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Sentence Types and Word- Order Patterns in Old Babylonian Omen Texts: An Investigation of Akkadian Using Arabic Grammatical Theory

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

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Acknowledgements

Using Arabic grammatical theory to engage with the grammatical concepts we use to interpret Akkadian grammar, and ultimately attempt to understand texts written in Akkadian, was never going to be an easy undertaking if only because of the hybrid nature of a project that would need to merge parts of three disciplines: Assyriology, Arabic studies and modern linguistics. The idea for this project was born fifteen years ago, during my first classes of 'introductory Akkadian' taught then by Prof. Andrew George. I could not have written this thesis without Prof George's guidance over this long acquaintance. I am much indebted to Dr Chris Lucas and Dr Mark Weeden for the knowledge they shared and their generosity. I wish to particularly acknowledge and thank Prof. Andrew George for his unwavering patience during this journey.

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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

I have read and understood Regulation 21 of the General and Admissions Regulations for students of the SOAS, University of London concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

Signed: Nadia Ait Said-Ghanem

Date: 21 February 2019

Abstract

My thesis is an examination of the sentence structures of Old Babylonian omen protases and apodoses, and of their information-value. I have used Arabic grammatical theory and seven basic grammatical tools that remained theoretical constants throughout the development of the tradition to frame my approach: a system divided into three sentence types, a focus on the first constituent of a sentence, *basic* sentence structures, reduced or augmented or extended sentences derived from a basic structure, preposing and delaying tactics, strictly nominal and verbal environments, and a functionalist approach to constituents' values. I have chosen to use Arabic grammatical theory instead of the model provided by standard Assyriological grammars because two areas of research, thriving in Arabic studies and modern linguistics, have not yet been brought into Assyriology. The first is the study of sentences structures set within a tripartite model that focuses on the sentence-initial constituent to categorise constructions. The second is the study of the information-value of sentences and of their constituents within a model that anticipates two contrastive sentence types, one that communicates the known or least newsworthy information first, and another that communicates the new or more newsworthy information first. This approach has led me to reassess two current grammatical issues in Assyriology: the identification and function of the 'nominative' casus-pendens, and the frequency and function of the 'accusative' casus pendens. I have raised a third question by addressing the issue of terminology to propose that a class of words be coined *frozen nouns*. I have used the result of my structural and functional analyses to give a functionalist reading of Old Babylonian sentences. My aim is to show that Arabic grammatical theory can bring fresh perspective to the study of Old

Babylonian grammar, and open new grounds to the study of Old Babylonian omen texts.

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0. Introduction

To investigate any phenomenon of grammar in the Akkadian language, a researcher in Assyriology has two choices. She or he can produce a grammatical study whose analytical frame follows the model and rules set out in standard Assyriological grammars, and in the extended literature of the discipline. Or she or he can begin from another reference point by using the grammatical model of another linguistic tradition, to bring into the discipline other paradigms of language analysis. Several grammatical and linguistic works in Assyriology illustrate this second choice. Erica Reiner's *A Linguistic Analysis of Akkadian* (1966) presented how the grammars of Akkadian could be re-approached and reframed by using a model and body of terms foundational to modern linguistics. Giorgio Buccellati's *A Structural Grammar of Babylonian* (1990) brought a structuralist reading to the grammar of Babylonian, and developed a new set of categories and terms around his analyses. Brigitte Groneberg opened a new form of grammatical and textual investigation in the study of hymn literature by explicitly stating the rules of generative grammar in *Syntax, Morphologie und Stil der jungbabylonischen "hymnischen" Literatur*, and by following these rules to analyse the form, syntax and style of her chosen corpus.

In this study, I have opted for this second route by bringing Arabic grammatical theory into my study of the structure and function of Old Babylonian omen sentences. I have selected seven basic concepts in Arabic grammatical theory that have remained theoretical constant throughout the development of the tradition. I have adopted (1) a system divided into three sentence types (1.2.1) that builds sentence categories based on: (2) the identity and status of the constituent in sentence-initial position (1.2.2), (3) a basic structure for each sentence type (1.2.3), (4) reduced or augmented or extended sentences derived from a basic form

(1.2.4), (5) two redistribution tactics, preposing and delaying (1.2.5), (6) analyses focused on strictly nominal and verbal environments (1.2.6), and (7) a functionalist reading of sentences that seeks out the old information value and new information value of constituents (1.2.7). By applying these analytical principles onto Old Babylonian omens to analyse the sentence structure of their protases and apodoses, I have sought to build a typology of the constructions present in these types of texts and to identify their information value on a scale of least newsworthy information to more newsworthy information. I decided to approach the study of sentences in the Old Babylonian omen corpus by using Arabic grammatical theory to show that using the Arabic grammatical model and the basis of its information theory can bring fresh perspective to the study of Old Babylonian grammar, and open new grounds to the study of Old Babylonian omen texts. Studying sentence structures using the tripartite model set out in Arabic grammatical theory is an approach that has not yet been brought into Assyriology and as a new approach it holds much potential. Similarly, studying the information-value of sentences and of their constituents, particularly by following principles taken from Arabic grammatical theory, has not yet been attempted in Assyriological approaches to textual study. It is my hope that the result of my research will produce the foundations to a grammar of Old Babylonian rooted in a Semitic tradition.

0.1 OB Omen sentences

Old Babylonian omens are a group of texts that follow a predictable organisation. Cohen 2012:153 describes the Babylonian omen compendium as texts that follow a *“strict formulation throughout, with very clear, distinctive features”*. Omen texts are organised as a series of sentences where the beginning and the end of a sentence is clearly marked. Sentences are introduced and separated by signal

words typical of expository texts¹ such as 'if', 'because', 'then', 'as a result' referred to as markers (Cohen 2012:154). Given their construction, Old Babylonian omens make for a corpus that is stable in form. I have approached this corpus as a source of sentences upon which to base my examination of structures and of the syntactical choices made by the writers of these texts. An omen sentence is composed of two parts: a protasis followed by an apodosis. Although the construction *protasis + apodosis* is categorised as that of a conditional sentence in scholarship an omen does not represent a strict conditional sentence but a scientific proposition (Rochberg 2010:373-375). Omens are scientific propositions in which protasis and apodosis are tied to each other conceptually by a relationship of symbols (Rochberg 2010:399-409; Winitzer 2017:13-16) but they can be separated from each other grammatically and studied independently. Other studies have examined protases and apodoses separately (Winitzer 2017) or have solely focused on the content of apodoses (Nougayrol 1970:28-36; Khait 2018). I have approached protases as a source of sentences, and apodoses as a source of sentences, the sum of which represents a collection whose structure and function can be investigated. The terms protasis and apodosis describe parts of the sentence but also slots that can contain one or several sentences. An Old Babylonian omen protasis or an apodosis often contains several independent sentences. When a protasis or apodosis contains a first, second and/or third sentence, I have separated them and collected them as independent sentences. Throughout this thesis, I have referred to the sentences that I have collected as my 'data'. Section 1.3.A below lists the OB omen texts I have studied.

0.2 Organisation of this study

¹ Lewin, Fine & Young 2005:24-25 discuss expository texts as statements composed in a focused language, built to introduce information from abstract to concrete.

My thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 presents the seven theoretical principles I have extracted from Arabic grammatical theory and that I have used to build my typology of sentence structures and of their functions. I have followed the Arabic model by anticipating the presence of three independent sentence types (section 1.2.1) that are identifiable by their sentence-initial constituent (section 1.2.2). I have worked on the premise that each sentence type will have a basic structure, visible by its frequency and quality of intelligibility (section 1.2.3), and that this basic structure will vary in form and be reduced, augmented, and extended (section 1.2.4). I have specifically sought out a way to identify *preposing* and *delaying* tactics in sentence structures (section 1.2.5). The second focus of my typology is the content of the predicate. Given this focus, I have found that the structure of OB omen protases and apodoses can be divided into *primary* sentences (predicates that are entirely nominal or circumstantial) and *basic* sentences (predicates that contain a verb) (section 1.2.6). Adopting the terminology of the Arabic model has had two immediate consequences on my model. First, it has made me identify parts of the sentence according to their information value: the information value of the *mubtada'* (the topic and the carrier of the old information) and the information value of the *xabar* (the predicate and carrier of the new information). Secondly, it has made me anticipate two contrastive sentence types, one that will communicate the old information first and the other that will reverse this dynamic and communicate the new information first (section 1.2.7).

My initial focus on the first constituent of a sentence has led me to observe that in the OB omen corpus, sentences regularly begin with a nominative noun or phrase, with an accusative noun (direct target), or with a circumstance (a prepositional phrase or a frozen noun²). I have termed these structures the *nominal* sentence, the *accusative-initial* sentence, and the *circumstantial*

² I have abandoned the term 'adverb' in this thesis. To refer to invariable words that carry a spatial and temporal value I have coined the term *frozen nouns*. This choice is presented chapter 4, section 4.1.

sentence, and discussed them respectively in chapter 2, chapter 3, and chapter 4. Out of the two subtypes of sentences present in the OB omen corpus, the *basic* structure is the most variable and can lead to a number of word-order patterns that I have termed *reduced*, *augmented* and *extended*. I have illustrated my discussions of every sentence construction with a list of protases and apodoses that give grounding to the types I have identified. The result of my structural investigation for each sentence is summarised in tables at the end of each chapter (*the structural map of the nominal sentence*, chapter table 1, *the structural map of the accusative-initial sentence*, chapter table 2, *the structural map of the circumstantial sentence*, chapter table 3). My identifications of structures have directly led me to identify the function (information value) of sentence types and of their constituents. I have understood the nominal sentence as the structure that communicates old information first via the nominative, and the accusative-initial sentence as the construction that contrasts this information-transfer and communicates the new information first via the accusative. I have adopted the view that the *prepositional phrase/frozen noun + nominative noun* sentence, a sentence category I term the *primary* circumstantial sentence, expresses indefiniteness. In this sentence structure, the sentence-initial circumstance represents the *mubtada'*-topic and communicates the old information while the nominative noun represents the *xabar*-predicate and communicates the new information.

The direction of my structural and functional categorisations has made me address three specific issues presented in separate discussions at the end of each chapter. The first is the standard Assyriological analysis of the 'casus pendens' sentence, a structure that contains two independent nominative nouns. In this sentence, a resumptive suffixed pronoun is attached to the second nominative and co-refers the first nominative. I have understood these structures as *extended* nominal sentences in which the sentence-initial nominative does not sit outside of the sentence but is intra-sentential (section 2.10). When collecting *accusative-*

initial sentences, I have noted that one group always contains a suffixed pronoun attached to the verb. This suffixed pronoun also always co-refers the sentence-initial accusative (section 3.3.1). A number of such sentences can contain two suffixed pronouns that both co-refer the sentence-initial accusative, one always attached to the verb and the second found on a constituent in middle position in the sentence (section 3.3.2). I have analysed these sentences as *extended* accusative-initial sentences akin to exclamatory statements (3.5). The third question I have raised is an issue of terminology that questions the use of the term ‘adverb’ for sentences that contain no verb. I have found that in the OB omen corpus sentences are regularly composed without a verb. In my model, these structures are identified as *primary* nominal sentences (*nom + nom* and *nom + pp/fn*) and *primary* circumstantial sentences (*pp/fn + nom*). In the system I have devised, these sentences are a norm for two reasons. First, their structure is too regular and their number too important to categorise them as exceptions. Second, by recognising the quality of the Arabic language to make sentences regardless of the presence of a verb, Arabic grammatical theory recognises two environments: strictly nominal environments and verbal environments where none is more complete than the other. In this linguistic theory, verbs are not an essential component of sentence making. I therefore met with a difficulty in naming the words we categorise as ‘adverbs’ when these words occur in sentences where no verb occurs. An adverb is so termed because its primary function is understood to qualify the verb. The term also immediately qualifies a type of sentence: a sentence in which a verb will be found. In the case of primary sentences, the verb is not present and the term ‘adverb’ seems inappropriate because my system does not relate invariable words that have a spatial or temporal value to the presence of a verb in sentences. I have therefore sought out a term that would be neutral structurally, that is to say, a term that would not anticipate a specific sentence structure (a sentence with a verb) nor a specific component (a verb). I decided to coin such invariables *frozen nouns* (abbreviated as *fn*) throughout my study. My argument is presented in section 4.1.B. I have closed my thesis with an application of the rules of function noted throughout my discussions of structures. Chapter 5 presents three applications that I have termed ‘functionalist readings’. I have read

YOS 10 15, 21 and 59 to show that old information can be distinguished from new information in an omen sentence. I have presented these applications to show that new perspectives in our approach to omens can be opened by tracking and extracting the information value of words in a protasis and an apodosis. All the technical terms used in this study are listed and defined in my *glossary of terms*. The grammatical and linguistic terms I have used follow or are inspired by Arabic grammatical and linguistic terminology.

1. Placing Arabic grammatical theory in the context of Old Babylonian omens studies

In his study on *The Foundations of Grammar in Arabic*, Owens 1988:263-264³ issued a call to use the Arabic grammatical model to open “*a new dimension to the study of linguistic theory*” and “*redress the overwhelming emphasis on the European tradition*”. A similar call was made by Goldenberg 2013:58⁴ who stressed the relevance of the Arabic model and its theoretical approach for present day studies:

“The Arabic tradition is relevant to the modern study of language not only as part of the history of linguistics, but also as a

³ Owens 1988:263-264: “In Arabic theory one has a formal model developed around a non-Indo-European language, and to a considerable degree outside the western intellectual tradition. To the extent that its development is independent, the possibility exists to develop a study of comparative grammatical theory (to which other traditions, like the Indian, certainly belong) centred on the question: to what extent do common descriptive and explanatory categories appear in historically unrelated linguistic theories, and if they do, why? Viewed in these terms the study of the Arabic and other non-western grammatical traditions becomes more than a question of redressing the overwhelming emphasis on the European tradition in the study of the history of linguistics; more interestingly, it suggests a new dimension to the study of linguistic theory.”

⁴ Goldenberg 2013:58 “The Arabic tradition is relevant to the modern study of language not only as part of the history of linguistics, but also as a theoretical approach which present-day scholars need to consider and to cope with.”

theoretical approach which present-day scholars need to consider and to cope with.”

Linguistic theories have been greatly enriched by the comparison of genetically related languages, as demonstrated by studies that have compared Romance languages as underlined by Eid & Comrie 1991:ix⁵ who pointed out that “*results of equal import can be obtained from the study of the closely related Semitic languages*”. In a similar way, the study of the Akkadian language can be enriched by using a grammatical theory directly taken from a Semitic tradition. Arabic grammatical theory represents a conceptual model that could be used to open new grounds in Akkadian studies. Arabic grammatical theory was a discipline that thrived for over 8 centuries and continues to today influence scholarship as discussed by Peled 2009:

“A modern linguist familiar with the writings of the medieval Arab grammarians cannot fail to appreciate their outstanding achievements. Indeed, in a way, these grammarians may be regarded as linguists in the modern sense of the word. Their grammatical thinking, their description and analysis of grammatical structures are often reminiscent of modern linguistic methodologies. In many cases they may be said to have predicted the kind of thinking prevailing today in modern linguistics”⁶.

My thesis is in many ways a response to these calls. My use of Arabic grammatical concepts aims to show that aspects of Old Babylonian syntax can be made visible in a way that would otherwise not be perceptible were it not for a model that

⁵ Eid, Mushira & Comrie 1991:ix re Arabic and Hebrew: “The comparison of genetically closely-related languages, such as the Romance languages, has played an important role in the recent history of linguistics, and Eid's contribution shows that results of equal import can be obtained from the study of the closely related Semitic languages [...]”

⁶ Peled 2009:xii

thinks outside of current Assyriological approaches, if only because the Arabic model is directly born out of the observation of a Semitic language and conceptualises grammatical structures differently to those accepted as standard in Assyriology. My study is not a comparative study of two Semitic languages however. I have brought concepts from the Arabic tradition and applied them to texts written in Old Babylonian to extract the structural and functional rules that shape these texts. To build my model, I have found Peled 2009, Dahlgren 1998, Doron 1996, Mithun 1992, and Li & Thompson 1976 momentous for how they have approached the reassessment of a number of linguistic conclusions embedded in their respective disciplines. These authors address different questions and syntactical issues to those raised in my thesis but they all share a similar method to reviewing existing data, collecting new data and using both to reconsider theoretical categories. As stressed by Dahlgren 1998:23 in his study on *Word-Order in Arabic*:

“scientific success is most often to be explained by a fruitful use and combination of three cornerstones: deductive and inductive thinking, and empirical investigations... A viable theory should contain data, formal model and explanation.”

I have attempted to follow Dahlgren’s recommendation by bringing together data (OB omen sentences) and a formal model (Arabic grammatical theory) to formulate a set of explanations for a number of syntactical constructions currently the subject of debate in Assyriological research interested in grammar (casus pendens constructions), and to present phenomena not yet discussed in Assyriology (information theory). I have found Peled 2009 particularly valuable for his critical review and examination of how modern linguistic advances alter our perception of ancient theories and writings as they progress, and how concepts from one tradition affect our analyses of data and shape our conclusions. I have also used Peled 2009 for his review of the grammatical concepts adhered to by early and medieval Arabic grammarians, the categories they followed and the problems that were not resolved. My main source of information on the Arabic

linguistic tradition is from Kees Versteegh's presentation of *The Arabic Linguistic tradition* (Versteegh 1997), Jonathan Owens' study of *Heterogeneity and Standardization in Early Arabic Grammatical theory* (Owens 1990), Carter's study of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (Carter 2004), Henri Loucel's four-part article *L'Origine du langage d'après les grammairiens arabes* (Loucel 1963). Mohamed Hnid's study of the *Spatial Language in the Kitāb of Sībawayhi - the Case of the Preposition Fī/IN*" (Hnid 2012:59-74) has largely guided my reassessment of sentences that begin with a prepositional phrase or a frozen noun ('adverb'). I have used the term 'Arabic grammatical theory' to identify a tradition and in using this term, I have followed standard practice in Arabic studies. Arabic grammatical theory quickly developed into a set of grammatical descriptions (Owens 1990:243⁷) in which a number of concepts remained theoretical constants "*throughout the history of Arabic grammar*" (Owens 1990:13⁸). I lifted seven basic principles out of the frame of Arabic grammatical theory to test the viability of my approach. The first (1) is building a model in which three sentence types are identified (1.2.1), and within which categories are based on the identity and status of the constituent in sentence-initial position (1.2.2). Once sentence structures have emerged each will show a basic form (1.2.3). This basic form will have a (4) reduced or augmented or extended structure (1.2.4). In this model, two redistribution tactics are recognised (5) preposing and delaying (1.2.5), as well as (6) strictly nominal and verbal environments (1.2.6). The last analytical tool is (7) functionalism, an analysis of sentences that seeks out the information value of constituents on a scale of old to new information (1.2.7). Each concept is presented in section 1.2. I have found that a number of modern linguistic studies draw conclusions that are similar to those of the Arabic grammatical tradition. I have used Edit Doron 1996's

⁷ Owens 1990:243 "The early evolution of Arabic syntactic theory can thus be seen as a period in which a set of diverse, if basically similar, linguistic ideas was developed into a conceptually explicit, simple and well-organized grammatical description. It culminates in Sarraj's al-'Uṣūl fī l-Nahw, and its end sets the stage for the evolution of Arabic grammatical theory in new and original directions."

⁸ Owens 1990:13 says of the period between Sībawayhi to Sarraj: "There are many important theoretical constants throughout this era, constants which in fact hold throughout the history of Arabic grammar." ... "Arabic grammatical theory did not stop developing with Sarraj, though the period under consideration is undoubtedly the most important for the formation of Arabic theory."

reassessment of left dislocation in Arabic sentences to reassess ‘casus pendens’ constructions as *topic + complex* predicate sentences, and have found Mithun 1992 significant for her analysis of the structures we conceptualise as ‘unusual’, and how they can be reassessed as standard when data demonstrates their overwhelming presence in a language. Li & Thomspon 1976:457-489 had themselves proposed a new typology for *subject and topic* relationships by demonstrating that languages can be shown to belong to four groups: subject-prominent languages, topic-prominent languages, languages that are both subject-prominent and topic-prominent, and languages that are neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent.

I have used the Arabic grammatical tradition to engage with Assyriological grammars that I have collectively termed ‘standard Assyriological grammars’. I have borrowed the idea from Buccellati 1996:vii (“common Assyriological tradition”). These grammars all share one trait: they give definitions of linguistic phenomena in Akkadian and describe the Akkadian language by merging synchronic and diachronic descriptions. These two traits are those of theoretical grammars defined as approaches that use “*linguistic data as a means of developing theoretical insights into the nature of language*”⁹. The ‘standard’ grammars to which I refer are Von Soden 1952, Reiner 1966, Huehnergard 2005 and Buccellati 1996. I have included Buccellati 1996 in this group but his *Structural Grammar of Babylonian* is unique in that it stands alone in a tradition of grammatical writing that does not focus on structure nor explicitly uses structuralism to explain grammatical and syntactical phenomena in Akkadian. I have used these grammars to investigate their definitions of *nominal* sentences, of *verbal* sentences, and their definitions of the syntactical processes identified as affecting Akkadian syntax.

⁹ Crystal 2010:217.

I have found no studies in Assyriology in which the tripartite division of sentence structures of the Arabic model is used. Cohen 2012 has studied the structure of conditional sentences in Old Babylonian, concentrating part of his investigation on omens, and two others parts on letters and legal codes. Although I have found no Assyriological studies that explicitly uses Arabic grammatical theory to explore Old Babylonian grammar, I have nonetheless noted Gai 1997's *Remarks On Akkadian Grammar Through The Prism of West Semitic Grammar*¹⁰ because it reacts "to the conventional way of presenting Akkadian phenomena" by reassessing five grammatical questions as a Western Semitic linguist: phonology, vowel length, the precativ, the subjunctive, adjectives and participles, and the stative. I have used Kogan 2008 and Kogan & Worthington 2012 for their focus on sentences that begin with an accusative, incorporated in my discussion of the 'accusative casus pendens'. I have found no precedent to using functionalism in OB omen studies (or in the study of Akkadian texts generally). I was introduced to Arabic functionalism and the many parallels that exist between this tradition and the European linguists who founded the Prague School, in Abu-Mansour's comparative study of the two traditions in *A Functional Analysis of Sentence Structure in Standard Arabic: A Three-Level Approach* (1986).

The study of OB omens has been driven by the decipherment and philology. Goetze 1947, Jeyes 1989, and George 2013 represent foundational studies. I have listed the editors of single OB omen texts in section 1.3.A. The type of interest that has perhaps generated the largest body of scholarly production on omens after decipherments and philology is the study of omen hermeneutics and their symbolic nature. The latest studies on this subject are Winitzer 2017 and Khait 2018. Winitzer 2017 has approached the generative quality of omens by studying their internal organisation and provides a detailed study of sentences that begin with conjunctions. Khait 2018 has singled out apodoses and listed them according

¹⁰ Gai 1997:73 "to examine several points in Akkadian grammar through the eyes of a mainly Western Semitic linguist"... The assumption is that a comparison with sister-languages may prove to be instructive and fruitful".

to their motifs. Nougayrol 1970 had investigated motifs by focusing on the social aspects of references and the frequency of terms, and it is his study that has inspired my focus on the scale of information value contained in OB omen sentences, and in OB omen texts overall. The place of omens in Mesopotamian science and the form of reasoning they illustrate could not be part of my investigation but studies that have focused on this aspect (Rochberg 2005, Koch-Westenholz 2005 & 2002, Jeyes 1978) have given me justification in approaching omen sentences as scientific propositions. With no former study to frame my approach of structure and functions, I have entirely relied upon the Arabic model and have adopted its terminology.

1.1 Theoretical orientation

In the 8th century AD, the circulation of Sībawayhi's *al-Kitāb* 'The book' set an entire grammatical tradition in motion. In *al-Kitāb*, Sībawayhi created a model that aimed to grasp the entire structure of the Arabic language and the details of its function. Sībawayhi became the founder of Arabic grammar and linguistics¹¹ and the influence of his vision was such that early and medieval scholars coined *al-Kitāb* the 'Qu'ran of grammar' (Carter 2004:34). Sībawayhi (c. 760–796), whose name is Abū Bishr 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qanbar Al-Baṣrī¹², had initially come to Basra, Iraq, to study religious law. Biographies report that he had only turned to the study of grammar "after an incident in which he made a serious grammatical mistake" while in a public assembly (Carter 2004:10). Sībawayhi's devotion to improving his understanding of the Arabic language resulted in a scientific method that has remained to this day the reference point and source for all statements on Arabic grammar. Sībawayhi is one of the many grammarians in a long tradition

¹¹ Carter 2004:1 "Sībawayhi is the founder not only of Arabic grammar but also of Arabic linguistics, which are by no means the same thing. Furthermore, as becomes obvious with every page of his *Kitāb*, he was also a genius, whose concept of language has a universal validity"

¹² Carter 2004.

that began pre-8th century AD and continued to produce knowledge past the 16th century. Around 4,500 grammarians and lexicographers are listed in the Arabic biographical dictionaries that ancient scholars kept updated and transmitted to following generations. Many of these grammarians' treatises have survived. They have influenced both their contemporaries and the generations that followed them (Versteegh 1997).

Among the many aspects of grammar and linguistics pursued by generations of Arabic grammarians over the development of the tradition, two particular areas of research interest my thesis: the study of sentence structure set within a tripartite model in which two standard constructions are anticipated to contrast each other in function (Peled 2009), and the study of the information value of sentence structures and of their constituents (Owens 1990:13)¹³. To study the structures present in OB omen sentences, I have followed the Arabic model and the constructions it anticipates. Arabic grammatical theory identifies three sentence types that are not hierarchised but independent from each other: the *nominal* sentence (*al-jumla ismiyya*), the *verbal* sentence (*al-jumla fi3liyya*) and the *circumstantial* sentence (*al-jumla ɗarfiyya*). Each of these types takes its name from the constituent that occurs at the beginning of the sentence (a noun, a verb or a circumstance). In the tradition, the terms to name these sentence types began to be explicitly articulated from the 10th century. Al-Fārisī (d. 987)¹⁴ is said to be the first grammarian to have coined the first two sentence types: the *nominal sentence* (*al-jumla al-ismiyya*) and the *verbal sentence* (*al-jumla al-fi'liyya*)¹⁵. Like previous grammarians, al-Fārisī discussed a third sentence type, but he did not give it a name¹⁶. It is in the 14th century, that the third sentence type is explicitly

¹³ Owens 1990:13 "From its earliest era Arabic grammatical theory has been preoccupied with the correlation of form and function, with the explanation of why certain words take certain forms in certain contexts, other forms in others."

¹⁴ Peled 2009:156-164 references 'Abu 'Ali al-Fārisī, 'Askariyya.

¹⁵ Owens 1988:36-37.

¹⁶ Peled 2009:169

referenced by the term *jumla ʔarfiyya*, the *circumstantial sentence*, in the treatise¹⁷ of the grammarian Ibn Hišām al-ʔAnšārī (d. 1360).

I have adopted this tripartite division and have named my categories according to the syntactical identity of the first constituent of sentences. To study the information value of sentences and of their constituents, I have followed the functions that the Arabic model identifies. Arabic grammarians from Sībawayhi onwards were deeply invested in seeking out how the structure of the sentences we produce is linked to the intention of the speaker/writer. Language was understood as social behaviour¹⁸ by Sībawayhi and subsequent grammarians. These scholars worked on the premise that a group of words in the sentence communicates the information that a speaker and addressee already know and share (*the old or least-newsworthy information*), and another carries the information that the speaker or writer intends as new because she or he believes the addressee does not yet have this information (*the new or more newsworthy information*)¹⁹. In this model, information value is communicated on a scale of old to new. It is carried across from speaker/writer to addressee, via the structure of a sentence and the distribution of locations. In Arabic terminology, the sentence-initial nominative constituent of a *nominal sentence*, the topic, is termed the *mubtadaʔ*. *Al-mubtadaʔ* means *‘that which begins’* and references what the

¹⁷ *Muġnī*, Ibn Hišām

¹⁸ Abu Mansour 1986:64-65 “One of the traditional basic assumptions was the belief that language should be ‘informative’ in the sense that it denoted maʔna ‘meaning’ which ‘*al-mutakallim*’ the speaker; intended to convey to ‘*al-mukhattab*’ the hearer.” Abu Mansour 1986:64 “Language was traditionally treated as a social behaviour. Sibawayh used a set of terms, usually used to describe human behaviour [...] These terms were usually used in Islamic law to describe certain ways of human behaviour. [...] Sibawayh, among others, believed that since language was a human behaviour, it should therefore be judged by the same behavioral standards.”

¹⁹ Abu Mansour 1986:64-65 “One of the traditional basic assumptions was the belief that language should be ‘informative’ in the sense that it denoted maʔna ‘meaning’ which ‘*al-mutakallim*’ the speaker; intended to convey to ‘*al-mukhaatab*’ the hearer.” Grammarians considered an utterance informative when “it conveyed to the hearer information which he did not have.” Also see Abu Mansour 1986:66.

speaker and the addressee both *know*²⁰. It *begins* the transfer of information and communicates the known or old information. The predicate of the *nominal sentence* is termed the *xabar*. *Xabar* means *information* and qualifies the *new information* that is exchanged from speaker to addressee²¹. The *nominal sentence* functions on an information-dynamic of *old to new*. In the *verbal sentence* (the sentence that begins with a verb), the verb carries the new information first. It is part of the new information transferred to the addressee (Peled 2009:16-17). The function of the verb is identified as that of the element that carries a message (the *hadīth*, 'the message'). One of the word-order variation of the verbal sentence is one in which the accusative occurs in sentence-initial position. In this location, the accusative carries the new information also (Khan 1988:58-62). The verbal sentence contrasts the nominal sentence by transferring information on a dynamic of *new to old*. The Arabic model identifies a third structure, the circumstantial sentence, in which a prepositional phrase or a frozen noun is bound to a nominative noun or phrase by a predicative relationship (the *pp/fn + nom* sentence). In the Arabic grammatical tradition, a group of scholars identified the sentence-initial circumstance as the *mubtada'*-beginner. It represents the topic and carries the old information, while the nominative noun or phrase represents the *xabar*-predicate and carries the information. Modern scholars have established that in the *circumstance + nominative* sentence, the nominative element represents the new information because nominative elements in this location have a greater tendency to express an indefinite entity (Kouloughli 2002:25). In a sentence such as 'in the house is a man', a man cannot represent old or known information. Its indefiniteness indicates that he is not known to the speaker/writer. I have adopted this view and have understood the *pp/fn + nom* sentence in OB omens as one in which the nominative is placed in this location to express indefiniteness.

²⁰ *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) | *Ibtida'*: "mubtada' (A) : beginning, start; in grammar, ~ is generally translated as 'inchoative'. It designates the first component part with which one begins the nominal phrase, whose second component is the predicate, *Khabar*".

²¹ In the tradition, grammarians conceived the types of *xabar* slightly differently, Peled 2009:83-87 presents influential views post Sibawayhi. Owens 1990:149-150 discusses the *noun-noun* relation as presented in Jurjani's grammatical treatise *Dala'il*.

In the Arabic model, the *nominal sentence type* and the *verbal sentence type* sit at opposite end of the functional spectrum. The *nominal sentence* carries information on a dynamic of *old -> new*, while the *verbal sentence* contrasts this and functions on a dynamic of *new -> old*. The function (information value) of sentence structures and of the words that compose them is an area of study that was founded in Europe by the Prague School in the mid-1930s (Luelsdorf 1994:245-275, Abou-Mansour 1986:34-50). For functionalists also, the constituents of a sentence carry information on a scale of old to new information, or new to old:

“One presumably universal feature of natural language is that the objective information conveyed is not conveyed on a single plane. That there is an INFORMATIONAL ASYMMETRY in that some units seem to convey or represent “older” information than others... and perhaps this is not only universal, but also distinctive of human language...” (Prince 1981:224).

Both traditions have come to similar conclusions about the function of exchanges between speakers/writers and addressees (Abu-Mansour 1986:79-92). A speaker/writer communicates information, part of which he or she believes is known and shared with the addressee, and part of which he or she believes is new and unknown by the addressee. As discussed by Prince 1981:224 *“the tailoring of an utterance by a sender”* is designed *“to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver”*. Discussions in modern linguistics on the structure and function of sentences could not be incorporated within the scope of my research but I have referenced modern conclusions that support the Arabic model’s interpretations (Doron 1996 for her reassessment of what is elsewhere analysed as ‘casus pendens’ sentences; Mithun 1992 for my analysis of the accusative-initial sentence as a standard and normative sentence type and the function of the

accusative as the carrier of the new information; and Khoulloughli 2002 for my identification of the indefinite in the *circumstance + nominative* sentences).

1.2 Applying the Arabic model onto OB omen protases and apodoses

In order to identify the sentence structure and function of protases and apodoses in OB omens, I have used seven basic grammatical principles that have remained “*theoretical constants*”²² throughout the development of the Arabic grammatical tradition (Owens 1990:13; Bohas 1990:4²³). Each is presented below.

1.2.1. Three sentence *types*

Arabic grammarians identified three sentence types recurrent and active in the linguistic system before them (Owens 1988, Peled 2009). Each sentence type is defined by the word located at the beginning of the sentence and takes its name from the grammatical status and syntactical identity of this sentence-initial constituent. In the Arabic language, three types of words regularly occur in sentence-initial position: nouns, verbs and circumstances. These three words correspond to the class of words that are active in the language: nouns, verbs and invariables (Owens 1998:125; Levin JSAI 10 1987:342²⁴). To begin my

²² Owens 1990:13 says of the period between Sibawayhi to Sarraj: “There are many important theoretical constants throughout this era, constants which in fact hold throughout the history of Arabic grammar.” Owens 1990:13 “Arabic grammatical theory did not stop developing with Sarraj, though the period under consideration is undoubtedly the most important for the formation of Arabic theory.”

²³ Bohas 1990:4 “Many Arabists have stressed the remarkably swift pace at which the Arabic grammatical tradition had, in so short a period, developed into a complex and sophisticated set of concepts and procedures”.

²⁴ Levin JSAI 10 1987:342 “One of the best known precepts of Arabic grammar is the tri-partite division of words into nouns (‘asmā’), verbs (‘af’āl) and particles (ḥurūf)” (Owens 1998:125).

categorisation, I have followed the Arabic model's reasoning by anticipating that the word at the beginning of a sentence will represent the first clue to the identity of a sentence type. To name each sentence type I have used the grammatical and syntactical identity of the constituent I have found in sentence-initial position (*nominative* -> *nominal sentence*, *accusative* -> *accusative-initial sentence*, and *prepositional phrase or frozen noun* -> *circumstantial sentence*).

1.2.2. The sentence-initial constituent as the governor

Syntactically speaking, a word affects the location and case-ending of other words in a sentence (Carter 2004: 87²⁵). The influence of a word upon another is visible most through its effect on case-endings. For example, a preposition forces the genitive onto the noun that follows it, or a possessed noun forces the genitive onto the possessor. Sībawayhi argued that an underlying system was responsible for these changes, and for the distribution of words in a sentence. His theory of *'amal*, translated as *governance* or *dependency*²⁶ argues that beyond the allocation of cases, a larger system determines locations²⁷ and that one constituent in the sentence, apparent or hidden, acts on all other constituents in

Levin JSAI 10 1987:342 "In the Arab grammarians' classification, Arabic words are divided into three main parts of speech: *al-ism* – "the noun", *al-fi'l* – "the verb" and *al-ḥarf* – "the particle".

²⁵ Carter 2004: 87 Operation "Within an utterances every element is either actively or passively involved with the adjacent element, unless the element in question has been deprived of the ability to affect another word (the opposite of 'operation' is 'neutralization', *ilgā*, a legal term meaning to cancel the effect of something, and a 'neutralized' element is *mulgā*)".

²⁶ Owens 1990:13 "dependency, or governance, I use the two terms interchangeably". Peled 2009:xi: "Arabic grammar was one of the most developed disciplines in medieval Arabo-Islamic scholarship. In the area of syntax, the medieval grammarians developed a remarkably elaborate theory known as the theory of *'amal*. This theory, specifying the rules of case assignment by various operators (*'awamil*), has been the backbone of traditional Arab grammatical thinking, and its traces can be easily discerned in modern studies of Arabic grammar."

²⁷ Owens 1988:38 "the delimitation of a number of syntactic positions does not in and of itself produce a coherent syntactic structure, for one must still account for how the positions are related to each other".

the sentence (Owens 1988:38). This constituent was termed the *ʿāmil*, the operator²⁸:

“The opening predicative constituent in each of the three sentence types was regarded as an operator (ʿāmil) assigning case to the following constituent(s): sentence types were unmistakably correlated with ʿāmal types.” (Peled 2009:174)

Governance or dependency as defined by early grammarians remained widely accepted in the tradition: *“The general concept of dependency remained essentially unchanged in later theory”* (Owens 1988:57-66). I have adopted the concept of governance to anchor my typology of sentence structures and have observed the location of other constituents in relation to this sentence-initial element. I have identified the first constituent of a sentence as the governor, that is to say, as the constituent that can help measure how other constituents are distributed. The governor in my model, is the element that can show how word-order is determined, and in which locations words are likely to appear in a given structure in relation to it.

1.2.3 The basic structure: intelligibility and frequency

In the Arabic model, sentences are anticipated to have two forms. Sentences have a *basic* structure (*asl* ‘origin’), and several *branches* that derive from the *basic* form (*far* ‘branch’) (Owens 1988:202-207). In modern linguistics, they are referred to as the unmarked and marked sentence²⁹. Arabic grammatical theory

²⁸ Versteegh 1997:93-95; Carter 1990.

²⁹ Dahlgren 1998:85 A unmarked sentence is a structure that has been observed as the standard pattern of construction: “Markedness basically refers to any deviation from what is considered the neutral or unmarked pattern in a specific linguistic context.” An unmarked sentence can only be assessed within a particular context or corpus. Dahlgren 1998:85 “The specific context is important since one and the same construction may be marked in one context, but unmarked in another. Passive clauses, for instance, are considered marked in ‘every oral communication’, but

uses frequency and intelligibility to identify the *basic* structure of a sentence type. In a given corpus, the sentence structure that occurs the most frequently is likely to represent the *basic* sentence. But a *basic* form should also be *intelligible*. Intelligibility is different from grammatical correctness. An *intelligible* sentence is a statement that should give enough information to be understood by an *uninformed* addressee (the grammarian). The *basic* sentence (the unmarked form) and its branches (marked forms) are concepts well-established in modern linguistics:

“The marked versus unmarked dichotomy is one of the key concepts in both the theory of generative grammar developed by Noam Chomsky and the theory of structural linguistics advanced by Roman Jakobson. It has been used in areas of linguistics ranging from descriptive and typological to applied, and it has been borrowed into fields as diverse as anthropology, art, music, poetics, and literature.” (Battistella 1996:7)

Based on these distinctions, I have categorised the most frequent and the most intelligible sentence of a sentence type as the *basic* form.

1.2.4. Word-order: reduced, augmented and extended sentences

I have anticipated that in the OB omen corpus, the *basic* sentence of each sentence type will branch out into a variety of word-order patterns. I have interpreted word-order patterns as variations of the basic structure. A number of syntactic processes can alter the content of sentences and the distribution of their constituents. I have looked for five processes, three that affect content (deletion,

not in the context of ‘scientific discourse’.” Givon 1988: 336-337: a marked structure is identifiable on the basis of three criteria: 1) its structural complexity, 2) its frequency (an unmarked structure will be more frequent than an unmarked one), 3) its “cognitive complexity”.

addition and extension), and two that affect distribution (preposing and delaying). *Deletion* is a process via which a constituent present in the *basic* sentence is no longer found. When deletion occurs, the sentence remains intact grammatically, it does not become a phrase (“*the deleted item leaves the sentence intact*” Owens 1988:191). I have termed sentences in which one of the basic constituent has been deleted and not replaced *reduced* sentences. A second process is *ittisa*, ‘extension’ (Owens 1989:191; Versteegh 1983:172-173). I prefer to translate it as ‘widening’ because I have used the term ‘extension’ to refer to a third process. ‘Widening’ is the result of two changes: the addition of new items to the basic frame, or the replacement of a *basic* and simple item with a more complex item or unit. I have described this process as an *addition* and have referred to such sentences as *augmented* sentences. I have used the term ‘extension’ to refer to a third category of sentences whose structures are remarkable for their use of resumptive suffixed pronouns that co-refer the sentence-initial constituent and because they also contain two independent constituents that belong to the same syntactical category (two nominatives, two accusatives, or two circumstances). In these sentences, the resumptive suffixed pronoun co-refers the sentence-initial constituent. I have referred to this type of construction as *extended* sentences. I have found that the sentences that result from an extension are present in all of the three sentence types I identified in the OB omen corpus. The accusative-initial sentence type makes use of resumptive pronouns in a structure that is only found in this group: the resumptive pronoun is always attached to the verb (section 3.3). Although these sentences do not contain a second accusative, I have identified them as extended sentences for the use they make of resumption. My typology is therefore built around two branches (primary and basic) where each can display four word-order patterns: *basic* sentences, *reduced* sentences, *augmented* sentences, and *extended* sentences.

1.2.5 Distribution: preposing and delaying

I have attempted to measure the changes of locations of constituents in a given branch or word-order pattern by tracking the occurrence of a constituent *before* or *after* its standard position. Two types of movement are identified in Arabic grammatical theory: *taqdīm*-preposing and *ta'xīr*-delaying (Peled 2009:55, 59, 63). *Preposing* is the movement of an element *before* its standard place, and *delaying* is the movement of an element *after* its standard place. Preposing and delaying are *movement* tactics well established in modern linguistics (Crystal 2008:317³⁰). I have anticipated that both processes will be found in Old Babylonian omens.

1.2.6 Two environments: strictly nominal and verbal environments

The Arabic grammatical model does not view the verb as the fundamental element to sentence-making. In a Semitic language, sentences are made without recourse to a verb. Nouns have sentential force, like verbs. In the Arabic tradition, nouns are believed to be the source of the language (Loucel 1963). A special type of nouns is named *maṣḍar* 'source noun', an element that combines "*a noun-like behaviour with verb-like characteristics*" (EALL *maṣḍar*). As discussed by Peled 2009:3 "*It should be noted that for a general linguist, whose starting point is an Indo-European language like English, French or German, the verb is core, or head, of every sentence; hence the tendency to specify the position of all other elements relative to the verb.*" I have followed this conceptualisation of the noun as the source, and have not adopted the verb as the element against which all other words in the sentence are relative. As previously presented, my model specifies the position of all words in the sentence relative to the sentence-initial constituent. In my study of content, I have not hierarchised verbal predicates over nominal predicates. I have focused on predicative relationships according to content, not

³⁰ Crystal 2008:317 "Movement transformations have the effect of moving Constituents (usually one at a time) from one part of a phrase-marker to another (the 'landing site'), as in the formation of passive sentences."

according to the presence or absence of the verb. I have found that predicates can be composed of nominative nouns only, of circumstances only, of a single verb, or of verbs accompanied by other constituents. I have kept the Arabic model's view of nouns in mind and have understood sentences entirely made up of nouns or circumstances as having a *primary* quality. Accordingly, I have categorised the *nominative noun + nominative noun* sentence, the *nominative noun + circumstance* sentence and *circumstance + nominative noun* as *primary* structures. Predicates that contain a verb are the most varied in content. As previously described, I have therefore sought for the *basic* sentence in each sentence type based on frequency and intelligibility.

1.2.7. Functionalism and OB omen syntax

Adopting the Arabic model and its terminology has had three consequences on my categorisation of function. First, the terminology that Arabic grammatical theory uses is functionalist in nature. It immediately identifies the information value of parts of the sentence: the *mubtada'*-beginner or topic of a sentence is the part that carries the old or least newsworthy information. The *xabar* is the name of the predicate and identifies the function of this part of the sentence as the carrier of the new or more newsworthy information. I have adopted the Arabic model's identification of the information value of the topic and predicate of sentences, together with its terminology. In my model also, the topic/subject of a sentence is the *mubtada'*, the carrier of the old information, and the predicate of sentences is its *xabar*, the carrier of the new information.

Secondly, in terms of function the Arabic model is binary at its core. Two sentence structures are conceptualised as contrastive. The nominal sentence communicates the old information first via the *mubtada'*, and the *verbal* sentence

communicates the new information first via the *message*-verb, part of the *xabar*. I have integrated this analysis into my model and have adopted the *nominal* sentence as the type that carries the old information first via its sentence-initial nominative. I have also looked for the sentence structure that contrasts this dynamic and have found that in the OB omen corpus, the accusative-initial sentence is the contrastive sentence to the nominal sentence. It communicates the new information first via the accusative. Thirdly, I have adopted the view that in the *primary* circumstantial sentence (the *pp + nom* sentence and *fn + nom* sentence), the sentence-initial circumstance is the *mubtada'*, the topic of its sentence and communicates the old information, while the nominative noun is the predicate and communicates new information. This sentence is not a reversal of the *nom + pp/fn* sentence, its predicative relationship is different because the nominative noun is an indefinite that cannot function as the old information. Lastly, I have worked on the premise that all constituents carry a scale of information, a higher or lower value of old or new information. I have summarised my identifications of the functions of sentence types and of their constituents in table 5 titled *a taxonomic model of functions in OB omen protases and apodoses*.

1.3 Data: Old Babylonian omens

1.3.A Divination in the Old Babylonian period

Akkadian divination texts represent a large corpus of texts. In terms of volume, divination texts are second only to administrative texts, the largest body of texts written in Akkadian that has survived and come down to us (Winitzer 2017:1).

Classical sources refer to ancient Mesopotamian divination practices (Rochberg 2010:19-22; Annus 2010:11-2) but it was not until after Akkadian had been deciphered in the 19th century that the fuller extent of divination in ancient Mesopotamia could be realised and understood. Assyriologists have discovered a practice that extended from the 3rd millennium BC to the 1st millennium AD.

Evidence that divination existed in the 3rd millennium BC comes from references to this practice in literary texts and year-names (cf. Richardson 2010:226-39). These sources attest to the practice of extispicy used to seek guidance on decisions but no omen texts have yet been found for this period:

“The omen lore of the third millennium BC must have been of oral nature, because texts recording omens do not appear in Mesopotamia until more than a millennium after the invention of writing” (Annus 2010:1)

If attempting to read the future was a practice then, written records have yet to surface. It is in the second millennium that a divination tradition begins to fully emerge in writing. In this period, not only do omen texts appear, but the sheer number of those that have survived til today is remarkable. In this period, texts are dedicated to recording divination practices, and the number of these records explodes. This increase would happen again to an even larger extent in the 1st millennium (Koch 2015:32-59). The second millennium is particular because it is then that the technical terminology that defines divination texts appears. It is also at this stage that divining the future is recorded in writing. From this period on, not only are omens concerned with divining the future, they also come to fully constitute a genre of texts that modern scholarship now refers to as ‘omen texts’ with the result that today *“the omen compendia are the most important and best represented text genre related to divination”* (Koch 2015:32)

The texts I have studied belong to the corpus of omen texts from the Old Babylonian period. The provenance of most of the texts presented here is believed to be southern Iraq. Their language is Old Babylonian. In these texts, the sole interest of their authors is the future. The explicit purpose of their extispicy (examining the entrails of animals, sheep mostly), or lecanomancy (examining the behaviour of oil), or ornithomancy (examining the behaviour of birds) is to be forewarned about impending disasters (losing wars, famine, curses, bankruptcy, illness), and about positive but fragile tidings (the birth of children, financial gain, winning wars, finding peace).

1.3.B Language: Old Babylonian

The OB omens that are the subject of my study are written in the Old Babylonian language. Old Babylonian is the name modern scholarship has given to a variety of the Akkadian language. Akkadian is an extinct East Semitic language. It is the earliest Semitic language attested in writing.

A map of Semitic languages is given in the form of a list in Bodi 1991:16. I reproduce it here in English (the original is French):

North-West Semitic	East Semitic	South Semitic
Eblaite	Old Akkadian	Classical and modern standard Arabic
Amorite	Old Babylonian	
Ugaritic	Middle Babylonian	Old North Arabian dialects:
Phoenicio-Punic	Neo-Babylonian	Safaitic, Lihyanite, Thamudic
Hebrew	Standard Babylonian	
Aramean family:	Late Babylonian	Old South Arabian:
Old Aramaic	Old Assyrian	Sabean, Minaean, Qatabānian, Hadramitic
Imperial Aramaic	Middle Assyrian	
Elephantine Aramaic	Neo-Assyrian	Modern peninsular South Arabian:
Biblical Aramaic		Hadara group: Mehri, Bathari, Hobyót, Harsusi, Jibbali, Soqotri
Qumran Aramaic		
The Judeo-Aramaic of the Talmudim and Targumim		Ethiopian dialects: Tigré, Tigrinya, Amharic, Gafat, Agrobla, Harari, Gourage
Palmyrene, Nabataean, Syriac, Mandaean and Samaritan		Egyptian, Coptic

Akkadian was born in ancient Iraq. It was spoken and written throughout ancient Mesopotamia from c. 2334 BC to the first century AD (Charpin 2010:xii). The term 'Akkadian' is the name created by modern scholars to refer to this language. Akkadian was written on clay in a script known in modern usage as 'cuneiform', wedge-shaped imprints on clay made with a stylus. Cuneiform, written from left to right, is a writing system composed of graphs or signs. A sign can have syllabic and logographic value. Cuneiform was initially used to write Sumerian, a language isolate.

Assyriologists traditionally distinguish five phases in the development of the Akkadian language: 1) Old Akkadian (ca 2224 BC – 2193 BC), 2) Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian (ca 2000 BC – 1600 BC), 3) Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian (ca 1600 BC – 1000 BC), 4) Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian (ca 1000 BC - 610 BC), and 5) Late Babylonian (ca 610 BC to 75 AD)³¹. The period that followed Old Akkadian is divided in two (Babylonian and Assyrian) because two main varieties that differ from Old Akkadian but remain closely tied to it begin to run parallel from around 2000 BC. These two varieties are Assyrian in the North and Babylonian in the South (Buccellati 1996:1). Both continued to evolve with relatively little change compared to the differences that separate Old English and modern English for example. Assyrian and Babylonian share a grammar that is very close as well as a vocabulary, with evidence of Babylonian often found in Assyrian texts for example.

In Assyriology, Old Babylonian is "*generally viewed as the classical dialect of Akkadian*" (Buccellati 1996:3). In the Old Babylonian period, the use of declension is active. Nominatives, accusatives and genitives are differentiated (respectively the {u} case, {a} case, and the {i} case), and mimation is used. The basic structure of verbs is trilateral. Three moods are in use: the indicative (with a preterite,

³¹ I have followed the chronology given in Charpin 2010:xii

perfect, present/future, and stative forms), imperative, and the subjunctive (Reiner 1966:54-103). Verbs of movement are marked by the ventive. Structurally Akkadian is understood to be an SOV language because Akkadian sentences as a rule place the verb at the end of the sentence.

As for provenance, Goetze 1947:1 understands that texts from the YOS 10 collection come from Sippar and Larsa (cities in southern Iraq). For Larsa, Goetze differentiates between archaic, mixed and young Larsa-type texts. The orthographic specificities of several OB omens, outside of the YOS 10 collection, have been discussed (George 2013:107-8, Jeyes 1989:5-6, Nougayrol 1950:111-3, Kraus 1950:146-54). In their great majority, Old Babylonian omens are written syllabically. The use of logograms appears mostly restricted to the technical vocabulary of these texts, words that denote an ominous feature.

1.3.C. Primary and secondary data: OB omen list

The source of my data is gathered from my reading of 58 omen texts from the YOS 10 collection, 19 texts from Jeyes 1989 referred to as OBE³², 7 texts from Khait 2012:31-59³³, 5 texts from George 2013³⁴, and 37 OB omen texts published separately between 1928 and 2013. I have referred to the sum of these texts as *the OB omen corpus* throughout my discussions. A list of extispicy omens was compiled by Jeyes 1989:7. Winitzer 2017:xviii-xxi has updated to this list with a catalogue OB omen extispicy texts “*not included in CUSAS 18, OBE, and YOS 10*”. I have used the published cuneiform copies of these texts as my primary data. Although the copies of the texts I have used are published, a number of them have

³² Old Babylonian Extispicy texts in the British Museum.

³³ the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts.

³⁴ Texts number no. 7 (MS 2225), no. 8 (MS 3066), no. 9 (MS 3078), no. 10 (MS 3295), no. 11 (MS 2813), no. 12 (MS 3000).

not yet been edited. When no transliteration, transcription and/or translation were available, I have followed my own under supervisory guidance and owe many of the translations given here to my main supervisor, Prof. Andrew George. When translations were particularly challenging I have highlighted that their translation was given to me by Andrew George ('private communications'). When texts were edited, I used the transliteration and translation of authors listed here.

Museum Number /		Place of Publication	Place of Edition	Bibliography
Name				
1	A. 2365	ARM 26/1	ARM/1, 66 no. 2	Durand 1988
2	A. 1413	ARM 26/1	ARM/1, 66 no. 3	Durand 1988
3	AO 7028	RA 38 (1941), 80-1	RA 40 (1946), 56-81	Nougayrol 1941; 1946
4	AO 7029	RA 38 (1941), 82	RA 40 (1946), 81-5	Nougayrol 1941; 1946
5	AO 7030	RA 38 (1941), 83-4	RA 40 (1946), 90-7	Nougayrol 1941; 1946
6	AO 7033	RA 38 (1941), 88	RA 40 (1946), 85-90	Nougayrol 1941; 1946
7	AO 7539	RA 65 (1971), 70, 72	RA 65 (1971), 67-84	Nougayrol 1971a
		RA 44 (1950), pls I-II,		Nougayrol 1950
8	AO 9066	IV	RA 44 (1950), 23-33	
				Aro and Nougayrol
9	BM 12875	RA 67 (1973), 51	RA 67 (1973), 50-52	1973
				Aro and Nougayrol
10	BM 13915	RA 67 (1973), 54	RA 67 (1973), 52-6	1973
				Aro and Nougayrol
11	BM 22694	RA 67 (1973), 43, 45	RA 67 (1973), 41-50	1973
12				Nougayrol 1969 (RA
	BM 78241	CT 44 no. 37	Obverse translated in RA 63 (1969), 154	63) 152-153
		RA 66 (1972), 141		
13	BM 97877	(photograph)	RA 66 (1972), 41-50	
				Saporetti 1979-1981;
	HY 150 =	Sumer 40 (1979-		Rouault and Saporetti
14	IM 85030	1981), 274-9;	None	1985

	(Jeyes: 150 A+B+C+D)	Mesopotamia 20 (1985), 41-2		
15	HY 151	Rouault and Saporetti, OB Texts from tell Yelkhi, Mesopotamia 20 (1985)	None	
16	HY 154	Sumer 40 (1979- 1981), 251; Mesopotamia 20 (1985), 43	Veldhuis 2006:492 (partial)	Saporetti 1979-1981; Roualt and Saporetti 1985; Veldhuis 2006:492
17	HY 203	Sumer 40 (1979- 1981), 253; Mesopotamia 20 (1985), 39	None	Saporetti 1979-1981; Roualt and Saporetti 1985
18	HY 206	Sumer 40 (1979- 1981), 253; Mesopotamia 20 (1985), 38	None	Saporetti 1979-1981; Roualt and Saporetti 1985
19	HY 208	Sumer 40 (1979- 1981), 255; Mesopotamia 20 (1985), 37	None	Saporetti 1979-1981; Rouault and Saporetti 1985
20	HY 223	Sumer 40 (1979- 1981), 259; Mesopotamia 20 (1985), 35	None	Saporetti 1979-1981; Rouault and Saporetti 1985
21	HY 225	Sumer 40 (1979- 1981), 259; Mesopotamia 20 (1985), 34	None	Saporetti 1979-1981; Roualt and Saporetti 1985
	l26 1325	Saveliev 1985, no.2; B&B 6 (2012), 54	B&B 6 (2012), 36-7	Khait 2012
	l26 1664	Saveliev 1985, no.1; B&B 6 (2012), 54	B&B 6 (2012), 37-8	Khait 2012

		Saveliev 1985, no.3		Khait 2012
l26 1663 + 1661		and 6; B&B 6 (2012), 55	B&B 6 (2012), 38-41, 50	
l26 1660		Saveliev 1985, no.7; B&B 6 (2012), 56	B&B 6 (2012), 41-8, 51-2	Khait 2012
l26 1662		Saveliev 1985, no.5; B&B 6 (2012), 57	B&B 6 (2012), 48-9	Khait 2012
YBC 11102 + l26 1653		YOS 10 30; Saveliev 1985, no.4; JCS 63 (2011), 73-6	JCS 63 (2011), 73-6	Khait 2011
IM 85441; 22 Sib 388 (no. 5)		Iraq 56 (1994), 39- 40	Iraq 56 (1994), 39	Al-Rawi 1994
IM 106795 23 (no. 6)		Iraq 56 (1994), 41	Iraq 56 (1994), 41	Al-Rawi 1994
24 IM 13706		TIM 9 78	None	Van Dijk 1976
25 IM 13353		TIM 9 79	None	Van Dijk 1976
26 IM 13402		TIM 9 80	None	Van Dijk 1976
27 IM 11053		TIM 9 81	None	Van Dijk 1976
28 LAOS 1, 51 (SIL 15)		LAOS 1, pl. XXXIII	LAOS 1, 83-5	Oshima 2011
29 MAH 15874		RA 44 (1950), p. III- IV	RA 46 (1950), 33-40	Nougayrol 1950; Glassner ZA 99 (2009b), 40-1
30 MAH 15994		RA 63 (1969), 154	RA 63 (1969), 153-7	Nougayrol 1969; Glassner ZA 99 (2009b), 40-1 (for lines 6-7, 13-14); Winitzer forthcoming a
31 Ni. 1218		None	ZA 77 (1987), 194-6	Kraus 1987
Schileico A		AfO 5 (1928-29), 214;	AfO 5 (1928-29), 214-	Schileico 1928-29; Khait 2012
32 (l26 1724)		B&B 6 (2012), 53	5; B&B 6 (2012), 34	
33 Schileico B		AfO 5 (1928-29), 215; B&B 6 (2012), 54	AfO 5 (1928), 215-8; Koch 2005:225; B&B 6 (2012), 34-6	Schileico 1928-29; Koch 2005; Khait 2012

	Scheil A			Scheil 1930
34	(from Larsa)	RA 27 (1930), 142	RA 27 (1930), 141-8	
	Scheil B			Scheil 1930;
35	(from Larsa)	RA 27 (1930), 149	RA 27 (1930), 148-54	Riemschneider ZA 57 (1965), 125-145
				Nougayrol 1950;
36	VAT 602	RA 46 (1950), pl. IV	RA 46 (1950), 16-21	Glassner 2009a
37	VAT 4102	RA 46 (1950), pl. IV	RA 46 (1950), 12-6	Nougayrol 1950
	CMAA030(-		ZA 103 (2013), 162-6,	Winitzer, 2013
38	C0001)	ZA 103 (2013), 167-9	170-8	

1.3.D. Treatment of data

My thesis is a study of sentences, not of phrases. Protases or apodoses constructed as phrases, or single terms, are excluded from my discussion. These single words and phrases are referred to as *key words* by Jeyes 1989:38-42. Because my analysis of structure and function rests on the case-endings of words, I have tried to only use OB omen protases and apodoses that explicitly express case-endings. I have excluded from my examinations OB omens whose constituents are written logographically and are not followed by the indication of a case-ending. I have avoided such sentences especially when the sentence-initial word, crucial to my typology, was expressed only by a logogram not marked by an explicit case-ending. OB omen texts are often damaged. In cases where the damage to the tablet resulted in broken sentences, particularly to the first word of a sentence, I have not used the sentence to avoid analysing structures on speculative case-endings as my typology and identification of sentence structures relies on the expression of case-endings.

