Akkadian has special rules for the application of case markers to nouns in their bound form (3.1.3.1).[15] In post-consonantal position (thus, notably, not with PLM nouns) case endings are mostly omitted from nouns in their bound form. Analogous rules exist for the annexation of pronominal suffixes to nouns in predicative or completive position; the ATT is not omitted in this environment. CanAkk has similar rules to these nominal contacts; much of the difference can be ascribed to substratal interference. When preceding another noun, case ending is omitted in the bound form when the noun ends in a consonant. In attributive position, the case marker i may remain. The appearance of the vowel seems to be unpredictable and dependent on the scribal tradition and on individual lexemes. Examples:

(51) ra:biṣ   šarri
commissioner king+ATT
'The king's commissioner' (207: 11; unknown provenance)

(52) zoro:ʕ šarri
arm   king+ATT
'the king's arm' (287: 27; Jerusalem); CanGl

(53) ana naṣa:r a:l gubli
to guard_INF city Byblos
'to guard the city of Byblos' (362: 38; Byblos)

(54) u aššum   lama:d   [šarri] ...
and concerning take-notice_INF king+ATT ...
aššum   nada:n si:si: ana ardika
concerning give_INF horse+NPRD↔PL to servant+ATT+your
ana naṣa:ri   [maṣṣ]ar šarri ...
to guard_INF+ATT garrison king+ATT ...
'Informing the king ... about giving horses to your servant for guarding the garrison of the king ...' (308: R2-7; southern Palestine)

Preceding pronominal suffixes, CanAkk tends to preserve case endings, not only in nouns in attributive position, but also where Akkadian omits them, i.e., in predicative and completive positions. Examples:

(55) ra:biṣašu {ra:biṣ+a+šu}
commissioner+CMP+his
'his commissioner' (272: 20; central Palestine)

(56) ro:šunu {ro:š+u+nu}
head+PRD+our
'our head' (264: 18; Gath Carmel); CanGl

(57) be:lka {be:l+ka}
lord+your
'your lord' (138: 124; Byblos); Akkadian-like structure

Before the 1SG pronominal suffix, case becomes neutralized due to the phonological rule u,a→i/_+ya (1.3.1):

(58) be:liya {be:l+i+ya}
lord+NTRL+my
'my lord' (passim)

The overall impression from the use of case markers in CanAkk is the degradation of their employment in the substratal dialects, which was in process contemporarily or shortly before the time of our texts. This process may have taken place in word final environment first: there are cases where dictionary forms are used, either in Canaanite glosses or in the body of a text; there is some confusion in the employment of case ending; and there are some hypercorrections. This process may have been taking place on different scales at different sites in the Canaanite sphere.

2.3. The Pronominal System

2.3.1. Personal Pronouns

The Semitic personal pronouns can be either independent or affixed. In Canaanite, there probably was during this period a complementary distribution of free and bound forms according to case: predicative pronouns were free forms; attributive and completive pronouns were bound morphemes. Akkadian, in contrast, had a full-fledged system of free pronouns. Akkadian had, further, in addition to the purely syntactic cases of Semitic, a dative case, which was at play only in the pronominal system.

Both the system of free pronouns and that of the bound pronouns of CanAkk are mostly bipartite. They show admixture of forms and functional simplification, which distinguish them from the contemporary Babylonian pronominal system, which was also partly bipartite, and was in itself a reduction from the older stages of the language. The attested forms are the following:[16]

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[15]In the conventional terminology, "construct state".

[16]Note: An empty space under rubrics in the tables below, rather than indicating the absence of a category, indicates lack of available data.

Free forms

		PRD	NPRD
SG	1	ana:ku~ʾano:ki	ya:ši~ya:ti~ya:šiya~ya:tiya
	2M	atta	ka:ta
	2F		
	3M	šu:~šu:t	ša:šu
	3F		ša:še
DU	2M		
	3M	šuni	
PL	1	ni:nu	ya:šinu
	2M	attunu	ka:tunu
	2F		
	3M	šunu	ša:šunu
	3F		

Bound (suffixed) forms

		ATT	CMP
SG	1	ya~i:	ni~anni
	2M	ka	ka
	2F		
	3M	šu:~hu	šu
	3F	ši~še~ša(~hi)	ši~še
DU	2M	kuni	
	3M	šuni	šuni
PL	1	nu	nu
	2M		
	2F		
	3M	šunu(~amu)	šunu
	3F	šina	šina

As is the case generally in Semitic languages, the 3rd person pronouns are anaphoric rather than "true" personals.

Variant forms are usually dependent on scribal tradition. For example, the variant 3SGM form šu:t is widespread mainly in the dialect of Byblos. While they are also attested in contemporary Assyrian, šu:t and the dual pronouns, both bound and free forms, are retentions from older dialects of Akkadian. The dual pronouns are rare; they are attested in only some texts, while others use the plural pronouns instead.

Some varieties preserve an older, tripartite system of the free pronouns, extant in the Old Babylonian period, i.e., from the first half of the second millennium BCE. This rare system

is attested in a few letters from Byblos, possibly in Megiddo, and perhaps also in one variety from southern Palestine. In these texts, the pronominal system is tripartite: the forms with *š* occur in dative environments, the forms with *t* in all other non-predicative environments. The attested forms are:

		DAT	CMP-ATT
SG	1	ya:ši	ya:ti~ya:tiya
	3M	ša:šu	šua:ti~šua:ta~šua:t
	3F		šia:ti
PL	1	ya:šinu	ya:tinu
	3M	ša:šunu	

Both contemporary Babylonian and contemporary Assyrian show some simplification of their respective pronominal systems, for both free and bound paradigms, as contrasted with older dialects and in particular vis-à-vis the classical Old Babylonian paradigm. CanAkk manifests a bipartite system which is not the result of adaptation of any of the contemporary dialects, but is inherent to its own sources. In CanAkk the forms with *š* (originally DAT pronouns) and their (rare) variants with *t* (originally CMP-ATT pronouns) have been restructured in complementary distribution for the 2nd and 3rd person forms.

Akkadian DAT suffixes are not part of the CanAkk system;[17] thus the mixed language conforms with the Canaanite WS dialects, in which there was no grammatical category for the DAT. Instead, syntactic phrases of adverbial heads followed by free NPRD pronouns (e.g., *ana ya:ši* 'to me') were commonly used; occasionally, the CMP pronominal suffixes were used. In the following example, as in other similar cases, both types of DAT notations are employed tautologically:

(59)   *u*   *idnanni* {*idin+anni*} 20 *ta:pal si:si: ana ya:ši*
       CONJ give$_{\text{IMPV}}$+me   20 pair   horses   to   me
       'Give me 20 pairs of horses.' (103: 41-3; Byblos)

Simplification and reduction of the system are manifested not only in the reduction of the morphological marking of the DAT, but also in the morphological shape of the pronouns. This is especially manifest in the bound forms paradigm, where allomorphic distribution tends to be eliminated, either within a single paradigm or in cross-paradigmatic relation. Thus *ya* is overwhelmingly used as the marker for the 1SG, although in both Akkadian and Canaanite *i:* and *ya* existed as allomorphs. The morph *ši* is most commonly used as the 3SGF marker in all environments, whereas Akkadian has *ša* for the ATT, *ši* for the CMP. The PL CMP bound morphemes assume a shorter form than in Babylonian, which makes them identical to their ATT counterparts.

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[17] Akkadian dative suffixes were known, however, to the scribes, at least passively, as can be seen from citations inserted into CanAkk texts where dative pronouns are included (e.g., *liddinakku* 'he may give to you', with the DIR-dative affix *-akku*; 87: 12; Byblos).

Free non-predicative forms rarely occur on their own. In the majority of cases they are attested following adverbial heads, which also makes a case of simplification.

Genuine Canaanite pronouns (*'ano:ki* and the suffixes *hu*, *hi*, *nu* and *amu*) occur either in glosses or within the text flow. The bound pronouns may be annexed to either a Canaanite or, rarely, a CanAkk lexeme (which is mostly Akkadian): *ba-di-ú* /*badi:hu*/ '(literally) in his hand' (245: 35; Megiddo; CanGl); *qa-ti-ḫu* /*qa:ti:hu*/ 'his hand' (284: 19; southern Palestine; Akkadian *qa:t*+ATT+Canaanite *hu*). The constraints for the employment of any of the Canaanite pronouns may be extralinguistic. This is the case with the scribe of Jerusalem, who uses the 1SG form *'ano:ki* in a section where he addresses the pharaonic scribe. The Canaanite suffix *nu* (rather than Akkadian *ni*, ATT; *nia:ti*, CMP; *nia:ši*, DAT) is the standard bound form for the 1PL.

The different systems of Akkadian and Canaanite have further resulted in the extended, seemingly tautological, variants *ya:šiya*, *ya:tiya*, *ya:šinu*, *ya:tinu*. That only the second component, *ya* or *nu*, was conceived as pronominal is especially evident in the 1PL forms *ya:šinu*, *ya:tinu*, which is a combination of the Akkadian 1SG forms *ya:ši* or *ya:ti* and the Canaanite suffixed 1PL attributive pronoun -*nu*.

2.3.2. Other Pronominal Lexemes

Other pronominal sets also show simplification and reduction. Most prominently, CanAkk does not attest the Akkadian set of independent possessive pronouns which forms part of the system in core and peripheral dialects of Akkadian.

2.3.2.1. In the set of adjectival **demonstrative pronouns**, only the "near" demonstrative ('this') is used. Its stem is /*anni:*/, and it is inflected like any other adjective. Occasionally, forms uninflected for case occur, always in the PRD (=dictionary) form:

(60) *awi:la   annu:*
      man+CMP this-PRD
      'this man' (117: 52; Byblos)

(61) *ipe:š   annu:tu*
      do_INF this+PL-ADJ-PRD
      'to do these (things)' (73: 25; Byblos)

Instead of the specific Akkadian set of "far" demonstratives ('that'), CanAkk makes use of the anaphoric personal pronouns of the 3rd person, employed for this function both in Akkadian and in Canaanite dialects.

2.3.2.2. Variation in the use of **interrogative pronouns** reflects the interference of the substrata. Akkadian has *mi:nu* for the non-human and *mannu* for the human. The variants

mi:nu~mannu are attested for the non-human; the latter reflects the cognate Canaanite form. CanAkk varieties for the human interrogative pronoun are *mannu~mi:nu~miya~miyati*; the form *mi:nu* is attested from Byblos, where some letters attest to a reverse human vs. non-human opposition. Canaanite *miya* and (rarely) *miyati* are attested in texts from all regions of Canaan, notably in the following idiomatic formula:

(62) *miyami   ana:ku kalbu ište:n u   la: illaku*
      who+EMPH   I   dog   one   CONJ NEG 1SG+go+IMPFV
      'Who am I, a mere dog, that would not go?' (202: 12-4; Bashan region).

Cf.

(63) *[u]   mannumi   ana:ku kalbu ...*
      CONJ who+EMPH   I   dog ...
      'and who am I, a dog, ...' (378: 18; Gezer)

2.3.2.3. The usage of the Akkadian indeclinable **indefinite pronoun** *mimma* is confused in many cases with the etymologically related substantive *mimmu:* 'possessions', and hence in many cases is treated as a noun and is inflected for case.

2.4. Numerals

The numerical system can not be reconstructed, due to writing conventions and scarcity of occurrences. Cardinal and ordinal numbers were most probably used, as is the case in both Akkadian and Canaanite. In both languages, as in Semitic languages in general, numerals are marked for gender. Typically, gender markers of the numbers between 3 and 10 are opposite to their marking in nouns, and have *t* for the M, Ø for the F. Cardinal numbers are in most cases undeclined: *ište:n* 'one' (*passim*); *me'at* 'hundred' (148: 8; Tyre); *lim* 'thousand' (91: 17; Byblos).

2.5. The Predicative Complex and the Verb

Akkadian inflected predicates can be either nominal or verbal. An inflected nominal predicate is construed in the order STEM+SUBJECT-PERSONAL-AFFIX (=suffix conjugation, henceforth SC). A verbal predicate is construed in the following manner: SUBJECT-PERSONAL-AFFIX+STEM+NUMBER&GENDER-AFFIX (=prefix conjugation, henceforth PC). In Akkadian, a stem construed on the basis of an adjectival pattern when inflected in the SC, gets a stative interpretation. From the syntactic point of view it may be interpreted as an ergative-like construction. In contrast, all known WS languages distinguish between transitive and intransitive etymons in their treatment of SC predicative complexes. Generally, CanAkk

follows the WS system. Thus, the CanAkk SC is closer to the verb in the nominal–verbal continuum. Examples:[18]

(64)   *lu:*   *ami:la:tunu* {*ami:l+a:tunu*}
MOD man+2PLM
'Be ye men!' (289: 26; Jerusalem)

(65)   *ana:ku arad*   *kitti*   *šarri*
    I   servant loyalty king
u   *la:*   *arna:ku* {*arn+a:ku*} *u*   *la:*   *ḫa:ṭa:ku* {*ḫa:ṭ+a:ku*}
CONJ NEG sinner+1SG   and NEG criminal+1SG
... *ibašši* {*ibašši+Ø*} *arniya*   *inu:ma irruba:ti* {*irrub+a:ti*} *ana gazri*
... be+3SGM   sin+my H$_{NA}$ enter+1SG   to Gezer
'I am a loyal servant of the king, and I am not a sinner, and I am not a criminal ... my sin is that I entered into Gezer .' (254: 10-22; Shechem)

In other cases, variation between forms with the 1SG morpheme (2.5.2) seems to be lexically dependent, as in:

(66)   [*u*]   *anumma ana:ku inanna marṣa:ku* {*mariṣ+a:ku*}
CONJ now   I   now   ill+1SG
u   *ibašša:ti* {*ibašši+a:ti*} *ina* [*ṣumur*]
CONJ be+1SG   in   Sumur
'and now I am ill, and I am (staying) in Sumur .' (106: 23-4; Byblos)

(67)   ... *inu:ma marṣa:ku* {*mariṣ+a:ku*} *magal*
... H$_{NA}$ ill+1SG   very
[*u*]   *allu: ušširti* {*uššir+ti*} *arad*   *šarri šana:m* ...
CONJ PRS   send+1SG   servant king second ...
'... that I am very ill, and I herewith send another servant of the king ...'
(306: 19-24; southern Palestine)

2.5.1. The Verbal Chain

SC: STEM+SUBJECT-PERSONAL-AFFIX+COMPLETIVE-PRONOMINAL-AFFIX+ENCLITIC-PARTICLE

PC: SUBJECT-PERSONAL-AFFIX+STEM+NUMBER(&GENDER?)-AFFIX + $\frac{\text{TMA- MARKER + ENRG}}{\text{DIR}}$
+COMPLETIVE-PRONOMINAL-AFFIX+ENCLITIC-PARTICLE

The directional marker may occupy the third slot in Akkadian(-like) or Akkadianized forms. Ambiguity in interpretation between the DIR marker and the Canaanite modal morpheme *a* seems to be inherent to the linguistic system of CanAkk (2.5.5).

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[18]For the morphological analysis, see note 3.

2.5.2. Subject Personal Affixes[19]

		SC	PC
SG	1	+*a:ti*~+*ti*~+*a:ku*	Ø+~*a*+
	2M	+*a:ta*~+*ta*	*t*+~*ta*+
	2F		
	3M	+Ø~+*a*	*y*+~*i*+
	3F	+*at*	*t*+~*ti*+(~*ta*+?)
DU	3M	+*a:*(?)	*t*++*a:*(?)
PL	1	+*a:nu*(?)	*n*+~*ni*+
	2M	+*a:tunu*	*t*++*u:*~*ta*++*u:*
	2F		
	3M	+*u:*~+*u:ni*	*t*++*u:*~*i*+*u:*~*i*++*u:ni*~*y*++*u:*
	3F	+*u:*~+*a:*(?)	

		IMPV
SG	2M	+Ø
	2F	
?DU		
PL	2M	+*u:*
	2F	

In this table, variants are listed according to frequency. Variants may be drawn from either Canaanite or Akkadian, or they can be hybrid forms. For example, in the SC *a:ku* is Akkadian, *ti* is Canaanite, *a:ti* is hybrid (1SG); *a:ta* is Akkadian, *ta* Canaanite (2SGM); Ø is Akkadian, *a* Canaanite (3SGM). The ending *u:ni* (PLM) is composed from the common Akkadian and Canaanite PLM morpheme *u:* and the misapprehended Akkadian DIR marker (see 2.5.5.2.3 and note 29), which had lost its meaning and function. In the PC, the 1SG marker is taken to be Ø, the overt CanAkk counterpart of Canaanite ʾ. There is no indication of ʾ in the script, due to the nature of the syllabic writing system and perhaps also due to phonetic weakness of the /ʾ/ phoneme. While it may be restored as the contemporary Canaanite prefix of the 1SG on the morphological level, its phonological reality cannot be determined. In any case, since Akkadian shows no sign of consonantal onsets for its 1SG, 3SG and 3PL personal prefixes, its seems that the data for the mixed language are to be taken at face value, and that the 1SG prefix in CanAkk is to be interpreted as Ø. The morph *a* is the Akkadian 1SG marker of the verb. The consonantal prefixes are Canaanite; the syllabic ones are their respective Akkadian counterparts. In some cities, notably Byblos, the 1SG personal prefix is *a*, whereas all other prefixes are consonantal. The variants of the

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[19]See note 16.

3SGM, i.e., *y* vs. *i*, while they are apparent allophonic variants constrained by vocalic vs. non-vocalic environments (cf. 2.5.3), also conform to the regular system, that is, they are representations of either the Canaanite or the Akkadian forms, respectively. Their distribution is either dependent on scribal traditions or on verb-internal constraints, as will be shown in example 68. DU affixes can be surmised for only a few uncertain occurrences; in the majority of cases, two subjects attract a plural agreement of the verb.

