THE PRAGMATICS OF THE QUOTATIVE FRAME: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HOMER AND MESOPOTAMIAN MYTHOLOGICAL NARRATIVE

by

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Abstract

This study looks to consider how the narrator uses the boundaries of speech within a narrative to guide and influence their audience. This is done by looking at three specific aspects. Firstly, the quotative frame in Greek and Near-Eastern literature is considered. The Near-Eastern analysis provides a comprehensive documentation of the introductory and capping formulas used for direct speech in a range of Akkadian literature. The Greek analysis looks more specifically at the transitional phrase, which lies between two speeches and allows the narrator to encode information to help the audience understand how to appreciate the speeches.

Secondly, this study considers the role of interjections in Homeric narratives and how they are distinguished within the text due to their position at the start of speech. This prominence is utilised by the narrator to further influence the external audience into placing their focus on specific aspects and know where their sympathies are supposed to lie. The second chapter demonstrates that while both Greek and Akkadian languages can use interjections in similar ways, their use to influence audience as exhibited in the Homeric texts is lacking in the Near-Eastern material.

Thirdly, this study considers moments of silence in the text, specifically where the contents of a speech are dramatic enough to force characters in the text into silence, and thus shift back to narrative. Using the term siopic hiatus, the third chapter argues that the Homeric narrator creates an artificial threat to the narrative through this silence, which in reality foreshadows a progression of narrative. This contrasts with the Near-Eastern material, where such a feature is lacking. This demonstrates a higher level of performance and interactivity between narrator and audience in Greece than in the Near-East.

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Abbreviations

4R	Rawlinson, *Inscriptions of Western Asia*
ABL	Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*
ADD	Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
	5: MacMillan, *Some Cuneiform Tablets Bearing on the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Leipzig, 1906
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Cuneiform Texts
	1: Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur*
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Niles
	IV: Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia*
Borger, *Esarh.*	Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*
CCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets
Etym. M.	*Etymologicum Magnum*
KAR	Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*
Kienast ATHE	B. Kienast. *Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer*
LBAT	Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts. copied by T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier, prapared for publication by A. J. Sachs, with the cooperation of J. Schaumberger
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
	33: Eisser and Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe* 1
Or (NS)	*Orientalia* (Nova Series)
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
SBH	Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit*
STC	L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*
TCL	*Textes cuneiformes du Louvre*

	I: Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne*
	6: Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres d'Anu au temps des Séleucides*
TMB	F. Thureau-Dangin, Textes mathématiques babyloniens
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*
	16: Schroeder, *Altbabylonische Briefe*
YOS	Yale Oriental Studies, Babylonian Texts
	II: Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*
Weissbach Misc.	F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen* (= WVDOG 4)

List of Appendices:

Introduction

On the Origins of Homer (1.1)

ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις:

ὄρσο Θέτι: καλέει Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς.

τὴν δ᾽ ἠμείβετ᾽ ἔπειτα θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα:

τίπτέ με κεῖνος ἄνωγε μέγας θεός; αἰδέομαι δὲ

μίσγεσθ᾽ ἀθανάτοισιν, ἔχω δ᾽ ἄχε᾽ ἄκριτα θυμῷ.

εἶμι μέν, οὐδ᾽ ἅλιον ἔπος ἔσσεται ὅττί κεν εἴπῃ.

ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα κάλυμμ᾽ ἕλε δῖα θεάων

κυάνεον, τοῦ δ᾽ οὔ τι μελάντερον ἔπλετο ἔσθος

βῆ δ᾽ ἰέναι, πρόσθεν δὲ ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις

ἡγεῖτ᾽:[1]   [*Hom.Il.X*XIV.87-96][2]

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[1] And standing near she spoke, swift-footed Iris:

"Rise, Thetis: Zeus calls you, whose counsels are imperishable."

And her she answered then, the goddess Thetis of the silver-ankles:

"Why does that great god command me? I am ashamed

To mix with the immortals, and I have unceasing grief in my heart.

I will go, not in vain will the word be that he will speak."

So having spoken the goddess took a dark-coloured

Veil, than which no darker garment exists

And she went to go, and before wind-quick swift Iris

Led the way.

[2] Greek text follows (Murray, 1963, 1975, 1995, 1999)

The works of Homer[3] are preserved in many editions, translated into multiple languages, in a broad range of media. The text is readily available in physical print, split into sections for ready consumption, or digitally searchable, categorised and indexed for in-depth analysis. However, it is rare to engage Homer in its original medium. This short 10-line section from the *Iliad* begins with narrative using προσέφη to introduce the direct speech of Iris, a single line of verse that directly addresses Thetis and relays the command of Zeus. A single line beginning with τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα sandwiches narrative between speech, creating a conversation directed by the narrator. Following Thetis' speech, the narrator caps the conversation with ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα, showing that this is the end of speech and that now Thetis will take action. Depending on the edition of this text, such a passage can be presented as in the Greek above with no demarcation or as in the English translation, with punctuation making explicit what is narrative and what is speech. Even if we compare Greek texts, the physical presentation of the *Iliad* in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri with no spaces between words differs greatly from the Venetus A manuscript with spaces, critical marks, and scholia. Neither of these approaches how the piece would have been originally performed, nor are we able to reconstruct the original and we are left with a mere "artefact".[4] For Homer, we have a written version of an oral performance describing a conversation devised through oral composition. This attempt to reconstruct an "oral

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[3] The name *Homer* will be used throughout to refer to the "poet" of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Irrespective of the debate over whether Homer did or did not exist, the poems in their current form must have been created or compiled at a certain point in time by an individual (or individuals if one believes the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were separate). The use of "Homer", therefore stands as shorthand for either the man himself who created the version we are familiar with or pseudonymously the fabricated narrator of a text composed and compiled by numerous individuals over time.

[4] 'we still do not have an oral Iliad, because the poem has, somehow, become a text; and that has made all the difference. To put it another way, our Iliad is no longer an action, as it must have been if it was ever an oral composition-in-performance. Instead, it is an artefact.' (Martin, 1989)

Iliad" relies on a process more dramatic than when it was first written down. To reconstruct that version, we need to understand how "oral" and "graphic" texts differ:

> When applied to texts, "oral" in this sense implies that a given piece of writing does not display the features that are normal and expected in a writing culture: it came into existence without the premeditation that is usually involved in the production of written texts. Such a discourse has been written down and is "graphic" as to its medium, but it may be called "oral" as to its conception. (Bakker, 1997, p. 8)

Of course, an oral piece can be premeditated and devised, as it is rehearsed over time. This rehearsal creates discrepancies (however minor) between each performance and would prompt a Parry-Lord suggestion of the necessity of *aide-mémoires.*

The production of the Homeric texts as "oral" compositions raises questions about the history of Homer. Jensen (1999) compiles an extensive debate on the production of the written text and its division into 24 books, suggesting a date during the Greater Panathenaea under the Peisistratids, between 546 to 510 BC.[5] This rather contentious view was followed up with *Writing Homer* (2011), where Jensen argues for a dating of c. 522 BC. Andersen (2011) collates a range of essays into the *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, with West recognising that while 'a hundred years ago scholars of repute were happy to put the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the tenth or ninth century'

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[5] 'the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*…were written down in connection with one of the Greater Panathenaea during the rule of Peisistratids. The singer who had won first prize in the *agon* was engaged to dictate his successful song to the tyrant's scribe.' (Jensen, 1999, p. 29)

there is now a general consensus 'to put them between 750 and 600 (or at the very latest 520)' (West, 2011, p. 224). This shift from 9th/10th century to 8th/7th century places the production of the Homeric texts in the Orientalising Period.

As the dating of Homer has pushed later, this has required further consideration of cultural exchange. Parallel to this shift in archaic Greek chronology, scholars had begun to consider the context of Greece in terms of cultural exchange, with Güterbock (1948) comparing Hesiod with Hurrian mythology. Within a decade, Dornseiff had recognised that 'the days of an exclusive "classical" scholarship are over' (Dornseiff, 1956, p. 35). Walcot (1966) furthers Güterbock's analysis of Hesiod out of Anatolia into Mesopotamia, while his work with Lambert (1965) uses Babylonian theogony as a source of inspiration for Hesiod. Kirk (1970) and Duchemin (1975) began broadening the scope to wider Greek mythology, comparing the structure of narrative in mythological narrative. Burkert (1992) established the concept of the *Orientalizing Revolution* as Semitic influences on Greek culture c. 750-650 BC impacted not only on post-Homeric Greek literature such as Hesiod and the Homeric hymns, but also on the Homeric texts themselves. Penglase (1994) continued this analysis into the Homeric hymns and Hesiod with *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia*, using comparison between texts as evidence of cultural interaction. However, Penglase's work often uses the assumption of cultural interaction to suggest inter-textual references, excluding *sui generis* literary techniques or motifs. What also becomes clear is the different ways the disciplines approach their literature, with unique methodologies and terminology.

It should also be noted that while scholars such as Burkert were looking to the Near-East, Bernal (1987, 1991, 2006) was looking south and east to Afroasiatic origins for

Greek mythology in *Black Athene*. This fascinating – and highly contentious – series of publications was criticised heavily for archaeological and etymological missteps, but it brought the Eurocentric view of Classics into great focus, having an impact outside of Classical scholarship. Bernal's work did bring attention to the necessity to consider contemporary cultures outside of those usually falling under the remit of the Classical World, even if Bernal's approach to comparative study did not quite hit the mark.

The comparison between Greece and the Near East was brought to the widest attention by West (1997) in *The East Face of Helicon*, which provides a comparison of Greek literature with West Asiatic literature from Anatolia to Israel. West tries to bring consideration of Near Eastern influence to the forefront of Classical scholarship, rather than an existing on the periphery.[6] The question of the degree of permeability between the cultures and the means and extent of transmission are hampered by the separate disciplines – Classics and Assyriology. West's edition attempts to better bridge that gap to the benefit not only of any comparative study, but also to the benefit of each discipline. West sometimes relies on a cumulative argument, using an abundance of minor points of comparison to give an overall impression of Near Eastern influence. The edition excels most when it discusses inconsistencies in comparisons that reveal specific insights about the cultures. The wide-ranging analysis draws attention to some issues of translation, as the study of the origins of Greek myth was now ranging over such a broad area that linguistic expertise in every culture is impossible. Foster (2005) provides a range of Akkadian literature in translation for the English reader, though this separates the reader even further from the text. While

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[6] 'Near Eastern influence cannot be put down as a marginal phenomenon to be invoked occasionally in explanation of isolated peculiarities. It was pervasive at many levels and at most times.' (West, 1997, p. 59)

Classical texts benefit from continuous textual recension, Near Eastern material suffers considerably from fragmentation, with editions often relying on outdated translations, while the development in understanding of the Akkadian and Sumerian languages has also forced a re-evaluation of much of the criticism since Güterbock. More recently the extensive treatment texts such as the *Gilgameš* narratives by George (2003) or the *Enuma Eliš* by Lambert (2018), have provided editions of use to both Assyriologists and Classicists in comparative analysis.

Henkelman (2006) considers how to determine cultural and literary exchange, synthesising the works of Tigay (1993) and Bernabé (1995),

'cases of iconographic reception offer a tantalising glimpse of the amount of detail and variation that might have occurred in the stream of the oral tradition' (Henkelman, 2006, p. 812).

In *Greece and Mesopotamia: Dialogues in Literature* (2013), Haubold attempts to recontextualise literature away from its European focus, since 'Classics as practised since the early nineteenth century has been broadly committed to a single, exemplary tradition' (Haubold, 2013, p. 5). The edition develops a more methodological framework than merely comparing passages and seeking parallels within texts. Haubold acknowledges that some similarities may be the result of universal concepts, independently created rather than taking them as proof of cultural exchange. Rather than merely showing the "what" of comparison, it considers the "why" or "how" they might have come about.

Having begun as a desire to find the origin of Greek mythology, the progression from Güterbock demonstrates a greater understanding of the function of Greek texts. The necessity to account for cultural exchange raises questions of precisely who the Greek

audience actually were and what background information or awareness of literary references and techniques they had. As the cultural influence from Mesopotamia is further understood through the historical and archaeological record, the date of Homer becomes even more important. Our search for the "oral *Iliad"* partly rests upon the view of Homer being the culmination of non-literate bards, with no influence of writing, which culminated in the recording of their songs with a newly introduced medium. However, influence from Mesopotamian sources, from a culture with graphically recorded or composed literature, adds a point of contrast into the discussion, even if the medium of transmission is also oral.

Another key component to the Homeric performance was musical accompaniment. This constitutes the most dramatic change between the ancient and modern audience. While considerable progress has been made on understanding the nature of that musical accompaniment, the actual effect is likely impossible to ever recover, since 'having an understanding of how a particular song or piece of music sounded is not the same as having a sense of how it was heard by listeners in ancient times' (D'Angour, 2018, p. 48). The recent publication of *Music, Text, and Culture in Ancient Greece* by Tom Philips and Armand D'Angour (2018), provides an overview of current understanding and research into the area. It is beyond the scope of this study to analyse music as well, though D'Angour notes that 'the melodic contour of the vocal line followed the pitch inflections of Greek words' (D'Angour, 2018, pp. 51–2). How music could have interacted with shifts in medium by the narrator between narrative and dialogue would be a potential point of further research. In addition, Franklin questions whether there might be 'a vital clue for understanding how various thematic elements of early Greek literature find Near Eastern counterparts, since in both

spheres "poetry" was often musical' (Franklin, 2018, p. 35). He recognised 'vestigial echoes of the Mesopotamian system in Greek lyre practice of the Archaic period (c. 750-500)' with a particular suggestion that the 'diatonic/heptatonic cycle' was a Mesopotamian import. (Franklin, 2018, p. 18). This overlap in musical accompaniment suggests an overlap in performance culture between Greece and Mesopotamia. Again, while not possible within this study, this interaction could provide further research for performance culture in Near-Eastern culture and how that relates to Greco-Mesopotamian cultural exchange.

Since scholarship has highlighted links between Greece and the Near East to the extent it is untenable to view Greek literature as being formed in isolation without any influence whatsoever, any study would profit from comparison with Near Eastern material. With Homer having origins as an oral poet, one would expect the ability to speak or perform "songs" to be reflected within the text – indeed, the portrayal of Demodocus [Hom.*Od.*VII-VIII] and the rhetorical abilities of Nestor and Odyssey give us an immediate point of comparison. This study will consider to what extent the narrator of an oral performance engages with the audience in presenting the story by switching between narrative and speech, indicating to the audience the shift of medium and utilising such changes to explain context and progress of the narrative. At the same time, analysis of a graphically composing narrator (Near Eastern) will consider how the shift between narrative and speech is handled, considering whether there is a tangible difference in the performative element.

The variety in speech formulas, both introduction and capping, has been extensively studied for Homer.[7] However there is an aspect which has been overlooked, which will be the focus of this study. The lines that occur between speeches, here called transitional phrases, have generally been grouped either with introduction or capping formulae. Beck classifies these as "reactive moves", yet while her extensive database of speech presentation lists the *verba dicendi* used for such devices, it does not consider them their own type. Lying between speeches, these transitional formulae are distinct because of their brevity, a moment of narrative that punctuates the flow of conversation, where the narrator interjects into dialogue to explain to the audience what is happening.

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[7] Cf. (Edwards, 1970; Riggsby, 1992; Beck, 2012; Decker, 2015). For further discussion of critical analysis of speech formulas see below "Scholarship on Speech (1.5)

Contribution to Scholarship (1.2)

Homer is viewed primarily as an oral poet, whose work exhibits features of its orally composed origins. If such features are evidence of oral composition, then they should be absent or sufficiently different in Mesopotamian literature, with a different literary tradition that used writing. By comparing how both texts deal with these three concepts, this study will use the differences and similarities to consider how these texts function within their own culture.

While features of the texts will be compared, a contrastive study is a more appropriate term than comparative because of the purpose of the investigation. The aim is to look at how each culture approaches a specific subject or technique – here it is with respect to the change between narrative and direct speech. We can immediately recognise that Homer tends to introduce speech with ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε – He spoke a word and addressed – or ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα – He spoke winged words. The Gilgameš tablets often introduce speech with the phrase *pâ-šu īpuš iqabbi izakkar* – He opened his mouth, he said, he spoke. Looking only at the phrases themselves, we see Greek using verbs in the imperfect tense, while Akkadian blends tenses within a single phrase, with *īpus* in the preterite but *iqabbi* and *izakkar* in the present.[8] This immediate point of departure forces us to question why each culture approaches a concept like introducing speech with very different grammar. Through contrast we can better learn how different the cultures were.

The application of narratology in Near-Eastern literature has predominately focused on looking at the overall structure of the texts. We consider what is said, the sequence

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[8] Cf. *Gilgameš* 2.5.4 for a discussion of the present/durative being used for *verba dicendi* and how it makes the following speech more impactful

of events described, who is telling the story, and how. The role of speeches as embedded elements that contribute to the structure of the narrative deals specifically with the "how". By considering the manner in which Near-Eastern text functions as a narrative and the techniques used by the narrator to portray the story to the audience, we by extension consider the cultural attitudes of the narrator and the audience. This relationship between narrator and audience is the focus, since literary techniques are only effective if they can be readily understood.

This study will consider the features and techniques the Homeric or Near-Eastern narrator used to transition between narrative and direct speech. These techniques can then be used to consider how each culture approached the relationship between the narrator and the audience. While Classical scholarship has considered this relationship in depth, the dynamic between narrator and audience is an underdeveloped field of study for the Near-East. Such analysis will contribute to the understanding of the role of the performance of literature within each society.

Now he Speaks (1.3)

Αἴαντε πρώτω προσέφη, μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτω·

Αἴαντε, σφὼ μέν τε σαώσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν

ἀλκῆς μνησαμένω, μηδὲ κρυεροῖο φόβοι.

ἀλλῃ μὲν γὰρ ἐγώ γ' οὐ δείδια χεῖρας ἀάπτους

Τρώων, οἳ μέγα τεῖχος ὑπερκατέβησαν ὁμίλῳ[9] [Hom.*Il*.XIII.46-50]

The speech of Poseidon (disguised as Calchas) to the two Aiantes demonstrates an issue of demarcation during the shift between narrative and speech. The same word – Αἴαντε – appears in initial position of the introductory phrase as well as initial position in the speech itself, being an accusative dual in line 46 but vocative dual in line 47. It is the presence of the *verbum dicendi* προσέφη in line 46 that tells the audience that the subsequent lines are speech. There is the possibility of demarcation by the musical accompaniment, however there is no evidence for this, nor an idea of what form that shift would have taken. This would require scholia explicitly stating such notation on the text. Without such a document being found, we are left to conjecture. The introductory formula is used to frame speech and explain to the audience information that is necessary for understanding speech, usually who is speaking and to whom. A character, however, does not state they are about to finish speaking and as such the

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[9] He first spoke to the two Aiantes, who themselves were striving:

O two Aiantes, you will save the Achaean people,

If you remember your strength, not chilling fear.

For I do not fear in another place the invincible hands

Of the Trojans, those who climbed the great walls in a throng.

change from speech to narrative cannot be gradually introduced, requiring something all the more clear:

> τῶ κε καὶ, ἐσσύμενόν περ ἐρωήσαιτ' ἀπὸ νηῶν
>
> ὠκυπόρων, εἰ καί μιν Ὀλύμπιος αὐτὸς ἐγείρει
>
> ἦ, καὶ σκηπανίῳ γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος
>
> ἀμφοτέρω κεκοπὼς πλῆσεν μένεος κρατεροῖο[10] [Hom.*Il*.XIII.57-60]

Speech can be introduced by many lines of narrative usually culminating in an introductory formula, as Homer utilises recurring introductory formulas each used in contexts of varying specificity. Homer uses a capping formula at the immediate resumption of narrative, which has a performative element alongside its narrative function as the short phrases ὣς ἔφατ' or ἦ, καὶ immediately show that the speech has finished and the narrative resumed. Just as with the introductory formula, Homer has space within the narrative to explain the effects of the speech upon other characters, using the capping formula for a quick indication to the audience of the shift in narrative level.