1.4 Transliteration and normalization

I have given sentences in transliteration rather than in normalization to keep a clearer view and a closer relationship to the original grammatical and syntactical choices of the ancient writer. Normalization often loses the writing expressed in cuneiform, the source language. I have used normalization only when quoting an omen within the paragraphs of my discussions but I have not normalized logographic writing into Akkadian writing for example, nor have I forced sound changes from *nm* > *mm* unless they are so written in cuneiform. I have not assumed a contraction of vowel sequences such as *ia*, *ea*, unless they are explicitly written as contractions in cuneiform. I followed standard practice by employing half-brackets (´) to indicate the partial break of a sign or of a series of signs, and full square-brackets ([...]) to indicate complete damage. Readings given between square brackets are reconstructions, as per standard practice also.

Syllabic writing is expressed in lower case. Logographic writing is expressed in capitals, followed by its Akkadian equivalent in brackets () and normalized, with the word in italics. The only exception to my normalizing a logogram is for the word ‘if’, *šumma* in Akkadian, syllabically written *šum-ma*. In OB omens, protases always open with the word ‘if’ but several signs are used in OB omens in the place of *šum-ma*. In such cases, I have not given the Akkadian equivalent for lack of space. Instead, I signal here that throughout the OB omen corpus, the signs DIŠ, AŠ, MAŠ, BE and UD are used instead of *šum-ma*, whether to express ‘if’ or to indicate a next entry. Throughout my readings, when the reading of a cuneiform sign is problematic or its reading tentative, the sign value is given in italicized capitals (ex: 5.5 §7).

In each section, the protases and apodoses I have used as examples are given to illustrate a particular structure. Constituents marked in bold highlight a specific construction discussed within the section.

Throughout this thesis, my lists of sentences indicate whether they are protases or apodoses. I have referred to an omen protasis or apodosis by text first, using the sigla of its collection, then the text number in the collection, and the line number in the text (ex: YOS 10 22:2). I have referred to omens that have been edited singly as texts by their place of publication (ex: RA, AfO, etc), then the page number, with an additional reference to the museum number of the text and the line in the text (ex: MAH 15994:5).

2. The nominal sentence type

In the OB omen corpus, protases and apodoses regularly begin with a nominative noun. I have termed these structures *nominal sentences* and present them in this chapter. I have defined the *nominal* sentence as a type of structure in which a nominative noun is always located in sentence-initial position and governs the predicate that follows it. My presentation of the nominal sentence type is divided in three parts. I have first presented the description of the nominal sentence in Arabic grammatical theory to show the principles that can be extracted from it to analyse the OB omen *nominal* sentence. I have then presented my categorisation of nominal sentences in OB omen protases and apodoses. In the third part of this chapter, I have proposed that ‘casus pendens’ sentences be reassessed as *extended* nominal sentences because the *sentence-initial* nominative is intra-sentential, not extra-sentential.

2.1 Interpreting OB omen protases and apodoses as *nominal sentences* using Arabic grammatical theory

2.1.A The *jumla ismiyya*-nominal sentence in the Arabic model

The *jumla ismiyya*, translated as *the nominal sentence* in Arabic studies, is one of the three sentence structures identified as a type in Arabic grammatical theory (EALL 1.2³⁵). The defining characteristic of the nominal sentence is its sentence-initial nominative noun, the *ism* 'noun', from which this sentence type takes its name. The first focus of my categorisation therefore has been the sentence-initial nominative noun in OB omen protases and apodoses. To build my typology, I have followed the Arabic model's initial focus on the sentence-initial constituent and have adopted this criterion for categorisation to identify the nominal sentence in OB omen sentences. Despite its name, the *nominal sentence* does not refer to a sentence only composed of nouns. The name strictly refers to the identity and grammatical status of the sentence-initial constituent of this sentence. In the Arabic model, the basis of the identification of *nominal* sentences is the sentence-initial nominative noun but nominal sentences can display several types of predicates: entirely nominal, circumstantial (prepositional phrases and frozen nouns), and verbal. I have adopted this second focus on the content of the predicate and have opened three subcategories of nominal sentences based on their predicate: entirely nominal, circumstantial, and verbal. The Arabic tradition regards nouns as a special category. Nouns are understood as the source of the language (*maşdar* 'source nouns' EALL *Maşdar*), and as words from which all others are derived (Loucel 1963). The combination of two nouns in a predicative relationship (the *nominative noun + nominative noun* sentence) is evidence of the syntactical force of nouns. To acknowledge the place of nouns and of their sentential force in a Semitic language, I have considered all *nominative noun + nominative noun* sentences (abbreviated as *nom + nom*) as *primary* nominal sentences. The *nominative noun + nominative noun* sentence is a common

³⁵ *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) Nominal Clause 1.2 Topic/Comment structure and nominal clauses.

structure in the Arabic language and it also regularly occurs in Old Babylonian omens:

Arabic	OB omen
noun + noun	noun + noun
1) al-bintu wardatun the girl is (like) a flower	2) (DIŠ ³⁶) iz-bu-um tu-ra-ḥu-um ³⁷ (If) a miscarried foetus is (like) an ibex

Arabic	OB omen
noun + noun ^{possessed-possessor}	noun + noun ^{possessed-possessor}
3) hiya wajhu wardatin she is (like) the face of a flower	4) (šum-ma) mar-tum qá-qá-ad še-ri-im ³⁸ (If) the gall-bladder is (like) the head of a snake

I have observed that the predicate of OB omen protases and apodoses can also often be solely composed of a circumstance: a prepositional phrase or a frozen noun. This construction is also common in Arabic. I have categorised such structures under the umbrella of *primary* nominal sentences because of the nature of circumstances:

Arabic	OB omen
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³⁶ DIŠ is part of the protasis used as an example here, but I have put it in brackets to show the structural similarity that exists between the Arabic sentence opposite it and this Old Babylonian sentence, both *nom + nom* structures. I have done the same for sentences 4, 6, and 12, examples taken from protases and placed in parallel to Arabic sentences.

³⁷ YOS 10 56 iii:36. Similar omen in MS 3000 text 12 note 41 (§24) George 2013:62 which has *kīma turāḥim* instead. George notes later version SB Izbu V 100 “šumma (BE) laḥru (u₈) turāḥa (dàra) ūlid (ù.tu) “If a ewe gives birth to an ibex”. YOS 10 56 is fully edited in Leichty 1970:201-207.

³⁸ YOS 10 31 xii:45-46. Winitzer 2017:37 2.18 translates “If the gall bladder has formed the head of a snake”.

noun + pp
 5) **al-waladu** fī al-dāri
 the boy is in the house

noun + pp
 6) ⁷²(DIŠ) **AŠ** (*šēpum*) i-na ŠÀ AŠ (*libbi šēpim*)
 (If) a footmark is in the heart of a
 footmark³⁹

OB omen protases and apodoses whose predicate contains a verb are numerous in the corpus. I have followed the Arabic model and have categorised these constructions in a branch separate from *primary* sentences.

Arabic
 noun + verb
 7) **Suleiman** yabtasim
 Suleiman smiles

OB omen
 noun + verb
 8) ^d**IM** (*Adad*) i-ra-aḫ-ḫi-iṣ
 Adad will trample⁴⁰

Arabic
 noun + verb + pp
 9) **Liliya** taḫdam fī al-ṣabāḫ
 Lilia works in the morning

OB omen
 noun + pp + verb
 10) **gi-li-it-tum** i-na ma-a-tim ib-ba-aš-
 ši
 terror will emerge in the land⁴¹

Arabic
 noun + noun-suff + verb

OB omen
 noun + noun-suff + verb

³⁹ YOS 10 44:72. Winitzer 2017:122, 2.173 translates “If one Foot (was) inside (another) Foot”.

⁴⁰ YOS 10 36 i:28

⁴¹ YOS 10 31 xii:17-19

11) **Zaydun** abūhu yantaliqu

Zayd's father is leaving

12) (DIŠ) **sí**⁴² (*sikkat šēli*) qá-^rab-la-šā

ta-ar^l-ka

the rib's middle-area is dark⁴³

The terminology used in Arabic grammatical theory to identify the parts of the nominal sentence immediately identifies the function (information value) of these items. In the Arabic model, parts of sentence are conceptualised as communicating the old or least-newsworthy information and the new or more newsworthy information. In the nominal sentence, the sentence-initial nominative is the *mubtada'*-beginner. It is through the nominative noun that the old information is transferred, while the predicate, regardless of its shape is identified as the *xabar*. The *xabar* carries the new information in the sentence. In modern terms, the *mubtada'* functions as the *theme*⁴⁴, while the *xabar*-predicate functions as the *rheme*⁴⁵. In naming the two parts of the nominal sentence in terms of their information-value, *mubtada'* and *xabar*, the Arabic model explicitly states how it understands the information strategy of this sentence construction. The *nominal sentence* is understood to function as the sentence type that communicates *old information* first (*mubtada'*), via the sentence-initial nominative, followed by the *new information* carried in the predicate (*xabar*). In the same way that I have adopted the structural categorisation of the Arabic model, I have also adopted its principles of information-value. I have worked on the premise that OB omen protases and apodoses shaped as *nominal* sentences communicate the old or least-newsworthy information via their sentence-initial nominative and new or more-newsworthy information in their predicate. In my typology, the nominal sentence is the sentence type that communicates the old

⁴² YOS 10 45 abbreviates the work *sikkat šēli*, ribs, as *sí*. I have transcribed the abbreviation *sí* in lower case as the logographic writing for *ribs* is GAG.TI.

⁴³ YOS 10 45:3. YOS 10 45 is fully edited in Glassner 2009b:77-81. Glassner 2009b:79 translates omen 3 "Si la côte, ses parties médianes sont sombres".

⁴⁴ *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) X *xabar*, T *topic and comment*.

⁴⁵ *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) F *Functional Grammar*; also T *Topic and comment*.

information first, and the new information later in the sentence (the *old* -> *new* dynamic).

2.1.B The nominal sentence in OB omens

Numerous protases and apodoses begin with a nominative noun, and as stated above I have interpreted the frequency of this distribution of the nominative in sentence-initial position as the indication of an independent sentence type. Nominal sentences can be divided in two groups. In the first, the predicate is entirely nominal or circumstantial (*primary* nominal sentences). In the second group, the predicate contains a verb. In this second group, several constituents can be found combined with the verb. Predicates that contain a verb are more varied in construction than those of *primary* nominal sentences. To find the *basic* form of this second group, I have used frequency and intelligibility. I have found that *nom + acc + verb* sentences correspond to the criteria of a *basic* form and have found that all other word-order patterns can be said to derive from it by reduction (reduced nominal sentences), addition (augmented nominal sentences), and extension (extended nominal sentences). I have observed that the frame of both the *primary* and of the *basic* nominal sentence can be *augmented* and *extended*. The below section presents the *primary* nominal sentence in OB omen protases and apodoses: the *nom + nom* sentence, and the *nom + pp/fn* sentence, and its *extended* form the *nom + nom-suff + pp/fn*. The following section presents the *basic* nominal sentence (the *nom + acc + verb* sentence) and its derivations: 1) the two-constituent based *nom + verb* sentence that I have termed the *reduced* nominal sentence; 2) a four or more constituent based construction I have termed the *augmented* nominal sentence (*nom + acc + pp + verb*, the *nom + pp + acc + verb*, etc), and 3) the *extended* nominal sentence, a construction that contains two formally independent nominatives linked to each other by a resumptive suffixed pronoun attached to the second nominative noun that co-refers the first (the *nom*

+ *nom-suff* +/- *x* + *verb* sentence). I have summarised my categorisations in *the structural map of the nominal sentence* at the end of this chapter in table 2.

2.2 The *primary* nominal sentence

The *primary* nominal sentence is a group of nominal sentences that I have subdivided in two: predicates entirely made of nominative nouns (the *nom + nom* sentence), and predicates only made of a prepositional phrase or of a frozen noun (the *nom + pp/fn* sentence).

2.2.A The *nom + nom* sentence

The *nom + nom* sentence is a sentence in which two nominative nouns are bound in a predicative relationship. These structures occur in both protases and apodoses. The *xabar*-predicate of the primary nominal sentence can be shaped as a single nominative noun, as a noun phrase, or as two nouns in a *possessed-possessor* relationship (*noun^{nom} + noun^{gen}*).

nom + nom

Protases

- 13) ³⁶DIŠ iz-bu-um tu-ra-ḥu-um If a miscarried foetus is an ibex

YOS 10 56 iii:36⁴⁶

- 14) ³³DIŠ iz-bu-um mi-di-nu-um If a miscarried foetus is a tiger

YOS 10 56 iii:33⁴⁷

- 15) ʾka-akʾ-kum nu-ú-um The weapon is ours

YOS 10 33 ii:25⁴⁸

- 16) pu-ú-um la ki-nu-um a word is unreliable

YOS 10 17:44⁴⁹

In example 16), I have analysed *la kīnum* as a nominative unit that acts as the predicate. In Arabic grammar, one way of creating new nouns is to use the negation *la* before a noun or attribute. The *la* of this construction is termed the *la* of the negation of the genus (*la al-nāfiya li-l-jins* - لا النافية للجنس), translated as the ‘*categorical negation*’ or the ‘*la of quittance*’ in Arabic linguistics (Carter 1981:410).

⁴⁶ Leichty 1970:207 translates “If an anomaly is (like) a mountain goat”. As noted earlier, George 2013:62 notes a parallel in omen in MS 3000 text 12 note 41 (§24) which has *kīma turāḥim*.

⁴⁷ Leichty 1970:207 translates “If an anomaly is (like) a tiger”. George 2013:63 MS 300 text 12 has *kīma mindinim* (note 46 §29) translated as “cheetah?”. George notes that the late version SB Izbu V 96-97 it is a panther (*nimru*), and notes “tiger” for *mindinu* is also a “possible translation”.

⁴⁸ George 2013:48 translates “the weapon-mark is ours” (in note ii 19-20 (§14')). Jeyes 1989:22 comments on first person plural and references other first person plural use in YOS 10 17 obv:11 (“our city”) and OBE 1 obv:24 for “our extispicy”. Also translated in Winitzer 2017:198, 3.41.

⁴⁹ Winitzer 2017:320 translates “(it represents) an unreliable (omen) statement”. Also translated in Starr 1983:99. Jeyes 1989:17 comments on the use of an “unreliable word” in the OBE collection.

This negation is stronger than a simple negation and although it visually appears next to the noun it negates, it is understood as a whole unit. When the Arabic word for ‘end’ *nihāya* (نهاية) is negated by the ‘la of quittance’, the result is ‘*la nihāya*’ (لا نهاية), meaning ‘infinite’. When سلكي the word for ‘wiry’ is categorically negated, the result is ‘*la silky*’ لا سلكي meaning ‘wireless’. This new word is functions as a noun, adjective or a qualification, and can be used in a predicate. I have interpreted *la kīnum* as an example of a ‘negation of category’ and as a nominal unit that means ‘unreliable’. I am aware that in theory the same meaning could be achieved by negating the stative with the negation *ul* (*ul kīn* ‘not reliable’) but I have not found *ul* used in apodoses (see sentence 28).

2.2.B The *nom + nom*^{possessed-possessor} sentence

The *nom + nom*^{possessed-possessor} sentence is much more frequent than the simple *nom + nom* pattern. I have only found examples of it in protases, as the below sentences illustrate. The *mubtada*’-topic of this structure is remarkably more varied in construction than the topic of the *nom + nom* sentence. Here, it can take the shape of a single *noun*, a *noun-suffixed pronoun + adjective*, or of a *noun + adjective*.

- 17) ³⁵DIŠ iz-bu-um **qá-ra-an al-pi-im** If a miscarried foetus is the
 horn of an ox
 YOS 10 56 iii:35⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Leichty 1970:207 “If an anomaly (has) the horn of an ox”.

- 18) ³⁰DIŠ iz-bu-um **pa-ni ŠÁḤ** If a miscarried foetus is the face
(*ḥuzīrim*) of a pig

YOS 10 56 iii:30⁵¹

- 19) ²⁶DIŠ iz-bu-um **pa-ni ANŠE** If a miscarried foetus is the face
(*imērim*) of a donkey

YOS 10 56 iii:26⁵²

- 20) ...²⁶ši-pa-šu **ma-aḥ-ri-<a>-tum** ... its front feet are lion's paws
²⁷ši-ip UR.MAH (*nēšim*) ...

YOS 10 56 iii:26-27⁵³

- 21) ...²⁷ši-pa-šu **wa-ar-ki-a-tum** ši-ip ... its back feet are donkey's
ANŠE (*imērim*) hooves

YOS 10 56 iii:27⁵⁴

2.3 Circumstantial elements as predicates

The *nom + nom* sentence is present in the corpus, but it is not often used by writers of OB omens. Instead, it is the *nom + prepositional phrase (nom + pp)* that

⁵¹ Leichty 1970:207 "If an anomaly has the face of a pig".

⁵² Leichty 1970:206 "If an anomaly has the face of a donkey".

⁵³ Leichty 1970:206 "its forefeet are (like) the paw(s) of a lion".

⁵⁴ Leichty 1970:206 "its hind legs are (like) the leg(s) of a donkey".

is frequently found throughout the corpus, and to a lesser degree the *nom + frozen noun (fn)* sentence. Prepositional phrases and frozen nouns belong to the same category, circumstances, but I have presented them separately to observe the predicates they create. The first section presents the *nom + pp* sentence, and the second section presents the *nom + fn* sentence.

2.3.A The *nom + pp* sentence

The *nom + pp* sentence is found in both protases and apodoses, but this structure is noticeably more numerous in protases. In this sentence structure, the *mubtada'* can also be the result of the combination of a *negation + single noun* as illustrated by sentence 28 below (YOS 10 53 rev:18). I have discussed the *la of negation of the genus* above in sentence 16. The prepositional phrase of this sentence structure is often realised with the preposition *ina* or *kīma*. Although the preposition *ana* is encountered in the predicates of the *nom + pp* sentence, it is rarer by comparison. I have observed that while *ana* is not so often encountered when the prepositional phrase is located at the end of the sentence, it is more frequently found in prepositional phrases located at the beginning of sentences (examples in the *circumstantial* sentence section 4.3) or in the middle of their sentence.

pp with ina

Protases

- 22) ¹¹šum-ma pi-iṭ-rum **i-na** li-ib-bi If a split is in the heart of a split
pi-iṭ-ri

Khait 2012:41 (text 6:11)

23) ⁸šum-ma mar-tum ⁹**i-na** ḫi-im-ši If the gall bladder is in *himšu-*
fatty tissue

YOS 10 31 x:8-9⁵⁵

24) ¹²DIŠ ši-pu-um **i-na** li-ib-bi ši-[p]i- If a foot-mark is in the heart of a
im foot-mark

YOS 10 50 obv:12

25) ³³DIŠ na-ap-la-às-tum **i-na** i-ši-id If a view is in the base of a view
[n]a-ap-la-às-tim

AO 9066:33 (RA 44:27)

Apodoses

26) ⁶⁶zi-nu **i+na** ša-me-e rain is in the skies

Nougayrol 1971:7 (AO 7539:66)⁵⁶

⁵⁵ YOS 10 31 is edited by Römer 2004:399-414 Winitzer 2017:266, 4.38 translates “If the gallbladder (was) in *ḫimšu*-fatty tissue”.

⁵⁶ Nougayrol 1971:77 translates the whole apodosis *zi-nu i+na ša-me-e mi-lu i+na na-aq-bi DU-ka* “les pluies viendront dans le ciel, la montée des eaux, dans la source”. I have understood the first *nom + pp* unit as an independent sentence “rain is in the skies”, the consequence to the coming of the floods “rain is in the skies, floods are coming in the water sources” rather than “rain in the skies and floods in the water sources are coming” because I have not found examples of *nom + pp* used as whole units to express a grammatical subject, especially not in succession. The noun *mīlu* is feminine plural and alone can function as the only nominative subject to the feminine plural of the verb DU-ka.

27) ri-ig-mu **i-na** ma-tim clamour is in the land

YOS 10 17 obv:26

28) la mi-it-gu-rum **i-na** KALAM discord is in the land
(*mātim*)

YOS 10 53 rev:18

pp with ana

Protases

29) ³⁸bu-da-a-šu **a-na** KÁ.É.GAL (*bāb* its shoulders are on the palace
ēkallim) gate

YOS 10 46 v:38

30) ù pi-it-rum **a-na** pa-ṭi-šu (and) a split is on its forefront

YOS 10 17:35b

Apodoses

31) e-ri-iš-ti ¹³eš-dar **a-na** ḥu-ub-re-e The request of Ishtar is for
ḥubrû-twin jars

YOS 10 51 i:12-13⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Meaning of *ḥubrû* is unknown as noted in CAD ḥ:215.

2.3.B The *nom + kīma*-phrase sentence

The *nom + kīma*-phrase sentence is regularly found in protases but I have not found this structure in apodoses. In apodoses, *kīma*-phrases are found in predicates that contain a verb, and necessarily occur in middle position. The verbs in OB omens is almost always fixed in final position as the last constituent of a sentence (for exceptions see section 3.4).

pp with kīma

Protases

- 32) ⁸DIŠ iz-bu-um **ki-ma UR.MAḤ** If an izbu is like a lion
(*nēšim*)

YOS 10 56 iii:8⁵⁸

- 33) ¹⁴[B]E IGI.B[AR **k]i-ma BAD** If the view is like a BAD-sign
(*baddim*)

YOS 10 14:14

- 34) DIŠ iz-bu-um **ki-ma UR.BAR.RA** If a miscarried foetus is like a
(*barbarim*) wolf

YOS 10 56 i:6⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Leichty 1970:206 “If an anomaly is like a lion”.

⁵⁹ Leichty 1970:201 translates “If an anomaly is like a wolf”.

- 35) DIŠ iz-bu-um **ki-ma ši-li-bu-ti** If a miscarried foetus is like a
tortoise
YOS 10 56 iii:12⁶⁰
- 36) šum-ma šu-ul-mu-um **ki-ma da-
di-im** If the well-being is like a *dadu-*
fish
Durand 1998 (A.1418:21)⁶¹
- 37) [BE IGI.B]AR **ki-ma b[u]-gi-ni-im** If the view is like a *buginnu-*
bucket
YOS 10 14:16⁶²
- 38) DIŠ **ḫàr-šum ki-ma ki-ši-im** If the stomach is like a *bundle*
YOS 10 9:24⁶³
- 39) DIŠ **ší-ib-tum ki-ma ú-ší-im** If the increase is like an arrow
Nougayrol 1946:82 (AO 7029:16)
- 40) [BE] IGI.TAB **ki-ma bu-gi₅-nim** If the view is like a *buginnu-*
bucket
Jeyes 1989:112 (OBE 2 Obv:10)⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Leichty 1970:206 translates “If an anomaly is like a fox”, and reads ši-li-bu-ti as a mammal in keeping with the mammal list in the protases of this text. But ši-li-bu-ti could be read ši-li-pu-ti, a *she-tortoise*: George 2013:63 notes that ši-le-pu-ti is not a fox, it is a female turtle (šeleppūtum). He says šēlebtum is a vixen and that “the word *šēlebūtum should be deleted from the dictionaries” and says “it is fully possible, give what we know of ancient linguistic hermeneutics, that ancient scholars considered šēlebum “fox” and šēleppūm “turtle” cognate.”.

⁶¹ ARM IV no. 26

⁶² Winitzer 2006:515

⁶³ Full edition of this text in Glassner 2004:63-64. Glassner 2004:64 footnote 7 suggests other possible readings of these three cuneiform signs: di-ši-im or ki/qí-ši-im) and discusses *dīšum*’s meaning. For “bundle of reeds”. AHW dīšu(m) II. CAD K:460 secondary sense of a geometric shape of a truncated cone. Richter NABU 1992/24: [271b] qiššû a-2’. YOS 10 14:10 *BE IGI.BAR ki-ma ki-sí-im* : like a purse, and YOS 10 36 i:13 *šumma UR₅* (ḫašûm) *ki-ma NIG.NA₄* (kīsim) : If the lung is grooved like a bag, illustrate occurrences of *kīšum*.

⁶⁴ Jeyes 1989:113 translates “[If] the View (is) like a trough”. CAD B:306 *buginnu*: a type of bucket.

41) BE IGI.BAR **ki-ma KASKAL** If the view is like a kaskal-sign
(*kaskalim*)

YOS 10 14:8

42) [B]E IGI.B[AR] **ki¹-ma BAD** If the view is like a BAD-sign
(*baddim*)

YOS 10 14:14

43) DIŠ ŠÀ **ki-ma iš-ki im-me-ri-im** If the heart is like the testicles of
a sheep

YOS 10 9:21⁶⁵

44) [MÁŠ **ki-ma a**]-**ba-an ZÚ..LUM** If the increase is like the pit of a
(*suluppim*) date

YOS 10 35:36a⁶⁶

45) [šum-ma š]í-ib-tum **ki-ma a-ba-** If the increase is like a bird-
an i-šú-ri-im⁶⁷ stone

Jeyes 1989:137 (OBE 10:27)

nom + kīma-phrase (noun + ša + noun)

⁶⁵ Winitzer 2017:221, 3.76 footnote 140 says this could also be a plural for a collective “scrotum”, see his reference for “the equation of *išku/iškū* and *kalīt birki*”.

⁶⁶ Winitzer 2017:143, 2.212 translates “[If] the Increase] (was) like the date’s pit”

⁶⁷ Jeyes 1989:139 translates “[If the I]ncrease is perforated”.

Protases

- 46) BE IGI.BAR **ki-ma pa-sú-tim** ʿšaʿ If the view is like the pole of
GIŠ.MÁ (*eleppim*) a boat

YOS 10 14:12⁶⁸

- 47) [DIŠ š]í-ib-tum **ki-ma ú-šu-ul-ti ša** If the increase is like a blood-
da-m[i] vein

Nougayrol 1946:82 (AO 7029:12)

The equivalent to the Akkadian comparative particle *kīma* in the Arabic language is *ka* or *kama*. The comparative particles *ka* or *kama* introduce an analogy, termed *tašbīh* in Arabic terminology⁶⁹. The *tašbīh*-analogy can be constructed in two ways: entire or abridged. When the comparative particle *ka* is used in the structure, the analogy is said to be entire or ‘complete’ (*kāmil*) because the particle is explicitly stated. A typical example of a ‘complete’ *tašbīh*-analogy construction is: *huwa ka-āssadin* ‘he is **like** a lion’. The *tašbīh*-analogy can also be ‘cut’ or abridged (*tašbīh nāqis*). The abridged version is achieved by deleting the comparative particle *ka* from the sentence. The result is a comparison made implicit: *huwa āssadun* ‘he is a lion’. The *nom + nom* sentence is therefore closely related to the *nom + comparative phrase* sentence. Protases and apodoses constructed as *nom + kīma-phrase* and *nom + nom* sentences could be interpreted as *tašbīh nāqis* and *tašbīh kāmil*.

⁶⁸ I follow the transliteration and translation of George 2013:238-239 note 9. George 2013:238-239, note 9 discusses the meaning of *passutu* as a boat’s “erected pole”, and not a net or a veil.

⁶⁹ *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) M, *majāz, tašbīh and kināya*, simile, analogy and metaphor.

In Assyriology, OB omen translations already hint at the comparative nature of the *nom + nom* sentence. Sentences such as *izbum turāḫum*, ‘the miscarried foetus is *like* an ibex’ are understood to have a comparative quality (as in all of Leichty 1970’s translation cited above) with the comparative word ‘*like*’ often inserted in translations to express the comparative relationship that is felt expressed between topic and predicate. I have interpreted sentences like *izbum turāḫum* as an abridged analogy, a sentence in which the comparative particle has been deleted away from the predicate. In turn, I have understood the *nom + kīma-phrase* sentence as a complete analogy-*tašbīh* construction. In Arabic, the *tašbīh nāqis* or abridged analogy is highly literary and this may explain why this implicit version is so rarely found in a group of texts like Old Babylonian omens, texts that need to favour syntactic and grammatical explicitness to convey the clarity of scientific statements.

2.4 Augmented *primary* nominal sentences: the *nom + ša*-clause sentence

The *nom + ša (subjunctive clause)* sentence is common in apodoses, especially for omens termed ‘historical omens’⁷⁰.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>48) ⁹a-mu-ut a-[pi-š]a-li-im ša na-
ra-am ^dEN.ZU (<i>Sîn</i>) i-na pi-il-ši-
im ik-mu-ú-šu</p> <p>YOS 10 24 obv:9⁷¹</p> | <p>omen of the Apišalīan whom
Narām-Sîn took prisoner by
(means of) a breach [<i>of a city
wall</i>]</p> |
|---|--|

⁷⁰ Neujahr 2012:89-92 discusses historical omens and lists the scholarship dedicated to them since 1928 in fn 50.

⁷¹ Winitzer 2017:37-38, 2.21 translates “If there were two Palace-Gates and three kidneys and in the right of the gallbladder two punctures went all the way through => (it is) the omen of the Apišalīan, whom Narām-Sîn took prisoner from the break (of the city wall)”. YOS 10 22:4 is a parallel. See also K. Hecker 1986: 74-76.

- 49) ʿa-muʿ-ut ʿdšulʿ-gi **ša** a-pa-da- omen of Šulgi who killed
ʿra-aḥ **i-ni-ʿruʿ** <T>appa Darah
YOS 10 26 iv:10⁷²
- 50) a-mu-ut dšul-gi **ša** tap-pá-an- omen of Šulgi, who took Tappa-
da-ra-aḥ **ik-mu-ú** Darah prisoner.
YOS 10 24 rev:40⁷³
- 51) ʸa-mu-ut šar-ru-ki-in **ša** ki-ša- omen of Sargon who controlled
tam ʹi-**be-lu** the ‘world’
YOS 10 59 rev:8-9⁷⁴
- 52) a-mu-ut a-ku-ki ʹša ma-a-tum omen of Akuki for whom the
bi-ru-tam **iš-ši-a-šum** land carried hunger
YOS 10 46 v:2-3 // v:8-9
- 53) ʸa-mu-ut ¹na-ra-am dEN.ZU omen of Narām-Sîn who
(Sîn) ʹša ki-ša-tam **i-bi-lu-ú** controlled the ‘world’

⁷² YOS 10 26 is edited in full in Glassner 2009b:67-76. Winitzer 2017:250, 4.22 translates “(it is) the omen of Šulgi, who defeated Tappa-darah”, also in 4.47 page 275.

⁷³ Apodosis also found YOS 10 22:17; 24 rev:35. Winitzer 2017:276, 4.48 translates “(it is) the omen of Šulgi, who captured Tappa-darah”.

⁷⁴ Goetze 1947:255.

yos 10 56 iii:8-9⁷⁵

- 54) a-mu-ut ^dlu-ḥu-ši-im **ša** a-wi- omen of the (demon) Luhuša,
lum i-na bu-ul-ṭi-šu **mi-tu** that a man is dead in his prime

YOS 10 11 iii:1-2⁷⁶

I interpret the *nom + ša + subjunctive clause* structure illustrated here as a construction directly linked to the *nom + nom* sentence because of the subjunctive marker {u}. The subjunctive verb is marked by {u}, a suffix that is similar to that of nominatives, which is further marked by mimation {u + m}. Linking the subjunctive to nominal endings has been proposed long ago, as presented in Kouwenberg 2010:227-232. In his discussion of the Akkadian subjunctive marker {u} and {ni}, Kouwenberg notes that this view developed because “*there is a striking commonality between the original form of the Akkadian subjunctive and the imperfective prefix conjugation of Classical Arabic*”. But Kouwenberg goes on to propose another explanation for the use of the subjunctive marker {u} in Akkadian, one that does not link the nominative marker {u} to the subjunctive marker {u}. He does however note that his proposal, like previous views on this subject, is very much speculative (“*admittedly, this scenario is fairly speculative*” Kouwenberg 2000:228). I have followed the former interpretation because my study’s focus is the structure of sentences. Sentences built as *nom + ša + subjunctive clause* structures are similar in to *nom + nom* sentences. This is particularly visible when two sentences express the same ideas, one using a noun and the other a subjunctive verb. I have therefore understood that a link exists between the subjunctive marker {u} and the nominative marker {u}. In *nom + ša + subjunctive clause* sentences, I have understood the subjunctive verb as a complex unit that

⁷⁵ Leichty 1970:206 “omen of Narām-Sin who ruled the world”.

⁷⁶ George 2013:48 note line 5 translates “a liver-(omen) of Luhusa, that a man will be dead in his prime”.

has replaced a simple nominative noun, seen in the *nom + nom* sentence. In my model, *nom + ša + subjunctive clause* sentences are complex constructions that represent an *augmented* structure.

I have also observed that in a number of nominal sentences, the predicate contains a subjunctive clause followed by a main verb in the indicative (*nom + ša + subjunctive clause + verb*). I have categorised these sentences as augmented sentences also, but under the umbrella of the *basic* nominal sentence (the nominal sentence with a verbal predicate) because these contain a main verb.

2.5 The *extended primary* nominal sentence

A number of *primary nominal* sentences contain two formally independent nominatives with a resumptive suffixed pronoun attached to the second nominative that resumes the first. In protases and apodoses, I have found the *nom + nom-suff + pp* sentence and the *nom + nom-suff + fn* sentence. I have understood these structures as an extension of the *nom + pp/fn* sentence, the *basic* frame of the *primary nominal* sentence, and have termed them *extended primary nominal* sentences. This extension, also found in all other sentence types, is made through the use of resumptive pronouns, and by creating a complex predicate in which the sentence-initial item is linked to a noun that comes from the same syntactical category: here a second nominative noun. In *extended* accusative-initial sentences, the predicate is made complex by the addition of a second independent accusative (section 3), and in *circumstantial* sentences it is a second circumstance (section 4). Because I have adopted the Arabic model, I have analysed the sentence-initial nominative noun of the *nom + nom-suff + pp/fn* sentence as the *mubtada'* and topic, followed by its *xabar* predicate the *nom-suff + pp/fn* unit. In this *complex* predicate, the suffixed pronoun is resumptive. It co-refers the sentence-initial nominative. I have found the same type of extensions by resumptive suffixed

pronouns in the *basic* nominal sentence also and will refer to this construction (the *nom + nom-suff +/- x + verb* sentence). Standard Assyriological grammars analyse these constructions as ‘casus pendens’ sentences. The ‘casus pendens’ analysis understands the sentence-initial nominative as an extra-sentential constituent that sits outside of its sentence. Using Arabic grammatical theory to categorise this sentence structure produces an analysis that substantially differs from the standard Assyriological view. In my model, based on the Arabic model, the sentence-initial noun of these sentences is intra-sentential. It represents the topic, the *mubtada’* and governor of its sentence. To address this issue fully, I have presented by reassessment of these structures separately giving examples in section 2.9 and presenting my arguments in section 2.10. The below section presents typical examples of the *extended* primary nominal sentences.

2.5.A The *nom + nom-suff + pp* sentence

- 55) ³⁰šum-ma **mar-tum** ³¹mu-ša a- If the gall bladder’s water is on
na e-le-nu-um the upper part

YOS 10 31 x:30-31

- 56) ³²šum-ma **mar-tum** ³³i-ši-is-sà If the gall bladder’s base is on the
³⁴a-na e-li-nu-um upper part (and...)

YOS 10 31 i:32-34

- 57) ³⁶DIŠ **iz-bu-um** i-in-šu i-na pu-
 ʿti-iʿ-šu If a miscarried foetus' eye is in its
 forehead

YOX X 56 i:36⁷⁷

- 58) ³DIŠ **ZÉ** (*martum*) re-**sa** ki-ma If the gall bladder's head is like
 qá-qá-ad ak-ku-lim the head of an *akullum*-axe

YOS 10 28 obv:3⁷⁸

- 59) ⁴š[um]-ma **mar-tum** ⁵a[p]-pa-ša If the gall bladder's tip is like a
⁶kiʿ-ma šú-ri-ri-tim lizard

YOS 10 31 x:4-6

- 60) ²DIŠ **ZÉ** (*martum*) re-**sa** ki-ma If the gall bladder's head is like a
 ku-ub-ši-im *kubšu-turban*

YOS 10 28:2

I have also found that the predicate of the *extended* primary nominal sentence can contain two prepositional phrases. I have understood both prepositional phrases to be part of the predicate.

⁷⁷ CAD I:155 *inu* 2' "if a newborn lamb has its (only) eye in its forehead".

⁷⁸ Winitzer 2017:147, 2.217 translates "If (concerning) the gallbladder – its top (was) like the head of an *akkullu*-hammer".

- 61) ⁵DIŠ ZÉ (*martum*) re-sa a-na i-mi-tim **ki-ma** qá-ra-an is-ku-ri-im If the gall bladder's head is like the horn of a crescent on the right

YOS 10 28 obv:5

- 62) ⁶DIŠ ZÉ (*martum*) re-sa a-na šu-me-lim **ki-ma** qá-ra-an ma^l-ku-ri-im If the gall bladder's head on the left is like the prow of a boat

YOS 10 28 obv:6⁷⁹

2.5.B The *nom + nom-suff + fn* sentence

- 63) ¹⁰šum-ma **2 ma-ra-tum** ma-^raš^r-ra-aḫ-**ši-na** iš-te-en-ma If two gall bladders' cystic ducts are *as* one and...

YOS 10 11 v:10⁸⁰

- 64) ⁵²MAŠ **2 ta-al-lu** mu-ḫa-**šu-nu** iš-te-en-ma If two diaphragms' tops are *as one* and...

⁷⁹ I follow George 2013:22 note 7 who reads *makūrim* and translates 'like the prow of a boat'. Winitzer 2017:207, 3.54 reads *is-ku-ri-im* and transcribes *qaran iskurim*. Uskārūm: crescent moon.

⁸⁰ George 2013:191 note 20'-21' (line 19'-20') translates the protasis as two sentences: "If two gall-bladders (are present but) they have only a single cystic duct". George 2013:111 notes that "the topic of the twin gall-bladders with a shared cystic duct is the subject of the OB omen YOS 10 x:10-11 and Sealand omen text no. 27 §19', q.v."

YOS 10 42 ii:52⁸¹

- 65) ⁴³[DIŠ] **2 sí** (*sikkāt šēli*) **re-si-na** If the head of two ribs is *as one*
iš-te-en-ma but...

YOS 10 45:43⁸²

- 66) ⁵⁴DIŠ **sí** (*sikkāt šēli*) **i-ši-sà** iš-te- If the rib's base is *as one* but...
en-ma

YOS 10 45:54 // 45:47

- 67) ⁴⁸DIŠ **sí** (*sikkāt šēli*) **ša šu-me-lim** If the head of the left ribs is *as*
re-si-na iš-te-en-ma *one* and...

YOS 10 45:48

2.6 The *basic* nominal sentence

Nominal sentences with a *xabar*-verbal predicate are numerous in both protases and apodoses. Verbal predicates can be composed of a single verb, or of several other constituents combined with the verb such as accusatives, prepositional

⁸¹ Winitzer 2017:200, 3.45 translates "If (concerning) two diaphragms – their top (forms) a unit but their base turned into two (parts)".

⁸² YOS 10 45 is fully edited in Glassner 2009b:77-81.

phrases, frozen nouns, and clauses.⁸³ Three constructions are recurrent in the corpus: the *nom + verb*, the *nom + acc + verb*, the *nom + pp + verb*. As presented in chapter 1, a *basic* sentence should occur frequently enough in the corpus to represent a norm and its intelligibility means that it should communicate enough information for the statement to be understood by an uninformed addressee - enough constituents to impart both *old* and *new* information. Based on intelligibility and frequency, the *nom + acc + verb*⁸⁴ sentence can be said to represent the *basic* nominal sentence. The *nom + pp + verb* sentence also fits the criteria for frequency and intelligibility but the *nom + acc + verb* sentence is more numerous. I have therefore categorised the *nom + pp + verb* sentence as a subtype of the *basic* nominal sentence. Accusatives and prepositional phrases have a similar role: they both delimit the action of the verb and these sentence structures are related in this respect. The structure of the *basic nominal sentence* varies in three ways: I have found a reduced form achieved by the deletion of a basic constituent (the *nom + verb* sentence), an augmented form achieved by the addition of new or more complex items in the *basic* sentence (section 2.8), and an extended form remarkable by the presence of two formerly independent nominative nouns bound by a resumptive suffixed pronoun attached to the second nominative that co-refers the first. I have noted this phenomenon for the *primary* nominal sentence above (section 2.5) and as previously stated, I will address their structure and function in a discussion at the end of this chapter in section 2.10.

2.6.A The *nom + acc + verb* sentence

⁸³ In Arabic studies, orientalist reject this categorisation because they operate within a concept where the verb is the defining criteria of languages: Peled 2009:38 states that “Ayoub & Bohas (1983:36) maintain that the ‘Orientalists’ rejected the grammarians’ definitions “A sentence is defined as a verbal sentence only if its predicate is a verb, otherwise it is regarded as nominal”.

⁸⁴ In this study, I refer to ‘verbs’ includes statives, see *Glossary of terms*.

Sentences structured as *nom + acc + verb* forms are numerous in the corpus. They are found in both protases and apodoses. The below sentences are typical examples.

Protases

- 68) DIŠ IGI.BAR (*naplaštum*) **pa-da-** If the view crosses the path
 ʾnam ʾ i-bi-ʾirʾ
 YOS 10 17 obv:39⁸⁵
- 69) a-ḥu-um **a-ḥa-am** id-ri-is ...one side presses down the
 other side
 YOS 10 24 obv:7
- 70) ⁴DIŠ GÚ.MUR (*urʾudum*) **na-ap-** If the trachea swallows the
 ša-ra-am iḥ-lu-ut uvula
 YOS 10 36 iv:4
- 71) ki-is-li i-mi-tim **šu-me-lam** i-ti-iq ...the right *backbone* exceeds the
 left
 YOS 10 48:35⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Winitzer 2017:256, 4.27 translates “If the View crossed over the Path”, also 4.53 page 285.

⁸⁶ Starr 1983:67 translates “(if) (in) the vertebrae, of 2 kislus, the right one exceeds the left one (in size): you will prevail over your enemy”.

- 72) pa-nu-šu ²⁶[a]-^rbu^r-lam iṭ-ṭù-lu ... its face points at the gate
 YOS 10 46 ii:25-26
- 73) ⁷DIŠ ì (*šamnu*) šu-ul-ma id-di-a- If the oil *produces* a bubble and...
 am-ma
 YOS 10 58 rev:7 & 8
- 74) ²⁵bu-da-a-^ršu^r mar-tam i-mi-da- its shoulders lean on the gall
 a-ma bladder and...
 YOS 10 46 ii:25
- 75) ⁴⁰DIŠ iz-bu-um li-ša-nam [l]a i- If a miscarried foetus doesn't
 šu have a tongue
 YOS 10 56 ii:40
- 76) ²³DIŠ AŠ (*šēpum*) ^rmar^r-tam la If a footmark does not reach the
 ik-šu-dam gall bladder
 YOS 10 44 obv:23⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Winitzer 2017:286, 4.55 translates “If the Foot did not reach the gallbladder” & Starr 1983:103 “if a ‘foot’-mark does not reach the gall bladder”.

Apodoses

- 77) i-lí ma-tim **É.GAL-lam** (*ēkallam*) the gods of the land will control
i-re-ed-d[u-ú] the palace

YOS 10 22:11⁸⁸

- 78) a-pi-il šar-ri-im **GIŠ.GU.ZA** the heir of the king will seize the
(*kussīam*) i-ša-ba-^ṛat^ṛ throne

YOS 10 39 obv:4⁸⁹

- 79) aš-ša-at a-wi-lim **ma-ši-i** ul-la-ad the wife of the man will give
birth to twins

YOS 10 44 obv:37

- 80) a-pil LUGAL (*šarrim*) **GIŠ.GU.ZA** the heir of the king will seize the
(*kussīam*) i-ša-ba-at throne

YOS 10 47:67

- 81) bi-ib-lum **ma-tam** ub-ba-al a flood will carry away the land

⁸⁸ Winitzer 2017:59 2.67 translates “the gods of the land will have claim on the palace.” Also in Winitzer 2011:85. Jeyes 1989:30 “the gods of the country will take over the palace”. See a variation in YOS 10 24 obv:10 and YOS 10 26 i:21.

⁸⁹ Winitzer 2017:188, 3.33 translates “If (there were) two middle fingers of the lung (and the first) was wholly normal, the second stood atop it and turned and faced the trachea => the heir of the king will seize the throne”. Glassner 2009b:23 discusses the writing ḫu-ur-ḫu-dam/da-am and its other orthography (ur-‘u₅-d) in other examples cited in his footnote 52.

YOS 10 17:59⁹⁰

82) ⁴⁰i-lum **ik-ri-bi** i-ri-iš the god will request a votive gift

YOS 10 52 ii:40⁹¹

83) ma-tum **sú-un-qá-am** i-mar-ma the land will experience
famine and...

YOS 10 56 i:2⁹²

2.6.B The *nom + pp + verb* sentence

The *nom + pp + verb* sentence occurs in both protases and apodoses.

Protases

84) ¹²DIŠ Ì (*šamnu*) **a-na** ši-ši-tim i- If the oil turns *into* a film
tu-ur

YOS 10 58 rev:12

⁹⁰ Winitzer 2017:65 translates “a flood is coming and the devastating flood will sweep away the land”. Also in Winitzer JCS 63:88-89 & Glassner 2009b:42.

⁹¹ CAD I:65 *ikribu* c). Parallel apodosis in YOS 10 51 ii 41.

⁹² Leichty 1970:201 “there will be destruction in the land”. George 2013:62 translates “the land will experience famine and send [its] possessions [to] market.” Also discussed in George 2013:56, parag. 23, line 40.

- 85) ¹⁷gi-li-it-tum ¹⁸**i-na** ma-a-tim terror will emerge in the land
¹⁹ib-ba-aš-ši
- YOS 10 31 xii:17-19
- 86) ⁹pi-i-ša **a-na** iš-te-en i-ta-ar its word will turn *into* one
- YOS 10 11 ii:9⁹³
- 87) ḫa-a-tum **e-li** um-ma-nim i-ma- terror will fall upon the army
qú-ut
- YOS 10 47:34
- 88) bu-su-ra-at ḫa-de-e **a-na** LÚ good news will *reach* the man
(*awīlim*) i-sà-ni-iq
- YOS 10 53 rev:19⁹⁴
- 89) mar-ṣum **i-na** mu-^rur-ṣi^l-šu i- the sick person will die from his
ma-at illness
- YOS 10 26 iv:25⁹⁵

⁹³ George 2013:31 note 4 (§2) translates line 8 & 9 “(the land will be enclosed and) its ‘mouth’ will revert to ‘one’,” i.e. the people will be of unanimous opinion, an image of harmony and content.”

⁹⁴ CAD S:134 *sanāqu* A 1a mng 1. “to arrive at a locality to reach a locality, to reach a mark”.

⁹⁵ Winitzer 2017:141, 2.206 translates “the infirm will die from his illness”.

- 90) LÚ.KÚR-ka (*nakarka*) **e-li**-ka i-ta- your enemy will prevail over
 za-az you

YOS 10 48:36⁹⁶

In protases the prepositional phrase of the *nom + pp + verb* sentence is often a *kīma*-phrase. I have found only one example of a *nom + kīma-phrase + verb* sentence in an apodosis where a comparative construction calls for the use of *kīma* ('as important as').

Apodosis

- 91) ka-ab-tu **ki-ma be-li-šu** i-ma-aš- an important man will *become*
 ši *equal to* his lord

YOS 10 23:9⁹⁷

Protases

- 92) DIŠ iz-bu-um **ki-ma mu-ga-ri-** If a miscarried foetus is round
im ku-pu-^ṽut^ṽ-ma... like a wheel and...

YOS 10 56 ii:27⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Starr 1983:67 translates "your enemy will prevail over you".

⁹⁷ Winitzer 2017:189, 3.35 translates "an important person will be equal to his lord". Or 'an important man is *as important* as his lord', see Jeyes 1989:24 "*the important man will become as influential as his master*".

⁹⁸ Leichty 1970:204 "If an anomaly is fat and thick like a..."

- 93) ⁵⁹DIŠ AŠ (*šēpum*) **ki-ma MUŠ** If a foot-mark has scales like a
(*šerrim*) i-ra-tim i-šu snake

YOS 10 44:59⁹⁹
- 94) DIŠ GAG.TI (*sikkat šēli*) **ki-ma sí-ik-ka-ti** If the breastbone stands like a
iz-za-az-za peg

YOS 10 48:30 // YOS 10 49:2 (sí-ik-ka-tim)
- 95) ¹⁰BE IGI.BAR (*naplaštum*) **ki-ma ki-sí-im** If the view is incised like a purse
hu-ru-ra-at

YOS 10 14:10
- 96) DIŠ AŠ (*šēpum*) **ki-ma ši-ip er-bi-im** If a foot-mark is harnessed like
ša-am-da-at the foot of a locust

YOS 10 44:53¹⁰⁰
- 97) [DIŠ ʔù]-li-mu-um **ki-ma e-ri-im ka-ap-pi** If the spleen *has* wings like an
ša-ki-in eagle

YOS 10 41:31

⁹⁹ George 2013:32 translates the phrase “irātīm kima šērim išu” ‘has curves like a snake’.

¹⁰⁰ CAD Š:92 *šamādu 2’* cites this protasis “if the AŠ is “tied” like a locust’s foot”.

- 98) ⁴BE GIŠ.TUKUL (*kakki*) i-mi-it-tim If a right-side weapon-mark has
ki-ma pa-sí-im ⁵zi-ka-ri-im **ṭù-ri** angles like a male game piece
i-^ʿšu^ʿ

YOS 10 43:4-5¹⁰¹

- 99) ⁴⁶DIŠ sí (*sikkat šēli*) ^ʿša^ʿ šu-me- If the left rib *has* wings like the
lim **ki-ma** ^ʿmu^ʿ-ru-di-im **ša pa-** filigree of an axe
aš-tim ab-ri ^ʿša^ʿ-ak-na-at

YOS 10 45:46¹⁰²

- 100) ⁴⁴DIŠ sí (*sikkat šēli*) ša i-mi-tim If the right rib *has* wings like the
ki-ma mu-ru-di-im ša pa-aš-tim filigree of an axe
ab-ri ša-[ak-na-at]

YOS 10 45:44¹⁰³

- 101) ¹DIŠ ZÉ (*martum*) **ki-ma ṭi-iḫ pu-** If the gall bladder rolls like a
ki-im¹⁰⁴ ig-ru-ur *pukku*-ball

YOS 10 28 obv:1

¹⁰¹ George 2013:5 “it seems probable that the feature denoted by t/ṭurrum is an angular projection or corner” and who references YOS 10 45:44 “diš sí ša i-mi-tim ki-ma mu-ru-di-im ša pa-aš-tim ab-ri ša-[ak-na-at]. I wonder if *ṭurru* can be interpreted as some kind of *spiral mark* following its first meaning CAD ṭurrum A “twine, wire, string”. Parallel apodosis in YOS 10 46 iv:33-34.

¹⁰² CAD M/2:230 murudû c) “if the false rib of the right side has wings(?) (or strings, see abru B) like the m. of an ax”. George (personal communication) says that *abrī šaknat* is like *kappī šakin*.

¹⁰³ Glassner 2009b:77-81 who has edited this text translates “Si la côte de droite [a] l’aspect d’une cordelette comme le *murudû* d’une hache” (2009:80). For a description of the text see Glassner 2009b:50. See references for YOS 10 45:46 above.

¹⁰⁴ I have followed the translation of ‘*pukku*-ball’ for *ṭiḫ pukkim* given to me by Andrew George. CAD P:502 *pukku* transcribes *šumma martum kīma ṭiḫ pukkim igrur* and translates ‘if the gall bladder is rolled up like a *p.*’.

- 102) ¹⁰[B]E BI.RI (*tulimum*) **ki-ma ša-** If the spleen became long like
ša-ri-im i-ta-ri-ik a saw

Nougayrol 1973:43

(BM 22694:10)¹⁰⁵

2.7 The *reduced* nominal sentence

2.7.A The *nom + verb* sentence

The *nom + verb* structure represents a large group of sentences found in both protases and apodoses. I have interpreted it as a reduction of the *basic* nominal sentence, achieved by the deletion of the *basic* constituent in middle position, leaving only the nominative and verb to interact.

Protases

- 103) DIŠ pa-da-nu ša-ki-in-ma If the path is set and...

YOS 10 20:4¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Nougayrol 1973:46 translates “[Si la rate comme un rou]leau (de jardin) s’arrondit”.

¹⁰⁶ Winitzer 2017:186, 3.32 translates “If the Path was situated (normally) and the Narrowing narrowed onto itself on the right and left”.

104) ¹¹šum-ma mar-tum ¹²in-na-as-
ḫa-am-ma If the gall bladder is dislocated
and...

YOS 10 31 viii:11-12¹⁰⁷

105) ²⁴šum-ma mar-tum ²⁵is-ḫu-ur-
ma If the gall bladder goes around
and...

YOS 10 31 ii:24-25¹⁰⁸

106) šú-pu-ur šu-me-li-šu il-^rte-e¹-te his left hoof is splitting...

YOS 10 47:26

107) ³¹MAŠ ta-al-lu ik-bi-ir-ma if the diaphragm has become
thick and...

YOS 10 42 iii:31¹⁰⁹

Apodoses

108) ¹⁸) dIM (*Adad*) i-ra-aḫ-ḫi-iš Adad will trample

YOS 10 36 i:28

¹⁰⁷ Jeyes 1989:115 (OBE 2:16) translates “if the gall bladder has become displaced and has lodged in the Palace Gate”.

¹⁰⁸ Jeyes 1989:70 translates “if the gall bladder has turned round and has surrounded the Finger: the king will seize a foreign/hostile country”.

¹⁰⁹ Cohen 2012:156 sentence [284] “if the diaphragm has become thick but [I] (can/could) insert [my] finger into its perforation”.

- 109) ²³u₄-mu-um i-ru-pa-am-ma the day will darken and...
- YOS 10 22 obv:23¹¹⁰
- 110) ⁵ru-bu-ú ú-la in-ni-mi-du the notables will not join forces
- YOS 10 12:5¹¹¹
- 111) ³⁵bi-it LÚ (*awīlim*) ku-uš-šu-up the house of the man is
bewitched
- YOS 10 52 ii:35
- 112) at-ta ù LÚ.KÚR (*nakrum*) ta-an- you and the enemy will confront
na-ma-ra [...] each other
- YOS 10 53 obv:8¹¹²

2.7.B The *nom-suff + verb* sentence

¹¹⁰ YOS 10 22 is fully edited in Glassner 2009b:61-62 who translates p. 62 “le jour s’assombrira”.

¹¹¹ YOS 10 12 is fully edited in Leichty 1970:207 who translates “the princes will not join forces”. CAD E:147 emēdu 3’: “the notables will not join forces (in a common cause)”.

¹¹² YOS 10 53:28 is a parallel negative apodosis *at-ta ù LÚ.KÚR ú-ul ta-an-na-ma<-ra>*. For this omen, I follow the reading of Winitzer 2017:115 2.163 who transcribes the verb as *tannama<rā>*, in his footnote 249 he says the emendation follows Starr 1975:242). Winitzer 2017:115 2.163 translates “(it represents) a disengagement (which means): the enemy and you will not confront each other”.

The topic (*mubtada'*) of the *nom + verb* sentence often varies in structure. The sentence-initial nominative can be a single noun as seen above, but also a noun onto which a suffixed pronoun is attached. The combination of *nom-suff pronoun* is often found in 'second sentences'. When I have encountered protases or apodoses composed of several sentences, I have referred to each as 'first', 'second' or 'third' sentences to identify them and have observed that in second or third sentence shaped as *nom-suff + verb* structures, the suffixed pronoun refers to the nominative subject explicitly stated and located in the previous sentence.

Protases

- 113) (²¹šum-ma **mar-tum** ²²ma-li-at- (If the gall bladder is *gorged*
ma) ²³mu-**ša** wa-ar-qú and) **its water** is green

YOS 10 31 x:21-23

- 114) (⁵¹DIŠ sí (*sikkāt šēli*) i-ši-sí-na ti- (If the ribs' base is joined
iṣ-bu-ut) ù re-**si-na** ti-iṣ-bu-ut together) and their head
interlocks

YOS 10 45:51

- 115) ⁶mu-**ša** i-ba-lu-ú **its waters will dry up**

YOS 10 5:6¹¹³

- 116) li-pi-**sà** ra-bi **its mole is big**

YOS 10 48:41 // 49:13

¹¹³ Winitzer 2017:40 2.24 translates "its waters will dry up" also in Winitzer 2017:101, 2.137. Parallel in BM 12875 obv:8-13.