Variants may be dependent on scribal schools, in which case the systems would be mostly coherent in using either Canaanite-related forms or Akkadian-related ones. They can also be constrained by the specific verb onto which they are applied (e.g., the stem *uššir* 'send' accepts only the form *ti*). Akkadianized stems may inhibit the application of the Canaanite person and/or TMA morphemes. Example:

(68)　ul　　yišma {y+išme+a} ʿabdiʾaširta
　　　NEG 3SGM+hear+MOD Abdiʾashirta
　　　u　　mannu ilteqa:ni {i(+)lteqe+a+ni} ištu　qa:tišu
　　　CONJ who　(3SGM+)take+MOD+1SG　from hand+his
　　　'Let not Abdiʾashirta hear (about it), or who would rescue me from his hand?'
　　　(82: 23-5; Byblos)

The verb *yišma* is construed according to standard CanAkk procedures. The verb *ilteqa:ni* has an Akkadianized stem which includes a *t* infix (2.5.3), and hence inhibits, in this case, the application of the Canaanite personal morpheme *y*. Interpretation of the morphological structure is inherently ambiguous; the initial *i* may be regarded as either part of the stem or as the Akkadian 3SGM marker.

The Canaanite personal prefixes can be constrained by the immediate context within a single letter, notably in verbs occurring in the opening formulae (see 0.3 above), or in other environments where forms closer to genuine Akkadian tend to be employed. Example:

(69)　u　　mimma　ša　　iqabbi {i(+)qabbi} šarru be:liya ana ya:ši
　　　CONJ everything H_N　(3SGM+)say　　king lord+my to me
　　　išteme {Ø+išteme+Ø} magal magal
　　　1SG+hear+PFV　　very　very
　　　'And everything that the king, my lord, said to me, I heard it very well.'
　　　(298: 14-7; Gezer)

The Akkadianism *iqabbi* occurs within a sentence mentioning the pharaoh, a context which — for some scribes — attracts the usage of Akkadianized forms. Another scribe from Gezer employs the CanAkk SC form from the same root in a similar context:

(70)　mimma　ša　qaba {qaba:+Ø} šarru be:liya ana ya:ši
　　　everything H_N　say+3SGM　　king lord+my to me
　　　išteme:šu {Ø+išteme+Ø+šu} magal damqiš
　　　1SG+hear+PFV+it　　very nice+ADV
　　　'And everything that the king, my lord, said to me, I heard it very well.' (297: 8-11; Gezer)

2.5.3. The Stem

In Semitic languages, the system of verbs (and related nouns; cf. 2.2.2) can be represented on a lattice, where two distinct sets of consonantal markers and one set of vocalic patterns interweave, thus forming a morphological frame into which the root can be interlaced. Morphemes on this tridimensional structure manifest a derivational-inflectional continuum, where vocalic patterns are markers of inflection, while consonants are located at various points towards the derivational extreme of the continuum. The consonantal morphemes are usually described as forming — together with their respective inflectional patterns — a modification system termed "conjugations" or "stems"[20]. In this grammatical sketch, the term "class" will be used instead. The following is a simplified representation of the Akkadian system of predicative forms,[21] indicating the organization of markers and pattern formations within this lattice:

	plain	*n*	D	*š*
plain	IMPV			
	SC			
t	PC			
	t			
tn	D~ablaut			
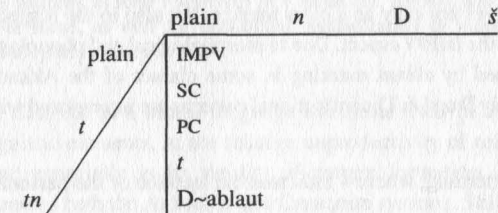
The Canaanite system may be reconstructed thus:

	plain	*n*	D	*š*
plain	IMPV			
t	SC			
ablaut	PC			
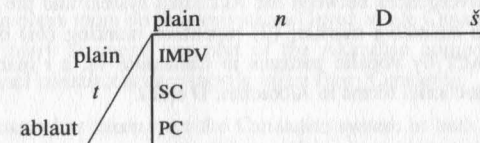
The primary classes are found on the horizontal axis. The morpheme *n* marks the NACT voice, used as the NACT counterpart, mostly with passive implication, of the plain class verbs. **D**, the reduplication of the second root radical, is used for indicating transitivity or intensification, although in many cases it serves as an alternative to the plain class without any special added meaning. The morphemes *š* in Akkadian, *h* in Canaanite typically mark causativity or factitivity.

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[20]Obviously, with a meaning distinct from the meaning used for "stem" as a combination of root and pattern.

[21]This representation excludes the related nominal non-predicative forms (participle and infinitive), for which the horizontal and oblique axes are valid, and these two categories would be added to the vertical axis were a fuller lattice to be formed.

The classes on the oblique axis are combinative, in that — exclusive of incompatibilities due to meaning (notably between the *n* and *t* classes) — they are combined with each of the primary classes.[22] The morpheme *t* marks the NACT voice. In Akkadian it usually implies the passive when combined with the **D** and *š* markers; as the NACT counterpart of the plain-class verbs it usually implies middle voice, *n* being employed for passive indication. In Canaanite, passive voice is indicated by ablaut, *t* is reserved for the middle voice, reflexivity or the like. The morpheme *tn*, which is unique to Akkadian, is a marker of repetitiveness.

The inflectional patterns are those on the vertical axis. The values **IMPV**, **SC** and **PC** are discrete sets of vocalic patterns which are used in the imperative (which is unmarked for person), in the SC and in the PC, respectively (2.5.5). The value *t* on this axis stands for an inflectional set of patterns with an infixed *t* which forms a specifically Akkadian TMA category, usually termed "perfect"; **D** marks, again, the reduplication of the second radical, which in Akkadian serves not only as a class marker, but also in the respective inflectional patterns as a marker of the IMPFV aspect. Due to morphological and phonological constraints, reduplication is replaced by ablaut marking in some classes of the Akkadian verb (and a few other cases), notably **D** and *š*. The inflectional patterns are interrelated with the respective classes.

Examples of stem patterning, where + indicates the location of the personal markers:

Akkadian: •*a•i•*+ (plain/plain/SC); +••*u•* (plain/plain/PC); +*uštana••a•* (*š*/*tn*/PC)[23]

Canaanite: •*a•a•*+ (plain/plain/SC); •*a•i•*+ (plain/ablaut/SC);

+*a••u•* (plain/plain/PC); +*u•ta••i•* (D/*t*/PC); *hi••i•*+ (*h*/plain/SC)

The morphological divergences between the Akkadian system and the Canaanite system are: (1) *š* vs. *h* as the causative marker; (2) repetitive marking (*tn*) only in Akkadian; (3) marking of the NACT by vocalic patterns in Canaanite vs. a *t* marker in Akkadian; (4) two extra TMA inflectional forms in Akkadian, **D** and *t*.

The resulting CanAkk system can be delineated thus:

	plain	*n*	D	*š*
plain / IMPV				
SC				
ablaut / PC				

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[22]On a three-dimensional lattice the oblique axis would be another horizontal axis, meeting each of the other two axes at 90°.

[23]Constraints on the number of possible radicals and augments may result in a different marking for the IMPFV by ablaut.

Summary of formations:

		PLAIN	*n*	D	*š*
PLAIN	IMPV	*buluṭ~limad~piqid*	*inne[pšu:]*	*bulliṭ*	*šute:ra~šezzibanni*
	SC	*šapra:ti~šaparti*	*innepšat*	*ušširti~dubbuba:ku*	*šu:šira:ti~šu:širti ~šu:šira:ku*
	PC	*yiṣbat~yidaggal*	*tinnepuš*	*yuwaššira~yuwaššara*	*yušapšiḫ*
ABLAUT	IMPV	—	—	—	—
	SC	*nadin*	—	*	*
	PC	*yu:paš*	—	*tuwaššaru:na*	*tuša:ṣu:na*(?)

*The attested SC forms of the **D** and *š* classes which are NACT in context are construed on the same patterns as their respective ACT forms (cf. below), and hence are unmarked for voice. For these, as well for occasional neutralization of voice markedness in the PC forms of the plain class, see 2.5.4.

The nature of CanAkk as a mixed language manifests itself in a notable manner in the reduction of linguistic elements, in the relative unproductivity of relics from the Akkadian superstratum, and especially in its rigidity of pattern formation. Reduction in CanAkk manifests itself versus both the Akkadian and Canaanite systems. Still, in some geographical varieties of the language, as well as under some well defined circumstances in other varieties, Akkadianized forms may still be present. In accordance with the general principle that Akkadian predominates the lexicon and Canaanite the grammar, there is a similar congruity between the linguistic components and the derivational-inflectional continuum of CanAkk. Akkadian plays more on the derivational level, while Canaanite on the inflectional one. Thus, the primary augments are part of the Akkadian component of the language, while the inflectional constituents are mostly taken from Canaanite.

The CanAkk system has taken over the Canaanite system in both form and content, and used the external marks for aspectual denotation (2.5.5.2). This has resulted in another feature in CanAkk, which is very specific to language contact, yet very non-Semitic in character. This is the tendency toward rigidity of pattern formation. Since the aspectual and modal oppositions are marked externally, the tripartite internal structure of Akkadian (PC) verbs seemed superfluous, so that CanAkk could adopt any of the three extant patterns and integrate it into its own system with no regard to their respective original semantic denotations. The three respective patterns are found in lexically constrained distribution, which is sometimes also geographically dependent. In extreme cases, there is a tendency to use a single adopted pattern throughout the whole paradigm. This characteristic is manifest in the CanAkk tendency to adopt one of the stems employed within any individual Akkadian verbal paradigm, as well as in the INF in some cases. This applies to vocalic inflectional patterns, where the tendency is stronger with stems of verbs with vocalic radicals and,

notably, in the **D** and *š* augmented stems, as well as for the employment of patterns with *t* or *tn* augments, which are not part of the aspectual or inflectional system of CanAkk.

The primary augments are productive within the CanAkk system; e.g., *tušabliṭu:nanu* 'you make us live' (238: 31-33; central/northern Palestine) is an example of a CanAkk *š* form, whereas Akkadian would use the **D** class instead. As against the case in both Akkadian and Canaanite, any secondary augments can hardly be seen as productive. They are attested as elements in lexically motivated verbal derivatives, and occur either in Akkadianisms (e.g., *eltenemme* 'I keep listening', 378: 26; Gezer) or as stems taken from the Akkadian stock and integrated into the CanAkk system. They evince either repetitive implication (e.g., *yaštappar* 3SGM+keep-writing 'he keeps writing' from Acre, cited in example 247) or the lack thereof (e.g., *ištappar* 'he writes'; *passim* in Byblos); hence, as part of a rigid stem with no special meaning added to the lexeme. In marginal cases, a *t* augment would serve to mark NACT voice (2.5.4). In most cases, however, the *t* augment serves as a void element for the constructional reinforcement of roots with only two consonants.

Stem patterning is interdependent with the personal affixes, in that Akkadianized stems may attract the application of Akkadian-like affixes and vice versa. While PC forms of the plain and *n* classes in Akkadian open with a consonant (or a vocalic radical), CanAkk stems have a vowel which is part of the pattern rather than of the root. In particular, formative stems tend to open with an *i*, which in Babylonian is the 3SGM personal prefix. Stems of this type are the majority among CanAkk verbs. Examples:

(71) *imqut* {Ø+imqut+Ø} 1SG+fall(plain class)+PFV 'I fell' (260: 5; Syria)

(72) cf. *amqut* {a+mqut} 1SG+fall 'I fall' (*passim*; Akkadian PFV form in opening formulae, analyzable for Akkadian as 1SG+fall(PFV, plain class)

(73) *yidaggal* {y+idaggal+Ø} 3SGM+look(plain class)+PFV 'may he look' (74: 57; Byblos)

(74) *innepšat* {innepuš+at} be-made(*n*)+3SGF 'she was made' (292: 46; Gezer)

(75) *tinnepuš* {t+innepuš+Ø} 3SGF+be-made(*n*)+PFV 'she will be made' (117: 94; Byblos)

Stems with initial *i*, although they originate from Akkadian 3SG formations, can be found not only in PC of the plain or *n* classes, but also in other forms (e.g., **D** and *š*, where patterns are inherently expected to open with the vowel *u*), as well as in the SC:

(76) *niwašširušu* {n+iwaššir+u+šu} 1PL+release+IMPFV+him 'we shall let him go' (197: 18; Kumidi), for *nuwaššir* (√*ušr*; **D**)

(77) *tiba''u:na* {t+iba'ˁi+u:+na} 3PLM+request+PLM+IMPFV 'they request' (362: 24; Byblos), for *tuba''u:na* (√*b'i*; **D**)

(78) *išu:šurušu* {Ø+išu:šir+u+šu} 1SG+prepare(š)+IMPFV+him 'I prepare him' (267: 12; Gezer)

(79) cf. *uše:širumi* {Ø+uše:šir+u+mi} 1SG+prepare(š)+IMPFV+EMPH 'I prepare' (329: 19; Lachish)

(80) *ibašša:ti* {ibašši+a:ti} be+1SG ~ *ibašša:ku* {ibašši+a:ku} be+1SG 'I am' (78: 19; Byblos and 143: 30; Tyre); *ibašša:ta* 'you(SGM) are' (TT 6: 17; Taanach); *ibašša:tunu* {ibašši+a:tunu} be+2PLM 'you(PLM) are' (74: 26; Byblos) (√*bši*; plain class, SC)

The tendency to have fixed stems with initial *i* in the SC probably started with the verb *ibašši* (√*bši* 'be'), the stative verb par excellence, which in Akkadian always comes in the PC imperfective inflection (*abašši, tabašši, ibašši* 'I am / you are / he is'). It spread to other verbs, notably: *izuzzu* 'stand', another originally so-called "prefixed stative" verb, as this type of verb is termed in Akkadian grammars; *nenpušu* (*n* form of √*epš*, hence NACT voice) 'be made', 'become'; *ria:ḫu* 'stay', 'remain'; and to a few verbal forms which have a vocalic first radical, notably *i* (or *e*). Examples:

(81) *izziza:ti* {izziz+a:ti} (103: 14; Byblos); *izzizti* {izziz+ti} stand+1SG (296: 28; southern Palestine) 'I stand', 'I stay'

(82) *innipša:ti* {innipuš+a:ti} 'I have been made' (297: 12; Gezer)

(83) *irti:ḫat* 'she has remained' (91: 21; Byblos)

Further examples for the organization of stems and their distribution (SC-PC-IMPV-INF):[24]

(84) *ḫalqat—yiḫliq*(Shechem)~*tiḫlaq*(Gezer)—?—*ḫala:q* 'be lost' (√*ḫlq*; plain class)

(85) *dagla:ti—yidaggal—daggal—daga:l* 'look' (√*dgl*; plain class)

(86) *laqu:—yilqu:—leqe—laqe:* 'take' (√*lqe*; plain class)

(87) *laqaḫu:—yileqqeu:—?—laqe*; 'take' (√*lqe*~√*lqḫ*;[25] plain class); Jerusalem

(88) *ilteqe—yilteqe—?—?* 'take' (√*lqe*; original *t*); southern Palestine

(89) *ušširti—yušširr—uššir—uššir*; 'send' (√*ušr*; **D**); southern Palestine

(90) *ušširti—yuwaššir—uššir—ušša:r* 'send' (√*ušr*; **D**); Byblos

(91) *izziza:ti~izzizti—yizziz—izziz—?* 'stand', 'to be (locally)'; (√*:zz*; plain class)

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[24]Additional morphs, such as modal morphs on verbs or case endings on infinitives, are not appended.

[25]√*lqḫ* is the Canaanite root.

An illuminating example of the stem fixation technique is the verb *yarḫiša* 'may he hasten' (137: 97; Byblos), derived from the adverb *arḫiš* 'promptly', which in Akkadian is structured of two morphemes: {*arḫ*+*iš*}, the latter an adverbial marker (see 2.6.2.1). In CanAkk this adverb is taken as a stem, either indivisible or as if construed from the root √*rḫš* intertwined with a pattern *a••i•*, hence: {*y*+*arḫiš*+*a*}.

It is to be specially emphasized that the tendency to use fixed stems is a feature of CanAkk as a contact language. It markedly stands against the procedure of ablaut-like techniques used for inflectional marking, an inherent characteristic in the two Semitic languages which constitute the linguistic input of CanAkk.

2.5.4. Voice

Voice is binary in CanAkk: active (ACT) vs. non-active (NACT; passive or middle). The morphology of voice denotation is based by and large on ablaut mechanisms, which in the substratal dialects was used to mark the ACT-NACT opposition. Accordingly, CanAkk manifests the general reduction of the *t* patterns for marking of the NACT voice.