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[10] "And so might you drive him, being eager, from the quick-going ships

Even if the Olympian himself drives him"

He spoke, and the Earth-Shaker, who wraps the earth about, with his staff

Having struck them both he filled them with stronger force

Homer the Oral Poet (1.4)

In performing a text, the role of the narrator is not merely to portray the plot, but also to interact with the audience. The "omniscient narrator" controls the flow of information given to the audience, while deciding on the method by that information is given, in an attempt to ensure their audience experiences the text in the way they wish. de Jong makes a distinction ''between information which is available to the characters and information which reaches the [recipient of simple-narrator text][11], only' (de Jong, 1987, p. 204). When we have direct speech, the external audience witnesses a secondary, internal audience, whose reaction is entirely at the mercy of the narrator and made either explicit, implicit, or hidden. When we analyse a speech, 'a speaker is not only reporting but also verbally *displaying* a state of affairs, in such a way that he invites his addressee(s) to join him in contemplating it, evaluating it, and responding to it' (de Jong, 1987, p. 204). However, we cannot merely analyse direct speech for its effects on an internal audience. Usually the Homeric narrator tells us the reaction to the speech with the use of ὣς φάτ(ο)/ἔφατ' introducing such formulae, while the Near Eastern narrator often omits such information. The narrator tells us implicitly how the internal audience reacts. However, the reaction of the external audience is unlikely to be the same. It is the effect on the external audience that requires more focus in analysis, since we lack information (either explicit or implicit) how they react and must determine what effect the narrator intended. By analysing the how and the why of the effect, we can better reconstruct that intent and understand the motivations of the author, thereby allowing us to understand the text more fully. Therefore, the analysis must consider the narrative as a whole and the intentions and effects of the narrator.

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[11] Referred to as NeFe1 by de Jong

A tenet common among historians of literary criticism has it that pre-twentieth-century scholarship largely focused on the production side of literature and thus tended to underestimate the other side, that is, the reader… Owing to their strong connection with rhetoric, that is a genre with a strong performative and thus 'interactive' component, ancient critics were less likely to 'forget' that literature was produced for (or even: before) an audience and had its effect on them. (Nünlist, 2014, p. 174)

There is some recognition in critical work of the intentional manipulation of the audience. Cook considers 'the ways in which [the poets] manipulate traditional conventions so as to guide reception' to be distinctive to epics" (Cook, 2014, p. 75). Scodel recognises that the narrator "train[s] their audiences in interpreting characters through their speech" (Scodel, 2014, p. 56).

Speech in Homer is recognised as "a competitive performance", whereby "both Homer and his characters evaluate speech and its referential component primarily in relation to the goal speaking serves" (Scodel, 2014, p. 70). This evaluation acts within the narrative when characters react either through actions or by words, but it functions primarily by the actual audience. The frames used by the poet give narrative context. Through description, the audience of a speech within a text is shown to react in a certain way, whether these conform to narratological or linguistic expectations of oratory and rhetoric. The actual audience reacts through such framing devices. Likewise, the separation of internal and external audience is clear when there is disparity in result; 'instead of persuading the person to whom he is speaking, Achilles far more often succeeds in persuading Homer's audience that he is what he says he is and means what he says' (Heath, 2005, p. 121). Friedrich and Redfield cites

*Il.*19.217-9, where Odysseus states that he excels Achilles in words, but suggests Achilles in in fact 'the most effective speaker' of the text (Friedrich and Redfield, 1978, p. 271). This view rests on Achilles' speech being the most 'memorable', which unfortunately brings in a subjective component their analysis. Irrespective of where one ranks Achilles in terms of rhetorical ability, 'the poetry which makes his rhetoric so powerfully expressive does not, however, enable him to manipulate men effectively' (Friedrich and Redfield, 1978, p. 271). This creates a separation between the poetic features of the text (the locutionary act with respect to the external audience) and the effect on the characters (the perlocutionary act with respect to the internal audience). This disparity in reaction is important to recognise, but treating Achilles as a speaker with his own voice, rather than as a fragment of the overall narrator is a tempting stance that isolates aspects of the text and inhibits our ability to recognise the overall modulation from the narrator. By focusing on moments where the narrator states how the internal audience react, we can understand how the narrator intends the external audience to respond.

Near-Eastern Literature and the Problem of Genre (1.5)

The problem of genre becomes an issue when we consider the Near-Eastern sources. While "The Epic of Gilgameš" is widely used, the term itself 'is a coinage of convenience, for the word epic has no counterpart in the Akkadian language. By it is meant a long narrative poem describing heroic events that happen over a period of time. The Babylonian Gilgameš fits this definition well'(George, 2003b, p. 3).

The text was known by either *šūtur eli šarrī* – Surpassing all other Kings', *ša naqba īmuru* – 'He who saw the Deep', or *iškar Gilgāmeš* – 'The Series of Gilgameš. These names give us an insight into how they were viewed. They were recorded as a series of tablets, able to be broken down into more individualised sections, rather than viewing them as a single monolithic entity. The cataloguing system of Babylonian text meant that tablets often contained classification information, namely the first line of the text, the last line of a preceding tablet, the first line of a succeeding tablet, and the scribe that wrote it. This system became more developed over time, with the collection of Aššurbanipal being the most rigorous, but its use showed that texts would often be referred to purely by that opening line. While some *incipit* survive, *enuma eliš* being the opening of the Babylonian creation myth and still the phrase we use today, others have been superseded in English, such as *inuma ilu awilum* now more likely to be referred to as *Atra-Ḫasīs.*

Texts concerning Gilgameš were known throughout all of Akkadian literature, since they were a key feature of Sumerian poetry, where his name appears as Bilgames, some of which date to the late 3rd millennium BC[12]. Documents from the Neo-Sumerian

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[12] 'The vast majority of Sumerian poems of Giglameš were the products of eighteenth-century scribal apprentices, but other poems such as Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven were likely part of the literature of the Ur III period, c. 22nd /21st Century BC (George, 2003b, p. 7)

(22nd to 21st Century BC), Old Babylonian (20th to 16th Century BC), and Neo-Assyrian (9th to 6th Century BC) periods show members of the royal court singing and performing music, including narrative poems (George, 2003b, p. 7). In contrast to the fabled Homer, the name of the author of the Gilgameš narratives has not been preserved. The closest is mention of Sîn-lēqi-unninni, a scribe from the late 2nd-millennium BC who compiled the form of the text that we recognise today. Despite living centuries after the older versions were written, he was still revered and many in Babylonia traced their descent from him. There is some debate to the construction of the Gilgameš tablets attributed to Sîn-lēqi-unninni. While the text as we know it was produced by a scribe, the view of Foster that it was composed as a written text ignores oral works that came before it with comparable passages.[13] George recognises enough in the Gilgameš text 'that seems to have no place in the traditional written literature of the day [which] brings us to the question of the poem's dependence on oral traditions' (George, 2003b, pp. 20–21). It seems most likely that Sîn-lēqi-unninni established the form of the text that is familiar to us from the first-millennium copies and as such lived at some point in the second millennium, rather that Sîn-lēqi-unninni composed the version of the narrative as an oral poet, akin to a Homer of the Old Babylonian period (George, 2003b, p. 30). Since most of our evidence comes from the scribal tradition, it is difficult to determine whether a tradition of orally performed and orally transmitted narrative occurred in parallel with the scribal tradition. One could surmise that some of the texts recorded in scribal schools could have come from this tradition, rather than being composed by scribes themselves. We cannot determine if the texts themselves

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[13] 'There is no evidence that *The Epic of Gilgamesh* began as an oral narrative performed by bards or reciters and coalesced into a written text only later. In fact, the poem as we now have it shows many signs of having been a formal, written, literary work composed and perhaps performed for well-educated people. Rather than being popular or folkloristic literature, the story of Gilgamesh may have been mostly of interest to the small circle of men and women who belonged to the social, economic, and intellectual elite of their day.' (Foster, 2019, p. xiv)

were orally composed, there is evidence for performance of texts at all points of Near-Eastern literature, to ranging extent. It must also be remembered that the texts and fragments that survive represent a peculiarity; the conditions for the survival of tablets are difficult and usually come from more expansive libraries, which would have gathered for definite versions together, rather than document individual editions or performances. Writing was also the preserve of the elite, and we may surmise that these stories were distributed throughout the Near-East in some other form as well.[14]

While Gilgameš represents an ever-evolving text, with origins in Sumerian literature but numerous additions in Akkadian, *Etana* and *Enuma Eliš* seemingly exist as uniquely Akkadian literature.

The *Enuma Eliš* was 'composed to explain, support, and justify Marduk's supremacy in the Babylonian pantheon', likely by a scholar and priest at the temple of Marduk at Babylon (Lambert, 2014, p. 439). There is evidence of the work being performed, as by c. 700 BC the *Enuma Eliš* was part of the fourth day of New Year celebration, which evolved from the *akītu* festival. Also referred to as the Babylonian Epic of Creation, the text explains how the Babylonian pantheon came to be (at the time of the texts construction, since the ever-changing nature of Mesopotamian politics caused the elevation and demotion of gods depending on the supremacy of their patron cities). From the primordial couple Apsû and Tiāmat came generations of gods, whose uproar eventually became bothersome to Apsû. Along with Mummu, Apsû plots to destroy his own offspring, despite Tiāmat's protestations. The young gods learn of his plan and Ea lulls Apsû to sleep, slaying and overthrowing his ancestor, whose remains become

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[14] 'Nevertheless, it is to my mind inconceivable that ancient Mesopotamia was without traditions of oral poetry throughout its long history, both because the majority of people in all periods could not read or write and in the light of the strong traditions of oral literature in the more recent Near East' (George, 2003b, pp. 20–1)

his home. Ea, with his wife Damkina, produces Marduk, intended to be ruler of all the gods. Tiāmat vows revenge on the young gods, and births monsters and Qingu to oppose them. The Igigi choose Marduk to face Tiāmat and Qingu. With the assistance of the other gods, Marduk is eventually victorious.

Lambert sketches the main arguments for a date of the text, considering the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (c. 1125-1104 BC) to be most likely, following the conquest of Elam (Lambert, 2014, pp. 439–444).

Etana, meanwhile, has three different versions relating to time period. The Old Version could date from the Ur III period, but most likely to the Old Babylonian period (20th to 16th Century BC) (Kinnier Wilson, 1985, pp. 27–29). The Middle Assyrian Version dates some time between 14th and 10th Century BC, with the Late Version between 10th and 7th Century BC. There is evidence that the scribe of the Late Version was strongly familiar with the Old Version.[15] There is a change in emphasis within the text in each version, with different episodes expanded or reduced to fit current interests.[16] The myth of Etana details the creation of Kingship for the human race, with the eponymous Etana chosen by Enlil to be the first king. Much of the story explains the interaction of an eagle and a serpent who live in a tree in the temple of Adad, which Etana constructed. Despite originally living harmoniously, the eagle eats the serpent's offspring, ignoring protestations of his own children. Šamaš answers the serpent's prayers and helps him punish the eagle, plucking his feathers and imprisoning him in a pit. Eventually, Šamaš responds to the eagle's prayer for mercy, albeit indirectly

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[15] 'So far as one may judge from those portions of the Old and Late Versions where there is a text in common, the Late Version of Etana is a conscious rewriting of the earlier version, rendered into the language of its own time with alterations and additions. At many points there is a definite textual dependence'(Kinnier Wilson, 1985, p. 81).

[16] 'The early versions have interesting variations that show how both the motivation and details of the story were reinterpreted in the millennium that lies between the earliest and the latest versions' (Foster, 2005, p. 534)

since the eagle broke an oath of friendship and thus the gods cannot offer him direct help. Šamaš seeks Etana, who had been offering prayers to Šamaš as he was lacking an heir. Šamaš informs Etana that if he assists the eagle then he will be able to access a plant that will help him have an offspring. Etana rescues the eagle from the pit and flies on his back towards the heavens to ask Ištar for the plant. The first attempt fails, but the eagle and Etana take a second, successful trip. Unfortunately, the end of the text does not survive, though we can piece together from fragments that Etana returns with the plant to his wife.

Kinnier Wilson notes that both *iškar *^{d}*Gilgameš* and *iškar *^{m}*Etana* appear in the Catalogue of Texts and Authors, though 'whereas Gilgameš is given the divine determinative the name of Etana has that of a man.' *Gilgameš* is an epic told very much on the heroic level. *Etana* is a story of adventure and tragedy (?) told very much on the human level' (Kinnier Wilson, 1985, p. 5).

Atra-Ḫasīs is a flood narrative, which has drawn frequent biblical comparisons. The text itself details how humans were created by the gods but excess numbers led to their *rigmu* disturbing Enlil, who sought to destroy the human population through famine, drought, plague, and flood. The eponymous Atra-Ḫasīs, whose name means 'exceedingly wise', is warned by Enki, which allows him to subvert Enlil's plans so that he and his family can survive. The text was known by its *incipit*, *inuma ilu awilum* – "when gods like men", and it is attributed to the scribe Ku-Aya in the reign of Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646-1626 BC).[17]

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[17] Information on manuscripts can be found (Lambert and Millard, 1969, pp. 31–41)

Adapa survives in a very fragmentary form. Fragment A gives contextual information of the myth, detailing how Ea 'perfected [Adapa] with great intelligence, to give him instruction about the ordinance of the earth.'[18] Living in Eridu, Adapa performed his duties and kept himself pure, clean and anointed as a servant of Ea. Fragment B begins with Adapa threatening the South Wind, saying he will break his wing. Since Adapa's speech is 'like the speech of Anu'[19], merely stating this threat makes it happen. Since Adapa's words cannot be undone, Anu summons Adapa to heaven. Before going, Ea gives him advice intended to save his life, stating he should not eat or drink anything offered to him by Anu, since it would bring him only death. Ironically, Anu has a change of heart, convinced by Dumuzi and Gizzida; while Adapa does indeed refuse to eat or drink, Anu had actually offered him eternal life. Fragment D provides a different recension whereby Anu still provides benefits to Adapa and sees the repair of the South Wind's wing. The recension of the *Adapa* tablet likely dates to c. 14th Century BC.[20]

The myth of *Erra and Išum*, also known by its *incipit šar gimir dadmē* – 'O king of the whole inhabited regions' – details Erra's destructive warpath, with violence being a key aspect of the text. Much of the text is presented as a dialogue between Erra and Išum debating over the use of violence. It is attributed to the scribe *Kabti-ilani-Marduk*, potentially in the 8th Century BC.[21] The text is very focused on dialogue between the

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[18] *uzna rapašta ušaklil-šu uṣurat māti kullumu* [*Adapa* Fragment A.Obv.Colum i.3'

[19] *qībit-su kīma qībit ᵈanu* [*Adapa* Fragment A.Obv.Column i.2'

[20] 'The rich consonance and sophisticated use of language in the Amarna recension together with the obvious MB linguistic features analysed above prove that it was composed by a poet who had an intimate knowledge of contemporary Babylonian language' (Izre'el, 2001, pp. 47–71)

[21] For discussion of dating, see (Cagni, 1969, pp. 37–45)

two eponymous figures, allowing comparisons with debate literature. However, as the whole text is presented as a narrative with the dialogue making part, it offers a good comparison with Homer and the extended debate scenes contained therein.

Both the *Enuma Eliš* and the *Erra Myth* end with an epilogue that differ from the main body of narrative. The Enuma Eliš enumerates the names of Marduk and lists his greatness, with a final epilogue showing Ea telling the world of Marduk's supremacy and the benefits of honouring him. The *Erra* text 'names its author, and specifies the particular blessings that would come upon gods, kings, nobles, rhapsodists, scribes, and houses that heed this "song"' (Lambert, 1962, p. 119). Reiner discusses the use of the text as an amulet, 'the presence of which in a house, the poet assures us in his epilogue, will safeguard that house against the raging of Era, the plague.'(Reiner, 1960, p. 148).

These six texts cover at least 1500 years of Near-Eastern literature. In terms of composition of Near-Eastern texts, then, we have Gilgameš, dating to c. 22nd Century BC for its earliest composition, with changing editions of the texts recorded through to the early 1st Millennium BC; Etana having three version, with the Old Version some time between the 20th and 16th Century BC, the Middle Version between 14th and 10th Century BC, and the Late Version between 10th and 7th Century BC; Atra-Ḫasīs dates to c. 17th Century BC, with Middle Babylonian tablets from c. 12th Century to 9th Century BC and Late Assyrian tablets from c. 9th Century to 7th Century BC demonstrating changes in the text; Adapa dates to c. 14th Century BC; Enuma Eliš dating to around the 12th Century BC; lastly, Erra and Išum dates to c. 8th Century BC. Their importance waxed and waned over time, but all had sufficient importance to be preserved and recorded. I am reluctant to group all the texts into a genre, such as

"Epic", since that applies Greek notions on a non-Greek literature. What will suffice is to determine what criteria these texts display that make comparison possible.

Firstly, they are extended, by which I mean there is sufficient text to allow development of narrative and literary style.

Secondly, they are mythological, by which I mean their subject matter concerns non-historical events due to the fantastical nature of them. That they are mythological means there is some element of authorship that has occurred, either as a result of the author of a text creating the event and thus the text for the purposes of performance, or through a long process of oral recension. Either way, choosing a mythological text means the events depicted and by extension the depictions have at some point been created, rather than relayed, ensuring a degree of authorship in the text.

As for narrative, it 'may be defined as the representation of real or fictive events and situations in a time sequence' (Prince, 1982, p. 1). This more distilled definition differs from the cascade of terminology used by Bal.[22] Each of these composite elements can be identified within each text under discussion. The view of a narrative as the **representation** of a story ties in the performative aspect, since the story itself could be presented in different ways. It also brings in the concept of authorial intention, since we must ask the question *why* the author chose to present specific aspects of the story in the way that they did. Both Greek and Akkadian literature use direct and indirect

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[22] 'A *narrative text* is a text in which an agent relates ('tells') a story in a particular medium, such as language, imagery, sound, building, or a combination therefore. A *story* is a fabula that is presented in a certain manner. A *fabula* is a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors. An *event* is the transition from one state to another state. *Actors* are agents that perform actions. They are not necessarily human. *To act* is defined here as to cause or to experience an event. The assertion that a narrative text is one in which a story is related implies that the text is not identical to the story' (Bal, 1997, p. 5)

speech, so the decision to provide the speech with the mimetic direct approach is intentional and its rationale can be analysed.

All the texts to be discussed qualify for these three categories. *Extended Mythological Narratives* provides a corpus of texts that is sufficient – in the context that it allows us a significant body of work to compare – while also limited – meaning it is possible to consider each text with appropriate treatment in its own right.

σιγῶ, Ὁμήρου κωμῳδηθέντος ὑπὸ Κρατίνου διὰ τὸ πλεονάσαι ἐν τῷ

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος

I am silent, with Homer having been ridiculed in comedy by Cratinus on account of the frequency in the line:

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος

[Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* X.3]

The repeated use of τον δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος lampooned by Eusebius in the 4th Century AD demonstrates the awareness of speech formulae in Homeric scholia. Ancient critics noted the appearance of such devices, albeit without the developed terminology and theory we have today. Speech itself, especially how Homer utilises speech in different ways and transitions from narrative to speech, has received considerable attention. Since the work of Milman Parry into Oral-Formulaic Theory, comparing Homeric texts with Serbo-Croatian oral tradition, critical analyses cannot ignore how oral performance influences the composition of the text. It was not until the publishing of *The Singer of Tales* in 1960 by Lord that Parry's work reached the broader academic conversation, however much of the work into how speech functions began in the 1930s. It would be useful to consider how Classical scholarship has progressed in analysis of speech in the past century before considering Assyriology and considering other disciplines that can provide useful tools for analysis.

Couch looked at how formulae function in an introductory manner in *A Prelude to Speech in Homer* (1937). Anton Fingerle began categorising different types of speech in *Typik der homerischen Reden* (1939)*, while Combellack's analysis in *Omitted*

Speech Formulas in Homer (1939) required sufficient understanding of what the formulae are for their absence to be noteworthy. Myres (1954) looks at 'the structure of the Iliad, Illustrated by Speeches', showing individual speeches contribute to the overall poems.

Homeric scholarship has become increasingly interested in how the texts function as oral literature, seeking out vestiges in the written text of the bardic culture that preceded and culminated in it. In-depth analysis of these oral indicators has been at the forefront of Homeric scholarship for the past century.

Hainsworth develops in *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (1968) how name formulae can be grouped by specific metrical notification, tying the narrative nuance into the oral composition. The consideration of metre and formulae is taken to a purely statistical zenith by Packard (1974) with *Sound Patterns in Homer*, a rather esoteric study into sound densities which shows the frequency of individual sounds in each line and the limits of smooth and harsh verses. Despite presenting remarkable statistics, the study develops our understanding of the text very little, but raises 'the question of whether the distribution of sound is approximately at random' (Packard, 1974, p. 259).