117) ù re-**sa** i-ib-ba-al-ki-it-ma and its head is *back to front*
and...

YOS 10 13 rev:20

118) qá-ab-li-tu-**ša** bé-ša its waist has bifurcated

YOS 10 45:59¹¹⁴

119) ¹⁹qá-ab-la-a-**ša** ²⁰na-aṣ-ḥa its waist is loose

YOS 10 31 vi:19-20

120) ù re-**sú** ta-ri-ik (also) its head is dark

YOS 10 15 obv:5

121) ⁴⁴DIŠ i-ši-is-**sà** ip-ṭù-ur If its base is split

AO 9066:44 (RA 44:30)¹¹⁵

Apodoses

¹¹⁴ Glassner 2009b:78-81 translates “Si la côte, sa pointe et sa base sont interconnectées, mais sa partie médiane est dissociée”.

¹¹⁵ Winitzer 2017:163-4, 3.10 translates “If its base (ditto and [?]) was split => the king will fashion a statue, (but) another will introduce (it into the temple).”

- 122) šu-na-tu-šu sà-ar-ra his dreams are false
 YOS 10 52 iv:22¹¹⁶
- 123) ¹⁷u₄-mu-šu i-ri-iq-qú his days will be empty...
 YOS 10 11 i:17¹¹⁷
- 124) mu-sà i-ša-ba-as-sí-i-ma Her husband will catch her and...
 YOS 10 14:7¹¹⁸
- 125) ša-mu-ú-ša ú-qá-al-la-lu-^rú its rain will reduce
 YOS 10 25 obv:38
- 126) a-la-nu-ka in-na-aq-qá-ru your cities will be destroyed
 YOS 10 25 rev:46

¹¹⁶ Starr 1983:113 translates “his dreams will lie.”

¹¹⁷ Winitzer 2017:83 translates “The expeditionary force will go from one campaign to another – its days will be idle; for an uncertain date (it forecasts) an eclipse”. Jeyes 1989:55 translates “if the Path is divided into three (equal) parts: the one who is going on a campaign, one campaign will throw him on another one, his days will be empty (i.e. one fruitless campaign after the other)”.

¹¹⁸ George CUSAS 18:236 translates “her husband will catch her.” Also in Winitzer 2017:241, 4.8 (“her husband will seize her”) and Khait 2014:87 (“her husband will catch her”), and Glassner 2009b:36.

127) pa-nu-**ša** i-da-ni-nu-ú its front will become strong

YOS 10 39 obv:8¹¹⁹

128) re-šú-ú-**a-a** ³⁹i-pa-aṭ-ṭa-^ʿru^ʿ-ni my helpers will leave me
in-ni

YOS 10 46 ii:38-39¹²⁰

129) šum-**šu** iz-za-ka-ar his name will be remembered

YOS 10 54 rev:31¹²¹

130) ti-la-tu-**ka** i-pa-ṭa-ra-^ʿka^ʿ your allies will leave you

YOS 10 48:31

2.7.C The *nom*^{possessed-possessor} + verb sentence

The sentence-initial nominative constituent of the *nom + verb* sentence can also often be the result of a possessive construction with a construct state

¹¹⁹ Winitzer 2017:214, 3.68 translates “its appearance will become mighty”. His footnote 130 cites CAD P:95 “its prestige will increase”. Mayer 2010:311 “ihr Selbstbewußstein wird steigen” (their poise/self-confidence will rise).

¹²⁰ Jeyes 1989:31 translates “my helpers will liberate me”.

¹²¹ YOS 10 54 is fully edited in Böck 2000:296-301.

(noun^{nominative} + noun^{genitive}) or with two nouns tied by the independent relative pronoun *ša*, ‘of’. I have found this in both protases and apodoses:

Protases

131) **šú-pu-ur šu-me-li-šu** il-t[e]-^ṛe^ṽ-te ... his left hoof splits

YOS 10 47:26

132) ⁶³DIŠ **du-ur na-ag-l[a-b]i-im ša** If the wall of the right-shoulder
i-mi-tim la i-ba-aš-ši blade is not present

YOS 10 47:63

133) ²³DIŠ **sí** (*sikkat šēlim*) **ša** ^ṛi-mi- If the right rib is very dark
tim^ṽ tu-ur-^ṛru-uk^ṽ

YOS 10 45:23

134) ¹⁸DIŠ **šu-ub-tum ša i-mi-tim** tar- If the right seat is dark
ka-at

YOS 10 49:18

135) ⁵⁶DIŠ **qá-^ṛra-an^ṽ na-ag-la-bi-im** If the crescent of the left
ša šu-me-lim pa-^ṽte₄-er shoulder-blade is split

YOS 10 47:56¹²²

¹²² Starr 1983:71 translates “if the ‘horn’ of the left hip bone is loose: flight of the enemy’s army”.

Apodoses

- 136) **aš-ša-at LÚ-lim** (*awīlim*) i-ni-a-ak-ma the man's wife will have extra-marital relations and...

YOS 10 47:13¹²³

- 137) ⁵³**um-ma-an na-ak-ri-im** i-te-eb-bi-am-ma the enemy's army will rise up and...

YOS 10 33 iii:53

- 138) **ú-ba-an LUGAL** (*šarrim*) **ša qá-ti-šu** i-ma-ra-aš the king's finger will become diseased

YOS 10 24 rev:37¹²⁴

- 139) **bu-su-ra-at nu-ri-im** uš-ši-a-ku illuminating news will come forth for you

YOS 10 23 rev:13

- 140) **ra-ki-ib i-me-ri** i-ṭe-hi-ak-kum the donkey-rider will approach you

YOS 10 44 rev:65

¹²³ George 2013:236 translates "a man's wife will go fornicating (with another man) and leave the household."

¹²⁴ Winitzer 2017:145, 2.215 translates "A king's finger from his hand will go bad (from infection)".

2.8 The *augmented* nominal sentence

Nominal sentences can also be composed of four or more constituents. In the corpus, three augmented structures are recurrent: the *nom + acc + pp/fn + verb* sentence, the *nom + pp/fn + acc + verb* sentence, and the *nom + pp + pp + verb* sentence. These augmented structures are more often found in apodoses. I have interpreted the variations of the location of the constituents between the sentence-initial nominative and the verb in final position as evidence of the presence of delaying and preposing tactics. I have noticed that in apodoses, the *nom + pp + acc + verb* sentence is more frequent than the other two structures (the *nom + acc + pp/fn + verb* and the *nom + pp + pp + verb* sentences). This frequency points to the prepositional phrase showing a greater tendency to occur close to the nominative noun when the latter is in sentence-initial position (***nom + pp + acc + verb***). This tendency could be the indication of a deep structure rule of distribution: if the prepositional phrase is more frequently placed next to the sentence-initial nominative noun, its occurrence later in the sentence is a case of delaying (***nom + acc + pp + verb***). Conversely, if the accusative constituent as a result is more frequently placed close to the verb (*nom + pp + **acc + verb***) then its separation from the verb can be identified as preposing (*nom + **acc** + pp + **verb***).

2.8.A The *nom + pp/fn + acc + verb* sentence

In the *nom + pp/fn + acc + verb* sentence, the circumstantial constituent occurs directly after the sentence initial nominative. In this situation, the accusative is placed closer to the verb.

Protases

- 141) ²²UD Ì.GIŠ (*šamnu*) **a-na EGIR** If the oil has an edge at the back
(warkatim) **ki-ib-ra-am ir-ši-ma** and...

YOS 10 62 obv:22

- 142) ⁹DIŠ Ì (*šamnu*) **a-na ḥa-al-li ba-** If the oil produces a bubble
ri-im šu-ul-ma-am it-ta-di-a-am toward the thigh of the diviner

YOS 10 58 rev:9

- 143) ²³DIŠ [UDU (*immerum*)] **i]t-ti da-** If the [sheep] releases stool
mi-im pa-ar-ša-am ú-wa-ši-ra- with blood
 am

YOS 10 47:23

- 144) ²⁷DIŠ Ì.GIŠ (*šamnu*) **a-na i-[mi]-** If oil produces a swelling on the
ti ni-ki-im-ta i-di-a-am right

YOS 10 57 obv:27

- 145) ¹⁹AŠ ŠU.SI (*ubān*) ḥa-ši MURUB₄ If the median finger of the lung
(qablītum) **ki-ma ŠU.SI (ubānim)** has *t.-angles* like a finger
ṭù-ur-ri i-šu

YOS 10 40 rev:19¹²⁵

- 146) ²⁵DIŠ iz-bu-um **ki-ma il-la-bu-** If a miscarried foetus like a
ḫi-im ša-[ra]-am ma-li bladder is full of air

YOS 10 56 ii:25¹²⁶

- 147) mu-ši-tum **e-li a-wi-lim ik-ri-bi** the night *holds* a prayer offering
i-šu over the man

YOS 10 51 i:35¹²⁷

Apodoses

- 148) i-lum **e-li a-wi-lim ta-ku-ul-tam** the god *holds* a ceremonial meal
i-šu over the man

YOS 10 51 iv:6¹²⁸

- 149) ⁸ne-šum **i-na pa-ni a-wi-lim pa-** a lion will lay a corpse in front of
ag-ra-am i-na-di-i-ma the man and...

YOS 10 21 obv:8¹²⁹

¹²⁵ George 2013:4 note 21: “if the middle lobe of the lung has t.s like a finger”.

¹²⁶ Leichty 1970:204 “If an anomaly is full of wind like a bladder”. For parallel omens with text no. 12 in 2013:49, see table of concordance p.51.

¹²⁷ CAD I:65 *ikribu* c). Parallel apodoses in YOS 10 52 i33. Duplicate in YOS 10 51 i 35.

¹²⁸ CAD T:90 *tākultu* a) translates “the man owes the god a ceremonial meal”.

¹²⁹ Winitzer 2017:242, 4.9 translates “a lion will lay a corpse down before a man and (then) it will be killed”. Also in Bottéro 1974:166.

- 150) pa-ši-it-tum i-na É LÚ (*bīt awīlim*) **ši-ir-ra-am** ú-še-uš-ši The *pašittum* will take away the infant from the house of the man
YOS 10 23 rev:8
- 151) na-ka-ar-ka ¹⁹i-na [**bi**] -**ti-i-ka mi-im-m[a l]a ša-a-am** i-le-[qé] your enemy will take everything not his from your household
YOS 10 33 iv:18-19¹³⁰
- 152) i-lum **e-li a-wi-lim ta-ku-ul-tam** i-šu the god *holds* a ceremonial meal over the man
YOS 10 52 iv:7
- 153) ³⁶šar-ru-um ³⁷i-na **a-li-šu** ³⁸pi-el-ša-am ³⁹i-pa-la-aš-ma the king in his city will pierce a breach
YOS 10 31 i:36-39
- 154) ¹⁴na-ak-ru-um **a-na pa-ni-ia um-ma-ni-ia šu-pa-a-tim** it-ta-na-di the enemy will lay traps against my front of my army
YOS 10 51 iv:14

¹³⁰ Winitzer 2017:211 3.63 translates “your enemy will take something not his from your household”.

- 155) ¹⁰ša-bi **a-na na-ak-ri-im šu-** my soldiers will keep laying
pa-a-tim it-ta-na-ad-di traps against the enemy

YOS 10 51 iv:10 // 52 iv:10-

11

- 156) ⁶¹ra-bu-um **i-na la a-li-šu** ⁶²ku- a noble will seize the throne
ši-a-am i-ša-ba-at in a city not his own

YOS 10 41 rev:61-62

2.8.B The nom + acc + pp/fn + verb sentence

I have found the *nom + acc + pp/fn + verb* sentence in both protases and apodoses.

Protases

- 157) [BE SAG ŠÀ (*rēš libbi*) **u]r-qá-am ki-** [If the head of the heart] is
ma un-qí-im la-^rwi⁷ encircled by a green path
like a ring

Jeyes 1989 :151 (OBE 13 rev:16)¹³¹

¹³¹ Jeyes 1989:153 translates “[If the apex of the heart] is encircled by a [g]reen patch”. Winitzer 2017:79, 2.92 translates “[If the top of the heart] was surrounded by a yellow-green (patch) like a ring”.

158) ʾMAŠ liʾ-bu **pu-ša-am ki-ma** If the heart is filled with white
ka-ka-bi-im ma-li spots like stars

YOS 10 42 i:6

159) ³¹MAŠ li-bu **ši-ra-am ki-ma ku-** If the heart is surrounded by
ub-ši-im sà-ḥi-ir flesh like a *kubšum*-turban

YOS 10 42:31

Apodoses

160) ʾLÚʾ.[KÚR-k]a (*nakarka*) **um-ma-** *your enemy* will bring the
an-ka a.-na GIŠ.TUKUL-ki (*kakki*) downfall of your army
¹⁴ú-ša-am-ʾqáʾ-at-ma during war and...

YOS 10 56 i:13-14¹³²

161) ¹⁷i-ʾlumʾ **ik-ri-bi e-li LÚ** the god *holds* prayers over the
(*awīlim*) i-šu man (the man owes the god
(promised) votive prayers)¹³³

YOS 10 52 ii:17

¹³² Parallel George 2013:60 notes 11 (§6) points to the parallel between YOS 10 56 i:13-14 and MS3000 no.12 §11 (18-19). Leichty 1970:202 translates “your enemy will overthrow your army by force and the land will be full of mourning”.

¹³³ CAD I:65 ikribu c). Parallel apodosis in YOS 10 51 ii 18.

162) ²⁸ma-tum ši-i **LÚ.KÚR-ša** this land will repel its
 (*nakarša*) **i-na GIŠ.TUKUL-ki** enemy in war
 (*kakki*) i-sà-ṛki¹-ip

YOS 10 56 iii:28¹³⁴

163) ni-šu **bi-ša-ši-na a-na ma-ḥi-ri-im** the people will bring out
 ú-še-ši-a their goods to the market

YOS 10 25 rev:64

164) ³⁷šar-ru-um **šar-ra-am i-na** one king will kill a king in
GIŠ.TUKUL-ki (*kakki*) i-da-ak-ma war and...

YOS 56 ii:37¹³⁵

2.8.C The *nom + pp + pp + verb* sentence

Two circumstantial elements can also make up the construction of a four-constituent based nominal sentence. These structures are rare however.

Protases

¹³⁴ Leichty 1970:206 “that land will throw down its enemy in battle”

¹³⁵ Leichty 1970:206 “one king will kill another king in battle and conquer his cities, his suburbs, his fortresses, his land, and his environs.”

Nom + pp + pp + verb

- 165) MUŠ i-na KASKAL (*harrāni*) a-
na pa-ni um-ma-nim i-ši-ir a snake will *charge straight* at
the front of the army in a
campaign
YOS 10 20:26

- 166) ⁴¹um-ma-ni it-ti DINGIR-lim my army is requesting a defeat
(*ilim*) a-na da-ki-im er-ši-it from the god
YOS 10 46 iii:41¹³⁶

- 167) ⁴³re-šú-ú-a it-ti DINGIR-lim my helpers are leaving with the
(*ilim*) ṛa¹-na da-ki-im ⁴⁴ṭa-ar- god for killing
du-ú
YOS 10 46 ii:43-44¹³⁷

2.8.D Clausal predicates

The *xabar*-predicate of a *basic* nominal sentence can be augmented by the insertion of a subjunctive clause introduced by *ša*, placed in middle position in between the sentence-initial nominative and the verb. This type of replacement and complexity is also found in *primary* nominal sentences, where the subjunctive

¹³⁶ Winitzer 2017:112, 2.155 translates “(it means that) the defeat of my army is requested from the god”. Parallel in CT 44 37 obv:3.

¹³⁷ Or ‘my army has *incurred a defeat* from the god’. Winitzer 2017:157, 3.4 translates “my helpers will be sent out with (the support of) the god to defeat (the enemy)”. Jeyes 1989:31 translates “my helpers are sent out by the god to kill”.

clause introduced by *ša* replaces the nominative noun of a strictly nominal *xabar*-predicate (cf discussion in section 2.4).

2.8.D.1 The *nom + ša (subjunctive clause) + verb* sentence

In this sentence structure, the subjunctive *ša*-clause is located in the middle in between the nominative in sentence-initial position and the verb in final position. I have interpreted this subjunctive clause as a complex constituent that replaces a structurally simpler basic constituent. Typical examples are:

- 168) a-al pa-ṭi-k[a] ^{15r}ša šu-ma-am⁷ i- your border city which has fame
šu-^rú⁷ a-na i-di LÚ.KÚR (*nakrim*) will turn to the side of the
i-ta-ar enemy

YOS 10 44 obv:14-15¹³⁸

- 169) ⁵²ṭa-ri-du-ú-um ⁵³ša ku-uš-šu- an exiled-person who was
du⁵⁴ a-na URU-li-šu (*ālišu*) ⁵⁵i- chased away will return to his
ta-ar city

YOS 10 31 ii:52-55¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Jeyes 1989:120 (OBE 2:15) translates “your border town which has fame will go over to the side of the enemy”.

¹³⁹ Jeyes 1989:173 (OBE 15 rev:11).

170) ³kab-tum ša šu-ma-am i-šu-ú an important man who has fame
 ib-ba-aš-ši-ma will *emerge*

YOS 10 24:3¹⁴⁰

In sentence 170, the subordinate clause *ša šumam išû* gives more information about the type of *kabtum*, important person, who is expected to come into being (*ibbašši*). The clause clarifies the identify of the individual and states that it is a person of renown, ‘one who has a name’, *ša šumam išû*. This clause acts like an apposition to the sentence-initial noun and gives more information about this entity. It qualifies the noun. I make this remark because these types of clauses function like an adjective or attribute and can again be said to be related to nominative nouns because of the subjunctive {u}-ending, the structure, and its semantic role.

2.9 The *extended* nominal sentence: complex predicates

A number of *nominal* sentences contain two independent nominatives, one in sentence-initial position and another that directly follows it or is separated by it by another constituent. In these structures the second nominative is the grammatical subject of the sentence and a suffixed pronoun that resumes the first nominative is always attached onto it. I have understood these sentences as a structural extension of the *basic* nominal sentence, and have termed them *extended* nominal sentences. The *nom-suff* and the verb of this complex predicate can be combined to other constituents also, such as accusatives or a circumstance. All *complex* predicates have one feature in common: the suffixed pronoun

¹⁴⁰ Jeyes 1989:24 translates “there will be an important man who has fame and the income which went into the palace will go into his house”.

attached to the nominative grammatical subject always resumes the sentence-initial nominative. In standard Assyriological grammars, this type of sentence is understood and categorised as a ‘casus pendens’ construction. The ‘casus pendens’ analysis understands the sentence-initial nominative as an extra-sentential constituent, an element that stands outside of the sentence and governs no unit¹⁴¹. As previously stated, based on the Arabic model and its description of the nominal sentence I have analysed the sentence-initial nominative as an intra-sentential nominative that functions as the topic, followed by a complex predicate. The below section presents examples of extended nominal sentences (*nom + nom-suff +/- x + verb sentence*), followed by my reassessment.

2.9.A The *nom + nom-suff + verb* sentence

- 171) ²⁰šum-ma **na-ap-la-aš-tum** re-sa If the view’s head is split
ip-^rṭú¹-ur

YOS 10 11 ii:20¹⁴²

2.9.B The *nom + nom-suff + acc +/- x + verb* sentence

¹⁴¹ Buccellati 1996:460-461 “In terms of normal government rules, this is an anacoluthon, since the noun in extraposition (e.g. aḥum, šārat awīlim) does not properly govern any predicate though it is in the nominative. Such a construction is known by the Latin term ‘casus pendens,’ i.e. ‘hanging case,’ which refers to the fact that the nominative is not in this case the marker of the subject, since there is no predicate referring to it, and thus gives the impression of a construction that hangs unresolved.”

¹⁴² Winitzer 2017:99 2.135 translates “If (concerning) the View, its head was split”.

The complex predicate of the *extended* nominal sentence can also contain an accusative. I have found two patterns that follow this construction: the *nom + nom-suff + acc + verb* and the *nom + acc + nom-suff + verb* sentence. The *nom + nom-suff + acc + verb* is frequent in protases.

Protases

- 172) ¹[šum-m]a **mar-t[um]** ²[I]i-ib- [If] the gall bladder's heart is
ba-ša ³li^ˀ-pi-a-^ˀam^ˀ ma-li filled with fatty tissue

YOS 10 31 i:1-3

- 173) ²⁰šum-ma **mar-tum** ²¹li-ib-ba-ša If the gall bladder's inside is filled
²²da-ma-am ma-li with blood

YOS 10 31 iii:20-22 // 31 vi:43-
45¹⁴³

- 174) ⁴⁵šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁴⁶KIR₄-ša If the gall bladder's tip is
(*appaša*) da-ma-am ⁴⁷la-pi-it smeared with blood

YOS 10 31 iii:45-47¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ George 2013:42, note i 12'-15' (§ 3') translates "if the insides are full of blood". References Sealand I-period compendium AO 7539: 34'b (ed. Nougayrol 1971a: 70, 73).

¹⁴⁴ Winitzer 2017:313, 2.72 translates "If (concerning) the gallbladder, its (top) tip was smeared with blood. Also in Winitzer 2017:160, 3.6.

- 175) ⁵⁰šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁵¹qá-ab-la- if the gall bladder's waist is
⁵²ša ⁵³da-ma-am ⁵³la-ap-ta smeared with blood

YOS 10 31 iii:50-53¹⁴⁵

- 176) ²⁵šum-ma **mar-tum** ²⁶i-ši-id-sà If the gall bladder's base is
²⁷ši-ra-a-am ka-ti-im covered with flesh

YOS 10 31 iv:25-27

- 177) ⁶šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁷KIR₄-ša If the gall bladder's tip does not
(*appaša*) mu-ša-am ⁸la i-šu have an opening

YOS 10 31 iii:6-8

- 178) ⁶DIŠ **iz-bu-um** zu-qá-as-sú pu- If the miscarried foetus' chin has
us-sú ik-ta-ša-ad reached its forehead

YOS 10 56 iii:6¹⁴⁶

- 179) ²³DIŠ **iz-bu-um** uz-na-šu i-ni-šu If the miscarried foetus' ears
ik-ta-[a]t-ma have covered its eyes

YOS 10 56 ii:23¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Winitzer 2017:313, 4.72 translates "If (concerning) the gall bladder, its middle parts were smeared with blood."

¹⁴⁶ Leichty 1970:206 "If an anomaly's chin reaches its forehead".

¹⁴⁷ Leichty 1970:206 "If an anomaly's ears cover its eyes".

- 180) ⁴³šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁴⁴li-ib-ba-ša If the gall bladder's heart is filled
⁴⁵da-ma-am ma-li with blood

YOS 10 31 vi:43-45

Apodoses

- 181) **LUGAL** (*šarrum*) ši-gi-li-ku-ú- the king's *shigiliku* ¹⁵⁰ will
 šu¹⁴⁸ pi-a-am la ki-na-am i-ta- constantly answer him an
 na-pa-lu-uš-šu unreliable word

YOS 10 20:6¹⁴⁹

- 182) ²⁸šar-ru-um ²⁹um-ma-an-šu the king's army will split into
³⁰te-ši-tam i-le-et-te nine

YOS 10 31 v:28-30¹⁵¹

2.9.C The *nom + acc + nom-suff + verb* sentence

¹⁴⁸ Jeyes 1989:21 reads : “ši-qì-li-qú-ú-šu pi-a-am la ki-na-am i-ta-na-pa-lu-uš-šu” and translates “the king, his šeqel-takers will repeatedly answer him with an unreliable word”.

¹⁴⁹ Jeyes 1989:21 reads “ši-qì-li-qú-ú-šu pi-a-am la ki-na-am i-ta-na-pa-lu-uš-šu” and translates “the king, his šeqel-takers will repeatedly answer him with an unreliable word”.

¹⁵⁰ *šigiliku* is interpreted as a variant spelling of *šakkannaku* perhaps influenced by a variant pronunciation, see Jeyes 1989:21 for who reads and translates “LUGAL ši-qì-li-qú-ú-šu” as “the king, his šeqel-takers” and notes that “The expression, šeqel-takers, reminds one of the passage in the first Book of Samuel, chapter 9, 6-27, in which Saul consults Samuel who is called a “seer”, in a matter of lost asses and pays him ¼ šeqel of silver.”

¹⁵¹ George 2013:43 iii 14-17 (§20') translates “the king will split his army in nine” (note 153).

The *nom + acc + nom-suff + verb* sentence is more often encountered in apodoses.

Apodoses

- 183) ³⁴šar-ru-um a-la-am ³⁵na-ak-ra- the king's hand will conquer
am ³⁶qa-as-sú-ú ³⁷i-ka-aš-ša- an enemy city
a[d]
- YOS 10 31 viii:34-37¹⁵²
- 184) ru-bu-ú be-el lu-um-ni-šu qá- the lord's hand will conquer his
as-sú i-ka-aš-ša-ad opponent
- YOS 10 23 obv:12
- 185) šar-rum ¹¹[ma]-tam la ša-tam the king's hand will conquer a land
qá-as-sú i-ka-ša-ad not his
- YOS 10 26 i:10-11, 20
- 186) šar-ru-um er-šé-tam la ša- the king's hand will conquer a land
tam qá-at-sú i-ka-ša-ad not his
- YOS 10 4:6-8¹⁵³

¹⁵² Jeyes 1989:70 translates "if the gall bladder has risen and seized the top of the Finger: the king will expropriate a foreign/hostile city".

¹⁵³ Winitzer 2017:138, 2.199 translates "The king will conquer a land not his".

- 187) ³³**a-wi-lum** še-ḫe-er bi-ti-šu ù the man's eyes will see reduction
 ú-ne-^rti'-šu ³⁴i-na-**šu** i-ma-ra of his household and of his
 YOS 10 56 ii:33-34 property

2.9.D The *nom + nom-suff + pp + verb* sentence

Protases

- 188) ²⁶šum-ma **mar-tum** ²⁷mu-ša a- If the gall bladder's water is
 na ši-na zi-i-zu divided in two

YOS 10 31 x:26-29

- 189) ⁴²šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁴³pa-nu-ú- If the gall bladder's face is set to
 ša ⁴⁴a-na šu-me-li-im ⁴⁵ša-ak- the left
 nu-ú

YOS 10 31 ii:42-45

- 190) ⁴⁸šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁴⁹ap-pa-ša If the gall-bladder's tip is set to
⁵⁰a-na KÁ.É.GAL-im (*bāb* the palace gate
ēkallim) ⁵¹ša-ki-in

YOS 10 31 ii:48-51

- 191) ¹Diš **mar-tum** re-sa a-na i-mi- If the gall-bladder's head turns on
 tim is-ḫu-ur-ma the right and...

YOS 10 46 v:1

Apodoses

- 192) ⁷šar-ru[m] ma-as-sú a-na pi-šu the king's land will *obey* to his
 uš-šu-ṛa¹-ab word

YOS 10 33 iv:7 // 33 iv:2

2.9.E The *nom + pp + nom-suff + verb* sentence

I have also found extended nominal sentences in apodoses in which the prepositional phrase separates the sentence-initial nominative and the nominative subject.

- 193) ²⁸mar-šum i-na mu-ur-ši-i-šu **mu-** Half the hair *of* the sick man
 ṛut¹-ta-tu-ú-šu²⁹i-ṛib¹-ba-la-a will *fall* during his illness

YOS 10 46 v:28-29¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ CAD M:311 muttatu A 1.a) 'half' referring to hair "the sick person will lose half (his hair) during his illness". Parallel in CT 3 2:7 (OB oil omen).

- 194) **a-wi-lum e-li** be-el a-wa-ti-^ṛšū^ṛ **ap-** The man will defeat his
pa-šū i-ka-aš-ša-ad opponent

YOS 10 11 iii:21-22¹⁵⁵

2.10 Reassessing the casus pendens

This section presents my argument for the reassessment of sentences known in standard Assyriological grammars as ‘casus pendens’ and to which I refer as *extended* nominal sentences. I have divided my discussion in two parts. The first presents how Assyriological grammars define the syntactical processes that produce ‘casus pendens’ sentences. The following section presents my alternative analysis of these sentences and how I have arrived at my conclusions by using Arabic grammatical theory. The main difference between the standard Assyriological interpretation of this structure and my own lies in how the sentence-initial nominative is categorised. The ‘casus pendens’ analysis interprets the sentence-initial noun as an *extra*-sentential constituent, an element that sits outside of the sentence before which it stands (Buccellati 1996:460-461). My analysis rests on interpreting the sentence-initial constituent of sentences as the governor of their structure. This has led me to consider the possibility that the sentence-initial nominative can be an *intra*-sentential constituent that governs a complex predicate (a *nom-suff + x* unit). In this interpretation, the sentence-initial nominative represents the *mubtada’*, the topic, and the constituents that follow this sentence-initial element are part of the *xabar*, the predicate of the sentence. I have arrived at this analysis by following Arabic grammatical theory and its structural descriptions, and found support in modern studies into ‘casus pendens’ constructions, one interested in the Arabic language (Doron 1992), and another that has proposed a new typology of languages that use *topic + comment*

¹⁵⁵ appu + kašādum = to defeat.

sentences based on how non-Indo European languages function (Li & Thomson 1976).

To assess the 'casus pendens' analysis of standard Assyriological grammars I have returned to how standard linguistic dictionaries define the processes that Assyriological grammars reference when describing the 'casus pendens'¹⁵⁶. I have illustrated the syntactical processes said to be responsible for the 'casus pendens', extraposition, preposing, and left-dislocation, with protases and apodoses that correspond to the standard linguistic descriptions of these processes in order to explore whether they fully describe and explain *nom + nom-suff + x* sentences, or whether an alternative description and definition can be proposed.

2.10.A Definition of the 'casus pendens' in standard Assyriological grammars

Standard Assyriological grammars describe the 'casus pendens' as a sentence that is the result of a former structure altered in two ways. First, the sentence-initial nominative noun now found at the beginning of the sentence was dislocated away from a presumed *former* position and relocated at the beginning of the sentence. Its sentence-initial location represents an extra-sentential situation in which this element now 'hangs' outside of its sentence. Secondly, the suffixed pronoun attached to the second nominative is analysed as a new item that has been inserted into the structure and co-references the constituent that has been moved. Standard Assyriological grammars list a number of syntactic processes said to be responsible for the 'casus pendens' structure: extraposition (Buccellati 1996;

¹⁵⁶ I have used the *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* because it is a standard reference and tool.

Huehnergard 2005), preposing (Huehnergard 2005) and topicalisation (Buccellati 1996; Huehnergard 2005).

GAG 1995 § 128 4) defines the casus pendens as a ‘compound nominal sentence’ in which the initial noun has been displaced. The syntax of this structure is interpreted as a focus tactic. Buccellati 1996:460-461¹⁵⁷ also understands the casus pendens as a focus tactic that he terms ‘anticipatory emphasis’:

“The general purpose of this device is to serve for emphasis”.

Buccellati 1996:460-461 further qualifies this structure as a case of “*extraposition*” and analyses the sentence-initial nominative as a noun that “*does not properly govern any predicate though it is in the nominative.*”¹⁵⁸ Huehnergard 2005:211-212 references several processes that result in a casus pendens. The ‘casus pendens’ in this grammar is interpreted as a case of preposing, extraposition, and topicalization:

“In preposing (also called “extraposition”), a noun or noun phrase that is the topic of its clause, or that needs emphasis is dissociated from its clause and placed at the beginning of the clause, in the nominative case.”

In this grammar, it is remarked that in a sentence like *šarrum mārušu imraš* ‘*as for the king – his son fell ill*’ the *topicalized* noun (or noun phrase) is co-referred by a

¹⁵⁷ §81.4 *Anticipatory emphasis*.

¹⁵⁸ Buccellati 1996:460-461 “In terms of normal government rules, this is an anacoluthon, since the noun in extraposition (e.g. *aḥum*, *šārat awīlim*) does not properly govern any predicate though it is in the nominative. Such a construction is known by the Latin term ‘casus pendens,’ i.e. ‘hanging case,’ which refers to the fact that the nominative is not in this case the marker of the subject, since there is no predicate referring to it, and thus gives the impression of a construction that hangs unresolved.”

suffix pronoun¹⁵⁹. These definitions and descriptions indicate that the phenomena of syntax understood to be responsible for the ‘casus pendens’ construction are: preposing, extraposition, and topicalization.

2.10.B Preposing

The *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*¹⁶⁰ defines preposing as:

*“A term used in generative grammar to refer to the movement of a constituent to a position earlier in the sentence, e.g. an adverb is preposed in ‘Yesterday I bought a bike’; a verb is preposed in ‘I thought they’d be complaining, and **complaining** they were’.”*

Preposing is one of the strategies used to shuffle the word-order of a sentence. It refers to the relocation of an element or elements to the beginning of a sentence but this process does not have the effect of adding a new element into the structure. *Preposing* does not account for the presumed addition of the suffixed pronoun in the ‘casus pendens’ sentence. *Preposing* is also a process long recognised in Arabic linguistic theory termed *taqdīm* (Peled 2009:55), and is

¹⁵⁹ Huehnergard 2000 Chapter 21.5 “Topicalization by preposing - Topicalization is the announcement or emphasis of the topic of a sentence, when the speaker/writer wishes the hearer/writer to focus on a part of the sentence other than the grammatical predicate (ie other than the verb in verbal sentences)... There are two means of topicalizing in Akkadian that are discernible, however: the addition of –ma to a word, for which see §29.3; and preposing. In preposing (also called “extraposition”), a noun or noun phrase that is the topic of its clause, or that needs emphasis is dissociated from its clause and placed at the beginning of the clause, in the nominative case. Clauses of this kind thus appear to have two subjects; in fact, however the first nom. noun (phrase) is not part of the grammar of the clause, and is therefore sometimes termed the nominative absolute (also referred to as “casus pendens” [Latin for “hanging case”] or “suspended subject”). The noun or noun phrase that is topicalized in this way is always replaced in its clause by an appropriate pronoun suffix. Some examples: *šarrum māršu imraš* ‘As for the king – his son fell ill’.

¹⁶⁰ Crystal 2009:383.

similarly defined. *Preposing-taqdīm* describes the movement of a constituent to the beginning of the sentence. In the Arabic model also, *preposing* does not involve the addition of an element into the structure. I have found several examples of *taqdīm*-preposing in OB omens:

195) <i>ilum būlam ikkal</i> ¹⁶¹	<->	196) <i>būlī ilum ikkal</i> ¹⁶²
the god will consume the herd	<->	the god will consume the herd!
<i>Nominative + accusative + verb</i>	<->	<i>accusative + nominative + verb</i>

Both sentences contain the same words and the same number of constituents. If we understand that sentence 195 is the *basic* construction (*nom + acc + verb*), the accusative *būlam* can be said to have shifted from middle position in 195 to sentence-initial position in 196 (*acc + nom + verb*). The same can be said about the nominative subject *ilum* if we start from 196. If sentence 196 is interpreted as the *basic* construction (*acc + nom + verb*), then *ilum* has moved from middle position in 196 to sentence-initial position in 195 (*nom + acc + verb*). I have found another example of *preposing* in sentences 197 and 198, two sentences constructed as *accusative + nominative + verb* structures:

197) <i>ēkallam išātum ikkal</i> ¹⁶³	<->	198) <i>išātum mātam ikkal</i> ¹⁶⁴
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¹⁶¹ YOS 10 20:19 “DINGIR-lum bu-lam i-kal ša-nu šum-šu ĠR (šēp) LÚ (awīlim) ID (itti) DINGIR-lim (ilim) ú-ul wu-šu-ra-at”. George 2013:21, note 3-4 discusses the full apodosis of this omen.

¹⁶² YOS 10 20:15 “bu-LI DINGIR-lum i-kal” - CAD B:314 reads *bu-li* (*būlu* 1 b)). Winitzer 2017:86 2.108 translates “The enemy will carry off ... [...]; (or) pestilence (lit., the god) will consume the herds; (or) for an uncertain date: the enemy will take out plunder from your fortress”.

¹⁶³ YOS 10 31 ix:33-35 : “³³É.GAL-la-am ³⁴i-ša-tu-um ³⁵i-ka-al” : *fire will consume the palace!*. Winitzer 2017:124, 2.175.

¹⁶⁴ YOS 10 42 i:15 : “¹⁵i-ša-tum ma-tam i-ka-al” : *fire will consume the land.*

fire will consume the palace! <-> fire will consume the land

accusative + nominative + verb <-> **nominative + accusative + verb**

If sentence 198 is interpreted as the *basic* structure (**nom + acc + verb**), the nominative *išātum* can be said to have moved from sentence-initial position to middle position in 197. Similarly, the object in both sentences can be said to have been affected by movement and to have shifted position. If sentence 198 is taken as the basic structure (**nom + acc + verb**), then the object (*mātam*) can be said to have been moved from middle position to sentence-initial position in 197 (*ēkallam, acc + nom + verb*). Movement by *preposing* can be observed in OB omen protases and apodoses, but another criterion is needed to assess which sentence is the derived form (the result), and which is the *basic* form (the *asl* or 'original' form). Preposing can only be fully proven when the *basic* form of a sentence has been explicitly identified. I have stated that *intelligibility* and *frequency* are my two criteria to identify the *basic* form of a sentence but in standard Assyriological grammars I have found no explicit statements that explain which criteria are used to identify the *basic* form of a sentence. The only implicit criterion I have been able to deduce is that a *basic* sentence is one at the core of which a verb is present. *Preposing* can no doubt be said to occur in OB omen sentences, but *preposing* does not describe the phenomenon observed in 'casus pendens' constructions. *Preposing* addresses the movement of a constituent to the beginning of the sentence but it does not explain the addition of the suffixed pronoun, so characteristic of 'casus pendens' constructions.

2.10.C Extraposition

In general usage, the term *extraposition* describes the movement of a constituent 'outside' of its place, with no specification of the direction toward which the movement has occurred. *Extraposition* can be a movement that occurs to the front, the middle or to the end of the sentence. But whichever direction extraposition takes, it is understood that the former structure of the sentence has been altered. In dictionaries, extraposition is defined as a process that relocates constituents to the *right* of the sentence:

“a term used in grammatical analysis to refer to the process or result of moving (or extraposing) an element from its normal position to a position at or near the end of the sentence, e.g. ‘That the boy came in late’ upset the teacher, compared with ‘It upset the teacher that the boy came in late’. The it which is introduced in such sentences is known as the extrapositive it.”¹⁶⁵

This process relocates constituents in a right-peripheral position, at the end of the sentence. A typical example is “*Many paintings which I like are on sale* -> *Many paintings are on sale which I like”¹⁶⁶, or “*that the boy came in late* upset the teacher” results in “*it upset the teacher that the boy came in late”.* In the study of the ‘casus pendens’ the element said to be extraposed, the ‘hanging’ constituent, is the element found at the beginning of a sentence, to the *left* not to the right of the sentence. The ‘*extrapositive it*’ cannot be said to apply to the suffixed pronoun found in ‘casus pendens’ constructions. In OB omen protases and apodoses, prepositional-phrases are distributed at the beginning of the sentence, as well as in the middle position or at the end. This change of locations could be explained as cases of *extraposition*:*

¹⁶⁵ Crystal 2008:182.

¹⁶⁶ Example taken from Crystal 2008:182.

- 199) ²¹⁾MAŠ **i-na mu-[ùḥ]-ḥi ni-ri** If in the top of the yoke two
 GIŠ.TUKUL (*kakkū*) ši-na i-mi- weapon-marks lie on the right
 tam ù šu-me-lam ²²⁾ša-ak-nu and left

YOS 10 42 iv:21-22¹⁶⁷

- 200) ¹⁶⁾DIŠ GIŠ.TUKUL (*kakkū*) i-mi-tim If two right weapon-marks lie in
 ši-na **i-na ma-áš-ra-aḥ mar-tim** the cystic duct of the gall
¹⁷⁾ša-ak-nu-ma bladder and...

YOS 10 46 iv:16-17

In sentence 199, the prepositional phrase occurs in sentence-initial position while in sentence 200 the prepositional phrase is found in middle position. Which sentence here is the *basic* form, and which is the *result*? If the prepositional phrase of sentence 199 is understood to be present in its *basic* or standard location, then it can be argued that the occurrence of a prepositional phrase to the right, in middle-position as in sentence 200, is due to *extraposition*. As remarked for *preposing*, being able to identify the *basic* form of a sentence is paramount to proving movement and while extraposition is visible in OB omen sentences, I cannot prove which sentence is the ‘original sentence’ and which is the ‘result’. The dictionary definition of *extraposition* does not apply to the ‘casus pendens’ sentence and its sentence-initial constituent given that the change is made at the beginning of the sentence, to the left of the beginning of the sentence. In addition, extraposition whatever its direction does not explain the presence of the suffixed pronoun and its presumed addition, like *preposing*. Because the ‘casus pendens’ is said to be the result of the relocation of a constituent at the beginning of the

¹⁶⁷ Cohen 2012:158 sentence [291] translates “If above the yoke two weapons are situated on the right and the left”.

sentence, to the left, I have examined the definition of *left-dislocation* in the below section.

2.10.D Left-dislocation

The Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics defines left-dislocation as:

“a type of sentence in which one of the constituents appears in initial position and its canonical position is filled by a pronoun or a full lexical noun phrase with the same reference, e.g. John, I like him/the old chap. In transformational grammar, left dislocation sentences have been contrasted with topicalisation sentences. The former are analysed as base-generated and the latter as involving movement.”¹⁶⁸

The process responsible for relocating a noun away from its former position to the left of the sentence is termed left-dislocation. In addition, this constituent's former location is now taken by a newly inserted element. For example, when the *basic* sentence ‘*the colours of the **house** are bright*’ is transformed by left-dislocation, the result is ‘***the house**, its colours are bright*’¹⁶⁹. Left-dislocation appears to fit the description of the ‘*casus pendens*’ in standard Assyriological grammars in which a *casus pendens* structure is described as a sentence in which a constituent has moved to the left, and in which a newly inserted item co-refers the moved constituent. Left-dislocation could be said to have occurred in sentence 201:

201) (*šumma*) **ubānum** *rēšša* ḥarir¹⁷⁰ If the finger's head is grooved

¹⁶⁸ Crystal 2008:273.

¹⁶⁹ Example taken from Doron 1996:78.

¹⁷⁰ YOS 10 33 ii:54 : MAŠ ŠU.SI re-eš-sa ḥa-ri-ir - *If the finger's head is grooved.*

šumma šārat awīlim ... šalmat > šumma awīlum šārassu ... šalmat

‘if the hair of a man is black’ > ‘if a man, his hair is black’

As previously presented, in my categorisation a sentence structure is defined by its sentence-initial constituent, the governor of its sentence. It is because of this consideration that the Arabic model has led me to reconsider the description of the sentence-initial nominative of these sentences as a word that is not ‘hanging’ outside of the sentence. In the Arabic model, the sentence-initial nominative is the governor of its predicate, regardless of the shape of the predicate. In my model, I have analysed the sentence-initial nominative noun of a *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence as a constituent in its standard location. This sentence-initial nominative is the *mubtada’*-topic of the sentence. As the *mubtada’*-topic, it is intra-sentential. In my model, the constituents that follow the *mubtada’* (*nom-suff + x*) are part of the *xabar*-predicate. This *xabar* is peculiar because it represents a full sentence with an explicit nominative subject found together with its verb but finding a predicate constructed as a full sentence is not rare as clausal predicates illustrate. The element I find striking here is the suffixed pronoun and its resumption of the sentence-initial constituent. My reassessment of the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence is based on three different interpretations of this sentence structure. First, because I interpret the sentence-initial nominative as the governor, this constituent is intra-sentential. Second, I have found support to not interpreting these sentences as cases of left-dislocation in Edith Doron’s reassessment of Arabic sentences said to be affected by left-dislocation, an analysis she has shown to be incompatible with principles in based generative grammars (Doron 1996). I have also found justification in conceptualising predicative relationships in more than one category in Li & Thompson’s proposal for a new typology of *subjects and topics* that originates from the observation of non Indo-European languages (Li & Thompson 1976).

2.10.E Left-dislocation and topicalization in Semitic languages

Edit Doron 1996¹⁷² is a study that has directly addressed the validity of analysing *nom + nom-suff + x* sentences as cases of left-dislocation in a Semitic language like Arabic. Doron addresses the categorisation of the first constituent of the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence and asks if it represents an intra-sentential constituent, or an extra-sentential element that has been dislocated from its former position and is now external to its sentence. To reassess the analysis of the sentence-initial nominative of these sentences as an extra-sentential item, Doron goes back to the descriptions of what constitutes an extra-sentential constituent in based generative grammar, a model to which she and scholars who accept the 'left-dislocation' analysis adhere. Doron 1996:77-87 presents six based-generative grammatical principles according to which a constituent can be said to sit outside of its sentence. Yet, she has found that in all cases, this does not match the structure described as a left-dislocated sentence in the Arabic examples she examined.

First, Doron has found that in a case of left-dislocation a topic cannot be conjoined with a simple predicate, but in the Arabic *nom + nom-suff + x sentence* this is possible. Secondly, the tense or aspect of a dislocated sentence cannot be modified "*independently of that of the simple sentence*", but in the Arabic *nom + nom-suff + x sentence* this is possible. She has also found that 3) a third argument can be embedded in the Arabic *nom + nom-suff + x sentence*, but in a true left-dislocated sentence this is impossible. Also 4), in Arabic a quantifier can be used in the *nom + nom-suff + x sentence* but again in a left-dislocated sentence this is not possible. Finally, 5) in Arabic the predicate can be used predicatively and

¹⁷² *The predicate in Arabic*

attributively when this is not possible in left-dislocated sentences and 6) “*the predicate of these sentences can behave like a simple predicate*”.

Doron points out that the analysis of *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence as a case of left-dislocation comes from the parallel that has been drawn between an English construction like ‘**the house, its colours are bright**’ (*noun + pronoun-noun + verb*) and a Semitic construction that on the surface distributes its constituents in a similar way, with a *noun*, followed by a *noun-suffixed pronoun*, followed by a *verb* (***al-baytu alwānuhu zahiyatun***, *the house + its colours + are bright*). When only the distribution of the constituents of the Arabic sentence is observed, the sentence appears to be the result of the combination of *the house + its colours + are bright*, a sentence similar to the English left-dislocated sentence ‘**the house, its colours are bright**’. But the deep structure of these two sentences is different as presented by her six points. The Arabic sentence expresses ‘*the house’s colours are bright*’, not ‘*the house, its colours are bright*’. The syntactical relationship of these constituents is between a *mubtada’*, the sentence-initial noun ‘*the house*’ (*al-baytu*), and its predicate ‘*its colours are bright*’ (*alwānuhu zahiyatun*). In translation, the *nom + nom-suff* unit is a possessive construction that translates as ‘*the house’s colours*’. As pointed out by Peled 2009:106), the result of Doron’s study agrees with how the Arabic model views these sentences as *topic-comment* structures.

Doron conducts the same analysis with the Arabic sentence ***al-rajulu bnatuhu jamīlatun*** (‘*the man + his daughter + is pretty*’). She demonstrates again that according to the generative grammar model, the sentence-initial unit ‘*the man*’ (*al-rajulu*) is the subject of its sentence and is combined to the complex predicate ***bnatuhu jamīlatun*** ‘*his daughter is pretty*’. The whole unit is the equivalent in English to ‘*the man’s daughter is pretty*’, not to ‘*the man, his daughter is pretty*’. I cite Doron’s analysis to show that an alternative view to the left-dislocation or

casus pendens exists in scholarship interested in this structure. The sentence-initial nominative of a *nom + nom-suff + nom* sentence can be viably analysed as an *intra*-sentential constituent that governs a complex predicate. This sentence-initial nominative is a *mubtada'*-topic and the following constituents belong to the *xabar*-comment of the sentence. Doron concludes that the Arabic language can create complex predicates that would be unacceptable structures in other languages such as English:

“Arabic is much richer than English in the kind of complex properties which count as predicates, ie which are clausal in structure yet assign a thematic role to their subjects. English derives such properties by abstracting on the subject position only. Arabic derives them by abstracting on any position.”¹⁷³

I have adopted this view. If the Arabic language can create complex predicates, other Semitic languages such as Akkadian presumably also have this ability. The manner in which we approach word-order distribution must take into consideration the different types of predicative relationship possible in languages that have different abilities. I have analysed sentences like 203 as a *topic + complex predicate*:

203) ²⁰⁾na-ak¹-ru-um ²¹⁾iš-da-a-šu The enemy's *base* is strong
da-an-na

YOS 10 31 xi:20-21¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Doron 1996:86. Peled 2009:106 comments on this modern conclusion and explains how it matches the categorisation of early Arabic grammarians.

¹⁷⁴ In this context, *išdā* can be understood to mean the enemy's "morale" (George 'private communciation) or "Disziplin" (Römer 2004:401).

Structurally, sentence 203 is an extended nominal sentence in which *nakrum* is the *mubtada'*-topic that governs the *xabar* and predicate *išdāšu dannā*. This predicate is constructed as a full sentence. It is composed of a nominative subject (*išdāšu*) and a predicate (*dannā*). I have understood all *nom + nom-suff + x* sentences as *extended* nominal sentences in which the *nom + nom-suff* unit functions as a possessive unit.

2.10.F The *nom + nom-suff* unit: a possessed-possessor construction

My categorisation of these structures as extended nominal sentences has led me to investigate the one remarkable feature of this construction: the relationship that binds three constituents in a possessive construction, the sentence-initial nominative, the second nominative and grammatical subject, and the suffixed pronoun attached to the second nominative that resumes the first. In the predicate, the grammatical subject is made of two constituents: a possessed and a possessor. In *nakrum išdāšu dannā*, the grammatical subject is *išdāšu* 'his sides'. The unit *išdāšu* is a *possessed-possessor* construction composed of the possessed *išdā*, 'sides', and the possessor, the suffixed pronoun *-šu*. The suffixed pronoun part of the grammatical subject is the possessor and also functions as a grammatical and semantic link to *nakrum* 'the enemy'. This link is established by resumption. I have wondered if resumption¹⁷⁵ has the effect of bringing the sentence-initial nominative into this possessed-possessor relationship, and if resumption can operate a transfer of status by making the suffixed pronoun share its role as *possessor*.

¹⁷⁵ Crystal 2009:415 *Resumptive* "an element or structure that in some way recapitulates the meaning of a prior element".

If the *nom + nom-suff* unit can be analysed as a possessive construction, it is a remarkable one because in this unit elements are distributed in the order of *possessor + possessed + possessive link*. Old Babylonian and Akkadian generally build possessive relationships in two ways, through two words linked by the genitive case (*bēl mātim* ‘the lord of the land’¹⁷⁶) or through the independent relative pronoun *ša* placed between two nouns (*ilū ša mātim* ‘the gods of the land’¹⁷⁷) (Hasselbach 2013:191). The *nom + nom-suff* unit is remarkable because it creates possession between two nouns via a possessive link, the resumptive suffixed pronoun, located at the end of the unit. Perhaps that this construction represents the ability of a Semitic language for making “*complex properties*” as remarked by Doron, cited above. I have translated the *nom + nom-suff* unit of all extended nominative sentences as an *X’s Y* unit, and have understood the relationship of these three constituents as a construction of possession. The *nominative + nominative-suff* construction is often translated as possession in Assyriology. This recommendation is explicitly made by Huehnergard 2005:212 who states that although the sentence is analysed as a *casus pendens*

“it is best to translate such sentences by reinserting the preposed noun (phrase) into its original position in the clause”¹⁷⁸.

I have translated this unit as a possessed-possessor construction even in sentences where the sentence-initial nominative is separated from the second nominative and suffixed pronoun by another constituent as in 204 for example (and others given in the above sections):

Apodoses

¹⁷⁶ YOS 10 31 xi:24.

¹⁷⁷ YOS 10 11 ii:19.

¹⁷⁸ *šarrum mārušu imraṣ* -> ‘The king’s son fell ill’ instead of the heavier ‘As for the king – his son fell ill’.

- 204) ⁷³⁾**LUGAL** (*šarrum*) be-el lu-um-ni-šu the king's hand will conquer
qá-as-sú i-ka-ša-ad his enemy

YOS 10 25:73¹⁷⁹

Protases

- 205) ¹⁶⁾DIŠ **UDU** (*imмерum*) di-i-ma-tu-šu If the sheep's tears flow
i-la-a-ka-a

YOS 10 47:16

- 206) ⁴²⁾šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁴³⁾pa-nu-ú-ša If the gall-bladder's face lies
⁴⁴⁾a-na šu-me-li-im ⁴⁵⁾ša-ak-nu-ú on the left

YOS 10 31 ii:42-45

- 207) ¹¹⁾DIŠ **GIŠ.TUKUL** (*kakki*) la-¹li¹-im If the top of a weapon of
mu-ḥa-šu a-na 2 pa-ṭe₄-er happiness is split in two

Khait 2011:75¹⁸⁰

- 208) ²⁴⁾DIŠ **ŠU.SI** (*ubān*) ḥa-ši **MURUB₄** If the face of the median
(*qablītum*) pa-nu-ša ti-ir-ka-am ma- finger of the lung is speckled
at-ru with dark patches

¹⁷⁹ YOS 10 25 is fully edited in Glassner 2009b:63-67.

¹⁸⁰ Khait 2011:74 references this line as number 13 and translates "If the upper part of the "Weapon of Happiness" is split in two".

YOS 10 39:24

- 209) ²⁰⁾**šar-rum** ma-at na-ak-ri-šu qá-as-
ʾsú iʾ-ka-a[š]-ša-ʾadʾ the king's hand will conquer
the land of his enemy

YOS 10 42 iii:20

- 210) ³²⁾**šar-rum** a-a-bi-šu qá-as-**sú** i-ka-ša-
ad the king's hand will conquer
his enemy

YOS 10 42 i:32

- 211) ³⁴⁾**šar-ru-um** a-la-am ³⁵⁾na-ak-ra-am the king's hand will conquer
³⁶⁾qa-as-**sú-ú** ³⁷⁾i-ka-aš-ša-a[d] an enemy city

YOS 10 31 viii:34-37¹⁸¹

- 212) ³³⁾**a-wi-lum** še-ḥe-er bi-ti-šu ù ú-ne-
ʾtiʾ-šu ³⁴⁾i-na-**šu** i-ma-ra the man's eyes will see
reduction of his household
and of his property

YOS 10 56 ii:33-34¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Jeyes 1989:70 translates "the king will expropriate a foreign/hostile city".

¹⁸² Leichty 1970:204 "the man will see the decrease of his house and his furnishings with his own eyes".

2.11 Chapter summary

As presented in chapter 1 section 1.2.2, my typology is based on first identifying and categorising the grammatical identity and syntactical status of sentence-initial constituents. Having observed that a substantial number of protases and apodoses begin with a nominative noun I have interpreted this occurrence and distribution as the indication of a sentence type termed the *nominal sentence type*. My presentation is divided in three parts.

I have first presented the description of the *nominal* sentence in Arabic grammatical theory and used it as a model to frame my analysis (2.1.A). I followed the Arabic model and its structural description of the nominal sentence, and adopted its interpretation of the information-value (function) of this sentence type. In Arabic grammatical theory the nominal sentence is made up of two parts structurally and functionally: the topic is the *mubtada'*-beginner, the carrier of the old information, and the predicate is the *xabar*-news, the carrier of the new information. My typology reflects this interpretation and analyses the sentence-initial nominative noun as the *mubtada'*-beginner, the element that communicates the old information first, combined to the predicate, the *xabar* that communicates new information. In my model also, the nominal sentence is identified as a sentence type that functions on an *old* -> *new* information dynamic.

As discussed in section 1.2, I have used seven analytical tools taken from Arabic grammatical theory to distinguish between the shared and separate characteristics of protases and apodoses that begin with a nominative noun. Having identified the nominal sentence based on its sentence-initial nominative, I then focused on the content of the predicate. In the OB omen corpus, the predicate of nominal sentences can be entirely nominal (the *nom + nom sentence*,

section 2.2), circumstantial (the *nom + pp/fn*, section 2.3) or verbal (sections 2.6 to 2.9). In my model, these three predicative constructions are separated in two categories: the *primary* nominal sentence whose predicate contains only nouns or circumstances and the *basic* nominal sentence whose predicate contains a verb. Predicates that contain a verb vary in content to a greater degree than strictly nominal or circumstantial predicates. To establish which structure represents the *basic* form of nominal sentences that contain a verb, I followed the frequency and intelligibility of the whole sentence. I identified the *nom + acc + verb* sentence as the *basic* form of the nominal sentence (section 2.6) and observed that all other verbal predicates can be analysed as variations from this form. I have found that the *basic* nominal sentence can be reduced by the deletion of one of its constituent (*nom + verb*). In my model, these sentences are termed *reduced* sentences (section 2.7). The *basic* form can also be augmented by the addition of elements to the basic frame, or by the replacement of simple constituents with a complex one such as a clause. Such sentences are identified as *augmented* sentences (section 2.8). I have found *augmented* sentences composed of four constituents particularly useful in measuring the presence of *preposing* and *delaying* tactics (the *nom + acc + pp + verb* sentence versus the *nom + pp + acc + verb*). Nominal sentences are also made of sentences that contain two independent nominative nouns and a resumptive suffixed pronoun located on the second nominative that co-refers the first nominative (the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence). I analysed them as *extended* forms of the *basic* nominal sentence and refer to these structures as *extended* nominal sentences (section 2.9). Both the *primary* nominal sentence and the *basic* nominal sentence can be *extended* (respectively section 2.5 and 2.9). Table 2 at the end of this chapter summarises my *structural map of the nominal sentence type*.