Only rarely may one interpret forms with infixed *t* as bearing special grammatical meaning, notably as relics from either Akkadian or Canaanite employment of stems with *t*, rather than genuine productive formation in CanAkk. Examples:

(92) *ittaṣa:t* 'she came forth' (297: 19; Gezer); separative implication, as in Akkadian

(93) *ittaṣab* 'he situated himself' (148: 42; Tyre); reflexive implication, as in Canaanite

In Akkadian, the SC is a nominal predicative inflection, commonly termed "stative", where the subject is the patient. Voice distinction in the contemporary Canaanite SC verb of the other classes cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, yet from data educed from later NWS dialects, it stands to reason that Canaanite dialects made rough distinction between passive (marked by ablaut) and middle voice (marked by patterns with infixed *t*). As far as it can be reconstructed, contemporary Canaanite distinguished in the plain class between ACT and NACT voice in the SC verb. For example, the Jerusalem scribe used the Canaanite verbal forms of √*lqḥ* 'take', making a distinction between the ACT [*la*]*qaḥu:* 'they took' (287: 36) and the passive *laqiḥu:* 'they were taken' (287: 55-7). This binary opposition is manifest in the plain class verb due to its basic distinction between stative and active semantemes, where only in the latter can the distinction between ACT and NACT voice be realized. The same applies to CanAkk:

(94) ... *inu:ma šalim* {*šalim*+Ø} *ašar šarri be:liya ša ittiya*
      ... H_NA   well+3SGM   place king lord+my H_N with+my
      '... that the place of the king, my lord, where I am, is safe.' (267: 17-20; Gezer); stative semanteme

(95) *u   paḫura apaš* {*epš*≈•*a•a•*+Ø} *ipša raba: ana ya:ši* ...
      CONJ Pahura do_ACT+3SGM   deed big to me ...
      ipšu ša la: apiš {*epš*≈•*a•i•*+Ø} *ištu da:ri:ti apiš* {*epš*≈•*a•i•*+Ø} *ana ya:šinu*
      deed H_N NEG do_NACT+3SGM   from ever do_NACT+3SGM   to us
      'Pahuru did a great deed for me ... a deed which had never been done was done to us.' (122: 31-3, 41-4; Byblos); active semanteme

The change between ACT and NACT is most commonly indicated by a change of either the whole pattern or of a single vowel within. In the suffix conjugation of the plain class verb, the ACT-NACT distribution is indicated by *a* (ACT) vs. *i* (NACT) as the second vowel of the pattern, as already shown above. In the PC of the plain class verb, the NACT is morphologically marked by the pattern *u••a•*, for example:

(96) *u   tussaḫmi* {*t*+*nsḫ*≈*u••a•*+Ø+*mi*} \ *tu:ra* {*t*+*uru*≈*u••a*+Ø}   *si:si:tiya*
      CONJ 3SGF+remove_NACT+PFV+EMPH \3SGF+shoot_NACT+PFV (CanGl) mare+my
      'and my mare was shot.' (245: 8-9; Megiddo)

> The active counterpart of *tussaḫ* would be *tissuḫ*; cf. *yissuḫ* {*y*+*iṣṣuḫ*+Ø} 3SGM+remove+PFV 'he deported' (250: 45; central Palestine)

In the *n*-class, the *n*-formative may serve — in conformity with both Akkadian and Canaanite — either as a lexically constrained formative (e.g., *innabtu:* 'they fled', 82: 32; Byblos), or as the NACT counterpart of the plain class verb:

(97) *mimma ša innepušmi* {*innepuš*+Ø+*mi*} *eli ḫaṣo:ra a:lika*
      anything H_N be-done(*n*)+3SGM+EMPH on Hazor city+your
      'anything that was done against Hazor, your city.' (228: 21-4; Hazor)

The ablaut form may be used instead. This is probably a matter of choice among individual varieties of CanAkk. Example:

(98) *ša yu:pašu* {*y*+*epš*≈*u••a•*+*u*} *ina ma:tišu*
      H_N 3SGM+do_NACT+IMPFV   in land+his
      'what is being done in his land.' (271: 26-7; Gezer)

Data of the **D** and **š** classes are scarce. The extant forms of the SC do not distinguish between ACT and NACT:

(99) *ušširat* {*uššir*+*at*} 'she was sent' (138: 125; Byblos) — *ušširti* {*uššir*+*ti*} 'I sent' (*passim*)

(100) *šu:šira:ku {šu:šir+a:ku} ina pa:ni ṣa:bi piṭa:ti šarri be:liya*
prepare+1SG   in   face troops *pitat*   king lord+my
šu:šira:ku {šu:šir+a:ku} gabba ki:ma qabi {qabi+Ø} šarri be:liya
prepare+1SG   all   like   say$_{INF}$ king lord+my
'I am prepared for the *pitat*-troops[26] of the king, my lord, and I have prepared everything, according to the order of the king, my lord.' (144: 19-21; Sidon)

In the PC of the **D** and **š** classes, voice marking may, in rare cases, be indicated by the opposition *i : a*, where *a* marks the NACT, *i* being either the unmarked member or, perhaps, the ACT marker:

(101) *ul tuwaššaru:na {t+ušr≈u•a••a•u:+na} unu:tu:šu*
NEG 3PLM+send(D)$_{NACT}$+PLM+IMPFV   tool+PL+PRD+his
'his tools are not being sent.' (KL 72.600: 9-10; Kumidi)

(102) *u tuwašširu:na   ala:ni: šarri   ina iša:ti*
CONJ 3PLM+send(D)+PLM+IMPFV city+PL+NPRD↔PL king+ATT in fire+ATT
'They set the king's towns on fire.' (125: 43-5; Byblos)

More commonly, however, this vowel, whether *i* (commonly) or *a* (more rarely), is dependent on stem appropriation (2.5.3). Hence, voice marking in the **D** and **š** stems tends to be neutralized. Voice distinction may be neutralized also in the plain class:

(103) *laqa:* (134: 34; Byblos) — *laqe:(mi)* (250: 14; central Palestine) 'he took'

(104) *ṣabtu:* 'they seized'— *ṣabtat(mi)* 'she is seized' (252: 7 and 9 respectively; Shechem)

(105) *ipšu:* 'they made' (133: 8; Byblos); *ipšu:* 'they were made' (288: 44; Jerusalem)

(106) *nukurtu i:pušat {i:puš+at} ina ma:ti*
war   make+3SGF   in land
'war is being made in the land' (273: 9-11; central Palestine; cf. the more regular use of the *n*-formation for this verb in similar contexts, as cited above)

(107) *ḫaza:nu:tu ul tišmu:na mimma* 'the mayors(PRD) do not hear anything' (82: 10-1; Byblos) — *ul tišmu:na awatu:ya* 'my words(PRD) are not heard' (74: 50; Byblos); cf. *ul tušmu:na awatu:ya* 'my words(PRD) are not heard' (91: 29-30; Byblos)

The morphophonological rule $V \rightarrow null / \{{C \atop \#}\} VC\_CV$ (1.3.1) and stem fixation (2.5.3) seem to be the major stimuli for the non distinctiveness of ACT vs. NACT. It appears that ACT is the unmarked member of the opposition in the PC, and the marked member in the SC. The grounds for this are: the different marking of voice distinction between the two linguistic sources of CanAkk, ablaut being used for voice distinction in NWS but for aspectual distinction in Akkadian; a high variety of stems used for ACT, probably the result of the

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[26]*(ṣa:bi) piṭa:ti* stands for Egyptian *pḏt* 'troops' (originally 'archers').

above; and the difference between the notional categories marked by the SC in the respective languages. Hence, as a rule, only the NACT patterns are explicitly analyzed in this grammatical sketch.

2.5.5. TMA

Akkadian predicates can be divided into five categories of marking: perfective, imperfective, perfect, imperative, and a predicative form which is unmarked for TMA. To use the symbols already employed above, SC, PC, **D**, *t* and IMPV are discrete sets of vocalic patterns which are morphologically dependent on the respective classes and used for the following TMA categories: SC, the unmodifiedf suffix conjugation, is a nominal predicative inflection, and hence unmarked for TMA; PC, the prefix conjugation, marks the perfective aspect; **D** marks the imperfective aspect; *t* marks the perfect;[27] IMPV = imperative. Positive modality is further marked by a prepositive *lu:*, which, when followed by a perfective verb, coalesces with it. In the plain class, the 3SGM forms of √*špr* 'send', 'write', are the following:

(108) *šapir* 'he is sent' — *išpur* 'he sent' — *išappar* 'he sends' — *ištapar* 'he has sent' — *šupur* 'send!' (2SGM) — *lišpur* 'let him send'

In addition, Akkadian possessed two suffixed morphs which were appended to verbs: *u*, a marker of syntactic dependency; and *a(m)~ni(m)*, a marker of direction and dative support, most commonly appended to verbs of movement.[28]

The CanAkk system is primarily built on the contemporary NWS system, with some integration of Akkadian formal categories. Variation is dialect- or text-dependent. Relics of the Akkadian system can be found sporadically within the majority of CanAkk texts, notably in opening formulae and in Akkadianisms.

2.5.5.1. In CanAkk, as in NWS, the suffix conjugation (SC) is a verbal category unmarked for TMA, with past implicature for transitive semantemes, present or habitual implicature for stative semantemes, and future or resultative implicature in specific syntactic or semantic environments. Examples:

(109) *rabu: u   be:li: a:li šalmu: {šalim+u:} itti ma:ri: ᶜabdiʾašrata*
magnate CONJ lords city well+3PLM   with sons Abdi'ashirta
'The magnate and the lords of the city are at peace with the sons of Abdi'ashirta.' (102: 22-3; Byblos); stative semanteme, no time implicature

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[27]Thus in the Old Babylonian phase of Akkadian, from which CanAkk emerged. In Middle Babylonian, which is contemporary with our texts, *t*-forms are found in complementary distribution with PFV forms, thus constituting essentially a single aspectual category.

[28]Termed "ventive" in Akkadian studies. Allomorphy depended on person (see 2.5.5.2.3). The /m/ was omitted at word end, thus in the majority of occurrences in contemporary Akkadian.

(110) 2 *awi:li: ma:t misri ša šapra:ti* {*šapar+a:ti*} *ana ekalli ul aṣa:* {*aṣi:+a:*}

2 men land Egypt H$_N$ send+1SG to palace NEG exit+DU

'The two Egyptian men whom I sent to the palace have not come out.' (117: 12-4;
Byblos); active semantemes, past implicature

(111) *šumma ṣa:bi piṭa:ti ibašša:t* {*ibašši+at*}

if troops *pitat* be+3SGF

kali ma:ta:ti nilqu ana šarri

all lands we+take+IMPFV to king

'If there are *pitat*-troops, we shall (be able to) capture all the lands for the king.'
(103: 55-7; Byblos); stative semanteme, future implication

(112) *allu: paṭa:rima awi:lu: ḫupši u ṣabtu:* {*ṣabat+u:*} *awi:lu: ʿapiru: a:la*

PRS leave$_{INF}$+FOC men peasantry CONJ capture+PLM men Apiru city

'Behold, if the yeomen leave, then the Apiru will capture the city.' (118: 36-9;
Byblos); active semanteme, future implicature

2.5.5.2. The prefix conjugation (PC) set of patterns is appended by suffixed morphs, which
mark its TMA application, and shows the following paradigm:

IMPFV	*u~na*
PFV	*Ø*
MOD	*a*

2.5.5.2.1. IMPFV is unrelated to any specific temporal context. A sentence with an IMPFV
verb may refer to either the present, the future or the past. Examples:

(113) *pa:na:nu ištu ma:t yarimu:ta tuballitu:na awi:lu:*

formerly from land Yarimuta 3PL+make-live+PLM+IMPFV men

ḫupši:ya u annu: la: yadinušunu yapaʿhaddi ala:ka

peasantry+PL↔PRD+my CONJ now NEG 3+give+IMPFV+them Yapahaddi go$_{INF}$+CMP

'Formerly, my yeomen were collecting provisions from the land of Yarimuta, but
now, now Yapahaddi does not let them go.' (114: 54-9; Byblos)

(114) *anumma ana:kuma erriš u* {*Ø+erriš+u*} \ *ʾaḫriš u* {*ʾ+aḫriš+u*} *ina šu:nama*

PRS I+FOC 1SG+plow+IMPFV \ 1SG+plow+IMPFV (CanGl) in Shunem

'Now, it is I who cultivates in Shunem.' (365: 10-2; Megiddo)

The allomorphy of *u* and *na* is dependent on person; *na* is found when it follows the
vocalic length marker of the 2SGF, 2 and 3PL forms:

(115) *šarra be:liya i:rudu* {*Ø+i:rud+u*} *ana:ku u aḫḫi:ya*

king lord+my 1SG+serve+IMPFV I CONJ brothers+my

ša tištimu:na {*t+išteme+u:+na*} *ana ya:ši*

H$_N$ 3PLM+heed+PLM+IMPFV to me

'It is the king, my lord, that I — along with my brothers who heed me — serve.'
(250: 50-2; central Palestine)

2.5.5.2.2. PFV may bear implicature of either past or modality:

(116) *u tussaḫmi* {*t+nsḫ≈u••a+Ø+mi*} \ *tu:ra* {*t+uru≈u••a+Ø*} *si:si:tiya*

CONJ 3SGF+remove$_{NACT}$+PFV+EMPH \ 3SGF+shoot$_{NACT}$+PFV (CanGl) mare+my

u izzizmi {*Ø+izziz+Ø+mi*} *egiršu \ aḫro:nhu*

CONJ 1SG+stand+PFV+EMPH behind+him \ behind+ADV+him (CanGl)

u irkabmi {*Ø+irkab+Ø+mi*} *itti yašdata*

CONJ 1SG+ride+PFV+EMPH with Yashdata

'and my mare was shot, and I stood behind him, and I rode with Yashdata.' (245:
8-12; Megiddo); past implicature

(117) *yiša:l* {*y+iša:l+Ø*} *šarru be:li: yanḫama ardišu*

3SGM+ask+PFV king lord+my Yanhamu servant+his

ana ša yu:pašu {*y+epš≈•u••a•+Ø*} *ina ma:tišu*

to H$_N$ 3SGM+do$_{NACT}$+IMPFV in land+his

'May the king, my lord, ask Yanhamu, his servant, what is being done in his land.'
(271: 23-7; Gezer); modal implicature for the first verb (PFV), continuous present
implicature for the second verb (IMPFV)

(118) *la: tugammeru:nu* {*t+ugammer+u:+Ø+nu*} *ʿapiru:*

NEG 3PLM+destroy+PLM+PFV+us Apiru+PL

'... lest the Apiru destroy us.' (299: 24-6; Gezer); modal implicature

There is inherent ambiguity between the NWS PFV forms and the Akkadianized forms,
since the latter bear no vocalic markers for TMA. Wherever there is similarity or identity
of patterns and personal prefixes between Akkadian and CanAkk, precise analysis is
impossible:

(119) *anumma ki:amma aštappar* {*a+štappar(+Ø?)*} *ana ekalli*

PRS thus 1SG+write(+PFV?) to palace

'Now, I have been writing thus to the palace.' (74: 49-50; Byblos)

At times, Akkadianisms in PC are to be interpreted not at face value, i.e., as CanAkk PC
forms, but rather as SC patterns, being the result of stem fixation and implicatural similarities.
In the following example, an Akkadian-like form of the PC PFV verb of the plain class is
found in sequence with SC (unmarked) verbs:

(120) *aḫiya　　　ṣeḫru　nakar* {*nakar+Ø*} *ištu　ya:ši*
brother+my　young　become-hostile+3SGM　from me

u　　i:rub {*i:rub+Ø*} *ana　mo:ḫazi*
CONJ enter+3SGM　　　to　Mohaz

u　　nadan {*nadan+Ø*} *2 qa:<te:>šu ana ʕapiri:*
CONJ give+3SGM　　　　　2 hands+his to Apiru

'My young brother became my enemy, and he entered Mohaz and joined the Apiru.' (298: 22-7; Gezer)

Otherwise, *i:rub* may be analyzed as a "true" Akkadianism thus: *i+erb≈••u•* = 3SGM+enter$_{PFV}$.

2.5.5.2.3. MOD *a* is dependent on the semanteme to which it is appended, and conforms, by and large, with the application of the Akkadian DIR *a(m)* allomorph; hence, it is found on the 1SG and 1PL, 2SGM, 3SGM and 3SGF forms only.[29] Examples:

(121) *u　　yuššira* {*y+uššir+a*} *šarru be:liya maṣṣarta*
CONJ 3SGM+send+MOD　　king lord+my guard

'And may the king, my lord, send guard.' (182: 8-10; Damascus region)

Ambiguity in interpretation between the DIR marker and the Canaanite MOD morpheme *a* seems to be inherent to the linguistic system of CanAkk. A case in point is the following: while Akkadian originally had mimation in the DIR morph (1.3.2), the Canaanite MOD morph had always been *a*. Still, in the following example, the scribe, eager to show respect to the superstratum, adds the *AM* sign to a verb with a non-directional meaning ('serve'), homonymous to an Akkadian directional verb ('descend'):

(122) *u　　lu:　i:rudam* {*Ø+i:rud+am*} *šarra be:liya ki:ma ša abi:ya ...*
CONJ MOD 1SG+serve+MOD/DIR　king lord+my like　H$_N$ father+my

'that I may serve the king, my lord, like my father (did).' (300: 20-2; Gezer)

On the 2PL and 3PL, there is no marking for modality.Thus, marking of perfectivity and modality is neutralized, and conforms, in its surface structure, to those PFV forms (in the SG and in the 1PL) which imply modality.

(123) *ama:na u　　baʕlat ša gubla tiddinu:* {*t+iddin+u:(+Ø)*} *baštaka*
Amon CONJ Baalat H$_N$ Byblos 3PLM+give+PLM(+PFV)　honor+your

ana pa:ni šarri be:liya
to　face king lord+my

'May (the gods) Amon and Baalat of Byblos grant you honor before the king, my lord.' (87: 5-7; Byblos)

[29]In Akkadian, there is allomorphy in the marking of DIR; *ni(m)* is the allomorph for the 2PL and 3PL.

2.5.5.3. Deontic modality can further be expressed by the 2nd person IMPV or by the MOD prefix *lu:*, which is attached mostly to verbal forms in the 1st and 3rd persons.

The IMPV is predominantly employed in its Akkadian forms, yet at times with an additional *a* morph, similarly to the PC MOD/DIR forms. Precise analysis of the underlying meaning of the latter morph is impossible. Examples:

(124) *šupur* 'write!' (149: 56; Tyre); IMPV
uššira 'send!' (*passim*); IMPV+*a*

In Akkadian, *lu:* is subject to morphophonemic changes at the morphemic boundary when the following predicate is a PC verb and opens with a vowel. The morpheme *lu:* also marks modality in nominal sentences, in which case it never coalesces with the following predicate. CanAkk attests both contracted and uncontracted forms, in accordance with Akkadian norms. It also shows some productivity in the formation of bound forms unattested in Akkadian, and especially some tendency to uncontracted constructions, in which the MOD particle precedes CanAkk verbal forms with NWS morphology (examples 128-30). Moreover, both uncontracted and contracted *lu:* may be employed tautologically (example 131).