Lohman looks at the formal structure of the Homeric texts, focusing on Ring Composition, Linear Sequence, and Parallelism. Within these three principles Lohman considers *Innere Komposition* – structure within a speech – *Äußere Komposition* – structure between speeches in the same dialogue or scene – and *Übergreifende Komposition* – structure between speeches in different dialogues or scenes (Lohmann, 1970, p. 197). This complements the earlier work by Myres in *The Structure of the Iliad, Illustrated by Speeches* (1954). Both analyses create a good sense of how the

proximity, frequency, and distribution of speeches have an effect on our reaction to the text.

Kirk's *Homer and the Oral Tradition* (1976) collated his extensive work on the composition and structure of the epics, giving distillation of what is believed to define oral epic. Rather than merely looking at a text and dissecting it, intent and effect need to be remembered, or, as Kirk states, 'the mere identification, totalling and setting down of characteristics like enjambment and cumulation – if done with reasonable *general* accuracy, which is difficult in itself – do reveal much more about the style of a passage than that it is, precisely, cumulative or not, heavy or light in enjambment' (Kirk, 1976, p. 171). Literary and linguistic theory focussing on speech acts has all too often fallen into the trap of treating speakers within the narrative as cognisant agents presenting to an audience, rather than as elements within a cohesive performance. Likewise, narratology's use of audiences deals with focalisation often by considering how words, phrases, and techniques would function as if performed and received, when in fact they are merely performed and described. The authorial audience needs to understand how and why the internal audience would react. There is an element of expected empathy on the part of the external audience, however identical words spoken by different speakers, within different contexts, or to different audiences can have a radically different effect. The effect and response of a speech on characters has an effect we only see through the lens of the narrator.

Kaimio conducts a detailed analysis of sound adjectives in *Characterization of Sound in Early Greek Literature* (1977), though merely focusing on adjectives without a full analysis of nouns or verbs limits the research, while overlooking imitative sounds. Kaimio conflates texts from Homer to Hippocrates, meaning some anachronistic

definitions occur. Nevertheless, it functions as a useful resource for etymological consideration.

The adoption of narratology into Homeric studies caused a shift in theoretical analysis with de Jong (1987), Richardon (1990), and Perdadotto (1990) published in close proximity. Peradotto's work, while not strictly narratological, imports and utilises many theoretical approaches from contemporary analysis into classical scholarship. de Jong uses the framework of Bal, following the work of Genette. Schein gives an overview of the adoption of narratology into Homeric scholarship, though he notes that 'many Homerists, among them E. T. Owen and Cedric H. Whitman…as well as Wolfgang Schadewaldt…have not, however, expressed themselves in narratological terms or with systematic rigor, so their contributions escaped de Jong's notice' (Schein, 1991, p. 580). This important point highlights that while the role of the narrator and speech within the Homeric texts have been consistently and widely analysed, it was the adoption of narratology that created a shared set of terminology with which to further that analysis. de Jong states that the sense of focalization is 'to indicate the agent in the text through whose eyes the narratees perceive the events' (de Jong, 1987, p. xxi). Richardson helps identify the unique features of Homer as narrator in the narrative, more than discussing speech, while Peradotto's work on the *Odyssey* focuses more on narrative structure, demonstrating the use of narratological techniques in understanding the overall narrative.

de Jong's *Narrators and Focalizers* takes the most in-depth narratological analysis of speeches (character-text to use her parlance) and the interaction between narrator- and character-text. de Jong's use of terminology from narratology provides the term 'attributive discourse' to describe 'the introduction and capping of direct speech' (de

Jong, 1987, p. 207). This provides a point of comparison in scholarly research with other disciplines, allowing an inter-disciplinary framework of analysis.

de Jong provides a thematic overview of the critical works on the analysis of attributive discourse, grouping them into an "inventory of scholarship on the Iliadic speeches" separating into:

1. Different types of speeches

2. Distribution of speeches

3. Formal structure of speeches

4. Relations between speeches

5. Speech as a "personality symbol" (de Jong, 1987, p. 150)

This thematic grouping shows how disconnected the research has been up to this point. This thesis will approach analysis first by considering the distribution of speech (1) and the relationship between speeches in terms of spacing (2), followed by considering their formal structure as elements embedded within the narrative (3) and using these to group them into different types (1). Only by combining these different elements in a single study can the actual effects be effectively appreciated. This thesis will exclude the fifth group of speech as a "personality symbol". Since such analysis depends on evaluation of character, particularly with respect to the acquisition of κλέος and τιμή, it would benefit from comparison with others forms of "personality symbol" within the texts to assess effect and extent. Such analysis is beyond the scope of this study, but future work could use this research to see how the structure of speech within the narrative compares and contrasts with other evaluations of personality symbols employed by the author."

Alongside these works, Martin (1989) was applying speech-act theory on the speech of heroes in the *Iliad* where the words of the speaker are an interpretable act. The performance of such speech-acts ties into the oral tradition of Homer.

Bakker (1998) argues that we cannot analyse the Homeric texts as either oral poetry or written literature and that we should analyse the texts as a type of speech. Bakker takes a cognitive linguistic approach, mostly following Chafe.

Alden (2001) utilises a narratological approach in studying para-narratives in *Homer Beside Himself*. Alden is keen to note that 'the Homeric poems [do] not arise from nothing, but [make] use of oral sources and models within the tradition' (Alden, 2001, p. 2). While it is evident that there were oral forerunners, this view seeks to attribute traditions to both Homeric texts due to a pre-existing model, an approach that often leads to viewing instances in (Alden, 2001) either text as deviating from the hypothetical norm. This can be limited by separating analysis of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Scodel in *Listening to Homer* (2002) touches on the benefit that increasing technology has on processing data and evaluating the Greek texts – though slightly dated now it mentions how CDs allow us to evaluate data again and again, approaching the cumulative information that the Greek audience would have experienced. Scodel recognises how 'social audience differ', showing that matters of context of performance need to be considered (Scodel, 2002, p. 173). This social function impacts on how we evaluate the text, especially with formulae which are repeated throughout, since without understanding the social function and the performance we cannot 'resolve the tension between repetition and adaptation' (Scodel, 2002, p. 57).

Heath discusses the societal and literary importance of speech in *The Talking Greeks* (2005), recognising "speaking is one of the primary agonistic arenas for the warriors at Troy" (Heath, 2005, p. 120), though his work looks more at what speeches and their content in general mean within Greek cultural and societal norms rather than a detailed analysis of the Greek text.

Beck (2005) gives an extensive quantification and qualification of every speech in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Beck succeeds in establishing that 'conversation should be considered a type,' that 'regular patterns of speech sequence and formula [are] associated with the type' (Beck, 2005). This comprehensive analysis was continued by Beck (2012), in *Speech Presentation in Homeric Epic*, which brought along with it a searchable database of and companion website. The study itself argues that there is a 'single speech presentation spectrum [which] can explain the way speech is presented throughout both Homeric poems' (Beck, 2012, p. 193). Beck's contribution to Homeric scholarship highlights 'how fundamental speech presentation is to the Homeric poems, to fictional narrative, and to human beings'(Beck, 2012, p. 195).

Tsagalis (2006) looks at *Epic Grief: Personal Laments*, recognising the importance of direct speech in the text and stating that 'in a formative "pan-Hellenic" era with no written texts, the performing singer and the tradition lying behind him had to invent stereotypical expressions in order to mark the beginning and the end of a speech' (Tsagalis, 2004, p. 54). This study takes the now-detailed approach to the analysis of attributive discourse and combines oral theory with narratology and semiotics to discuss how the narrator uses and frames *gooi* (personal laments) in the *Iliad*.

Christensen (2009) analyses ''The End of Speeches and a Speech's End' with regards to Nestor and Diomedes. Christensen concludes that speeches 'are colored by their

narrative "framing," the matrix of assumptions developed by formulaic speech reactions and the felicitous or infelicitous outcome of a speech itself' (Christensen, 2009, p. 137). The study brings in sociolinguistic theory into analysing Iliadic speeches,

Louden (2011) compares the *Odyssey* with Near-Eastern sources, analysing what we mean by myth and epic while focusing on the underlying structure of the poem. Highlighting that 'myths employ traditional components, verbal formulas, motifs, and type-scenes, such as divine councils, or a host receiving a guest' Louden analyses how myth is adapted to each culture, as 'audiences, performers, and cultures, in a certain sense, acquire an understanding of a "template" of the respective genre of myth, to which some individual modifications, local details, accrue, to make a given instance of the genre fit into a specific context' (Louden, 2011, p. 2). Louden's view offers a deviation from some traditional assumptions of classical scholarship regarding the Indo-European inheritance when there are 'arguably deeper and more numerous parallels Homeric epic exhibits with Near Eastern myth and epic' (Louden, 2011, p. 6). Louden's work brings into question the oral tradition:

> Since many Near Eastern myths and epics were fixed in written form long before Homeric epics were, it is possible that Greek culture encountered version of *Gilgameš* or Ugaritic or Phoenician myths in public performance recitation, or as fixed, written texts. If so, such contact problematizes the generally accepted theory of the oral genesis of Homeric epic.

While there is insufficient evidence to say there was such strong cultural exchange as public recitation or written texts, the idea that elements of Near Eastern literature that

was composed in written form then performed orally, could have influenced Greek literature that has been assumed to entirely orally composed, is an enticing one. It demonstrates the necessity for broadening analysis to include not only texts from other disciplines, but also other methodologies, to see if those can provide insight, not only into the text itself, but also into the history of culture in a more accurate context.

More recently, *Defining Greek Narrative* 'examines what is distinct, what is shared and what is universal in Greek narrative tradition' (Cairns and Scodel, 2014). The volume aims to define the development of how stories are told in Greek literature. The first part focuses on defining the Greek tradition, with the second dealing with the development in the Greek world and the final part engaging with Roman and post-Classical literature. Scodel discusses how character-speech takes is recognised as a typical quality of the Homeric texts. However, interest-focus and focalisation, which speak of a dynamic between narrator and audience, have not received as much focus in Classical scholarship. Nünlist discusses ancient views on narrative and places attention on the audience and the performative aspects of the text, since 'ancient critics were less likely to 'forget' that literature was produced for (or even: before) an audience and had its effect on them' (Nünlist, 2014, p. 174).

Kelly (2014) compares Homeric battle narrative with Ancient Near Eastern texts, applying narratological methodology, noting that 'what we have from the ANE offers no compelling parallel for either the form or the function of Homeric battle narrative' (Kelly, 2014, p. 53). This observation ties into wider views of how preference in each culture impacts on the methods the authors display. While some techniques we see in Homer are present, their absence in Near Eastern texts may say more about narrative preference than what techniques were known or available.

The comparison between the Gilgameš text and Homer by Haubold provides an application of Classical narratology into Mesopotamian texts. With regard to speech in oral literature, the majority of narratological framework is focused on Greek literature or later cultures. It is important to remember that "what is distinctive about Greek narrative can only emerge from comparisons that are meaningful in a specific cultural and historical context" (Haubold, 2014, p. 17). Haubold was analysing how Auerbach's *Mimesis* (1946) stands up to modern criticism and explains that Auerbach's comparison with the Bible now tells us far more about the development and reception of a Classical education in biblical studies than it does about Homer or the bible.

Most recently, de Decker (2015) undertook the extensive 'Morphosyntactic Analysis of Speech Introductions and Conclusions in Homer'. This study looks at the specific semantics and grammar of introductions and conclusions, grouping them by *verba dicendi*. de Decker creates a grammar of speech introductions and conclusions based on their observations, looking at verbal distribution, augment, tense and mood.

When we look at the Ancient Near-East, very little work has been of a comparable nature to the work on Homer. Vogelzang's *Patterns Introducing Direct Speech in Akkadian Literary Texts* (1990) serves as one of the only resources which focuses on literary texts. Vogelzang draws on the work of Sonnek (1940), who looked at conventional formulae that introduce direct speech. Vogelzang recognised that 'in contrast to the conventional formulae, these patterns…do not only introduce the (next) speaker, but at the same time define the setting of the subsequent direct discourse. The connection in which the speech receives its meaning will depend on the manner in which the poet provides the subsequent spoken words with his covering commentary, on the manner in which the speech be embedded' (Vogelzang, 1990, p.

50). While Vogelzang engages with Hecker (1974), who analysed the style of Akkadian "Epik", the study into introducing direct speech exists in isolation to the analysis of Greek material.

Altes (2007) takes a narratological analysis of *Gilgameš*, looking at how 'both the beginning and the end of the narrative indeed have a strong performative element.' (Altes, 2007, p. 192).

The secondary literature in the Near East is rather scant, but the analysis of speech has received a development in Biblical Studies parallel to Greek. The most significant work is Miller (1996), which provides a linguistic analysis to the representation of speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative. Distinct from Classics, the terminology here can be slightly different, though the analysis itself covers many of the same areas. Rather than the term attributive discourse to discuss the introductory and conclusory formulae, Miller refers to the quotation (representing the original locution) and the quotative frame (representing the reporting locution). Both quotative frame and quotation are metapragmatic' (Miller, 1996, p. 50).

The analysis of metalanguage is necessary for Miller as 'the quotative frame is metapragmatic…in that the particular choice of verb in the frame…reflects the reporting speaker's pragmatic analysis of the purpose and/or function of the original locution' (Miller, 1996, p. 50). Miller's work, while influential in Biblical Studies, has not entered Classical scholarship, though the slight differences in terms and approach means that some modification might be necessary to make the analysis applicable to Greek texts. Stadel (2017) analyses of the quotative frame in Samaritan Aramaic, providing the only extensive analysis of the feature in a Central Semitic language other than Biblical Hebrew, discussing 'the lexemes that signal direct speech (i.e., *verba*

dicendi of various sorts), the (verbal) forms employed, the location of the frame in relation to the quoted discourse (introducing or following it, elliptical, etc.), and quotative particles … as overt markers of direct speech.' (Stadel, 2017, p. 47)

The most basic function of the quotative frame is to develop and demonstrate the participation framework in which a speech exists, i.e. to let the external audience know that (i) a speech is happening within the narrative world (demarcation), (ii) who is speaking, and (iii) who is hearing the speech. Generally, these constitute a hierarchy of importance. Demarcation is necessary to let the external audience know that these words do not belong to the narrator and so must be demarcated within the text by some means. The extent of demarcation can constitute a spectrum from overt to implicit. Usually *verba dicendi* are used as demarcation in any medium, but the most overt forms change depending on medium; a written text would likely use speech marks, while an orally performed text could modify voice or even use a different speaker as in a script.

The quotative frame has been analysed under different terminology: speech margins is used with a more visual mindset, often discussing the physical demarcation between narrative and speech on the page. Laminator verbs are used as part of frame analysis, which views different layers of focalization as lamina, with each layer adding meaning and nuance to its subordinate layers to create chains of units within a conversation (Goffman, 1974). This lamination is not restricted to *verba dicendi*, encompassing any alteration in the narrative. Dialogue introducers makes clear their function within a narrative, but this in turn overlooks how the frame also caps the speech (Johnstone, 1987, pp. 33–52). "Quotative Indexes" is used in the study of African languages by Güldemann, where it is defined as 'a segmentally discrete linguistic expression which

is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse

the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse' (Güldemann,
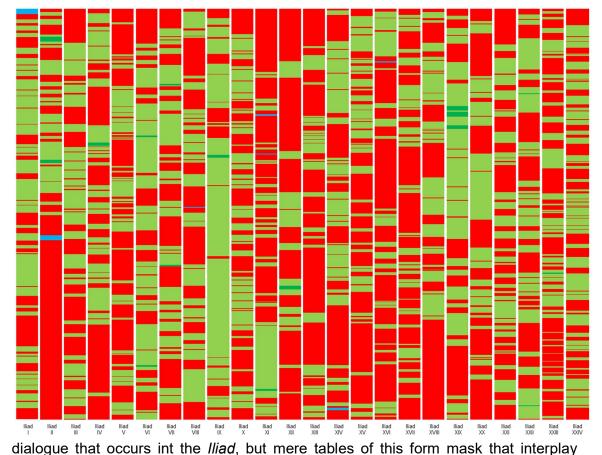
2008, p. 11).

Distribution of Speech (1.7)

When we consider how speech is distributed throughout the texts, merely presenting the information in the form of a table groups "speech" and "narrative" as distinct masses, hiding the frequent change between the two that occurs throughout. The *Iliad* totals 15724 lines of verse, with 7067 constituting direct speech, equalling 44.9% of the total text; the *Odyssey* features 12111 lines of verse, with 8176 constituting direct

	Total Lines	Direct Speech	Percentage
Book 1	611	373	61.0%
Book 2	877	283	32.3%
Book 3	461	242	52.5%
Book 4	544	242	44.5%
Book 5	909	334	36.7%
Book 6	529	323	61.1%
Book 7	482	244	50.6%
Book 8	565	268	47.4%
Book 9	713	588	82.5%
Book 10	579	292	50.4%
Book 11	848	320	37.7%
Book 12	471	122	25.9%
Book 13	837	254	30.3%
Book 14	552	247	44.7%
Book 15	746	292	39.1%
Book 16	867	256	29.5%
Book 17	761	273	35.9%
Book 18	617	266	43.1%
Book 19	424	272	64.2%
Book 20	504	229	45.4%
Book 21	611	270	44.2%
Book 22	515	277	53.8%
Book 23	897	347	38.7%
Book 24	804	453	56.3%
Totals:	15724	7067	44.9%

Distribution of speech in the Iliad

	Total Lines	Direct Speech	Percentage
Book 1	444	275	61.9%
Book 2	434	288	66.4%
Book 3	497	331	66.6%
Book 4	847	617	72.8%
Book 5	493	210	42.6%
Book 6	331	174	52.6%
Book 7	347	193	55.6%
Book 8	586	247	42.2%
Book 9	567	566	99.8%
Book 10	574	574	100.0%
Book 11	640	631	98.6%
Book 12	453	453	100.0%
Book 13	440	257	58.4%
Book 14	533	409	76.7%
Book 15	557	348	62.5%
Book 16	481	322	66.9%
Book 17	606	373	61.6%
Book 18	428	254	59.3%
Book 19	604	423	70.0%
Book 20	394	222	56.3%
Book 21	434	227	52.3%
Book 22	501	208	41.5%
Book 23	372	224	60.2%
Book 24	548	350	63.9%
Totals:	12111	8176	67.5%

Distribution of speech in the Odyssey

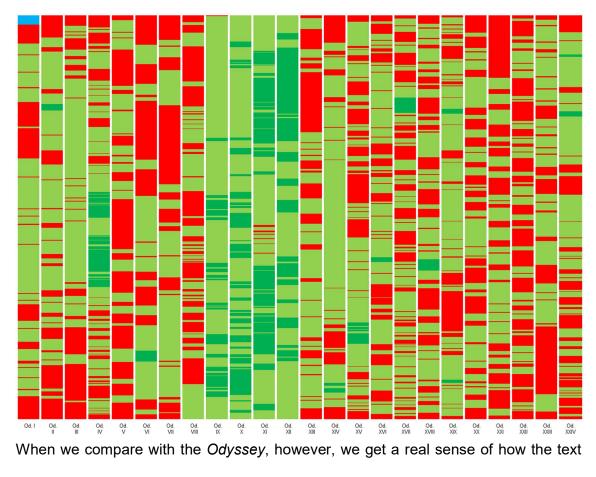speech, equalling 67.5% of the total text.

However, this information provides no real insight for the reader as to the distribution of speech and narrative. The sheer amount of speech in Odyssey 10-12, with only 9 lines of narrative, certainly show a significant departure of the mixture of narrative and

dialogue that occurs int the *Iliad*, but mere tables of this form mask that interplay between different types of text. If we want to comprehend how speech is distributed throughout the text, then we can adopt a visual format in order to present that data:

Displayed in such a way, we can immediately see a sound landscape to each book, with the majority of books changing frequently between narrative and speech, while certain books have much longer periods of a single uninterrupted medium, for example the end of *Iliad* II (the Catalogue of Ships) being entirely narrative, and *Iliad* IX having three speech of increasing length that dominate the whole book.