In standard Assyriological grammars, the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentences are analysed as ‘casus pendens’ constructions. I have used the description of the *nominal* sentence in the Arabic model to reassess this standard analysis to show

that the sentence-initial nominative is *intra*-sentential and governs a *complex* predicate. My argument is presented in the third part of this chapter. To reassess the 'casus pendens' interpretation, I discussed the description of three syntactical processes said to be responsible for the making of 'casus pendens' structures in standard Assyriological grammars: preposing, extraposition and left-dislocation (sections 2.10.B, 2.10.C, and 2.10.D). I have tested their descriptions on a sample of protases and apodoses to show that although preposing, extraposition and left-dislocation are syntactical processes that can be identified as affecting the construction of sentences, they do not explain the deep structure of the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence. I have followed Arabic grammatical theory, and adopted the modern analyses of Doron 1996 to argue that Akkadian can create complex predicative relationships and that the sentence-initial nominative of the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence is *intra*-sentential (2.10.E).

I closed my discussion by commenting on the construction of the *nom + nom-suff* unit, the characteristic feature of the *extended* nominal sentence (section 2.10.F). In this unit, three constituents are bound in a possessive construction: the sentence-initial nominative, the second nominative and the resumptive pronoun. This construction is remarkable because it creates possession between two nouns via a possessive link located at the end of the unit. In this unit, the resumptive suffixed pronoun in the smaller *nom-suff* construction is the *possessor*. I noted that resumption can be said to have created a transfer of syntactical status (possession) to the sentence-initial nominative and has made this constituent become a part of the grammatical subject through the resumptive link. The *nom + nom-suff* unit could represent a complex property and a third possessive relationship in Akkadian, additional to the standard construct state (*nominative noun + genitive noun*), and to the *noun + ša + noun* possessive construction.

Table 1. The structural map of the nominal sentence

The Nominal Sentence				
<i>Primary Nominal Sentence</i>				
Primary		Reduced	Augmented	Extended
<i>nom + nom</i>	<i>nom + pp/fn</i>	none	<i>nom + ša-clause</i>	<i>nom + nom-suff + pp</i>
//	<i>nom + ina x</i>	//	//	<i>nom + nom-suff + fn</i>
//	<i>nom + ana x</i>	//	//	//
//	<i>nom + kīma x</i>	//	//	//

The Nominal Sentence			
<i>Basic Nominal Sentence</i>			
Basic	Reduced	Augmented	Extended
<i>nom + acc + verb</i>	<i>nom + verb</i>	<i>nom + pp/fn + acc + verb</i>	<i>nom + nom-suff + verb</i>
<i>nom + pp/fn + verb</i>	<i>nom-suff + verb</i>	<i>nom + acc + pp/fn + verb</i>	<i>nom + nom-suff + acc + verb</i>
//	<i>nom^{possessed-} possessor + verb</i>	<i>nom + pp + pp + verb</i>	<i>nom + acc + nom-suff + verb</i>
//	//	<i>nom + ša-clause + verb</i>	<i>nom + nom-suff + pp + verb</i>
//	//	//	<i>nom + pp + nom-suff + verb</i>

3. The *accusative-initial* sentence type

Accusative nouns are regularly found in sentence-initial position in both protases and apodoses. I have termed these structures *accusative-initial* sentences and present them in this chapter. I have interpreted the frequency of the distribution of the accusative in sentence-initial position as indications to the presence of a sentence type. My discussion is divided in three parts. First, I have presented the second sentence type identified in the Arabic grammatical model, the *verbal sentence*. The verbal sentence is relevant to the accusative-initial sentence in OB omens because one of its branch places the accusative object in sentence-initial position. The Arabic verb-initial and object-initial sentence present a number of characteristics that can be used to analyse the structure and the function (information-value) of accusative-initial sentences in OB omens. Second, I have presented accusative-initial sentences in OB omen protases and apodoses. Two groups of accusative-initial sentences are active in the corpus, both numerous: accusative-initial sentences in which the verb does not carry a resumptive suffixed pronoun that co-refers the sentence-initial accusative, and accusative-initial sentences in which the verb is always marked by a suffixed pronoun resumptive of the sentence-initial accusative. In the third part of my discussion, I have argued that the accusative-initial sentence communicates new information first, via the accusative. In my model, this sentence type follows the dynamic of *new* -> *old* information-transfer. I have closed my discussion by addressing my translation of accusative-initial sentences: I have used an exclamation mark at the end of all accusative-initial sentences to indicate in translation that in the source language these sentences placed the accusative object at the beginning of the sentence. It is my conclusion that because of its *new* -> *old* dynamic, the accusative-initial sentence is akin to exclamatory statements.

3.1 Interpreting OB accusative-initial sentences using Arabic grammatical theory

3.1.A The *jumla fi'liyya*-verbal sentence in the Arabic model

The *jumla fi'liyya*, the *verbal sentence* is the second sentence construction identified as a type in Arabic grammatical theory¹⁸³. The term *fi'liyya* ('verbal') is derived from the noun *fi'l*, 'verb'. The location of the verb in sentence-initial position is the distinguishing feature of the *jumla fi'liyya*. The verb is termed the *hadīth-message*. Its function is to communicate part of the new or more newsworthy information. In this sentence type, the old information is carried by the *mubtada'*-beginner, the nominative constituent as in the nominal sentence. The verbal sentence transfers information on a dynamic of new to old by placing the new information first. This dynamic contrasts the function of the *nominal* sentence¹⁸⁴, the sentence type that communicates the old or least newsworthy constituent first via the nominative. In terms of function, the *verbal* sentence and the *nominal* sentence stand at opposite end of the functional spectrum.

In the Arabic model, the *basic* constituents of the verbal sentence are said to be the verb, the nominative subject and the accusative object. On the basis of frequency, and intelligibility, all three constituents are understood as obligatory features of the basic structure¹⁸⁵. The verbal sentence is most often found built as a *VSO* sentence (*verb-subject-object*) and a *VOS* sentence (*verb-object-subject*):

¹⁸³ EALL V terms the *jumla fi'liyya* 'verbal clause': "The V-initial sense of 'verbal clause' describes a clause the nucleus of which begins with a verb or, in some cases, with a participle or an adjective, all of which show some form of agreement marking"

¹⁸⁴ *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) V verbal clause: "The term 'verbal clause' (*jumla fi'liyya*) is taken from traditional Arabic grammatical theory, and is used in contrast to nominal clause (*jumla ismiyya*)."

¹⁸⁵ Peled 2009:49 "the post-verbal subject is an obligatory nominative complement of the verb."

“Sibawayhi makes it clear that both VSO and VOS are legitimate word-order patterns in Arabic, though the former is the more common.” (Peled 2009:57-59)¹⁸⁶

A paradigm often used to illustrate the *VSO* (*verb + subject + object*) sentence is *ḡaraba ‘Abdu-llāhi Zaydan* (‘Abdullah hit Zayd’), while the *VOS* form is illustrated with *ḡaraba Zaydan ‘Abdu-llāhi* (‘Abdullah hit Zayd’) in grammars¹⁸⁷. Although both the *VSO* and the *VOS* word-orders are frequent, Arabic grammarians noted that the nominative subject has a marked tendency to appear next to the verb:

“In medieval Arabic grammatical tradition, from the Middle Ages to the present day, jumla fi’liyya [...] denotes a sentence whose subject follows its verbal predicate, without regard to the position of any other constituent in the sentence.” (Peled 2009:30)

Another well-attested but less frequently used structure of the verbal sentence is the object-verb(-subject) sentence, the *OV(S)*, in which the accusative object occurs in sentence-initial position. The paradigms often used to illustrate the *OVS* and *OV* forms are: *‘Amran ḡaraba Zaydun*, ‘Zayd hit **‘Amr’** (*OVS*) or *naṣraka ‘arjū* (*la l’adāwata*) - ‘I desire **your help** (not enmity)’ (*OV*)¹⁸⁸. It is this pattern that makes the *jumla fi’liyya*-verbal sentence so relevant for OB omen protases and apodoses that begin with an accusative. The Arabic structural and functional definition of the verbal sentence is useful to the analysis of Old Babylonian omen protases and apodoses in two respects. Arabic grammatical theory anticipates that object-initial sentences belong to the sentence type that communicates new information first and contrasts the nominal sentence. In this model, the *verb*-initial sentence and the *accusative*-initial sentence are related. Sentences that

¹⁸⁶ Peled 2009:49.

¹⁸⁷ Example taken from Peled 2009:54

¹⁸⁸ Example taken from Khan 1988:58, sentence 231.

begin with a verb or an accusative object communicate the new information first, via the verb or via the accusative object. Both are part of the *xabar*-predicate. I have adopted this categorisation and understand all accusative-initial sentences as structures that communicate the new information first. In OB omens, the verb is almost always fixed in final position. I have found few exceptions¹⁸⁹ (section 3.4) and have observed that in the corpus a number of sentences are solely composed of a verb (section 3.4.1.E), or a verb and an object expressed as a suffixed pronoun, the *verb-suff* sentence (section 3.4.1.D), in which the suffixed pronoun is located at the end of the sentence because it is suffixed. I have categorised OB omen verbal sentences under the umbrella of accusative-initial sentences and I have adopted the function that the Arabic model gives to the verb: this constituent is a *hadīth*-message that communicates new information. In Arabic, the verb-initial sentence is the standard form of the contrastive structure and the object-initial sentence is its word-order pattern while in OB omens the accusative-initial sentence is the standard form of the contrastive structure and the verbal sentence is one of its word-order patterns.

The function of the object as the new information is well established in modern linguistic studies: in many languages, genetically related or not, the accusative constituent functions as the carrier of the new information in the sentence. I have found Mithun 1992's study on object-initial sentences particularly useful to my interpretation of accusative-initial sentences in OB omens as an independent sentence type because Mithun 1992 demonstrates that in her data, the distribution of the accusative in sentence-initial position is a standard and normative structure. I have discussed Mithun's impact on my categorisation in section 3.5. Based on the Arabic model and on modern linguistic research, I have categorised accusative-initial sentences in OB omen protases and apodoses as sentences that introduce new information first. To show this in translation, I have used exclamation marks at the end of my translations of accusative-initial

¹⁸⁹ YOS 10 26 i:36 *ta-da-a[k] na-ak-ra-a[m]*

sentences. I have used exclamation marks to show the structural difference that exists in the source language between the nominal sentence (a declarative statement) and the accusative-initial sentence (an exclamatory statement).

3.1.B Accusative-initial sentences in the OB omen corpus

Accusatives are frequently found in sentence-initial position in both protases and apodoses. They are particularly common to, and numerous in, apodoses. Accusative-initial sentences can be divided in two groups: accusative-initial sentences in which no resumptive suffixed pronoun is found on the verb (group 1) and accusative-initial sentences in which a resumptive suffixed pronoun is always found on the verb (group 2). I have used frequency and intelligibility to identify the *basic* structure of group 1 and group 2 accusative-initial sentences. I have found that the *basic* form of both groups can be reduced, augmented, and extended. The *extended* accusative-initial sentence of each group is particularly interesting for its use of resumptive suffixed pronouns: in group 1, the extension creates a sentence in which a suffixed pronoun added on a new and second accusative resumes the first accusative. In group 2, the extension results in the addition of a second suffixed pronoun on the prepositional phrase or nominative in the sentence that resumes the sentence-initial accusative. This creates a sentence in which two suffixed pronoun resume and co-refer the accusative-initial constituent, one on the verb (characteristic in this sentence structure), and a second on another constituent. I have discussed the function of group 1 sentences as structures that introduce the new information first to the uninformed addressee, and the function of group 2 sentences that reinforce the new information value communicated via resumption, in the third part of my discussion in section 3.5. In my model, resumptive suffixed pronouns in group 2 sentences are used to emphasise the exclamatory nature of this sentence type.

- 214) ¹⁴DIŠ **ši-pa-am** qù-ú-um **ša-bi-it!**¹⁹⁰ If a filament is seizing the footmark!
- YOS 10 50:14
- 215) ¹⁰DIŠ **ma-áš-ra-aḥ mar-tim** ši-rum ka-ti-im If fleshy tissue is covering the cystic duct of the gall bladder!
- YOS 10 59 rev:10
- 216) ¹⁷BE **re-eš KI.GUB** (*manzāzim*) qù-ú **ša-bi-it** If a filament is seizing the head of the presence!
- Jeyes 1989:97 (OBE 1 obv:17)¹⁹¹
- 217) ¹⁷DIŠ **KÁ É.GAL** (*bāb ēkallim*) ši-rum i-bi-ir If fleshy tissue crosses the palace gate!
- YOS 10 22:17¹⁹²
- 218) ³³DIŠ **KÁ É.GAL** (*bāb ēkallim*) ši-rum e-di-iḥ If fleshy tissue covers the palace gate in patches!

¹⁹⁰ written BI

¹⁹¹ Jeyes 1989:100 translates “If a filament is seizing the head of the Presence and is pitch black”.

¹⁹² Starr 1983:101 translates “If in the ‘gate of the palace’ there is a dry pustule”.

YOS 10 24:33//24:34¹⁹³

Apodoses

- 219) ¹¹**um-ma-ni** LÚ.KÚR-rum the enemy will kill my army!
(*nakrum*) i-da-ak

YOS 10 46 v:11¹⁹⁴

- 220) **u[g]-ba-ab-tam** DINGIR (*ilum*) i- the god will require an
r[i]-iš *ugbabtum*-priestess!

YOS 10 17:47¹⁹⁵

- 221) **É.GAL-am** (*ēkallam*) da-an-na- hardship will seize the palace!
tum i-ša-ba-at

YOS 10 24:30

- 222) **É.GAL-la-am** (*ēkallam*) i-ša-tu- fire will consume the palace!
um i-ka-al

YOS 10 31 ix: 33-35

¹⁹³ Winitzer 2017:249, 4.21 translates “If fleshy tissue was covering the Palace Gate”, also in 4.48 pp 275-6.

¹⁹⁴ Winitzer 2017:93, 2.118 translates “the enemy will defeat my army”.

¹⁹⁵ CAD U:35 *ugbabtum* 4' b) translates ‘the god will request’.

- 223) **LÚ** (*awīlam*) ki-iš-pu ṣa-ab-tu acts of sorcery are seizing the
man!
YOS 10 24:42
- 224) **NUN** (*rubâm*) ki-iš-pu ṣa-ab-tu Acts of sorcery are seizing the
prince!
YOS 10 24 obv:4
- 225) **ma-tam la ka-tam** q[á-at-ka] i- [Your ha]nd will conquer a land
ka-ša-ad not yours!
YOS 10 23 obv:5
- 226) **er-še-et-ka** LÚ.KÚR (*nakrum*) i- The enemy will carry away your
[ta]- ʿbaʿ-¹-al land!
YOS 10 23 obv:6
- 227) **É.GAL-ka** (*ēkallaka*) LÚ.KÚR The enemy will control your
(*nakrum*) i-re-e-de palace!
YOS 10 24:13
- 228) **a-a[!]** **pa-ṭi-i-k**[a n]a-ak-rum i- The enemy will seize your
ša-ba-[at] border city!
YOS 10 26 iii:24

229) **bu-uš ma-ti-ka** LÚ.KÚR-rum The enemy will [consume] the
(*nakrum*) i-[ka-a]

YOS 10 22:6

230) **a-ša-re-ed É.GAL-lim** (*ēkallim*) The enemy will grab the first
LÚ.KÚR (*nakrum*) i-le-qè official of the palace!

YOS 10 24:42

231) **te-iš-li-it LÚ** (*awīlim*) DINGIR The god heard the man's
(*ilum*) iš-me prayer!

YOS 10 25:20

232) **ta-an-zi-im-ti ma-a-tim** i-lu-um The god accepted the complaint
ʾim-ḥu-urʾ of the land!

YOS 10 33 v:7

3.2.1.B *The acc + pp/fn + verb* sentence

The *acc + pp/fn + verb* sentence contains no nominative in its structure. Instead of the nominative, a prepositional phrase is found. I note that the prepositional phrase found in middle position could have been located at the beginning of the

sentence: protases and apodoses that display a sentence-initial prepositional phrase are numerous in the corpus, as illustrated in chapter 4 on *the circumstantial sentence*. Yet here a distinct choice was made to place the accusative first, not the prepositional phrase, and to leave the nominative subject unexpressed. I make this remark to highlight that if prepositional phrases can be shown to purposefully be chosen to occur at the beginning of sentences, the accusative-initial sentence can also be considered as an independent strategy.

As previously noted, the *acc + pp + verb* sentence contains no nominative subject. I have observed that three situations often explain the absence of the nominative subject: 1) when the verb is a third person plural and expresses an indefinite group, the identity of the subject ‘they’ is already given and contained in the verb; 2) when the subject has been expressed in the previous sentence, it is typically not repeated in the second or third sentence; 3) when the verb expresses a first and second person, the identity of the subject (the ‘I’ or the ‘you’) is not specified or explicitly expressed via an independent pronoun or a personal name. Each of these situations is explained by the nature of the verb, its gender, number, or mood. I have illustrated each case below.

Protases

233) ^{3a}DIŠ^r Ì.GIŠ (šamna) a-na me-e If I throw oil on the water
ad-di-ma and!...

YOS 10 57 obv:3a

Apodoses

- 234) **na-ši-ir-ta-ka** ¹a-na¹ ma-at He will carry away your
LÚ.KÚR (*nakrim*) i-^rta-ba-al¹⁹⁶ treasures to the land of the
enemies!
YOS 10 23 rev:2
- 235) ²⁶**a-[al] na-ak-ri-im** i-na pi-il-ši you will seize an enemy city by
ta-ša-ba-[at] (means of) a breach!
YOS 10 26 iii:26
- 236) ⁴⁶**LÚ.KÚR-am** (*nakram*) ⁴⁷qí-it- you will capture the enemy in
ru-bi-iš te-ki-im close battle!
YOS 10 36 i:46-47¹⁹⁷

Third person plural verb: apodosis

- 237) **[ša]r-^rra** ¹⁹⁸i-na É.GAL (*ēkallim*) They will seize the king in the
i-ša-[ab-ba]-tu palace!
YOS 10 26 iv:17

First person singular verb: protasis

¹⁹⁶ George says cf niširtaka... iššabbat elsewhere and that this could be ittabbal N passive not itabbal G present. I am interpreting *itabbal* as a G present not as the N stem ittabbal, and *na-ši-ir-ta-ka* as a sentence-initial accusative occurs in YOS 10 48 rev:48; *na-ši-ir-ti* (in a possessive relationship) occurs as a sentence-initial accusative in YOS 10 48:3 and in YOS 10 47:58; 66.

¹⁹⁷ Winitzer 2017:208 3.55 translates “in hand-to-hand fighting you will capture the enemy”. Also translated in Winitzer 2017:240, 4.6 as “in a close battle you will conquer the enemy”.

¹⁹⁸ Glassner 1984:15-46 reads *[ša]r-ra-^{*}am*

- 238) ¹³ ù **ši-it-ta ú-ba-na-ti-ia** a-na and I can bring two fingers of
 ŠÀ (*libbim*) ub-ba-al¹⁹⁹ mine into the centre²⁰⁰!

YOS 10 25:13

Sentence 238 represents a ‘second sentence’. The sentence that precedes it is broken and is reconstructed as ¹³[šumma ... KÁ É.GAL ...] ta-ri⁷-ik-ma²⁰¹, ‘if ... the palace gate... is dark and...’. In this second sentence and protasis, the verb expresses a first person singular. This choice of person is remarkable because first person singular verbs are not often encountered in protases, or apodoses.

Second person verb: apodosis

- 239) ²⁶**a-[al] na-ak-ri-im** i-na pi-il-ši you will seize an enemy city by
 ta-ša-ba-[at] (means of) a breach!

YOS 10 26 iii:26²⁰²

Sentence 239 is a typical example of an accusative-initial sentence that contains a second person verb, and as a result, the sentence only discloses part of the identity of the subject, in the verb *ta(šabba[t])* ‘you (will seize)’. We only know that ‘you’ is the actor from the verbal reference but this reference is not external grammatically. The nature of the Semitic verb conditions the structure of this sentence and explains the absence of the nominative. Grammatically, an Akkadian verb does not need to be accompanied by an explicit subject for the unit to be

¹⁹⁹ Jeyes 1989:43 translates “[if the Palace Gate] is empty and I can bring two fingers of mine into it”. For other mentions of using fingers as measurement see YOS 10 24 rev:30; YOS 10 25 obv:13; YOS 10 42 iii:31-32; YOS 10 24 rev:30; Boissier DA 13 i:47; YOS 10 33 v:6; YOS 10 36 iii:21; 46 i:12-13, 17, 21 25-26, 29-30, 33-34 and OBE 5 ii:9.

²⁰⁰ A less awkward or heavy translation of the prepositional phrase *a-na šà* is ‘inside’, but I have chosen to keep closer to the syntax of the source language to show that *ana* is used here not *ina*, hence ‘in to the centre’.

²⁰¹ Jeyes 1989:43 reads [šumma ... KÁ É.GAL ...] <<ta>>-^rri⁷-iq-ma and translates “[if the Palace Gate] is empty”.

²⁰² Khait 2012:37 fn 17 cites this omen and translates “you will conquer the enemy’s city by (making) a breach”.

complete. Akkadian verbs independently express part of the identity of the subject, its number and gender. A subject explicitly stated completes an identity that was already partly given. In the OB omen corpus, second person singular verbs are regularly found but they are less numerous than their third-person singular counterparts. The overwhelming majority of verbs express a third person singular, more often than not accompanied by a nominative subject.

3.2.2 The *reduced* accusative-initial sentence

3.2.2.A The *acc + verb* sentence

The *acc + verb* sentence is a two-constituent based structure. I have interpreted this pattern as a reduction of the *basic* accusative-initial sentence, the *acc + nom + verb* achieved by the deletion of the nominative element from the basic frame. I have observed that in protases, many second and third sentences²⁰³ are built as reduced accusative-initial sentences. In these sentences, the subject was previously expressed and it is still relevant for the second or third sentence because it acts in a continuum. The conditions under which the nominative appears unstated, given above, applies here also. As previously highlighted, the *acc + verb* structure is viable because of the nature of the verb as an independent unit that contains part of the identity of the subject. Grammatically, the nominative subject is dispensable. I make this remark because the reduced pattern of the accusative-initial sentence shows how a sentence that appears to be based on the interaction of three constituents (accusative, nominative and verb) is below the surface founded on the interaction of only two constituents: the accusative and the verb. The distinctive relationship that ties the accusative

²⁰³ A protasis or apodoses is a syntactical slot often composed of more than one sentence. I have referred to these sentences in their order, as the first, second or third sentence.

and verb together reinforces my interpretation of the shared function of the accusative and the verb as the carriers of the new information.

Second sentences

Protases

240) ³ḥu-ur-ḥu-da-am ⁴iṭ-ṭù-ul ...it points at the windpipe!

YOS 10 5:3-4²⁰⁴

241) ¹¹zi-tam i-kal ...it will consume a share!

YOS 10 20:11

242) ⁸ṣi-ib-tam iṭ-ṭù-ul ...it points at the increase!

YOS 10 9:8²⁰⁵

243) ²⁶ú-ba-na-am il-ta-we-e ...it encircles the finger!

YOS 10 31 ii:26²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Starr 1983:74 translates “if the middle ‘finger’ of the lung is overturned, and faces the trachea”.

²⁰⁵ YOS 10 9 is fully edited in Glassner 2004:63-64. Glassner 2009b:16 and 23 discusses this text as a work of compilation (a table p.12 shows parallel omens).

²⁰⁶ Jeyes 1989:70 translates “if the gall bladder has turned round and has surrounded the Finger”.

- 244) ²re-eš-sa iṭ-ṭù-ul ... it points at its tip!
 YOS 10 39 obv:2
- 245) ⁴ú-ṣú-úr-tam sa-aḥ-ra-^rat⁷ ... it is surrounded by a design!
 Jeyes 1989:183 (OBE 19:4)²⁰⁷
- 246) ⁷ma-ar-ta-am iṭ-ṭù-ul ... it points at the gall-bladder!
 Nougayrol 1950:24 (AO
 9066:7)²⁰⁸
- 247) ²⁹pa-da-n[a]-am iṭ-ṭù-ul ... it points at the path!
 AO 9066:29 (RA 44:26-27)
- 248) ka-sa-am im-la ... it fills the cup!
 YOS 10 57 obv:7

Apodoses

²⁰⁷ Jeyes 1989:184 translates “is surrounded by a design”.

²⁰⁸ Nougayrol 1950:24 translates “(Si), à la tête du “regard” une “arme” se trouve, qui regarde l’“amère””.

249) ⁴¹GIŠ.TUKUL-ša (*kakkaša*) i-ta-
ba-ak ... it will lay down its weapon!

YOS 10 24:41²⁰⁹

250) ni-ši-ir-tam i-ka-ša-ad ... he will reach a (hidden)
treasure!

YOS 10 54 rev:23

251) a-li LUGAL (*šarrim*) i-la-wu-ú ... they will surround the city of
the king!

YOS 10 36 i:30²¹⁰

252) ma-ar ma-ri-šu i-ma-a-ar ... he will see his grand-
children!

YOS 10 44 obv:70²¹¹

253) še-pé-ka i-na-ši-iq ... he will kiss your feet!

Nougayrol 1973:44-45 (BM

22694:59)²¹²

²⁰⁹ YOS 10 24 is fully edited in Glassner 2009b:63-67 and Hecker 1986: 74–76.

²¹⁰ Winitzer 2017:223, 3.81 translates “two enemy kings will invade and besiege the king’s cities”.

²¹¹ George 2013:189, NOTE 5'-6' (§ 5'-6') cites this apodosis and translates “the man will do *awīlūtum*, he will see his grandsons”. Regarding *illak awīlūtum* George notes that “the phrase’s literal meaning, “to do what men do”, suggests an active role as head of a household, ensuring that the family prospers and grows over generations.”

²¹² Nougayrol 1973:47 translates “[l’homme] d]e la cité, sortant (de sa ville), te baisera les pieds”.

254) ka-ki-ka ú-ša-at-ba-ak-ka ... he will make you lay down
 your weapons!
 YOS 10 45:18²¹³

255) ¹²bu-ul-ka i-zi-ib ... he will leave your flock!
 YOS 10 43 rev:12²¹⁴

I have found a small number of accusative-initial sentences that contain two independent accusatives in their structure. Although strictly speaking this structure contains four constituents (an accusative, a conjunction, an accusative, and a verb) I have categorised it under the umbrella of the reduced accusative-initial sentence because it contains no nominatives and its syntactical slots are those of only two categories (accusatives and verbs).

256) ⁵¹r-re-ši¹ ù¹ r¹ti¹-[l]a-ti ta-ra-aš-ši you will acquire helpers and
 reinforcements!
 YOS 10 42 ii:51²¹⁵; 59-60

257) ¹³zi-ka-ar-š[u] ù sí-ni-iš-ta-šu i-da-a- he will kill its men and
 ak women!
 MAH 15994:13 (RA 63:155; 156)²¹⁶

²¹³ Starr 1983:66 translates “your enemy... will make you throw away your weapons.”

²¹⁴ Winitzer 2017:88 2.111 translates “the enemy will ask you for a peace-agreement, but turn away and desert your cattle”.

²¹⁵ Winitzer 2017:200, 3.45 translates “you will acquire helpers and auxiliary troops”. Khait 2014:83 translates “you will obtain helpers and reinforcements”.

²¹⁶ Winitzer 2017:32, 4.80 translates “from among your outer towns the enemy will seize one and kill its male and female (population)”, also in Winitzer 2017:289, 4.57.

258) ¹⁶NITÁ-š[u] (*zikařu*) ù MÍ-řu you will kill its men and
(*sinniřtařu*) ta-da-a-ak women!

MAH 15994:16 (RA 63:155; 156)²¹⁷

First sentences

The first sentence of a protasis is rarely composed as a reduced accusative-initial sentence. I suspect that this rarity stems from the nature of protases as readings of a surface that must express the surface, the subject or topic of the sentence, in the opening sentence. I have however found an exceptional set in YOS 10 23 in which no nominative subject is expressed in the first sentence of the protasis. These structures in this location are not common in the corpus and the example cited here could be entirely due to the verb ‘to have’ *řřu* (*‘it has’*), a verb that requires no explicit nominative because it expresses a notion akin to the reference *‘there is’*:

Protases

259) ¹Ař KÁ É.GAL (*bāb ēkallim*) **i-řu** If it has a palace gate!

YOS 10 23:1²¹⁸

260) ²Ař KÁ É.GAL (*bāb ēkallim*) **la i-řu** If it has no palace gate!

YOS 10 23:2²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Winitzer 2017:323, 4.80 translates “from among the towns of your enemy you will seize one and kill its male and female (population)”. Also in Winitzer 2017:289, 4.57.

²¹⁸ George 2013:21, note 5 translates “If it has a palace gate. Glassner 2009b:26 note 3) comments on the opening chapter of this Palace Gate compendium in relation to YOS 10 22:1.

²¹⁹ Parallel protasis in OBE 1 rev:18 and YOS 10 33 v:33. Jeyes 1989:30 translates this protasis.

Reduced accusative-initial sentences are more regularly found in apodoses but in the majority of cases the verb expresses a second person. I note this because being able to predict the composition of a sentence in an apodosis or a protasis (whether the second or third sentence is likely to be a reduced pattern with a second person verb) could be used to determine the composition of a sentence in broken contexts for example, when parallels are not available.

Apodoses

261) ^{25r}ma¹-at na-ak-ri-im **tu-sà-na-aq** you will control the land of the enemy!

YOS 10 11 ii:25

262) ⁴ta-ap-pa-am **ta-ra-aš-ši-i**-ma you will acquire a friend!
and...

YOS 10 11 v:4

263) KALAM LÚ.KÚR-ka (*māt nakrika*) you will plunder the land of
ta-ma-aš-ša-aḥ your enemy!

YOS 10 47 rev:60

264) ^{8É}.GAL LÚ.KÚR-ka (*ēkal nakrika*) you will control the palace of
te-re-de-e your enemy!

YOS 10 22:8²²⁰

²²⁰Winitzer 2017:189, 3.34 translates “you will take hold of your enemy’s palace”.

265) ²³[a-la]m **ta-ša-^rab-ba-at¹** you will capture a city!

YOS 10 33 v:23²²¹

266) ²³ša-al-la-sú **tu-wa-aš-ša-ar** you will abandon its plunder!

YOS 10 33 v:23²²²

267) ²⁹[a]-lam na-ak-ka-ra-am **ta-ša-
ab-ba-at** you will seize a hostile city!

YOS 10 33 v:29

268) ⁴⁶LÚ.KÚR-am (*nakram*) ⁴⁷qí-it-ru-
bi-iš **te-ki-im** you will capture the enemy in
close battle!

YOS 10 36 i:46-47²²³

269) ⁸É.GAL LÚ.KÚR-ka (*ēkal nakrika*) you will control your enemy's
te-re-de-e palace!

(you will consume the goods
of your enemy's land!)

²²¹ Jeyes 1989:121 (OBE 3:9) translates "you will seize a city". This apodosis is composed of two sentences. See below the footnote.

²²² Jeyes 1989:121 (OBE 3:9) translates "you will release the booty (taken from) it".

²²³ Winitzer 2017:208 3.55 translates "in hand-to-hand fighting you will capture the enemy", also in Winitzer 2017:240, 4.6.

(bu-uš ma-at LÚ.KÚR-ka (*nakrika*))

t[a-ka-al])

YOS 10 22:8²²⁴

- 270) ¹⁵É.GAL L[Ú.K]ÚR-ka (*ēkal nakrika*) you will control your
te-e-re-de enemy's palace!

YOS 10 24:15²²⁵

- 271) ²³[ma]-at LÚ.KÚR-ka (*nakrika*) you will cause the downfall of
tu-ša-am-qá-at your enemy's land!

YOS 10 56 iii:23

- 272) ki-de-ti LÚ.KÚR-ka (*nakrika*) **te-** you will leave the outer regions
zi-ib of your enemy!

YOS 10 27:11²²⁶

- 273) ⁵na-ka-ar-ka **ta-da-ak** you will kill your enemy!

YOS 10 11 v:5

²²⁴ Winitzer 2017:189, 3.34 translates “you will take hold of your enemy’s palace (or) your [will consume] the goods of your enemy’s land”, he says in his footnote 84 that restorations follow Glassner 2009b:61.

²²⁵ Winitzer 2017:259-60, 4.32 translates “you will take control of your enemy’s palace”. Also translated in Glassner 2004:72.

²²⁶ Glassner 2004:66 suggests *ki-di-ti*. Winitzer 2017:153 footnote 7 says this is an “expected plural form” and translates in 3.1 “you will leave your enemy’s outer regions”. See CAD K:345.

274) ša-al-la-sú **tu-wa-aš-ša-ar** you will abandon its booty!

YOS 10 33 v:23²²⁷

275) na-ar-ka-ba-at LÚ.KÚR-ka you will turn back your enemy's
(*nakrika*) **tu-t[a-ar]** chariotry!

YOS 10 44 rev:66²²⁸

276) LÚ.KÚR (*nakram*) **tu-ka-ar-ra** you will put the enemy in *desperate*
straits!

YOS 10 23 obv:23²²⁹

3.2.3 The *augmented* accusative-initial sentence

Augmented accusative-initial sentences are achieved by the addition of new constituents to the basic accusative-initial sentence, or by the replacement of basic constituents with more complex units. Four-constituent based sentences can be subdivided in two. In one group, each constituent belongs to a different syntactical category: the *acc + pp + nom + verb* and the *acc + nom + pp + verb*. I have found that the *acc + pp + nom + verb* sentence is doubly more numerous than the *acc + nom + pp + verb*. Given its frequency, I have interpreted the *acc +*

²²⁷ Jeyes 1989:121 (OBE 3:9) translates “you will seize a city (but) you will release the booty (taken from) it”.

²²⁸ George 2013:211 (35) translates “you will turn back your enemy’s chariotry.” Khait 2012:44 (§4 L.4) translates “you will come back with the chariots of the enemy.”

²²⁹ Winitzer 2017:286, 4.55 translates “you will cause the enemy hardship”. Starr 1983:103 translates “you will cause the enemy hardship.”

pp + nom + verb sentence as evidence that the nominative subject shows a greater tendency to occur close to the verb in sentences that begin with an accusative. I have taken the more numerous *acc + pp + nom + verb* sentence as my reference point and understand that in the least numerous structure (the *acc + nom + pp + verb* sentence) the prepositional phrase has been delayed and the nominative has been preposed. If this observation were to be confirmed in other corpora, then sentences that are four constituent-based could constitute the primary tool via which the rules of word-order and distribution can be extracted. These sentences are valuable because they contain every basic syntactical category of constituents active in the syntax of the language (nominatives, accusatives, circumstances and verbs). It is through them that distribution tendencies can be best observed. In the second group, constituents belong to the same syntactical category (typically two objects, an accusative and an objective clause). In augmented sentences that now contain a complex unit, the complex unit is an ‘objective clause’²³⁰. I have borrowed the term ‘objective clauses’ from Buccellati 1996:366. Buccellati identifies *kīma* (‘that’) in Old-Babylonian and *kī* (‘that’) in Middle and Neo-Babylonian as the particles that introduce clauses that function as direct objects. I have categorised ‘*ša* clauses’²³¹ also as objective clauses because they function like an accusative object. Few accusative-initial sentences are introduced by the object expressed as a noun in the absolute state followed by a verb in the subjunctive. I have categorised these subjunctive clauses as objective clauses also, introduced not by a particle but by the accusative noun alone.

3.2.3.A The *acc + nom + pp/fn + verb* sentence

Protases

²³⁰ “The place of the direct object may be taken by a clause, called “objective clause.”

²³¹ *ša* : that, the one of, who

277) ²⁴MAŠ ŠU.SI (*ubānam*) ka-ak- If a weapon-mark rides on the
kum ša-ap-li-iš ra-ki-ib finger downward!

YOS 10 33 ii:24²³²

278) ²⁶MAŠ ŠU.SI (*ubānam*) ka-ak- If a weapon-mark rides on the
kum e-li-iš ra-ki-ib finger upwards!

YOS 10 33 ii:26²³³

3.2.3.B The *acc + pp + nom + verb* sentence

Apodoses

279) GIŠ.MÁ.ĦI.A (*eleppātim*) **i-na ka-** the enemy will carry away the
ri-im LÚ.KÚR (*nakrum*) i-ta-ba-al boats *from* the quay!

YOS 10 24:7

280) ⁵⁹um-ma-na-am **i-na KASKAL-** a *snare* will seize the army in
nim (*harrānim*) ⁶⁰**di-pu-um** i-ša- the campaign!
ba-at

YOS 41 rev:59²³⁴

²³² George 2013:48 note ii 19-20 (§14') translates "if a weapon-mark straddles the 'finger' downward". Winitzer 2017:198, 3.41 translates "If a Weapon was riding on the Finger downward".

²³³ Winitzer 2017:198, 3.41 translates "If a Weapon was riding on the Finger upward".

²³⁴ CAD K:399 *kippu* : 1. "snare, loop"

281) ⁹⁾um-ma-an šar-ri-im ¹⁰⁾i-na ḫa- thirst will seize the army of the
 ra-nim ¹¹⁾šú-mu-um ¹²⁾i-ša-ab- king in the campaign!
ba-at

YOS 10 31 iii:9-12²³⁵

282) e-le-pa-tim **i-na ka-[ri-i]m** the enemy will carry away
¹⁸⁾[n]a-ak-rum i-ta-ba-a[l] boats from the quay!

YOS 10 26 i:17-18

283) ERIN₂-ma-an-ka (*ummānka*) **i+na** the god will hold back your
re-eš A.ŠĀ-^rša¹ (*eqliša*) **DINGIR** army in the top of its field!
(ilum) i-sé-er

OBE 1 rev:21²³⁶

284) ERÍN.MEŠ (*ummānātīm*) **i+na še-ri-** thirst will seize the armies in the
im ²³⁾š[ú-m]u-u[m] i-ša-b[a]-at open country!

RA 67:42;46 (BM 22694:22-23)²³⁷

²³⁵ 'in the campaign' or 'during a journey'.

²³⁶ Re i-sé-er, Winitzer 2017:194, 3.37 reads *izêr* and notes in fn 96 "for this sense of *zêrum* with respect to relations between gods and men, see CAD Z:98" translates "the deity will turn away from your army in (reaching) its destination". I have read ZI -> sé for *esêrum*, 'to enclose, confine, hold back'.

²³⁷ Winitzer 2017:96, 2.126 translates "thirst will seize the troops in the hinterland". Aro & Nougayrol 1973:46 translate "l'armée en campagne, la s[oif] (la) prendra".

3.2.3.C Objective clauses in sentence-initial position

3.2.3.C.1 The *obj cl + nom + verb* sentence

Apodoses

- 285) **a-wa-at ib-ba-aš-šu-ú** šu-ú ul he will not know about a **matter**
<i>-la-am-ma-ad that occurs!

YOS 10 54 rev:16

- 286) ^{12x}**ša-al-l[a-a]t i-ša-al-la-lu** the enemy will kill the *captive*
LÚ.KÚR (*nakrum*) i-da-ak that he will *capture* (or: the loot
he will plunder)!

YOS 10 36 ii:12²³⁸

- 287) **ša-al-la-at a-ša-al-la-lu** ^{21)d}IM ^dAdad will trample the booty
(*Adad*) i-ra-aḥ-ḥi-iš that I will plunder!

YOS 10 36 ii:20-21²³⁹

3.2.3.C.2 The *obj cl + pp + verb* sentence

Apodoses

- 288) **ši-ip i-ru-ba-ak-kum** i-na re-eš you will reach it, the attack that
A.ŠÀ-ša (*eqliša*) ta-ka-ša-as-s[í- comes against you, *in the top of*
ma] ta-da-[ak-ši] *its field*, and you will defeat it!

²³⁸ Winitzer 2017:212-213, 3.66 translates “the enemy will kill the captive he will capture”.

²³⁹ Winitzer 2017:212-213, 3.66 translates “Adad will devastate the plunder I will capture”

YOS 10 44 obv:31²⁴⁰

- 289) **ši-ip i-ru-ba-ak-kum** i-na ʿerʿ- you will reach it, the attack that
še-et ra-ma-ni-ša³³[ta-ka-ša]- comes against you on its own
ʿasʿ-sí-ʿmaʿ ta-da-ak-ši turf, and you will defeat it!

YOS 10 44 obv:34-35²⁴¹

3.2.3.C.3 The *obj cl + verb* sentence

In a rare number of sentences, I have found that the objective clause is created by the use of the object in the absolute state followed by a verb onto which the subjunctive is applied. In my discussion of augmented nominal sentences I remarked that I understand the subjunctive marker {u} to be related to the nominative marker {um - u}. Both are {u} case endings. In the below sentences, the subjunctive verb gives more information about the noun to which it is related. Viewed in this manner, the {u} subjunctive marking resembles the {u} marking of nouns and adjectives.

Apodoses

- 290) **ši-ip i-ru-ba-ak-kum** tu-ša-ad- you will push back the attack
ʿdaʿ that comes against you!

²⁴⁰ Wintizer 2017:295, 4.61 translates “[you will catch up to [and] slay the force coming your way in its destination”. For *kašādu* understood as ‘to find’ see CAD K:276 *kašādu* e) which cites this apodosis and translates “you will discover the expedition entering your (land) at its onset and defeat it”. Lines 33 and 35 give a variation “in its own land”.

²⁴¹ Wintizer 2017:295-296, 4.61 translates “you [will catch up] to and slay the force coming your way in its own land.” It is strange that these two omens (line 32-33) have a different protasis that result in the same apodosis, the same consequence.

YOS 10 44 obv:19²⁴²

- 291) ²⁶ša-al-la-at ta-ša-al-la-lu ²⁷ú-la you will not send out the booty
tu-ši-ši that you will plunder!

YOS 10 36 ii:26-27²⁴³

3.2.3.D Two accusatives

3.2.3.D.1 The *acc + obj cl +/- x + verb* sentence

I have found a rare accusative-initial sentence in which two direct objects are found. In these sentences one object is expressed as an accusative noun and the other is a complex unit, an objective clause. The two objects are formally independent from each other and are combined with a verb that only requires one accusative. I have categorised these sentences as augmented sentences achieved by the addition of an objective clause to the frame of the basic accusative-initial sentence.

- 292) ¹⁷a-al pa-ṭi-ka ša ib-ba-al-ki-it- your hand will conquer your
ka qá-at-ka i-ka-ša-^rad^r border city which revolted
against you!

YOS 10 44 obv:17

²⁴² Glassner 2009b:59 translates this omen. CAD N:98 *nadû* 8b) “to repel an attack” cites this apodosis and translates “you will repel the expedition that comes against you”.

²⁴³ Winitzer 2017:212-213, 3.66 translates “you will not take out of the plunder you capture”.

293) šar-ra-am **ša it-ti-i-ka na-ak-ru-ú** you will kill a king **who is**
 i-na GIŠ.TUKUL-ki (*kakki*) ta-da- **hostile to you** in war! And...
 ak-ma

YOS 10 56 ii:44²⁴⁴

Sentence 293 does not contain an explicit nominative. Its verb expresses a second person singular, but I have categorised this sentence as structure that has been augmented because of its use of the objective clause. Sentence 293 is an apodosis that contains two formally independent direct objects: the single accusative noun *šarram*, ‘the king’, and the objective clause *ša ittika nakru*, ‘who is hostile to you’. The verb *dâkum* only requires one direct object and I wonder which of the two is the primary object of *dâkum*. If I reduce this sentence to only one accusative, either of the two is suitable as the one and only object. For example, when the apodosis is reduced to *ša ittika nakru ina kakki tadâk* ‘you will kill *the one who* is hostile toward you in war’, the sentence still operates as an accusative-initial sentence that follows the pattern *obj cl + pp + verb* sentence. If this sentence was reduced to *šarram ina kakki tadâk* ‘you will kill a king in war’ with *šarram* as the single object, the sentence is also viable. Direct objects in sentence-initial position are mostly found formulated as single nouns. Based on frequency, the primary target of the verb can be argued to be the noun *šarram* ‘king’ only because a single noun used as a direct object is more frequent than a clause. Semantically, *šarram* is as much the information that identifies *who* is the target of the action of killing (i.e., ‘a/the king’), than the information that provides additional information about the ‘someone who is hostile’ (i.e., ‘a/the king’). If frequency as a parameter is put aside, I cannot decide based on syntax or content alone which of these two constituents is *primary* and which is apposed. Accusative-initial sentences in which a second object functions as an objective clause are rare in OB omens. Kogan 2008:17-26 and Kogan & Worthington 2012:487-492 have collected a number of them in their articles on accusative-initial sentences in other corpora

²⁴⁴ Leichty 1970:205 translates “you will kill a king who is in enmity with you and conquer his city, his suburb(s), (and) his land”.

and for another period. The sentences collected in this chapter could be added to the list for the Old Babylonian period.

- 294) li-ib-ba el-ša **ša ma-di-iš la na-** [he will be given] a joyful heart,
š*i*-<e> iš-š[a-ak-ka-an] the utmost he can bear! (lit: so
much it cannot be carried)
YOS 10 54 rev:29²⁴⁵

Sentence 294 does not contain an explicit nominative. Its verb expresses a third person singular. Like sentence 293, I have categorised this sentence as an augmented sentence because of its use of the objective clause.

3.2.4 The *extended* accusative-initial sentence

A small number of accusative-initial sentences begin with two formally independent accusatives. In these structures, a suffixed pronoun is attached to the second accusative constituent and resumes the sentence-initial accusative. I have categorised these sentences as *extended* accusative-initial sentences and note their structural parallel to the *extended* nominal sentence, a sentence in which two independent nominatives are found combined with a resumptive suffixed pronoun attached to the second nominative. I have found two patterns of the *extended* accusative-initial sentence group 1, the *acc + acc-suff + nom + verb* sentence in which only one resumptive suffixed pronoun is used, and the *acc + pp-suff + acc-suff + verb* sentence in which two resumptive suffixed pronouns co-refer the sentence-initial accusative.

²⁴⁵ I follow Böck 2000:301's transliteration and translation "wird ihm ein so freudiges Herz gegeben, daß er es kaum erträgt". YOS 10 54 is fully edited in Böck 2000:296-301.

3.2.4.A The *acc + acc-suff + nom + verb* sentence

- 295) ¹⁷AŠ ŠU.SI (*ubān*) ḥa-ši MURUB₄ If a filament is seizing the top of
(*qablītum*) re-sa qú-um ṣa-bi-it- *the* median finger of the lung!
ma¹ And...

YOS 10 40 rev:17²⁴⁶; 15

- 296) ⁵⁴DIŠ GIŠ.ṚTUKUL^Ṛ (*kakki*) i-mi- If a filament is seizing the right
tim mu-uḥ-ḥa-ša qú-ú-um ṣa-bi- weapon-mark on its head!
it

YOS 10 46 iii:54²⁴⁷

- 297) ^{56Ṛ}DIŠ^Ṛ [GIŠ.TUKUL] (*kakki*) i-mi- If a filament is seizing a right
tim mu-uḥ-ḥa-šu qú-u-um ṣa-bi- weapon-mark on its top! (and)
it-ma

YOS 10 46 iii:56²⁴⁸

3.2.4.B The *acc + pp-suff + acc-suff + verb* sentence

²⁴⁶ *ma* is written TI. Winitzer 2017:208, 3.57 translates “If (concerning) the middle Finger of the lung – a filament was seizing its head so that it looked to the left”.

²⁴⁷ Winitzer 2017:238, 4.3 translates “If (concerning) the Weapon of the right – a filament was seizing its top”.

²⁴⁸ Khait 2014:77 translates “If a “thread” “occupies” the top of a right-side “weapon-mark”, also in Khait JCS 63:74 footnote 6. Similar apodoses in YOS 10 46 ii 53-54, and YOS 10 46 iv 47-50.

Sentence 298 is a sentence that is doubly remarkable for its use of two resumptive pronouns and for the presence of a verb that expresses a first person singular, a rare occurrence in apodoses.

298) **na-ak-ri** i-na ʾšú-ub-ti-**šú ša-la-** I will rob my enemy's booty, in
sú a-ša-la-al his quarters!

OBE 18 obv:2-3

As previously referenced, Kogan 2008:17-26 and Kogan & Worthington 2012:487-492 collected a number of sentences that begin with an accusative. The sentences in Kogan 2008:17-26 were collected from Sargonic royal inscriptions and from Old Babylonian royal inscriptions and many of them contain two independent accusative constituents. The sentences listed in Kogan & Worthington 2012:487-492 are taken from Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian letters. I note here that their sentences 1, 2 and 6 contain a verb onto which a suffixed pronoun is attached, resumptive of the sentence-initial accusative because these sentences are related to my group 2 sentences listed and discussed below in which the verb is always marked by a suffixed pronoun. For Kogan & Worthington, the sentence-initial accusative is used in this location as a focus marker:

“one may wonder, therefore, whether a certain trend towards using the accusative case as a kind of focus marker can be postulated for early Akkadian” (Kogan & Worthington 2012:492)

Kogan 2008 analyses these sentences as ‘accusative casus pendens’ constructions that indicate a ‘topicalization by preposing’ (Kogan 2008:22-23, point 6.3). I do not follow this analysis for the same reasons put forward in my discussion of the nominal casus pendens in section 2.10. A ‘casus pendens’ analysis assumes that the accusative at the beginning of the sentence has been removed from its standard location. I have used a model in which the accusative in sentence-initial position is located in its standard place and represents a normative type of

sentences. In my typology, the sentence-initial accusative of such sentences is not extra-sentential, it is intra-sentential and belongs to the predicate. It represents part of the *xabar* and the whole structure belongs to a category I have termed extended accusative-initial sentences. In *extended* accusative-initial sentences, the sentence-initial accusative occurs in its standard location in a model in which *basic* accusative-initial sentences represent a norm, not a subtype. Its function is to contrast the nominal sentence and communicate the new information first via the accusative. I have found further support for my interpretation of accusative-initial sentences as standard structures in a modern linguistic study by Mithun 1992. My discussion is presented in the third part of this chapter in section 3.5.

3.3 Group 2: accusative-initial sentences with a resumptive suffixed pronoun on the verb

Group 2 accusative-initial sentences always contain a suffixed pronoun attached to the verb that co-refers the accusative in sentence-initial position. Group 2 can be divided in two further subtypes: sentences that contain only one resumptive pronoun, attached to the verb (subtype 1), and sentences that contain two resumptive pronoun, with one always attached to the verb (subtype 2). Both subtypes follow the same word-order variations observed for group 1 sentences: each has a *basic* form, a *reduced* form, and an *augmented* form. Only subtype 1 sentences are extended. It is not surprising that subtype 2 are not extended given that extensions are made via the use of resumptive pronouns and subtype 2 already contains two resumptive pronouns.

3.3.1 Subtype 1 sentences: resumptive suffixed pronoun always on the verb

3.3.1.A Subtype 1 the *basic* accusative-initial sentence

Two structures recurrent in the OB omen corpus can be identified as *basic* subtype 1 sentences: the *acc + nom + verb-suff* sentence and the *acc + pp + verb-suff* sentence. I have categorised the *acc + nom + verb-suff* sentence as the *basic* sentence because of its frequency and intelligibility. This structure explicit states the agent of the action and is therefore more intelligible than the *acc + pp + verb-suff* sentence in which only part of the identity of the subject is disclosed via the verb. Because the *acc + pp + verb-suff* sentence is frequent, I interpret it as a subcategory of the *basic* subtype 1 sentence. I have found that, like all the basic sentence structures I have so far encountered, the *basic* subtype 1 sentence can be reduced by the deletion of a constituent from the *basic* form. The result is the *acc + verb-suff*. The basic frame of subtype 1 sentences can also be augmented (the *acc + nom + pp + verb-suff* sentence). Like all other *augmented* forms, the augmented subtype 1 sentence appears to be the result of the addition of constituents to the frame of the *basic* structure. Subtype 1 can also be extended (the *acc + obj cl + nom + verb-suff sentence*).

3.3.1.A.1 The *acc + nom + verb-suff* sentence

Apodoses

acc + nom + verb-suff

- 299) ^{2b}**a-wi-lam** mu-ur-^ʿšum^ʿ i-ša-
ʿba-**sú**^ʿ-ma i-ba-lu-u[^t] the disease will seize him, the
man! (but he will live)

YOS 10 59 obv:2b

- 300) ²⁴**ma-tam** ḥu-ša-ḥu-um ²⁵[da]-
an-nu-um i-ša-ba-as-**sí** severe famine will seize it, the
land!

YOS 10 9:24-25²⁴⁹

- 301) **er-ší-tam** i-lu-ša i-zi-bu-ši its gods will abandon it, the
land!
YOS 10 5:7²⁵⁰ / 23:2

- 302) **ru-ba-am** ma-sú ²²i-ba-la-ka-as- his land will rebel against him,
sú the prince!

yos 10 42 iii:21-22

- 303) **mar-ša-am** GIŠ.NÁ (*eršu*) i-ka- *the bed will bind him, the sick*
la-š[u] *man!*

YOS 10 14 obv:14²⁵¹

- 304) **šar-ra-am** ¹³a-al-šu ib-ba-la-ka- his city will rebel against him,
as-sú the king!

YOS 10 33 i:12-13

²⁴⁹ Glassner 2004:65 translates “une famine terrible sévira dans le pays”.

²⁵⁰ Winitzer 2017:40 2.24 translates “the land-its gods will abandon it”, also in Winitzer 2017:101, 2.137 but Winitzer 2017:283, 3.26 translates “the gods will abandon the land”. Jeyes 1989:30 translates “the land, her gods will desert her”. This apodosis has a parallel in BM 12875 obv. 8-13.

²⁵¹ Jeyes 1989:41 2 translates “the patient, the bed will confine him”.

- 305) **LUGAL-am** (*šarram*) SUKKAL-šu his *sukkalum* will kill him, the
(*sukkallašu*) i-da-ak-**šu** king!

YOS 10 36 iv:6

3.3.1.A.2 The *acc + pp + verb-suff* sentence

No nominative subject is expressed in the *acc + pp + verb-suff* sentence. The verb of these sentences expresses a third person plural and as already observed, the third person plural verb conditions the absence of the nominative.

Third person plural verb

- 306) ⁴⁴**šar-ra-am** ⁴⁵i-na pa-ni p[i-il]- they will kill him, the king, in
ši-im ⁴⁶i-du-uk-k[u-ù]-**šu** front of a breach!

YOS 10 31 i:44-46

- 307) **LUGAL** (*šarram*) a-na ¹¹ma-ti na- they will exile him, the king, to
ka-ar-ti i-ṭà-ra-ṛdu¹-**šu** a hostile land!

YOS 10 60 rev:10-11²⁵²

²⁵² Winitzer 2017:338-339, 4.97 translates “they will exile the king to a hostile land”.

3.3.1.B The reduced acc + verb-suff sentence (subtype 1)

I have interpreted the *acc + verb-suff* sentence as a reduction of the *basic* subtype 1 sentence achieved by the deletion of the middle constituent. In the reduced pattern, the verb continues to be marked by the resumptive suffixed pronoun that defines this group:

308) ³⁵**a-la[m]** ta-ša-al-la-^ʾas-**su** ʾ You will plunder it, the city!

YOS 10 33 v:35

309) ¹⁵**šar-ra-am** ¹⁶ú-ka-aš-ša-du- They will make him submit, the
^ʾš^u-ú-ma king! And...

YOS 10 31 viii:15-16

3.3.1.C The augmented acc + nom + pp + verb-suff sentence (subtype 1)

The *acc + nom + pp + verb-suff* is a sentence in which all constituents belong to a different syntactical category (object, subject, circumstance, verb). I have interpreted this construction as an augmented form of *basic* sentence subtype 1.

- 310) ¹⁵a-li-ik ḥa-ar-ra-nim ¹⁶ḥa-ar-ra-nu-um a-na ḥa-ar-ra-nim i-na-di-šū campaign after campaign will cast it down, the *expeditionary-force*!

YOS 10 11 i:15-16²⁵³

3.3.1.D The extended *acc + obj cl + nom + verb-suff* sentence (subtype 1)

The *acc + obj cl + nom + verb-suff* sentence is rare but I have listed it because it is remarkable. It shares all the traits of the *extended* accusative-initial sentence in group 1: it carries two independent direct objects, a suffixed pronoun that co-refers the sentence-initial accusative but unlike the *extended* sentence in group 1, the resumptive suffixed pronoun is attached to the verb. In group 1, the resumptive pronoun was found on the second direct object. I have categorised the *acc + obj cl + nom + verb-suff* sentence under the umbrella of group 2 sentences, and not under group 1, because the resumptive suffixed pronoun is attached to the verb. I have only found examples of it in apodoses.

- 311) ¹⁵[KI (*eršetam*) ša b]é-el-^rša^r The hand of the king will
 <la> i-^rbé^r-lu-ši qá-ti LUGAL conquer it, the [land that] its
 (šarrim) ^{16r}i-ka^r-[aš-š]a-as-sí lord does <not> control!

MS 3066:15-16²⁵⁴

²⁵³ My translation follows George's translation (private communication) *ḥarrānum ana ḥarrānim* as "campaign after campaign". Jeyes 1989:55 translates "the one who is going on a campaign, one campaign will throw him on another one".

²⁵⁴ George 2013:34, who translates "the king will take possession of [territory whose] lord cannot (!) control it".

3.3.2 Subtype 2: two resumptive pronouns with one always on the verb

Subtype 2 sentences are a group of accusative-initial sentences that contain two resumptive pronouns, with one always attached to the verb like subtype 1. These structures only occur in apodoses. Subtype 2 structures mirror subtype 1 structures. I have discussed them separately from each other to try and isolate the rules of their construction but I understand that subtype 2 stems from subtype 1 sentences and represent a further extension. I have followed the criteria of intelligibility and frequency to identify the *basic* structure of subtype 2 sentences and have found that the *acc + nom-suff + verb-suff* sentence can be categorised as the *basic* form. Like other *basic* accusative-initial sentences observed so far in the OB omen corpus, I have categorised the *acc + pp-suff + verb-suff* as a subdivision of this *basic* frame because it is frequent but less intelligible. I have found that *acc + pp-suff + nom + verb-suff* sentences can be categorised as augmented group 2 sentences. I have found no extended sentences in group 2. As previously noted, this is not unexpected because I have understood extension to be achieved by the addition of a resumptive suffixed pronoun to the basic frame and this group already contains two resumptive suffixed pronouns.