(125) *lu:　ami:la:tunu* {*ami:l+a:tunu*}
MOD man+2PLM

'Be men!' (289: 26; Jerusalem; citation)

(126) *luwašširam* {*lu:+uwaššir+am*} *šarru be:liya ra:biṣašu*
MOD+(3SGM)-send+DIR　　king lord+my commissioner+his

ša da:n {*da:n+Ø*} *qadu* {*ṣa:bi*}
H$_N$ strong+3SGM　with troops

u　　liṣṣur {*lu:+iṣṣur*} *a:l be:liya*
CONJ MOD+3SGM-guard city lord+my

'May the king, my lord, send his commissioner, who is strong, with troops, to guard the city of my lord.' (84: 26-8; Byblos); contracted forms

(127) *uššira* {*uššir+a*}　*... maṣṣarta ana ardika*
send$_{IMPV}$+MOD/DIR ... guard　　to servant+your

u　　lu:　tinaṣṣaru: {*t+inaṣṣar+u:+Ø*} *a:la ana šarri be:li*
CONJ MOD 3PLM+guard+PLM+PFV　　city to king lord

'Send [...] guard to your servant to guard the city for the king, the lord.' (136: 17-21; Byblos); free form before a consonant

(128) *u　　lu:　yi:de* {*y+i:de+Ø*} *šarru ipša anna:m*
CONJ MOD 3SGM+know+PFV king deed this

u　　lu:　yuššira {*y+uššir+a*} *šarru be:li: narkaba:te:*
CONJ MOD 3SGM+send+MOD　king lord+my chariots

u   lu: yilteqe:ni {y+ilteqe:+ni} ana muḫḫišu   la: iḫlaq {Ø+iḫlaq+Ø}
CONJ MOD 3SGM+take+PFV+me   to   VOID+him NEG 1SG+perish+PFV
'May the king know of this deed, and may the king, my lord, send chariots to fetch
me to him, lest I perish.' (270: 21-9; Gezer)

(129) lilmad ~ yilmad ~ lu: yilmad šarru be:liya
'may the king, my lord, be informed.' (282: 8-9 ~ 64: 8 ~ 366: 17-8); all three texts
from the same site in southern Palestine

(130) (u) lu: i:de ~ u lu: yi:de ~ (u) li:de(mi) šarru be:liya
'(and) may the king, my lord, know' (passim)

Akkadian treats modal compounds from √ide 'know' — another verb of the "prefixed
stative" category (cf. 2.5.3) — as a nominal form, and hence there is no contraction of the
vowels. The first of the CanAkk variants comply with this Akkadian rule. The third
variant is a local formation of a contracted form. The second variant preserves the
independent particle before a typical perfective formation, thus conforming also to similar
modal constructions from other verbs.

(131) u   lu:mi   likkimmi   šarru a:lašu
CONJ MOD+EMPH MOD+3SGM-save+EMPH king city+his
'May the king save his city.' (244: 25-7; Megiddo)

Double marking of modality is attested twice in this letter from Megiddo, a city known as
an Egyptian base, and where a cuneiform scribal school was located. Another case of a
similar tautological use of the modal particle is attested in a letter from Byblos within a
citation from a letter from an Egyptian official.

Person in the contracted forms is implied by the use of the morphologically fused forms,
in accordance with the Akkadian norm. In the majority of cases, the 3SG is implied by the
context; its form is in correspondence to Akkadian 3SG forms, hence usually showing the
original Akkadian person prefix i. 1SG forms with a prefixed l- are attested only in Jerusalem
and Tyre. In Jerusalem these forms are borrowings from the Assyrian language:

(132) la:mur {l(u:)+a+amur} MOD+1SG+see 'I may see' (286: 46)

(133) lišme {l(u:)+i+šme} MOD+3SGM+hear 'may he hear' (290: 19)

In Tyre, person is unmarked in these forms:

(134) li:mur {li+amur} MOD+see 'I may see' (148: 17)

(135) liša:l {li+ša:l} 'MOD+ask may he ask' (148: 46)

In contrast to Akkadian usage, there is no special prohibitive or vetitive markers in
CanAkk, and modal negation is made analytically by placing the standard negative particle
before the verb:

(136) la: yišmi   šarru be:li: awate: awi:li: šanu:ti:
NEG 3SGM+hear+PFV king lord+my utterances men   other
'The king, my lord, should not listen to what other people say.' (362: 48-9; Byblos)

The particles la:~ul usually manifest arbitrary variation, resulting from the existence of
these two particles in complementary distribution in Babylonian. There is a slight tendency
by some scribes to use the latter variant, ul, in modal environments:

(137) ul   yišme   šarru karṣi: arad   kittišu
NEG 3SGM+hear+PFV king calumny servant loyalty+his
'The king should not listen to the calumny against his loyal servant.'
(119: 26-7; Byblos)

The variant ul is used almost exclusively in Byblos. This tendency may perhaps reflect
the interference of a cognate substratal negative particle (cf. Hebrew ʾal; consonantal
Phoenician ʾl), which was used exclusively in modal environments.

2.5.5.4. Epistemic modality, like deontic modality, can be expressed by either Akkadian or
Canaanite constructions. The Akkadian asseverative particle lu: (distinct from the similar
particle employed for expressing deontic modality in that it does not coalesce with the
predicate) is attested in some cases:

(138) ša:lšunu   šumma lu: naṣru: {naṣir+u:}
ask_IMPV+them   if   MOD guard+3PLM
'Ask them whether they are really guarded.' (230: 18-9; unknown provenance)

(139) lu: ištaḫaḫin {Ø+ištaḫaḫin}
MOD 1SG+prostrate
'I prostrate indeed.' (298: 12; Gezer)

2.5.5.5. The NWS enclitic particle mi is frequently used in emphatic propositions, either by
itself or together with modal constructions of various types:

(140) anumma ina a:li ibašša:kumi {ibašši+a:ku+mi} lu: naṣra:ku magal
PRS   in city be+1SG+EMPH   MOD guard+1SG very
'Here I am indeed in the city; I am indeed very much on guard.' (193: 5-7; Lapana)

(141) atta ti:de:mi {t+i:de:+mi} ala:ni:ya dannu: eliya
you 2SGM+know+EMPH   cities+my strong+3PLM over+my
'You surely know that my towns are stronger than I.' (69: 15-6; Byblos)

The independent pronoun is also added for extra emphasis.

(142) *miyami   abdi'aširta ardu   kalbu*
      who+EMPH Abdi'ashirta servant dog
      'Who is (this) Abdi'ashirta, the servant, the dog?' (85: 63-4; Byblos)

(143) *gabba lu: ippušumi* {Ø+ippuš+u+mi}
      all   MOD 1SG+do+IMPFV+EMPH
      'I am doing everything indeed.' (378: 16-7; Gezer)

(144) *lu:mi   likkimmi* {*lu+ikkim+mi*} *šarru*
      MOD+EMPH MOD+3GM-save+EMPH   king
      a:lšu   la:mi   yiṣbatši   lab'aya
      city+his NEG+EMPH 2SGM+capture+her Lab'aya
      'May the king save the city, lest Lab'aya capture it.' (244: 25-9; Megiddo)

The use of *mi* by some scribes seems to be more stylistic than grammatical, since its frequency changes dramatically among the variety of sites and individual letters, notably increasing in Megiddo.

The Akkadian cognate *ma* is used instead of *mi* by some scribes. Others use the latter as a FOC marker (3.8.1).

2.5.5.6. Another emphatic marker is the typically NWS morpheme (*n*)*na~n*, commonly termed in Semitic studies "energic". This morpheme is typically suffixed to the verb.[30] Writing conventions do not enable us to determine (except in example 147) whether the *n* is doubled. This, together with the similarity in form between the ENRG morph (*n*)*na* and the IMPFV allomorph *na*, does not enable us to discern any ENRG forms of the 2PL and 3PL. The attestation of two IMPV PL forms suggests, however, the possible existence of such forms:

(145) *lequ:*(*n*)*na* {*leqe+u:+(n)na*} take$_{\text{IMPV}}$+PLM+ENRG 'take, then!' (117: 63; Byblos)

(146) *ušširu:*(*n*)*nani* {*uššir+u:+(n)na+ni*} send$_{\text{IMPV}}$+PLM+ENRG+me 'send, then, to me!' (71: 23; Byblos)

Verbal forms with the first variant, (*n*)*na*, are attested in texts from Byblos, Beirut(?), Kumidi, from a cluster of sites in central Palestine and the Transjordan, and once in a text from southern Palestine. The second variant, *n*, is attested in only a few texts, from Hazor, Megiddo and Ashkelon. Examples:

(147) *anumma ina qa:ti ṣuḫa:riya   uttaššerunnašunu* {Ø+uttašš er+u+nna+šunu}
      PRS   in hand servant+my 1SG+send+IMPFV+ENRG+them
      'Now, I am assuredly sending them with my servant.'(KL 5: 6-8; Kamid el-Loz)

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[30]There are three suspect occurrences which may be interpreted as MOD+ENRG forms. Diachronic investigation into Biblical Hebrew, and especially data from Arabic, attest to non-indicative ENRG.

(148) *mi:na i:pušu*(*n*)*na* {Ø+i:puš+u+(n)na} *ana:ku*
      what 1SG+do+IMPFV+ENRG   I
      'What should I, myself, do?' (74: 63; Byblos)

(149) *ašar ibašša:t* {*ibašši+at*} *šipirti   šarri* ...
      place be+3SGF   message king ...
      u   uba''u:(*n*)*naši* {Ø+uba''i:+u+(n)na+ši}
      CONJ 1SG+seek+IMPFV+ENRG+her
      u   ušširu(*n*)*naši* {'+uššir+u+(n)na+ši} *ana šarri* ...
      CONJ 1SG+send+IMPFV+her   to   king ...
      'Wherever what was ordered by the king may be ... — I shall definitely search for it and shall definitely send it to the king ...' (143: 13-7; Beirut)

(150) *šummami yi:pušumi* {*y+i:puš+u+mi*} *ila:nu: ša šarri be:linu*
      If   3SGM+do+impf+EMPH   divinity H$_N$ king lord+our
      u   nikšudummi {*n+ikšud+u+n+mi*}   *lab'aya*
      CONJ 1PL+overcome+IMPFV+ENRG+EMPH Lab'aya
      u   balṭa:numma \ ḫayyama   nubbaluššu {*n+ubbal+u+n+šu*}
      CONJ alive   \ alive (CanGl) 1PL+bring+IMPFV+ENRG+him
      ana šarri be:linu
      to   king lord+our
      'If the god of our king, my lord, indeed lets us, and we indeed overcome Lab'aya, then we must bring him alive to the king, our lord.' (245: 3-7; Megiddo)

2.6. Adverbials

There are three types of adverbs: (1) Lexical or invariable. (2) Marked morphologically by (a) specific adverbial markers or by (b) the CMP case. (3) Syntactic, i.e., marked by an adverbial head (2.7; 3.1.4). Some overlapping between the different types is possible.

2.6.1. To the first type belong those adverbs which CanAkk took as such, whether genuine adverbs in Akkadian or taken from the Akkadian as invariable, i.e., unproductive, and usually unanalyzable into smaller morphemes, e.g.: *magal* 'very' (*passim*); *inanna* 'now' (*passim*); *tuma:l šalša:mi* 'yesterday and the day before yesterday' (362: 14, 16; Byblos; For Akkadian *tima:li šalšu:mi*).

2.6.2.1. While most of the adverbial phrases of the second type are assumed lexically from Akkadian, productivity in the use of their markers can be shown. Adverbial markers are appended to nominal stems in the slot of case markers. The markers are:

iš:[31] *arḥiš* 'quickly'; *damqiš* 'nicely'; *danniš* 'very'. For the invariability of such forms cf. the employment of *arḥiš* as a verbal stem (above, 2.5.3). Productivity is manifest by adverbial forms unattested in Akkadian, e.g.:

(151) *aqtabu*   *puḥrišmi* {*puḥr+iš+mi*}
      1SG+say+IMPFV assembly+ADV+EMPH
      'I said publicly' (254: 23-4; Shechem)

um(ma): Occurs very rarely, mostly in variants of the prostration formula 'At the feet of the king I prostrate on the belly and on the back'. Examples:

(152) *ina pa:nte:* \ *baṭnumma* {*baṭn+um+ma*}
      in chest+ATT \ belly+ADV+EMPH (CanGl)
      u   *ṣi:rumma* {*ṣi:r+um+ma*} \ *ṣuhrumma* {*ṣuhr+um+ma*}
      CONJ back+ADV+EMPH   \ back+ADV+EMPH (CanGl)
      'on the front \ on the belly (CanGl) and on the back'(232: 10-1; Acre)

> While some genuine Akkadian forms have been adopted with the ending *ma* (e.g., *anumma*, a very frequent presentation particle), the attestation of the complex *um+ma* on Canaanite glosses shows that Canaanite had a similar tendency to combine *um* with an enclitic *ma*. Invariable adverbial endings with *um* reflect the deletion of *m* in final position (cf. 1.3.2).

(153) *anumma yikkalu*   *karṣiya*   *ḥaba:lumma* {*ḥaba:l+um+ma*}
      now   3SGM+eat+IMPFV calumny+my oppression+ADV+EMPH
      'Now he is denouncing me oppressively.' (254: 16-7; Shechem)

a:n(~o:n): Except for combinations with *um* (see below), this adverbial marker occurs mostly with numerals, notably in variants of opening formulae.

(154) *u*   *ammaḥḥaṣni* {*a+n+maḥḥaṣ+ni*} *tiši:ta:n* {*tiši:t+a:n*}
      CONJ 1SG+NACT+hit+me   9+ADV
      'and I was hit 9 times.' (82: 38-9; Byblos)

(155) *ana še:pi: šarri be:liya sebe:tšu u   sebe:ta:n amqut*
      to   feet   king lord+my 7+times CONJ 7+ADV 1SG+fall
      'At the feet of the king, my lord, 7 times and 7 times I fall.' (*passim*)

> The use of *a:n* here is a reinterpretation of the originally Sumerian distributive morph of which the sign-string *A.AN* was to be read /*am*/. Thus it became cognate to Akkadian *a:n* and Canaanite *o:n*, exemplified in the CanGl of the following citation. The preceding *t*, which most probably also originated in Sumerian, was possibly interpreted as the WS *t* ending of masculine numerals (cf. 2.4). The morph *šu* appended to the first occurrence of the numeral is used strictly in these formulae.

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[31]Both *iš* and *um* are regarded as case markers in Akkadian studies. The original signifiés of these cases are terminative (*iš*) and locative (*um*). In some cases, these meaning are still echoed.

(156) *u*   *izzizmi*   *egiršu* {*egir+šu*} \ *aḥro:nhu* {*aḥr+o:n+hu*}
      CONJ 1SG+stand+PFV+EMPH behind+him   \ behind+him (CanGl)
      'and I stood behind him.' (245: 9-10; Megiddo)

2.6.2.2. As the Semitic case markers relate purely to formal relations between sentence constituents, the CMP marker *a* may be appended to adverbs as well as to direct objects. While the relative position of such constituents in a sentence may indicate their nature (3.5.1; 3.5.4.3), no distinction is made from the morphological point of view between complements and peripherals of this class. Example:

(157) *šumma* (*šatta*   ᴬ *anni:ta*) ᴾ *ya:nu* (*ṣa:ba* ᴼ *piṭa:ta*)
      if   year+F+CMP this+F+CMP NEG   troops+CMP *pitat*+CMP
      'if this year there are no *pitat*-troops' (93: 25-6; Byblos)

Comparative data may suggest that some adverbs to which an original CMP marker is appended have kept the historically general *m* syllable closure of the case marker (cf. 1.3.2). If so, then some distinction should be made between the CMP case *a* and an additional adverbial marker *a(m)*. However, writing conventions prevent decisive conclusions about this matter.

2.6.3. For syntactically formed adverbial phrases cf. *ina šatti anni:ti* in the following example with *šatta anni:ta* in the preceding example.

(158) [*u*]   *šumma ya:numi*   *ṣa:bu piṭa:tu ina šatti*   *anni:ti*
      CONJ if   NEG+EMPH troops *pitat* in year+ATT this+F+ATT
      'if there are no *pitat*-troops this year' (288: 51-2; Jerusalem)

2.6.4. Combinations of all types of adverbial constructions are attested:

(159) *balṭa:numma* {*balṭ+a:n+um+ma*} 'alive' (245: 6; Megiddo)

(160) *adi da:ria:ta* {*da:ria:t+a*} until ever(PLF)+ADV 'forever' (294: 34-5; Gezer)

(161) *ana da:riš* {*da:r+iš*} to ever+ADV '(287: 61, Jerusalem)

2.7. Syntactic Heads

There are two types of syntactic heads (3.1.4; cf. 3.1): inflected and noninflected. The inflected adverbial heads are also of two types: single and compound. The first component of a compound head is usually one of the noninflected type. The majority of adverbial heads of the first type originate in nouns. Thus, an inflected head or a component of it assumes the form of bound nouns. Here are a few examples for each type:

Inflected heads:

Single:

(162) *ittiya*
    with+my
    with me (*passim*)

Compound:

(163) *ana maḫar šarri*
    to   front king+ATT
    'to the king' (74: 62; Byblos)

(164) *ana maḫrika*
    to   front+ATT+your
    'towards you' (TT2: 23; Taanach)

(165) *ana muḫḫika*
    to   VOID[32]+ATT+your
    'to you' (*passim*)

(166) *ina qa:tišu* {*qa:t+i+šu*} \ *ba:dihu* {*ba:d+i+hu←bi+yad+i+hu*}
    in hand+ATT+his   \ in-hand+ATT+his (CanGl)
    'by him' (245: 35; Megiddo)

Noninflected heads:

(167) *ša šarri*
    H_N king+ATT
    'of the king' (*passim*)

(168) *ana šarri*
    to   king+ATT
    'to the king' (*passim*)

When genuine adverbial heads are bound to personal pronouns, CanAkk may show confusion in their inflection. Accordingly, there may be variation in the stem to which the inflectional morphemes are appended, employing at times application rules similar to those of the nominal inflection, which contradict standard Akkadian procedures. The following examples are all taken from a single text (114) from Byblos:

(169) *itti aziri* (114: 16, 69) *itya* (114: 7, 47) *ittiya* (114: 41) *ittaka* (114: 46) 'with Aziru/me/you'
    Cf. *ittika* {*itti+ka*} (125: 11) ~ *itka* {*it+ka*} (85: 31) 'with you'; also from Byblos

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Noninflected syntactical heads take independent pronouns as their attributes:

(170) *ana ya:ši* 'to me' (*passim*)

3. Syntax

3.1. Grammatical Relations

The basic tripartite system of grammatical relations manifests itself prominently in the Semitic case system. It thus consists of predicative, completive and attributive marking (2.2.5). In the syntactic domain, grammatical relations, i.e., relations between sentence constituents, may refer either to lexemes or to particles, which are syntactic markers or "heads", to which the grammatical relation is applied (2.7; 3.1.4). In example 171a, the adverbial slot is taken by a single vocable consisting of the lexeme base /ašr/ unto which a combination of adverbial markes are suffixed (*ašr+a:n+u → ašra:nu* 'there', 'in the place'; see p. 44). In example 171b, the adverbial slot is occupied by a syntactic head (*ina* 'in') upon which a nominal nucleus of the same lexeme (*ašri←ašr+i*) is dependent. The nominal head *ša* in example 171b occupies the same slot as the demonstrative pronoun *anni:m* of example 172, whereas the verb (=clause) *ibašša:ti* stands in attributive relation to it.