Legend	
	Narrative
	Direct Speech
	Secondary Speech
	Lacuna
	Invocation

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When we compare with the *Odyssey*, however, we get a real sense of how the text differ in their approach:

It is clear how much more speech is used in the *Odyssey*. We also see secondary speech feature heavily in *Odyssey IV and IX-XII*. Overall, there are much fewer instances of extended narrative, relying more heavily on speech than the *Iliad*.

This can be compared with the two primary texts in the Near-Eastern analysis. Since the Mesopotamian texts are more fragmented, it is necessary to consider an extrapolated minimum or maximum value, giving us a potential range of direct speech. Due to the presence of *incipits* on tablets, we are able to roughly ascertain the total length of each tablet of the narrative, even if our reconstruction of the text itself is hampered by lacunae. By using

Legend
Narrative
Direct Speech
Secondary Speech
Lacuna
Invocation

the number of lines of speech in the extant text we can assume either all missing were narrative or all missing lines were speech to give that range.
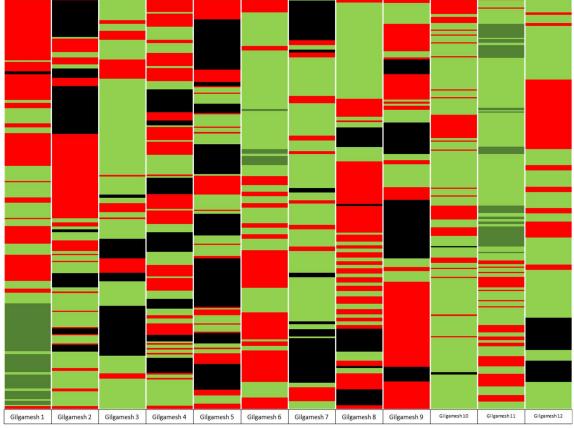
	Preserved Lines	Direct Speech	"Projected" Total lines	Extrapolated Minimum	Percentage	Extrapolated Maximum	Percentage
Tablet 1	298	153	300	153	51.0	155	51.7
Tablet 2	210	102	301	102	33.9	193	64.1
Tablet 3	149	102	231	102	44.2	184	79.7
Tablet 4	192	88	250	88	35.2	146	58.4
Tablet 5	154	83	302	83	27.5	231	76.5
Tablet 6	183	113	183	113	61.7	113	61.7
Tablet 7	197	165	298	165	55.4	266	89.3
Tablet 8	195	100	230	100	43.5	135	58.7
Tablet 9	139	44	196	44	22.4	101	51.5
Tablet 10	319	248	322	248	77.0	251	78.0
Tablet 11	328	274	328	274	83.5	274	83.5
Tablet 12	201	60	201	60	29.9	60	29.9
Totals:	2565	1532	3142	1532	48.8	2109	67.1
						Distribution of Direct Speech in Gilgamesh	

Doing so gives us a potential range of 48.8% to 67.1% of the whole text is speech, meaning it falls within the bounds of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.*

As for the *Enuma Elish*, we also need to modify our data. The last 45 lines of tablet VI and the majority of tablet VII are listing the fifty names of Marduk. Tablet VII continues with the names and concludes with an epilogue of speech by Ea, functioning more as a comment upon the text itself as a narrator to the external audience, rather than as internal dialogue. Since the enumeration of names shifts the balance in the tablet, I have excluded the totals here but discuss below. As such, it is likely necessary to exclude them from the figures.

	Preserved Lines	Direct Speech	Projected Total Lines	Percentage
Tablet 1	162	33	162	20.4
Tablet 2	162	110	162	67.9
Tablet 3	138	110	138	79.7
Tablet 4	146	35	146	24.0
Tablet 5	142	47	158	29.7
Tablet 6	166 (121*)	55	166	33.1 (45.1*)
Tablet 7	162 (0*)	0	162	0*
Totals:	1078 (871*)	390	1094 (871*)	35.6 (44.8*)
			Distribution of Speech in Enuma Elish	

The figure of 44.8% speech is very close to the *Iliad*.

| Gilgamesh 1 | Gilgamesh 2 | Gilgamesh 3 | Gilgamesh 4 | Gilgamesh 5 | Gilgamesh 6 | Gilgamesh 7 | Gilgamesh 8 | Gilgamesh 9 | Gilgamesh 10 | Gilgamesh 11 | Gilgamesh 12 |

When we look at the distribution for *Gilgameš*, the most immediate detail is how much of the text we are missing. In terms of narrative and direct speech, there are certainly texts that are speech-heavy, with *Gilgameš* X and XI being 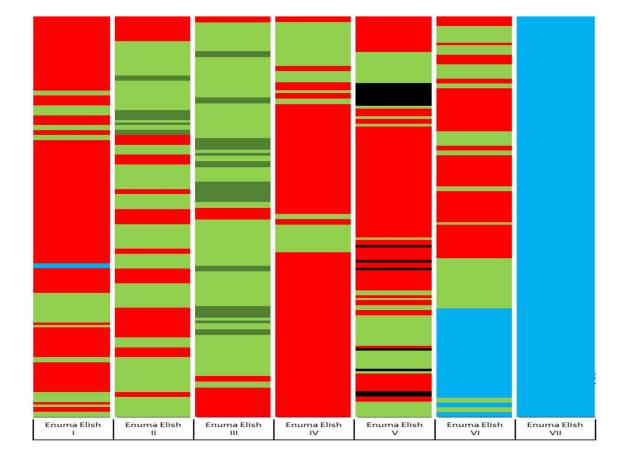the most notable, with very little narrative. There is also far more secondary speech than the *Iliad*, though it only appears in 3 of the 12 tablets.

Legend

	Narrative
	Direct Speech
	Secondary Speech
	Lacuna
	Invocation

The *Enuma Elish*, meanwhile, is predominately narrative in tablets I and IV, while tablets II and II have more speech, though tablet II mostly reframes the events in direct speech, and tablet III also reframes the direct speech from tablet II into secondary speech.

By visualizing the information in this way, we can see more effectively how the different texts vary within themselves, while also seeing the overall division between narrative and speech. Just considering the percentages would suggest that *Gilgameš* is similar to the *Odyssey*, while *Enuma Elish* is similar to the *Iliad*, but this ignores how the text changes. Each book/tablet has its own speech distribution and it is important to consider how specific words are used within this context.

The purpose of visualising these texts in such a way is to show their comparable content. The balance between narrative and speech is very similar, suggesting a

comparable approach to mimesis and description between what is termed "epic" in Greek and the Near-Eastern material.

Overview (1.8)

In terms of Homeric analysis, I will not deal with changes to text, but I take "Homer" as a cohesive text, arguing that 'social, cultural, or psychological implications or consequences for a linguistic choice are not relevant to such a description' (Duranti, 2000, p. 163). This decision is made primarily with the reason and caveat of frequency of instances. A high occurrence of similar occurrences suggests that the concept has a degree of recognition and while individual cases may be disputed due to recension, other instances will fill in the gaps, so to speak.

For the Near-Eastern material, the fragmentary nature of many of the texts causes a problem. Many lines are the result of reconstruction, often based on other lines. This has the potential to create a self-sustaining analysis. Since one line features *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi ana X izakkar* (his mouth he opened he spoke to X, he said), then if we possess a fragment with *?-šu īpuš ?ab? ana ? ??kar* we are inclined to fill in the gaps. While most reconstructions take much effort to respect gaps in the text and attribute emendations appropriately, it is easy to read into it something that is not necessarily there.

As a note on quoted text, I have provided normalised Akkadian, including transcription of sumerograms, to appreciate how they would have been pronounced in performance. An extension of this project could consider how the quotative frame is recorded on tablets themselves – in particular considering the red points that appear in *Adapa* – however that would require a more focused Assyriological study and no real comparison with the Homeric texts.[23]

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[23]For analysis of the red points in the *Adapa* tablets see (Izre'el, 2001, pp. 81–106).

Division of Chapters (1.9)

The first chapter will consider the quotative frame. Almost all direct speech in Homer is introduced with an introductory phrase, which not only marks the change from narrative to speech, but also gives an indication to the audience how they should appreciate evaluate the subsequent speech. The chapter will consider how framing devices have been dealt with by critics, most notably by Beck, but focus its analysis on a specific area: transitional phrases. Analysis of speech formulas has mostly grouped them by the verb, usually grouping them into verbs of speaking or answering (Duranti, 2000, p. 163). Such a grouping is the most logical method of analysis, but often treats any frame preceding speech as a single group, rather than separating off single lines of narrative that interject into the flow of conversation. Likewise, by grouping the words through the *verba dicendi*, the analysis overlooks their position within the actual text, often obfuscating understanding by taking an perspective external to the Greek audience, since the categories can be somewhat arbitrarily seen through a lens of translation. As such, the chapter will look at transitional phrases – single lines of narrative that occur between character speech within conversation. The chapter will look at how the entire line is vital to meaning, since the narrator encodes information for the audience, a process which is constantly occurring.

Through considering what impact these phrases have and how they interact with the preceding and subsequent speech, these phrases will be presented with a pragmatic grouping rather than syntactic, demonstrating that the choice of phrase is tied more with how the narrator wishes the audience to respond. While the introductory phrase can highlight the "topic" and "focus" as per Fränkel, there is also an indication of

whether the preceding narrative or the subsequent speech should be considered more important by the audience.

This same methodology will be applied to Near-Eastern texts, looking primarily at the *Enuma Elish* and the *Gilgameš* tablets, but also considering the presence in other Mesopotamian extended mythological narratives. While most speech is introduced with an introductory phrase, there are fewer conclusory phrases and very few transitional phrases, with the Near-Eastern text often switching between speakers with no indication in the text. The main question here will be what effect this has on the performative element of the text, considering how the Near-Eastern narrator spends less focus on the shift from speech to narrative and how this impacts on the interaction between narrator and audience.

The second chapter will consider interjections, considering how a speech begins. Despite the presence of introductory phrases, there is often a necessity to make the start of a speech clear. This chapter will firstly look at how we define an interjection and take an overview how different critics have categorised them. Next, the chapter will take a focus on two specific interjections – ὤ μοι and ὦ πόποι – in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and demonstrate that previous categories of interjections – impulsions, imitations, and imperations as per Ideforss, or expressive, exhortative, and reflexive as per Nordgren – are insufficient to explain the use of the terms. Part of the problem comes from treating interjections as if they are spoken as part of regular speech, rather than as direct speech within a narrative. While they may exhibit elements of prior classification, within a narrative they function, again, to indicate to the external audience where their attention should lie, even if this creates a discrepancy between internal and external audience. Having analysed the instances of these two terms in

the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the chapter will propose a narratological classification of interjections as either prefatory or reflective and consider a broader range of interjections under this classification both in Greek and Akkadian. By considering the way in which interjections function in both Greek and Near-Eastern literature, this chapter will consider how Greek uses interjections to guide the audience and whether Mesopotamian literature similarly gives additional narrative cues beyond the perceived reception of the interjection by the internal audience.

The third chapter will consider the portrayal of silence in the narrative, specifically how the author uses incidences of characters intentionally refraining from speech in order to cause the audience a moment of reflection on the essential component of the narrative. This will focus on a *siopic hiatus*, where a moment of all-consuming silence immediately follows a speech in the text, with the threat of that silence not only continuing, but also causing the narrative to deviate from the expected trajectory. This chapter will firstly take an overview of what silence means culturally for both the Greeks and the Mesopotamians.

Between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there are sixteen such instances, which have been analysed before as "moments of silence", introduced by the phrase πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ. Previous analysis has attempted to unify its use across both texts, however this study will consider how the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* differ in their specific approach. By separating analysis into each text, it will be shown that there is indeed a narrative function of the phrase, but since the function is to cause the audience to consider the fundamental component of the narrative, it by necessity must function differently between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The division of analysis into framing devices, interjections, and character-silence focuses on how an oral narrator deals with elements of the text that feature at the boundaries and limits of orality. Framing devices show how the narrator changes between different media – narrative, direct speech, and secondary speech – all while maintaining narrative control. Interjections are concerned with how those speeches start, dealing not only with how the internal characters draw attention, but also how the narrator gets the external audience to react to the character's speech, which may be different from how the internal audience responds. Lastly, the portrayal of silence is often overlooked in studies of sound, despite it being both an antithetical and complementary concept. By considering how references to silence deal with the potential for the end of narrative, this is concerned with how the narrator can bring his own narrative to a premature end, since with total silence there can be no performance and no narrative. All three aspects demonstrate that while the audience is completely aware of his plot, he must also be concerned with his audience as well as the medium through which he speaks.

While both cultures have their texts orally performed, the difference in composition would likely lead to differences in narrative technique. Indeed, much of the literary analysis of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* views Homer primarily as an oral poet whose craft must be evident in composition. If such features are evidence of oral composition, then they should be absent or sufficiently different in Mesopotamian literature. By comparing how both texts deal with these three concepts, this study will use the differences and similarities to consider how these texts function within their own culture.

What the Audience Hear (1.10)

Any attempt to consider the impact of a performance upon the audience has inherent problems, since determining what the audience actually hears is somewhat difficult. The text is received by an audience and the process under examination is how the oral utterances are perceived, received, and interpreted. A potential approach would be a from an audiological or acoustic angle, focusing on the receptive senses of the audience and the physical ability to perceive shifts in sounds. However, this would shift the study somewhat to have a passive connotation, rather than considering the intention of the author/narrator. We should try to consider authorial intentions towards the audience with regards to guiding their access, understanding, appreciation, and interpretation of the text. The effect of speech and demarcation of sounds needs to be kept in mind. Previous studies have focused on the incidence of sounds (Packard, 1974) and their perception by the audience. Packard's study showed that throughout the text there are clusters of sounds in the form of repeated words/phrases – in particular particles. At the juncture of transition between medium, between narrative and direct speech, the audience is most aware of the narrator's performance. Any collocation or repetition of specific sounds during these frames might add a secondary layer above the basic meaning of the word. These indicate to the external audience how they should modify their reaction to character speech or narrative, with the necessary information contained within the introductory formulae or capping formulae respectively. By using a recognisable sound cluster – such as τὸν δ' αὖτε – the narrator prepares the audience for a shift in attention, while the accompanying line indicates how they should react.

The existence of musical accompaniment for the Homeric texts is a thorny subject. While it is generally accepted that the epic poet would use a phorminx or kithara, the nature of the music itself and how the music would have interacted with the verse are uncertain (Altes, 2007, p. 184). Some form of alteration in the music could have occurred to mark the shift between narrative and direct speech. Such a change would immediately catch the attention of the audience and allow the narrator to switch modes more effectively, but this would only be conjecture.

As the narrator speaks to the audience, there is an interaction and relationship that develops. The nature of research and reference means that quotations and passages are seen in isolation, but it is important to keep in mind that the audience of a performance would develop a relationship with the narrator, who gradually gives them information. Each moment within the narrative provides new information in terms of plot, but each technique that narrator uses informs our understanding of the narrative world that he is creating. This relies on the concept of "priming" the audience. de Kreij (2016) takes an approach that originates in cognitive science to analyse the process. Rather than the traditional relationship of formula – a word or words have a specific meaning to both the narrator and the audience – the "priming act" 'serves to accommodate a specific cognitive action' that allow the creation of association and meaning *in situ* (de Kreij, 2016, p. 158). The key aspect of this concept is that it can be done within a performance, not relying on a comprehensive knowledge on the part of the audience. It merely requires a willing audience to be receptive to pattern development and recognition, as the priming act 'exploits the mind's capability of binding characters to places in the same way that whole semantic fields are bound together in semantic frames' (de Kreij, 2016, p. 163).

Smith discusses three feature of the quotative frame, with the '*semantic domain*' being the first, alongside 'the form of *participant reference'* and 'the presence or absence of *qualifying phrases*, such as participles, adverbials, etc.' (Smith, 2014, p. 21). All of these contribute to information presented by the narrator to the audience, and the individual elements occur in specific interactions with each other every time the quotative frame is used. The priming act is how an author establishes the rules by which an audience should interact with the text. While there are elements of oral literature that the audience would be familiar with, a primer is sufficient to establish those rules within a text itself, demonstrating either through overt use or repetition the expectations and reactions an audience should have. For any literary genre it is necessary for certain rules and conventions to exist. As the author/narrator follows or deviates from these rules, the audience reacts based on their expectations. It is generally accepted that "narratives work on the basis of shared knowledge between teller and audience" (Altes, 2007, p. 184). However, to consider this shared knowledge to be entirely pre-existent is unnecessary. While the plot is revealed to the audience by the narrator, the rules that govern that narrative can also be revealed. There is, of course, some prior knowledge, however a skilled narrator should be able to present a new technique to the audience, demonstrate how it works, and subvert those expectations all within the same text. In order to subvert that expectation, the narrator is required to **prime** the audience.

Chapter 1: Quotative Frame

Greek Speech (2.1)

At the most basic level, there are three types of quotative frame: transition from narrative to speech; transitioning from speech to narrative; and transitioning from speech to speech. The study of Homeric speech-formulas discussed in the introduction, shows the two main strata of critical analysis of such formulas focus either on semantic considerations – mainly on specific phrases– or genetic considerations – looking at the structure of speech formulas. Following Parry, much of the earlier analysis of the quotative frame took a very formulaic view, often looking at a single aspect of the line and attributing everything else to necessity of metre:

> La perception globale d'un changement de registre suffisait, les détails
>
> de l'annonce: épithètes, participes ou adverbs circonstanciels, restaient
>
> peu distincts et ne servaient qu'à remplir l'hexamètre [24]

Specific words took the focus of much discussion, with the phrases ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε(ν) and ἔπεα πτερόεντα (προσηύδα) being most prominent.[25] Compilations of speech introductions have been created by (Fingerle, 1939), (Edwards, 1970), (Riggsby, 1992), (Kelly, 2007), and most in the companion database to (Beck, 2012).

Having discussed simple narrator-text, complex narrator-text, and character-text, de Jong discusses the relationship between narrator-text and character-text by analysing formulas that introduce and cap speech within the text, opting to call the phrases that

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[24] 'The overall perception of a change in register was sufficient, the details of the announcement: epithets, participles or circumstantial adverbs, remained not very distinct and only served to fill in the hexameter' (Fournier, 1946, p. 68)

[25] See in particular (Jacobsohn, 1935), (George M. Calhoun, 1935) and (Vivante, 1975)

frame speech *speech-formulas* since they are 'highly formulaic'. This analysis is categorised as attributive discourse, a term which originates with Prince:

> The locutions and phrases which, in a narrative … accompany the direct discourse and attribute it to one character or another – the "he says", "she exclaimed" – which partially govern the circulation of voices and contribute to situate speech, its origin, its context, and its destination[26]

These diegetic tags occur around the quoted text and demarcate the difference between narrative and speech. The primary narrator-focalizer (NF_1) uses framing devices – text in the primary narrative that precedes and follows embedded speech – to 'direct…the reception of that speech'.[27]

While the majority of introductory phrases name the speaker, some phrases omit that information with indirect reference. de Jong notes that 'almost without exception…they stress the quality in which a speaker is speaking' (de Jong, 1987, p. 198). However, de Jong also claims that the use of proper names is as a result of the formulaic nature of speech-formulas. If the omission of proper names or the use of indirect reference is possible within the speech-formulas, then the choice to present merely the proper name is decision on the part of a narrator that wishes to focalize the subsequent with reference to the speaker. The presence of descriptions of the speaker within the introductory speech-formulas 'draw[s] attention to the rhetorical abilities and good

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[26] 'les locutions et les phrases qui, dans un récit (…), accompagnent le discours direct et l'attribuent à tel personnage ou à tel autre- les « dit-il », « s'écriait- elle' … qui régissent partiellement la circulation des voix et contribuent à situer la parole, son origine, son contexte et sa destination' (Prince, 1978, p. 305)

[27] 'the NF1, beforehand or afterwards qualifying a speech, directs, especially through his choice of verb of speaking, the reception of that speech by the NeFe1. Before yielding his power to speak to one of the characters, the NF1, as it were, emphasizes his own authority. - (de Jong, 1987, p. 197) 7

sense of the speaker…[serving] to *recommend* the speaker to the NeFe$_1$' (de Jong, 1987, p. 199).

The presence of *verba dicendi* indicates the *locutionary* act, however not every introductory phrase shows an *illocutionary* act, which can be shifted to the conclusory phrase / capping formula. 'Embedded focalization' can demonstrate the *illocutionary* force of the speech act, while the *perlocutionary* act is usually indicated by the capping formula, demonstrating the effects that the speech has.