3.3.2.A Subtype 2 - the *basic* accusative-initial sentence

3.3.2.A.1 The *acc + nom-suff + verb-suff* sentence

311) ⁸**ik-ri-ib ik-ri-bi** ⁹**il-šu** i-ri-iš-šu his god requests it, the (pledged)
votive offering!
YOS 10 52 i:8-9²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ CAD I:65 *ikribu* c). Parallel apodosis in YOS 10 51 i:8.

312) 𐎠𐎢𐎢𐎠.**KÚR** (*nakram*) ti-la-tu-**šu** i- his auxiliaries will gather against
𐎠pa-ḫu¹-ra-a-**šu** him, the enemy!

YOS 10 44 rev:64²⁵⁶

313) ³²**LÚ.KÚR** (*nakram*) ti-il-la-tu-**šu** his allies will leave him, the
i-pa-¹ṭa-ra¹-**šu** enemy!

YOS 10 48:32

314) ³²**ru-ba-am** ma-as-**sú** i-ba-la-ka- his land will rebel against him,
as-**sú** the prince!

YOS 10 51 ii:32

315) ⁵**ru-ba-am** šu-ut re-ši-**šu** i-du- his eunuchs will kill him, the
ku-uš prince!

YOS 10 59 rev:5

316) ¹¹**ru-ba-am** t[i]-¹ir¹ É.GAL-**šu** members of his palace will kill
(*ēkallišu*) i-du-ku-uš him, the prince!

YOS 10 59 rev:11

²⁵⁶ Glassner 2009b:59 translates “*l’ennemi, ses auxiliaires se rassembleront contre lui*”. Khait 2012:44 (§3 L.3) translates “the enemy’s auxiliary troops will desert him.” Jeyes 1989:84 translates “*the enemy his auxiliary force will gather together against him*”.

317) ¹⁸[š̄a]r-[r]a ma-as-sú ¹⁹[i-ba]-la- his land will rebel against him,
[ka-a]s-sú the king!

YOS 10 26 iv:18-19

318) **ma-tam** i-lu-š̄a i-zi-bu-š̄i its gods will abandon it, the
land!

YOS 10 23 obv:2²⁵⁷

319) **ru-ba-am** šu-ut re-š̄i-š̄u i-du-uk- his eunuchs will kill him, the
ku-š̄u prince!

YOS 10 25:61²⁵⁸

320) ²²š̄ar-ra-am ²³šu-ut re-š̄i-i-š̄u ²⁴i- his eunuchs will kill him, the
du-uk-ku-š̄u king!

YOS 10 31 iv:22-24²⁵⁹

321) LUGAL-am (*šarram*) SUKKAL-š̄u his *šukkalum* will kill him, the
(*sukkallašu*) i-da-ak-š̄u king!

YOS 10 36 iv:6

²⁵⁷ Winitzer 2017:283, 3.26 translates “the gods will abandon the land”, also 3.96 page 230. Jeyes 1989:30 translates “the land, her gods will desert her”. Parallels in YOS 10 33 v 33; and OBE 1 rev:18.

²⁵⁸ AO 7028:4 is a possible parallel but broken.

²⁵⁹ George 2013:18 transliterates this omen ii 8’-10’ (§13’). Winitzer 2017:265, 4.37 translates “the eunuchs of the king will kill him”.

- 322) ⁷**er-ší-tam** i-lu-ša i-zi-bu-ši its gods will abandon it, the
land!
YOS 10 5:7²⁶⁰

3.3.2.A.2 The *acc + pp-suff + verb-suff* sentence

The *acc + pp-suff + verb-suff* sentence contains no nominative. In the sentences I have collected, the verb expresses a third person plural and explains the absence of the explicit nominative subject as observed in all other sentence types and subtypes.

- 323) ²⁰**šar-ra-am** i-na ŠĀ-bi (*libbi*) KÁ they will kill him, the king, in
É.GAL-šu (*bāb ēkallišu*) i-du-uk- the heart of his palace gate!
ku-ú-šu
YOS 10 22:20²⁶¹

- 324) ⁴**šar-ra-am** i-na li-ib-bi a-li-šu i- They will kill him, the king, in
du-ku-ú-šu the heart of his city!
Khait 2012:34 (text 1 rev:4²⁶²)

²⁶⁰ Winitzer 2017:40 2.24 translates “the land-its gods will abandon it” but Winitzer 2017:101 translates “the gods of the land will abandon it”. Jeyes 1989:30 translates “the land, her gods will desert her”. Parallel apodosis in BM 12875 obv. 8-13.

²⁶¹ Khait 2012:34 translates “the king will be killed within his own palace gate”.

²⁶² Khait 2012:34 translates “the king will be killed in his own city.”

The *acc + pp-suff + verb-suff* is closely related to the *acc + pp + verb-suff*. The only difference between these two structures is that in the *acc + pp + verb-suff* the prepositional phrase is not marked by a resumptive suffixed pronoun, while in the *acc + pp-suff + verb-suff* the prepositional phrase carries a second resumptive pronoun. I have searched for an explanation to the presence of the suffixed pronoun on the prepositional phrase in one group, and its absence in the other, and have noted two examples that could explain the marking of the prepositional phrase in 324:

325) ²⁴**a-wi-la-am** ²⁵i-na a-<<wi>>-li- They will drive him away, the
 im ²⁶ú-še-şú-**şu-ú**-ma man, from the city! But...

YOS 10 31 viii: 24-26²⁶³

The verb in sentence 325 is the Š stem *waşû* ('to make go out'). Š *waşû* is a verb that must be combined with a prepositional phrase to express the location from which the going out is made: to make go out *from*. I have referred to such verbs as prepositional verbs (termed *multi-word verbs* or *phrasal verbs* in grammars of the English language²⁶⁴). In this sentence, the verb and the prepositional phrase form a unit. In sentence 324 the verb is *dâku*, 'to kill'. This verb does not require a prepositional phrase. Here, the prepositional phrase combined to the verb *dâku* 'to kill' gives additional information. It informs the addressee about the location of the action: they will kill him where? "They will kill him, the king, inside his city!" In 324, the verb is not a prepositional verb and the prepositional phrase carries the second resumptive pronoun. But in 325, the verb is prepositional and it alone carries the resumptive suffixed pronoun. I have understood this phenomenon as one that indicates that a prepositional verb and its prepositional phrase form a

²⁶³ Jeyes 1989:70 translates "they will chase the man away from his (own) city".

²⁶⁴ Cambridge Dictionary: "Multi-word verbs are verbs which consist of a verb and one or two particles or prepositions (e.g. up, over, in, down). There are three types of multi-word verbs: phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs. Sometimes, the name 'phrasal verb' is used to refer to all three types."

unit. In this unit, only the verb needs to be marked by the resumptive suffixed pronoun. When the verb is not a prepositional verb, both items are independent from each other. To extend the sentence as a subtype 2 sentence, both the verb and the prepositional phrase must be marked by a resumptive suffixed pronoun. Subtype 2 sentences are important because that they can be used to identify prepositional verbs from non-prepositional verbs in a way that only relies on the grammar and syntax of the source language. The *acc + pp + verb-suff* sentence is also useful because it shows that when the sentence contains a prepositional verb, the prepositional phrase is not an added constituent, it is an obligatory and indispensable component. I state this to stress that prepositions, like frozen nouns, cannot be said to be related to the presence of a verb, because they occur in sentences without verbs. In this situation they are an essential constituent of the sentence. Hence my abandoning of the use of the term 'adverb', as discussed in section 4.1.B.

The *acc + pp + verb-suff* sentence and *acc + pp-suff + verb-suff* sentence are also useful because they show the direction that the extension has taken. The extension has been made from right to left: the resumptive suffixed pronoun is first added on the verb to the end of the sentence on the right (subtype 1). This shows that extensions first occur to the right. When a structure is further extended (as with the addition of a second resumptive suffixed pronoun) the extension is made to the left. These two structures could be used as evidence that right-topicalization is a process that is present and active in the construction of Old Babylonian omen protases and apodoses.

3.3.2.B The augmented subtype 2 sentence: *acc + pp-suff + nom + verb-suff*

A small number of subtype 2 sentences combine four constituents that all belong to different syntactical categories: the sentence-initial accusative, a prepositional phrase, a nominative and a verb marked as expected by a resumptive suffixed pronoun. I have categorised this structure as the augmented form of subtype 2 sentences, created by addition.

- 326) ru-ba-am i-na bi-ti-šu qá-tum i- the hand will seize him, the
 ša-ba-as<-sú> prince, in his house!

YOS 10 23:11

- 327) ru-ba-a-am ²³ⁱi-na bi-ti-šu qá- the hand will reach him, the
 tum i-ka-ša-as-sú prince, in his house!

YOS 10 40 rev:22-23

The *acc + pp-suff + nom + verb-suff* sentence provide another example of sentences whose prepositional phrases are marked by a resumptive suffixed pronoun because the verbs are not prepositional verbs. The verbs *šabātum*, ‘to seize’, and *kašādum*, ‘to reach’ do not require a prepositional phrase. The *acc + pp-suff + nom + verb-suff* sentence appears related to two structures. It can be analysed as the extension of the *acc + pp-suff + verb-suff* sentence (subtype 2) realised by the addition of the nominative. And it can also be analysed as an extension of the *acc + nom + verb-suff* sentence inside which a prepositional phrase has been inserted and must be marked by a resumptive suffixed pronoun to create an extension (the *basic* subtype 1 sentence). The examples of such a structure are so few that I cannot decide to which category it belongs, and from

which it originated. I have categorised it under the umbrella of subtype 2 sentences because it contains two resumptive suffixed pronouns.

3.3.2.C The extended subtype 2 sentence: none

I have found no examples of subtype 2 sentences that could be said to have been extended by the presence of two independent accusatives and that also contain two resumptive pronouns.

3.4 Verb-initial sentences and exceptional forms

In this section, I have listed sentences in which the verb is structurally prominent because it occurs in sentence-initial position before other constituents. In this location, it is combined with other constituents or it is the only constituent of a sentence. I have discussed these two branches of verb-initial sentences under the umbrella of the accusative-initial sentence because, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, in my model accusative-initial sentences and verb-initial sentences are related. Both belong to the category of structures that introduce the new information first and contrast the dynamic of the nominal sentence. Accusative-initial sentences carry the new information via their sentence-initial accusative, the part of the *xabar*, and verb-initial sentences carry the new information first via the verb. In the overwhelming majority of cases, when an OB omen protasis or apodosis contains several constituents including a verb, the verb occurs at the end of the sentence. I have found rare exceptions to what appears to be the rule in sentences in which the verb, combined with other constituents, is not located at the end of the sentence but appears in sentence-initial position or in middle

position. I have also collected a number of sentences composed of a single verb, and sentences composed of a verb onto which a suffixed pronoun is attached (*verb-suff*). In the *verb-suff* sentence the suffixed pronoun is not resumptive. It functions as the object of the verb. The *verb-suff* sentence is essentially a *verb + acc* sentence in which the object is incorporated to the verb given the nature of the language. The single verb sentence and the *verb-suff* sentence are the result of the process I have followed when collecting sentences. I stated at the beginning of this study that I have collected OB omen sentences by separating protases from apodoses, and by separating sentences that are grammatically independent from each other within protases and apodoses. Given the nature of the Akkadian verb as already noted, a verb does not have to be accompanied by an explicit nominative subject to alone create a sentence. A conjugated verb alone represents a sentence. These structures are presented below.

3.4.1 Verbs in sentence-initial position

I have found two examples of a two-constituent based sentence that begins with a verb: a *verb + acc* sentence, and a *verb + pp* sentence. In these sentences, the verb is located at the beginning of the sentence and is followed by its accusative and direct object, or by a prepositional phrase.

3.4.1.A The *verb + acc* sentence

Verbs rarely occur in sentence-initial position. Sentence 328 is the only example I have found of a verb-initial sentence combined with an accusative object.

328) **ta-da-a[k]** na-ak-ra-a[m] you will kill the enemy!...

3.4.1.B The *verb + pp* sentence

- 329) ⁴¹**tu-<še>-re-em-ma** i-na a-bu- you will penetrate from the
na-at na-ak-r[i-i-ka] central point of your enemy!

Sentence 329 is part of an apodosis composed of two sentences: the sentence cited here is the first sentence. The second sentence that follows it is *šallatam tušešše'am*²⁶⁷ (you will bring forth the loot²⁶⁸). I have interpreted sentence 329 as a single sentence in which the enclitic *-ma* attached to the verb is used for emphasis and not as a sentence separator. I am aware that based on the enclitic *-ma*, sentence 329 could be interpreted as two sentences, the first sentence composed of only one verb onto which the enclitic is attached (*tu-<še>-re-em-ma*) followed by a second sentence that begins with a prepositional phrase, but I have leant towards analysing this sentence as one sentence, as does Winitzer 2011:81 and Winitzer 2017:298, 4.64 for three reasons. First, in the corpus sentences composed of one single verb only occur as second and third sentences. First sentences are not composed of a single verb. I have found no other examples of a first sentence composed of a verb only. Secondly, Glassner's collation and

²⁶⁵ Winitzer 2017:135, 2.191 transliterates *nakram* and also understands these two words as forming one sentence. He translates "the enemy you will defeat" and says in his footnote 292 "translation intended to reflect the awkward Akk. syntax".

²⁶⁶ Winitzer 2011:81 reads *tu-<še>-re-em-ma*, and translates "you will <pe>netrate from the epicentre of [yo]ur enemy('s land) and bring forth booty."

²⁶⁷ Winitzer 2017:298, 4.64 translates "If the land of the Finger was hiding in its middle => you will penetrate the epicenter of your enemy('s land) and bring forth plunder (from it)".

²⁶⁸ Winitzer 2017:54 translates "You will penetrate and bring forth plunder from the epicentre of your enemy('s land)".

Winitzer’s reading in Winitzer 2017:55 (sentence 2.65), propose that the apodosis YOS 10 33 iii:44-45 can be read as: ⁴⁴i-na zi-ib-ba-at ma-at [n]a-a[k]-ri-i-[k]a ⁴⁵[tušer-r]e-eb!(E)-ma). The verb is broken and this reading is a reconstruction, but if it is accepted then this sentence is composed of the same elements that make sentence 329 (a prepositional phrase and a verb with an enclitic). The only difference between the two sentences is that the verb and its enclitic are placed in sentence-initial position in sentence 329, and in ultimate position in YOS 10 33 iii:44-45. I used this example to interpret sentence 329 as a verb-initial sentence but it nonetheless constitutes a rare occurrence of the verb in sentence-initial position. My third argument for reading 329 as a verb-initial sentence comes from the use of the verb *erēbum* ‘to enter’ in combination with the preposition *ina*. CAD E:260 records a higher number of sentences in which *erēbum* is used with the preposition *ana*, but sentences in which *erēbum* is used with *ina* are far from rare. These entries show that *erēbum* is not incompatible with the preposition *ina*, and that the prepositional phrase *ina abunnat nakr[ika]* in 329 does not have to belong to the next sentence. On the strength of these three points, I have understood sentence 329 as a rare *verb + pp* sentence.

3.4.1.C Verbs in middle-position

330) ¹⁴sa-li-im-šu te-le-qé **at-ta** (i-na You, you will accept his peace-
ba-ar-tim bu-[ul-šu te-zi-ib]) offer!

YOS 10 15:14²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ Richter Or 62:132 reconstructs: *bu-[ul-šu te-zi-ib]*. So does Glassner 2009b:38 (3) who translates “tu accepteras sa proposition de paix; toi-même, lors d’une révolte, tu laisseras aller son bétail.”. Glassner remarks his reconstruction is based on YOS 10 17:32 (*a-na [LÚ.KÚR-ka a-na sa-li-mi]-im ta-ša-pa-ar-ma ta-sà-ḥa-ar-ma bu!(MI)-ul-šu [te]-zi-ib*).

Sentence 330 is a sentence that belongs to an apodosis composed of three sentences and corresponds to the second sentence. This structure is remarkable because the verb occurs in middle position, between the sentence-initial accusative object and the nominative subject in final position (the second person singular independent pronoun *atta*, ‘you’). I am aware that the independent pronoun *atta* could be read as an element that belongs to the last sentence of the apodosis: {*atta*} *i-na ba-ar-tim bu-[ši-šu or bu-ul-šu te-zi-ib]* (‘{you,} you will leave his goods/herd during a rebellion’). This latter analysis is visible in Glassner 2009b:38 in which he reads and translates ***at-ta i-na ba-ar-tim bu-[ul-šu te-zi-ib]*** and translates “**toi-même**, lors d’une révolte, tu laisseras aller ton bétail.” The translation includes *atta* as part of the third sentence of the apodosis. I have not followed Glassner’s analysis because I have found the independent pronoun *atta* at the beginning of a sentence before a prepositional phrase only once. In that example, *at-ta* is directly followed by a prepositional phrase also ***at-ta a-na a-li-im na-di-im te-ru-ub***²⁷⁰ ‘**you**, you will enter an abandoned city’. The independent pronoun *atta* does occur in sentence-initial position, but in the examples I have found, it is always part of a double nominative in which it is followed by a conjunction and a second nominative noun: ***at-ta ù LÚ.KÚR-ka tu-ud-da-na-an-na-na*** ‘you and your enemy, you will match each other’s strength’²⁷¹. The construction *atta + conjunction + nominative* is also found in YOS 10 rev 47:82; YOS 10 48:18; YOS 10 48:19; YOS 10 50:8a; YOS 10 53:8; YOS 10 53 rev:28; YOS 10 53 rev:23. I have categorised *atta* as a part of sentence 342 despite its unusual location in final position because of the parallel I found in the protasis of omen YOS 10 15:19: ¹⁹*sa-li-im-šu te-li-qé-e-šu*²⁷² ‘you will accept it, his peace-offer!’. Both sentences belong to the same text and follow each other. They are formulated in the same terms and follow the same structure: *accusative + verb + pronoun*. In sentence 330, the pronoun *atta* is independent and acts as the nominative subject, and in YOS 10 15:19 the pronoun *šu* is suffixed to the verb and resumes the direct object. The suffixed pronoun *šu* corefers the accusative, and

²⁷⁰ YOS 10 40:44

²⁷¹ YOS 10 rev 47:80

²⁷² Winitzer 2017:322, 4.79 reads *šu* independently from *teleqqe*.

the independent pronoun *atta* explicitly enunciates and emphasises the subject contained in the verb.

3.4.1.D The *verb-suff* sentence

The suffixed pronoun of *verb-suff* sentences represents the direct object. The nature of the Akkadian verb and the nature of Akkadian syntax produce the incorporation of the object in the verb.

331) ⁷(mu-sà i-ša-ba-as-sí-i-ma) **i-da-ak-ši** ... he will kill her

YOS 10 14 obv:7

332) (⁷na-ka-ar-ka t[a-a]p-p[a]-⁷am⁷ ... he will kill you
i-ra-aš-ši-i-ma) ⁸**i-da-a[k]-ka**

YOS 10 11 v:8

333) (ša-nu šum-šu la me-ḥe-er-ka i- ... he will kill you
te-bi-a-⁷ku-um-ma⁷) **i-da-ak-ka**

YOS 10 24 obv:1²⁷³

²⁷³ Winitzer 2017:136, 2.193 “your unequal will rise up against you and kill you”.

334) (²³a-al pa-ṭi-ka a-na LÚ.KÚR-ka i- ... you will capture it
sà-ḥu-ur-ma) **ta-ṣa-ba-sú**

YOS 10 39 obv:23²⁷⁴

3.4.1.E Single verbs

I have found single verb sentences in both protases and apodoses. But they are particularly frequent in protases. Single verbs sentences are often a final sentence in the protasis. In this position, single verbs are either introduced by an enclitic or are found in asyndeton constructions. Asyndeton constructions are rarer but the use of enclitics such as *-ma* (and) and *u* (and), and of *-ma u* (and then, but then) is frequent. The use of enclitics in OB omen protases and apodoses is treated throughout Winitzer 2017.

Protases

335) ^{1a}(DIŠ ì iṭ-bu) **i-li-am-ma** (If the oil sinks), comes up and...

YOS 10 58 obv:1a

Apodoses

336) (ṛna-ak¹-ru-um i-te-bi-am) i-ṣa- ... he will wage war
ba-ṛaḥ¹

²⁷⁴ Cited in George 2013:4, note 17-18.

YOS 10 3:2²⁷⁵

Protases

- 337) (³⁶šum-ma mar-tum ³⁷it-bé-e- (If the gall bladder rises and)
ma) ³⁸iz-zi-iz stands

YOS 10 31 xiii:36-38

- 338) ⁴⁴(DIŠ MURGU MUR (*būd* (If the shoulder region of the
ḥašîm) Á.ZI (*imittam*) šu-ta-aš- lung has doubled on the right
nu-ú-ma) **pa-ri-is** and) is divided

YOS 10 36 i:44

- 339) ⁴⁶(DIŠ MURGU MUR (*būd* (If the shoulder region of the
ḥašîm) Á.GÙB (*šumēlam*) šu-ta- lung has doubled on the left
aš-nu-ú-ma) **pa-ri-is** and) it is divided

YOS 10 36 i:46²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Winitzer 2017:149, 2.226 reads: *išabba* and says in his footnote 322 he follows the “tentative reading” (*i-ša-ba-aḥ*, *šabā’um*) by Stol 2003:67 who suggests *i-ša-ba-aḥ*. Winitzer 2017:149 translates “The enemy will rise up (and) wage war”.

²⁷⁶ Winitzer 2017:208 3.55 translates “If the shoulder region of the lung was detached twice on the left”, also in Winitzer 2017:240, 4.6.

340) ¹(ù da-al-tum ²ša ši-[ri]-^rim²⁷⁷ (and a door of flesh is set and)
ša-ak-na-at-ma) **ip-pe-et-te** it opens

YOS 10 56 ii:1-2²⁷⁸

341) (²¹DIŠ i-na KÁ É.GAL (*bāb* ... and it is hard
ēkallim) zi-ḥu ṣa-bi-it-ma) ù **da-**
a-an

YOS 10 22:21

342) (¹⁶MAŠ ta-al-lu du-un-nu-un- ... it is dark
ma) ta-ri-[ik]

YOS 10 42 iii:16

343) (²⁷DIŠ iz-bu-um ki-ma mu-ga-ri- ... and it is hard
im ku-pu-^rut^r-ma) ^rù **da^r-an**

YOS 10 56 ii:27

344) (ša-nu-um i-na šu-me-lim ša-ki- ... and it is dark
in-ma) ù **ta-ri-ik**

YOS 10 24 obv:15²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ I follow George 2013:66's correction and the reading *ši^r-[ri-i]m* and not *ši^r-[i-i]m* see note 82-83 (§52).

²⁷⁸ CAPD I:186 *irtu b*) "if the chest of the newborn lamb is open but there is a door of flesh".

²⁷⁹ Winitzer 2017:259-60, 4.32 translates "a second one is situated in the left and it was dark". Also translated in Glassner 2004:72.

Apodoses

- 345) (⁸ne-šum i-na pa-ni a-wi-lim pa- ... and he will be killed
ag-ra-am i-na-di-i-ma) **id-da-ak**

YOS 10 21:8²⁸⁰

- 346) (⁷¹ul-la-ad-ma) [**i**]-^r**ma-a**¹-**at** ... he will die

YOS 10 41 rev:71²⁸¹

- 347) (URU.KI (*āl*) LUGAL (*šarrum*) ⁶i- ... it will be destroyed
la-wu iṣ-ša-ba-at-ma) **in-na-qá-**
ar

YOS 10 9:5-6²⁸²

3.4.1.F Imperatives

The use of the imperative is rare in the corpus. These two imperative verbs given here are part of the same sentence and follow each other in the apodosis (*ku-uš-ši-id la ta-ka-al-la*, ‘Pursue! Do not hold back!’). George 2013:156 note 11’-12’ (§§11’-12’) lists a number of apodoses that consist of “imperative commands

²⁸⁰ Winitzer 2017:242, 4.9 translates “a lion will lay a corpse down before a man and (then) it will be killed”. Also in Bottéro 1974:166.

²⁸¹ Winitzer 2017:161, 3.9 translates “she/it (= the baby) will die.”

²⁸² Glassner 2004:64 translates “la ville que le roi assiège sera prise et rasée”.

addressed to the diviner’s clients”. These apodoses show accusatives or an imperative in first position and several are composed of more than the imperative verb (pps, direct objects).

348) ²⁴ku-uš-ši-id pursue!

YOS 10 53 rev:24²⁸³

349) ²⁴la ta-ka-al-la Do not hold back!

YOS 10 53 rev:24²⁸⁴

3.5 Communicating the most-newsworthy information first: the accusative-initial sentence

As presented at the beginning of this chapter on the strength of the Arabic model, I have analysed the accusative-initial sentence as the sentence type that introduces the new information first, the *new* -> *old* dynamic that contrasts the *old* -> *new* dynamic of the nominal sentence. I have based this analysis on my identification of the function of the predicate and of its elements as the *xabar*, the carrier of the new information. The accusative or object is also analysed as an

²⁸³ Parallels in YOS 26 ii:21, and YOS 10 46 ii:48 in which a *ša* phrase follows two imperatives: “*ša LÚ.KÚR-im*”. Glassner 2009b:73 translates YOS 26 ii:21 “prends sans hésiter!”: Jeyes 1989:44 translates YOS 10 9:29 “push on, do not delay” (5. Topicality in the apodoses).

²⁸⁴ The same apodoses occurs in YOS 10 9:29; 26 ii 21 (ed. Glassner 2009b:68) and YOS 10 46 ii 48; 53:24). George 2013:156 note 11’-12’ (§§11’-12’) notes that the opposite of this command is *pu-ṭú-ur la-a ta-al-lak* “disband, do not go!” in Arnaud 1987:319 no. 898: 14-15, Emar. See also George’s note about its relationship to a line in Esarhaddon’s prism inscription A (I 60-61, ed. Leichty 2011:13) which contains *alik lā kalāta* “with their firm ‘Yes!’ they gave me a series of encouraging extispicy oracles: ‘Go, do not delay!’”.

element that carries new information in the sentence in modern linguistic studies. Functionalist grammarians also analyse the object as a constituent that carries new information. The entire part to which the object belongs is also interpreted as carrying new information. This part is termed the rheme (Prince 1981 223-254). A *basic xabar* therefore contains an accusative and a verb, two constituents communicate new information. I have used the analysis of the functionalist grammarian Firbas to categorise the accusative as the carrier of highest degree of new information when it is located sentence-initially. Firbas analyses the object as the constituent that carries the highest degree of new information in the sentence regardless of its location in contextually independent sentence:

“An object expresses the goal (outcome) of an action conveyed by the accompanying verb. Provided it is contextually independent, it will carry a higher degree of CD than the verb. This is because from the point of view of communication, an unknown goal (outcome) of an action appears to be more important than the action itself. A contextually independent object will carry a higher degree of CD than the verb irrespective of the positions occupied within the linear arrangement.” Firbas 1971:137²⁸⁵

Firbas’ analysis is based on the independence of the object relative to context. Because Akkadian can move the accusative in the sentence, and in relation to the location of the verb, I have used locations to analyse functions. I have analysed the accusative as the constituent that carries the highest degree of new information, higher only to the verb, when it occurs in sentence-initial position. When the accusative is in middle position, I have interpreted the verb as the carrier of the highest degree of new information, higher only to the accusative. In the rare examples in which the verb occurs first, the verb is the constituent that carries the highest degree of new information. I have analysed any other element

²⁸⁵ Firbas 1997:56 also states that “the semantic content of an object expresses an essential amplification of the semantic content of the verb. Provided it is context-independent, the object contributes more to the development of the communication, and carries a higher degree of CD, than the verb. It is important to note that it does so irrespective of its position in the actual linear arrangement”.

of the predicate as carriers of new information, lower in degree to both the verb and the accusative constituents.

3.5.1 The sentence-initial accusative as the most newsworthy information

As stated at the beginning of my study, I have interpreted accusative-initial sentences as an independent sentence type that is standard and normative. Mithun 1992 is also a study that has categorised accusative-initial sentences as a standard formation. Mithun 1992:15-60 collected data in Cayuga, an Iroquoian language of Ontario, in Ngandi an Australian aboriginal language, and in Coos, an Oregon language, and found that in these genetically unrelated languages, the accusative object is overwhelmingly expressed at the beginning of the sentence. Mithun drew two conclusions from this word-order. The first is that in sentence-initial position, the object carries the new information while the subject is *“typically the least newsworthy”* and *“most often occurring at the end of the clause”* (Mithun 1992:15²⁸⁶). Her second conclusion bears on the distribution of the accusative sentence-initially and its place in the larger system of information-value and its dynamics. Mithun remarks that communicating new information first should not automatically be interpreted as subordinate to the *old* -> new dynamic, nor as an unusual structure and a diversion from the ‘norm’:

“Against a backdrop of Indo-European languages, the Cayuga, Ngandi, and Coos pragmatic ordering of constituents from highest to lowest communicative dynamism seems unusual. Yet this phenomenon is actually not as rare as might be assumed. It is especially common among languages that also share another

²⁸⁶ “objects are more often used to convey newsworthy information”.

morphological characteristic: a full set of substantive bound pronouns referring to all core arguments.” (Mithun 1992:58)

Forcing the notion of a single basic word-order onto the categorisation of a language does not result in a clearer or deeper understanding of linguistic systems²⁸⁷:

“Hawkins, in his ambitious study of word order universals, states that of his three criteria (statistical textual frequency, frequency within the grammatical pattern, and grammatical markedness), simple statistical frequency usually provides a sufficiently sensitive basis for the identification of basic order (1983:13-14). For many languages, however, grammarians note that nearly all logically possible constituent orders appear with sufficient regularity in main clauses to render identification of even a “preferred order” difficult.” (Mithun 1992:16)

The warning against interpreting language structures as subtypes was addressed in Li & Thompson 1976 and the new typology they proposed. Li & Thompson 1976:457-489 observed that languages can be divided into four types that are not hierarchised: subject-prominent languages, topic-prominent languages, languages that are both subject and topic prominent and languages that are neither subject nor topic prominent. The typology designed by Li & Thompson applies to nominative-initial sentences, but I cite it here again to stress that alternative interpretations of what is ‘normative’ have been proposed.

²⁸⁷ “forcing such languages into the mold of any basic word order at all is at best descriptively unnecessary, and at worst an obstacle to the discovery of interesting universals.”

3.5.2 The *object-initial* sentence in Akkadian and Arabic studies

In my model, the accusative communicates new information, but as illustrated throughout this chapter group 2 illustrates structures in which the accusative is resumed by a suffixed pronoun. If the accusative object carries the higher degree of new information when it occurs in sentence-initial position, what is the function and role of suffixed pronouns that resume this constituent? I have found an indication to the function of the resumptive pronoun Khan 1998. Khan 1998:58-62 has investigated accusative-initial sentences in Arabic, biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Akkadian and Amharic. In his discussion on Arabic, Khan lists a number of *OV* sentences (object-verb)²⁸⁸ to understand the conditions under which these structures function as contrastive sentences. Khan's comments are relevant to accusative-initial sentences in OB omen protases and apodoses because he specifically remarks on the use and role of resumptive suffixed pronouns. In Arabic, Khan has remarked that when no resumptive pronoun occurs in an *object-verb* sentence, the structure functions as a contrastive assertion:

"an object is placed before the verb and not subsequently resumed by a pronoun under the following conditions: a) when the object is the focus of contrastive assertion ("the speaker/writer uses this construction to forestall or correct a misapprehension on the part of the hearer/reader". "(...) it is used to forestall a possible misapprehension on the part of the hearer/reader with regard to the identity of the patient of the action." (Khan 1988:58-59)

My own conclusion is that accusative-initial sentences are contrastive (to the nominal sentence). In his focus on Akkadian sentences, Khan 1988:159-160 specifically remarks on sentences in which a resumptive suffixed pronoun is found

²⁸⁸ "The difference between OV-order and extraposition of the object".

and concludes that in Akkadian, pronouns are more commonly resumptive than anticipatory:

“with the exception of genitive agreement most agreement pronouns are pronominal suffixes on verbs. Also, since the dominant word order in Akkadian is verb final, agreement pronouns are more commonly resumptive than anticipatory” Khan 1988:159).

This remark is relevant because a distinction is drawn between what is anticipatory (contrast) and what is resumptive (the extension of a contrastive structure with the use of resumption). This separation fits my analysis of the different patterns of the accusative-initial sentence. Accusative-initial sentences that contain no resumptive pronouns can be viewed as the anticipatory structure, and accusative-initial sentences that contain one or more resumptive pronouns can be interpreted as the extension by resumption of an anticipatory function.

3.5.3 Translating accusative-initial sentences

I have attempted to show in translation the function of accusative-initial sentences that have a contrastive function, and accusative-initial sentences that resume this contrast. I have translated accusative-initial sentences with no resumptive suffixed pronoun by following the standard word-order of the target language (English for my translations), because in the source language (Old Babylonian) the accusative-initial element is in its standard location. Putting the object first in an English translation would give the impression that the accusative constituent is dislocated in the source language, when it is not. To signal that the accusative was at the beginning of the sentence and that the source sentence contrasts the nominal sentence structure I have used exclamation marks in my translations of all accusative-initial sentences. In modern usage, one of the strategies used to show contrasts between statements, declarative, exclamatory

or questions, is the use of punctuation marks. I have chosen the exclamation-mark to underline that a distinct structural choice and distribution of constituents was made in the source language and that they place new information first to communicate this immediately to the uninformed addressee. I have translated accusative-initial sentences that contain one or more resumptive suffixed pronouns by explicitly stating the resumptive suffixed pronoun in the target language (English in my translations). The presence of the pronoun in translation conveys the emphatic quality of this sentence structure.

3.6 Chapter summary

As presented at the beginning of this thesis in section 1.2, the initial focus of my identification and categorisation of sentence structures is the grammatical identity and syntactical status of the first constituent of a sentence (1.2.2). As a result, I observed that protases and apodoses regularly begin with an accusative. I have interpreted this distribution and its frequency as evidence of a sentence type that I have termed the *accusative-initial sentence*. To discuss these sentences, my chapter is divided in three parts.

I first presented the second sentence type of the Arabic model, the *jumla fi'liyya*-verbal sentence because one of its pattern is the *object-verb* sentence (*OV*), a sentence that places the accusative object first in the sentence (section 3.1). In the Arabic model, the function (information value) of the verb-initial sentence and of its word-order patterns is to communicate the new information first via the verb or the accusative. Both constituents are parts of the *xabar*, the new information. I followed the description of the Arabic model and adopted the link it establishes between verb-initial sentences and accusative-initial sentences based on their function (section 3.1.A). In my model also, the function of the

accusative-initial sentence is to communicate new information first via the accusative. The information dynamic of this sentence type is *new* -> *old*. The accusative-initial sentence functions as the sentence that contrasts the dynamic of the nominal sentence (*old* > *new* versus *new* -> *old*). In the second part of my investigation, I presented the structure of *accusative*-initial sentences in the OB omen corpus (section 3.1B).

As presented in chapter 1, in order to distinguish the shared and separate characteristics of *accusative*-initial sentences, I have used seven analytical tools taken from Arabic grammatical theory. After having focused on the sentence-initial constituent, I investigated the content of predicates. I have found that one striking feature separates accusative-initial sentences in two groups: the presence or absence of a resumptive suffixed pronoun on the verb that always co-refers the sentence-initial accusative. The use of the resumptive suffixed pronoun on the verb is a common occurrence in accusative-initial sentences but it is a feature that I have not found in nominal sentences nor in circumstantial sentences and which seems specific to the accusative-initial sentence type. I have used this presence/absence to subdivide *accusative*-initial sentences into group 1, accusative-initial sentences in which no resumptive suffixed pronoun is on the verb (section 3.2), and group 2 in which one resumptive suffixed pronoun is always on the verb (section 3.3).

Group 2 can be further subdivided into subtype 1 and subtype 2 based on the number of resumptive suffixed pronouns in the sentence. In subtype 1, accusative-initial sentences contain only one resumptive suffixed pronoun, the one located on the verb (section 3.3.1). Subtype 2 sentences contain two resumptive suffixed pronouns, one always on the verb, and a second one on a constituent in middle position (section 3.3.2). Frequency and intelligibility show that each group has a *basic* form. The *basic* form of group 1 is the *acc + nom +*

verb sentence. The *basic* form of *group 2 subtype 1* is the *acc + nom + verb-suff* sentence while the *basic* form of *group 2 subtype 2* is the *acc + nom-suff + verb-suff* sentence. The *basic* form of each group can also be reduced. I have interpreted the *reduced* form of group 1 sentences (the *acc + verb* sentence) as an indication that *accusative*-initial sentences are founded on the interaction of only two fundamental constituents: the verb and its accusative object (section 3.2.2). My conclusion is reinforced by the absence of *primary* sentences in the accusative-initial sentence. *Primary* sentences occur in both the *nominal* sentence and the *circumstantial* sentence types but not in the accusative-initial sentence type. Accusative-initial sentences always contain a verb or a verbal element.

As presented at the beginning of my discussion, the Arabic verb-initial sentence and the object-initial sentence are related. The *basic* frame of each group can also be augmented by the addition of new or complex elements (sections 3.2.3, 3.3.1.A, 3.3.2.A). Sentences made up of four-constituents are particularly helpful in assessing the presence of *preposing* and *delaying* tactics. The *acc + pp + nom + verb* sentence is slightly more frequent than the *acc + nom + pp + verb* sentence (sections 3.2.3.B and 3.2.3.A respectively). This higher tendency shows that the nominative tends to occur closer to the verb when sentences begin with an accusative. I have used this observation to interpret the nominative of the *acc + nom + pp + verb* as a preposed constituent redistributed away from the verb, and the circumstantial element as a delayed constituent. While the *basic* form of all the groups of the accusative-initial sentence can be reduced and augmented, the *extended* form only occurs in group 1 and in group 2 subtype 1 sentences (respectively section 3.2.4 and 3.3.4). I have also observed that in group 1, a few accusative-initial sentences contain two independent accusatives with a resumptive suffixed pronoun located on the second accusative that co-refers the first (*acc + acc-suff +/- x + verb* sentence, section 3.2.4). This structure is rare but it illustrates a construction that resembles *extended* nominal sentences. In parallel to my analysis of extended nominal sentences, I have analysed the sentence-initial

accusative as an *intra*-sentential element. I have also found a number of sentences defined by the location of the verb (section 3.4). A number of sentences can be composed of only a verb (section 3.4.1.F), while in others the verb occurs in sentence-initial position (sections 3.4.1.B and 3.4.1.C) or in middle position (3.4.1.D). I have discussed these sentences under the umbrella of the *accusative*-initial sentence because as previously noted, the Arabic model links verb-initial sentences and accusative-initial sentences in the same category. My typology of the structure of accusative-initial sentences is summarised in table 3 *the structural map of the accusative-initial sentence*.

The third part of this chapter discusses the function of the accusative in sentence-initial position and its place in the larger system of information dynamic (section 3.5). My analysis of the accusative-initial sentence is twofold: this sentence type represents a norm, not a subtype of the nominal sentence, and its function is to contrast the dynamic of the nominal sentence by transferring information on a *new* -> *old* dynamic. I have followed this identification because Arabic grammatical theory is a binary model that anticipates two contrastive structures: one that communicates old information first (the *nominal* sentence and its *old* -> *new* dynamic), and another that contrasts this dynamic and communicates new information first (*new* -> *old* dynamic). To establish that the accusative-initial sentence communicates new information first, I adopted the view that the accusative is the carrier of new information. I have found support in Mithun 1992 to my categorisation of the *accusative*-initial sentence as a normative sentence type that communicates new information via the accusative (3.5.1). I have distinguished between accusative-initial sentences that are purely contrastive (sentences that do not contain a resumptive pronoun, section 3.5.2), and sentences in which the resumptive suffixed pronoun is used to reiterate the contrastive nature of this sentence. I have closed this chapter with a note on translation. Based on my analysis of the dynamic of the accusative-initial sentence, I have understood all accusative-initial sentences as exclamatory statements

(section 3.5.3). To express this in translation, I have used exclamation marks to indicate that in the source language, the accusative object was located at the beginning of the sentence.

Table 2. The structural map of the accusative-initial sentence

The accusative-initial sentence				
Basic accusative-initial sentence – group 1				
	↙	↓	↓	↘
Basic	Reduced	Augmented	Extended	
<i>acc + nom + verb</i>	<i>acc + verb</i>	<i>acc + nom + pp/fn + verb</i>	<i>acc + acc-suff + nom + verb</i>	
<i>acc + pp/fn + verb</i>	//	<i>acc + pp + nom + verb</i>	<i>acc + pp-suff + acc-suff + verb</i>	
//	//	<i>obj cl + nom + verb</i>	//	
//	//	<i>obj cl + pp + verb</i>	//	
//	//	<i>acc + verb</i>	//	
//	//	<i>acc + obj cl + verb</i>	//	

The Accusative-initial Sentence				
Basic Accusative-initial Sentence – Group 2				
	↙	↓	↓	↘
Basic	Reduced	Augmented	Extended	
Subtype 1. One resumptive suffixed pronoun on the verb				
<i>acc + nom + verb-suff</i>	<i>acc + verb-suff</i>	<i>acc + nom + pp + verb-suff</i>	<i>Acc + acc + pp + verb-suff</i>	
<i>acc + pp + verb-suff</i>	//	<i>acc + acc + pp + verb-suff</i>	//	
Subtype 2. Two resumptive suffixed pronoun with one on the verb				
<i>acc + nom-suff + verb-suff</i>	//	<i>acc + pp-suff + nom + verb-suff</i>	none	
<i>acc + pp-suff + verb-suff</i>	//	//	//	

The Accusative-initial Sentence				
Exceptional patterns				
		↓	↓	↘
		Verb-initial	Verb in middle position	Verb in final position
1 constituent		2 constituents	Acc + verb + nom	Acc + verb + nom
indicative	imperati ve	verb + acc	//	//
//	//	Verb + pp	//	//

4. The circumstantial sentence

In the OB omen corpus, protases and apodoses regularly display a prepositional phrase or a frozen noun (an 'adverb') in sentence-initial position. Prepositions and frozen nouns belong to a category of words termed *circumstances*. Circumstances are a group of words that communicate a spatial or temporal value and whose structure and case-endings remain invariable regardless of their distribution and location in the sentence. In my model, sentences that begin with a circumstance are identified as *circumstantial* sentences. I have divided my study of the *circumstantial* sentence in two parts because in OB omens, two types of circumstances are found: prepositions and frozen nouns. This chapter presents them as the *pp*-initial sentence (sentences that begin with a prepositional phrase) and the *fn*-initial sentence (sentences that begin with a frozen noun).

This chapter is overall divided in four sections. Section 4.1 presents the prepositions and frozen nouns ('adverbs') found in OB omens (4.1.A), and my argument for using the term frozen noun instead of the term 'adverb' (4.1.B) I have then presented the description of circumstantial sentences in Arabic grammatical theory to show that the Arabic model can be used to reassess *pp/fn + nominative noun* sentences as a structure in which the nominative noun is indefinite in this location. The third part of this chapter presents the circumstantial sentence in OB omen texts and separately discusses sentences in which the prepositional phrase is the sentence-initial constituent (the *pp*-initial sentence), and sentences in which the frozen noun is the first constituent (the *fn*-initial sentence). I opened my discussion of *fn*-initial sentences by presenting my approach to a number of circumstantial sentences in which two independent nouns are in the {um - u} case with one of them the uncontroversial nominative subject located in middle position close to its verb. I have discussed these sentences to show that the sentence-initial {um - u} of these sentences is a frozen noun. The fourth and closing part of this chapter investigates the presence of grammaticalization, a syntactical process through which words that belong to one

category of words transfer to another category of words. I have found that grammaticalization explains the increasing use of nouns that denote body parts as circumstances. These words have received little attention in recent Assyriological studies and their behaviour could be further investigated from the point of view of grammaticalization.

4.1 Definitions

This section presents the definitions of prepositions and frozen nouns ('adverbs') I have followed in this thesis. Section 4.1.B presents my arguments for adopting the term 'frozen noun' instead of using the term 'adverb'.

4.1.A. Prepositions and 'adverbs' in OB omens

My investigation of circumstantial sentences has let me to opening two categories because two types of circumstances are present in OB omens: prepositions and frozen nouns ('adverbs').

In my study, prepositions are understood as invariable words that communicate a spatial or temporal value and must be followed by a noun or pronoun to be meaningful. They do not occur alone. Adverbs are identified as invariable words that communicate a spatial or temporal value and although they can be followed by a noun or pronoun, they are meaningful and grammatical when they occur alone.

This view is standard in Assyriology. In Assyriological grammars, prepositions are described as a group of words that is always followed by a noun, noun phrase, suffixed pronoun or clause. Conversely, 'adverbs' function alone and are not followed by another item. They too are invariables. Huehnergard 2005:311-314,

Reiner 1966:68-69), and Buccellati 1996:159-160 describe 'adverbs' as nouns (or adjectives) onto which an adverbial ending has been added.

I am aware that the adverbial category is heterogeneous and that this definition does not always work: many exceptions can be found in Akkadian texts. A broader view on this can be found in modern linguistic research on the English language for example. In the Cambridge Grammar of the English Language, Huddleston & Pullum 2002:597 open their presentation and discussion of prepositions by warning that *"This book employs a definition of the category of prepositions that is considerably broader than those used in traditional grammars of English."* In his study of indirect objects, Edmonds 1972:546-61 also takes a broader view and identifies words often categorised as adverbs elsewhere, like 'since', as prepositions and analyses them as "intransitive prepositions" (Edmonds 1972:550). In broader terms, prepositions could be separated in two types: a group that is always followed by an item or a set and is termed *transitive prepositions*, and a group that is followed by nothing and is termed *intransitive prepositions*. Crystal 2011:384²⁸⁹ points to this and states that: *"Many linguists subscribe to a broader view of prepositions. To form a prepositional phrase, prepositions can combine with not only an NP but also a PP (e.g. since before breakfast), a clause (e.g. since they finished their breakfast) or nothing (e.g. I haven't seen him since). In this account, it is possible to talk of 'transitive' and 'intransitive' prepositions."*

My aim, in following a division between prepositions and 'adverbs' based on whether or not these items are followed by a noun or pronoun, is not to reduce their definition. I have adopted the traditional definition of prepositions, also echoed in modern linguistics (*"a word that governs [...] a noun or pronoun and*

²⁸⁹ *"set of items which typically precede noun phrases (often single nouns or pronouns), to form a single constituent of structure. The resulting prepositional phrase (PP) (or prepositional group) can then be described in terms of distribution (e.g. their use following a noun, as in the man in the corner) or semantically (e.g. the expression of possession, direction, place)." The dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, 2011*

which expresses the latter's relation to another word. 'Govern' [...] indicates that the preposition determines the case of the noun or pronoun", Huddleston & Pullum 2000:597) and separate prepositions from frozen nouns ('adverbs') on the basis of the presence or absence of a following word for two reasons. First, the presence or absence of a following noun or pronoun is the one predictable trait of a circumstance in OB omens. Second, this separation has highlighted the visible lexical origin of frozen nouns ('adverbs') as names of body parts.

The prepositions found in OB omens are: *ana* ('on'), *ina* ('in', 'by'), *ištu* ('from'), *itti* ('with'), *eli* ('over'), *ašar* ('in the place of', 'where'), *warkat* ('in the back of'), *birīt* ('in between'). The first group *ana* ('on'), *ina* ('in', 'by'), *ištu* ('from'), is always followed by an independent noun but no suffixed pronoun can be attached onto it. The prepositions *itti* ('with'), *eli* ('over'), *ašar* ('in the place of', 'where'), *warkat* ('in the back of'), *birīt* ('in between') are followed by a noun and a suffixed pronoun can also be attached to them. Both *ašar* ('in the place of', 'where'), *warkat* ('in the back of'), and *birīt* ('in between') can also be described as 'frozen nouns' because their nominal origin is still visible. This issue is discussed below in section 4.2.

To investigate frozen nouns ('adverbs') in OB omens, I have divided them according to their case ending as is traditional in Assyriology (Reiner 1966):

{um}	{a - am}	{i}	-iš
Locative	adverbial of place	genitive	terminative
<i>elēnum</i>	<i>imittam</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>eliš</i>
<i>elûm</i>	<i>šumēlam</i>		<i>qitrubiš</i>
<i>šaplānum</i>	<i>qabla</i>		<i>išteniš</i>

<i>šaplum</i>	<i>libba</i>		<i>parkiš</i>
<i>qerbēnum</i>	<i>warkata</i>		
	<i>ūmam</i>		
	<i>rēqūssa</i>		

The frozen nouns ('adverbs') encountered in OB omens are: *elēnum* ('above'), *elûm* ('above'), *šaplānum* ('below'), *šaplum* ('below'), *qerbēnum* ('inside'), *rēqūssa* (in future), *imittam* ('on the right'), *šumēlam* ('on the left'), *qabla* ('in the middle'), *libba* ('inside', also expressed *ina libbim*), *warkata* ('behind'), *ūmam* ('today'), *eliš* ('above'), *qitrubiš* ('in close combat'), *išteniš* ('together'), *parkiš* ('cross-wise').

Out of this group, frozen nouns that end in an {am}-case (traditionally referred to as an 'adverbial of place' in Assyriological grammars) and those marked by an {iš}-case ending (terminative) create no difficulties in their identification in sentences. Whether they occur in sentence-initial position, or middle position, their function as locatives is conventional and I have followed it. A problem of identification occurs with frozen nouns that end in the {um} case, particularly when the sentence contains two independent nouns whose case endings is {um}. A difficulty can then arise in knowing which acts as the nominative subject. This problem is discussed in section 4.4.1. The second question that arises from the observation of frozen nouns ('adverbs') in OB omens is their origin as names of body parts, an origin still visible for several of them. This issue, and the study of circumstances generally, has received little attention in recent Assyriological scholarship. Although the scope of my study cannot encompass a full examination of these words' origin, I have briefly discussed this phenomenon in relation to grammaticalization in section 4.5.

4.1.B From 'adverbs' to frozen nouns

This section presents why I have chosen to abandon the term 'adverb' and why I have instead adopted the term 'frozen noun'.

In standard Assyriological grammars, an 'adverb' is defined as a word whose role is "*to specify the mode of action of the verb*"²⁹⁰. The term 'adverb' implies that these words occur in verbal environments, hence the name used to refer to them. Because of this, the function of the 'adverb' is understood to give additional information *about* the verb²⁹¹. In my study, this view is problematic because a number of sentence structures contain 'adverbs' but no verb occurs in them. These words are an essential component to the construction of the *primary nominal* sentence (the *nom + pp/fn* sentence) and of the *primary circumstantial* sentence (the *pp/fn + nom* sentence). *Primary* nominal sentences and *primary* circumstantial sentences show that that 'adverbs' regularly occur in sentences built on the exclusive relationship between an invariable that communicates a spatial or temporal value and an independent nominative noun. One way of reconciling the appearance of a word anticipated to occur with a verb, and sentences in which it occurs with no verbs and is essential to them would be to categorise primary sentences as exceptions. But creating such a category does not function in my system because I have built a system based on Arabic grammatical and linguistic theory, a system in which the verb is not essential to the making of sentences. When the verb is no longer a primary parameter to understanding and measuring 'the sentence', the *primary* nominal sentence and the *primary* circumstantial sentence do not need to represent exceptions. They can be viewed as standard structures that are normative in the larger system of which they are

²⁹⁰ Crystal 2011:14

²⁹¹ Dictionary of Etymology "that which is added to a verb (to extend or limit its meaning)". Crystal 2008:14 *adverb* "A term used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to a heterogeneous group of items whose most frequent function is to specify the mode of action of the verb. [...] 'Adverb' is thus a word-class (along with noun, adjective, etc), whereas 'adverbial' is the element of clause structure (along with subject, object, etc.), and the two usages need to be kept clearly distinct."

part. The issue is in the terminology used to refer to invariables that communicate a spatial and temporal value. I have therefore looked for another term to refer to ‘adverbs’²⁹² to find a word that would be structurally neutral. By neutral, I mean that the term will not anticipate a sentence structure and a specific element in that sentence, verb or otherwise. My main aim was to detach my terminology from concerns with the presence of verbs and of verbal notions in sentence construction generally. I decided to use the term ‘frozen noun’ because it makes no prediction on the sentence structure in which this word is found, it distinguishes the invariable nature of such words, its defining characteristic, and it also highlights, all be it diachronically, their nominal origin.

Prepositions have their own term in Arabic, they are called *ḥurūf al-jarr* (EALL *ḥarf al-jarr*). In Arabic terminology, the word *ḍarf* ‘circumstance’ is used to refer to ‘adverbs’. This word carries no expectations to the content of the sentence structure in which these words might be found, it simply means ‘envelope’ or ‘vessel’ in reference to the syntactic and semantic status of these words as carriers of space and time. However in the Arabic model the term *ḍarf* ‘circumstance’ is also used to name the entire category to which both ‘adverbs’ and prepositions belong. I have replaced the word ‘adverb’ by coining the term *frozen nouns* based on two aspects in these words. ‘Adverbs’ are invariables. Their case-ending does not alter regardless of their distribution in the sentence. In Arabic grammatical terminology, the term used to describe a word that does not alter is *jāmid* (جامد), meaning *frozen*. In Assyriological grammar, the term ‘frozen’ is also used by Buccellati 1996:216 (“frozen elements”) to describe the syntactical inflection of proper names²⁹³ - a type of words whose morphology and case-ending do not alter no matter their syntactical status in the sentence. The qualification ‘noun’ to identify ‘adverbs’ also suits current terminology in Assyriological grammars.

²⁹² Von Soden 1995 §113; §118; Buccellati 1996:497; Huehnergard 2005:313 ; Buccellati 1996:497 Glossary of Grammatical Terms “adverb 1. Morphologically: a type of invariable. 2. Syntactically: a qualification of the verb, called “adjunct” in this grammar.”

²⁹³ Buccellati 1996:216, 33.2 Traces of inflection.

Reiner 1996:104 already remarked upon the nature of Akkadian ‘adverbs’ as substantives and defines them as: “*substantives in the locative case in adverbial function*”²⁹⁴. Analysing adverbs as substantives is echoed in studies of English grammar in Jespersen 1909:46-52, which discussed adverbs as substantives and adjectives). For Reiner 1966, and as previously in Von Soden 1995²⁹⁵, ‘adverbs’ are understood as elements derived from nouns whose function has been extended. The nominal origin of a number of adverbs is still visible hence the term *frozen nouns* can therefore easily be introduced to replace ‘adverbs’ in a system that is not founded on the verb as the essential constituent to the making of a sentence. The term frozen noun also matches descriptions already current and accepted in Assyriological scholarship. In my model, this term is particularly useful as a reference that anticipates no specific sentence construction and no presence or absence of another element in the sentence, least of all the verb. The term *frozen noun* only comments on the grammatical and syntactical status of these words.

4.2 Interpreting protases and apodoses as *circumstantial sentences* using Arabic grammatical theory

I have used Arabic grammatical theory and its description of the characteristics of circumstantial sentences to categorise the protases and apodoses that begin with a prepositional phrase or a frozen nouns in the OB omen corpus.

²⁹⁴ Reiner 1996:104; Buccellati 1996:190-192 introduced the functional term ‘adjunct’ to refer to adverbs.

²⁹⁵ Von Soden 1995 §113 2) a. “Die mit diesen Endungen gebildeten Adverbien usw. werden im Folgenden nur genannt”.

4.2.1 The *jumla ḍarfiyya*-circumstantial sentence in the Arabic grammatical tradition

The *jumla ḍarfiyya*, or ‘the circumstantial sentence’ in translation, is the third construction identified as a sentence type in the Arabic grammatical tradition (Peled 2007:149-188). The 10th century grammarian ‘Abū ‘Alī l-Fārisī (d. 987) is said to be the first scholar to have explicitly argued for, and presented the details of a third sentence type (Peled 2009:156²⁹⁶). The term *ḍarfiyya* is an adjective derived from the noun *ḍarf*²⁹⁷. As stated above, the *jumla ḍarfiyya* is termed ‘the circumstantial sentence’ because it begins with a *ḍarf*, a ‘circumstance’, a category of words invariable grammatically and that communicates a temporal or spatial value. Two types of words belong to this category: prepositions and frozen nouns (Owens 1988:131-133)²⁹⁸. As with all other sentence types, the sentence-initial constituent of this sentence structure is its defining characteristics. The *jumla ḍarfiyya*-circumstantial sentence is a sentence composed of two constituents: a prepositional phrase or a frozen noun in sentence-initial position, followed by a *xabar*-predicate composed only of a noun or noun phrase. Sentences identified as circumstantial sentences are structures that are “introduced by an adverbial (which may or may not be realized as a prepositional phrase) followed by a noun phrase” (Peled 2009:16 who references Ibn Hišām).

In the Arabic model, the structures identified as circumstantial sentences are the *pp + nominative* sentence and the *frozen noun + nominative* sentence. Like the

²⁹⁶ Peled 2009:156 “‘Abū ‘Alī l-Fārisī [was]... one of the first grammarians who advanced an explicit and elaborate way the idea of sentence types in Arabic... was the first to present a details argument with the conclusion that a third sentence type had to be added to the above two.”

²⁹⁷ plural *ḍurūf*

²⁹⁸ Owens 1988:131 “the circumstance *ḍarf* first of all designates a class of words which tell in which place something lies or where or when an action takes place. Another name for this class is the *maf’ul fihi* “the object in it” the object which tells where and when an action occurs (IS I:229 As:177)” in Owens 1988:131-133 (4.7.1 *Dharf* “circumstance” as word class v. functional category).

other two sentences types of the Arabic model, the *nominal* sentence and the *verbal* sentence, the circumstantial sentence is made of two parts: the *mubtada'*, the topic and carrier of the old information, and the *xabar*, the predicate and carrier of the new information. The circumstantial sentence is remarkable because in this structure, the circumstance functions as the *mubtada'*, the topic, while the nominative noun or phrase functions as the *xabar*, the predicate. In this interpretation, the *pp/fn + nom* is not a reversal or word-order shuffling of the *nom + pp/fn* sentence. The circumstantial sentence is not the result of a *preposed xabar + delayed mubtada'*. It represents a separate and independent sentence type because of the specific predicative relationship that ties a circumstance and a nominative noun in a standard *mubtada'-xabar (pp/fn + nom)*. The *pp/fn + nom* sentence is identified as an independent sentence type because it was observed that the nominative noun in this sentence expresses an indefinite (Kouloughli 2002:7-26). This unfamiliar quality that this noun expresses is the mark of new information. The noun, in this position, does not represent old information and therefore functions as the *xabar*, the predicate, as presented below.