(171a) *ḫummiṭa*   *ki:ma arḫiš kašda*   *u*   *irub*[S+P]   *ašra:nu*[A]
    hasten_IMPV+MOD like quickly arrive_IMPV+MOD CONJ enter_IMPV place+ADV+ADV
    'Hasten, arrive quickly, and go in there.' (102: 29-31; Byblos)

(171b) *amurmi*   (*ana:ku*)[S]   (*arduka*)[P]   (*ina⇒ašri⇔ša⇒ibašša:ti*)[A]
    look_IMPV+EMPH   I   servant+your in   place H_N be+1SG
    'Look: I am your servant wherever I am.' (230: 4-5; unknown provenance)

(172) (*ana:ku*)[S]   (*arad⇒kitti ⇒ šarri* ...)[P]   (*ina⇒ašri⇔anni:m*)[A]
    I   servant loyalty king ...   in   place this
    'I am a loyal servant of the king ... in this place.' (187: 9-11; Enishasi)

As one can see from the examples above, expansion does not involve a change in constituent order. The following are two examples of skeletal analyses of typical simple sentences:[33]

(173) (*yuwaššira*)[S+P]   (*be:li:*)[S]   (*maṣṣarta*)[O]   (*ana*)⇒(2 *ala:ni:šu*)[A]
    3SGM+send+MOD lord+my garrison   to   2 cities+his

(*adi*)⇒(*aṣi*[A]   *ṣa:bi piṭa:ti*)
    until   leaving_INF troops *pitat*
    'May my lord send garrison to his 2 cities until the *pitat*-troops come out.'
    (79: 29-32; Byblos)

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[32]See note 39.

[33]For morphemic and syntactic subjects see below, 3.1.1.1.

(174) *anumma* (*naṣra:ku*)^{P+S} (*magal*)^A

PRS   guard+1SG   very

u   (*uṣṣuru*)^{S+P}   (*be:ro:ta*)^O (*ana*)^{ADVH}⇒(*šarri be:liya*)

CONJ 1SG+guard+IMPFV   Beirut   to   king lord+my

(*adi*)^A⇒(*kaša:di   ṣa:bi   piṭa:ti šarri be:liya*)

until   arrival_{INF} troops *pitat*   king lord+my

'Behold, I am very much on guard, and I am guarding Beirut for the king, my lord, until the arrival of the *pitat*-troops of the king, my lord.' (142: 11-4; Beirut)

3.1.1. Predicative

3.1.1.1. Predication in CanAkk — as in Semitic in general — is made either morphologically, i.e., within the verb or the predicative complex (2.5), or syntactically, by juxtaposition of non-verbal constituents. Since the Semitic verb always contains a representation of the subject inherently, a verbal sentence may or may not have an overt nominal or pronominal subject. When an overtly expressed subject is attested syntactically, it is found in apposition with the morphologically bound subject, i.e., the subject personal affix of a predicative complex. The following examples are complete sentences (or independent clauses): 175-6 are examples of verbal sentences with no nominal subject; 177 is an example of a verbal sentence with a nominal subject (for pronominal subjects see 3.8.2); 178-80 are examples of non-verbal sentences.

(175) *ki:nanna   la: tipalliḫu:na* {(*t*)+(*ipalliḫ+u:+na*)}^{S   P}

accordingly NEG 3PLM+fear+PLM+IMPFV

'Accordingly, they are not afraid.' (105: 22; Byblos)

(176) *u   qa:la:ta* {(*qa:l*)+(*a:ta*)}^{P   S}

CONJ be-silent+2SGM

'but you are silent' (76: 37; Byblos)

(177) *u   yišme* {(*y*)+(*išme*+Ø)}^{S   P} (*be:li:*)^S *awate: ardišu*

CONJ 3SGM+hear+PFV   lord+my utterances servant+his

'May my lord hear the words of his servant.' (79: 13-4; Byblos)

(178) (*atta*)^S (*be:lu: rabu:*)^P

you   lord great

'You are a great lord.' (76: 44; Byblos)

(179) *u   allu:mi* (*yašdata*)^S (*arduka*)^P

CONJ PRS+EMPH Yashdata   servant+CMP+your

'Behold! Yashdata is your servant.' (245: 15-6; Megiddo)

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(180) (*pa:nu:ya*)^S (*ana-muḫḫi šarri be:liya*)^P

face+my   to   king lord+my

'I am committed to the king, my lord.' (148: 18-9; Tyre)

3.1.1.2. Existential, Possessive and Locative Sentences

Existence is performed either by juxtaposition of elements or by the verbal predicate *ibašši* "be". Non-existence is expressed by the predicate *ya:nu(m)*. Examples:

(181) *u   la: ištemi   amata   šarri be:li:šu ḫalqat   a:lšu*

CONJ NEG 3SGM+hear utterance king lord+his lost+3SGF city+his

ḫaliq   bi:tšu   ya:nu šumšu   ina gabbi ma:ti ina da:ri:ti

lost+3SGM house+his NEG   name+his in all   land in ever

amur arda   ša išme   ana be:lišu   šulmu a:lšu   šulmu bi:tšu

look servant H_N 3SGM+hear to   lord+his   peace city+his   peace house+his

šumšu   ana da:ri:ti

name+his to ever

'He who does not listen to the orders of the king, his lord, his city will perish; his house will perish; his name will not exist in the whole land. Look at the servant who listens to his lord: peace is on his city; peace is on his house, his name exists forever.' (147: 45-51; Tyre)

(182) *šumma ibašši   ṣa:bi   piṭa:ti ina šatti anni:ti ibašši   ma:t šarri be:li*

if   be+3SGM troops *pitat* in year this   be+3SGM land   king lord+my

u   šumma ia:nummi   ṣa:bi   piṭa:ti ḫalqat   ma:t šarri be:liya

CONJ if   NEG+EMPH troops *pitat* lost+3SGF land king lord+my

'If there are *pitat*-troops this year, the land of the king, my lord, will exist; but if there are no *pitat*-troops, the land of the king, my lord, will be lost.' (286: 57-60; Jerusalem)

Copulative use of the verb *ibašši* is also attested:

(183) *damiq   ina pa:ni šarri ša ki:ma adad u   šamaš   ina ša:me: ibašši*

nice+3SGM in face king H_N like   Adad CONJ sun(-god) in heaven be+3SGM

'Is it pleasing for the king, who is like Adad and the sun(-god) in heaven?' (108: 8-10; Byblos)

In negative existential sentences, the topic can be either the subject of the sentence, as in Akkadian, or its complement, possibly under the influence of vernacular dialects. The Akkadian-like structure is confined to Jerusalem and Tyre. Examples:

(184) *ya:nummi ište:n ḫazia:nu   ana šarri be:liya*

NEG+EMPH one   mayor+PRD to king lord+my

'There is not a single mayor left to the king, my lord.' (288: 39-40; Jerusalem)

(185) *ya:nummi   ṣāba   piṭa:ta*
　　　 NEG+EMPH troops+CMP *piṭat*+CMP
　　　 'There are no *piṭat*-troops.' (362: 17-8; Byblos)

Possessive sentences — very much like existential sentences — are expressed by either juxtaposition of constituents or using the predicative element *ibašši*, serving as a copula in this case:

(186) *ana ša:šunu ardata waḥliya ampi šigata kali ala:ni ana ša:šunu*
　　　 to them Ardata Wahliya Ampi Shigata all cities to them
　　　 'Ardata,[34] Wahliya, Ampi, Shigata are theirs; all the cities are theirs.'
　　　 (104: 10-3; Byblos)

(187) *gabba mimmi   ša ibašši   ana ya:ši*
　　　 all everything H_N be+3SGM to me
　　　 'Everything I have' (378: 21-3; Gezer)

In negative possessive sentences, *ya:nu* serves to negate the predication; an individual sentence constituent is, however, negated by a different negator:

(188) *ya:nu ṣa:ba maṣṣarta ana ša:šu*
　　　 NEG troops garrison to him
　　　 'He has no garrison.' (137: 10-1; Byblos)

(189) *u   ṣido:na u   be:ro:ta ul ana šarri*
　　　 CONJ Sidon CONJ Beirut NEG to king
　　　 'And Sidon and Beirut do not belong to the king.' (118: 30-2; Byblos)

Akkadian uses the verb √*iši* (or √*išu*) "to have" to indicate possessiveness. The cognate Canaanite lexeme is not a verb, and it is used in both existential and possessive sentences. In the latter case, the possessor is indicated by a dative element. CanAkk evinces very few attestations of √*iši*, thus reflecting Akkadian-like structures. Example:

(190) *... ra:biṣ   šarri ša išu: ina ṣumur*
　　　 ... commissioner king H_N has-3SGM in Sumur
　　　 '... the commissioner of the king that he has in Sumur' (68: 19-20; Byblos)

Locative sentences are construed in structures similar to existential and possessive sentences:

(191) *anumma aziru ma:r ʿabdiʾaširta qadu aḥḥi:šu   ina dummašqa*
　　　 PRS   Aziru son Abdi'ashirta with brothers+his in Damascus
　　　 'Now, Aziru, the son of Abdi'ashirta, with his brothers, is in Damascus.'
　　　 (107: 26-8; Byblos)

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[34]The -*a* endings on geographical names are not grammatical markers, but part of the name.

(192) *anumma yanḥamu itka*
　　　 PRS   Yanhamu with+your
　　　 'Now, Yanhamu is with you.' (283: 13-4; southern Palestine)

(193) *ina ġazzati ibašša:ti*
　　　 in Gaza   be+1SG
　　　 'I am in Gaza.' (TT6: 12-3; Taanach)

3.1.2 Completive

The completive relation is marked morphologically by the CMP case, without regard to the semantic property of the completive element. In the following example, the CMP case is appended both to a direct object (*šarra*) and to time adverbials:

(194) *u   lu: urrada   šarra   be:liya   u:ma*
　　　 CONJ MOD 1SG+serve+MOD king+CMP lord+NTRL+my day+CMP
　　　 u   mu:ša   adi da:ria:ta
　　　 CONJ night+CMP until ever+CMP
　　　 'And may I serve the king, my lord, day and night forever.'
　　　 (294: 32-5; southern Palestine)

Completive elements of different types may be marked lexically or morphologically as adverbs (2.6; 2.6.2.2), or they can be marked syntactically by using syntactic heads. The following examples from Byblos show the formal similarity between indirect objects and adverbial phrases, all marked by the adverbial head *ana*:

(195) *aštapar   **ana** maṣṣarti u   **ana** si:si:*
　　　 1SG+write to garrison CONJ to   horses
　　　 *u   la: tuddanu:na   šu:tera   awata   **ana** ya:ši*
　　　 CONJ NEG 3PLM+give_NACT+PLM+IMPFV return_IMPV+MOD utterance+CMP to me
　　　 'I have written for a garrison and for horses, but they are not given. Return a message to me.' (83: 21-4; Byblos)

(196) *anumma ki:amma aštapar   **ana** ekalli*
　　　 PRS   thus   1SG+write to palace
　　　 u   ul tišmu:na   awatu:ya
　　　 CONJ NEG 3PLM+hear+PLM+IMPFV utterance+PRD↔PL+my
　　　 'Now, I have been writing thus to the palace, but my words are not being heeded.'
　　　 (74: 49-50; Byblos)

In the following two examples, the particle *enu:ma* is used as either the head of an object clause or the head of a temporal clause:

(197) *i:de*   *šarru be:li:* (**enu:ma**)⇒(*ina maḫar ayabba nittaṣab*)
3SGM+know king lord+my that(H_NA) in front sea 1PL+be-situated
'May the king, my lord, know that we have been situated at the sea.'
(151: 41-2; Tyre)

(198) (**enu:ma**)⇒(*ittaṣu: ra:biṣu:*)   *aqabbi   ḫalqatmi   ma:t šarri*
when(H_NA) exit+3PLM commissioners 1SG+say+PFV lost+3SGF+EMPH land king
'When the commissioners of the king would come out, I would say: "The land of
the king is surely lost."' (286: 48-9; Jerusalem)

enu:ma~inu:ma is the general particle used for introducing object clauses in peripheral
Akkadian, especially in CanAkk, probably under the influence of local uses of the WS
counterpart *ki:*. The latter is, in contrast, quite scarce in CanAkk, although its Akkadian
cognate *ki:* is used rather frequently in core Akkadian.

3.1.3 Attributive

3.1.3.1. Attribution manifests itself either by apposition or by syntactic binding, i.e., forming
an attributive construct.[35] Two nouns in apposition agree in gender, number and case (3.4):

(199) *šarru* ⇔ *rabu:*
king+PRD great+PRD
'great king' (260: 7; Syria)

This phrase, where a substantive and an adjective are in apposition, is identical to the one
where two substantives are in apposition, which obviously assume the same marking:

(200) *šarru* ⇔ *be:lu*
king+PRD lord+PRD
'the king, the lord' (226: 9; unknown provenance)

Both apposition and binding may be used as variants in expressing the same notion:

(201) *yuwaššira*   *šarru* (*ṣa:bi*)⇒(*piṭa:ti*)[36]
3SGM+send+MOD king troops *piṭat*+ATT
'may the king send *piṭat*-troops' (116: 72-3; Byblos)

(202) *u   yuššira   šarru   be:li:* (*ṣa:ba*) ⇔ (*piṭa:ta*)
CONJ 3SGM+send+MOD king+PRD lord+my troops+CMP *piṭat*+CMP
ana ardi:šu
to   servants+NPRD⇔PL+his
'And may the king send *piṭat*-troops to his servant.' (269: 11-3; Gezer)

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[35]In the conventional terminology: "genitive construct" (Hebrew: *semichut*).

[36]*ṣabi* is the bound form of *ṣa:bu* 'army', 'troops' (collective noun). For *piṭat* see note 26.

Both Akkadian and NWS languages attest either appositional or attributive constructs in
numerals. Hence, we may assume that CanAkk too would employ both structures. Due to
spelling ambiguities, it is hard to find support for this assumption. Note, however, the
following example, where a numeral stands in apposition to the counted noun:

(203) 100⇔*manṣarta*
100   guard+CMP
'a hundred guards'[37] (244: 35; Megiddo)

In an attributive construct, the first noun comes in its bound form, with or without an
overt case marking in agreement with its syntactic position within the sentence (2.2.5); the
second noun is marked morphologically by the attributive (or the non-predicative) case
without accounting for the deep structural relations between the two components:

(204) *arad* ⇒ *šarri*
servant king+ATT
'the king's servant' (234: 4; Acre)

(205) *urrud* ⇒ *šarri*
serve_INF king+ATT
'to serve the king' (253: 28; Shechem)

(206) *arad* ⇒ *kitti*
servant loyalty+ATT
'loyal servant' (*passim*)

3.1.3.2. A noun can be attributed to a (syntactic) head, and thus, bear the same marking as
if related to another noun:

(207) *ša* ⇒ *šarri*
H_N   king+ATT
'of the king' (232: 4; Acre)

(208) *itti* ⇒ *šarri*
at(H_A) king+ATT
'to the king' (283: 11; southern Palestine)

An attributive relation between a noun or an adverbial head and a pronoun is usually
made by morphological fusion of the nominal and pronominal elements:

(209) *itti* ⇒ *ya* = *ittiya* {*itti*+*ya*}
at(H_A)+my
'towards me' (*passim*)

---

[37]*manṣartu* (*maṣṣartu*) is a collective noun, as is exhibited also in the use of the determinative
'men' which preceded this noun in the writing.

Expansion of basic elements which play a part in either type of attributive relation can be made either by juxtaposition or by introducing a syntactic head. In the latter case, the head and the governing noun are appositioned, whereas the governed element is in attributive relation to the head. The governed element can be either a pronoun, a noun, a phrase of different types or a clause. Since these devices were common to Akkadian and NWS languages, CanAkk used similar techniques for expressing attributive relations. In the following, the flexibility and variety of possible attributive constructions are exemplified. Note the formal similarity in phrases with and without syntactic heads.

(210) *arad* ⇒ *kitti*   ⇒   *šarri*
servant loyalty+ATT king+ATT
'the loyal servant of the king'(242: 5; Megiddo)

(211) *awat* ⇒ (*šarri* ⇔ *be:liya*)
utterance king+ATT lord+NTRL+my
'the order of the king, my lord' (330: 12-3; Lachish)

(212) *awat* ⇒ (*yiqabbu*   *šarru*   *be:liya*)
utterance 3SGM+speak+IMPF king+PRD lord+NTRL[38]+my
'the order that the king, my lord, commands' (250: 59-60; Shechem)

(213) *ardu*   ⇔   *ša*⇒*šarri*
servant+PRD H$_N$ king+ATT
'the servant of the king' (232: 4; Acre)

(214) (*arad* ⇒ *kitti*)   ⇔   *ša* ⇒ *šarri*
servant loyalty+ATT H$_N$ king+ATT
'the loyal servant of the king' (257: 7-8; unknown provenance)

(215) (*rabiṣ*   ⇒   *šarri* ⇔ (*ša* ⇒ *ina* ⇒ *ṣumur*)
commissioner king+ATT H$_N$ in(H$_A$) Sumur
'the king's commissioner who is in Sumur' (68: 23-4; Byblos)

(216) *awata*   ⇔   *ša*⇒(*šarri* ⇔ *be:liya*)
utterance+CMP H$_N$ king+ATT lord+NTRL+my
'the order of the king, my lord' (326: 13; Ashkelon)

(217) *mimma*⇔*ša* ⇒ (*qaba*   *šarru*   *be:liya*   *ana ya:ši*)
all   H$_N$ speak+3SGM king+PRD lord+NTRL+my to   me
'anything that the king, my lord, said to me' (297: 8-9; Gezer)

While in most places the nominal head *ša* is found in apposition to the preceding noun, there are attestations of an attributive relation between the two elements:

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[38]The case is neutralized before the 1SG attributive pronoun (1.3.1).