The presence of *illocutionary* or *perlocutionary* acts are evaluative, as the narrator comments on the actual effects of the speech act, rather than mere mimesis. The narrator evaluating the speech act demonstrates an awareness and understanding on the part of the narrator, not merely possessing information of the speech act itself, but also what effects it has and what intentions caused its utterance. de Jong 'distinguish[es] between information which is available to the characters and information which reaches the NeFe$_1$ only' (de Jong, 1987, p. 204). Information not available to characters, i.e. that which reaches only the NeFe$_1$, includes 'truth-indications' whereby the NF$_1$ instructs the audience (NeFe$_1$) how to evaluate the speech (de Jong, 1987, p. 204). The introductory and capping formulas indicate 'a change not only in level of focalization, but also of narration,' as the narrator shifts his mode of text while simultaneously informing the audience of how to react to that change (de Jong, 1987, p. 207). The quotative frame, therefore, ensures that the audience is aware that text is speech rather than narrative, but also ensures that 'the NeFe$_1$ is fully equipped to understand and interpret a speech properly.'[28]

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[28] de Jong 2004; p.207

The pragmatic function of speech analyses the 'use of speech to evoke or establish particular types of contexts' (Duranti, 2000, p. 201). These 'particular types of contexts' demonstrate an awareness of, interaction with, or reliance on social realities, with specific reference to the relationship between speaker and auditor. The pragmatic function with regards to the quotative frame is taken to mean how specific words, phrases, and formulae within the frame provide contextual clues to the external audience in order to understand and appreciate the speech that it introduces. In this respect, the quotative frame is metalinguistic, since its 'linguistic forms used to talk about and represent discourse' (Lee, 1997, p. 11).

Generally, the quotative frame is grouped into introductory formulas and capping formulas. Introductory formulas may indicate speaker (usually with a proper name but sometimes through description), the addressee (usually indicated by pronoun and named in the speech itself), the speech act (always with the *locutionary* act through a *verba dicendi*, but sometimes with the *illocutionary* act demonstrated as well), and any additional information – 'position, tone, emotions' given to external (NeFe$_1$) and internal (NeFe$_2$) audience, or 'truth-indications, summary of content' given to external audience (NeFe$_1$) only(de Jong, 1987, p. 207). In contrast, the capping formulas usually contain an 'anaphoric (demonstrative) pronoun' –τοιαῦτα etc. – an adverb – ὥς – or a description of the speech act – the *locutionary* act is also indicated, but *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary* may also be stated (de Jong, 1987, p. 207).

There is the potential for discrepancy between the external (NeFe$_1$) and internal (NeFe$_2$), as Heath notes in his analysis of Achilles' speech. Although his speeches rarely show success, failing to achieve his aims and lacking the oratorical force of

other Greeks, Achilles 'succeeds in persuading Homer's audience that he is what he says he is and means what he says' (Heath, 2005, p. 121).

Scodel discusses the frequency of character-speech in Homer and how "interest-focus" – 'where the audience directs its attention' – is frequently changed (Scodel, 2014, p. 55). The focus of the narrative inherently shifts when changing between (Cook, 2014, p. 75). In analysing the structure of the *Odyssey*, Cook recognises that the Homeric texts 'manipulate traditional conventions so as to guide reception' (Cook, 2014, p. 75). By framing the speech in a certain way, Homer can ensure that the external audience can appreciate the speech of a character in a way that the internal audience do not.

Biblical Studies (2.2)

In contrast to the approach in Classical scholarship, attributive discourse has been studied in biblical studies, with Miller providing the most comprehensive overview to the academic approach. With a different discipline there also comes some difference terminology. Reported speech in a narrative is made up of two components: the quotative frame – the term used to describe collectively the introductory and conclusory remarks that "frame" speech in the text. Both the quotative frame and quotation are metapragmatic, since the language, which is itself pragmatic, is used to report pragmatic features of an original locution, 'since the reported speech is reproduced to preserve the function of the original speech, while the framing device 'reflects the reporting speaker's pragmatic analysis of the purpose and/or function of the original locution' (Miller, 1996, pp. 49–50).

Miller remarks on the difference between direct and indirect speech that the former is syntactically unincorporated into the frame, while the latter is syntactically incorporated (Miller, 1996, p. 402). The lack of syntactic incorporation allows greater freedom in the quotative frame for direct speech, since it can appear before or after the quotation or indeed break up the quotation with intercalated speech, a feature that does not occur in Homer, though is common in Latin.[29] In addition, direct speech can lack a framing device entirely, at times with only deictics showing its presence in the text. The unframed quotation presents multiple problems for the modern scholar. With the transmission of text and change in medium, the form of the demarcation of speech can change. A modern edition might uses quotation marks or format the page in order

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[29] 'For intercalated speech in an epic text, cp. eg. Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.321: ac prior "heus" inquit "monstrate". – (de Jong, 1987, p. 285 n.5)

to demonstrate to the reader that there is change from narrative to speech, while 'lacking visual signs like quotation-marks or indentation, the performing singer must mark the change from narrator-text to character-text and vice versa with words' (de Jong, 1987, p. 196). Additional framing devices may also occur, as seen below with translators often adding information for ease of reading, including the addition of *verba dicendi* when the original text omitted such information and shifted between narrative and speech without demarcation.

Miller builds on the work of Longacre (1979, 1994) who considered how speaker and addressee are indicated in the quotative frame through choice of grammar, grouping the types pragmatically and showing how the grammatical feature chosen was dependent upon whether speech began dialogue, continued dialogue, or shifted the topic/participants in that dialogue. With regards to Biblical Hebrew, Longacre considered the quotative frame 'a rather routine piece of participant identification' (Longacre, 1994, p. 140). The relevant parameters Longacre gives for Biblical Hebrew are:

(1) Key choice: (a) high tension dialogue; (b) low tension dialogue; and (c) normal dialogue pitched between the two extremes– with the possibility of key changes.

(2) Linear placement in the dialogue: dialogue initiation, dialogue continuance, stalemate, redirection, final compliance.

(3) Dominance patterns: (a) nothing implied; (b) speaker dominance (or speaker-centred); (c) addressee dominance.   (Longacre, 1994, p. 141)

The ordering shows that Longacre considers how the speech works within and contributes towards the narrative as affecting the choice of the quotative frame. The

position of the quotative frame alters the perception, while the narrator is also able to shift focus and attribute dominance from the speech act to either the speaker or the addressee.

For Miller, speech falls into three categories: first, the reported-utterance context, whereby speech is quoted within a quotative frame, isolated from the rest of the narrative making it 'decontextualized from the broader contexts in which they appear' (Miller, 1996, p. 31). Secondly, the conversational context represents speech as the interaction between different participants, where 'the reported speech that represents dialogue is a calque on conversation' (Miller, 1996, p. 32). Central to this analysis is the inclusion of *adjacency pairs*, a term not used by de Jong, though used in analysis of turn-taking, particularly in Greek drama.[30] There is a contrast between the direct speech in Homer as quotative in comparison with biblical studies viewing it more 'in terms of contiguous, alternating turns of talk, or *adjacency pairs* (Miller, 1996, p. 35). This approach creates expectation on the part of audience, conversation made up turns creates a 'conditional relevance between the paired halves of an adjacency pair'(Miller, 1996, p. 35).

Thirdly, the narrative context, which can be divided between interactive or non-interactive reported speech. Since the difference between the two forms is contextual, there is potentially no grammatical difference between the two forms. However, since the latter presents non-actual speech events, Miller demonstrates how these can be presented syntactically within the text, with the frame reflecting the non-interactive

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[30] 'An adjacency pair is a unit of two turns by different speakers that are placed next to each other, are relatively ordered, and are of the same pair type.[34] That is, the order of the two turns matters, and the actions they perform belong together. The first turn, called the "first pair part," makes only certain responses relevant; this second turn is termed "second pair part."' – (Drummen, 2009, p. 15)

nature of the quoted speech.[31] For both interactive and non-interactive reported speech, adjacency pairs are seen as a vital component in Hebrew narrative, utilising the framework from conversation and seeing how it is applied within a narrative. The prominence of adjacency pairs in analysis of framing devices means that the concept of expectation gets significant focus in biblical studies; while its relative absence in Homeric studies – despite featuring in analysis of Greek drama – may affect its presence there as a concept.

In terms of capping speech, narrative depicts the response to 'a speech event…by a pragmatic response or a narrative depiction of a response,' with a lack of any reply being possible (Miller, 1996, pp. 268–9). In Biblical Hebrew Narrative, a series of speeches by a single speaker can be presented with the repetition of the quotative frame that 'signals a narrative segmentation of the speaker's turn of talk into moves, rather than separate turns' (Miller, 1996, pp. 268–9). In Homer, repeated speeches by the same speaker are very rare and occur without repetition of the quotative frame, but different formula is used so that the speech is reframed – indeed it is refocalized since it only occurs with a change of audience.

Using Miller's analytical framework, Smith gives three levels of analysis: (1) Narrative Level Functions; (2) Conversational Level Functions; and (3) Utterance Level Functions (Smith, 2014, p. 29). The Narrative Level considers how genre dictates some of the choices made in the quotative frame – in particular how meter can determine choice of words use – as well as how the contribute to the structure of the

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[31] 'Non-interactive reported speech refers to instances of reported speech that do not report actual speech events. This type of reported speech may be used to present a character's though as internal speech or to give the motives or rationale for a character's action as framed by the omniscient narrator. It may also be used to indicate what a character did not say or might have said.' (Miller, 1996, pp. 37–8)

plot and how they affect the descriptors used by the narrator – in particular with respect to epithets. At the Conversational Level, the quotative frame functions as an index for 'the dynamics of the conversation', allowing the narrator to encode information such as dominance or cooperation within the conversation (Smith, 2014, p. 29). The Utterance Level allows evaluation of 'evidentiality' and allows the narrator to indicate the reliability or intent of the speech itself. Smith analyses the quotative frame in the context of a balance between objective reproduction of the original speech act and a subjective interpretation of that speech act as determined narrator and presented to the external audience.[32]

The purpose of the quotative frame is to provide additional, contextual information to the audience. The narrator is consciously choosing how to frame the speech, with the pragmatics of that decision falling on the speech act, the speaker, the addressee, and any other information relevant to the speech act itself, including space and time. The narrator is making an active decision what to include in the frame, and as such this choice is metapragmatic. While the direct speech is a moment of the narrator giving space to another's voice within the text, the quotative frame allows control over such a shift in voice.[33]

This decision is made by the narrator, but it is possible to highlight those choices, and 'the reporting speaker may provide a metapragmatic interpretation of the dialogue'

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[32] 'A speech margin is a lens onto particular dimensions of the speech event. In other words, a speech margin perspectivizies the 'objective' speech situation and the 'subjective' reporter stance towards it.' (Smith, 2014, p. 125)

[33] Alors même que le narrateur s'efface pour céder la place à d'autres voix, alors même qu'il abandonne ses privilèges, il se sent forcé de manifester son autorité

'Even though the narrator effaces himself to give way to another voice, even though he abandons his privileges, he feels forced to manifest his authority'

(Miller-Naudé and Naudé, 2015, p. 258). Through so doing, the narrator is encoding into the quotative frame information for the audience to understand the speech.

Secondary Narratives (2.3)

de Jong divides secondary narrative into four categories: 1. digressions – embedded stories that provide background information or incidental information outside main time of plot of the narrative; 2. paradigms – embedded text that utilises a mythological past to comment on the present; 3. *Wiedererzählungen*, "recapitulations" – embedded narrative where an actor within the text narrates events directly belonging to the epic or brought from outside; and mirror stories – 'retrospective or prospective stories' referencing details of the main narrative.

The logic of narratology goes that a character uses a paradigm to influence the auditor. While the secondary narrator does indeed address an internal audience, it is through the primary narrator (author) who is addressing the actual audience. It is the author who manipulates and leads the audience's reaction through their choice of words. Since the author is able to play upon the discrepancy between the intuition of the primary and secondary audience, we cannot analyse the text critically by looking at the primary function of the vocabulary.

Para-narratives are 'used by the poet to direct his audience to a particular interpretation of the main narrative by means of the comparisons he invites them to make' (Alden, 2001, p. 18). By momentarily giving narrative over to a character within the text, the narrator is able to provide an interpretation of events that may not align with fact and may not align with what the primary narrator thinks. Study of these secondary narratives has considered them in isolation. However, when we are considering the quotative frame, we must also consider what effect the framing device has on the story itself. If the external audience has been "primed" to react to a speech, then we immediately experience a discrepancy between external and internal

audience. If there is subsequent direct speech contained within the secondary narrative, then we have a third audience to contend with and a cascade of reactions. While the impact of each secondary narrative would require extended analysis beyond the scope of this project, the manner in which the primary narrator hands over to a secondary narrator – with framing devices surrounding the embedded speech giving caveats and guidance to reception to the external audience – requires some consideration. It is particularly important to consider whether the secondary narrator utilises the same methods as the primary narrator to influence a secondary audience as well as whether framing of speech by primary and secondary narrator complements or contradicts reception of tertiary narrative.

Layout (2.4)

Since there is substantial discussion on introductory and capping formulas in the Homeric text, this chapter will take a different approach to Greek and ANE material. Since a study of the quotative frame has not been undertaken for the ANE material, it is necessary to create a resource to use in discussion. This section will first consider the *Enūma Eliš* and *Gilgameš* by taking an overview of each tablet and considering preliminary findings from a reading of the text. I will expand the analysis by compiling together all instances of both introductory and capping formula in the Near-Eastern material. Using this, I will discuss what observations can be made from each text and then discuss the overall approach in Akkadian literature to the quotative frame. Next, I will take particular consideration of transitional phrases in Homer, since they have been overlooked in scholarship on Greek material. They are also overlooked in Assyriological and Hebrew studies. Lastly, the chapter will consider how Greek and Near-Eastern quotative frames compare and contrast.

Enuma Elish (2.5.1)

Enuma Eliš	Extant Lines	Lines of Speech	Percentage	Number of Speeches	Average Speech Length
Tablet 1	162	30.5	18.8	10	3
Tablet 2	162	110	67.9	11	10
Tablet 3	138	120	87	3	40
Tablet 4	146	35	24	6	6
Tablet 5	158	47 (55)	29.7 (34.8)	12 (13)	4 (3)
Tablet 6	122	50	41	9	6
Tablet 7	162	26 (160)	16 (98.8)	1 (2)	26 (80)

Tablet 1:

The first tablet of the *Enuma Eliš*, running to 162 extant lines of text features 10 instances of direct speech, equalling 30.5 lines of speech in total or 18.8% of the tablet. This gives an average speech length of 3 lines.

Within the tablet, we have 3 speeches introduced by a form of *zakāru* ("to speak") (at line 30 introducing 31-32; line 36 introducing 37-40; line 112 introducing 113-124). All

Speech Start	Speech End			Speech Length	
31	32			2	
37	40			4	
45	46			2	
49	50			2	
		101	102		2
106	106			0.5	
113	124			12	
126	126			1	
139	140			2	
153	156			4	
158	158			1	
		161	162		2
				30.5	4
	Total:	10	(+2)		

instances are in terminal position immediately preceding the direct speech. The first instance is backed up by *issī-ma* ("he summoned") in initial position in the same line. Line 36 is introduced by *pâ-šu īpušam[ma]* ("his mouth he opened") in the preceding line, while line 112 has no accompanying *verbum dicendi*. *issī-ma* also introduces speech by itself in line 43, again in initial position in the line directly preceding speech. The only other word to introduce speech is *imallik* ("he advised") in line 47, appearing in terminal position, though not preceding speech (49-56). The other 6 speeches in

the first tablet (106, 113-24, 126, 139-46, 153-6, and 158) are not introduced by a *verbum dicendi*.

In terms of conclusory remarks, *ina šemê-ša* ("in her hearing" –> when she heard) is used in line 41 to acknowledge the speech in 37-40, while *išmē-ma ("she heard")* in line 125, again said of Tiāmat, acknowledges speech (113-24). Both of these are in primary position immediately after the lines of direct speech, however these are the only aural responses to speech. We see recognition to speech in line 51 (*iḫdu-šum-ma apsû immerū pānū-šu* – "He was pleased, Apsû, his face beamed"), which picks up 49-50, while a similar recognition completes line 125 (*išmē-ma Tiāmat amātum iṭib elša* – She heard, Tiāmat, the words were pleasing to her*)*. The rest of the speeches are not closed in any way apart from resuming the narrative.

Speech Start	Speech End			Speech Length	
11	48			38	
		25	26	2	
		39	42	4	
		44	44	1	
		47	48	2	
53	56			4	
61	70			10	
73	78			6	
85	94			10	
97	102			6	
109	118			10	
131	134			4	
139	148			10	
149	152			4	
155	162			8	
			Total:	110	9

Tablet 2:

The second tablet of the *Enuma Elish*, running again to 162 extant lines of text features 11 instances of direct speech, equalling 110 lines of speech in total or 67.9% of the tablet. There is secondary dialogue, however, as the speech in lines 11 to 48 recapitulates the events of the first tablet. Within this dialogue are 4 instances of direct speech, totalling 9 lines, meaning 24% of this primary direct speech is secondary direct speech.

In this tablet, we have a more regular use of *verba dicendi*. Variations on *zakāru* appear five times[34], always in terminal position directly before the direct speech. Some different verbs appear, with *ušannâ* ("he related") in line 10 in the line directly before verse but in penultimate position in the line; *ippal* ("he answered") in line 60 and *ītamī-šu* in line 130 appear in terminal position directly before speech. The other speeches are not introduced by *verba dicendi*; noticeably, all the speeches within direct speech (56-6, 36-42, 44, and 47-8) lack any form of introduction. Speeches 53-6, 139-48, and 149-52 in the primary narrative are also begun without being introduced by *verba dicendi*. This means 3 of the speeches in the tablet are begun with no introduction and only marked via change in grammar and content.

For conclusory remarks, *išmē-ma* ("he heard") appears in lines 71, 79, and 103 always in primary position immediately following direct speech, demonstrating acknowledgement of what has been said. There is a vocal reaction in line 95 with *išassi* ("he cried out") in terminal position as a reactionary clause. There is a physical reaction to the speech itself in line 135[35], with the use of *ana amātu* showing it is a specific reaction to the preceding speech. In contrast, there is a siopic[36] reaction in line 119 with *ušḫarirma (*from *ḫarāšu*).

The tablet itself ends with no conclusory cap to direct speech.

Within direct speech there are also no conclusory remarks or recognition of speech following any of the four secondary dialogues. There is a direct shift from one speaker

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[34] *izakkar* (72); *izakkaršu* (84); *izakkar* (96); *izakkaršu* (108) *izakkar* (154)

[35] *iḫduma Bēlum ana amātu abišu* – He rejoiced, Bēl, at the words of his father

[36] Relating to becoming silent or maintaining silence

to another as we change from the speech in 139-48 to 149-52. This is no indication in the text apart from *māru* that the speaker has changed.

Tablet 3:

Tablet 3 totals 138 lines of text, with 3 instances of primary direct speech, totalling 120 lines, or 87% of the tablet. The first two of these speeches, however, are significant in length and contain secondary direct speech.

Speech Start	Speech End			Speech Length	
3	66			64	
		13	14		2
		29	30		2
		43	46		4
		48			1
		51	52		2
		58	64		7
71	124			54	
		87	88		2
		101	104		4
		106			1
		109	110		2
127	128			2	
			Total:	120	27

The first speech (3-66) has 6 speeches equalling 21 lines of speech, or 32.8% of the speech; the second (71-124) has 4 speeches, totalling 9 lines of speech, or 16.7% of the speech.

In the primary narrative, the first speech is introduced with *pâ-šu īpušamma* in line 1[37] and *izakkar* in terminal position in line 2 directly before direct speech. The second speech is introduced in line 70 with *izakkar-šun* in terminal position directly before direct speech. The final speech has a transitional phrase[38], with *issū* (125) and *inūqū* (126) governing the following speech.

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[37] A repetition of line 35 from tablet 1

[38] *išmû-ma laḫḫa laḫāmu | issū elītum*

ᵈigigi napḫar-šunu | inūqū marṣiš

They heard, Laḫḫu and Laḫamu, they cried aloud

The Igigi all moaned in distress

The first speech (3-66) has no conclusory remark, while 71-124 use *išmû-ma* in 125 to demonstrate acknowledgement of the speech. The final speech (127-8) also lacks a conclusory cap.