4.2.2 The *pp/fn + nom* sentence: expressing the indefinite

In the Arabic grammatical tradition, the *jumla ḍarfīyya* is the only sentence type whose categorisation generated substantial disagreements among scholars. Differing views were the result of how the circumstance was interpreted when it occurred in sentence-initial position in the structure *pp/fn + nom*. The majority of early and medieval grammarians did not fully subscribe to the *jumla ḍarfīyya* as a sentence in which the sentence-initial circumstantial constituent functioned as the *mubtada'* (Peled 2009:137-185, Bohas et al 1990:1-17, Owens 1988:131-136). The question was: can a prepositional phrase or frozen noun function as the governor of a sentence, as the *mubtada'*-topic, or can these constituents only be governed? As stated in Peled 2009:154, the problem

“consisted in establishing a predicative relationship between the nominal and the adverbial/prepositional phrase, and accounting for the *‘āmil* assigning case to each.” (4.3.2).

Grammarians who did not accept that the circumstance of a *pp/fn + nominative noun* sentence could function as the governor, topic and *mubtada’* of the sentence, interpreted it as a subtype of the nominal sentence. The *pp/fn + nom* sentence was described as the result of the nominative having been delayed and the circumstance preposed in a structure that became a *pp/fn + nom* distribution. This interpretation meant that the sentence-initial circumstance was a preposed *xabar*-predicate (the new information) and the nominative noun or phrase in final position was the *mubtada’*-topic (the old information). But this interpretation of the *pp/fn + nom* sentence as a reversal of word-order caused problems. In a typical sentence such as *fī al-bayti rajulun* ‘in the house is a man’, often used as a paradigm of the *pp + nom* sentence, the nominative noun *rajulun* cannot represent *known* or *old* information because ‘a man’ is indefinite. It represents an *unknown* entity to the speaker/writer and addressee. This nominative noun can only represent the new information in the sentence, that is to say the *xabar*-predicate. The known information in this sentence is the prepositional phrase *in the house*. It refers to a place known to both the speaker/writer and addressee and carries the *old* information. It is the *mubtada’* and topic. The indefinite nominative carries a new piece of information and represents the *xabar* and predicate. The grammarians who adopted this interpretation of the *jumla ḍarfīyya* did not explain the predicative relationship they recognised²⁹⁹, nor gave the details of how the *pp/fn* could fit within the larger system of governance they

²⁹⁹ “This assumption runs violently counter the universally accepted concept of topic in grammar, that is, a noun or noun-phrase occupying a sentence initial position and normally definite as it conveys “old information” already known to both the speaker and hearer”. Kouloughli 2002:8. Footnote 4: “On the concept and its realization in different natural languages cf Li and Thomson 1973”.

otherwise accepted³⁰⁰ but modern research has shown that they were fully justified:

“The concept of jumla zarfiyya thus remained marginal in medieval Arabic grammatical theory. From a modern linguistic viewpoint however, it looks as though one would be fully justified in categorizing sentences consisting of a predicative adverbial/prepositional phrase followed by a subject nominal (particularly when the latter is indefinite) as representing a sentence type in its own right.” (Peled 2009:225-226)

Old Babylonian, and the Akkadian language in general, does not have an explicit way of marking indefiniteness. The identification and categorisation of the *pp/fn + nom* sentence offers great potential for the study of indefiniteness in a language where no explicit markers are used. We have no way of distinguishing what represents familiarity, identifiability and uniqueness (*definiteness*³⁰¹) from what represents non-familiarity, and non-identifiability (indefiniteness) except by subjectively assessing context when faced with words other than pronouns and personal names. Recognising that in at least one environment, a nominative noun represents an indefinite entity could provide a useful tool to research indefiniteness. The scope of my study cannot incorporate a study of indefiniteness/definiteness in Old Babylonian but I have understood and translated the nominative noun of all *pp/fn + nom* sentences as an indefinite entity.

³⁰⁰ Peled 2009:159: “the grammarians never gave a clear answer to this question. And it is no wonder that the concept of *jumla zarfiyya*, where a predicative prepositional phrase assigns *raf*³⁰⁰ to the following subject, remained marginal and never became part of mainstream medieval Arab grammatical thinking”. Kouloughli 2002:8 also defends the ancient grammarians’ view of the *pp + nom* sentence as a separate sentence type.

³⁰¹ Lyons 1999:2 *Definiteness*; Russell 1905:479-493.

4.2.3 Circumstantial sentences in OB omens

As stated above, the *pp + nominative noun* sentence and the *fn + nominative noun* sentence are the only structures categorised as *circumstantial sentences* in the Arabic model. In the OB omen corpus, protases and apodoses are frequently built with a circumstantial element at the beginning of their structure and while a number of them exactly corresponds to the circumstantial sentence as defined in the Arabic model (the *pp/fn + nom* sentence), a much larger group of sentences contain a verb in their structure. I have followed the Arabic model by categorising all *pp/fn + nom* sentences as *circumstantial* sentences but I have also categorised *pp*-initial and *fn*-initial sentences that contain a verb under the umbrella of *circumstantial* sentences. I have followed this categorisation to isolate all *circumstance*-initial sentences and examine their structure separately from nominal sentences and accusative-initial sentences. In my model, the sentence-initial circumstance of all circumstantial sentences is interpreted as a constituent that represents the old-information and is part of the *mubtada'*. When the predicate of circumstantial sentences contain a verb, a nominative subject is usually expressed. This subject can only be part of the predicate. In this situation, two constituents are part of the *mubtada'*-topic and carry the old information: the sentence-initial circumstance and the nominative subject. In such environments, I have interpreted the sentence-initial circumstance as the constituent with the higher degree of old information, with the nominative subject as the constituent with the lower degree of old information. In my model, circumstantial sentences are subdivided in two subtypes. The first are circumstantial sentences whose *xabar*-predicate is strictly nominal. I have termed these *primary* circumstantial sentences because this structure is the original and only circumstantial sentence recognised in the Arabic model. The second are circumstantial sentences whose *xabar*-predicate contains a verb. This second group has a *basic* structure. Based on frequency and intelligibility the *basic* circumstantial sentence can be said to be the *pp/fn + nom + verb* sentence. This *basic* sentence, like its counterpart in the

nominal sentence type and the *accusative*-initial sentence type, can be reduced, augmented and extended.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, to fully examine prepositional phrases and frozen nouns in sentence-initial position, I have presented them separately and will discuss *pp*-initial sentences in section 4.3 and *fn*-initial sentences in section 4.4.

4.3 The circumstantial sentence 1 - *pp*-initial sentences in OB omens

4.3.1 *Pp*-initial sentences and nominal environments: the primary *pp*-initial sentence

4.3.1.A The *pp + nom* sentence

In the OB omen corpus, *pp + nom* sentences are found in both protases and apodoses. The *prepositional phrase* of this sentence displays several constructions: the preposition can be followed by 1) a single noun, 2) two or more nouns in a *possessed-possessor* relationship, 3) two nouns in a possessive relationship linked by the preposition *ša*, or 4) two nouns separated by the conjunction *u* 'and'. In this unit, the second noun after *u* 'and' remains in the genitive, unaffected by the separation.

Protases

350) ⁶⁶DIŠ **i-na re-eš IGI.BAR** If a request-mark is in the top of
(*naplaštim*) e-ri-iš-tum the view

YOS 10 17:66³⁰²

351) ⁵⁵DIŠ **i-na i-mi-ti a-bu-lim AŠ** If a footmark is in the right of the
(*šēpum*) gate

YOS 10 44:55

352) ⁷³DIŠ **i-na šu-me-el mar-tim AŠ** If a footmark is in the left of the
(*šēpum*) gall bladder

YOS 10 44:73³⁰³

353) ⁵⁸DIŠ **i-na ŠÀ IGI.BAR** (*libbi* If two holes are in the heart of
(*naplaštim*) ši-lu ši-na the view

YOS 10 17:58³⁰⁴

354) ^{16x}šum-ma **i-na li-ib-bi na-[aš]-ra-** If a path is in the heart of the
ap-tim ¹⁷pa-da-nu-um crucible

³⁰² Winitzer 2017:110, 2.151 translates “If at the head of the View (there was) a Request-mark”.

³⁰³ Winitzer 2017:122, 2.173 translates “If in the left of the gallbladder a Foot faced the Finger”.

³⁰⁴ Winitzer 2017:64, 2.74 translates “If in the View’s middle (were) two holes”, and in Glassner2009b:42.

YOS 10 11 iv:16-17³⁰⁵

- 355) ²¹DIŠ **i-na i-mi-ti pa-da-nim** ú-šú- If a design is in the right of the
úr-tum path

YOS 10 20:21

- 356) ^{2r}DIŠ¹- **i-na li-bi da-na-nim** e-ri-iš- If a request-mark is in the heart
tum of the strength

YOS 10 21:2³⁰⁶

- 357) ^{5r}DIŠ¹- **a-na pa-ni da-na-nim** If a weapon-mark is on the
GIŠ.TUKUL (*kakkum*) front of the strength

YOS 10 21:5³⁰⁷

- 358) ²⁴MAŠ **i-na šu-me-el ni-ri** ka-ku If a weapon-mark is in the left
of the yoke

YOS 10 42 iv:24

³⁰⁵ Starr 1983:80 translates “if there is a path within the crucible”. Jeyes 1989:56 translates “if the Path (is situated) in the centre of the Crucible”.

³⁰⁶ Winitzer 2017:112, 2.154 translates “If a Request-mark (was) in the midst of the Strength”.

³⁰⁷ Winitzer 2017:198, 3.40 reads “šumma ana pāni danānim kakkum <(š**a-ki-im-ma**) š>apliš iṭṭul” and translates “If a Weapon <(was situated)> toward the front of the Strength (and faced downward)”.

- 359) ⁴⁰DIŠ **i-na mu-uḫ-ḫi GIŠ.TUKUL** If a request-mark is in the top
 (*kakki*) **i-mi-tim** e-ri-iš-⁷tum⁷ of a right-side weapon-mark

YOS 46 iii:40³⁰⁸

- 360) ³BE **i+na bi-ri-⁷it⁷ KI.GUB** If a cross is in between the
 (*manzāzim*) **ù GÍR** (*padānim*) pil-lu- presence and the path
 ur-tum

Jeyes 1989:144 (OBE 11 obv:3)³⁰⁹

Apodoses

- 361) ⁴⁰**a-na ka-[ak]-ki** ar-bu-tum a rout *will occur during war*

YOS 10 33 v:40³¹⁰

- 362) **a-na LUGAL** (*šarrim*) da-mi-iq- A good thing *will occur* for the
 tum king

YOS 10 47:32

- 363) **a-na GIŠ.TUKUL** (*kakkim*) ar-bu- a rout *will occur during war*
 tum

³⁰⁸ Winitzer 2017:238, 4.2 translates “If in the top of the Weapon of the right (there was) a Request-mark”, also in Winitzer 2017:112, 2.155.

³⁰⁹ Jeyes 1989:145 translates “If (there is) a Cross in between the Presence and the Path”

³¹⁰ Winitzer 2017:48 2.51 transcribes *ana kakki arbūtum* and translates “For warfare: (it is) a rout”, also in 2.52 and 2.130.

YOS 10 53 rev:21³¹¹

- 364) ²¹**i-na u₄-mi-im ri-qí-im** na-an-ta- an eclipse is *on* a day of rest
lu-ú

YOS 10 11 i:21³¹²

- 365) ¹²**i-na ma-tim** ta-aq-^rti⁷<-it> pa- end of a dynasty is in the land
li-im

YOS 10 11 i:12-13

The nominative constituent of the *pp + nom* sentence can also follow several constructions. It can be a single *noun*, a *noun + adjective*, a *noun + number*, or two or more nouns bound in a construct state in a sequence of up to three.

Protases

- 366) ^{7a}šum-ma **i-na ma-aš-ka-an šu-** If a *ḫal*-sign is in the place of the
ul-mi-im ḪAL (*ḫallum*) well-being

YOS 10 61 obv:7a³¹³

³¹¹ Starr 1983:19 translates “as for warfare: rout”.

³¹² Jeyes 1989:197 footnote 127 discusses the meaning of *ina ūmim rēqim*.

³¹³ Glassner 2009b:21 discusses the choice to switch from HAL to *ha-lu-um* in the otherwise identical protasis l. 7, and pp.21-22 the phenomenon of changing from logographic to syllabic writing in MAH 15994:6-7 and *ibid* 13-14.

367) ³³DIŠ i-na **Á.ZI MUR** (*imitti ḥašîm*) If two foot-marks are in the
2 ši-pe-tum right lung

YOS 10 36 ii:33

368) ²⁹DIŠ i-na **re-eš BÀ** (*amūtim*) pi-iṭ- If two splits are in the head
rum 2 of the liver

Nougayrol 1930:149 (Scheil B:29)³¹⁴

369) ³⁰DIŠ i-na **re-eš <BÀ>** (*amūtim*) pi-iṭ- If three splits are in the
rum 3 head of the liver

Nougayrol 1930:149 (Scheil B:30)³¹⁵

370) ^{5a}DIŠ i-na **qá-ab-^ˁli-at Ì^ˁ.GIŠ** (*šamni*) If two rings are in the waist
tu-tu-ru 2 of the oil

YOS 10 57 obv:5a

371) ¹DIŠ ^ˁi-na ^ˁšu-me-el **ta-ka-al-** If a footmark is in the left of the
tim AŠ (*šēpum*) pouch

YOS 10 44:1³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Nougayrol 1930:153 translates “Si sur la tête du lobe il y a deux fentes: l’arbitre repoussera (tuera?) le roi.”

³¹⁵ Nougayrol 1930:153 translates “Si sur la tête du lobe il y a trois fentes: sens et conseil seront altérés (bouleversés), troubles, le frère tuera son frère.”

³¹⁶ Winitzer 2017:159, 3.5 translates “If a Foot (was) in the left of the *tākaltu*”. Glassner 2009b:59 translates “Si, à la gauche de la poche, il y a un pied”.

372) ²¹DIŠ **i-na i-mi-ti pa-da-nim** ú- If a design is in the right of the
šú-úr-tum path

YOS 10 20:21

Apodoses

373) ³⁹**a-na u₄.16.kam** na-an-ta-al-lu- an eclipse *will occur* by the 16th
[um] day

YOS 10 33 iv:39³¹⁷

374) ⁴⁰**i-na u₄.17.kam** ⁴¹na-an-ta-al- an eclipse *will occur* during the
lu-ú-u[m] 17th day

YOS 10 33 iv:40-41

375) **a-na GIŠ.TUKUL** (*kakkim*) ki-ši-it a conquest *will occur* during war
qá-ti

YOS 10 53 Obv:10³¹⁸

376) **i-na me-ḥe-e ŠUB-ti** (*miqitti*) ku- fall of an encampment *will*
ub-ri *occur* in the storm

³¹⁷ Or 'within' 16 days'.

³¹⁸ Starr 1983:19 translates "as for warfare: conquest".

Nougayrol 1971:72 (AO 7539:75-76)³¹⁹

- 377) ²³i-na GIŠ.TUKUL-im (*kakkim*) mi- fall of one who leads my army
qí-it-ti a-li-ik pa-ni um-ma-ni-ia will occur during war

YOS 10 11 ii:23³²⁰

- 378) ¹⁰i-na ʾka-akʾ-[ki]-im ni-ʾip-ḥaʾ- An enemy dispute will occur
at na-ak-ri-im during war

YOS 10 42 iv:10³²¹

4.3.1.B The augmented *pp*-initial sentence

4.3.1.B.1 The *pp + nom + pp* sentence

A number of strictly nominal and circumstantial *pp*-initial sentences are remarkable because they begin with a prepositional phrase and end with a prepositional phrase. I understand the boundary between *topic* and *predicate* to be between the sentence-initial *pp* and the *nominative* noun. I have understood the nominative noun in middle position and the prepositional phrase in final position to compose the predicate and represent an augmented sentence in which

³¹⁹ Nougayrol 1971:77 translates “dans la tempête, chute de cantonnement”.

³²⁰ Winitzer 2017:99, 2.135 translates “in warfare: (it forecasts) the downfall of the vanguard of my troops”.

³²¹ Starr 1983:91 translates “in war: evacuation (?) by the enemy”.

the prepositional phrase has been added to the *basic* frame of the *primary* pp-initial sentence. In this structure the nominative is further qualified by a prepositional phrase.

- 379) ⁷DIŠ **i-na i-mi-ti KÁ É.GAL** (*bāb* If a split in the heart of a split is
ēkallim) pi-iṭ-rum **i-na li-bi pi-iṭ-** in the right side of the palace
ri gate

Khait 2011:74 (YOS 10 30:9)³²²

- 380) ²⁰BE **i-na re-eš IGI.BAR** (*naplaštim*) If two weapon-marks in the
GIŠ.TUKUL 2 (*kakkū šinā*) i-mi-tam ù top of the view on the right
šu-me-lam **ki-ma sí-k[a-ti]** and left are like a peg

YOS 10 15:20

- 381) ⁹DIŠ **i-na EGIR** (*warkat*) **na-aš-ra-** If fleshy tissue like the *growth* of
ap-tim ša i-mi-tim ši-rum **ki-ma ni-** a mushroom is in the back of the
pí-iḫ ka-mu-nim right crucible

Nougayrol 1969:154 (MAH
15994:9)³²³

³²² Khait 2011:74 translates “If in the right side of the “Palace Gate” (there is) a split inside a split”.

³²³ Nougayrol 1969:155 translates “Si, dans le dos du Creuset de droite, une Chair, comme une apparition de champignon, apparait”.

- 382) ³DIŠ i-na re-eš ú-ba-nim ni-ki-im- tum ⁴i-na li-ib-bi ni-ki-im-tim If a recess in the heart of a recess is in the top of the finger
 YOS 10 6:3³²⁴

In sentence 382, the entire omen is ³DIŠ i-na re-eš ú-ba-nim ni-ki-im-tum ⁴i-na li-ib-bi ni-ki-im-tim ⁵LÚ.KÚR-rum qì-ir-bi-iš ⁶i-ki-im-ka. The protasis begins with a prepositional phrase and could be read only as a typical *pp + nom* sentence (³DIŠ i-na re-eš ú-ba-nim **ni-ki-im-tum** ‘if a recess is in the head of the finger’), with the second prepositional phrase ⁴i-na li-ib-bi ni-ki-im-tim ‘in the heart of the recess’ incorporated in the apodosis part of a *nom + fn + verb* construction ⁴i-na li-ib-bi ni-ki-im-tim + ⁵LÚ.KÚR-rum (*nakrum*) qì-ir-bi-iš ⁶i-ki-im-ka ‘the enemy will take you away in close combat’. Stol 2003:76 follows this because in the previous omen the apodosis also begins with *nakrum* and focuses on the enemy (YOS 10 6:2 LÚ.KÚR-rum (*nakrum*) a-na a-lim i-ru-ba-am). I have chosen to include the prepositional phrase ⁴i-na li-ib-bi ni-ki-im-tim ‘in the heart of the recess’ in the protasis for two reasons. First, protases regularly contain two prepositional phrases. Secondly, the apodosis contains the frozen noun *qerbiš* ‘in close combat’. I interpret the mention of ‘close combat’ in the apodosis to be a parallel reference to ‘something being inside something’ in the protasis expressed by the combination of *nom + pp* ‘a recess inside a recess’ (ni-ki-im-tum ⁴i-na li-ib-bi ni-ki-im-tim).

4.3.2 The *basic pp*-initial sentence

³²⁴ Jeyes 1989:96 translates *nēkemtum* (35) as “the Hidden Part or “the Recess” = a recession of flesh, symbolizing something taken away, such as booty” and adds that based on CT 31 14 (K 2090) ii 7’-11’ a *nēkemtu* “is the inverted tip of the Weapon. A recess is thus not, strictly speaking, a fortuitous mark but a term for a part which is inverted or hidden.”

The majority of *pp*-initial sentences in OB omen protases and apodoses contain a verb. These structures are frequent in both protases and apodoses.

4.3.2.A The *pp + nom + verb* sentence

Because the *pp + nom + verb* sentence is frequent and discloses the full identity of the agent, action and target (intelligibility), I have categorised it as the *basic* form of the *pp*-initial sentence. The *pp + acc + verb* sentence is also frequent in both protases and apodoses but it does not communicate the full identity of the agent. It is therefore not as intelligible as the *pp + nom + verb* and on account of this comparative lack I have categorised it as a subtype of the *basic* form. The absence of the nominative appears to be conditioned by the same rules previously noted for accusative-initial sentences. When the verb expresses a second person, the nominative is not expressed and when the *pp*-initial sentence is a second or third sentence in the protasis or apodosis, the subject previously stated is not repeated.

Protases

- 383) DIŠ i-na KÁ É.GAL (*bāb ēkallim*) If a cyst is dried out in the palace
zi-ḥu-um ru-uš-šu-uk gate

YOS 10 22:18³²⁵

³²⁵ Winitzer 2017:141, 2.205 translates “If in the Palace Gate (there was) *ziḥḥu* (and it) was dried”. Khait 2011:75 footnote 8 translates “If in the ‘Palace Gate’ a wart is dried up”. Glassner 2009b:28 comments on the use of the mark for “10” mark in this omen text stating that it must then have been copied from the original.

384) DIŠ i-na ki-ša-lum ša i-mi-tim e- If extra bone has *formed* in the
še-em-tum wa-ta-ar-tum it-ta- right ankle
ab-ši

YOS 10 48:4³²⁶

385) ²²i-na li-ša-nim su-mu-um na-di a red mark is set in the tongue

YOS 10 52 ii:22 // 51 ii:23

386) ²³DIŠ i-na KÁ É.GAL (*bāb ēkallim*) If a cyst branches out in the
zi-ḥu šú-ru-uš palace gate

YOS 10 22:23

387) ⁹DIŠ¹ i-na mu-ḥi da-na-nim ši- If a hole is set in the top of the
lum na-di strength

YOS 10 21:9

388) i-na ni-ri-im re-eš-sa ša-ki-in its head is set in the yoke

YOS 10 25 obv:14

³²⁶ I have followed George's translation (private communication) for e-še-em-tum wa-ta-ar-tum as 'extra bone'. Duplicate omen in YOS 10 47:67.

389) ³⁶MAŠ **i-na li-ib-bi KÁ É.GAL** (*bāb*) If a white spot forms a ball in the
ēkallim) pu-šú-um ku-up-pu-ut heart of the palace gate

YOS 10 26 i:36³²⁷

Apodoses

390) **i-na ni-ki-ip ŠU.SI** (*ubānim*) LÚ (*awīlum*) the man will die from a stubbed
i-ma-a-at finger

YOS 10 24 rev:39³²⁸

391) **i-na šu-ub-ti-ka** LÚ.KÚR the enemy will sit in your
(*nakrum*) uš-ša-ab encampment

YOS 10 48:46 // 49:18³²⁹

392) **i-na mu-uḥ-ḥe-el-ši-tim** GÌR LÚ the foot of the man will slip on
(*šēp awīlim*) i-ḥe-le-ši slippery ground

YOS 10 20:9

³²⁷ Winitzer 2017:135, 2.191 translates “If in the middle of the Palace Gate a white spot was compacted”.

³²⁸ Winitzer 2017:145, 2.215 translates “From the stubbing of the toe the man will die”. George 2013:164 translates “the man will die of a stubbed finger”.

³²⁹ In YOS 10 49:18 AB in uš-ša-**ab** is written AD.

393) **i-na ni-ki-ip al-pi-im** LÚ (*awīlum*) the man will die by the goring of
i-ma-at an ox

YOS 10 23 rev:6; 11 // 24
rev:39³³⁰

394) **i-na ši-pi-ir i-dī-šu** šum-šu im- his reputation will be damaged
ma-as-sí-ik by his own doing (lit: his name
will be *effaced* by the work of his
arm)

YOS 10 54 rev:24³³¹

395) **i-na um-me-a-tim** um-šum ib- summer will be very hot
ba-aš-ši

YOS 10 22:22³³²

396) **i-na GIŠ.TUKUL** (*kakkim*) um-ma- the army will tremble in war,
nu-um i-ru-ur-ma and...

YOS 10 24 rev:41

397) **a-na LUGAL** (*šarrim*) a-wa-tum a pleasant matter will befall the
da-mi-iq-tum i-ma-qú-ut king

³³⁰ Winitzer 2017:165, 3.14 translates “from the gore of an ox a man will die”. Starr 1983:86 translates “the man will die by the goring of an ox.”

³³¹ CAD I:12 idu A 2', also CAD B:77 *bamtu*. Also cf. Böck 2000:301.

³³² Parallel in YOS 10 31 v:42. In Glassner 2009b:61 footnote 6.

4.3.2.B The *pp + acc + verb* sentence

2nd person singular

- 398) **i-na bi-ti na-ak-ri-i-ka** ¹⁶mi- you will take something not
i[m]-ma la ka-a-am te-le-qé yours *from* the house of your
enemy

YOS 10 33 iv:15-16³³⁴

- 399) ²⁶**i-na ka-ak-ki** na-ak-ra-am ta- in war you will overthrow the
sà-ki-ip enemy

YOS 10 42 iii:26

- 400) **a-na LÚ.KÚR-ka** (*nakrika*) pi-a- you will be equipped with a
am ma-ṭi-a-am ta-aš-ša-ak-ka- small word for your enemy
an

YOS 10 25 obv:55 // 56 ii:18-19

3rd person plural

³³³ George 2013:211 note 14 translates “a favourable matter will befall the king”. Jeyes 1989:192 (OBE 19:66) translates “a good word will fall to (the lot of) the king.”

³³⁴ Winitzer 2017:211, 3.63 translates “you will take something not yours from your enemy’s household”. Jeyes 1989:142 (OBE 10:30) translates “you will take from your enemy’s house something which is not yours”. See also YOS 10 33 iv:18-19.

401) ⁸**i-na zi-iq-ni-šu-nu** ši-pi-šu ú-ša- they will wipe his feet *with* their
ak-ka-lu beards

YOS 10 33 iv:8

Second sentences

402) ⁶**i-na pa-ni a-wi^l-lim** pa-ag-ra- it will lay a corpse in front of the
am i-na-di man

YOS 10 21:6³³⁵

403) **a-na ša ur-pa-tim** i-ša-tam i-na- ... he will set fire to tent dweller
an-di people

YOS 10 47:71 // 48:9

404) **i-na a-li-šu** pi-šu i-te-el his saying will be *lordly* in his
city

YOS 10 54 rev:25³³⁶

³³⁵ I have read a-**wi**-lim because of the parallel in the following apodosis in omen 8 (*ne-šum i-na pa-ni a-wi-lim pa-ag-ra-am i-na-di-i-ma*) although WI is looks like BU. Winitzer 2017:242, 4.9 also understands a-wi-lim and translates “it will lay a corpse down before a man” but Winitzer 2017:41, 2.28 reads a-bu-lim and translates “it will lay a corpse down in front of the **city gate**”. Bottéro 1992:132 translates “a lion, after having killed someone before the city-gate”. Omen also cited in CAD N/2:194.

³³⁶ CAD I:12 *idum* A 2’ “what comes from his mouth will pass in his town for the word of a lord”. Böck 2000:301 translates “sein Ausspruch in seiner Heimatstadt als fürstlich gelten”.

- 405) **i-na ŠÀ KALAM-ka** (*libbi mātika*) ... *from* the heart of your land he
 ša-la-tam ú-še-ši will bring out booty

YOS 10 13 obv:12³³⁷

4.3.3 The *reduced pp*-initial sentence

Numerous *pp*-initial sentences are composed of only two constituents: a prepositional phrase and a verb. I have interpreted this structure as the reduced version of the *basic pp*-initial sentence, achieved by the deletion of the nominative constituent. All the *pp + verb* sentences I have collected share the same two characteristics: the verb either expresses a second person singular, or the *pp + verb* sentence is a second or third sentence of the protasis or apodosis. These characteristics were also observed for the *reduced accusative-initial sentence*.

Second person verb

Apodoses

- 406) **e-li be-el I[e-mu-ti-ka]** ta-ta-za-az you will prevail over your
 adversary

YOS 10 45:48

- 407) **a-na LÚ.KÚR-ka** (*nakrika*) tu-ud-da- you will keep on getting
 na-an-na-an stronger than your enemy

³³⁷ Winitzer 2017:191-2, 3.36 translates “(the enemy will penetrate into and) take out spoils from the heart of your land”. Böck 2000:296-301.

YOS 10 47:74³³⁸

408) ¹⁰**a-na li-bi-šu** te-ru-ub you will enter into its centre

YOS 10 4 rev:10³³⁹

Second sentences

Protases

409) ... ¹³**i-na ba-ab É-GAL-im** (*ēkallim*) ¹⁴iq- ...it narrows in the palace gate
tu-un

YOS 10 31 viii:13-14³⁴⁰

410) ... ¹⁶šum-ma **a-na be-el im-me-ri-im** (... but) if it has befallen the
¹⁷im-ta-aq-ta-am (i-ma-at) owner of the sheep (he will
die)

YOS 10 11 iii:16-17³⁴¹

411) **a-na na-ḥa-ra-ri** tu-uš-ši you will go forth to bring aid

³³⁸ Starr 1983:21 translates “you will strive for superiority over your enemy.”

³³⁹ Winitzer 2017:138, 2.199 translates “you will enter into its midst”.

³⁴⁰ See Jeyes 1989:115 (OBE 2:16) translates “if the gall bladder has become displaced and has lodged in the Palace Gate”.

³⁴¹ Winitzer 2017:73 2.76 translates “(but) if it (i.e., the omen) has befallen the sheep’s owner: he will die”. Starr 1983:14 discusses the force of *maqātum* in this omen and YOS 10 1. Jeyes 1989:162 footnote 66 translates “if it (the omen result) has fallen to (the lot of) the client: he will die”.

412) **a-na ša-ni-i-im** i-na-di-in (he) will give it to another

YOS 10 35 rev:25

4.3.4 The *augmented pp*-initial sentence

Pp-initial sentences can be composed of four or more constituents. I have categorised them as *augmented pp*-initial sentences, achieved by the addition of constituents to the basic frame of the *pp*-initial sentence. I have found two types of augmented sentences. In the first group, each constituent belongs to a different syntactic category: the *pp + acc + nom + verb* and the *pp + nom + acc + verb* belong to this group. In augmented *pp*-initial sentences, two constituents are fixed in their location and two others can navigate in between. The distribution of the prepositional phrase and the verb are fixed. The *pp* always occurs in sentence-initial position and the verb in final position. This leaves two options of positions open to the two remaining elements: they alternate closer to the verb, or closer to the *pp*. I have found that the *pp + nom + acc + verb* is slightly more numerous than the *pp + acc + nom + verb* sentence. Frequency appears to show that the nominative has a slightly higher tendency to occur closer to the circumstance in *pp*-initial sentences. Given this tendency, I have interpreted the nominative noun of the *pp + acc + nom + verb* sentence as an element that has been delayed, and the accusative as a constituent that has been preposed. In the second group of augmented *pp*-initial sentences, at least two constituents belong to the same syntactic category. For example, two prepositional phrases in one sentence, or

³⁴² I follow George 2013:164, note 6 (§5)'s transliteration and translation "[if the 'palace gate'... and] in the right-hand 'seat' there is a foot-mark: (it is) a foot-mark of help; you will go forth to bring aid."

two circumstances, two accusatives, or two independent nominatives. The augmented *pp*-initial sentence is also regularly composed of five or more elements. Frozen nouns are common constituents in these five constituent based sentences. I have also observed that up to three prepositional phrases can occur within a *pp*-initial sentence but have found this phenomenon only in protases. These structures are often the result of a ‘*from x to y*’ expression within a sentence that already begins with a prepositional phrase.

4.3.4.A The four constituent sentence

4.3.4.A.1 The *pp + nom + acc + verb* sentence

Protases

- 413) ²⁰[MAŠ i]-n[a] ṛe¹-[l]e-nu-u[m KÁ É.GAL (*bāb ēkallim*) **ka]-ak-kum** ši-ib-tam iṭ-ṭù-ul [If i]n the upper part of the palace gate a weapon-mark points at the increase

YOS 10 26 ii:20

- 414) ù i-na ú-ba-nim **e-le-nu-um** ³⁶ni-di GIŠ.GU.ZA-im (*kussîm*) i-ki-im (and) in the finger the upper part is absorbed by the fall of the throne

YOS 10 11 ii:35-36³⁴³

- 415) If a foot-mark crosses the left path from the back of the crucible and...

³⁴³ Winitzer 2017:36 2.15 transcribes and translates the protasis “If the liver has a View, Path, Palace Gate, (and) gallbladder, and the Thrones’s Base was hiding above in the Finger”

²⁴DIŠ iš-tu EGIR (*warkat*) na-aš-ra-
ap-tim **GÍR** (*šēpum*) pa-da-an šu-
me-lim i-bi-ir-ma

YOS 10 20:24³⁴⁴

- 416) ²⁶DIŠ iš-tu EGIR (*warkat*) na-aš-ra- If a foot-mark has *scutes*
ap-tim **GÍR** (*šēpum*) i-ra-tim ir-[ši]- from the back of the crucible
ma and...

YOS 10 20:26

- 417) ʾDIŠʾ iš-tu pa-da-nim **GIŠ.TUKUL** If a weapon-mark points at
(*kakkum*) pa-da-nam i-ṭù-ul the path from the path

YOS 10 18 obv:21

Apodoses

- 418) ³⁰i-na ka-ʾkiʾ **na-ak-rum** um-ma- the enemy will overthrow the
nam i-sà-ki-pa-am army in war

YOS 10 42 iii:30

- 419) ³⁹i-na GIŠ.TUKUL-ki (*kakki*) **um-ma-** the army of the king will not
an LUGAL (*šarrim*) ma-ḥi-ri ú-ul i-ra- acquire opponents in war
aš-ši

YOS 10 56 i:39 // ii:39³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ Starr 1983:80 translates “if, etc., a ‘foot’-mark extended beyond the left (side of the) ‘path’ and reaches the ‘flap’.

³⁴⁵ George 2013:68 translates “in war the king’s army will meet with none that can withstand it”.

420) ¹⁹i-na GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ (*kakkī*) the enemy will bring the
LÚ.ṚKÚR (*nakrum*)⁷ um-ma-an-ka ú- downfall of your army in
ša-am-qá-at-ma war

MS 3000:19³⁴⁶

421) i-[n]a GIŠ.TUKUL (*kakkim*) **LÚ.KÚR** the enemy will take the
(*nakrum*) um-ma-Ṛnam ú-sà-ar army captive in war

YOS 10 24 rev:29³⁴⁷

422) ¹⁸i-na ta-ḥa-zi-im **šar-ru-um** ša-ra- a king will kill a king in battle
Ṛam⁷ [i-da]-a-ak

YOS 10 41 obv:18

423) ²⁴i-na KASKAL-im (*ḥarrānim*) the enemy will count troops in
LÚ.KÚR-rum (*nakrum*) ša-bi i-ma- the journey/campaign
an-nu

YOS 10 52 iii:24

³⁴⁶ George 2013:55 translates “in war, the enemy will bring about the downfall of your army”.

³⁴⁷ Glassner 1984:15-46 reads ú-sà-**na-**aq.

424) ¹⁷[a-na wa-š]í a-bu-lim **sí-ik-rum** a barrage will obstruct [his
¹⁸[mu-ša-šu? i]-pa-ra-as-ma exit *for* the one who] exits
the city gate

MS 2813 i:17-18³⁴⁸

425) i-na A.ŠÀ!-im⁷ **LÚ.KÚR** (*nakrum*) the enemy will attack your
um-ma-an-ka i-ša-ḫi-iṭ army in the field

YOS 10 45:24

426) i-na ta-ḫa-zi-im **na-ak-ru-um** um- the enemy will surround the
ma-nam ú-ḫa-ap-pa-ra-am army in battle

YOS 10 11 iii:9-10

427) ¹⁸i-na ta-ḫa-zi-im **šar-ru-um** ša-ra- a king will kill a king in battle
a[m i-da-]a-ak

YOS 10 41:18

4.3.4.A.2 The *pp + acc + nom + verb* sentence

Protases

³⁴⁸ George 2013:46 translates “[as for one] leaving the city gate, a blockade will deny [egress] and [he will not (be able to) go] out”.

- 428) ^{35a}DIŠ i-na ru-qí ša i-mi-tim **mi-iḫ-ri-** If a weapon-mark is set in
it IGI.BAR (*naplaštim*) GIŠ.TUKUL the right crucible opposite
 (*kakkum*) ša-ki-im-[ma] the view and...

YOS 10 17:35a

Apodoses

- 429) ⁹i-na e-ri-ib É.GAL (*ēkallim*) **a-a-a-** a scorpion will sting someone
ma GÍR.TAB (*zuqiqīpu*) ^{10r}i¹-za-aq- from among the palace
 qá-at personnel

YOS 10 21:9-10³⁴⁹

- 430) ⁴¹i-na a-li-im ⁴²**bi-it a-wi-li-im** ⁴³i- fire in the city will consume
 ša-tum ⁴⁴i-ka-al the house of the man

YOS 10 31 ix:41-44³⁵⁰

- 431) i-na ka-ra-ši-im **um-ma-an-ka** ^dIM Adad will trample your
 (*Adad*) i-ra-ḫi-iš army in the military
 camp

YOS 10 15 obv:6

³⁴⁹ George 2013:166 transliterates this omen up to: *izaqqat* and I have followed his reading in note 32' (omen 43 of CDLI P431302 no.24). CAD E:292 discusses *ērib ekallim* and Winitzer 2017:73 footnote 148 notes that "while *ērib ekallim* refers literally to persons, not space, it seems clear that this term's choice here intends to underscore the privileges of this functionary concerning the entry (*erēbum*) into the palace's more private areas." Bottero 1974:166 translates entire line. Parallel YOS 25:33. Also in George 2013:166, note 22' (omen 23')

³⁵⁰ Winitzer 2017:124, 2.175 translates "fire will consume a man's house in the city".

- 432) i-na ta-ḥa-zi-im **um-ma-nam** na-ak-[ru- the enemy will take
um] ²⁷ú-sà-na-aq control of the army in
battle
YOS 10 26 i:26-27³⁵¹

4.3.4.B Four or more constituents

4.3.4.B.1 One sentence, two prepositional phrases

Pp-initial sentences made up of four constituents, in which two constituents are prepositional phrases, are numerous in protases. In these sentences, the two *pps* follow each other or are separated by another constituent:

pp + pp + nom + verb

Protases

- 433) ⁹AŠ **i-na ŠÀ KÁ É.GAL** (*libbi bāb* If a hole in the heart of the
i-na Á.GÙB (*šumēlim*) ši- palace gate lies in the left
lum na-di
YOS 10 23 rev:9

- 434) ³⁹šum-ma **i-na i-ši-id** ⁴⁰li-**ša-nim** If a red mark in the base of
na lu-uḥ-ḥi-im su-mu-um na-di the tongue lies in the
oesophagus

³⁵¹ Winitzer 2017:226, 3.89 translates “in battle the enemy will shut the army tight”. Jeyes 1989:41 2 translates “the army, the enemy will subdue it”.

YOS 10 51 ii:39-40

- 435) DIŠ i-na re-eš IGI.BAR If a hole in the top of the view
(*naplaštim*) i-na i-mi-tim ši-lum lies in the right
na-di

YOS 10 17 obv:49³⁵²

- 436) [DIŠ] i-na qá-ab-li-at IGI.BAR If a hole in the middle of the
(*naplaštim*) i-na i-mi-ti ši-lum na- view lies in the right
di

YOS 10 17 obv:50³⁵³

- 437) BE i-na iš-di IGI.BAR (*naplaštim*) If a weapon-mark in the base of
i-na šu-me-lim GIŠ.TUKUL the view is set in the left and...
(*kakkum*) ša-ki-in-ma

YOS 10 15 obv:3³⁵⁴

- 438) BE i-na re-eš IGI.BAR (*naplaštim*) If a weapon-mark in the top of
i-na i-mi-it-tim GIŠ.TUKUL the view is set in the right and...
(*kakkum*) ša-ki-in-ma

³⁵² Winitzer 2017:304 translates “If a hole was situated in the View’s head in the right”, also in Winitzer 2011:87 translated as “If in the head of the View in the right a concavity is situated”.

³⁵³ Winitzer 2017:304 translates “If a hole was situated in the View’s middle in the right”. Also in Glassner 2009b:42 translates “Si, au mitan du regard, à droite, un trou se trouve”.

³⁵⁴ Glassner 2005:294 translates “«si une <arme> est présente sur la base du <regard>, à gauche”.

YOS 10 15 obv:5³⁵⁵

- 439) ⁴DIŠ i-na KÁ.É.GAL (*bāb ēkallim*) If a footmark in the palace gate
i-na i-mi-tim ⁵GÌR (*šēpum*) ša-ak- is set in the right side
na-at

YOS 10 27 obv:4-5

- 440) ³⁸BE i-na i-ši-id li-ša-nim ³⁹i-na lu-uḫ- If a red mark in the base of
ḫi-im su-mu-um na-di the tongue lies in the
oesophagus

YOS 10 52 ii:38-39

Apodoses

- 441) ¹⁵i-na še-ri-im ¹⁶i-na da-na-tim the king will escape from danger
¹⁷šar-ru-um ¹⁸uṣ-ší in the open country

YOS 10 31 iv:15-18³⁵⁶

- 442) a-na ʿÉ.GAL (*ēkallim*) i-na a-la- the man will rejoice during his
ki-šu [L]Ú (*awīlum*) i-ḫa-ad-du visit to the palace

YOS 10 33 v:17

pp + nom + pp + verb

³⁵⁵ Glassner 2005:294 translates “«si une <arme> est présente sur la tête du <regard>, à droite”.

³⁵⁶ Winitzer 2017:265, 4.37 translates “the king will come out from danger on the (battle)field”.

Jeyes 1989:114 (OBE 2:10) translates “the king will come out into the plain from the stronghold”.

Protases

- 443) ¹¹DIŠ iš-tu ma-at ŠU.SI (*ubān*) ḥa-ši If a foot-mark goes up from
MURUB₄ (*qablītim*) ši-pu-um a-na the plane of the median
re-ši-ša i-li finger of the lung to its head

YOS 10 39 rev:11³⁵⁷

- 444) ^{3a}DIŠ i-na MURUB₄ ì (*qabal šamni*) If a ring in the waist of the oil
tu-ut-tu-rum a-na ši-it ^dUTU-ši-im comes out toward the East
(*šamšim*) ú-ši-ma

YOS 10 58 obv:3a

- 445) ¹²i-na mu-uš-ke-ni a-a-^rú¹-um- someone of *muškēnu* status will
ma ta-[ge-er]-tam ¹³a-na šar-ri- make a denunciation to the king
im ú-ši-re-[eb]

YOS 10 46 iii:12-13³⁵⁸

4.3.4.B.2 One sentence, three circumstances

Protases

pp (cs) + fn + u + fn + nom + stative

³⁵⁷ *ma-at* ŠU.SI ḥa-ši MURUB₄ cited in George CUSAS 18:197 note 5 (§4) on a discussion of the terms *mātum* is associated with (land of...), he translates ŠU.SI ḥa-ši MURUB₄ as the middle lobe of the lung.

³⁵⁸ I follow George 2009:174 note 16-19 (§16-19)'s transliteration of lines 10-13 and translation "someone of *muškēnu* status will take a denunciation in to the king."

- 446) ²⁸šum-ma **i-na ku-ta-al-li MUŠEN** If a red mark is set in the back
(iṣṣūrim) i-mi-it-tam ù šu-me-lam su- of the bird on the right and the
 mu-um na-di left

YOS 10 51 i:28-29

pp + nom + fn + u + fn + verb

- 447) ⁶⁰DIŠ **i-na re-eš IGI.BAR** (*naplaštīm*) If two holes are set in the top of
 ši-lu ši-na i-mi-tam ù šu-me-l[a]m the view on the right and left
 n[a-d]u-[ú ...]

YOS 10 17:60³⁵⁹

4.3.4.B.3 One sentence, three prepositional phrases

pp + nom + pp + pp + verb

- 448) ²⁸šum-ma **i-na a-mu-tim** ka-ak-ku- If in the liver a weapon-mark
 um ²⁹iš-tu **wa-ar-ka-at ta-ka-al-tim** *points* at the strength from
³⁰**a-na da-na-nim** iṭ-ṭù-ul the rear of the pouch

YOS 10 11 i:28-29³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Winitzer 2017:65 footnote 134 comments on Richter's former reading and translates "If in the View's head two holes [were situated] on the right and left". Glassner 2009b:42 translates "les yeux de l'intéressé seront fixes (=il sera aveugle)".

³⁶⁰ Starr 1983:54 translates "if in the liver, from the rear of the takaltu, a 'weapon'-mark faces the 'reinforcement'". Winitzer 2017:35 2.10 translates "If in the liver a Weapon faced from the rear of the Pouch to the Strength and a hole was situated between them".

4.3.5 The extended *pp*-initial sentence

4.3.5.A The *pp + pp-suff + pp + verb* sentence

A number of *pp*-initial sentences contain two prepositional phrases with the second *pp* marked by a suffixed pronoun. In these sentences, the suffixed pronoun always co-refers the sentence-initial prepositional phrase. I have interpreted these structures as *extended pp*-initial sentences. These *extended* sentences are also found among *nominal* sentences and *accusative*-initial sentences but the *extended pp*-initial sentence is far less numerous than its counterparts in other sentence types.

- 449) ¹⁶MAŠ **i-na i-mi-it-t[i** ŠU].SI If the finger is split thrice in the
(*ubānum*) i-na iš-^rdi¹-i-š^a ^{17r}a¹-na right, in its base
3.kam ip-ṭ[ù-ur]

YOS 10 33 v:16-17

4.3.5.B The *pp + nom + pp-suff + verb* sentence

- 450) ¹¹DIŠ **iš-tu ma-at ŠU.SI** (*ubān*) ḥ^a-šⁱ If a footmark goes up from the
MURUB₄ (*qablītum*) šⁱ-pu-um a-na plane of the median finger of
re-šⁱ-š^a i-li the lung to its head

4.4 The circumstantial sentence 2 – the *fn*-initial sentence in OB omens

The second branch of circumstantial sentences is the *fn*-initial sentence. This sentence structure begins with a frozen noun and like *pp*-initial sentences, its predicate can be strictly nominal (*fn + nom*) or verbal. I have defined *fn + nom* sentences as *primary fn*-initial sentences. I have looked for the *basic* form of the verbal *fn*-initial sentence and have found that the *fn + nom + verb* structure can be adopted as the *basic fn*-initial sentence based on frequency and intelligibility. Like its counterpart in the *pp*-initial sentence, the basic *fn*-initial sentence can be reduced, augmented and extended. I have understood *fn + nom* structures as sentences, not as phrases. I have followed this analysis based on two identifications. Frozen nouns function like prepositional phrases syntactically: “a single noun or pronoun may be used as the equivalent of a more complex prepositional phrase” (Buccellati 1966:380)³⁶². Structurally, the *pp*-initial sentence and the *fn*-initial sentence follow the same constructions. Where the *pp + nom* is understood as a sentence, the *fn + nom* can also be categorised as a sentence.

Before I present *fn*-initial sentences in OB omen protases and apodoses, I must highlight a number of sentences in which *fn*-initial sentences contain two nouns marked by the {um - u} case³⁶³. In these sentences, one of the {um - u}-case noun is clearly identifiable as the nominative subject. I have interpreted the other {um - u}-case noun in sentence-initial position as a frozen noun. I have chosen to

³⁶¹ *ma-at* ŠU.SI ḫa-ši MURUB₄ cited in George 2013:197 note 5 (§4) on a discussion of the terms *mātum* is associated with (land of...), he translates ŠU.SI ḫa-ši MURUB₄ as the middle lobe of the lung.

³⁶² Buccellati 1966 §66.6 embedded adjunctivation.

³⁶³ I have referred to any ending in -um as the {um ~ u} case, borrowing the phrase from the description of the adverbial in Reiner 1966:68 (the “ending {um ~ u}”).

present this type of *fn*-initial sentences in this first section because the nouns that are found in sentence-initial position used as circumstances are not usually analysed as ‘adverbs’.

4.4.1 Frozen nouns in the {um ~ u} case

Across the corpus, a number of frozen nouns are conventional. Frozen nouns marked by the terminative ending *-iš* (*eliš, šališ, qitrubiš, ištēniš, parkiš*), or nouns in the locative {am ~ a} case like *imittam* alone to express ‘on the right’, *šumēlam* for ‘on the left’, *ūmam*, ‘today, on that day’ can uncontroversially be identifiable as ‘frozen nouns’. A problem in the grammatical analysis of words occurs with nouns marked by the {um ~ u} case ending. The {um ~ u} case is used to mark nominative subjects but it is also the marker of the locative. The double use of the same marker creates situations in which a sentence can contain two words in the {um ~ u} case. In this situation, identifying the function of these words can be problematic. I have found that a number of protases and apodoses contain two {um ~ u} case nouns, one in sentence-initial position and the second always located next to the verb. Because in these situations no resumptive suffixed pronoun is used I have not analysed these sentences as extended constructions (‘casus pendens’). I have however observed that in these sentences, the sentence-initial {um ~ u} noun always expresses a location that is stationary. Because my investigation of sentence structures has shown that frozen nouns can occur in sentence-initial position, I have analysed a number of sentences in which two {um – u} nouns occur as *fn*-initial sentences. My analysis is based on the following observations:

Frozen nouns in the {um ~ u} case are frequently found in different locations in the sentence. Sentence 451 is an example of the {um ~ u} case frozen noun *šaplānum* that remains invariable after a preposition:

- 451) ²⁸DIŠ MUR (*ḥašû*) MÚRGU If the lower shoulder-region of
 (*būdum*) **ša ša-ap-la-nu-um** pa- the lung is divided
 ʾriʾ-is

YOS 10 36 ii:28³⁶⁴

The word *šaplānum* is listed in CAD Š:161-162 as an ‘adverb’ (1. “below, beneath”) and is expected to remain in its frozen state in any location. The words *šaplānum* ‘below’ and its opposite *elēnum*, also listed as an adverb in CAD E:84, both occur at the beginning of sentences in OB omen protases. Both can easily be identified as frozen nouns. In the corpus, *šaplānum* and *elēnum* (also *elianum*) can also be followed by nouns onto which they force the genitive:

- 452) ³³ʾšumʾ-ma **ša-ap-la-nu-um** ma-an- If a red mark is set below the
 za-az KI.SA ³⁴su-ʾmuʾ-um na-di Presence of KI.SA

YOS 10 51 iii :33-34

- 453) ²²[MAŠ] **e-li-a-nu-[u]m** <KÁ.É.GAL If a white mark is set above the
 (*bāb ēkallim*)> pu-šú-ʾum na-diʾ palace gate

YOS 10 26 iv:22

These two sentences are examples of structures in which two independent nouns in the {um ~ u} case are present. One is clearly the nominative subject found close to the verb. The second is known as a frozen noun. It conveys a location and carries a spatial value (*above* or *below*). I make this remark because these sentences have led me to analyse a number of other nouns in the {um ~ u} case as frozen nouns,

³⁶⁴ Khait 2012:46 footnote 38 translates “If the lower “shoulder” of the lung(s) is divided”.

nouns that often occur in the corpus but mostly used when in the {um ~ u} case as a standard noun that expresses a nominative subject.

454) ⁴²šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁴³šú-ri-ri-tum If a lizard-(mark) is present
⁴⁴i-ba-aš-ši on the gall bladder

YOS 10 31 xiii:42-44³⁶⁵

I have analysed sentence 454 as an *fn*-initial sentence (*fn + nom + verb*) in which *martum* is a sentence-initial frozen noun in the {um ~ u} case. Its case expresses the value 'on'. I have analysed *šurirītum*, 'the lizard' as the nominative noun and subject to the verb *ibašši*. Römer 2004:402 edited YOS 10 31. His translation of this omen contains a question mark ("Wenn die Gallenblase (als?) Eidechse da ist?" Römer 2004:404) and his commentary notes that this sentence is similar in meaning to YOS 10 31 i:6-7 (Römer 2004:404) which reads:

455) ⁵šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁶[ki]-ma sú- If the gall bladder is like a
ri-ri-tim lizard

YOS 10 31 i:5-6

I have followed Römer in understanding these two sentences to be related and have understood 454 as a sentence that expresses that a lizard-shape is 'on' the gall bladder and 455 as a sentence that expresses that the gall-bladder is 'like' a lizard-shape. Sentence 454 is an *fn + nom + verb* sentence that speaks about 'the gall bladder' in respect to the presence of 'a lizard-mark' ('if a lizard-mark is present on the gall bladder'). Sentence 455 is a *nom + pp* sentence that directly compares the gall bladder to a 'lizard-shape' through its use of the comparative preposition *kīma*. Because I have identified *martum* as a noun that can be frozen

³⁶⁵ Römer 2004:404 'Wenn die Gallenblase (als?) Eidechse da ist?'

in the {um ~u} case to express a location, I have followed this analysis to categorise sentence 456 as an *fn*-initial sentence:

456) ²⁵šum-ma **mar-tum** ²⁶zi-iḫ-ḫu-um If a cyst lies on the gall
²⁷i-ta-ad-du bladder

YOS 10 31 v:25-27³⁶⁶

I have understood the sentence-initial *martum* ‘gall bladder’ as a frozen noun whose status communicates the value ‘on’ (‘on the gall bladder’). In this sentence, the nominative subject is *ziḫḫum* ‘a cyst’ and it occurs, as in other examples, closer to its verb.

I have followed this type of analysis in a number of other examples where two nouns in the {um ~ u} case are present. In these sentences, the nominative subject is always the term next to the verb and the word in sentence-initial position is a frozen noun in {um ~ u}. Such sentences provide evidence that in complex *fn*-initial structures, the nominative subject has a marked tendency to occur close to the verb.

457) ¹⁸DIŠ **iz-bu-um** i-[na m]u-ùḫ-ḫi-šū If a cyst is set on the
z[i]-iḫ-ḫu-um ša-ki-in miscarried foetus in its
head

YOS 10 56 i:18³⁶⁷

I have analysed the sentence-initial *izbum* ‘foetus’ of sentence 465 as a frozen noun and the noun *ziḫḫum* ‘cyst’ as the nominative subject of the sentence. In the context of an omen reading, the *izbum* is examined as a surface. The *izbum* is a

³⁶⁶ George 2013:43 transliterates iii 14-17 (§20') and translates “if the gall-bladder, a cyst is situated there: the king will split his army in nine.”

³⁶⁷ Leichty 1970:202 translates “If an anomaly has a *ziḫḫu*-mark on its crown”.

place that has spatial value. Sentence 457 is also remarkable because of the presence of the resumptive suffixed pronoun on the prepositional phrase, the second circumstance of this sentence. This suffixed pronoun -šu ('its') is attached to the prepositional phrase *ina muḥḥi* resumes the sentence-initial frozen noun *izbum*. This sentence displays the two features of *extended* sentences: two independent words from the same syntactical category (here two circumstances: a frozen noun and a prepositional phrase), and a resumptive suffixed pronoun attached on the second circumstance that co-refers the first. Sentence 457 shows that extension is used in *fn*-initial sentences, and 458 below is another example of an extended *fn*-initial sentence (*fn + pp-suff + fn + fn + nom + verb*):

458) ⁵⁶DIŠ **IGI.BAR** (*naplaštum*) i-na iš- If a hole is set on the view, in its
 [di]-ša³⁶⁸ i-mi-tam ù šu-m[e-lam base, right and left
 ši-lu]m na-d[i]

YOS 10 17:56³⁶⁹

I have analysed IGI.BAR as a sentence-initial frozen noun in the {um - u} case that expresses the value *on* ('on the view') although here the word is logographic and no case is given.

4.4.2 *fn*-initial sentences in the OB omen corpus

I have explained my criteria for the identification of frozen nouns above and this section presents *fn*-initial sentences in OB omen protases and apodoses. Like *pp*-initial sentences and nominal sentences, the *fn*-initial sentence has a *primary* form

³⁶⁸ Written AT and read išdat by Winitzer 2017 footnote 136 "the absence of a preposition before the View render the syntax of this protasis difficult, though a minor rearrangement of words (*šumma ina išdāt naplaštīm) would remedy things". I have followed George's reading išdiša given during supervision.

³⁶⁹ Winitzer 2017:64-65 translates "If a hole was situated (<in>) the View, in the base on the right and left".

and a *basic* form. As for all other sentence types investigated in this thesis, the *basic* form of the *fn*-initial sentence can be reduced, augmented and extended.

4.4.3 Primary *fn*-initial sentences

4.4.3.A The *fn* + *nom* sentence

The *fn* + *nom* sentence is rarely used in the OB omen corpus but when it is, it is found in both protases and apodoses.

fn (cs) + *nom*

Protases

- 459) DIŠ **wa-ar-ka-at** ṭù-li-mi-im ú- If a design is on the back of the
 šú-ur-tum spleen

YOS 10 41:64

Apodoses

- 460) **ri-qú-sà** GIŠ.TUKUL (*kakki*) ba- A weapon-mark of rebellion is *in*
 ar-tim *the future*

YOS 10 15:11³⁷⁰

³⁷⁰ Winitzer 2017:83 translates “its uncertain (interpretation): (it forecasts) a Weapon of Revolt”. Also in Winitzer 2017:104, 2.144. Jeyes 1989:45 translates “later on: a weapon of revolt”

461) ⁹[re]-qú-sà mi-qí-it-ti bé-el ni- downfall of owner of the
 qí-im sacrifice is in the future

YOS 10 26 i:9³⁷¹

The signs *ri-qú-sà* can be read *rēqūssa* or *rīqūssa*. *Rēqūssa* is the combination of the noun *rēqūt(um)* ('distant') expressed as a 'terminative adverbial' onto which the suffixed pronoun *-ša* ('its') is attached to mean *at its distant time*. It could be an abbreviation of the phrase *ištu ūmī rēqūti*. The signs *ri-qú-sà* can also be interpreted as the combination of the noun *rīqūt(um)* (empty) expressed as a terminative 'adverbial' onto which the suffix *-ša* (its) is attached. When it is read *rīqūssa* (*its emptiness*), it is translated as 'freetime, or a non-working day'. I have understood *ri-qú-sà* as *rēqūt(um)* (distant) + *-ša* to mean 'future', and have transcribed it as *rēqūssa*. I have leant toward the meaning 'future' because of the context in which this expression always occurs. A number of situations are more easily imagined as happening in '*a not too distant future*' than during a specific time frame like '*non-working day*'. That said, *emptiness* and *distance* reference the same concept (Derrida 1996)³⁷². The future is a temporal space that is both distant - foreseeable or not - and empty because it is not yet fixed or *written* and in this, the Akkadian language does not contradict itself. Akkadian conceptualises two spaces, emptiness and distance, and encapsulates them in a single word that can be interpreted as the foreseeable future, the distant one, and the unpredictable a-coming, the not-yet written one and therefore empty space.