(218) *awat* ⇒   *ša*⇒(*qaba*   *šarru be:liya*   *ana ya:ši*)
utterance H$_N$ say+3SGM king lord+NTRL+my to   me
'the message that the king, my lord, said to me' (294: 12-3; southern Palestine)

3.1.4. Syntactic Heads

A syntactic head is a particle (simple or compound; see 2.7) which assumes the syntactic position of a noun or an adverb to allow expanded elements, a phrase or a clause, to be introduced into a sentence. Expanded elements of this type occupy the same slot as their respective primary constituents.

Syntactic heads may be characterized according to their semantic features (i.e., their meaning). They may also be characterized according to their nominal or adverbial nature. Syntactic heads can be distinguished further according to the syntactic nature of their dependencies, i.e., whether or not they are capable of governing clauses.

3.1.4.1. Adverbial heads are quite numerous, and, apart from their syntactic function, have their own semantic properties.[39] While there is no general adverbial syntactic head (a function which is taken over by morphological means; see 2.6.2.2), there is a general nominal head *ša*, which may take over the syntactic position of any noun, i.e., a substantive or an adjective:

Substantival slot:

(219) (*ardu*) ⇔ (*ša*)⇒*šarri*
servant+PRD H$_N$ king+ATT
'the servant of the king' (232: 4; Acre)

Cf.

(220) (*arad*)⇒(*šarri*)
servant king+ATT
'the king's servant' (298: 18; Gezer)

When an attributive phrase consists only of nouns, the nominal head *ša* seems to be more often than not employed when: (1) more than two nouns participate in the attributive string, so that *ša* serves to mark the boundary between members of an attributive string, thus making clear what the immediate constituents of each of the members are (see example 221); (2) when a proper name is in the attributive position.

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[39]The most frequent adverbial heads are: *adi* 'until'; *ana* 'to', 'for'; *aššum* 'on account of'; *eli* 'over'; *ina* 'in'; *ištu* 'from'; *itti* 'with', 'at'; *qadu* 'accompanied by'. The most frequent element used in complex heads (cf. 2.7) is *muḫḫi* (etymologically from *muḫḫu* 'skull', 'top'; hence, 'over', 'on'), which serves as a void element to which inflectional morphemes can be added.

Adjectival slot:

(221) $(ip\check{s}u) \Leftrightarrow (\check{s}a) \Rightarrow (la:$ $api\check{s}$ $i\check{s}tu$ $da:ri:ti)$

     deed H_N NEG do_{NACT}+3SGM from ever

     'a deed which had never been done' (122: 41-3)

   Cf.

(222) $(ip\check{s}a) \Leftrightarrow (raba:)$

     deed+CMP great+CMP

     'a great deed' (122: 32; Byblos)

The nominal head *ša* may take the place of nouns in predicative and completive positions:

(223) $\overset{s}{ana:ku}$ $\overset{P}{\check{s}a} \Rightarrow (ubbal$ $amata$ $\d{t}a:ba$ u $ana:ma$ $limna$ ana $\check{s}arri$ $be:liya)$

     I H_N 1SG+carry$_{IMPFV}$ utterance good CONJ similarly bad   to   king lord+my

     'I am the one who carries good as well as bad news to the king, my lord.'

     (149: 15-7; Tyre)

(224) $\overset{o}{\check{s}a} \Rightarrow (ya\check{s}tappar$ $\check{s}arru$ $be:liya$ ana $ardi\check{s}u)$ $yi\check{s}timu$

     H_N 3SGM+keep-sending king lord+my to   servant+his 3SGM+hear+IMPFV

     'Whatever the king, my lord, sends to his servant, he hears.' (233: 16-8; Acre)

(225) u $\overset{o}{ya:nu}$ $\check{s}a \Rightarrow (yubbalu$ $awata$ ana $\check{s}arri)$

     CONJ NEG H_N 3SGM+carry+IMPFV utterance to   king

     'There is no one who (can) carry a message to the king.' (116: 13-4; Byblos)

Similar constructions with fillers such as *awi:lu* 'man' or *mimma* 'everything' are more widespread, however:

(226) $ya:nu$ **$awi:la$** $\Leftrightarrow \check{s}a \Rightarrow (u\check{s}ezzibanni$ $i\check{s}tu$ $qa:ti:\check{s}unu)$

     NEG / man H_N 3SGM+save$_{IMPFV}$+me from hands+their

     'There is no one who (can) save me from them.' (74: 44-5; Byblos)

(227) **$mimma$** $\Leftrightarrow \check{s}a \Rightarrow (qaba$ $\check{s}arru$ $be:liya$ ana $ya:\check{s}i)$ $i\check{s}temi\check{s}u$

     everything H_N say+3SGM king lord+my to   me   1SG+hear+PFV+him

     'Everything that the king, my lord, said, I heard it.' (297: 8-10; Gezer)

While the nominal head *ša* is an overt marking of nominalization, there are cases where the only indication of the syntactic relation of a phrase or a clause is its position in the sentence:

(228) $\check{s}ama\check{s} \Leftrightarrow (i\check{s}tu$ $\Rightarrow$ $\check{s}ame:)$

     sun(-god) from(H_A) heaven

     'the sun(-god) from heaven' (*passim* as an appellative of the pharaoh)

Cf. $\check{s}ama\check{s} \Leftrightarrow \check{s}a \Rightarrow (i\check{s}tu \Rightarrow \check{s}ame:)$ with a nominal head, which is the southern Canaanite variant of this formula.

This is notably the case where adverbial constructions are in predicative relation (as in the following example) or are the object of a sentence:

(229) u $\overset{EXT}{(ana:ku)}$ $\overset{s}{(ala:ni:ya)}$ $\overset{P}{(ana\;aziri)}$

     CONJ I   cities+my   to Aziru

     'As for me, my cities belong to Aziru.' (125: 36-7; Byblos)

3.1.4.2. A small set of heads are found in the gray zone between nominal and adverbial, interplaying between representation of word classes and syntactic relations (cf. 3.1.2). As such they are applicable to either nominal or adverbial slots, here exemplified by the particle *inu:ma* (*enu:ma*), which is the most general of this class:

Nominal slot:

(230) u $annu:$ $\d{h}i:\d{t}u:ya$ **$inu:ma$** $\Rightarrow (irruba:ti$ ina $gazri)$

     CONJ this   sin+my H_{NA} enter+1SG in   Gezer

     'This is my sin, that I entered into Gezer.' (253: 19-22; Shechem)

(231) u $damiq$ **$enu:ma$** $\Rightarrow (i:de)$

     CONJ good+3SGM H_{NA} 3SGM+know

     'And it is good that he know.' (147: 70-1; Tyre)

Adverbial slot:

(232) u $ki:nanna$ $pal\d{h}a:ti$ $magal$ $magal$

     CONJ accordingly fear+1SG very   very

     $inu:ma$ $\Rightarrow$ $(ya:nu$ $awi:la$ $\check{s}a$ $u\check{s}e:zibanni$ $i\check{s}tu$ $qa:ti:\check{s}unu)$

     because(H_{NA})   NEG   man H_N 3SGM-save+me from hands+their

     'Accordingly, I am very much afraid, since there is no one who (can) save me from them.' (74: 43-5; Byblos)

(233) **$inu:ma$** $\Rightarrow$ $(ana:ku$ ana $ali)$ $ana\d{s}\d{s}ar\check{s}i$ ana $be:liya$

     when(H_{NA})   I   in^{40} city 1SG+guard+PFV+her to   lord+my

     'When I was in the city, I guarded it for my lord.' (137: 53-4; Byblos)

The general role that the particle *inu:ma* assumes in CanAkk is best exemplified in the following passage, where it occurs successively for either implication.

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^{40}A few scribes do not distinguish between locative *ina* and directional *ana*.

(234) *u   be:li: i:de*
CONJ lord+my 3SG-know

inu:ma ⇒ (*la: ašpuru   awat   kazbu:ti ana be:liya*)
H_NA   NEG 1SG+write+IMPFV utterance lie   to   lord+my

u   gabbi ḫazannu:ti la: ra:ʾimu:
CONJ all   mayors   NEG love_PTC+PRD↔PL

inu:ma ⇒ (*tu:ṣu   ṣa:bu piṭa:tu*)
H_NA   3FSG+exit+IMPFV troops pitat

inu:ma ⇒ (*pašiḫ   ana šunu*)
since(H_NA) peaceful+3SGM to   them

'My lord knows that I do not write lies to my lord. All the mayors do not wish the
deployment of the *pitat*-troops, since there is peace for them.' (362: 51-7; Byblos)

The particle *inu:ma* forms a cluster of H_NA with the particle *ki:ma*, for which the function
of governing object clauses is an extension of its more general use as a temporal or
comparative particle. This is most probably due to the influence of the use of the cognate
particle *ki:* in NWS. Another such particle is *šumma*, which is basically a conditional
particle. Cf. the following examples:

(235) *u   yiša:l   šarru be:liya ra:biṣašu*
CONJ 3SGM+ask+PFV king lord+my commissioner+his

inu:ma ⇒ (*ana:ku anaṣṣaru   abul ġazzati u   abul yapu:*)
H_NA   I   1SG+guard+IMPFV gate Gaza   CONJ gate Jaffa

'May the king, my lord, ask his commissioner whether I guard the gate of Gaza
and the gate of Jaffa.' (296: 30-3; southern Palestine)

(236) *ša:lšunu   šumma* ⇒ (*lu: naṣru:*)
ask_IMPV+SGM+them if(H_NA)   MOD guard+3PLM

'Ask them whether they are really guarded.' (230: 18-9; unknown provenance)

(237) *u   yilmad   šarri*[41] *be:liya ki:ma* ⇒ *dannat   nukurtu eliya*)
CONJ 3SGM+take-notice+PFV king lord+my H_NA   strong+3SGF hostility on+my

'May the king, my lord, take notice that the war against me is fierce.'
(64: 8-9; southern Palestine)

In contrast, the CanAkk particle *ki:* is never used for the introduction of object clauses, a
role which its cognates play in both Akkadian and Canaanite languages. The following is
the only example where *ki:* governs a nominal object:

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[41]The final *i* vowel is probably not a real case marker, and may be only part of the logographic
spelling of the word for 'king' in this dialect.

(238) *ša:l   appiḫa awi:laka ki:* ⇒ (*gabbi awati*)
ask_IMPV+SGM Appiha man+your H_NA   all   matter

'Ask Appiha, your man, regarding the whole matter.' (69: 28-30; Byblos)

3.1.4.3. There are three types of syntactic heads, distinguished by their capacity for governing
clauses: (1) Heads governing nominals and pronominals.[42] (2) Heads governing clauses.[43]
(3) Heads governing all types of dependencies. The nominal head *ša* is of the third type.
Among the adverbial heads, there are all three types of particles. An adverbial head of
type 1 would need the nominal head *ša* in order to append a clause to it:

(239) *yiša:l   šarru be:li: yanḫama ardišu*
3SGM+ask+PFV king lord+my Yanhamu servant+his

ana ⇒ *ša* ⇒ (*yu:pašu   ina ma:tišu*)
to   H_N   3SGM+do_NACT+IMPFV in land+his

'May the king, my lord, ask Yanhamu, his servant, what is being done in his land'
(271: 23-7; Gezer)

The second type includes only two particles: *inu:ma* and *šumma*. In Jerusalem, as a result
of the fusion of semantic and syntactic features of the particles *ki:*, *ki:ma* and *enu:ma*
(*inu:ma*) (3.1.4.2), this latter particle is found also before nouns:

(240) *šakna:ti enu:ma* ⇒ (*elippi ina libbi ta:mti*)
set+1SG H_NA   boat   in heart sea

'I am situated as a boat in the middle of the sea.' (288: 32-3, Jerusalem)

The particles *ki:* and *ki:ma* belong to type 3. Still, the nominal head *ša* may be inserted
after a syntactic head of type 3, governing either a clause or a nominal phrase. The
following examples show this type of variation, which seems to be geographical:

(241) *ki:ma* ⇒ (*tappi:ya*)
like   associates+my

'like my associates' (113: 30; Byblos)

(242) *ki:ma* ⇒ *ša* ⇒ (*abi:ya   u   tappa:ti[ya]*)
like(H_NA) H_N   father+my CONJ associates+my

'like my father and my associates' (300: 21-2; Gezer)

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[42]A category which includes within it all the so-called prepositions. For constraints on appending
pronominals cf. the morphological section 2.7.

[43]I.e., subordinating conjunctions.

(243) ki:ma ⇒ (yi:pušu   ana ardišu)   yippuš
like(H_NA)   3SGM+do+IMPFV to servant+his 3SGM+do+IMPFV
'Let him do whatever he will do to his servant' (137: 63-4; Byblos)

(244) ki:ma ⇒ ša ⇒ (yuṣṣi   ištu pi: šamaš   ištu šame:)
like(H_NA) H_N   3SGM+exit+PFV from mouth sun(-god) from heaven
ki:nanna yuppašumi
thus   3SGM+do_NACT+IMPFV+EMPH
'In accordance with what comes out of the mouth of the sun(-god) from heaven
(i.e., the king), thus it will indeed be done.' (232: 16-20; Acre)

3.2 Infinitive Constructions

The infinitive, the nominal expression of a verb, is most commonly employed as an
attributive morphological substitute for a predicative complex. Cf. the following examples:

(245) u   lilmad   rabu: be:liya
CONJ MOD+3SGM-take-notice great lord+my
'The magnate, my lord, should take notice.' (238: 29-30; unknown provenance)

(246) u   ana lama:di   šarri   be:liya
CONJ to   take-notice+ATT king+ATT lord+NTRL+my
'For the information of the king, my lord.' (274: 17-8; central Palestine)

(247) ša yaštappar   šarru   be:liya   ana ardišu
H_N 3SGM+keep-writing king+PRD lord+NTRL+my to   servant+ATT+his
yištimu
3SGM+hear+IMPFV
'Whatever the king, my lord, writes to me, I hear.' (233: 16-8; Acre)

(248) ištemi   šapa:r šarri be:liya ana ya:ši
1SG+hear+PFV write_INF king lord+my to   me
'I have heard the message of the king, my lord, to me.' (269: 9-10; Gezer)

Either the subject or the object of the underlying predication may be attributed to the
infinitive:

(249) ana šute:r ⇒ awati   ana šarri
to   return_INF utterance+ATT to king
'to return a message(O) to the king' (108: 49-50; Byblos)

(250) ana nada:n ⇒ me: ana šutta:ya {šutta:(+i)+ya} (=šutta:⇒ya)[44]
to   give_INF   water+NPRD↔PL to drink_INF(+ATT)+my
'to give water(O) for me(S) to drink (literally: for my drinking)' (147: 65; Tyre)

Note that adverbial complementation does not undergo any transformation in the surface
structure.

A direct object may take the position of a complement if the subject occupies the attributive
slot:

(251) ištu šapa:rika   ṭuppa   ana muḫḫiya
from write_INF+your tablet+CMP to   VOID+my
'after you sent me a tablet' (256: 29-30; Pihili)

Causal or temporal relations may be expressed by infinitives:

(252) u   gamrat   ma:t šarri be:liya ina paṭa:ri ina ʕapiri:
CONJ finish+3SGF land king lord+my in leave_INF in Apiru
'The land of the king, my lord, is gone by deserting to the Apiru.'
(273: 11-4; central Palestine)

In Byblos, the relation between an infinitive and its agent can be expressed syntactically
rather than morphologically by juxtaposition of the infinitive with an overt pronominal or
nominal subject. The infinitive is usually followed by the vowel *i* (whose function is
unknown), an emphatic marker (*mi~ma*; 2.5.5.5; 3.8.1) or both; the subject is in the PRD
rather than in the ATT case:

(253) paṭa:rima   šu:t
leave_INF+i+EMPH he
[u] ya:nu ša yubbalu   [ṭuppiya] ana muḫḫika
CONJ NEG H_N 3SGM+bring+IMPFV tablet+my to   VOID+your
'(Upon) his leaving, there will be nobody who can take my tablet to you.'
(113: 40-2; Byblos)

(254) aṣi:mi {aṣa:i+i+mi} ṣa:bu   piṭa:tu u   šamu:
exit_INF+i+EMPH   troops+PRD pitat+PRD CONJ hear+3PLM
'When the *pitat*-troops come out, they will hear (about it).' (137: 49; Byblos)

Still, the subject may be implied in suchlike constructions:

(255) pa:na:nu daga:lima   awi:l ma:t miṣri
formerly look_INF+i+EMPH man land Egypt
u   innabtu: šarru: ma:t kinaʕni ištu pa:nišu
CONJ flee+3PLM kings land Canaan from face+his

'Formerly, having seen an Egyptian, the kings of Canaan would flee from him.' (109: 44-6; Byblos)

3.3. Participles

Participles are nouns which, like infinitives, share with verbs some of their characteristics. They can be characterized as active in voice, and their transitive force may be realized either in an attributive construction or as a completive phrase or clause:

(256) *ra:ʔimu:ya* {*rʔm≈•a:•i•+:+u+ya*}

lovePTC+PL+PRD+my

'those who love me' (137: 47; Byblos)

(257) *u   gabbi ḫazannu:ti la: ra:ʔimu:*

CONJ all mayors NEG lovePTC+PRD↔PL

inu:ma tu:ṣu   ṣa:bu piṭa:tu

HNA   3FSG+exit+IMPFV troops *pitat*

'All the mayors do not wish the deployment of the *pitat*-troops.' (362: 54-6; Byblos)

3.4. Agreement

A noun and its appositional attribute agree in gender, number and case:

(258) *atta be:lu: rabu:*

you lord great

'You are a great lord.' (76: 44; Byblos)

(259) *kalbu   šu:t*

dog+PRD hePRD

'that dog' (84: 35; Byblos)

The internal subject within the predicative complex, which stands in apposition with an external nominal or pronominal, likewise agrees with it in gender and number:

(260) *u   ti:pušu:na   ma:ru: ʕabdiʔaširta ki:ma libbišunu*

CONJ 3PLM+do+PLM+IMPFV son+PRD↔PL Abdiʔashirta like heart+their

'And the sons of Abdiʔashirta do whatever they like.' (108: 11-3; Byblos)

Dual subjects usually accept plural agreement of the verb. In only a few cases can dual inflection of the verb be surmised:

(261) 2 *awi:lu: ma:t miṣri ša šapra:ti* {*šapar+a:ti*} *ana ekalli ul aṣa:* {*aṣi:+a:*}

2 men   land Egypt HN send+1SG   to palace NEG exit+DU

'The two Egyptians whom I sent to the palace have not come out.' (117: 12-4; Byblos)

Collective nouns may accept either SG or PL agreement:

(262) *u   uššira   ṣa:bi piṭa:ti u   tilqe:šu*

CONJ sendIMPV+DIR/MOD troops *pitat* CONJ 3SGF+take-PFV+him

'Send *pitat*-troops to take him.' (107: 29-30; Byblos)

(263) *ušširami   ṣa:bi piṭa:ti u   tilqu: ʕabdiʔašrata*

sendIMPV+DIR/MOD+EMPH troops *pitat* CONJ 3MPL+take+PLM+PFV Abdiʔashirta

'Send *pitat*-troops to take Abdiʔashirta.' (94: 10-1; Byblos)

The noun *ila:nu:* (god+PL+NPRD↔PL) may also be regarded as a collective noun:

(264) *šummami yi:pušumi   ila:nu: ša šarri be:linu*

if+EMPH 3+do+IMPFV+EMPH divinity HN king lord+our

u   nikšudummi   labʔaya ...