When we look within the large speeches themselves, we see some divergence from expectation. The speech in lines 11-12 is introduced by an imperative[39] while *azakkarū-ka*, a first-person form of the usual *zakāru* verb, appears not in its usual terminal position.

The speech at 58-64 is introduced with a combination of physical action of opening the mouth and a verb of speaking[40], with the *verbum dicendi* in terminal position directly before the speech, however the verb *ītama* from *atmû* ("to speak") – a Gt-stem from *amû* – rather than a verb from *zakāru.* The speeches at 29-30, 43-46, 48, 51-2, 87-8, 101-4, 106, 109-110 have no introductory *verbum dicendi*. This means that the majority of verbs in secondary speech lack any form of introductory verb.

When we consider conclusory remarks, it is most notable that 29-30, 43-6, 48, 51-2, 58-64, 87-88, 101-4, 106, and 109-110 all lack a conclusory remark. This means that no secondary direct speeches in the tablet have any form of acknowledgement in the text.

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[39] *iʾir alik kaka qudme-šunu iziz-ma* – Go, be gone, Kaka, stand before them,

mimmû azakkarū-ka šunnâ ana šāšun – What I will tell you, repeat to them

[40] *epšu pī-šu ītama ana yāti* – He opened his mouth he said to me

Tablet 4 has 146 extant lines, but only 35 lines of speech, spread across 6 speeches, making the tablet 24% speech.

Tablet 4		
Speech Start	Speech End	Speech Length
3	18	16
21	24	4
28		1
31	32	2
73	74	2
77	86	10
	Total:	35

The speech at 21-24 is introduced by *izzakrū* in its usual terminal position in line 20.

Line 76[41], uses the word *išpur-šu* as the regular terminal precedent to a speech, from *šapāru* ("to send a message, give an order"), with *kīam* prefacing the line.

The speech at 73-4 is unusual as it is not introduced by a *verbum dicendi*, but we have a reference to the mouth in line 72, with a paraphrastic phrase suggesting the "truths and untruths" that she holds are the subsequent words[42]. Line 73 is fragmented, but it is likely to be part of the speech. Line 71[43] is similarly fragmented, but the "spell", which Lambert translates, likely cannot apply to the speech in 73-4, making this an example of speech without introduction.

The speeches at 3-18, 28, 31-2, and 73-4 have no conclusory remarks. 25-26 rephrases 23-24 in primary narrative, however there is no acknowledgement of the words themselves within the text, thus making no conclusory remark. The final speech at 77-86, however, is capped by *ina šêmi-ša*, applied to Tiamat.

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[41] *ana Tiāmat ša ikmilu kīam išpur-šu* – To Tiāmat who was raging, thus he sent a message to him

[42] *ina šaptī-ša lullā ukāl sarrāti* – In her lips she held truths and untruths

[43] *iddi tâ-ša Tiāmat ul utāri kišād-sa* – She cast the spell, Tiāmat, she did not turn her neck

Tablet 5, at 158 lines in length, has some fragmentation. While there are 12 speeches totalling 47 lines of direct speech, there is a section of c. 7 lines that could be either narrative or speech. This gives a range of direct speech between 29.7% and 34.8% depending on the content of those missing lines. The text from line 35 to

Tablet 5		
Speech Start	Speech End	Speech Length
15	26	12
36		1
40		1
43		1
88		1
109	110	2
112		1
115	116	2
119	130	12
133	139	7
141		1
153	158	6
	Total:	47

48 is also somewhat fragmentary and could be a continuous speech or multiple short speeches. Speeches have been marked only where the text is definitely speech (as evidenced by grammatical form).

There is no secondary speech in the tablet.

The speech at 109-110 is introduced in 108[44], however while the verb to showing opening of the mouth appears in primary position, this is the only instance of a form of *zakāru* not appearing in terminal position. The verb is reconstructed, with only *i* being fully discernible; the unusual position of *izakkarū* could suggest an incorrect reconstruction, however the other alternatives such as *iqabbû* would not fit within the line, meaning it likely is a correct reconstruction with unusual syntax. The next speech, 112, is also introduced with a form of *zakāru* in an unusual position in line 111[45], though

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[44] *īpušū-ma pâ-šunu izakkarū an ilāni igigi* – They opened their mouths, they spoke to the Igigi gods

[45] *šanîš izzakrū-ma iqbû puḫur-šun* – Next they spoke and they said together

line 112 itself may be designated as a hymnal refrain just as much as it is reporting direct speech. The form here of *izzakrū* in the perfect is also unusual, but tense will be discussed below. Line 114 ends with *izzakrū* in its usual terminal position directly before the speech at 115-16, while line 118 also has *izzakkar* introducing the speech at 119-30, and *izzakkar* in terminal position also directly precedes 153-8. The speech at 119-30 also has the introductory remarks in 117 of Marduk's mouth opening[46], with an additional verb of speaking in *iqabbi*.

The speech at 133-9 is preceded by a lost line at 132, however the presence of *išmû* in 131 as a conclusory remark to 119-30 suggests a similarly formulaic transitional phrase such as Tablet III. 125-6. None of the rest of the speeches in the tablet have conclusory remarks.

Tablet 6:

Tablet 6 totals 166 extant lines, with 9 instances of direct speech totalling 50 lines of speech or 30.1% of the tablet, however lines 123 to line 136 in Tablet VII are the various names of Marduk. The section could be considered a single

Tablet 6		
Speech Start	Speech End	Speech Length
5	10	6
13	16	4
21	26	6
29	30	2
49	54	6
57	58	2
72	73	2
87		1
102	122	21
	Total:	50

speech of the Igigi, as after this is an epilogue concluding Tablet VII, showing that Ea has heard these names that the Igigi called.[47] The list of names is not introduced as

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[46] *marūtuk pā-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* – Marduk his mouth he opened he said

[47] *zikrī ᵈIgigi imbū nagab-šun*

išmê-ma ᵈEa kabatta-šu ittangi [E.E.VII.136-7]

The names [of Marduk] the Igigi decreed in their entirety

direct speech and it is only retroactively that we can consider them as such when we see the recognition by Ea. If we include them as speech then there are 94 lines of speech, making 80.1% of the whole tablet. Since there is no demarcation, the shift in style makes this section more of a hymnal invocation than direct speech. As such, they should be excluded from the overall total, since they would not be received as such by the audience.. Readjusting for that section, we have 50 lines out of 122 lines of text, or 41% of the text.

5-10 is introduced by *epšu pī-šu ana* ^d*Ea iqabbi* in line 4, with the *verbum* dicendi in terminal position and the act of opening the mouth in primary position. *iqabbî-šu* is used, again in terminal position, in the antepenultimate line before 13-16, with another qualifying line coming between the introductory clause and the speech itself (lines 4 and 12). The verb of opening the mouth in line 19 (*epšu pî-šu)* is in initial position in the antepenultimate line before the speech at 21-6, however the verb to introduce speech is now *izakkar,* which has been moved to terminal position directly before the direct speech. A transitional verb in line 27 (*īpulû-šu-ma*) appears in primary position in the couplet linking to the next speech at 29-30.

The position of the verb of opening is altered in line 47, where *pâšunu ipušû-ma* is shifted to the end of the line, however we still see *izzakrū* in terminal position directly before the speech at 49-54.

The speeches at 57-8, 72-3 have no introductory phrase; there are also short instances of quoted speech in 87, 89, 90 that are not introduced by *verba dicendi.* The

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He heard, Ea, his mind rejoiced

speech at 102-22 is also lacking a *verbum dicendi*, suggesting that this may be the beginning of invocations.

In terms of conclusory remarks, the speeches at 13-6, 29-30, 57-8, 72-3 have no conclusory remarks, while 102-22 – whose inclusion as direct speech can be dismissed as above – moves immediately into the names of Marduk.

There is recognition of the speech at 49-54 in line 55 (ᵈ*marūtuk annītu ina šemê-šu*) with a verb of hearing. The speeches at 5-10 and 21-6 have transitional remarks using a verb of reciprocation to transition to the next speech.

Tablet 7:

The entire tablet is somewhat difficult to categorise. As mentioned above , the start of

	Tablet 7	
Speech Start	Speech End	Speech Length
1*	136*	136
139	164	26
	Total:	26 (162)

the tablet through to line 135 lists the names of Marduk, with a conclusory phrase demonstrating recognition by Ea.[48] This conclusory remark retroactively makes all the names of Marduk a speech by the Igigi gods. The recognition by Ea demonstrates that it brought him happiness to hear and is the cause of his subsequent speech, which likely continues until the end of the tablet (though the final lines are fragmented). Ea's final words are an instruction to recite the names and a recognition of the benefits such

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[48] *zikrī ᵈIgigi imbū nagab-šun*

išmê-ma ᵈEa kabatta-šu ittangi [E.E.VII.136-7]

The names [of Marduk] the Igigi decreed in their entirety

He heard, Ea, his mind rejoiced

an action will bring, presenting the *zamāru ša marūtuk [E.E.*VII.161] – the song of Marduk – as a self-referential conclusion.

General Observations:

With the exception of V.108, forms of the verb *zakāru* only ever appear in terminal position just before direct speech. Noting the exception could suggest an inaccurate restoration of the text, however the second instance in V.111 is followed by *iqbû puḫur-šun* (they spoke together).

A form of *zakāru in* III.12 is also in an unusual position, however since it is contained within direct speech and rendered in first person there is no reason to question the legitimacy.

Phrases of opening the mouth are usually part of a couplet before direct speech, either with the verb of speaking in the terminal position of the second line, or in the terminal position of the first line with a qualifying line following.

Gilgameš (2.5.2)

Having considered an overview of the *Enuma Elish*, it would serve to take a more focused look at the quotative frame in *Gilgameš*, having gained some familiarity with introductory phrases used.

The most formulaic phrase to introduce speech in the Gilgameš narrative is rendered in a variety of ways ranging from the purely Sumerogram (KA DÙ DUG₄.GA MU) to the purely syllabic. MU appears in many instances, often with grammatical suffix *ra*, though there are exceptions. Overall, the phrase appears 34 times throughout the narrative, though as always lacunae could mean more originally appeared. The phrase can appear either on a single line or spread over two. When on a single line, the speaker is always given first in the line and the addressee is given at the end of the line after *ana*. When split over two lines, in almost all cases the line break appears between *iqabbi* and *izakkara*.

Tablet 1	2
Tablet 2	4
Tablet 3	1
Tablet 4	5
Tablet 5	10
Tablet 6	6
Tablet 7	2
Tablet 8	0
Tablet 9	2 (1)
Tablet 10	0
Tablet 11	2
Tablet 12	0

The most frequent speaker is Enkidu, who has twelve speeches all to Gilgameš. After this is Gilgameš, who opens his mouth and speaks to Enkidu nine times and Ishtar once. Anu (to Ishtar), Ea (to Uta-Napishtim and Enlil), Girtablūlu (to Gilgameš), Ishtar (to Anu), and Ninsun (to Gilgameš), all have two speeches, while there is a single speech for the hunter (to his father) and the hunter's father (to Šamḫat).

In all instances, the speaker and audience are given. The speaker is always given at the start of the phrase with a single word subject (with two exceptions in *ummu Gilgāmeš (*^{d}*GIŠ-gím-maš)* and ^{f}*rīmat-*^{d}*Ninsun*). The audience is usually a single word, with some exceptions.

- *ana rubūti ^{d}Ištar*   to divine Ishtar

- *ana ^{d}Anim abi-ša*   to her Father Anu

- *ana ardī-šu yâtu*   to me his servant

- *ana qurādi ^dEnlil*   to the hero Enlil

Even though Ishtar is the speaker of KA DÙ DUG₄.GA MU phrases twice, she does not bear an honorific, despite having it on all three instances when she is the addressee. Anu is the speaker in two instances, Gilgameš the speaker in one. Ishtar is given *rubūti* in both instances; Anu is also referred to as father;

Twenty instances of the KA DÙ DUG₄.GA MU phrase are on a single line. Of the fourteen instances over two lines, the line breaks occur between *iqabbi* and *izakkara* in thirteen. Tablet 9.129-130 is an unusual case, with hyperbaton between *iqabbi* and *izakkar* by the audience, Gilgameš. There is included a descriptor of Gilgameš, following the noun rather than preceding as we see with Ishtar and Anu. It also adds an object to *izakkar* with *amātu*, suggesting the unusual line as a whole is taking elements from a different introductory phrase, see below. This section from Tablet IX is known only from MS D, a tablet from Nineveh (K 2360 + 3060). George has restored the tablet as below:

> *girtablūlu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi*
> *izakkarū ana ^dGilgāmeš*   [Gilg.IX.78-9]
> The scorpion-man his mouth he opened he said
> He spoke to Gilgameš
> *girtablūlu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi*
> *ana ^dGilgāmeš šarri šīr ilī amātu izakkar*   [Gilg.IX.129-30]
> The scorpion-man his mouth he opened he said
> To Gilgameš the king, flesh of the gods, words he spoke

The restoration is made by George after considering line 53 (George, 2003b, p. 866 n.130):

girtablūlu zikaru išassi

ana ᵈGilgāmeš šarri šīr ilī amātu izakkar [*Gilg.*IX.52-3]

The male scorpion-man called out,

Saying a word [to King Gilgameš,] flesh of the gods:

It is immediately clear, however, that there are different introductory phrases being used and we cannot immediately assume restoration. We can see in IX. 78-9 that Girtablulu is the speaker in a KA DÙ DUG$_4$.GA MU phrase that follows the usual format despite being spread over two lines. Most of this line is restored, but IX.78 is clear until DÙ, while IX.79 is clear until a-na. There is sufficient space on IX.78 for *–ma i-qab-bi* and sufficient space on IX.79 for *ᵈGIŠ-gím-maš.* IX.129, however, only has *gír-tab-lú-u$_{18}$* clearly visible, though we can safely restore the final *lu* to complete the speaker. IX.130 only has *ana ᵈGIŠ-gím-maš* clear. This would match with IX.52-3, but such correspondence would suggest *zi-ka-ru i-šaš-si* completing the first line. With no concordance in the fragment and no other tablet to compare, restoring IX.131-132 with a composite of IX.78-9 and IX.52-3 creates the only instance in the entire Gilgameš texts of hyperbaton between *iqabbi* and *izakkara/u* in a KA DÙ DUG$_4$.GA MU phrase. Since we can see *ana ᵈGIŠ-gím-maš šar* in IX.130 and IX.129 only has the name of Girtablulu legible, it would make more sense to restore *zi-ka-ru i-šaš-si* in IX.129. In so doing, we remove the exception to the KA DÙ DUG$_4$.GA MU phrase.

The phrase is notably consistent and with the correction of IX.131-2 it follows a precise order. Extension over two lines can be explained by scribal necessity or preference. Such motivations mean drawing literary significance from the difference would likely be erroneous. The line occurs throughout the tablets except for Tablets 8, 10, and 12. The latter of these is of course peculiar in its

own right. The most frequent use is in Tablet 5 demonstrating conversation between Gilgameš and Enkidu.

... ana šâšumma izakkara...

With 37 instances, the *ana šâšumma izakkara* phrase is the most frequent introductory phrase in the Gilgameš narrative, however we can immediately see that the usage is skewed by tablets 10 and 11. There are no instances of the phrase between tablets 4 and 9, immediately suggesting a peculiarity either down to the literary function or scribal preference.

Tablet 1	5
Tablet 2	2
Tablet 3	1
Tablet 4	0
Tablet 5	0
Tablet 6	0
Tablet 7	0
Tablet 8	0
Tablet 9	0
Tablet 10	15
Tablet 11	14
Tablet 12	0

The phrase always appears on a single line with the speaker. The phonic descriptor is usually rendered with the Sumerogram MU, usually with grammatical suffix [ra]. *–ma* appears in all but two cases, I.206 and X.35.

...izakkar(a) ana...

izakkara can be used to introduced direct speech by itself or transition from one speech to another with the addition of *ana šâšumma/šâšimma*. As it is a short phrase it usually occurs at the end of a line, though VI.183 has the phrase on a single line albeit in an enjambed couplet.

The phrase – *itbēma… ipaššar izzakara ana…* – also appears in I.245-6, as well as acting as an introductory phrase in the Old Babylonian tablets:

itbē-ma *ᵈGilgāmeš ipaššar*

issaqqaram ana ummī-šu   OBII.1-2

He arose, Gilgameš, he revealed a dream

He spoke to his mother

The switch in tense between these verbs is considered by George, who cites Streck's recognition that "verbs introducing direct speech generally use the present tense and that this usage is an idiomatic peculiarity found in other ancient Near Eastern languages" (George, 2003b, p. 180).[49] George states that, "*ipaššar* in this line introduces direct speech", however it is *issaqqaram* that introduces the speech itself; no speeches are introduced by *ipaššar* on its own, suggesting a modulation of the speech rather than standing to introduce it. The shift in tense demonstrates an

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[49] A comparison could be drawn with *inquam* and *aio* as verbs introducing direct speech in Latin that are grammatically in the present tense. George's assertion that it is a 'peculiarity' rests on the discrepancy between present tense form but past tense meaning (in terms of context), rather than suggesting it is peculiar to the Near-Eastern languages and not found elsewhere.

unfinished action (Jacobsen, 1988, p. 191), though George suggests we cannot decide whether the phrase denotes that, "(a) Gilgameš rose in order to tell his dream or (b) he rose and, having risen, told it" (George, 2003b, p. 180).

The phrase also appears in the Standard Babylonian version at I.245 and VI,182.

itbē-ma ᵈGilgāmeš šunata ipaššar izakkara ana ummī-šu   [Gilg.SB.1.245]

He rose, Gilgameš, a dream he revealed, he spoke to his mother

itbē-ma ᵈEnkīdu šunāta ipaššar

izzakkara ana ibrī-šu   [Gilg.VI.182-3]

He rose, Enkidu, a dream he revealed

He spoke to his friend

It seems more likely that the weight of the phrase is to show intent of speech and the shift in tense, making this more vivid, creates a flow of tense to move the narrative from what was before to what is now important. When we consider the other line, the section before *izakkara ana* functions to explain the motivation behind the subsequent speech. In I.261-73, it is Ninsun's wisdom and cleverness that means she is able to interpret Gilgameš' dream; indeed, the line is repeated in I.259 and I.260 with only a change from *um-mi ᵈGIŠ.gím-maš* to ᶠ*ri-mat ᵈnin-sún*. The repeated phrase occurs again in I.286-7, where again Ninsun interprets the dream of Gilgameš. The phrase preceding the speech at IV.28-33 is also showing Enkidu interpreting the dream, suggesting that it is precisely by being born in the wild that Enkidu is able to interpret

the dream; it is the same reason the phrase is used in IV.108. The other instance of the phrase is V.144:

^{d}Ḫumbaba napšatuš iš'e izakkara ana ^{d}Gilgāmeš

Ḫumbaba, pleading for his life, said to Gilgmeš

Humbaba is here "pleading for his life", giving, again, the reason for the speech. While the *izakkara ana…* phrase seem simple in closing the line, the omission of *ana šâšumma/šâšimma* seems to always be replaced by a qualifying phrase to show precisely why the speech is about to be spoken. One could easily argue that the *ana šâšumma/šâšimma* phrase is itself a qualifying phrase, as it demonstrates the speech is a response.

There is an interesting case at XI.32 where Uta-Napištim is speaking and utters the phrase in first person – *anāku ide-ma azakkara ana ^{d}Ea belīja*. The subsequent speech has Uta-Napištim stating that he understands and concurs with what Ea has said, showing a recognised use of the phrase to have a reason for the speech preceding the phrase.

Unusual Phrasing

There seems to be another form of introductory phrase in II.185 in the form of *ana ^dEnkidu amāt izakkar*, however there is a lack of comparable examples to glean meaning. IX.53 also included *amātu* as a subject for the verb *zakāru*, though these are the only extant examples, both of which are very fragmented.

itbēma itamma ana ibrī-šu appears at IV.17, IV.50, IV.95, IV.137, with *tamû* introducing speech where we might expect *izakkara*. It is certainly curious that the only examples of this introductory phrase is in in tablet 4. The lines from IV.17, IV.50, and IV.137 are all restored based on IV.95, which is based on Y² (SM 1040) and CC (K 1077), both Nineveh tablets. The episode of dream interpretation is found in OB versions of the text and may be reflecting an earlier introductory phrase not representing in the rest of the text.