4.4.4 The basic *fn*-initial sentence

³⁷¹ Glassner 2009b:25 translates "à long terme: chute du sacrifiant".

³⁷² Jacques Derrida 1995 "In general, I try and distinguish between what one calls the Future and "l'avenir" [the a-coming]. The future is that which – tomorrow, later, next century – will be. There is a future which is predictable, programmed, scheduled, foreseeable. But there is a future, l'avenir (to come) which refers to someone who comes whose arrival is totally unexpected. For me, that is the real future. That which is totally unpredictable."

The most frequent *fn*-initial sentences are those whose predicate contains a verb. Because of frequency and intelligibility, I have categorised the *fn + nom + verb* structure as the *basic* pattern of the *fn-initial* sentence. I have categorised the *fn + acc + verb* sentence as a subtype of the *basic fn-initial* sentence because it does not fully disclose the identity of the agent. The *fn + acc + verb* is not numerous. As observed in other sentence-types, the absence of the nominative appears conditioned by the verb and the the person it expresses, or by the location of the sentence as a ‘second sentence’ or ‘third sentence’ in the protasis or apodosis.

4.4.4.A The *fn + nom + verb* sentence

The *fn + nom + verb* is numerous in protases. In this sentence structure, the frozen noun can operate as a single noun, or in a unit as the first constituent in a construct state.

Protasis

462) ²⁵šum-ma **mar-tum** ²⁶zi-iḫ-ḫu- If a cyst lies on the gall bladder
um ²⁷i-ta-ad-du

YOS 10 31 v:25-27³⁷³

463) ⁴²šum-ma **mar-tum** ⁴³šú-ri-ri- If a lizard is present on the gall
tum ⁴⁴i-ba-aš-ši bladder

YOS 10 31 xiii:42-44

³⁷³ George 2013:43 iii 14-17 (§20') translates “if the gall-bladder, a cyst is situated there”.

- 464) ⁴⁰šum-ma **ša-ap-la-nu-um [ma-a]n-** If a red mark is set below the
za-az ^d**a-nim** ⁴¹su-mu-um na-di Presence of Anum

YOS 10 51 iii:40-41 // 52 iii:38-39

- 465) ³³š[um]-ma **ša-ap-la-nu-um ma-an-** If a red mark is set below the
za-az KI.SA ³⁴su-^rmu¹-um na-di Presence of KI.SA

YOS 10 51 iii:33-34

- 466) ²¹BE **ša-pa-al ša-ḥa-at Á.ZI** (*imittim*) If a red mark is set on the lower
su-mu-um na-di part of the right *armpit*

YOS 10 52 iii:21

- 467) ³² [MAŠ **e]-le-nu-um KÁ.É.GAL** If a hole *is faint* above the
(*bāb ēkallim*) ši-lum ši-e-li palace gate

YOS 10 26 ii:32³⁷⁴

- 468) ²⁵BE **a-ḥu-um ša GÙB** (*šumēlim*) If a red mark is set on the left
su-mu-um na-di flank

YOS 10 52 iii:25

³⁷⁴ Winitzer 2017:271, 4.43 translates “If a hole pierced through above the Palace Gate” and transcribes “šeli” (pierced through). In footnote 79 he says that the meaning is uncertain and references CAD Š/2:275. Starr 1983:86 translates “if above the ‘gate of the palace’ a hole is perforated”.

469) ³⁰BE **ša-ap-la-nu-um ma-za-az** If a red mark is set below the
ḏNIN.LÍL ³¹su-mu-um na-di Presence of Ninlil

YOS 10 52 iii:30-31³⁷⁵

470) ²²[MAŠ] **e-li-a-nu-[u]m <KÁ É.GAL** If a white mark is set above
(*bāb ēkallim*)> pu-ṣú-ṛ um na-di¹ the palace gate

YOS 10 26 iv:22

Apodosis

471) ⁴⁵**qí-it-ru-bi-iš LÚ.KÚR** (*nakrum*) the enemy will capture you in
i-ik-ki-im-ka close battle

YOS 10 36 i:45

472) **u₄-ma-am ša-ti-ma LÚ.KÚR-rum** the enemy will attack *on that*
(*nakrum*) i-ša-ḫi-iṭ *day*

YOS 10 44:44³⁷⁶

473) **u₄-ma-am ri-qá ṭe-e-em LÚ** a man's news will *fall* in the
(*awīlim*) i-ma-qú-ut future

³⁷⁵ Nougayrol RA 61:23-28.

³⁷⁶ Jeyes 1989:44 translates "on this day, the enemy will assault". Glassner 2009b:58. *umām šâtima* = *on that day* (specifying the day with a demonstrative might be an indication of the question asked).

YOS 10 17:4b³⁷⁷

474) **u₄-ma-am re-qá-a-am** na-ši-ir-ti the treasure of the man will go
LÚ (*awīlim*) ú-ši out in future

MAH 15994:32 (Nougayrol
1969:155)³⁷⁸

4.4.4.B The *fn + acc + verb* sentence

I have only found three examples of sentences in which a sentence-initial frozen noun is directly followed by an accusative and a verb. In all three examples, the frozen noun is not a single constituent, it is a unit (a construct state in which nouns are separated by a conjunction or two frozen nouns separated by a conjunction).

Protases

475) **e-lu-ú-um ù ša-ap-lu-ú-um** ši- (...and) they {two palace gates}
ši-tam šú-ul-lu-lu are covered by a membrane
above and below

YOS 10 24:4

³⁷⁷ Jeyes 1989:119-120 discusses the meaning of *ṭēmu*. Winitzer 2017:84, 2.102 translates “for an uncertain date: a man will become *depressed*”.

³⁷⁸ I follow the reconstructions of breaks in Winitzer 2017:86 2.107, he transcribes the whole omen and translates “for an uncertain date: the man’s treasure will disappear”.

476) **e-le-nu-um ù ša-ap-la-nu-um ši-** (... and) it eats up the fleshy
ra-am^l i-ku-ul tissue above and below

YOS 10 22:19

Apodoses

477) **ga-du-um re-ší-šu-ú ú ti-la-ti-šu** he will encircle your city
a-al-ka i-la-wi-ma together with his allies and
auxiliary troops

YOS 10 3:3-5³⁷⁹

4.4.5 The *reduced fn*-initial sentence

4.4.5.A The *fn + verb* sentence

A number of *fn*-initial sentences are composed of only two constituents: a frozen noun and a verb. I understand this form as a reduction of the *basic fn*-initial sentence, achieved by the deletion of the nominative element. Such sentences are mostly found in second and third sentences in protases or apodoses. As previously noted for reduced *accusative*-initial sentences and reduced *pp*-initial sentences, the location of this sentence in the protasis or apodosis as a ‘second’ or ‘third’ sentence appears to condition the absence of the nominative.

³⁷⁹ Winitzer 2017:149 translates “The enemy will rise up (and) wage war, together with his helpers and auxiliary troops he will encircle your city and enter into its midst via a breach; (it represents) a (military) force of complaint”.

fn + verb

478) ... ²⁹e-li-iš iṭ-ṭù-ul ... it points upwards

YOS 10 11 ii:29

479) ... <ša>-ap-li-iš iṭ-ṭù-ul ... it points downwards

YOS 10 21:5

480) e-le-nu ša-ki-in ... it is set upwards

YOS 10 24:16

481) e-li-nu i-ṭù-ul ... it points upwards

Scheil A:12 (Nougayrol 1930:143)

4.4.6 The augmented *fn*-initial sentence

Fn-initial sentences are regularly composed of four or more constituents. I have categorised these structures as augmented *fn*-initial sentences realised by the addition of elements to the frame of the *basic fn*-initial sentence. When the augmented pattern is composed of four constituents, each either belongs to a different class of words (*fn + nom + acc + verb*) or to the same class of words (two circumstances in the same sentence). The augmented pattern can also be

composed of five or more constituents and in this situation at least two constituents belong to the same syntactical category. A number of augmented sentences contain three circumstances.

4.4.6.A The *fn + nom + acc + verb* sentence

Protasis

- 482) ù **wa-ar-ka-at a-mu-tim** GIŠ.TUKUL a weapon-mark *connects* (lit. is
(kakkum) re-eš mar-tim ša-bi-it seizing) the top of the gall
 bladder *to* the back of the liver
 YOS 10 15:10³⁸⁰

Apodoses

- 483) **ri-qú-sà** ki-iš-^ṽpu^ṽ a-wi-lam ša-ab- acts of sorcery are seizing the
^ṽtu^ṽ man in the near future
 YOS 10 26 i:35³⁸¹

- 484) ^ṽu^ṽ**-ma-am re-qá-a-am** šà-tam-mu the administrators will control
 É.GAL-am (*ēkallam*) ú-sà-na- the palace in the near future
 (erasure)-qú
 YOS 10 24 rev:29³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Winitzer 2017:83 translates “A town of your environs will revolt against you; its uncertain (interpretation): (it forecasts) a Weapon of Revolt”. Also in Winitzer 2017:104, 2.144 “A town of your outskirts will rebel against you; its uncertain (interpretation): (it forecasts) a Weapon-mark (which signifies) revolt”. See Glassner 2009b:38-9 for lines 6-10.

³⁸¹ Glassner 2009b:19 who discusses the scribe’s choice of signs and writing ú-ṽ-bé.

³⁸² Winitzer 2017:81, 2.97 translates “an uncertain date: *šatammu*-officials will keep tight control of the palace”.

485) **re-qú-sà** ša-at-ta-am-mu É.GAL the administrators will control
(*ēkallam*) ú-sà-na-[qú] the palace in the near future

YOS 10 26 i:27³⁸³

4.4.6.B The *fn + acc + nom + verb* sentence

I have found no augmented *fn*-initial sentences in which the accusative object is closer to the frozen noun although this construction is found in *pp*-initial sentences.

4.4.6.C Five or more constituents

Augmented *fn*-initial sentences can contain two circumstances such as one frozen noun in sentence-initial position and one prepositional phrase in middle position. These structures occur in apodoses but are by far more common to protases.

4.4.6.C.1 Once sentence, two circumstances

4.4.6.C.1.A The *fn + nom + pp/fn + verb* sentence

³⁸³ Winitzer 2017:226, 3.89 translates “its uncertain (interpretation): *šatammu*-officials will keep tight control of the palace”; cf 4.46 page 274-5.

Protases

486) ³⁸DIŠ e-le-nu KÁ.É.GAL (*bāb* If fleshy tissue like ‘a cyst fall’ is
ēkallim) **ši-rum** ki-ma ni-di-i zi-ḫi- torn out above the palace gate
 im na-si-iḫ!(Šl)

YOS 10 24 rev:38³⁸⁴

487) ³⁶DIŠ e-le-nu KÁ.É.GAL (*bāb* If fleshy tissue rolls like an
ēkallim) **ši-rum** ki-ma iš-qá-ru- *išqarurtu*-tool above the palace
 ur-tim ga-ri-ir gate

YOS 10 24 rev:36³⁸⁵

488) ³⁷DIŠ e-le-nu KÁ.É.GAL (*bāb* If fleshy tissue like egg-shaped
ēkallim) **ši-rum** ki-ma ri-im-ma- beads is set above the palace
 tim ša-ki-in gate

YOS 10 24 rev:37

489) ³⁹DIŠ e-le-nu KÁ É.GAL (*bāb* If fleshy tissue like a chick pea is
ēkallim) **ši-rum** ki-ma ḫa-lu-ur- set above the palace gate and...
 TUM³⁸⁶ ša-ki-in-ma

YOS 10 24 rev:39³⁸⁷

³⁸⁴ Glassner 2009b:63-67 reads : *na-*si-*iḫ

³⁸⁵ Starr 1983:101 “if above the ‘gate of the palace’ the flesh is round like an *išqarurtu*-implement.”

³⁸⁶ Written TIM

³⁸⁷ Winitzer 2017:145, 2.215 translates “From the stubbing of the toe the man will die”. George 2013:164 translates “the man will die of a stubbed finger”. Glassner 2009b:66 footnote 14 discusses the meaning of *nikip ūbanim* and Winitzer 2017:145, 2.215 footnote 313 notes

490) ²⁶MAŠ ŠU.SI (*ubānum*) **ka-ak-** If a weapon-mark rides
kum e-li-iš ra-ki-ib upwards on the finger

YOS 10 33 ii:26³⁸⁸

In sentence 490 as in the below sentences, the sentence-initial constituent is a noun more often encountered as a common noun. I have analysed the sentence-initial constituent ŠU.SI (*ubānum* ‘the finger’) of 490 as a frozen noun according to my argument presented in the opening section of the *fn*-initial sentence.

Apodoses

491) ¹³ri-qú-us-sà **LÚ.KÚR-rum** the enemy will write to you for a
(*nakrum*) a-na sa-li-mi-[im] ¹⁴i- peace-agreement in the near
ša-ap-pa-ra-ku-um-ma future and...

YOS 10 46 iv:13-14³⁸⁹

492a) u₄-ma-am ri-q[á-am **LÚ.KÚR]** the enemy will send out the
(*nakrum*) i-na ḪAL^{AL}-ši-ka ša-la- spoil from your district³⁹¹ in the
tam ú-ši-ši near future

George’s discussion in George 2013:164. Winitzer says “The translation of “toe” here stands in contrast with the following line, which specifies the finger of the hand (suggestion courtesy of J. Huehnergard)”.

³⁸⁸ Winitzer 2017:198, 3.41 translates “If a Weapon was riding on the Finger upward”.

³⁸⁹ Winitzer 2017:88 translates “its uncertain (interpretation): the enemy will ask you for a peace-agreement”.

³⁹¹ Winitzer 2017:86, 2.108 translates “The enemy will carry off ... [...]; (or) pestilence (lit., the god) will consume the herds; (or) for an uncertain date: the enemy will take out plunder from your fortress”.

4.4.6.C.1.B The *fn + pp + nom + verb* sentence

492b ¹⁹šum-ma mu-úḫ-ḫi MUŠEN If two holes lie on the cranium of
(iṣṣūrim) **i-na wa-ar-ka-at** ²⁰i-ni-in the bird in the back of both eyes
ki-la-at-ti-in ²¹ši-lu-ú ši-na it-ta-aš-
ka-nu

YOS 10 51 i:19-21 // YOS 10 52
i:18-20

4.4.6.D *ašar* clauses

I have understood *ašar* ‘where’ as a frozen noun. *Ašar* comes from the noun *ašrum* ‘a place’ and when frozen in the absolute state it can be used as an invariable to communicate a spatial value and express ‘where’. When it is frozen, *ašar* can be followed by a noun and force the genitive onto it or it can be followed by a verb or clause onto which it will force the subjunctive. I have categorised *ašar* as a frozen noun because its lexical origin as a noun is still visible, its grammatical status is frozen, and when used as a circumstance it conveys a spatial value. I understand *ašar* clauses as *complex* units that replace the *simple* frozen noun of the *basic* sentence. I have understood the sentences in which complex circumstantial units are found as *augmented* sentences, achieved by the addition of a complex unit to the frame of the *basic fn*-initial sentence.

³⁹⁰ Glassner 2009b:6 footnote 16 says that the gloss *-al* to help the reading of HAL is a characteristic trait of a learning manuscript.

ašar clause (+ verb^{subj}) + nom-suff + verb

- 493) (DIŠ [UD]U (*immerum*) i[s]-ḥu- (If the sheep has turned but) its
ur-ma) **a-šar in-na-ak-sú** ʿkiʿ-ša- head has set where it has been
as-sú iš-ta-ka-an cut

YOS 10 47:31

- 494) (DIŠ ḫ šu-ul-ma i-di-a-am-ma) (If the oil *produces* a bubble and)
a-šar iš-ḥi-ṭù ir-ta-qí-iq gets thinner where it has jumped

YOS 10 58 rev:8

4.4.6.E One sentence, three or more circumstances

4.4.6.E.1 The *fn + pp + pp + nom + verb* sentence

- 495) ³⁶šum-ma **ša-ap-la-nu-um qá-qá-** If a red mark is set in the right in
di-im ³⁷[i-n]a ku-ta-al-li MUŠEN the back of the bird below the
(*iššūrim*) ³⁸i-na i-mi-it-ʿtamʿ ʿsu- cranium
muʿ-um na-di

YOS 10 51 i:36-38

- 496) ¹⁰BE **bi-ri-it i-ni ʿki-laʿ-at-ti-in** ¹¹i-na If a red mark lies transversally
pu-ut MUŠEN (*iššūrim*) iš-tu [Z]l between both eyes in the

(*imittim*) a-na GÙB (*šumēlim*) ¹²sú- forehead of the bird from right to
mu-um pa-ri-ik left

YOS 10 52 i:10-12

4.4.6.E.2 The *fn + pp + acc + verb* sentence

497) **gi₅-ir-ri KÚR** (*nakrim*) i+na ŠÀ KUR-ia *during the enemy's raid* you will
(*libbi mātiya*) ERIN² (*ummānam*) defeat one army or another in
ma-na-^rma^r ta-da-ak the heart of my land

OBE 1 rev:11³⁹²

4.4.6.E.3 The *fn + fn+ u + fn + nom + verb* sentence

498) ^{16r}BE **i-ir^r-ti MUŠEN** (*iššūrim*) Á.ZI If many red marks *have settled*
(*imittam*) ù GÙB (*šumēlam*) ¹⁷su-mu on the breast of the bird right
ma-[d]u-ú-tum i-ta-du-ú and left

YOS 10 52 iv:16-17

499) ¹⁵šum-ma **i-ir-ti MUŠEN** (*iššūrim*) i- If many red marks *have settled on*
mi-it-tam ù šu-me-LIM x x ¹⁶su-mu the breast of the bird right and left
ma-du-tum i-ta-ad-du-ú

³⁹² Winitzer 2017:200, 3.44 translates “(during) the enemy’s expedition you will defeat someone’s army in the heart of my land”.

4.4.6.E.4 The *fn + u + fn + fn (fn + u + fn) + verb-suff* sentence

- 500) **mu-ši** ù ur-ri-im ú-i-a ù a-i-a ra-ki- woe and alas are binding him
ʾiš- [šum] night and day

YOS 10 54 rev:28

4.4.7 The *extended fn-initial* sentence

As illustrated in the opening section of the *fn*-initial sentence, a number of *fn*-initial sentences contain two circumstances. One opens the sentence, and the second one in middle position is marked by a resumptive suffixed pronoun that co-refers the sentence-initial frozen noun. I have categorised these structures as *extended fn*-initial sentences, defined by the presence of two circumstances in the structure and a resumptive suffixed pronoun attached to the second circumstantial constituent that resumes and co-refers the first. *Extended fn*-sentences are not as numerous as their counterparts in *nominal* sentences or in *accusative*-initial sentences, but all follow the same structure and share the same features (two constituents that define the sentence type and a resumptive pronoun attached to the second). I have only found examples of *extended fn*-initial sentences in protases.

Protases

501) ¹⁸DIŠ **iz-bu-um** i-[na m]u-uḫ-ḫi- If the cyst is set on the
šu z[i]-iḫ-ḫu-um ša-ki-in miscarried foetus, in its
forehead

YOS 10 56 i:18³⁹³

502) ¹⁸šum-ma **mar-tum** ^{19r}e¹-l[e]- If cysts lie on the gall bladder's
nu-uš-ša upper part

²⁰[zi]-^rḫu¹ ^{21r}i-ta¹-ad-du-ú

YOS 10 31 i:18-21

503) ⁵DIŠ **ŠU.SI** (*ubān*) **ḫa-ši** **MURUB₄** If a cyst is set on the median
(*qablītum*) i-na iš-di-ša zi-ḫu na- finger of the lung, in its base
di

YOS 10 39 rev:5³⁹⁴

504) ⁶⁰DIŠ **AŠ** (*šēpum*) a-na ^rpa-ni¹-ša If a hole is set on the foot, on
ši-lum na-^rdi¹ its front

YOS 10 44:60

4.5 Grammaticalization in OB omens

³⁹³ Leichty 1970:202 translates "If an anomaly has a *šihhu*-mark on its forehead".

³⁹⁴ Jeyes 1989:44 translates "rain will fall in three days' time".

I have observed that in *fn*-initial sentences, common nouns most often found used as subjects or objects also appear as frozen nouns. These sentences raise an issue somewhat neglected in Assyriological research: the lexical origin of locatives. In the OB omen corpus, a number of locatives can still be traced back to their nominal origin: like *ašar* ‘where’ derived from the noun *ašrum* ‘a place’. These locatives, or frozen nouns in my study, illustrate that common nouns that express a stationary location can slide into the class of circumstances. The sliding of words from one class to another is the focus of Esseesy 2010, a study of grammaticalization in Arabic that I will use to discuss the observable grammaticalization of a number of frozen nouns, particularly those whose lexical origin comes from body parts.

Esseesy 2010:36 defines *grammaticalization* as a syntactical term that describes the process through which a word that belongs to one class of words slides into another class of words through repeated use. The presence of a word in two categories can go on for a time, but eventually the word in question will fully switch to its new and separate class³⁹⁵. This transformation will open a separate lexical entry.

The *fn-initial* sentences in which common nouns are used as locatives (frozen nouns) can be interpreted in two ways: a common noun can function as circumstance simply because its case-ending bears the mark of a frozen noun (with the {um} or {am} case), or a common noun exists independently from the frozen noun that resembles it. Esseesy 2010 is particularly interesting for the latter interpretation because investigating the lexical origin of frozen nouns has helped

³⁹⁵ Esseesy 2010:36 discusses the term and remarks that *grammaticalization* was coined by French linguist Paul Jules Antoine Meillet: “It has been generally accepted that the Indo-Europeanist Meillet ([1912] 1958) coined the term “grammaticalization.” His characterization of it then reflected the change linguistic items undergo from an autonomous (lexical) word to a functional morpheme serving some grammatical functions.”

highlight that two such words are separate. Esseesy 2010 is also useful because it has followed the evolution of frozen nouns that often come from body parts³⁹⁶:

“the conceptual connection between body parts and prepositions and the process and pathways through which these terms come to serve as prepositions is well-established cross-linguistically [...]. In Arabic, a few more examples of body part terms pressed into service as prepositions have been identified in Esseesy (2007, 193). These include wasṭa ‘(in the) middle (of)’ < waṣṭun ‘waist, mid-section’; tujāha ‘towards’ < wajhun ‘face’; and jāniba ‘side’ < jānibun ‘flank’. If the nouns eventually advance to full membership in the preposition category, it follows that the door is open for other nouns (or other lexical sources)–locatives or otherwise–to proceed along the same path. Functionally, the so-called locative adverbs may substitute for prepositions with very little or no semantic difference.” (Esseesy 2010:24)

A concern for the origin of circumstances is not alien to Arabic grammatical theory. Interestingly, Arabic grammar defines prepositions and ‘adverbs’ in relation to nouns. Prepositions and ‘adverbs’ are understood as words that are not nouns:

“implied in their classification as preposition is their lack of lexical (mainly noun) origins.” (Esseesy 2010:21)

Although prepositions are defined in this manner, Esseesy 2010:47 remarks that:

“grams, markers of grammatical relations, did not commence their functional cycle ex nihilo. Instead, they have been shown to have etymological sources in lexical or less grammaticalized sources.”

³⁹⁶ Esseesy 2010:42 “Frequency of recruitment of body part terms in coding spatial and other functional relations has been noted in a number of published works (e.g. Svorou 1993; Heini 1995, 1997b). Dependency on the human body to experience the world has prompted Tyler and Evans’s (2003, 23) use the term “embodied meaning” to describe the experiential basis for the conceptual structure humans develop within the constraints of the body and its neural make up.”

Using Esseesy's remarks on grammaticalization can help open two categories in Akkadian locatives: 1) locatives like *ašar* whose nominal origin is visible and indicate stationary, non-movement words (*ašrum* 'place'), and 2) locatives whose nominal origin is traceable to a body part.

Esseesy's study is also useful because it can be used to explain why a frozen noun, in OB omens, resembles a noun that has taken a circumstantial case-ending: in Esseesy's study, the noun and its related locative can co-exist in the language system as being entirely similar except for the case ending, until the double use results in the circumstance becoming autonomous from its noun of origin, to the point where (in Arabic) only the circumstance remains while the use of the noun independently fell into oblivion.

The relationship between nouns that denote body parts and locatives was remarked upon by Reiner 1966. When defining 'adverbial' cases, 1966:68³⁹⁷ states that:

"Most of the nouns to which the ending {um} and {iš} are suffixed denote parts of the body".

The study of locatives whose origin is body parts is beyond the scope of my study, but I have noted their presence here because I have observed that in the OB omen corpus, many words that denote body parts are recurrent, both as nouns (as nominative subjects or accusative objects) and as frozen nouns, slightly transformed to respect the morphological and phonological rules of the language. The noun *qablum* 'waist' is used much more frequently as *qabla* to express 'on the middle part' or 'on the waist' as a frozen noun in the {am - a} case. The noun for

³⁹⁷ 5.3.5.4

'heart' *libbu* is also frequently used as *libba* frozen in the {am - a} case to mean 'inside' (more frequent still with the preposition *ina* ('in') in the phrase *ina libbi* 'inside'). The direction *imittam* 'on the right' often used as an {am ~ a} case frozen noun, and its equivalent expressed as a prepositional phrase *ina imittim* 'in the right', comes from the noun *imittum*, the 'right hand' (CAD I:122, 2.). The opposite direction *šumēlam* 'on the left' frequently used in the {am ~ a} case also comes from the name of a body part, the noun *šumēlum* the 'left hand'. The word for 'backside', 'buttocks' *warkatum* is frequently used as *warkat* to express 'on the back of' or 'behind'. I have categorised *warkat* under the umbrella of frozen nouns even though it is always followed by a noun or noun phrase because its nominal origin is still visible and because uncontroversial frozen nouns like *šaplānum* and *elēnum* show frozen nouns can frequently occur as the first constituent of a construct state. The frozen nouns I list here are rarely used in their common nominal form in the OB omen corpus. Instead, their frozen form is frequent.

Grammaticalization could be said to be active in OB omens, and possibly generally in Akkadian. The frozen nouns I have mentioned could be said to have begun their crossing from the *nominal* class of words to the circumstantial class of words and to be separating into two distinct categories. A full study of this phenomenon could contribute to our understanding of the origin and function of such words.

4.6 Chapter summary

As presented at the beginning of this thesis in section 1.2 (section 1.2.2), my structural model first focuses its categorisation on the grammatical identity and syntactical status of the constituent at the beginning of a sentence. As a result, I have found that a substantial number of protases and apodoses begin with a prepositional phrase or with a frozen noun. Because prepositional phrases and

frozen nouns belong to the same category of words called *circumstances*, I have referred to all protases and apodoses that begin with a circumstance as *circumstantial sentences*. My chapter is divided into four parts.

First, I opened this chapter by addressing an issue in terminology. In my thesis, I have abandoned the use of the term 'adverb' and have instead coined the term *frozen noun* to qualify invariable nouns that communicate a spatial or temporal value (section 4.1.B). The term 'adverb' references a type of word but also a type of sentence within which this word will be found: one that always contains a verb. Yet, numerous examples demonstrate that such words occur in predicative relationships with nominative nouns exclusively (in *pp + nominative noun* sentences, *fn + nominative noun* sentences, and in *nominative noun + pp/fn* sentences). Because my typology required a term that would not pre-state the content of the sentence in which it is found, I concentrated on the nature and structure of these words as invariables (*frozen*) that can lexically be traced back to *nouns*, and proposed the structurally neutral term *frozen noun*.

The second part of this chapter opens with a presentation of the description of the *circumstantial sentence* (*jumla ḍarfīyya*) in Arabic grammatical theory to show that two concepts attached to this sentence type can be used to analyse the circumstantial sentence in the OB omen corpus (section 4.2). In Arabic grammatical theory, the sentence structure identified as the circumstantial sentence type is the *pp/fn + nom* sentence. This structure is not analysed as a reversal of the word-order of the primary nominal sentence the *nom + pp/fn* sentence. The circumstance and the nominative noun of this sentence type are tied in a particular predicative relationship in which the *pp/fn* is the *mubtada'*-beginner, the topic, and the nominative noun is the predicate, the *xabar*. Modern research has demonstrated that the nominative in this sentence structure functions as the new information (*xabar*) because in this construction, the

nominative noun shows an overwhelming tendency to express an indefinite, an entity that is unknown and that, therefore, cannot represent the old information. Adopting this analysis immediately affected my translations: in my model, the nominative nouns of protases and apodoses constructed as *pp/fn + nom* are an indefinite constituent (section 4.2.2).

I adopted the sentence-initial circumstance of the *pp/fn + nom* sentence as belonging to the topic, the *mubtada'*, and I have extended this analysis to circumstantial sentences that contain a verb. In these structures, I have analysed the sentence-initial circumstance as a part of the topic, the *mubtada'*, that accompanies and qualifies the nominative subject. In these sentences, two constituents carry part of the old information: the sentence-initial circumstance is the old information with the highest value, and the nominative noun carries the old information with a lower value.

The third part of this chapter presents the structure of the circumstantial sentence in OB omen protases and apodoses. Because circumstances are a group made of two types of words, prepositional phrases and frozen nouns, I divided my presentation in two parts. The first focuses on sentences that begin with prepositional phrases (*pp*-initial sentences, section 4.3), and the second focuses on sentences that begin with frozen nouns (*fn*-initial sentences, section 4.4). I have mapped out their sentence structure in table 3 titled *the structural map of the pp-initial sentence* and table 4 *the structural map of the fn-initial sentence*. As presented in chapter 1, I have used seven analytical tools taken from Arabic grammatical theory to distinguish between the shared and separate characteristics of protases and apodoses that begin with a circumstance. After my initial focus on the sentence-initial constituent, I investigated the content of the predicate of these sentences. I observed that the predicate of this sentence type can be entirely nominal (the *pp/fn + nom* sentence, sections 4.3.1 and 4.4.3) and

have termed this group the *primary* circumstantial sentence. As stated, I have also found that the predicate can also contain a verb. I have used frequency and intelligibility to identify the *basic* form and found that the *pp + nom + verb* sentence is the *basic* form of the *pp*-initial sentence (section 4.3.2), and the *fn + nom + verb* is the *basic* form of the *fn*-initial sentence (section 4.4.4). These two *basic* forms can be reduced (sections 4.3.3 and 4.4.5), augmented (sections 4.3.4 and 4.4.6) and extended (sections 4.3.5 and 4.4.7). As observed in previous sentence types, I have found that the four-constituent based sentence is the structure that can help determine cases of preposing and of delaying. I opened my presentation of *fn*-initial sentences by isolating a number of structures in which two nouns marked by the {um ~ u} case are present (section 4.4.1). I have argued that the {um - u} case noun close to the verb is the nominative subject and that the sentence-initial of these sentences is a frozen noun in the {um ~ u} case. I have isolated these sentences because the noun found frozen is not often used as a locative.

I closed this chapter by discussing the presence of grammaticalization, a syntactical process via which a word that belongs to one class can, through extensive use, slide into another class and slowly separate from its origin (section 4.5). In the corpus, I have found that names for body parts have undergone or are affected by grammaticalization and that they are transforming or have transformed into frozen nouns.

Table 3. The structural map of the pp-initial sentence

The <i>pp</i> -initial sentence			
Primary <i>pp</i> -initial sentence			
Primary	Reduced	Augmented	Extended
<i>pp + nom</i>	<i>none</i>	<i>pp + nom + pp</i>	<i>none</i>

The <i>pp</i> -initial sentence			
Basic <i>pp</i> -initial sentence			
Basic	Reduced	Augmented	Extended
<i>pp + nom + verb</i>	<i>pp + verb</i>	<i>pp + nom + acc + verb</i>	<i>Pp + pp-suff + pp + verb</i>
<i>pp + acc + verb</i>	//	<i>pp + acc + nom + verb</i>	<i>Pp + nom + pp-suff + verb</i>
//	//	<i>pp + pp + nom + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>pp + fn + u + fn + nom + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>pp + nom + pp + pp + verb</i>	//

Table 4. The structural map of the fn-initial sentence

The <i>fn</i> -initial sentence			
Primary <i>fn</i> -initial sentence			
Primary	Reduced	Augmented	Extended
<i>fn + nom</i>	<i>none</i>	<i>none</i>	<i>none</i>

The <i>fn</i> -initial sentence			
Basic <i>fn</i> -initial sentence			
Basic	Reduced	Augmented	Extended
<i>fn + nom + verb</i>	<i>fn + verb</i>	<i>fn + nom + acc + verb</i>	<i>fn + pp-suff + nom + verb</i>
<i>fn + acc + verb</i>	//	<i>fn + acc + nom + verb</i>	<i>fn + nom + pp-suff + verb</i>
//	//	<i>fn + nom + pp/fn + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>fn + pp + nom + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>ašar clause + nom-suff + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>fn + pp + pp + nom + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>fn + pp + acc + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>fn + pp + u + fn + nom + verb</i>	//
//	//	<i>fn + u + fn + fn (fn + u + fn) + verb-suff</i>	//

5. A functionalist reading of OB omens: seeking the *known* and *new* information

Throughout my investigation of the structure of protases and apodoses, I have made a number of statements about the information value of sentence types and of their constituents. I have used Arabic grammatical theory to design a model that is both structural and functional to distinguish between the old information known to both writer/speaker and addressee, and the information imparted as new to the addressee. In this chapter, I have applied my conclusions about information-value on three texts to show that beyond considerations of grammar and syntax, functionalism can contribute to the study of textual content. I have called this exercise *a functionalist reading* of OB omens and have divided this chapter in two parts. Part one presents a summary of my conclusions on information-value with a table that lists the function of each of the sentence types I have studied. This table is called *a taxonomic model of functions in OB omen sentences*. Part two applies these conclusions to three omen texts taken from the YOS 10 collection. Application 1 is a discussion of the content of YOS 10 15, application 2 discusses YOS 10 21 and application 3 discusses YOS 10 59. Each application has sought to distinguish the old information from the new information.

5.1 The premise of a functionalist reading of OB omens

As shown throughout this thesis, Arabic grammatical theory is a model concerned with the intention of the speaker/writer, and with the information-value of terms³⁹⁸. Arabic terminology immediately qualifies the information value of

³⁹⁸ Abu Mansour 1986:64-65 "One of the traditional basic assumptions was the belief that language should be 'informative' in the sense that it denoted ma'na 'meaning' which 'al-mutakallim' the speaker; intended to convey to 'al-mukhaatab 'the hearer'." Abu Mansour 1986:64 "Language was traditionally treated as a social behaviour. Sibawayh used a set of terms,

sentence types and of their parts, with terms like the *mubtada'* (the *old* information) and the *xabar* (the new information). In modern linguistics, functionalist approaches have also been interested in the intention of speakers. Modern functionalism is a branch of language study founded on the same premise around which the Arabic model is designed: in a sentence one set of information encapsulates what a writer/speaker believes she/he and the addressee know about and share. This set is the old or given information. The second set is information that a writer/speaker believes only she/he holds and that the addressee does not yet know and should be informed about. This is the new information. The structure of a sentence reveals how this intention functions and how information is transferred from speaker/writer to addressee:

“the crucial factor appears to be the tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver. That is, information-packaging in natural language reflects the sender’s hypotheses about the receiver’s assumptions and beliefs and strategies.” (Prince 1981:224)

For these two linguistic traditions, modern and ancient, when a writer/speaker constructs a statement, she or he makes at least two assumptions about the addressee. The first assumption is that one set of information is *known* to both (the old or least newsworthy information). This shared knowledge represents the point at which information *begins* to be exchanged, hence the term *mubtada'*-beginner in Arabic terminology. The second assumption is that one set of information is only unknown to the addressee. This part of the utterance is new, hence the explicit term *xabar*-information to name this part.

usually used to describe human behaviour [...]/ These terms were usually used in Islamic law to describe certain ways of human behaviour. [...] Sibawayh, among others, believed that since language was a human behaviour, it should therefore be judged by the same behavioural standards.”

I have found this premise particularly interesting to approach a set of texts for which we no longer have live informants to guide our understanding of their content. In the context of omens, the old information or *mubtada'* is going to represent the point from which the information-transfer *begins* between diviner and client. It is the information that the writer (diviner) and addressee (client) share. The given information represents the entity *about which* the writer of the omen seeks information and *about which* the client-addressee wants to be informed. It could be said to represent the concern that prompted the divinatory reading, and the question that began the process, a question never given nor made explicit in an omen text. In turn, the new information is the information that the writer wants to impart to the addressee because she/he is aware that the addressee does yet not know it. In the context of an omen, the new information does not only represent the information that is new or more newsworthy. It is the information that the diviner is discovering as his or her reading of the omen proceeds, and the information that the addressee has come to seek. This information represents the scenario that is most feared or hoped for.

5.2 A taxonomic model of functions in OB omen sentences

I have observed that OB omen protases and apodoses follow three frequent and distinct sentence structures identifiable by their sentence-initial constituents. Nominative nouns, accusative, and circumstances regularly occur at the beginning of sentences. I have interpreted the frequency of these occurrences as the indication of the presence of three sentence types that I have named according to the syntactical identity of their sentence-initial constituent: the nominal sentence, the accusative-initial sentence and the circumstantial sentence. Adopting the Arabic model as my frame for the analysis of these sentence structures has had one immediate consequence on my typology of functions: I have anticipated that two sentences structures will be contrastive. One will communicate the old

information first, while the other will communicate the new information first. I adopted Arabic grammatical theory's view that the given or old information in a sentence is carried by the topic and represents the *mubtada'*, while the new information is carried in the predicate and represents the *xabar*. In my model, as in the Arabic model, the nominal sentence is the sentence type that communicates information on a scale of *old* -> *new*. This dynamic is possible because the sentence-initial nominative noun, the defining constituent of the nominal sentence, is the part of the sentence that carries the old information. The information from which the relaying of information *begins* is in the *mubtada'*. In this sentence type, I have analysed the *mubtada'* as the element that carries the highest degree of 'old information' (value 1).

The predicate of the *nominal* sentence can be strictly nominal, circumstantial or verbal. This part of the nominal sentence, whatever its shape, represents the *xabar*, the *new* or more newsworthy information. In my model, when the *xabar*-predicate is composed of a single item (a nominative noun or phrase, a prepositional phrase, a verb), this single item carries the highest 'new information' value. When the *xabar* is composed of two or more items, each carries the 'new information' on a scale. When a *xabar*-predicate is composed of a verb and direct accusative object, I have analysed the verb as the carrier of the highest 'new information' value (value 1), the direct object (accusative or objective clause) as the lower 'new information' item (value 2). When a third constituent like a circumstance is combined to the verb and accusative, I have analysed it as the constituent with the lowest 'new information' value (value 3). When the verb is combined with only one other constituent, I have understood this constituent to represent the carrier of the second highest 'new information' value (value 2).

In my model, the accusative-initial sentence is the sentence type that communicates information on a scale of *new* -> *old*. The sentence-initial

accusative is the carrier of the highest degree of new information (value 1) and the verb carries the lower value of new information (value 2). In these sentences, I have analysed the value of the nominative noun and subject as the old information with the highest value (value 1). When an accusative-initial sentence contains a circumstance, I have interpreted it as the carrier of the lower 'new information' value (value 3) unless it is shown to have been preposed in relation to the accusative and then carries the 'new information' (value 2). I have followed Arabic grammarians' interpretation of the *pp/fn + nom* sentence in which the *pp/fn* functions as the *mubtada'* (the carrier of the 'old information' value) and the nominative noun functions as the *xabar* (the new information). In these sentences, I have interpreted the *pp/fn* as the carrier of the highest 'old information' value (value 1) and the nominative as the carrier of the highest 'new information' value. I am aware that prepositional phrases and frozen nouns may have occurred in this location due to inversions (preposing with the delaying of the noun) but I have followed this interpretation as a rule to test this view and the presence of a possible indefinite construction in OB omens. When the predicate of the circumstantial is verbal, I have analysed the nominative subject when it is expressed as the carrier of a lower degree of old information (value 2) while the circumstance remains as the carrier of the higher degree of old information (value 1). I have analysed all resumptive suffixed pronouns as constituents that carry the same information value than the word or part of the sentence that they co-refer and whose information-value they emphasise ("textually evoked" items in Prince 1981:237).

The table below is a summary of the information-value dynamic I have observed in the sentence structures discussed throughout my thesis.

Table 5. A taxonomic model of functions

	The <i>old</i> information	The <i>new</i> information
	Information the diviner and the client know and about which they are seeking information	Information the diviner is discovering during his or her omen reading, and about which the client must be made aware
The nominal sentence		
Primary Nominal predicate	<i>mubtada'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentence-initial nominative = old information (value 1) 	<i>xabar</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominative noun or phrase = new information (value 1)
Circumstantial predicate	<i>mubtada'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentence-initial nominative = old information (value 1) 	<i>xabar</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circumstance = new information (value 1)
Verbal predicate	<i>mubtada'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentence-initial nominative = old information (value 1) 	<i>xabar</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verb-message = new information (value 1) • Accusative (noun or objective clause) = new information (value 2) • Circumstance = new information (value 3; or value 2 if alone with verb)
The accusative-initial sentence	<i>mubtada'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominative subject = old 	<i>Xabar</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentence-initial accusative = new information (value 1)

	information (value 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verb-message = new information (value 2) • Circumstance = new information (value 3 or value 2 if preposed)
The circumstantial sentence		
Primary	<i>mubtada'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentence-initial circumstance = old information (value 1) 	<i>xabar</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominative noun or phrase = new information (value 2)
Verbal predicate	<i>mubtada'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentence-initial circumstance = old information (value 1) • Nominative subject = old information (value 2) 	<i>xabar</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accusative = new information (value 2) • Message-verb = new information (value 1) • Other constituents = new information (value 3)

Value 1: highest value
Value 2: middle value
Value 3: lowest value

5.3 Application 1 – YOS 10 15

YOS 10 15 is a collection of ten readings all concerned with the position of one or two 'weapon-marks' on 'the view'. Nine protases out of ten protases begin with a prepositional phrase. These protases indicate a specific location on the view, in turn: *ina qabliat* 'in the waist of', *ina išid* 'in the base of', and *ina rēš* 'in the head

of'. As discussed above, I have interpreted prepositional phrases in sentence-initial position as the carrier of the old information in the sentence, even when the environment is verbal. From omen 1 to omen 4, only one weapon-mark is present (*ina x kakkum šakin*). This information is always given in the first protasis. Omen 5 to omen 8 are introduced by the same first sentence *kakkū šinā imittam u šumēlam ittaṭlū*. From omen 5, two weapon-marks are present, one on the right and one on the left, and they point at each other. The protases of omen 9 and 10 are composed of only one sentence. The protasis of omen 9 is a *pp*-initial sentence whose structure is particularly interesting because it contains four circumstantial elements: a preposition phrase in sentence-initial position, two {am ~ a}-case frozen nouns and a *kīma*-prepositional phrase. The protasis of the last omen, omen 10 is constructed as an extended nominal sentence and represents the only first sentence that is not a circumstantial sentence. YOS 10 15 closes the reading of the surface of the view on this construction.

§1: ¹BE *i-na MURUB₄ (qabliat)-at IGI.BAR (naplaštim) i-na šu-me-lim GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) ša-ki-in-ma*

KÁ.É.GAL (bāb ēkallim) i-ṭù-ul ²š[ar-ru-u]m up-ša-ši-i ik-ru-bu ú-ul i-pu-^ruš^r

If a weapon-mark in the middle of the view is set in the left and points at the palace gate

- the king will not perform the rites that he prayed³⁹⁹

The protasis of omen 1 is composed of two sentences. The first sentence of the protasis is a *pp*-initial sentence (*ina qabliat naplaštim ina šumēlim kakkum šakin-ma*), the second sentence is an accusative-initial sentence (*bāb ēkallim iṭṭul*). The first sentence of the protasis contains two sets of old information, the sentence-

³⁹⁹ Glassner 2005:282 footnote 28 translates this protasis.

initial circumstance *ina qabliat (IGI.BAR) naplaštīm*, ‘in the middle of the view’, and the nominative subject *GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum)* ‘the weapon-mark’. The apodosis is composed of only one sentence, a nominal sentence (*šarrum upšašši ikrubu ul ippuš*). In the apodosis, the old information is *šarrum*, ‘the king’. The protasis of omen 1 as a whole contains four constituents that carry new information: two constituents in the first sentence (the second prepositional phrase and the message-verb *ina šumēlim + šakin* ‘is set in the left’, and two in the second sentence (*bāb ēkallim + iṭṭul*, ‘points at the palace gate’, the sentence-initial accusative and the message-verb). The new information in the apodosis is carried by three items: the accusative *upšašši*, the subjunctive message-verb *ikrubu* ‘that he prayed’, and the main message-verb of the sentence, negated, *ul ippuš* ‘will not perform’. The information known to both speaker and addressee and the point of departure *mubtada*’ of the omen reading is about ‘a weapon-mark in the middle of the view’. What the addressee does not know and is discovering is that the weapon-mark in the middle of the view is ‘located in the left and faces the palace gate’. The *mubtada*’-beginner of the apodosis ‘the king’ indicates that the speaker and addressee begin their exchange discussing a topic with which both are acquainted: ‘the king’. The information that the writer imparts as new to the addressee is that a risk of ‘not performing the rites that were prayed’ is looming.

§2: ³BE *i-na iš-di IGI.BAR (naplaštīm) i-na šu-me-lim GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) ša-ki-in-ma KÁ.É.GAL (bāb ēkallim) i-ṭù-ul*

⁴GIŠ.TUKUL-ki (kakki) *ba-ar!(ši)-tim*⁴⁰⁰ *na-ba-al-ka-ti a-li-im*

*If a weapon-mark in the base of the view is set in the left and points at the palace gate – weapon-mark of revolt; uprising of the city*⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Winitzer 2017:106, 2.146, footnote 229 says “Text: *ba-ar!(ši)-tim*; see CAD B, 114; Richter 1994:227”.

⁴⁰¹ Winitzer 2017:106, 2.146 translates “If in the base of the View in the left a Weapon was situated and it faced the Palace Gate => (it represents) a Weapon of Revolt: (it means) a revolt of the city”. Glassner 2005:294 translates l. 5 in footnote 104.

The protasis of omen 2 is composed of two sentences. As in omen 1, the first sentence is a *pp*-initial sentence (*ina išdi naplaštim ina šumēlim kakkum šakinma*) and the second is an accusative-initial sentence (*bab ēkallim iṭṭul*). The protasis contains two sets of old information: one carried by the prepositional phrase (*ina išid naplaštim*) and the second carried by the nominative subject (*kakkum*). The new information is carried by four constituents: the prepositional phrase and message-verb of the first sentence of the protasis (*ina šumēlim + šakin*), and the accusative and message-verb of the second sentence of the protasis (*bāb ēkallim + iṭṭul*). These sets give an indication that the beginning of the exchange started with two items known to both speaker and addressee ‘a weapon-mark in the base of the view’. The information the addressee did not know about and is discovering is that this mark is ‘set to the left and points at the palace gate’. I will not discuss the information value of the apodosis as the structure is composed only of nominal phrases.

§3: ⁵BE *i-na re-eš IGI.BAR (naplaštim) i-na i-mi-it-tim GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) ša-ki-in-ma ù re-sú ta-ri-ik*

⁶*i-na ka-ra-ši-im um-ma-an-ka ^dIM (Adad) i-ra-ḫi-iš*

If a weapon-mark in the top of the view is set in the right and its head is also dark

- Adad will trample your army in the military camp!

The protasis of omen 3 is composed of two sentences. It opens with the *pp*-initial sentence (*ina rēš naplaštim ina imittim kakkum šakinma*) and is followed by a nominal sentence (*rēssu tarik*). The apodosis is made of only one sentence, the *pp*-initial sentence. The apodosis is composed of a single sentence, also a *pp*-initial

sentence (*ina karāšim ummānka Adad irahḥiṣ*). The protasis contains three sets of old information: the sentence-initial preposition (*ina rēš naplaštīm*, ‘in the top of the view’), the nominative subject (*kakkum* ‘a weapon-mark’) of the first sentence, and the nominative subject of the second sentence (*rēssu* ‘its head’). The new information in the protasis is carried by three items: the second prepositional phrase (*ina imittim*), the *message-verb* of the first sentence (*šakin*) and the *message-verb* of the second sentence (*tarik*). The old information indicates that both the speaker and addressee begin their exchange from the shared knowledge ‘a weapon-mark in the top of the view’. The information that the speaker or writer is imparting as new to the addressee is that this mark is set in the right and that a part of it is dark (its head). The old information in the apodosis is carried by two items, the sentence-initial prepositional phrase *ina karāšim* ‘in the military camp’ and the nominative subject, the god Adad. The new information is also carried by two items, the accusative *ummānka* (‘your army’) and the *message-verb* *irahḥiṣ* (‘will trample’). The speaker and addressee know that Adad in the military camp is present, but the addressee discovers what the god in this location will do: he will trample your army.

§4: ⁷BE i-na MURUB₄-at IGI.BAR (*qabliat naplaštīm*) i-na šu-me-lim GIŠ.TUKUL
(*kakkum*) ša-ki-in-ma mar-tam i-ṭù-ul

⁸bi-tum ra-bu-um i-ba-la-ka-at

*If a weapon-mark in the middle of the view is set in the left and points at the gall
bladder*

- an important household will rebel

The protasis of omen 4 is composed of two sentences: the *pp*-initial sentence (*ina qabliat naplaštīm ina šumēlim kakkum šakinma*), and an accusative-initial

sentence (*martam iṭṭul*). The apodosis is composed of a single sentence, the nominal sentence (*bītum rabûm ibbalakkat*). Omen 4 is the last in the series of omens that comment on a single ‘weapon-mark’ and whose apodoses are composed of only one sentence. The location of the weapon-mark in the protasis of this omen returns to where the observation began in omen 1: the waist of the view. The old information of the protasis of omen 4 is made of two items: the sentence-initial prepositional phrase *ina qabliat naplaštīm* ‘in the waist of the view’ and the nominative subject *kakkum* ‘a weapon-mark’. The new information is carried by four items: the second prepositional phrase (*ina šumēlim*) and the message-verb of the first sentence (*šakin*), then in the second sentence of the protasis by the accusative (*martam*) and its message-verb (*iṭṭul*). The speaker and addressee begin their exchange knowing and observing a weapon-mark in the waist of the view. The addressee discovers that this mark is located in the left and points at the gall bladder. In the apodosis, the old information is carried by two related items: the noun *bītum* and the adjective *rabûm* ‘the great house’. Only one constituent carries the new information: the message-verb *ibbalakkat*, the act of rebelling. The old information indicates that the speaker and addressee know who the ‘great house’ is. The speaker/writer of the omen is informing the addressee or client of what is to be expected from the great house: it will rebel.

§5: ⁹BE *i-na re-eš IGI.BAR (naplaštīm) GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkū) 2 (šinā) i-mi-tam ù šu-me-lam i-ta-aṭ-lu ù i-na bi-ri-šu<nu> ši-[na]*

¹⁰*ši-lum na-di ù wa-ar-ka-at a-mu-tim GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) re-eš mar-tim ša-bi-it*

¹¹*a-al pa-ṭi-i-ka i-ba-la-ka-at-ka ri-qú-sà GIŠ.TUKUL (kakki) ba-ar-tim*⁴⁰²

If two weapon-marks in the top of the view point at each other right and left,

⁴⁰² Jeyes 1989:45 translates “your border town will rebel against you, later on: a weapon of revolt”. Other examples for this expression are in YOS 10 26 i:9, 27, 35; 33 i:11; 46 iv 13.

*and a hole is set in between the two, and a weapon-mark connects (lit. seizes)
the top of the gall bladder to the back of the liver*

- your border cities will rebel against you; a weapon of revolt is in the future⁴⁰³

From omen 5, the mark on the surface of the view has changed from one weapon-mark to two weapon-marks situated ‘on the left and right’. It is at this point in the text that a change in the structure of both apodoses is also made. Apodoses will be made of more than one sentence. In omen 5, all three sentences of the protases are circumstantial sentences: 1) *ina rēš IGI.BAR (naplaštīm) kakkū šinā imittam u šumēlam ittaṭlū*; 2) (u) *ina birišu<nu> šinā* ¹⁰*šilum nadi*; 3) (u) *warkat amūtim kakkum rēš martim šabit*). In the apodosis, the first sentence is a nominal sentence (*āl pāṭika ibbalakkatka*), and the second sentence is a primary circumstantial sentence (*rēqūssa kakki bartim*). In the protasis, the old information of the first sentence is carried by two items: the prepositional phrase *ina rēš naplaštīm* ‘in the top of the view’ and *kakkū šinā* ‘two weapon-marks’. The second sentence carries two sets of old information also: the sentence-initial prepositional phrase *ina birišu<nu> šinā* ‘in between the two’ and the nominative subject *šilum* (‘a hole’). The third sentence also carries two sets of old information, the prepositional phrase *warkat amūtim* ‘behind the gall bladder’ and the nominative noun *kakkum* ‘a weapon-mark’. All these items indicate this information that is known by the speaker and addressee.

The new information is carried by three items in the first sentence of the protasis: the two frozen nouns *imittam* (‘right’) and *šumēlam* (‘left’) and the message-verb *ittaṭlū* ‘(they) point at each other’. The second sentence contains one item of new

⁴⁰³ Winitzer 2017:83 translates “A town of your environs will revolt against you; its uncertain (interpretation): (it forecasts) a Weapon of Revolt” (Winitzer 2017:104, 2.144 “A town of your outskirts will rebel against you; its uncertain (interpretation): (it forecasts) a Weapon-mark (which signifies) revolt”).

information carried by the message-verb *nadi* ‘is set’. In the third sentence, two items carry new information: the accusative *rēš martim* ‘the top of the gall bladder’, and the message-verb *šabit* ‘seizes’. The manner in which the weapon-marks are set (pointing at each other), the presence of another mark (a hole in between them) and the seized top of the gall bladder are all information that are intended as informative and new to the addressee. In the apodosis, the old information is carried by two constituents: the nominative subject *āl pātika* (‘your border cities’), and the future *rēqūssa*, ‘the future’. The new information is carried by three items. In the first sentence, it is communicated by the message-verb *ibbalakkat* ‘will rebel’ and the accusative object realised as a suffixed pronoun *-ka* ‘against you’. In the predicate of the *fn*-initial sentence, the new information is carried by *kakki bartim* ‘a weapon-mark of revolt’. The new information of the apodotic sentences warns the addressee twice about the same potentiality: that of a revolt.

§6: ¹²BE *i-na re-eš IGI.BAR (naplaštim) GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkū) 2 (šinā)*

i-mi-tam ù šu-me-lam i-ta-aṭ-lu

¹³*šar-rum a-a-ú-um-ma a-na sa-li-mi-im i-ša-pa-ra-ku-ú-[ma...]*⁴⁰⁴

¹⁴*sa-li-im-šu te-le-qé at-ta i-na ba-ar-tim bu-[ši-šu /or/ bu-ul-šu te-zi-ib]*⁴⁰⁵

If two weapon-marks in the top of the view point at each other right and left -

⁴⁰⁴ Lines 12-14 in Richter Or 62:132.

⁴⁰⁵ Winitzer 2017:322 translates “If in the View’s top two Weapons faced one another on the right and the left => some king will send (word) up to you for a peace agreement (and) you will accept his peace, (but) you, in a rebellion, [will abandon his] herd”. Wintizer 2017:294, 4.60 translates “If in the View’s top two Weapons faced one another on the right and the left => some king will send (word) up to you for a peace agreement (and) you will accept his peace, (but) you, in a rebellion, [will abandon his] herd”. Lines 12-14 in Richter Or 62:132. He reconstructs: *bu-[ul-šu te-zi-ib]*. Glassner 2009b:38.

some king will write to you for reconciliation and... you, you will accept his peace-offer! During a rebellion [you will leave his goods/herd]

The protasis of omen 6 is made of one sentence: the *pp*-initial sentence *ina rēš naplaštīm kakkū šinā imittam u šumēlam ittaṭlū*. The apodosis is composed of three sentences: a nominal sentence (*šarrum ayyumma ana salīmim išapparakkum*), an accusative-initial sentence (*salīmšu teleqqe atta*), and a *pp*-initial sentence broken except for its sentence-initial constituent (*ina bartim*) reconstructed as *ina bartim bū[īšu tezzib]* again in Richter Or 62:132⁴⁰⁶. In the protasis, the old information is carried by two items: the prepositional phrase in sentence-initial position *ina rēš naplaštīm* ‘in the top of the view’ and the nominative subject *kakkū šinā* ‘two weapon-marks’. The new information is carried by three items: two {am ~ a}-case frozen nouns *imittam u šumēlam*, ‘the right’ and ‘the left’, and the message-verb *ittaṭlū* ‘(they) point at each other’.