CONJ 1PL+reach+IMPFV+ENRG+EMPH Labʔaya

'If the gods of the king, our lord, let us, then we shall indeed reach Labʔaya ...' (245: 3-6; Megiddo)

Impersonal predicatives get either a a 3SGM or a 3PLM "dummy" subject:

(265) *ul   yuqba* {*y+qbi≈u••a•+Ø*}

NEG 3SGM+sayNACT+PFV

'Let it not be said' (83: 16 Byblos)

There seems to be no certain example of 3PLM verbs in impersonal use, as is the case in both Akkadian and the Canaanite languages attested from the 1st millennium BCE.

3.5. Order of Sentence Constituents

3.5.1. Verbal Sentences

The basic order of Semitic sentence constituents is VSO. Akkadian is an SOV language, the result of long term interference with non-Semitic Sumerian. CanAkk is typically VSO. In opening formulae, however, the Akkadian SOAV order maintains in the majority of letters:

(266) *ana še:pi: šarri be:liya sebe:tšu u   sebe:ta:n amqut* {*a+mqut*}

to feet king lord+my 7+times CONJ 7+ADV 1SG+fall

'At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times I fall.' (264: 3-4; Gath Carmel)

In all other environments, the unmarked order is VSOA:

(267) *u   yuššira   šarru beli: ṣa:bi piṭa:ta ana ardi:šu*
CONJ 3SGM+send+MOD king lord+my troops *pitat* to servants+his
u   yuššira   šarru beli: murra ana ripu:ti
CONJ 3SGM+send+MOD king lord+my myrrh to healing
'May the king, my lord, send *pitat*-troops to his servants, and may the king, my lord, send myrrh for healing.' (269: 11-17; Gezer)

The unmarked constituent order in dependent clauses is the same as in independent sentences:

(268) *ša yiqbi   ma:ya ra:biṣ   šarri ana ya:ši*
H$_N$ 3SGM+say+PFV Maya commissioner king to me
'that Maya, the commissioner of the king, said to me' (328: 23-5; Lachish)

The following are examples of fronting:

(269) *šarra   be:liya   i:rudu*
king+CMP lord+NTRL+my 1SG+serve+IMPFV
'The king, my lord, I serve' (250: 58-59; Shechem); independent sentence

(270) *inu:ma ašar   danni tillaku:na*
H$_{NA}$ place   strong 3PLM+go+PLM+IMPFV
'that the strong one they will follow' (73: 15-6; Byblos); dependent clause

(271) *u   innipša<t>   gubla ana ša:šu*
CONJ be-made+3SGF Gubla to him
u   gabbi ma:ta:t šarri
CONJ all   lands   king
adi ma:t miṣri tinnipšu: ana ʕapiri:
until land Egypt 3SGF+be-made+IMPFV to Apiru
'And Gubla joined him, and all the lands of the king as far as Egypt will be joining the Apiru.' (88: 31-4; Byblos)

In the second sentence the subject is fronted. Statistically, there are more occurrences of SV order with the quantifiers *kali* and *gabbu* "all", which coincide with the pragmatic change in order. Cf. the following:

(272) *ḫalqat   gabbi ma:t šarri be:liya*
lost+3SGM all   land king lord+my
'All the land of the king, my lord, is lost.' (286: 63-4; Jerusalem); unmarked order

(273) *gabbi ma:ta:ti šalimu: ana ya:ši nukurtu*
all   lands   peaceful+3SGM to me   war
'All the lands are at peace; I am at war.' (287: 12; Jerusalem); marked order

3.5.2. Non-verbal Sentences

The Akkadian sentence constituent order in non-verbal sentences is SP for a nominal S, PS for a pronominal S. In CanAkk, the unmarked order is SP for all types of non-verbal sentences. Examples:

(274) *ana:ku arduka*
    I   servant+your
'I am your servant' (189: 5; Kumidi)

Fronting of the predicate is pragmatically constrained:

(275) *arduka   ana:ku*
servant+your I
'Your servant is I.' (289: 51; Jerusalem)

(276) (*šarru be:liya*) (*ki:ma šamaš ki:ma adad ina šame:*) (*atta*)
king lord+my like sun(-god) like Adad in heaven you
'O king, my lord! Like the sun(-god), like Adad in heaven you are!' (149: 6-7; Tyre)

In the second of the following examples, the order is reversed, serving to topicalize the phrase *kali ala:ni* 'all the cities'.

(277) (*ana ša:šunu*) (*ardata waḫliya ampi šigata*) (*kali ala:ni*) (*ana ša:šunu*)
to them   Ardata Wahliya Ampi Shigata all lands   fto them
'Ardata, Wahliya, Ampi, Shigata are theirs; all the cities are theirs.' (104: 10-3; Byblos)

In dependent clauses the order may be reversed:

(278) *inu:ma* (*arad kittika*) *ana:ku*
H$_{NA}$ servant loyalty+your I
'that I am your loyal servant.' (73: 41-2; Byblos)

(279) *inu:ma ṣeḫru ana:ku*
when young I
'when I was young' (296: 25; southern Palestine)

Change in order is probably not a feature of all dialects. In Jerusalem the SP order seems to maintain also in dependent clauses:

(280) *ki:*   (*nukurtu*) (*ana muḫḫiya*)
because war   to VOID+my
'because there is war against me' (288: 31-2; Jerusalem)

The order PS seems to be marked:

(281) *liš'almi   šarru ra:biši: $\overset{P}{enu:ma}$ $\overset{S}{dannu}$ bi:tu magal*
MOD+3SGM-ask+EMPH king commissioners H$_{NA}$ strong house very
'May the king ask the commissioners whether the house is strong indeed.'
(287: 33-4; Jerusalem)

Due to the nature of the texts and the structure of the language, it is difficult to ascertain whether any pragmatic change had indeed occurred in any of these sentences.

3.5.3. Interrogative Sentences

In verbal sentences, the interrogative element comes in initial position as the unmarked order:

(282) *ana mi:ni qa:la:ta   u   la: tiqbu   ana šarri*
to what be-silent+2SGM CONJ NEG 2SGM+speak+IMPFV to king
'Why do you keep silent and not speak to the king?' (71: 10-2; Byblos)

In non-verbal sentences the order is pragmatically dependent, and may be describes as PS. The following example attests two questions, one with an interrogative pronoun, the second with a nominal predicate.

(283) *miyami   ma:ri: 'abdi'aširta ardi   kalbi*
who+EMPH sons Abdi'ashirta servant dog
šar ma:t kašši u   šar ma:t mitanni šunu
king land Kashi CONJ king land Mitanni they
u   tilqu:na   ma:t šarri ana ša:šunu
CONJ 3PLM+take+PLM+IMPFV land king to them
'Who are the sons of Abdi'ashirta, the servant, the dog? Are they the king of Kashi or the king of Mitanni that they capture the land of the king for themselves?' (104: 17-24; Byblos)

Inverse order in non-verbal interrogative sentences with an interrogative particle is marked:

(284) *yiltequ   šarru mimmi:ya u   mimme: milkili ayyaka:m*
3SGM+take+IMPFV king property+my CONJ property Milkilu where
'The king takes my property. But the property of Milkilu — where is it?' (254: 25-7; Shechem)

3.5.4. The Order of Attributive, Adverbial and Peripheral Constituents

3.5.4.1. Although Akkadian had changed into an SOV language, the order of nominals and syntactic heads remained, as in other Semitic languages. Thus, CanAkk had received similar input from both Akkadian and the NWS dialects as regards the order of the nominal

string and of syntactically transformed strings. In other words, CanAkk is a "N(oun)A(djective)—N(oun)G(enitive)—Pre(position)" language, to use the symbols and terminology of implicational word order universals:

(285) *šarru rabu:*
king great
'great king' (260: 7; Syria)

(286) *arad   šarri*
servant king
'the king's servant' (234: 4; Acre)

(287) *aḫḫu:ya   ša tištimu:na   ana ya:ši*
brothers+my H$_N$ 3PL+hear+PLM+IMPFV to me
'my brothers, who give heed to me' (250: 51-2; central Palestine)

(288) *ina ašri ša ibašša:ti*
in place H$_N$ be+1SG
'in the place where I am' (230: 5; unknown provenance)

3.5.4.2. Numerals usually stand before the counted noun. The numeral '1' may stand either before or after the counted noun.

3.5.4.3. Adverbials follow complements in the simplex order:

(289) *u   yikkim   šarru beli: $\overset{O}{ma:tašu}$ ($\overset{A}{ištu}$ qa:t 'apiri:)*
CONJ 3SGM+save+PFV king lord+my land+his from hand Apiru
'May the king, my lord, save his land from the hand of the Apiru.' (271: 13-6; Gezer)

Temporal adverbials, notably deictic lexemes and temporal clauses, tend to occupy sentence-initial position, a feature which can be attributed to their frequently occurring contrastive or focal context:

(290) *inu:ma ušširti   2 ma:r šipri: ana šumura*
when send+1SG 2 messengers[45] to Sumur
u   ukalli   awi:la annu: ana šute:r awati ana šarri
CONJ 1SG+hold+PFV man this to return$_{INF}$ utterance to king
'When I sent 2 messengers to Sumur, I held this man in order to return a message to the king.' (108: 46-50; Byblos)

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[45]Literally: son (bound form) message+PL↔NPRD.

(291) *u   inanna iššir   awi:li:šu ina şaba:t   ma:ta:t amqi u   erşeti*
CONJ now   send+3SGM men+his in capture_INF lands Amqi CONJ earth
'Now he sent his men to capture the lands of Amqi and their territories.'
(140: 28-30; Byblos)

Likewise, circumstantial clauses tend to occupy a similar slot:

(292) *inu:ma qaba   šarru be:liya ana eḫlupakku*
As(H_NA) say+3SGM king lord+my to   raw-glass
allu: ušširti   ana šarri be:liya 30 eḫlupakku
PRS send+1SG to   king lord+my 30 raw-glass
'Since the king, my lord, ordered raw glass, here I send 30 pieces of raw glass.'
(323: 13-6; Ashkelon)

When in sentence-initial position, the deictic temporal adverb *inanna* is usually preceded by a presentational particle:

(293) *šani:tam anumma inanna inammušu: urra mu:ša ina nukurti ša muḫḫi<ya>*
PRS   PRS   now   3+move+PLM day night in war   H_N on+my
'Another matter: Here, now, they are waging war against me day and night.'
(69: 12-4; Byblos)

Temporal adverbial phrases, especially those which designate span of time rather than deixis, may nevertheless come in post-predicative position, frequently at the end of the sentence:

(294) *u   lu: urrada   šarra be:liya u:ma u   mu:ša adi da:ria:ta*
CONJ MOD 1SG+serve+MOD king lord+my day CONJ night until ever
'And may I serve the king, my lord, day and night, forever.'
(294: 32-5; southern Palestine)

As with other sentence constituents, fronting is marked:

(295) *alku:mi   qadu ḫazanni:kunu   lequ:nna   ma:t amurri*
go_IMPV+PLM+DS with mayors+your(PL) take_IMPV+PLM+ENRG land Amurru
ina u:mi tilqu:naši
in day 3PLM+take+PLM+IMPFV+her
'Go with your mayors. Do capture the land of Amurru. In a day you will conquer it.' (117: 62-4; Byblos)

3.5.4.4. Negation is produced by placing the negator immediately before the negated element, whether it is the predicative complex or any other element in the sentence:

(296) ***la: iḫlaq***
NEG 1SG+perish+PFV
'May I not perish!' (270: 28-9; Gezer)

(297) *amur ana:ku **la:** abi:ya u   **la:** ummiya šaknanni*
look_IMPV I   NEG father+my CONJ NEG mother+my set+3SGM+me
ina ašri anne:
in place this
'Look: as for me, neither my father nor my mother set me in this place.'
(286: 9-11; Jerusalem)

3.6. Coordination and the Conjunction

Clause organization within a sentence and sentence organization within a discourse unit follow, in most varieties, the rules of the substratal dialects. Coordination may be indicated by the conjunction *u*; for example:

(298) *anumma šami:ti awate: šarri be:liya **u** ḫadi   libbi: magal*
PRS   hear+1SG utterances king lord+my CONJ glad+3SGM heart+my very
'Now, I have heard the words of the king, my lord, and I am very glad.'
(362: 5-7; Byblos)

While subordination is produced by binding nouns or syntactic heads to a clause (3.1.3–3.1.4), the main clause may still be introduced by *u*:

(299) *šummami yi:pušumi   ila:nu: ša šarri be:linu*
if+EMPH 3+do+IMPFV+EMPH divinity H_N king lord+our
***u** nikšudummi   lab'aya ...*
CONJ 1PL+reach+IMPFV+ENRG+EMPH Lab'aya
'If indeed the gods of the king, our lord, let us, then we shall indeed reach Lab'aya ...' (245: 3-6; Megiddo)

The main clause may be introduced by *u* also in the case of fronting, and thus the fronted constituent may be regarded as extraposed to the sentence:

(300) *u   adi kaša:diya   **u**   da:ku:šu \ maḫşu:hu*
CONJ until arrive_INF+my CONJ kill+PLM+him \ kill+PLM+him (CanGl)
'And before I arrived, they had killed him.' (245: 13-4; Megiddo)

Coordination may substitute for subordination. Compare the following two examples of the same formula, both from Ashkelon:

(301) *miyami   kalbu u   la: yišmu   ana awate: šarri be:lišu*
who+EMPH dog   CONJ NEG 3SGM+hear+IMPFV to utterances king lord+his
ma:r šamaš
son sun(-god)
'Who is the dog that will not heed the words of the king, his lord, the sun-god's son?' (320: 22-5, Ashkelon)

(302) *u   mannu kalbu ša   la: yišmu   ana ra:biṣ   šarri*
CONJ who   dog   H_N NEG 3SGM+hear+IMPFV to commissioner king
'Who is the dog who will not heed the king's commissioner?' (322: 17-9, Ashkelon)

The conjunction is further used as a sentence introductory particle, and thus is found not only between sentences but also at the beginning of a paragraph:

(303) *u   yišme   be:lu awate:ya*
CONJ 3SGM+hear+PFV lord utterances+my
anumma ʕaziru ma:r ʕabdiʼaširta qadu aḫḫi:šu   ina dummašqa
PRS   Aziru son Abdiʼashirta with brothers+his in Damascus
u   uššira   ṣa:bi piṭa:ti
CONJ send_IMPV+MOD/DIR troops pitat
u   tilqe:šu   u   tapšuḫ   ma:t šarri
CONJ 3SGF+take+PFV+him CONJ 3SGF+be-in-peace+PFV land king
'May the lord heed my words: Now Aziru, Abdiʼashirta's son, with his brothers, are in Damascus. So, send *pitat*-troops to take him, and the king's land will be in peace.' (107: 25-31; Byblos)

As a general conjunction, *u* can also serve in conjoining smaller segments than the sentence:

(304) *amur   ma:t gazri ma:t ašqalo:na u   lakiši*
look_IMPV land Gezer land Ashkelon CONJ Lachish
iddinu: ana ša:šunu akala šamna u   mimma   maḫsira:mu
3PLM+give+PLM to them   food oil   CONJ everything lack+their
'Look, the land of Gezer, the land of Ashkelon and Lachish gave them food, oil, and all they need.' (287: 14-6; Jerusalem)

In a string, only the last element is commonly preceded by the conjunction.