IX.50, XII. 8, and XII.10 *apālu* is used in reactive discourse, used in all three occasions as a single line between direct speech. The use at IX.50 is almost a repetition of IX.49 – *Girtablūlu ana šinništišu išassi* – "Girtablulu shouted to his wife". The alteration from introductory to reactive discourse highlights the specific use of each word, that *apālu* has the meaning of reply rather than merely speak.

XII.80 uses a unique phrase order with *ana qarādi eṭli ^dŠamaš iqabbi*, however the tablet G1 (K 2774) and q (BM 41862) only have *a-na qar-ra-di e*[*ṭ*] extant. George's restoration inserts *iqabbi* into the phrase, but it would be more likely to use *izakkara*.

Fragments/Lacunae

There are 32 instances of direct speech immediately starting a section following a lacuna or where the text is too fragmented. Two could potentially suggest some form of speech introductions.

Tablet 1	2
Tablet 2	2
Tablet 3	3
Tablet 4	3
Tablet 5	0
Tablet 6	3
Tablet 7	2
Tablet 8	14
Tablet 9	2
Tablet 10	0
Tablet 11	5
Tablet 12	18

In I.74, attempts at restoration have rendered *tazzimtašina...*X X *ina pāni-šin* – "[their] complaint[...]...before[them]". There are no comparable lines to restore a verb, though the context of line suggests a phonic verb to introduce the subsequent speech, marking a unique introductory phrase.

I.149 is likely to have a phonic verb missing, however the phrasing does not quite match up with other introductory phrases. It could be similar to II.185 – *[a-n]a? ᵈen-k[i-d]ù a-mat i-zak-ka[r.....]* – with *amāt izakkara* missing, but II.185 has the speaker, Gilgameš, named at the beginning of II.184, while I.149 does not mention the speaker, though *ṣayyādu ittalak* is given in I.147. Line XII.81 could be a more likely comparison – *ana qarādi eṭli ᵈŠamaš iqabbi*] – as we have the same *ana*-description-addressee format, suggesting *iqabbi* could be missing from I.149.

XI.310 is fragmented at the start, however we can only definitively make out -*šánabi ma-la-ḫu*:

> To judge from MS h there is not enough space for a standard line on the model of I.322, i.e. *Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUr-šanabi malāḫi*. An abbreviated version must have been used. However, the traces of the first word, extant only on MS W, are not certainly of

Gilgameš, of *ana šâšūma* or of *izakkara*; perhaps an adverb opened the

line (George, 2003b, p. 896 n.310).

No Introduction

Based on current editions of the text, there are 54 instances of speech starting without introduction. Tablet 8 and Tablet 12 have a large number of such speeches; however, they function very differently from each other. Tablet 8.132ff. is a succession of short votives to gods that follow a brief description of a dedicatory object. The description usually ends with *uktallim* – 'he displayed'. The speech may therefore in fact be a votive inserted in the text and thus not directly spoken by a character to an audience.

Tablet 12, 101-53 is translated by George in a dialogue format, however the choice of translation creates far more speeches than is necessary. In fact, the entirety of 101-53 could be considered a single speech.

ša ina tāḫāzi dēku tāmur ātamar

abu-šu u umma-šu rēs-su našû aššat-su ina muḫḫi-šu ibakkâ-šu

[XII.148-9]

''Did you see the one who was killed in battle?' '[I saw (him).]

His father and mother honour his memory and his wife weeps over him)'

The phrase, spoken in the first person (*ātamar*), is translated in dialogue format, however *ša* is a subordinate clause, qualifies the reference of the phrase. It is therefore a single couplet within continuous speech. It would be appropriate to translate the phrase, "Who you saw killed in battle, I saw him."

Tablet 1	2
Tablet 2	2
Tablet 3	3
Tablet 4	3
Tablet 5	0
Tablet 6	3
Tablet 7	2
Tablet 8	2
Tablet 9	2
Tablet 10	0
Tablet 11	5
Tablet 12	3

We then have a corrected number of 27 speeches throughout the extant narrative that are not introduced in the primary narrative, with a roughly even distribution throughout the tablets.

Immediate Change of Speaker

The final classification is an immediate change of speaker, where speech changes to another with no narrative indication. There are five instances of this[50] in total, all between Enkidu and Gilgameš. In tablet twelve, the change of speeches shows dialogue between Gilgameš and Enkidu immediately after they have been reunited, suggesting the importance of rapid exchange. Tablet twelve is in itself problematic, being additional material to the standard eleven tablet edition. With so few instances it is difficult to theorise about the use. It will suffice to say that Akkadian narratives could immediately switch speaker within comprehension, even if the precise situation of this use is uncertain. There is likely to be more examples in the extensive lacunae that plague our recension.

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[50] VII. 69-83 to VII.84-89; VII.251-251 to VII.253; XII.90-91 to 92-94; XII.92-94 to XII.95; XII.95 to XII.96-99

Conclusory phrases, or capping formulas, serve to mark the resumption of narrative following direct speech.

No Recognition

120 of the speeches are followed by no form of recognition in the text that the speech was spoken or heard by any characters within the text, as the narrative continues as normal. There are two notable instances.

The speech from VIII.3-56 is followed by primary narrative with no recognition, however the speech itself ends with the words *ta'adramma ul tašemmānni jāši* – "You have become unconscious and cannot hear me". Gilgameš himself recognises that Enkidu cannot respond and the line continues *u šū ul inašša rēšīšu* – "But he, he would not lift his head". The text demonstrates a lack of recognition, though its use of primary narrative is different from the non-recognition phrase used below.

Immediacy

Some lines of recognition do not immediately follow the speech.

I.75-6 has a two-line couplet in I.77-8. I.81-91 has a two-line couplet in I.92-3. III.24-34 has a two-line couplet in III. 35-6

Recognition

The usual indication of recognition is the with verb *šemû*. There is a fairly standard distribution of usage through the tablets, with a total of 37 speeches immediately followed by a line of recognition of the speech, a small proportion of speeches overall. Use of the verb *šemû* can be split into two main instances, either with a conjugated verb or in the form *ina šemê-ša.* The verb *šemû* appears in a number of forms:

Tablet 1	4
Tablet 2	3
Tablet 3	1
Tablet 4	1
Tablet 5	5
Tablet 6	3
Tablet 7	4
Tablet 8	1
Tablet 9	3
Tablet 10	3
Tablet 11	1
Tablet 12	7

išme(ma) is the more frequent example form of the verb, appearing twelve times throughout the extant text.[51] II.178 has the verb of speaking delayed to the end of the line, while all other variants on *išme* have the verb of hearing as the first word. There is an exception to this in VII.132 where *ᵈŠamaš* appears as the first word . The object of the verb is usually given after the subject if it is *qabû* (e.g. *išme-ma ᵈAnu anna qabâ ᵈIštar* VI.113), however *zikru* can appear either in the same position (*išme ᵈGilgameš zikir ibrī-šu* V.262) or immediately after *šemû* (*išme zikir ibrišuᵈEnkidu šūtašu ušamḫaršu izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*). This latter phrase adopts the *izakkara ana…* formula to indicate intent, showing that it is as a result of hearing and being able to interpret dreams that Enkidu addresses Gilgameš.

ištenemmâ appears less frequently with five times in the extant text, though two of these instances are in a single couplet[52]. *ištenemmâ* never appears at the start of a line.

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[51] II.178, II.300, IV.108, V.131, V.190, V.230, V.246, V.262, VI.113, VI.154, VII.132, VII.148

[52] I.78, I.93, III.36, VII.65, VII.66,

George discusses the difference in tense used between *išme* and *ištenemmâ*. According to von Soden, the formation show that the audience is listening attentively[53]; Oppenheim suggests that "the *tan*-formation of the verb in the epic literature requires more often than not the translation, 'to do eventually, to achieve finally'" (Oppenheim, 1948, p. 22 n.9). Foster suggests that "the tan-form, normally used for repetitive or continual action, seems to have been favoured by the Nineveh poet as a device to represent speaking or perception over a great distance, especially between heaven and earth" (Foster, 1987, p. 24). While I.78, I.93, III.35 show a recognition of hearing by gods – the goddesses and Anu listening to the complaints of the young men of Uruk and Ninsun is "listening in sorrow to the words of Gilgameš, her son, and Enkidu" – The verb is also used in VII.65-6, where it is used to describe Gilgameš listening to the words of Enkidu. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Foster's assertion is the case, as it is based on a mere 3 instances out of 4 total. The "use of the present tense for recurring action" is again appropriate for the usage in tablet 1 but requires some moderation of understanding to fit in the context of III and VII (George, 2003b, p. 786). Since the present tense verb denotes recurring action, I will opt to use the alternative term "durative" to focus on the ongoing aspect of the verb, rather than positioning it in a specific time. We could read the line in III as Ninsun is "listening in sorrow to the words of Gilgameš [as she always does]" to create an iterative sense; likewise, Gilgameš may listen to the words of Enkidu [as he always does], but this is a sense not necessarily borne out in the text. The phrase certainly stands apart and suggests an intentional difference from using *išme,* but the current suggestions are unable to

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[53] Cf. *AHw*, p.1212, 'genau anhören'

include all instances. von Soden's suggestion of careful attention is applicable to each situation but does not explain why such attention is borne in this form of the verb.

The use of the phrase *ina šemê-ša* is very consistent, always appearing in a line following the form Speaker *annīta/annītu ina šemê-ša/u* – "When … heard this". This phrase occurs at I.99, VI.80, VIII.211, IX.13, X.92, and XI.287, always in the line immediately after a speech. It is always followed by an second line in a couplet and shows absolute determination caused by hearing the speech: Aruru decides 'to fashion Anu's ideas in her heart'; furious Ištar goes up to heaven; Gilgameš 'conceives in his heart the damming of the river'; 'Gilgameš takes up his axe. While the *izakkara ana…* phrase demonstrate the motivation for a speech, the *ina šemê-ša* phrase serves to show how a speech motivates action, standing as the strongest conclusory remark.

We have, therefore, a scale of reactions to speech, with *išme* showing that the audience hears and then they act; *ištenemmâ* showing the audience intently listens and then acts; *ina šemê-ša* shows that precisely because of hearing the audience is driven to act. The importance of the phrase on the primary audience of the text gives narrative guidance.

Fragments

There are 32 instances of lacunae immediately following direct speech. Unfortunately nothing can be surmised from these.

Unusual Cases

> *u ša ʰḫarimti iqabbû išemma uznāšu*
>
> *ʰḫarimtu ana šâšuma izakkara ana ᵈenkidu*   [I.205-6]

Then his ears heard what the harlot was speaking,

As the harlot said to him, to Enkidu

ītamaššumma magir qabā-ša

mūdu libbašu iše''â ibra   [I.213-14]

She talked to him and what she said found favour,

His heart (now) wise was seeking a friend.

The framing of the speech at lines I.207-12 is unusual, but actually works very effectively when we consider the scene. Šamḫat has seduced Enkidu and for six days and seven days they have lain together, to the extent that it has significantly changed Enkidu - *umtaṭṭu ᵈEnkidu ul kī ša pāni lasānšu u šū īši ṭēma rapaš ḫasīsa* ("Enkidu was diminished, his running was not as before, but he had reason, he was wide of understanding") [I.201-2]. The speech is unusual because it actually has a recognition - *išemma* – appear before the actual speech, following a use of *iqabbu* that is unique to this instance. The verb *išemma* is used in the durative tense because "the action continues during the following direct speech" (George, 2003b, p. 799), stressing that the action is concurrent with the action described afterwards, i.e. Šamḫat speaking. The use of *ana šâšuma* is also unusual because it is not a reply; Enkidu had not before been speaking. The speech is also followed by reiterating the speech, marking the only instance in the narrative of stating speech after it has happened. The response phrase *ana šâšuma izakkara ana* outside a dialogue format is already noteworthy as it introduces an entirely new speech, but the context is actually the very first speech that Enkidu engages in. The use of *uznāšu* remarks on the

new-found ability of Enkidu to understand human speech, with the word *uznā*
also meaning wisdom as well as ears. We are left with a sense that Enkidu
attempted to engage in dialogue with Šamḫat before, but was unable to on
account of lacking the ability to discern human speech. While we would
generally expect the introductory phrase followed by speech followed by
recognition, the scene features a recognition followed by reactive phrase then
the speech then finally an introductory phrase, inverting the logical order of
speech. The subsequent line follows the usual convention – *ᵈEnkidu ana
šašima izakkara ana ᶠḫarimti* – demonstrating the while stumbling over
convention to begin with, Enkidu is now engaged in the correct dialogue format.

Having taken a progressive view of *Enuma Eliš* and *Gilgameš*, it would serve to take a more comprehensive analysis of the quotative frame in Near-Eastern texts.

Each text has three appendices. The first gives all the quotative frames for speeches throughout the text. The second gives the introductory formula, arranged by *verba dicendi*. The third gives the capping formula, arranged by *verba recogitandi* – the verb of recognition. This term is used over *verba audiendi*, since in many situations recognition is indicated through a non-aural component. In the tables, X refers to the speaker of the speech in question and Y refers to the addressee of the speech in question, for example *ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš izakkar ana ᵈEnkīdu* ("Gilgameš his mouth he opened he spoke to Enkidu") would be represented by X *pâ-šu īpuš izakkar ana* Y when it is used as an introductory line. For capping formula, X and Y refer to the participants in the speech itself, so *išme ᵈGilgāmeš zikir ibri-šu* ("He heard, Gilgameš, the speech of his friend") would be rendered *išme* Y *zikir ibri-šu*, since *ᵈGilgāmeš* was the addressee of the previous speech and *ibri-šu*, referring to Enkidu, was the speaker. What is important to note is that in situations of dialogue between two characters, the speaker becomes the addressee and the addressee becomes the speaker. In this context, if *ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš izakkar ana ᵈEnkīdu* were used to segue between two speeches it would be rendered as Y *pâ-šu īpuš izakkar ana* X, since Gilgameš was the addressee in the speech that it caps. This is important for the appendices that deal with capping formulas.

Gilgameš uses the numbering according Summary List of Manuscripts (George, 2003b, pp. 531–4).

Enuma Eliš uses the numbering according to the List of Manuscripts (Lambert, 2014, pp. 45–8, 61–3, 74–5, 84–5, 96–7, 108–9, 122–3)

Etana uses the numbering according to Texts and Sources (Kinnier Wilson, 1985, pp. 21–3)

Adapa uses the numbering according to 'Texts and Fragments' (Izre'el, 2001, pp. 9–46)

Atra-Ḫasīs uses the numbering according to List of Manuscripts (Lambert and Millard, 1969, pp. 40–1)

Erra uses the numbering for tablets 1, 3, 4, and 5 according to Schema (Cagni, 1969, pp. 50–57) and follows al-Rawi – Black for tablet 2 (Al-Rawi and Black, 1989).

Gilgamesh I.47 shows that speech can be quoted within the narrative without demarcating it within the line:

> *mannu ša ittī-šu iššannanu ana šarrūti*
>
> *u kî ᵈGilgāmeš iqabbû anākuma šarru*   [Gilgamesh I.45-6 (**g**h)]
>
> Who is there that can be compared with him in kingly status,
>
> And like Gilgameš can say, "It is I am the king"?

anākuma šarru is introduced solely by *iqabbû*, with the shift from 3rd to 1st person being the only indication that the words are quoted speech. There is also an immediate change in speaker at VII.84, which is 'marked only by a ruling' (George, 2003b, p. 846)

zakāru accounts for the majority of *verba dicendi* throughout the entire text. In each case, *zakāru* appears in the durative tense, an observation detailed in Sonnek (1940). In fact, the main *verba dicendi* all appear in the durative case (*zakāru, qabû, apālu*), which is used throughout Akkadian to introduce direct speech. There are two introductory phrases that occur most frequently:

> X *ana šâšumma izakkar(a) ana* Y
>
> X to him he spoke to Y
>
> X *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana* Y
>
> X his mouth he opened he said, he spoke to Y

Both lines use *zakāru*, however, the second uses a longer verse form, including *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi. iqabbi* also appears in the durative tense, so it reinforces the act of speaking, while *īpuš* is in the preterite. The use of two verbs with one in the preterite and one in the durative 'are often construed as signifying adverbial relationships' (George, 2003b, p. 184). Contrary to George, Streck believes that change from preterite to durative has a temporal basis, indicating the time that events occur. A note on the tenses in Akkadian. The preterite *iPRuS* form is used for an action that is considered completed while the *iPaRRaS* form, either named the present or durative, is an unfinished action (Malbran-Labat and Vita, 2005, p. 102). Since the act is unfinished, this is usually termed the durative tense, however it can also be used in text denoting the past in an imperfect sense. The preterite can also be used in Akkadian for a completed action in the present, much in the same way the aorist in Greek does not strictly correspond to a past action in all contexts. In this context, the use of *izakkar* refers to the speech that it introduces, which occurs in the past world of the narrative, but is as yet incomplete.

For sake of comprehension, I have translated *izakkar* as 'spoke' since the sense cannot be preserved accurately in English. A more accurate translation of *pâ-šu īpuš izakkar* could be rendered, "He opened his mouth and this was the speech that he was speaking", since it prefaces a long-term action. The use of *īpuš* in the preterite makes the physical act of opening the mouth a completed action in the past. The effect of this on the narrative is to actually elevate the speech itself. One could explain the use of the present as the recitation of the words recreates their meaning, that while the character depicted is no longer moving his mouth, the words have echoed through the ages, now spoken by the narrator instead. This would tie in with

the mimetic quality of speech and suggest in the Akkadian mindset that repetition of the words is recreation.

Returning to the difference between X *ana šâšumma izakkar (a) ana* Y and X *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana* Y, there is a clear distinction in the tablets. *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana* is used throughout Tablets I to IX and XI, while *ana šâšumma izakkar* features heavily in Tablet X. Tablets from older forms of the Gilgameš narrative show a similar distinction, with *ana šâšumma izakkar* favoured in OB Ishchali, Schøyen₁ and VA+BM and MB Nippur, while *pâ-šu īpušamma issaqqaram* is used in OB.II, III, and Schøyen₂ and MB Emar₂. This suggests there is a local preference for the introductory phrase and that Tablet X of the Assyrian Recension is more dependent on sources that favour *ana šâšumma izakkar* than other tablets. In context, however, there seems little difference between the two forms.

atmû ("to speak") occurs as a *verbum dicendi* in a set phrase: *itbē-ma ītamma ana* Y – He arose and he spoke to Y. The use of the enclitic particle -ma would suggest simultaneity between the verbs, but *tebû* still occurs in the preterite with *ītamma* in the durative. *atmû* does appear in the perfect tense on two occasions (Gilg.X.11-2 and X.184-6), however it is in the Š stem, which denotes a causative effect as *uštamma ana libbi-šu* ("she talked with her own heart") is an internal monologue rather than an action towards another character.

ana Y *uktallim* accounts for a large number of instances, but all of these are from Gilgameš VIII.135-181, where Gilgameš brings out several gifts intended for one of the netherworld deities and gives an address over each. As such, *uktallim* – "he displayed" – is used in each instance as an introductory phrase, with the following invocation.

We can see from appendix 3 that the most frequent capping to speech is the use of the introductory phrase. The *verbum recogitandi* that is used most frequently is *šemû* ("to hear"), which occurs in the durative, the preterite, and participle construction. The durative form is used to show the effect on the addressee:

amati-šu ištenemmâ ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illakā dimā-šu

ᵈGilgāmeš amāti-šu ᵈEnkīdu ibri-šu ištenemmâ

ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illakā dimā-šu [Gilg.VII.65-7]

At his words he was listening, swiftly and soon were flowing his tears

Gilgameš at his words, Enkidu's, his friend's, he was listening

Swiftly and soon were flowing his tears

The reptition of *ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illakā dimā-šu* uses *alāku* (to go) also in the durative serves to show that the crying occurs over a period of time, so *ištenemmâ* is needed to prolong the effects of listening to the speech. The same effect is used in to show the reaction of Ninsun to the speech of Gilgameš and Enkidu:

ᶠrīmat ᵈNinsun amātum ša ᵈGilgāmeš mārī-ša

u ᵈEnkīdu marṣiš ištenemme   [Gilg.III.35-6]:

Wild-Cow Ninsun, to the words of Gilgameš, her son

And Enkidu, in sorrow was she listening

Only a single verb occurs here, but *marṣiš* shows lamentation on the part of Ninsun and *ištenemme* is placed in the durative to extend the effect of the speech.