In the apodosis, the old information is carried by the nominative subject *šarrum ayyumma* ‘some king’ in the first sentence. The implicit and unexpressed reference to the subject in the second sentence, found in the person and gender of the verb ‘you’ communicates known information. The sentence-initial prepositional phrase of the third sentence *ina bartim* ‘during a rebellion’ also carries old information. In the first apodotic sentence, the new information is carried in three items: by the prepositional phrase *ana salīmim* ‘for peace’, by the message-verb *išapparam* ‘he will write’, and by the second person singular dative suffixed pronoun *-kum* ‘to you’. In the second apodotic sentence, the sentence-initial accusative *salīmšu* ‘his peace-offer’ and the message-verb *teleqqe* ‘(you) will accept’. I will not comment on the new information of the third apodotic sentence because too many of its constituents are broken and the sentence I use is a reconstruction. The location of the prepositional phrase ‘during a rebellion’

⁴⁰⁶ Richter Or 62:132 reconstructs: *bū-[ul-šu te-zi-ib]*.

indicates that the time frame is a known fact to both the writer/speaker. It carries old information known to writer/speaker and addressee. The new information for the addressee is that at this time, ‘writing for peace’ and a ‘peace offer’ are potentially going to come from a known individual, ‘a certain king’.

§7: ¹⁵BE *i-na MURUB₄-at IGI.BAR (qabliat naplaštim) GIŠ.TUKUL 2 (kakkū šinā) i-mi-tam ù šu-me-lam i-ta-aṭ-[lu]*

¹⁶*na-an-mu-ur-t[um]*

*If two weapon-marks in the middle of the view point at each other on the right
and the left –*

*confrontation*⁴⁰⁷

The protasis of omen 7 is composed of a single sentence, and its apodosis is a single nominative noun. The protasis is a *pp*-initial sentence. The old information is carried by two items: the prepositional phrase *ina qabliat naplaštim* ‘in the waist of the view’, and the nominative subject *kakkū šinā* ‘two weapon-marks’. As in the previous omen, the new information is carried by three items: two {am ~ a}-case frozen nouns *imittam u šumēlam*, ‘the right and left’, and the message-verb *ittaṭlū* ‘they point at each other’. I will not comment on the apodosis as it is composed of only a single noun.

⁴⁰⁷ Winitzer 2017:322, 4.79 translates “If in the View’s middle two Weapons faced one another on the right and the left => (it forecasts) confrontation”. Winitzer 2017:294, 4.60 translates “If in the View’s middle two Weapons faced one another on the right and the left => (it forecasts) confrontation”. Winitzer 2017:115 translates “If in the View’s middle two Weapons faced one another on the right and left => (it forecasts) confrontation”. Lines 15-16 in Richter Or 62:133f.

§8: ¹⁷BE *i-na iš-di IGI.BAR (naplaštīm) GIŠ.TUKUL 2 (kakkū šinā) i-mi-tam ù šu-me-lam i-ta-aṭ-[lu]*

¹⁸*a-na šar-ri-im a-a-i-ma a-na sa-li-mi-im ta-ša-[pa-ar-ma]* ¹⁹*sa-li-im-šu te-li-qé-e-šu*⁴⁰⁸

*i-na ba-ar-tim bu-u[l-ka or bu-ši-ka i-zi-ib]*⁴⁰⁹

If two weapon-marks in the base of the view point at each other right and left

*- you will write to some king for reconciliation and you will accept it, his peace-offer! During a rebellion [he will leave your herd/goods]*⁴¹⁰

Omen 8 is the opposite reading to omen 6. This opposition is made with the reversal of the location of the two weapon-marks. Instead of being in the *top* of the view (omen 6) the two weapon-marks are in the *base* of the view (omen 8). The reference moves from top to bottom. This reversal triggers a reversal in the actor and receiver of the action in the apodosis. It is no longer ‘some king’ who writes to ‘you’, in omen 8 it is ‘you’ who writes to ‘some king’. Except for the change of location from the ‘top of the view’ (omen 6) to ‘the base of the view’ in this omen, the first protasis is worded in exactly the same way as was found in the first protasis of omen 6. The sentences of the apodosis of omen 8 are also the same as those found in omen 6 except for the reversal of actor and acted upon. I would have anticipated a grammatical change in the person of the verb that would have resulted in ‘you will accept his peace offer’ from omen 6 to ‘he will accept

⁴⁰⁸ Winitzer 2017:322, 4.79 reads *šu* independently from *teleqqe*.

⁴⁰⁹ Winitzer 2017:322, 4.79 translates “If in the View’s base two Weapons faced one another on the right and the left => you will send (word) to some king for a peace agreement ([and]) you will indeed accept his peace, (but) he, in a rebellion, [will abandon your] herd”. Winitzer 2017:295, 4.60 translates “If in the View’s base two Weapons faced one another on the right and the left => you will send (word) to some king for a peace agreement ([and]) you will indeed accept his peace, (but) he, in a rebellion, [will abandon your] herd.” Lines 17-19 in Richter Or 62:133f. Glassner 2009b:38 translates this omen, and compares it with YOS 10 17. Jeyes 1989:103 (OBE 1:10) translates 18-19 “you will write to some king about a reconciliation and you will accept his (offer of a) peace settlement”. Lines 17-19 transliterated and translated in Richter Or 62:133f.

⁴¹⁰ CAD A1 *ayumma* a) “you will write to some king for reconciliation”.

your peace offer’ in omen 8, but this does not happen here. In omen 8, the verb, its accusative object and the suffixed pronoun are the same as those used in omen 6. The second sentence of the apodosis also expresses no change in person in the verb or in the use of the suffixed pronoun attached to the accusative-initial noun. Only one element changes from omen 6 to omen 8: the singular second person independent pronoun *atta* found in omen 6 is replaced here by a third person singular pronoun *šu* suffixed to the verb. It is because the pronoun *šu* is located in the second sentence of the apodosis that I have interpreted *atta* in omen 6 as a constituent that also belongs to the second sentence of the protasis, even though the post verbal location of this independent pronoun is exceptional. As in omen 6, the third sentence of the apodosis is entirely broken except for the prepositional phrase. The reconstruction suggests a change in the person that the verb expresses and in its suffixed pronoun but given the lack of change found in the first and second sentence of the apodosis that are visible and readable, I would expect that no such change has in fact taken place. Something else may have been stated in the last sentence.

§9: ²⁰BE *i-na re-eš IGI.BAR (naplaštim) GIŠ.TUKUL 2 (kakkū šinā) i-mi-tam ù šu-me-lam ki-ma sí-k[a-ti]*

²¹*a-mu-ut dLUGAL.GÌR.RA ù dMes-lam-ta-è-^ra^r [ša i-na i-di um-ma-ni-ka i-la-ku]*

²²*GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) ra-bu-um i-na i-di um-ma-[n]i-ka i-la-[ak]⁴¹¹*

If two weapon-marks in the top of the view are like a peg on the right and left

– omen of Lugal.Girra and of Meslam-Ta.Ea [who will walk by the side of your army];

⁴¹¹ I have followed the reconstruction in Glassner 2009b:38. Khait 2012:35 footnote 12 transliterates: ^dLU[GAL.IR₉.RA]) and translates the apodosis line 21-22. Khait does not read a break between line 21 and 22 unlike Glassner.

the great weapon will walk by the side of your army

The protasis of omen 9 is composed of only one sentence. Like omens 6, 7 and 8, this protasis records a reading of ‘two weapon-marks in the top of the view’. In omens 6, 7, and 8, the constituents *ina rēš naplaštīm kakkū šinā imittam u šumēlam* occurred in a verbal environment. Their sentences contained a verb. In omen 9, the environment is strictly nominal and circumstantial. The old information in the protasis is the prepositional phrase *ina rēš naplaštīm* and the nominative subject *kakkū šinā* ‘two weapon-marks in the head of the view’, also found in omen 6, 7 and 8. The new information is made of three items: the comparative *kīma*-phrase *kīma sikk[ati]* ‘like a peg’, and two {am ~ a} case frozen nouns *imittam u šumēlam* ‘the right’ and ‘the left’. The apodosis of omen 9 is composed of two nominal sentences, one whose predicate is entirely broken *amūt Lugal.Girra and Meslam-Ta.Ea. [ša ina idi ummānika illakū]*, and another less damaged *kakkum rabûm ina idi ummā[n]ika illa[k]*. In the apodosis, the old information is carried by two items: the nominative subject or topic of the first sentence *amūt Lugal.Girra and Meslam-Ta.Ea* ‘omen of Lugal.Girra and Meslam-Ta.Ea’, and the nominative subject of the second sentence *kakkum rabûm*, ‘the great weapon’. On the basis of the reconstruction, it would appear that the new information in each sentence is carried by two identical units, one formulated as a subjunctive clause *ša ina idi ummānika illakū* ‘who walk by the side of your army’, and the other in the predicate of the second apodotic sentence *ina idi ummā[n]ika illa[k]* ‘he will walk by the side of your army’. The old information of the apodosis shows that the speaker and addressee both begin their exchange by discussing or examining two entities they know: a great weapon, and Lugal.Girra and Meslam-Ta.Ea. The addressee learns of the action that these two representations could potentially mean: they are ‘walking by the side of your army’.

§10: ²³BE IGI.BAR (*naplaštum*) *i-ši-sà a-na GIŠ.TUKUL-ki (kakki) i-^rtu-ra^r*

a-mu-ut ^dLU[GAL.GÌR.RA] ²⁴ù ^dMes-lam-ta-è-a ša mu-ta-[nu] i-na m[a-tim i-ba-
aš-ši]

If the view's base turns back to a weapon-mark

*- omen of Lugal.Girra and of Meslam-Ta.Ea, that an epidemic [will occur] in the
land⁴¹²*

The last omen of YOS 10 15 concludes this omen text with a reading of ‘the view’ focused on ‘its base’, *išissa*. The protasis and the apodosis of omen 10 are both made of one sentence each. The protasis is an *extended nominal* sentence ‘*naplaštum išissa ana kakki itūra*. The apodosis is a *nominal* sentence, partly broken, ‘*amut* ^dLU[GAL.GÌR.RA] ù ^dMeslam-ta-è-a ša mūtā[nu] ina m[ātim ibašši]’. In the protasis, the known information is *naplaštum*. The new information is carried in the complex predicate *išissa ana kakki iturā*, ‘its base turns back on the weapon-mark’. In the apodosis, the old information is carried by the nominative subjects ‘Lugal.Girra’ and ‘Meslam-Ta.Ea’. The new information is carried by the subjunctive clause *ša mūtā[nu] ina m[ātim ibašši]* ‘that an epidemic [will occur] in the land’.

Overall, this discussion attempted to show that the content of information communicated in an omen, with a focus on protases, apodoses, or both, can be separated and listed according to what was known to both parties, and what was discovered and imparted as new or more newsworthy. The information-value of the constituents in the apodoses of this omen text provides us with a list of entities and individuals known to both writer and addressee: the king (a king *šarrum* and some king *šarrum ayyumma*), a big house (*bītum rabûm*), border cities (*āl pāṭika*),

⁴¹² Glassner 2009b:38. Khait 2012:35 footnote 12 for *transliterates: d*LU[GAL.IR₉.RA] and *mu-ta-[nu] not [ni]* and translates “The omen of Lugalerra and Meslamtaea, which (predicts) plague in the land” of the apodosis l.23-24.

the future, Lugal.Girra and Meslam-Ta.Ea. The information discovered as the omen reading proceeds, unknown to the addressee until he or she has been told, is about: the performance of rites, risks of rebellions, reconciliation and seeking peace, a particular presence by the side of the army, and the coming of epidemics.

5.4 Application 2 - YOS 10 21

I have examined the old information and the new information in the protases and apodoses of YOS 10 21 to again formulate suggestions about the concerns that can be distinguished as new as the omen reading progresses.

§1: [DIŠ] ṛ *da-na-nu-um ib³-ba-al-ki-it-ma KÁ.É.GAL (bāb ēkallim) i-ṭù-ul*

a-wi-lum ḥa-li-iq š[a² ...]-ra-šum

[If] the strength is overturned and points at the palace gate – the man [...]

The protasis of omen 1 is composed of two sentences: a nominal sentence (*danānum ibbalkitma*) and an accusative-initial sentence (*bāb ēkallim iṭṭul*). The apodosis is broken and its content or the number of sentences it may have contained is uncertain but the first term is undamaged and begins with the nominative constituent *awīlum*. In the protasis, the old information is carried by one item *danānum*, ‘the strength’. The new information is found in three constituents: in the message-verb of the first sentence *ibbalkit* ‘overturned’, and in the accusative and the message-verb of the second sentence *bāb ēkallim* ‘the palace gate’ + *iṭṭul* ‘point at’. The apodosis shows one set of old information: the nominative noun *awīlum* ‘the man’.

§2: 2^r DIŠⁿ i-na li-bi da-na-nim e-ri-iš-tum

mi-im-ma wa-aq-ra-am ša li-[bi bi-ti]-^rka⁴¹³ DINGIR (ilum) i-ri-iš-ka

If a request-mark is in the heart of the strength

*- a god will request from you something precious from inside your [house]!*⁴¹⁴

The protasis and apodosis of omen 2 are both composed of a single sentence. The protasis is a *primary pp*-initial sentence and the apodosis is an *accusative*-initial sentence. In the protasis, the old information is carried by the sentence-initial prepositional phrase *ina libbi danānim* ‘in the heart of the strength’. The nominative noun *erištum* represents the predicate of this *primary* circumstantial sentence. It carries the new information and indefinite item ‘a request-mark’. In the apodosis, the old information is carried by the nominative subject *ilum* ‘the god’. The new information is communicated by three items: the accusative *mimma waqram ša li[bbi bīti]ka* ‘something precious from inside your [house]’, the message-verb *irriš* ‘he will request’, and the direct object attached to the verb *-ka* ‘(from) you’. The writer of the omen is informing the addressee that the god, a reference that both speaker and addressee know, has a request and that it will be something precious that specifically comes from the house of the ‘you’.

§3: ^rDIŠⁿ da-na-nu-um ú-ša-pi-il₅-ma ša-ki-in

⁴¹³ Winitzer 2017:112, 2.154 transcribes *li[bbi]ka*, he says in his footnote 237 “Text: li-[...]-ka*”; collation courtesy J.J. Glassner. The proposed reading is also supported by paranomastic considerations (i.e. libbum <-> libbum”. Also see Jeyes, OBE 10:34-43.

⁴¹⁴ George 2013:211 note 13 translates “a god will require something precious that is in your [house].” Winitzer 2017:112, 2.154 translates “If a Request-mark (was) in the midst of the Strength => the deity will request of you something precious”.

um-ma-nu-um ḥa-ra-an i-la-ku i-[ma-qú-u]t

*If the strength makes a dip and is set - the army will fall on the campaign on
which it goes*

The protasis of omen 3 is composed of two sentences: a nominal sentence (*danānum ušappil*), and a verbal sentence (*šakin*). The apodosis is composed of one sentence (*ummānum ḥarrān illaku i[maqqu]t*). In the protasis, nominative subject *danānum* ‘the strength’ represents the old information. The new information is carried by the two message verbs ‘it dips low’, and ‘it is set’. In the apodosis, the old information is carried by the nominative subject *ummānum* ‘the army’. The new information is carried by the objective clause *ḥarrān illaku* ‘the journey on which it goes’, and by the *message-verb* *imaqqut* ‘will fall’. The writer informs the addressee about the fate of the army that has set out on a campaign. The army is likely to encounter a negative end.

§4: 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 a-na pa-ni da-na-nim GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) ša-ki-im-ma 𐎠𐎡𐏁𐎠 iṭ-ṭù-ul

ma-ar ši-ip-ri-im we-du-um i-ṭè/ṭe₄-ḥi-a-am

If a weapon-mark on the front of the strength is set and it points upwards

- a well-known messenger is approaching⁴¹⁵

The protasis of omen 4 is composed of two sentences: a *pp*-initial sentence (*ana pāni danānim kakkum šakimma* and an *fn*-initial sentence (*eliš iṭṭul*). The apodosis is a single sentence, the nominal sentence *mār šiprim wēdûm iṭeḥḥi'am*. In the

⁴¹⁵ Winitzer 2017:198, 3.40 translates “If a Weapon was situated toward the front of the Strength and faced upward”. Jeyes 1989:32 in §14. *Diplomat and Spy* translates “a well known envoy will arrive” and her discussion of the *kabtum* and diviner.

protasis, the old information is carried by two constituents: the prepositional phrase *ana pāni danānim* ‘on the front of strength’ and the nominative subject *kakkum* ‘a weapon-mark’. The new information is carried by the two message-verbs *šakin* ‘is located’, *iṭṭul* ‘points at’, and the frozen noun *eliš* ‘above’. In the apodosis, the nominative subject *mār šiprim wēdûm* ‘the well-known messenger’ carries the old information. The new information is carried by the message-verb *iṭṭehhi’am* ‘is approaching’. The writer and addressee are inquiring about a messenger about whose existence they are aware, and the addressee is learning that this individual ‘is approaching’.

§5: ^rDIŠ¹- a-na pa-ni da-na-nim GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) <ša>-ap-li-iš iṭ-ṭù-ul⁴¹⁶ ne-
šum in-na-ma-ar-ma ⁶i-na pa-ni a-wi⁴¹⁷-lim pa-ag-ra-am i-na-di

lu-ú LÚ.KÚR-rum pa-ag-ra-am i-na-a-di⁴¹⁸

If a weapon-mark on the front of the strength points downwards⁴¹⁹

– a lion will be seen⁴²⁰ and in front of the man it will lay a corpse;

or the enemy will lay the corpse.

⁴¹⁶ Winitzer 2017:198, 3.40 reads “šumma ana pāni danānim kakkum <(ša-ki-im-ma) š>apliš iṭṭul”.

⁴¹⁷ Written BU as pointed out by Winitzer 2017:41 2.28 footnote 41, but see parallel in line 8 of this text, he translates “(Either) a lion will be seen and it will lay a corpse down in front of the city gate, or: the enemy will lay a corpse down”. In his footnote 42 Winitzer 2017 cites Bottéro 1992:132 “a lion, after having killed someone before the city-gate, will be killed himself”. Also in CAD N/2: 194.

⁴¹⁸ Winitzer 2017:242, 4.9 translates “If a Weapon was facing below, toward the Strength => (either) a lion will be seen and it will lay a corpse down before a man; or: an enemy will lay a corpse down”, cf also Winitzer 2017:242, 4.9.

⁴¹⁹ Winitzer 2017:198, 3.40 translates “If a Weapon <(was situated)> toward the front of the Strength and faced downward”.

⁴²⁰ In a dream?

The protasis of omen 5 is composed of one sentence: the *pp*-initial sentence *ana pāni danānim kakkum <ša>pliš iṭṭul*. The apodosis is composed of three sentences: a nominal sentence (*nēšum innamarma*), a *pp*-initial sentence (*ina pāni awīlim pagram inaddi*), and a nominal sentence (*(lū) nakrum pagram inaddi*). In the protasis, the old information is found in the prepositional phrase *ana pāni danānim* ‘on the front of the strength’, and in the nominative subject *kakkum* ‘a weapon-mark’. The new information is carried by two items: the frozen noun *<ša>pliš* ‘below’ and the message-verb *iṭṭul* ‘points (at)’. In the apodosis, the old information is found in three items: in the nominative subject *nēšum* ‘a lion’ of the first sentence, in the prepositional phrase in sentence-initial position *ina pāni awīlim* ‘in front of the man’, and in the nominative subject of the third sentence *lū nakrum* ‘the enemy’. The new information is found in the predicate of the message-verb *innamar* ‘will be seen’ of the first sentence. It is also peculiarly found twice mirrored in the *accusative* and message-verb of the second sentence *pagram inaddi* ‘will lay a corpse’, and in the same *accusative* and message-verb *pagram inaddi* of the third sentence. The writer and addressee both know the lion (whether an animal or a metaphor for a person) and the enemy. The new information communicates the potential actions that these entities or persons could carry out: they will lay a corpse.

§6: ⁷DIŠ- a-na pa-ni da-na-nim GIŠ.TUKUL (kakkum) iṭ-ṭù-ul ù i-na bi-ri<< šī⁴²¹>>-
 šu-nu ši-lum na-di ⁸ne-šum i-na pa-ni a-wi-lim pa-ag-ra-am i-na-di-i-ma id-da-ak

⁴²¹ In this second sentence the third person plural suffixed pronoun *šunu* ‘them’ on the frozen noun *biri* ‘between’ references a plural entity that should have been expressed in the first sentence and which should have completed the action ‘points at x’. No such word is found and I have understood this as an omission. I however note that the previous omen, omen 5, records that the ‘weapon-mark points downwards’ and the opposite ‘points upwards’ could have been expected here but except for the similarity of the first sentence of their respective protases, and the fact that the apodoses both speak of a lion, omen 5 and 6 are not parallel. I have followed Winitzer 2017:242’s transcription *bi-ri-<<šī>>-šu-nu*; footnote 34 notes CAD:247 also and says that *bi-ri-ti!(šī)-šu-nu* is also possible.

*If a weapon-mark on the front of the strength points <at [something plural?⁴²²]>
and a hole is set in between them*

- the lion will lay a corpse in front of the man and he will be killed

The protasis of omen 6 is made of two *pp*-initial sentences: *ana pāni danānim kakkum iṭṭul*, and *(u) ina birišunu šilum nadi*. The apodosis is composed of two sentences also, the nominal sentence *nēšum ina pāni awīlim pagram inaddi(ma)*, and the verbal sentence *iddâk*. In the protasis, the old information is carried by four items. In the first sentence it is found in the prepositional phrase *ana pāni danānim* ‘on the front of the strength’ in the first sentence in the nominative subject *kakkum* ‘a weapon-mark’. In the second sentence, the old information is found in the sentence-initial prepositional phrase *ina birišunu* ‘in between them’ and in the nominative subject *šilum* ‘a hole’. In the apodosis, the old information is found in only one constituent: the nominative subject *nēšum* ‘a lion’. The new information is carried by four items: the prepositional phrase *ina pāni awīlim* ‘in front of the man’, in the accusative *pagram* ‘a corpse’, and in the two message-verbs *inaddi* ‘will set’ and *iddâk* ‘will be killed’. Omen 6 continues with the theme of the lion and of the corpse found in the previous omen but introduces a new development: the lion ‘will be killed’.

§7: ^{9r}DIŠ^r i-na mu-ḫi da-na-nim ši-lum na-di

⁴²² Winitzer 2017:242, 4.9 suggests an omission and suggests the word below but the circumstance ‘in between them’ suggests an item that was plural. Winitzer 2017:242 translates “If a Weapon is facing (below?), toward the Strength and a hole was situated in between them => a lion will lay a corpse down before a man and (then) it will be killed”. Entire omen also in Bottéro 1974:166.

i-na e-ri-ib É.GAL⁴²³ (ēkallim) a-a-a-ma GiR.TAB⁴²⁴ (zuqīqīpum) ^{10r}i^r-za-aq-qá-at⁴²⁵

ša-nu-um šum-šu um-ma-nu-um i-na qá-qá-ar ¹¹šu-ul-mi-ša

na-ak-^rru-um i-ka-ša^r-[da-aš]-^rši-i-ma i-da^r-ak-šī⁴²⁶

If a hole in the top of the strength is set

– a scorpion will sting someone from among the palace personnel

other interpretation: the army is in its place of safety;

(but) the enemy will reach it, and will defeat it⁴²⁷

Omen 7 closes this omen texts with an apodosis that contains four sentences. Its protasis is composed of a single *pp*-initial sentence *ina muḥḥi danānim šilum nadi*. The apodosis is composed of a *pp*-initial sentence *ina ērib ēkallim ayyumma zuqīqīpu izaqqat*, a *primary nominal* sentence *ummānum ina qaqqar šulmiša*, a *basic nominal* sentence *nakrum ikašša[daš]šima*, and a verbal sentence *idâksi*. In the protasis, the old information is found in the prepositional phrase *ina muḥḥi danānim* ‘in the crown of the strength’ and in the nominative subject *šilum* ‘a hole’. The message-verb *nadi* ‘is set’ carries the new information. In the first apodotic sentence, the old information is carried by the prepositional phrase *ina ērib*

⁴²³ Re *ērib ekallim* Winitzer 2017:73 footnote 148 says “while *ērib ekallim* refers literally to persons, not space, it seems clear that this term’s choice here intends to underscore the privileges of this functionary concerning the entry (*erēbum*) into the palace’s more private areas.”

⁴²⁴ *zuqīqīpu*.

⁴²⁵ Apodosis also cited in CAD E:292 *ērib ekalli*. Bottéro 1974:166. Parallel YOS 25:33. George 2013:166, Note 22’ (omen 23’) transliterates this omen up to *izaqqat*.

⁴²⁶ I follow George’s transliteration in George 2013:166 note 32’ (§43). Omen restored in George from (omen 43) CDLI P431302 no.24, 2013:163 translated “other interpretation: the enemy will catch up with your army in friendly territory and defeat it [...]” Winitzer 2017:74 2.81 transcribes the apodosis (from *ina ērib* to *idâksi*) and translates “A scorpion will sting someone from among the palace personnel; its second interpretation: (concerning) the army – the enemy will catch up and defeat it in friendly territory.”

⁴²⁷ Reading taken from George 2013:166, note 32’ (omen 43 of CDLI P431302 no.24). *ummānum* is in the nominative but acts as the object, and a resumptive pronoun (feminine singular) are on the verbs.

ēkallim ‘from among the palace personnel’, and by the nominative subject *zuqiqīpu* ‘a scorpion’. In the second sentence, the old information is found in the nominative topic *ummānum* ‘the army’.

In the third sentence, the nominative subject *nakrum* ‘the enemy’ carries the old information. The fourth sentence does not explicitly state a subject or topic but it is contained in the gender and number of the verb ‘he’. The new information is carried by accusative *ayyamma* ‘someone’ and the message-verb *izaqqat* ‘will sting’ in the first sentence. In the second sentence, the prepositional phrase *ina qaqqar šulmiša* ‘in its place of safety’ belongs to the predicate and represents the new information. In the third sentence, the message-verb with pronoun *ikašša[daš]šima* ‘will reach it’ carries the new information while in the fourth sentence, the message-verb *idâk* ‘will kill’ and the accusative target expressed as a third person singular feminine suffixed pronoun *-ši* attached to the verb ‘it’ convey the new information. The information value of these apodoses show that the writer and addressee both begin their exchange about entities and persons that they know: scorpions, the army, the enemy, palace personnel. The addressee is being informed as to the action of these persons, creatures or things. Being stung, finding a place of safety, being conquered and/or killed are all potentialities and risks.

5.5 Application 3 - YOS 10 59

YOS 10 59 is a text composed of ten omen readings interested in the surface of the gall bladder. The opening sentence of omen 1 to omen 7 is *martum mēdehtum edhessi* ‘(if) patches cover it, the gall bladder!’. The protases of omen 8 and 10 comment on *mašrāhum*, ‘the cystic duct’ of the gall bladder, and the protasis of omen 9 focuses on the gall bladder’s *tigitali agā'im*, the ‘t. of a crown’. The

sentence *martum mēdehtum edhessi* is composed of two independent nouns marked by the marker {um} and a verb onto which a suffixed pronoun is attached (-šī). This suffixed pronoun is a third singular feminine that either resumes the feminine noun *martum*, ‘the gall bladder’, found in sentence initial position, or the feminine noun *mēdehtum* ‘patches’ in middle position. The verb *edēhum* expresses ‘to cover with patches or with a network’ (CAD E:24-25).

Finding a resumptive suffixed pronoun on the verb is specific to accusative-initial sentences. Accusative-initial sentences are the only sentence construction among the protases and apodoses I have examined where whenever the verb is marked by a resumptive suffixed pronoun, an accusative is found in sentence-initial position. I presented these sentences in section 3.3 (group 2 accusative-initial sentences with a resumptive suffixed pronoun on the verb, cf. 3.3.1.A.1). Yet here, although the verb carries a resumptive suffixed pronoun, the sentence-initial constituent is a feminine noun marked by the {um ~ u}-case ending (*mar-tum*) not an {am} case ending.. Two analyses are therefore possible. The first is that *mar-tum* expresses *martam* (mar-TUM) and represents an accusative. The second is that *martum* is an {um ~ u}-case frozen noun ‘on the gall-bladder’ (cf. 4.4.1 and 4.4.4.A) and illustrates cases of *fn-initial* sentences in which verbs carry a resumptive suffixed pronoun. I hesitate to create a group (*fn + nom + verb-suff*) for *fn-initial* sentences in which verbs always carry a resumptive pronoun because examples of this are only found in YOS 10 59. I therefore lean toward interpreting *martum* as *martam*. If no resumptive suffixed pronoun had been found on the verb, I would have leant toward analysing *martum* as a frozen noun and the sentence as an *fn-initial* sentence. I have analysed *mēdehtum* as the nominative subject. I have also noted that when *martum mēdehtum edhessi* is used in a protasis, the responding apodosis is an *accusative-initial* sentence also. The recurrence of the ‘new set’ at the beginning of sentences makes YOS 10 59 a remarkable text.

§1: 1^r DIŠⁿ mar-tum 1^r me-de-eḫⁿ-tum ed-ḫe-sí a-wi-1^r lamⁿ [...]

If patches cover it, the gall bladder! – ... will ... the man!

The protasis of omen 1 is composed of only one sentence. The apodosis is broken but given the space, it is likely that it was composed of only one sentence also. Despite the damage the first word of the apodosis is visible: the sentence-initial accusative noun *awīlam*, ‘the man’. With this sentence-initial constituent, the protasis opens with the new information. The *message*-verb of the protasis *edḥet* ‘covers’ also carries new information. This suffixed pronoun *-ši* on the verb resumes *martum* ‘the gall bladder’ and I have interpreted its information value as new information also. In the protasis, the old information is carried by *mēdeḥtum*, ‘the patchwork’. The apodosis also opens with its new information: the sentence-initial accusative *awīlam*, ‘the man’. The new information is distributed in the same location in both the protasis and apodosis.

§2 DIŠ *mar-tum me-de-eḥ-tum ed-ḥe-ši-ma me-e-ša ú²-[...]-x-ma²*

a-wi-lam mu-ur-ṣum i-ša-ba-sú-ma i-ba-lu-u[ṭ]

If patches cover it, the gall bladder! and its fluid ...

- the disease will seize him, the man! but he will live.

The protasis of omen 2 is composed of two sentences and the apodosis is also composed of two sentences. The first sentence of the protasis is entire but the second sentence is broken and it maybe that it ended with a third and short sentence. This first sentence of the protasis is the same as in omen 1 and begins with the new information first, *martum* ‘on the gall bladder’. The first sentence of the apodosis is an *accusative*-initial sentence that introduces the new information via the accusative *awīlam* ‘the man’. The suffixed pronoun *-šu* attached to the

message-verb *išabbat* ‘will seize’ resumes the accusative in sentence-initial position (*awīlam*). In the protasis, the old information is carried by the nominative subject *muršum* ‘the illness’. The second sentence of the apodosis is a verbal sentence composed of a single item, the verb *iballu[t]* ‘he will live’. This message-verb carries the new information. Like in omen 1, in omen 2 the new information in the protasis (the ‘gall bladder’) and the new information in the apodosis (*awīlam* ‘the man’) are located at the beginning of their respective sentences. Both indicate that an important piece of new information is placed forward: things are happening for or against ‘the man’.

§3 ^{3a}DIŠ^ñ mar-tum me-de-^reh^ñ-tum ed-*he-si-i-ma*

i-na i-[mi-tim ir]-^rpi^ñ-iš-ma ^{3b}*i-na šu-me-lim iq-^rti-in^ñ*

*er-^rše^ñ-et^r LÚ^ñ.KÚR (nakrim) t[a-ta-ab]-^rba-al^ñ*⁴²⁸

If patches cover it, the gall bladder! and

it became wide in the right but thin in the left

- you will carry away the population of your enemy

The protasis of omen 3 is made of three sentences, and its apodosis is made of a single sentence. The first sentence of the protasis of omen 3 is the same as that found in omen 1 and 2. The second and third sentences of the protasis of omen 3 are circumstantial sentences. They introduce the old information via the prepositional phrase. In the protasis, the old information is carried by three items: by the nominative noun *mēdehtum*, ‘the patchwork’, and two sentence-initial prepositional sentences *ina i[mittim* ‘in the right’ and *ina šumēlim* ‘in the left’. In the apodosis, the old information is carried by a subject incorporated in the verb

⁴²⁸ Winitzer 2017:226, 3.88 translates “If (concerning) the gallbladder – a patchwork was covering it and it was wide in the right and narrow in the left => you will plunder the territory of the enemy”.

in gender and number: the ‘you’ second person singular. The apodosis of omen 3 is an accusative-initial sentence and communicates the new information via *eršet LÚ.KÚR (nakrim)* ‘the population of the enemy’. The message-verb *tatabbal* ‘will carry away’ also carries new information and informs the addressee that property is about to be ‘taken’. In this scenario, this is a gain for the ‘you’. Omen 3 and omen 4 are an opposite pair. The opposition is made in the protasis via the direction of the ‘widening’ and the ‘thinning’. The reversal has an effect on the events introduced in the apodosis: the carrying away of the population gained by the ‘you’ switches to the carrying away of the population ‘to the enemy’.

§4 ^{4a} *DIŠ* ¹ *mar-tum me^l(diš)-de-eḫ-tum ṛed¹-eḫ-sí-i-ṛma*

i¹-na ṛšu-me-lim ir-pi¹-iš-ma ^{4b} *i¹-na i-mi-tim iq-ti-in*

ṛLÚ¹.KÚR-ṛka (nakarka) er¹-še-[et-ka it]-ta-ṛba-al¹

If patches cover it, the gall bladder! and

it became wide in the left but thin in the right

*- your enemy will carry away your population*⁴²⁹

Omen 4 is structured like omen 3. Its protasis is made of three sentences, and its apodosis is made of a single sentence. The first sentence of the protasis of omen 4 is similar to omen 1, 2, and 3. The second and third sentences of the protasis are circumstantial sentences, and as in omen 3. The apodosis of omen 4 is a nominal sentence that begins with the old information carried by the nominative subject *LÚ.KÚR-ka (nakarka)* ‘your enemy’. In this sentence, the new information is introduced toward the end of the sentence via the accusative target *eršetka* ‘your

⁴²⁹ See Winitzer 2017:226, 3.88 and footnote above.

population’ and the message-verb *ittabal* ‘he will carry away’. In the apodoses of omen 3 and omen 4, the new information informs the addressee of a potential plunder (*tabālum*).

§5: ^{5a}DIŠ *mar-tum me-de-eḫ-tum ed-ḫe-sí-i-ma*

me-de-eḫ-ṛ ta-ša [pe⁴³⁰]-ṛ ši-at¹

^{5bṛ} *na¹-am-ta-li^d UTU*

If patches of tissue cover it, the gall bladder!

and its patches [are white] - eclipse of the sun⁴³¹

Omen 5 continues the series of omens opening with *martum mēdeḫtum edḫessi* ‘(if) patches cover it, the gall bladder!’ The protasis is composed of two sentences. The second sentence of the protasis is a nominal sentence composed of a nominative subject that carries the old information *mēdeḫtaša* ‘its patches’. The new information in this sentence is carried by the message-verb *peši’at* ‘is white’. I will not comment on the apodosis as it is a phrase not a sentence. I will not comment on omen §6 because it is badly broken.

§7: ¹[DIŠ *mar-tum me-de]-eḫ-tum ed-ḫe-ṛ sí-i¹-ma^{2ṛ}*

i-na mu¹-ùḫ-ḫi me-de-eḫ-tim pa-da-an i-mi-tim pa-ri-ik

³*ru-ba-am ša ma-a-at nu-ku-úr-TUM qá-tum i-ka-ša-ad*

⁴³⁰ Khait 2014:81 reconstructs “[pe]-ši-at” : “the substance covering it is white (?)”

⁴³¹ Khait 2014:81 translates “If the gall-bladder is covered with a fleshy substance and the substance covering it is white (?): solar eclipse (lit.: eclipse of Šamaš).”

[If] patches cover it, [the gall bladder]! and

the right path is obstructed in the top of the patchwork

- the hand will reach the prince of a hostile land!⁴³²

The protasis of omen 7 is composed of two sentences. As in the previous protases of omen 1, 2, 3, and 4, a ‘patchwork’ covers the gall bladder. The second sentence is a *pp*-initial sentence that introduces the old information via the sentence-initial prepositional phrase *ina muḥḥi mēdeḥtim* ‘in the top of the patchwork’. The second part of the old information in this sentence is carried by the nominative subject *padān imittim* ‘the right path’. The verb *parik* ‘is obstructed’ is the carrier of the new information. The apodosis is composed of only one sentence, an *augmented* accusative-initial sentence. The new information is placed sentence-initially via the accusative *rubâm* ‘the prince’. The old information is *qātum* ‘the hand’ or action. Because *qātum* carries the old information, it represents an entity or unidentified power that is known to speaker and addressee, to the diviner and client. The new information in this apodotic sentence is about the action that could potentially take place: reaching or conquering an enemy prince.

§8: ⁴DIŠ mar-tum i-na ma-aš⁴³³-ra-ḥi-ša ed-ḥe-sí

⁵ru-ba-am šu-ut re-ši-šu i-du-ku-uš

If it (i.e. patches) covers it, the gall bladder, in its cystic duct!

- his eunuchs will kill him, the prince!

⁴³² CAD N2:331, 4. *māt nukurti*.

⁴³³ Glassner 2009b:20 discusses the scribe’s sign choice, the use of AZ to write -AŠ- for *mašraḥum* in ma-aš-ra-ḥi-ša (l. 8) and ÁŠ to write ma-aš-ra-aḥ (line10).

The construction of the protasis of omen 7 breaks away from the structure of the previous omens and protases. The protasis here is composed of a single sentence. I have continued interpreting the sentence-initial *martum* ‘gall bladder’ as the direct object of the verb *edḥessi* ‘covers it’ and understand the protasis as an accusative-initial sentence. The protasis contains a prepositional phrase *ina maṣrāḥiša* ‘in its cystic duct’ that carries part of the new information. The apodosis is composed of a single sentence also. It is an *extended accusative*-initial sentence that introduces the new information first *rubâm*, ‘the prince’. The old information in the apodosis is *šūt rēšišu*, ‘his eunuchs’. The resumptive suffixed pronoun *-šu* ‘his’, is a reference to *rubâm* ‘the prince’, the constituent in sentence-initial position and carries part of the new information, like the term it co-refers. The information ‘his eunuchs’ is known to both the writer and addressee. The information given as new by the writer is the action that this group known to both is about to take, that of killing. The target of the murderous act is important enough that it is signalled at the beginning of the sentence: the prince is in danger.

§9: ⁶DIŠ mar-tum ki-i-ma ti-gi-tal-li⁴³⁴ a-ga-im⁴³⁵ ⁷ti-tu-ra-tim i-ta-da-a-at

⁸a-mu-ut šar-ru-ki-in ša ki-ša-tam ⁹i-be-lu

If the gall bladder is always set with ‘bridges’ like the t. of a crown

- omen of Sargon who controlled the world⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ CAD T:397-398 *tigitallu*: meaning unknown. Could the reading be *ti-gi-RI-li*? *tigrilu* (malformed child) appears in Leichty’s Izbu omens, but written *ti-ig-ri-AN* in the context of the malformed child of a human being (a woman) not an animal. CAD T:398 also references the writing *Ti-ig-ri-lum*, but for a first name. CAD T: 438 *titurru*: causeway, bridge. [the word *tigû* CAD T *tigû* references a stringed instrument, tallu A 1: crosspiece, pole, 2 transversal dividing line].

⁴³⁵ or *a-pi-im* as referenced in CAD T:397 & 438 (4.); to be read *apum* (reed)? *appum* (nose) in other YOS 10 texts is written *ap-pi* in the same syntactic situation (as the second element in a construct state). I prefer the reading *agûm* *crown* because of the reference to Sargon in the apodosis, with a preference for *aga’im* and not *agêm*.

⁴³⁶ Transliteration in JCS 1:255. Cited in CAD N *nadû* 3b-1’.

The protasis of omen 9 is composed of a single sentence, and so is its apodosis. Both protasis and apodosis are nominal sentences. The nominative subject of the protasis *martum* ‘gall bladder’ carries the old information. The new information is carried by three items, the *kīma*-phrase *kīma tigitalli aga’im* ‘like the t. of a crown, the accusative object *titturātīm* ‘bridges’, and the verb *ittadât* ‘is always set’. The apodosis begins with the old information *amūt šarru-kīn* ‘omen of Sargon’. The new information is carried by the subjunctive clause *ša kiššatam ibēlu* ‘who controlled the world’.

§10: ¹⁰DIŠ ma-ás-ra-aḥ mar-tim ši-rum ka-ti-im

¹¹ru-ba-am t[i]-ir É.GAL-šu (ēkallišu) i-du-ku-uš

If fleshy tissue covers the cystic duct of the gall bladder!

- members of his palace will kill him, the prince!

The protasis of omen 10 is composed of a single sentence, and so is its apodosis. Both are *accusative*-initial sentences. In the protasis, the sentence-initial accusative *maṣrāḥ martim* carries the new information, while the second part of the new information is found carried by the verb, the G stative *katim* ‘covers’. The nominative subject *šīrum*, the ‘fleshy tissue’ carries the old information. In the apodosis, the new information is carried by the accusative constituent *rubâm*, ‘the prince’, placed sentence-initially. The new information is carried by two other items, the message-verb of this sentence *idukkū* ‘they will kill’ and *-šu* the suffixed pronoun attached to the verb and resumes the sentence-initial accusative. The old information is carried by the nominative subject *tīr ēkallišu*, ‘his palace members’.

As in omen 8, a serious danger is being faced by the prince or noble *rubâm* and this information is so important that it is introduced first.

5.6 Chapter summary

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that searching for the information value of terms in OB omen sentences, and distinguishing old information from new information can open new avenues of research for studies interested in OB omens and provide an unexplored perspective into texts for which we no longer have any live informants. Identifying the information value of sentence types and of their constituents can make visible the information known to both the diviner and the client (old information) and the information that the diviner is discovering and imparts as new to the client (new information) (section 5.1). To present my readings, I divided this chapter in two parts. In the first, I summarised my statements and conclusions on the function of the three sentence types I investigated in the previous chapters, and listed the information-value of their constituents in *a taxonomic model of information value in OB omens* presented in table 5 (section 5.2.A). In the second part of this chapter, I applied my conclusions to three texts taken from the YOS 10 collection: YOS 10 15 (section 5.3), YOS 10 21 (section 5.4) and YOS 10 59 (section 5.5). In each omen text, I singled out the old information from the new information, for both protases and apodoses. I have termed these applications *functionalist readings* because they are based on the identification of the function of sentence types and of their constituents.

6. Thesis conclusion

The aim of my thesis is to bring to the study of Old Babylonian omen texts two branches of research well established in Arabic studies. The first is the study of sentence types set within a tripartite model that focuses on the first constituent of sentences to build categorisations. The second is the study of the function of sentence types (their information value) in a model that anticipates two contrastive dynamics: a transfer of *old to new* information, and another from *new to old* information. I chose to study the sentence structure of Old Babylonian omen protases and apodoses because of the structural stability of these texts (section 1). OB omen texts are lists of sentences in which each sentence is composed of two parts, a protasis and an apodosis. Protases and apodoses are linked to each other conceptually by a relation of symbols but they are independent from each other grammatically. Syntactically they can be studied separately. To study the OB omen corpus as a source of sentences, I separated protases from apodoses, and separated independent sentences within each protasis and apodosis. I used these data to draw up a typology of sentence structures and a typology of their information value (section 1.3.B).

I used seven basic theoretical constants taken from Arabic grammatical theory to investigate my data (section 1.2). My typology is grounded in a system in which three sentence types are identified based on the identity of the sentence-initial constituent (section 1.2.1 and 1.2.2). In Arabic grammatical theory, intelligibility and frequency are key criteria used to identify the *basic* form of sentence structures (1.2.3). The *basic* frame of a sentence has branches. It can be reduced, augmented and extended (1.2.4) and through these branches I have attempted to measure two tactics of movement, preposing and delaying (1.2.5). In this model, predicates that are entirely nominal or circumstantial are viewed as standard, and the verb is neither the fundamental nor the core constituent to sentence-making (1.2.6). Overall, the Arabic model concentrates on sentence constructions to trace their function in relation to each other, and to identify the information value of their constituent. The technical terminology used to name the parts of the

sentence immediately identifies the information value of the topic, the *mubtada'*, the carrier of the old information, and the predicate, the *xabar*, the carrier of new information (1.2.7). I have adopted this terminology to identify the information value of sentence types and of constituents to draw up a typology of functions in OB omen sentences. I have used my assessment of functions to read OB omens and distinguish between the old information in a sentence, known to both the diviner and the client, and the new information known only to the diviner and transferred as new to the client.

6.1 Results

Result 1: a tripartite model of OB omen protases and apodoses

The initial focus of the Arabic model on the syntactical identity of the first constituent of sentences, the *mubtada'*, has been particularly useful and precise in making emerge the traits that all sentence structures share in the OB omen corpus. Nominative nouns, accusative nouns and circumstances regularly occur in sentence-initial position in both protases and apodoses. I have categorised these occurrences as evidence that three sentence types are active in the OB omen corpus: the *nominal* sentence (section 2), the *accusative*-initial sentence (section 3), and the *circumstantial* sentence (section 4). The Arabic model's focus on the content of the predicate, the *xabar*, has been equally useful in enabling me to draw up categories that apply to all sentence types. Predicates have a *primary* forms (entirely nominal or circumstantial) and a *basic* form (verbs alone or combined with other constituents). This division has highlighted that entirely nominal predicates (*nom + nom* sentences, section 2.2) and circumstantial predicates (*nom + pp/fn* sentences, section 2.3) are common structures in the corpus. Following the construction of predicates has had the effect of drawing out the shared traits of structures together with the features that differentiate them. The *primary* sentence has been useful in showing that *nominal* sentences and

circumstantial sentences can be entirely nominal or circumstantial but the accusative-initial sentence is unique in that a verb is always found in this sentence type. The accusative-initial sentence appears to be founded on the exclusive relationship of a verb and its accusative object (section 3.2.2). I have also found that concentrating on the constituents of the predicate has brought out the use of resumptive suffixed pronouns in sentences, a construction tactic that runs throughout all sentence types. This tactic is particularly frequent in accusative-initial sentences, where verbs are regularly marked by a resumptive suffixed pronoun (section 3.3). The marking of the verb with a resumptive suffixed pronoun that co-refers the sentence-initial constituent occurs in no other sentence type. Resumptive suffixed pronouns are found in nominal sentences and circumstantial sentences but in these sentence types, the resumptive suffixed pronoun is not located on the verb. It is instead typically found on a middle constituent that belongs to the same syntactical category as the element in sentence initial position (a second nominative in nominal sentences, or a second circumstance in circumstantial sentences) (sections 2.9, 3.2.4, 4.3.5 and 4.4.7). Lastly, using frequency and intelligibility as a criteria to categorise word-order patterns and identify the *basic* form has shown that the construction of all sentences operates on the same parameters: sentences can be reduced, augmented and extended. The results of my observations are presented in *structural maps* for each sentence type and their respective patterns at the end of each chapter (tables 1, 2, 3 and 4). It is my conclusion that the Arabic model as defined in this thesis could be fruitfully used as a standard tool in the study of Akkadian texts to draw out the rules that affect other types of texts in other periods.

Result 2: information value in OB omen sentences

Adopting the terminology of Arabic grammatical theory has had two immediate consequences on my identification of the function of sentences. First, I have understood all sentences to be composed of a *mubtada'* and a *xabar*. The *mubtada'*, the topic, carries old information and represents the information that is known by both a writer/speaker and his or her addressee. The *xabar*, predicate, carries new information and represents what the writer/speaker believes is not yet known by the addressee and must be made known to him or her. Second, I anticipated that two sentences types will contrast each other in function: one will introduce old information first while the other will introduce new information first. I have followed the functional analysis of the Arabic model with the result that in my model, nominal sentences convey old information first via the nominative (section 2.1). The contrastive sentence to this dynamic is the accusative-initial sentence that introduces new information first via the accusative, a structure I have interpreted as akin to exclamatory statements (section 3.1). Arabic grammatical theory has also brought a new perspective in how we understand *pp/fn + nominative noun* sentences. These *primary* circumstantial sentences are built on a predicative relationship in which the sentence-initial circumstance functions as the topic, the *mubtada'* of the sentence, and the nominative noun functions as the predicate, the *xabar*, because it expresses an indefinite (section 2.2.2). Following the Arabic model to analyse OB omen protases and apodoses has given rise to my typology of functions summarised in my *taxonomic model of old and new information in OB omens* (section 5.2.A and table 5). I have found that Arabic grammatical theory as defined in my thesis has provided parameters large enough to investigate all sentence structures and specific enough to reveal the uniqueness of their construction.

6.2 New grounds

From the extra-sentential to intra-sentential constituent

One sentence structure has been a focus of my discussions: the extended nominal sentence, abbreviated as the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence (sections 2.9 and 2.10). In this sentence, two independent nominatives are found, the second linked to the first by a resumptive suffixed pronoun. In this situation, the resumptive suffixed pronoun co-refers the first constituent. In standard Assyriological grammars, these sentences are analysed as ‘casus pendens’ sentences, a construction in which the sentence-initial nominative ‘hangs’ outside the sentence and is extra-sentential to it. I have found that the sentence-initial nominative of this sentence structure can be interpreted as an *intra*-sentential constituent that governs a complex predicate. The Arabic model points to the ability of a Semitic language to create complex properties such as complex predicates. In my model, the *nom + nom-suff + x* sentence is analysed as an *extended* sentence defined by the use it makes of the resumptive suffixed pronoun (2.10.E). Both the accusative-initial sentence and the circumstantial sentence also have an *extended* structure and all share the same traits: two independent constituents from the same syntactical category and a resumptive pronoun that links both constituents (respectively sections 3.2.4, 3.3.1.D, 4.3.5, and 4.4.7). I have found that the use of resumptive pronouns is particularly productive in accusative-initial sentences and gives rise to an entire group defined by the location of a resumptive pronoun on the verb (section 3.3). This construction is only present among accusative-initial sentences.

From ‘adverb’s to frozen nouns

Throughout my thesis, I have proposed to abandon the term ‘adverb’ and replaced it with the term *frozen noun* to neutrally identify invariable words that communicate a spatial or temporal value (section 4.1.B). Data shows that invariables are not automatically linked to the presence or absence of verbs in the sentence. The OB omen corpus demonstrates that sentences can be entirely born out of the predicative relationship between a noun and a frozen noun. I could have analysed these predicative relationships as exceptions and the occurrence of ‘adverbs’ in sentences that have a verb as normative but my model is tripartite and identifies structures that occur frequently as normative. Using the term *frozen noun* has provided me with a neutral term to describe these words when they are combined with entirely nominal topics or predicates. The term *frozen noun* fits current descriptions of the ‘adverb’ in current Assyriological scholarship.

The grammaticalization of nouns for body parts

My discussion of circumstances has shown that a number of nouns for body parts are so frequently used as frozen nouns that they may be said to be enriching the category of circumstances, and also to be slowly separating from their nominal origin by a process called grammaticalization (section 4.5). This process could be further studied to show that other words are sliding from the class of nouns to the class of circumstances and may be migrating away from their lexical origin. Nouns for body parts illustrate this process and highlight the unusual use of common nouns that denote a surface as locatives in the {um ~ u} case, especially visible when they occur in sentence-initial position.

6.3 Translation proposals

The *nom + nom-suff* unit as a possessive construction

I have noted that I have translated the *nom + nom-suff* unit of an extended sentence as an *x's y* unit. I have done so because I have interpreted the first nominative noun to be a part of a possessive relationship created through the resumptive effect of the suffixed pronoun (section 2.10.F). I have interpreted the link between both these words to come from a status that is shared and transferred from the suffixed pronoun to the sentence-initial nominative. The suffixed pronoun is bound as the possessor in its *nom-suff* unit, and resumption could be said to operate a transference of status that creates a possessive construction. This construction could be investigated as a third type of possessive construction in Akkadian.

The accusative-initial sentence as an exclamatory sentence

I have interpreted the accusative-initial sentence as a sentence that contrasts the nominative sentence, and communicates new information. To show this in translation, I have translated accusative-initial sentences as exclamatory sentences (section 3.5.3). I have used exclamation marks at the end of these sentences to signal two aspects of these structures: 1) the information value of the accusative as the new information imparted by the speaker/writer, information about which the addressee must be immediately be made aware; 2) the distinct choice of construction made by the ancient writer.

The nominative of the *pp/fn + nom* sentence as an indefinite

I have adopted the analysis of the *pp/fn + nominative noun* sentence as a construction in which the nominative noun in this location is indefinite (section 4.2.2). In my translations of these constructions, the nominative noun expresses an indefinite.

6.4 Further studies

I designed a model focused on the structure of sentences and on their information value to bring a different perspective to the study of Old Babylonian grammar, and to open new grounds in the study of Old Babylonian omen texts by using functionalism. The Arabic model has shown that it can enrich our current interpretations of grammar and syntax. This approach can be used to study other corpora in other periods to reassess the rules of construction of the Akkadian language. Also, the data I have collected strongly points to one overall aspect that must be reassessed: the categorisation of the Akkadian language as an SOV language. The frequency and sheer number of accusative-initial sentences is proof that the *object-subject-verb* sentence (*OSV*) is not only core to the structure of Old Babylonian omens, but is potentially a core structure to the Akkadian language. The same can be said of circumstantial sentences, particularly of *pp + nom + verb* sentences. It is my conclusion that the categorisation of the Akkadian language as an SOV language can be challenged by a full investigation of *O(S)V* sentences in other corpora and periods.

Glossary of terms

Abbreviations

Abbrev.	Term
acc	Accusative
adj	Adjective
gen	Genitive
fn	frozen noun
nbr	number
nom	nominative
pp	prepositional phrase
subj	subjunctive

Terminology

Term	Description
accusative-initial sentence	An independent sentence type whose basic structure displays a recipient in sentence-initial position in the accusative-case (excludes frozen nouns in the –a case)
adjunct	A syntactic phenomenon exclusive to verbal sentences in which an element is understood as dispensable
<i>basic</i> accusative-initial sentence	An accusative-initial sentence whose <i>basic</i> structure is ACC + NOM + V

<i>basic</i> circumstantial sentence	A circumstantial sentence whose basic structure is <i>PP/FN + NOM</i>
<i>basic</i> nominal sentence	a nominal sentence whose <i>basic</i> structure is <i>NOM + PP</i>
basic structure	The unmarked sentence of a sentence type
circumstance or <i>ḍarf</i>	Syntactical description of prepositional phrases and frozen nouns A core constituent of the circumstantial sentence or <i>jumla ḍarfiyya</i>
circumstantial sentence or <i>jumla ḍarfiya</i>	An independent sentence type whose basic structure displays a prepositional phrase or a frozen noun in sentence-initial position
core constituent	Sentence element whose high frequency of occurrence in a given structure shows it is indispensable
constituent	Any inflected word found occurring in a sentence. I have used this interchangeably with 'element'
element	Any inflected word found occurring in a sentence. I have used this word interchangeably with 'constituent'
extended sentence	A sentence whose basic structure has been extended by the addition of a resumptive suffixed pronoun and an independent word from the same category as the sentence-initial word

first sentence	A sentence that occurs first in a given protasis or apodosis
frequency	The number of times a word-order patterns occurs in the text examined
frozen noun	A noun used circumstantially
initial position	Single element or phrase at the head of a sentence
middle position	Single element or phrase in between the first element at the head of the sentence and the last element at the end of the sentence
<i>mubtadā'</i> or the 'beginner'	<i>mubtada'</i> in Arabic means 'the element that begins (something)'. The <i>mubtada'</i> is the element that 'begins' the scalar transmission of information. This element is said to convey the old or least-newsworthy information Describes a function.
nominal sentence or <i>jumla ismiya</i>	An independent sentence type whose basic structure displays a nominative noun in sentence-initial position. This sentence type can be strictly composed of nouns or include a verb.
nominative noun	A noun that acts as the topic in a nominal sentence or subject in a verbal sentence Excludes frozen nouns in the –u case
nouns	One of three classes of words or parts of speech.

objective clause	a type of relative sentence that has the same function as the 'direct object' of a verb
obligatory first position	An element found at the head of a sentence because of the elision of the core sentence-initial element
particles	One of three classes of words. Includes prepositions and enclitics.
phrase	A grammatical unit incomplete syntactically and semantically
preposition	The core constituent of a prepositional phrase Does not occur alone and governs the genitive
prepositional phrase	A phrase whose basic structure is made of two core constituents: a <i>preposition + a noun</i> or a <i>preposition + suffix pronoun</i>
recipient or <i>maf3'ūl</i>	The direct or indirect object in a verbal sentence
second sentence	A sentence that follows a first sentence in a given protasis or apodosis
sentence	A grammatical unit that can be detached from the text in which it occurs and when separated remains grammatically complete and semantically intelligible.
sentence type	A recurring sentence construction identified as dominant
strictly nominal environments	Sentences solely composed of nouns and/or particles

subject or <i>fā'il</i>	Element that governs a verb in a verbal sentence
third sentence	A sentence that follows a first and second sentence in a given protasis or apodosis
topic	Element that governs a nominal predicate or a clause
ultimate position	Single element or phrase placed at the end in the sentence and marking the end boundary of a grammatical unit
unmarked sentence	A sentence construction that occurs the most frequently Considered to represent the <i>basic</i> type due to its frequency
verb or <i>hadīth</i>	One of three classes of words. Includes statives Its function is to carry a message (<i>hadīth</i>).
verbal environment	Independent or relative sentences in which a verb occurs
verbal sentence or <i>jumla fi'liya</i>	An independent grammatical unit solely composed of a verb. Typically the result of a second sentence in a protasis or an apodosis, or of a clause.
word	A single independent unit inflected and semantically meaningful This study identifies three categories of words:

	Nouns, Verbs and Particles
word-order pattern	A group of elements whose distribution follows a distinct pattern. Must occur at least three times in the texts examined
<i>xabar</i> or information	In Arabic, <i>xabar</i> means information The <i>xabar</i> is the element that conveys the new or more-newsworthy information Describes a function.

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Table 2. The structural map of the *accusative*-initial sentence

Table 3. The structural map of the *pp*-initial sentence

Table 4. The structural map of the *fn*-initial sentence

Table 5. A taxonomic model of functions in OB omens

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