3.7. TMA across Sentences

While TMA is marked morphologically, its implications go beyond the boundaries of a single sentence. There is interrelation in TMA usage between two or more sentences which are semantically related, i.e., where there is a sequential coherence in the message of the sentences. Thus, predicative complexes of a second or any following sentences within the discourse unit are dependent on the one in the opening sentence. This dependency may

affect coordinated sentences with or without a conjunction. In the following examples, modality in the first sentence entails modality (in marking or by implication; cf. 2.5.5.2.2) in the following sentences. While morphological markers may vary, the rule of modality agreement holds throughout the CanAkk area:

(305) *yišmi {y+išmi+Ø} šarru be:li: awate: arad   kittišu*
3SGM+hear+PFV king lord+my utterances servant loyalty+his
u   yuwaššira {y+uwaššir+a} šeʼim ina libbi eleppi:
CONJ 3SGM+send+MOD   grain in heart ships
u   yuballiṭ {y+uballiṭ+Ø} ardašu   u   a:lašu
CONJ 3SGM+make-live+PFV servant+his CONJ city+his
u   yaddina {y+addin+a} 4 meʼat awi:li: 30 ta:pal si:si:
CONJ 3SGM+give+MOD   4 hundred men   30 pairs horses
ki:ma nada:ni ana surata u   tinaṣṣaru: {t+inaṣṣar+u:+Ø} a:la ana ka:ta
like give_INF to Surata CONJ 3PLM+guard+PLM+PFV   city to you
'May the king, my lord, heed the words of his loyal servant, and may he send grain by ships to keep his servant and his city alive, and may he give 400 men and 30 pairs of horses as he gave to Surata, to guard the city for you.' (85: 16-22; Byblos)

(306) *u   litruṣ   ina pa:ni šarri be:liya*
CONJ MOD-3SGM+stretch in face king lord+my
u   lu: yuššira   yanḥama
CONJ MOD 3SGM+send+MOD Yanhamu
u   lu: nippaš   gabbuma nukurti
CONJ MOD 1PL+do+PFV all+EMPH hostility
u   lu: tute:r   ma:ta ša šarri be:liya
CONJ MOD 2SGM+return+PFV land H_N king lord+my
ana pa:ṭi:ši   \ upsi:ḫi
to borders+her \ borders+her (CanGl)
'May it be right to the king, my lord, and may he send Yanhamu that we can all wage war, so that you will be able to restore the land of the king, my lord, to its borders.' (366: 28-34; southern Palestine)

Non-modal forms entail equally non-modal forms in successive sentences:

(307) *šumma ṣa:bi piṭa:ti ibaššat {ibašši+at} kali ma:ti nilqu {n+ilqe+u} ana šarri*
if   troops pitat be+3SGF   all land 1PL+take+IMPFV to king
'If there are *pitat*-troops, we will capture all the land for the king.' (103: 55-7; Byblos)

Successive sentences may have unmarked (SC) forms, whether following modal or non-modal forms in the opening sentence:

(308) *du:ku:mi* {*du:k+u:+mi*} *be:lakunu*   *u*   *ibašša:tunu* {*ibašši+a:tunu*}
killIMPV+3PLM+DS   lord+your CONJ be+2PLM
ki:ma ya:tinu u   *pašḫa:tunu* {*pašiḫ+a:tunu*}
like us   CONJ peaceful+2PLM
'Kill your lord, and become like us and be at peace.' (74: 25-7; Byblos)

(309) *šumma tišmu:na* {*t+išme:+u:+na*} *aṣi:mi*   *ṣa:bi piṭa:ti*
if   3PLM+hear+PLM+IMPFV exitINF+EMPH troops *piṭat*
u   *i:zibu:* {*i:zib+u:*} *a:lašunu u* *paṭru:* {*paṭar+u:*}
CONJ leave+3PLM   city+their CONJ depart+3PLM
'If they hear about the deployment of the *piṭat*-troops, they will leave their cities and depart.' (73: 11-4; Byblos)

3.8. Focalization

3.8.1. Focalization is made by extraposing the focused constituent:

(310) *ana:ku* (*ardu   ša   šarri be:liya*) *ana:ku*
 EXT   S
I   servant HN king lord+my I
'I , I am a servant of the king, my lord' (211: 8-9; unknown provenance)

Nominal constituents in extraposition may be represented in the sentence by a resumptive pronoun:

(311) (*gabbu ina ma:t amurri*) *šalmu:* *šunu* *ana:kumi nukurtu*
 EXT   P   S   I+EMPH hostility
all in land Amurru peaceful 3PLM I+EMPH hostility
'Everyone in the land of Amurru is at peace, but I have war.' (114: 14-5; Byblos)

Note — in the first sentence with an inverse PS order — the marking of the contrast between the speaker and the rest of the local princes by extraposing the nominal S-phrase and using a resumptive pronoun. In the second sentence, where a simplex SP order is present, an emphatic particle marks the comment.

(312) *ḫazannu:tu a:la:nu:* **šunu** (*ana ša:* **šunu**) *ḫupšu:* **šunu** (*ina šaplišunu*)
 EXT   S   P   S+P
mayors   cities+their   to them   yeomen+their in beneath+their
u   *ana:ku a:la:nu:ya* (*ana aziri*) *u*   *ya:ti yuba''u*
 EXT   S   P   O   S+P
CONJ I   cities+my to Aziru CONJ me 3SGM+seek+IMPFV
'The mayors — their cities belong to them; their yeomen are in their control. But I — my cities belong to Aziru, and it is me that he is after.' (125: 33-8; Byblos)

Focalization can also be marked by the enclitic particle *ma*; for example:

(313) *inu:ma abu*   *u*   *be:lu attama ana ya:ši*
 HNA father CONJ lord you+FOC to me
'since it is you who are a father and a lord to me' (73: 35-7; Byblos)

The particles *ma* and *mi* may be distinct for some scribes:

(314) *li:de:***mi***   *šarru be:liya ana ardišu*   *u*   *ana a:lišu*
MOD+3SGM-know+EMPH king lord+my to servant+my CONJ to city+his
anumma ana:kuma errišu   ...   *ina šu:nama*
PRS   I+FOC   1SG+plow+IMPFV in Shunem
u   *ana:kuma ubbalu*   *massa*
CONJ I+FOC   1SG+bring+IMPFV corvée
'May the king, my lord, know about his servant and about his city: Now, it is I who cultivates in Shunem, and it is I who brings the corvée-workers.' (365: 8-14; Megiddo)

The majority of the CanAkk scribes, however, maintain only one of these practices, in which case the particle utilized is to be regarded as an EMPH, although it may be added to focalized constituents all the same (see examples 253-4).

This systemic reduction is the result of contamination between the two components of CanAkk: In Akkadian, *ma* is used only as a FOC marker, *mi* being a DS marker.[46] Canaanite, on the other hand, uses *mi* as an EMPH marker (cf. 2.5.5.5).

3.8.2. Pronominal subjects to verbs are focalized in CanAkk, as is the case in both its linguistic components. As the verb in Semitic languages inherently includes its subject, an overt pronominal subject seems to be focalized almost by definition:

(315) *palḫa:ti* {*paliḫ+a:ti*} *ana:ku*
afraid+1SG   I
'afraid am I.' (75: 34; Byblos)

(316) *šu:t yuballaṭšunu* {*y+uballaṭ+Ø+šunu*}
he 3SGM+make-live+PFV+them
'He is the one who would keep them alive.' (94: 66; Byblos)

4. Style

The letters which comprise the CanAkk corpus are all written to an addressee who is higher in rank than the addresser. They all include opening formulae, some of which are prostration formulae. Opening formulae are manifold, as are other formulaic chunks of requests and assertions. This context makes this corpus a very specialized one in sociolinguistic terms. The letters thus include a great number of modalities, focalizations, emphatic markers, presentational particles, speech-act formulae and the like:

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[46]Another use of Akkadian *ma* is as a conjunction, a use which was not assumed by CanAkk. Few CanAkk scribes mark direct speech by *mi*.

(317) *anumma išpur   ana be:liya*
      PRS   1SGM+send to lord+my
      'I herewith write to my lord.' (147: 70; Tyre)

(318) *u anumma ana:ku qadu ṣa:biya   u   narkaba:ti:ya ana pa:ni ṣa:bi piṭa:te:*
      CONJ PRS   I   with troops+my CONJ chariots+my   to face troops *pitat*
      'Here I am, with my troops and chariots, at the disposition of the *pitat*-troops.'
      (206: 13-7; Bashan rergion)

(319) *anumma inaṣṣaru   awata   šarri be:liya ma:r šamaš*
      PRS   1SG+guard+IMPFV utterance king lord+my son sun(-god)
      'Here I guard the order of the king, my lord, the son of the sun(-god).'
      (324: 10-1; Ashkelon)

Variation is great. While there are quite a number of texts which are formulaic to a large extent, there are still many texts, notably those from Byblos and Jerusalem, which are written by eminent scribes and include lively language and elaborate style. Excessive use of independent personal pronouns as subjects is a characteristic of scribes from Byblos, a feature which can be ascribed either to the vernacular dialect or to the nature of the Byblos letters to Egypt, which include vivid descriptions of the desperate situation of the city and its local king, the addresser of the letters. Thus, very often this poor prince would cry out:

(320) *mi:na i:pušu(n)na   ana:ku*
      what 1SG+do+IMPFV+ENRG   I
      'What should I do?' (*passim*)

Some scribes make ample use of the EMPH *mi*, which, in some dialects, can be introduced in any slot following presentational particles, negations, the modal particle or verbs, as in the following example from Megiddo:

(321) *u   lu:mi   likkimmi   šarru a:lašu*
      CONJ MOD+EMPH MOD-3SGM+save+PFV+EMPH king city+his
      la:mi   yiṣbatši   lab'aya
      NEG+EMPH 3SGM+capture+PFV+EMPH+her Lab'aya
      'May the king save his city lest Lab'aya capture it.' (244: 25-9, Megiddo)

Presentation particles are amply used throughout the corpus, and include, among others, *anumma* 'now', *amur* 'look_IMPV' and a special paragraph introductory particle *šani:tam*; for example:

(322) *šani:tam amur   šar ḥaṣo:ra ilteqi   3 a:la:ni: ištu ya:ši*
      PRS   look_IMPV king Hazor   take+3SGM 3 cities   from me
      'Another matter: Look, the king of Hazor has taken three cities from me.'
      (364: 17-20; Ashtartu)

Local similes, metaphors, proverbs and pieces of translated poetry may also be introduced into texts, as in the following prostration paragraph from Gath Carmel:

(323) *ni:nu ana muḥḥika   2 e:na:ya*
      we   to VOID+your 2 eyes+my
      šumma ni:telli   ana AN   \ šami:ma
      if   1PL+ascend+PFV to heaven \ heaven (CanGl)
      šumma nurrad   ina erṣeti
      if   1PL+descend+PFV in earth
      u SAG.DU-nu \ ro:šunu   ina qa:tika
      CONJ head+our \ head+our (CanGl) in hand+your
      'We — towards you are my two eyes. If we ascend to heaven, if we descend to earth — our head is in your hand.' (264: 14-19)

5. Lexicon

The lexicon of CanAkk is drawn almost entirely from Akkadian sources. As both components of CanAkk were Semitic, they shared much of the lexical stock, although they differed in the phonological output of cognate words. Still, the two languages had gone through enough changes to be mutually unintelligible, both in terms of the grammatical structure and of the lexicon. The contact between these two languages had resulted in some ad hoc insertions of local lexemes. In addition, a few lexemes had been integrated within the system in one or more dialects. For example, *kazbu:tu* 'falsehood', 'deceit' (Byblos), is built on NWS √*kzb*, which in Akkadian means 'charm', 'flatter' or the like. Notable are loan translations of complex adverbial heads, e.g., *ištu pa:ni* 'from,' 'on account of', especially implying fear of somebody:

(324) *u gabbi ma:ti palḥat   ištu pa:ni be:liya*
      CONJ all land fear+3SGF from face lord+my
      'All the land is afraid of my lord.' (147: 32-3; Tyre)

CanAkk also makes use of its productive Semitic devices in root extraction and generation of new verbs on Akkadian (=CanAkk) patterns, thus integrating them into the CanAkk system; e.g., *ittaṣab* (√*nṣb*) 'be situated' (Tyre); *liskin* (√*skn*) 'may he take care' (Jerusalem).

Productivity is further manifested in neologisms from genuine Akkadian material. For example, *arnu* 'guilt', 'wrongdoing', as in Akkadian, but also 'criminal', is attested from various sites in Canaan. The scribe of Shechem had further generated a SC predicative complex on Akkadian principles and with Akkadian morphology (2.5):

(325) *la: arna:ku {arn+a:ku} u   la: ḫa:ṭa:ku {ḫa:ṭ+a:ku}*
      NEG sinner+1SG   CONJ NEG criminal+1SG
      'I am not a sinner and I am not a criminal.' (254: 11-2; Shechem)

Another neologism, general in CanAkk, is the use of √:rd (Akkadian 'descend') with the meaning 'serve', extracted from the noun *ardu* 'servant'.

An illuminating ad hoc verbal formation from Akkadian and Canaanite materials is *yarḥiša* 'may he hasten' (137: 97; Byblos), already analyzed at the end of 2.5.3.

6. Sample Text: from a Letter of Ba'lušipṭu, King of Gezer, to the Pharaoh (292)

ana šarri   be:liya   ila:ni:ya   šamšiya   qibi:ma
to   king+ATT lord(+ATT)+my god+PL+NPRD↔PL+my sun+ATT+my say_IMPV+EMPH

umma baʿlušipṭi   ardika   epri   ša 2 še:pi:ka
thus Ba'lushipt+ATT servant+ATT+your dust+ATT H_N 2 foot+NPRD↔PL+your

ana še:pi: šarri   be:liya   iliya   šamšiya
to   feet+NPRD↔PL king+ATT lord+ATT+my god+ATT+my sun+ATT+my

sebe:tšu sebe:ta:n amqut
7+times 7+ADV   1SG+fall

dagla:ti ki:am u   dagla:ti ki:am u   la: namir
look+1SG so   CONJ look+1SG so   CONJ NEG light(-up)+3SGM

u   dagla:ti ana muḫḫi šarri be:liya   u   namir
CONJ look+1SG to   VOID king lord+ATT+my CONJ light(-up)+3SGM

u   tinammušu   labittu   ištu šupa:l tappa:tiši
CONJ 3SGF+move+IMPFV brick+F+PRD from beneath associate+F+ATT+her

u   ana:ku la: inammušu   ištu šupa:l 2 še:pi: šarri   be:liya
CONJ I   NEG 1SG+move+IMPFV from beneath 2 feet   king+ATT lord+ATT+my

ištemi   awati: ša išpur
1SG+hear+PFV utterance+NPRD↔PL H_N send+3SGM[47]

šarru   be:liya   ana ardišu
king+PRD lord+NTRL+my to   servant+ATT+his

---

[47]*ištemi* is to be contrasted with *ištemu*, which occurs below and fits in the CanAkk system; *išpur* may be analyzed as a suffix conjugation form. Both forms can also be taken as calques from genuine Akkadian, *ištemi* being the *t*-form of the verb with a non-overt *a* marker for the 1SG; *išpur* as the perfective form of the verb (patterned ••*u*•) with *i* for the 3SGM (still, *išpur* lacks the Akkadian *-u* marker of dependency). These Akkadianisms have been constrained by the context of introducing the Pharaoh's order. Similar non-linguistic constraints occur elsewhere in the CanAkk letters, and depend on the scribe and his tradition. In a letter from Beirut, a similar introduction to the Pharaoh's order makes use of the Canaanite pattern of the suffix conjugation:

inu:ma šapar { šapar+∅ } šarru   be:liya   šamšiya   ana ardišu
H_NA   send+3SGM   king+PRD lord+NTRL+my sun+ATT+my to   servant+ATT+his
'As the king, my lord, my sun, wrote to his servant ...' (141: 18-19)

uṣṣurmi   ra:bišaka   u   uṣṣur   a:la:ni:
guard_IMPV+SGM+DS commissioner+CMP+your CONJ guard_IMPV+SGM city+PL+NPRD↔PL

ša šarri   be:lika
H_N king+ATT lord+ATT+my

anumma iṣṣuru   u   anumma ištemu
PRS   1SG+guard+IMPFV CONJ PRS   1SG+guard+IMPFV

u:ma   u   muša   awati: ša šarri   be:liya
day+CPML CONJ night+CMP utterance+NPRD↔PL H_N king+ATT lord+ATT+my

u   yilmad   šarru   be:liya   ana ardišu   nukurtu
CONJ 3SGM+take-notice+PFV king+PRD lord+NTRL+my to servant+ATT+his hostility+F+PRD

ištu šadi: ana ya:ši
from mountain+ATT to   me

u   raṣpa:ti \ bani:ti   bi:ta   ište:n manḫati šumši
CONJ build+1SG \ build+1SG (CanGl) house+CMP one   Manhati name+her

ana šu:širi   ana pa:ni   ṣa:bi piṭa:t šarri   be:liya
to   prepare (š)_INF+ATT to face+ATT troops pitat king+ATT lord+ATT+my

u   allu: ilqe:ši   ma:ya ištu qa:tiya
CONJ PRS take+3SGM+her Maya from hand+ATT+my

u   šakan   ra:bišašu   ina libbiši
CONJ set+3SGM commissioner+CMP+his in   heart+ATT+her

u   piqid   ana reʿanap ra:bišiya
CONJ order_IMPV+SGM to   Re'anap commissioner+NTRL+my

u   yušuti:r   a:la   ina qa:tiya
CONJ 3SGM+return(š)+PFV city+CMP in hand+ATT+my

u   uši:šuru   ana pa:ni   ṣa:bi piṭa:t šarri   be:liya
CONJ 1SG+prepare(š)+IMPFV to   face+ATT troops pitat king+ATT lord+ATT+my

šani:tam amur   ipši: pi'iya ma:r gullati
PRS   look_IMPV+SGM deed+NPRD↔PL Pi'iya son Gullat+ATT

ana gazri amti   ša šarri   be:liya
to   Gezer maidservant+F+ATT H_N king+ATT lord+ATT+my

mani   u:ma:ti   yišallaluši
how-many day+PL-F+NPRD 3SGM+plunder+IMPFV+her

u   innipšat   [ki:ma] riqqi   ḫubulli ana ša:šu
CONJ be-made(*n*)+3SGF like   pot+ATT debt+ATT to   him

ištu šadi: ippaṭṭaru: awi:lu: ina 30 kaspi
from mountain+ATT redeem(*n*)+3PLM men+PRD↔PL in 30 silver+ATT

u ištu pi'iya ina 1 me'at kaspi
CONJ from Pi'iya in 1hundred silver+ATT

u limad awati: ardika annu:ti
CONJ take-notice_IMPV+SGM utterance+PRD↔PL servant+ATT this+ADJ+ATT

'To the king, my lord, my divinity, my sun-god, say: Message of Ba'lušiptu, your servant, the dust under your feet: At the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times I fall. I looked here and I looked there, but there was no light; then I looked at the king, my lord, and there was light. A brick may move from beneath its companion, but I shall never move from under the feet of the king, my lord. I heard the words that the king, my lord, sent to his servant: "Protect your commissioner and guard the cities of the king, your lord." Here I guard and here I heed day and night the words of the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, take notice of his servant: There is war from the mountain against me. I built a site, Manhati is its name, to prepare for the (arrival of) the *pitat*-troops of the king, my lord, but, behold, Maya took it from me and put his commissioner in it. Order Re'anap, my commissioner, to return the town to me. Then I will prepare it for the *pitat*-troops of the king, my lord. Another matter: Take notice of the deeds of Pi'iya, Gulati's son, against Gezer, the maidservant of the king, my lord: How may days has he been plundering her! She has become like a pot for pledge(?) on his account. From the mountain people are being redeemed for 30 (shekels of) silver, but from Pi'iya for 100 (shekels of) silver. Take notice of the words of your servant!'

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