In contrast, *šemû* in the preterite is used to move the event on from the speech. *išme-ma* occurs as the first word in the phrase, with the rest of the line given over to narrative proper, often changing focus. This contrasts heavily with the infinitive form, which usually occurs in the form Y *anna/annīta ina šemî-ša/u*, where the rest of the line is given to an action directly related to the act of listening to the speech.

apālu is used in three instances (Gilg.IX.50, XII.6, and XII.10) in the durative in a line the occurs between speeches, maintaining the durative tense expected for speech, with the speaker given in all instance, but the addressee omitted in Gilg.IX.50.

The quotative frame in *Gilgameš* uses *verba dicendi* in the durative to present a vivid speech within the narrative, where speech is made alive again through recitation. Both participants in the speech are usually given, with the speaker usually mentioned first in the line and the addressee mentioned in terminal position. Most speeches are not capped with any sense of recognition, often transitioning to another speech with the use of introductory phrases with no alteration. Recognition and acceptance of a speech is often denoted with *šemû*, while *ultu* ("after") is used to move the narrative on without suggesting a causative component.

Enuma Eliš has greater deviation in the quotative frame, with formulas being avoided 'as soon as an emotional discussion or situation develops, and the episode contains a certain amount of narrative tension' (Vogelzang, 1990, p. 67). *zakāru* occurs once in the perfect, but usually in the durative. There is a lack of mouth-opening throughout the text, with only two instances of the full verse X *pâ-šu īpuš-am-ma // ana* Y *amātu izakkar* [E.E.III.1-2] and X *pâ-šu īpuš-am-ma // ana* Y *izakkar-šu*. In the first of these two phrase, a direct object in *amātu* ("word/speech") is given, while the latter omits the direct object but adds the enclitic pronoun *-šu* to reiterated the addressee. The presence of *amātu* contradicts the observation by Deutscher that 'speech verbs are also syntactically intransitive when they are followed by direct speech with the quotative construction' (Deutscher, 2007, p. 52). The mouth-opening is rendered in a unique way with *epšû pî-šu ītama ana yāti* [E.E.III.56-7 and III.114-5] – "opening his mouth he talked to me". The appearance of *epēšu* as the verbal adjective makes it equivalent temporally to *verbum dicendi*, which in this case it *atmû* in the preterite, rather than a durative that might be expected. What should be noted is that this is contained within secondary narrative, showing the subsequent speech is actually further removed, potentially removing the necessity to use the durative to portray it as more vivid.

In terms of recognition, *Enuma Eliš* omits a *verbum recogitandi*, either returning directly to narrative or using an introductory phrase to bridge the narrative gap in speech. When recognition is required, *šemû* is used in the preterite, showing comprehension as a completed action, or in the participle construction *annīta ina šemê-ša* to show an immediacy of the action in response to the speech itself. A tacit

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recognition occurs at E.E.II.119-22, where *šuḫarruru* ("to be silent"), where the effects of the speech stun people into silence. This passage will be discussed as a siopic hiatus in chapter 3.

Overall, *Enuma Eliš* presents a rather scattered approach to the quotative frame, with a range of methods used to introduce speech, including no *verba dicendi* at all. Even instances of repeated lines are often the result of repetitions of whole passages, as the text favours reduplication.

Atra-Ḫasīs (2.5.6)

The *Atra-Ḫasīs* differs from the other texts by seemingly placing *saqāru* (*zakāru*) in the perfect tense with *izzakar(a)*. Kienast takes the form as a present ingressive, which is backed up by George who views it as a Gt present, 'causing the assimilation of zt into ss with the reciprocal -t- 'because it initiates a conversation' (George, 2003b, p. 182), though this view is not taken by all.[54] The perfect tense could certainly represent a speech act, being a single completed action from the narrator's perspective.[55] Nevertheless, a Gt present would maintain unity of *verba dicendi* being durative and should thus be normalized as *izzakkar*.

Aside from the problems of tense of *saqāru*, *Atra-Ḫasīs* presents an internally regular use of the quotative frame, despite a range of different tablets as the forms used are somewhat consistent. Most significant is that the extended introductory phrase including mouth-opening adds *qabû:*

> X *pâ-šu īpuša iqabbi*
>
> *izzakar ana* Y
>
> X his mouth he opened he said
>
> He spoke to Y

The fact that *iqabbi* is in the durative makes the use of *izzakar* more peculiar. If we do follow Kienast or George and take the form of *zakarū* as durative, in which case we

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[54] 'By the normal forms of verbs there is no solution to this problem' (Lambert and Millard, 1969, p. 150)

[55] Perfective verbs 'will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded' (Dahl, 1985, p. 78)

should normalize it to *izzakkar*, then we have a regular phrase, but if we take it to be perfect it means we have a sentence where the mouth opening is in the preterite, so a completed action in the past, while speech occurs in the durative, and a further remark on speech occurs in the perfect so a completed action with respect to the present. The separation onto different lines could suggest that we are to take this as a perfect tense and the line could be rendered, "He opened his mouth and began to speak, and this is what he said". This would make the speech itself more vivid, encapsulating a greater time span. Throughout the whole text, it is only *qabû* that definitely occurs in the durative, with *atmû* appearing as a perfect or a Gt durative.

In terms of recognition, *šemû is* the main method of marking recognition of a speech, occurring in the preterite, with the rest of the line moving the narrative on. There is no use of *šemû* in the infinitive construction, making a looser connection between the speech itself and the subsequent actions. A more clear recognition is achieved through *leqû,* also in the preterite, which uses the phrase Y *ilqû terta(m)* (Y took the message), to go further than merely saying the addressee has heard and recognised the speech, but that they have in fact accepted the message contained therein.

Recognition is directly stated in (A.Ḫ.I.218-20) with the phrase *ina puḫri īpulū anna* ("In the assembly they answered, 'Yes'"). *u* is used to change subject in the narrative (A-Ḫ.I.364). A significant number of speeches throughout the *Atra-Ḫasīs* are not capped, showing no recognition.

Etana (2.5.7)

Etana is divided into three manuscript traditions – the Old Version (OV), Middle Assyrian Version (MA), and Late Version (LV)[56].

Old Version

The Old Version of the text has features typical of hymnal-epic, namely frequent use of quatrains alongside a pattern of couplet and triplets. 8 speeches survive in the text. Of these, 3 are followed immediately by a lacuna, while 1 follows on from a lacuna.

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
saqāru (G Durative)				
	X ana Y awatam isaqqar	X ana Y a word he spoke	OV_1.I/C.22-3	OV_1.I/C.24-5
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + saqāru (G Durative)				
	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y-ma issaqar-šu	X his mouth he opened to Y he spoke to him	OV_1.I/D.3 OV_1.I/D.11 OV_1.I/D.13 OV_1.I/E.4 $OV1$.I/E.7	OV_1.I/D. 4-5 OV_1.I/D.12 OV_1.I/D.14-5 OV_1.I/E.5-6 $OV1$.I/E.8
No introduction			OV_1.I/C.36-7	$OV1$.I/D.1-2
Too fragmented				
			$OV1$.I/C.14 $OV1$.I/D.11	$OV1$.I/C.15-21 $OV1$.I/D.12

There are three ways that speech is introduced in the surviving OV text, with a speech whose introductory line is too fragmented to reconstruct. The most frequent method is using the extended phrase X *pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana* Y-ma *issaqqar-šu – X* his mouth he opened, to Y he spoke to him. This details the speaker and the audience of the following speech, with *īpušam-ma* the preterite with ventive *-am* and enclitic particle *-ma. -ma* generally serves one of two functions in Akkadian, either joining sentences or providing emphasis. Here both could be argued to take place; the first instance of the phrase follows the speech at OV_1.I/D.1-2 and all instances occur after somebody has already spoken in a conversation. There is the contrast between the preterite of

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[56] For line numbers and manuscript references see: (Kinnier Wilson, 1985, pp. 21–3)

pâ-šu īpušam-ma and the durative for *issaqqar-šu* as seen above, which still seems be used to make the speech itself more vivid.

This presents a difficulty in how to translate the line. George suggests the verbs can be treated either occurring causally or consecutively,[57] with the 'the present clause denoting the consecutive, final or simultaneous action.' (George, 2003b, p. 180). Jacobsen suggests that the durative tense was used to show that the action is unfinished as it precedes the speech that is spoken (Jacobsen, 1988, p. 191) In such a sense, the physical process of opening the mouth – *pâ-šu īpušam* – took place in the time of the story, but the speech being uttered is present and vivid. The problem of translation rests on the difference in tenses, but if the difference preserves a narrative comment – that the words spoken immediately follow the *verbum dicendi* – then the verbs are contemporaneous: "he spoke and these words I am about to say are what he said".

There are two exceptions in the OV Etana to this introductory formula. OV$_1$.I/C.22-3:

> *atmum ṣeḫru atram-ḫasīs*
>
> *ana erî abi-šu awātam izakkar*
>
> A young one that had great understanding
>
> Spoke a word to his father, the eagle (saying)

The *verbum dicendi* is still *izakkar* in the present, however here it has a direct object, *awātum – word*. The lines follow on from a speech by the eagle given OV$_1$.I/C.15-21,

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[57] 'With an ambiguous case like *pî-šu īpušam issaqqaram* it is impossible to know for sure whether to translate with a participle…with a final clause 'he opened his mouth in order to speak' or with a succession of events, 'he opened his mouth (and) spoke.' (George, 2003a, p. 180)

with fragmentation of the lines introducing that speech, leaving on *erû ina libbi-šu… -* the eagle in his heart. The eagle was speaking to himself.

Capping Formula	Capping Formula2	Column3	Capping Line	Speech
magāru (G Preterite) + *šemû* (G Durative)				
	ul imgur... *ul išemme…*	He did not agree… He did not hear	OV$_1$.I/C.26-7	OV$_1$.I/C.24-5
saqāru (G Durative)				
	Y ana X awātam isaqqar		OV$_1$.I/C.22-3	OV$_1$.I/C.15-21
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + *saqāru* (G Durative)				
	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana X-ma issaqqar-šu	Y his mouth he opened to X he spoke to him	OV$_1$.I/D.3, OV$_1$.I/D.13, OV$_1$.I/C.7	OV$_1$.I/D.1-2, OV$_1$.I/D.12, OV$_1$.I/E.5-6
Return to narrative				
			OV$_1$.I/D.4-5	OV$_1$.I/D.6
Lacuna				
				OV$_1$.I/C.38-51, OV$_1$.I/D.14-5, OV$_1$.I/E.8

There are three methods of capping speech in OV Etana. The use of Y *pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana* X-ma *issaqar-šu* is the same use of the introductory phrase with no alteration as the audience of the former speech becomes the new speaker, named first in the line. *X ana Y awātam izakkar* places the speaker on the first line, with the *verbum dicendi* on the second line.

As capping phrases, we have *ul imgur…ul išemme…* These fragmented lines translate as "He did not consent…He did not listen". The act of not listening is used here as not recognising the speech. While it took place in the narrative, it failed to be convincing.

Middle Assyrian

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
zakāru (G Durative)				
	ana Y amāta izakkar	To Y words he spoke	MA$_1$.I/B.3-4	MA$_1$.I/B.5-9
	X ana Y izakkar	X to Y spoke	MA$_2$.I/D.14	MA$_2$.I/D.15-17
	ana Y izakkar-šu	To Y he spoke to him	MA$_2$.I/D.7	MA$_2$.I/D.8-13
	X ana šuāšu izakkar -ma	X to him he spoke	MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.11	MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.12-18
	X ana šuāšu ana Y izakkar -šu		MA$_3$.I/H.1 MA$_3$.I/H.4-5	MA$_3$.I/H.2-3 MA$_3$.I/H.6-7
		X to him to Y he spoke to him	MA$_3$.I/H.8	MA$_3$.I/H.9-10
Fragmented				
			MA$_1$.I/B.24 MA$_1$;MA3.I/G.3-4 MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.19-20	MA$_1$.I/B.25ff. MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.5-10 MA$_1$;MA3.I/G.21ff.
Lacuna				
				MA$_1$.I/A.1-7 MA$_4$.I/C.1-4 MA$_2$.I/E.1-5

The only *verbum dicendi* used throughout the MA version is *izakkar*, durative of *zakāru*. Each instance shows the speaker (MA$_1$.I/B.3-4 has the speaker in line 3, being one of the offspring of the eagle and MA$_2$.I/D.7 has the eagle mentioned in line 6), with the audience usually given in varying word order. *izakkar* always appears in terminal position, though sometimes with the enclitic *-ma* or pronominal 3rd singular accusative suffix *-šu* further demonstrating the subject.

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Capping Line	Speech
magāru (G Preterite) + šemû (G Durative)				
	ul imgur… ul išemme…	He did not agree… He did not hear	MA$_1$.I/B.10-1	MA$_1$.I/B.5-9
ina šemû (Participle)				
	Y ina šamêšu	Y in his hearing	MA$_2$.I/E.6	MA$_2$.I/E.1-5
zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y ana šuāšu izakkar -ma	Y to him he spoke	MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.11	MA1;MA$_3$.I/G.5-10
	Y ana šuāšu ana X izakkar -šu	Y to him to X he spoke to him	MA$_3$.I/H.4-5 MA$_3$.I/H.8	MA$_3$.I/H.2-3 MA$_3$.I/H.6-7
	Y ana šuāšu ana X izakkar	Y to him to X he sooke	MA$_2$.I/D.14	MA$_2$.I/D.8-13
Return to narrative				
	Return to narrative		MA$_1$.I/A.8 MA$_4$.I/C.5 MA$_1$;MA3.I/G.19-20 MA$_3$.I/H.11	MA$_1$.I/A.1-7 MA$_4$.I/C.1-4 MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.12-18 MA$_3$.I/H.9-10
Lacuna				
	Lacuna			MA$_1$.I/B.25ff. MA$_2$.I/D.15-7 MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.21ff.

The capping formula shows the same entries as the OV tablet, however there is now an additional formula, Y *ina šamêšu*. The use of *ina* + infinitive from šemû – to hear – with the *-šu* suffix. An increased number of speeches conclude with a return to narrative that contains no recognition that speech took place.

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
zakāru (G Durative)				
	X ana Y amāta izakkar	*X to Y words he spoke*	LV.C-G.II.45 LV.C-G.II.97	LV.C-G.II.46-9 LV.C-G.II.98
	X itti libbišu amāta izakkar	*X with his heart words he spoke*	LV.C-G.II.99	LV.C-G.II.100-101
	X ana šâšuma ana Y izakkar -šu	*X to him to Y he spoke to him*	LV.C.I/B.4 LV.C.I/B.9 LV.J.IV/A.a	LV.C.I/B.6-8 LV.C.I/B.10-11 LV.J.IV/A.b-8
	X ana šâšima ana Y izakkar -ši	*X to her to Y he spoke to her*	LV.C.I/B.12	LV.C.I/B.13-5
	X ana šâšuma ana Y izakkaršu	*X to him to Y he spoke to him*	LV.K, L, M. IV/B.15 LV.K, L, M. IV/B.25-6 LV.K, L, M. IV/B.31-2 LV.K, L, M. IV/B.35-6 LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.1-2 LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.7-8 LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.11-12 LV. (K rev.).V/A.2	LV.K, L, M.IV/B.16-20 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.27-30 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.33-4 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.37-8 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.3-6 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.9-10 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.13-4 LV.(K rev.).V/A.3ff.
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma izakkar ana Y	*X his mouth he opened he spoke to Y*	LV.C-G.II.7 LV.C-G.II.10 LV.C-G.II.40 LV.C-G.II.95	LV.C-G.II.8-9 LV.C-G.II.11-5 LV.C-G.II.41-4 LV.C-G.II.96
	X pā-šu ipušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu	*X his mouth he opened to Y he spoke to him*	LV.C-G.II.72-3 LV.C-G.II.111 LV.C-G.II.113 LV.C-G.II.125 LV.C-G.II.141 LV.H, [N].III/A.9 LV.H, [N].III/A.11 LV. K, L, M.IV/B.1 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.a LV.M, N, O.IV/C.19 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.11 LV.H, [N].III/A.1	LV.C-G.II.4-85 LV.C-G.II.112 LV.C-G.II.114-6 LV.C-G.II.126-30 LV.C-G.II.142-5 LV.H, [N].III/A.10 LV.H, [N].III/A.12ff. LV.K, L, M.IV/B.2-14 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.6 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.10 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.12-14 LV.H, [N].III/A.2-6
tamû (G Preterite)				
	ina maḫar Y māmītu itmû	*Before Y an oath the swore*	LV.C-G.II.16	LV.C-G.II.17-22
maḫāru (Gtn Durative)				
	X umišamma imdanaḫḫara Y	*X Daily was praying to Y*	LV.C-G.II.120-1 LV.C-G.II.131	LV.C-G.II.122-5 LV.C-G.II.132-40
No *verba dicendi*				
			LV.A, B.I/A.7 LV.A, B.I/A.25 LV.C-G.II.59-60 LV.C-G.II.109 LV.M, N, O. IV/C.30 LV.M, N, O. IV/C.34 LV.M, N, O. IV/C.38-9	LV.A, B.I/A.7-9 LV.A, B.I/A.26-7 LV.C-G.II.61-71 LV.C-G.II.110 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.31-3 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.35-7 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.40-3
Lacuna				
			LV.M, N, O. IV/C.17	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.18-27

The Late Version preserves far more text, and we immediately notice some new additions to the introductory formulae. The most common are *X ana šâšumma ana* Y *izakkaršu* and *X pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana* Y *izakkar-šu*, with some split between the different manuscripts (K, L, M favours the former, while C-G favour the latter). Both give the name of the speaker and the addressee, with the *verbum dicendi* in the durative tense. We can also see that there is deviation in the introductory line with the same phrase occurring in slightly different word orders, with *izakkar(-šu)* occurring in terminal position in most instances. In three instances, *izakkar* is given a direct object

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with *amāta*. The text also makes frequent use of beginning direct speech with no *verba*

dicendi.

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Capping Line	Speech
šemû (G Preterite)				
	ul išme-šunuti-ma ul išmā zikir X	He did not hear them, he did not hear the speech of X	LV.C-G.II.102	LV.C-G.II.100-101
	ina maḫar X māmītu itmū		LV.C-G.II.16	LV.C-G.II.11-5
ul šemû (G Preterite)				
	ul išme-šunûti-ma ul išmā zikir X	He did not hear them, he did not hear the speech of X	LV.C-G.II.50	LV.C-G.II.46-9
ana zikru				
	ana zikir X	To the speech of X	LV.C-G.II.86 LV.C-G.II.146-7	LV.C-G.II.4-85 LV.C-G.II.142-5
ina pû				
	ina pī X		LV.H, [N].III/A.7 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.7-9	LV.H, [N].III/A.2-6 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.6
ištu māmītu tamû (G Preterite)				
	ištu māmītu itmū erṣetim rabītim (?)	After an oath they swore, by the netherworld	LV.C-G.II.23	LV.C-G.II.17-22
zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y ana šâšima ana X izakkar -ši	Y to her to X he spoke to him	LV.C.I/B.12	LV.C.I/B.10-11
	Y ana šâšuma an X izakkar -šu	Y to him to X he spoke to him	LV.C.I/B.9 LV.C-G.II.72-3 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.15 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.31-2 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.35-6 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.7-8 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.11-12	LV.C.I/B.6-8 LV.C-G.II.61-71 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.2-14 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.27-30 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.33-4 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.3-6 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.9-10
	Y ana X amāta izakkar	Y to X words he spoke	LV.C-G.II.45 LV.C-G.II.97	LV.C-G.II.41-4 LV.C-G.II.96
qabû (G Durative)				
	Y itti libbišu amātum iqabbi	Y with his heart words he said	LV.C-G.II.99	LV.C-G.II.98
pâ epēšu (G Preterite Ventive) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y pâšu īpušam-ma ana X izakkar-šu	Y his mouth he opened to X he spoke to him	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.11 LV.H, [N].III/A.11 LV.C-G.II.111 LV.C-G.II.113 LV.C-G.II.125 LV.C-G.II.141	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.10 LV.H, [N].III/A.10 LV.C-G.II.110 LV.C-G.II.112 LV.C-G.II.122-5 LV.C-G.II.132-40
	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma izakkar ana X	Y his mouth he opened he spoke to X	LV.C-G.II.10	LV.C-G.II.8-9
maḫāru (G Perfect)				
	Y ūmišam-ma imtaḫar X	Y daily he appealed to X	LV.C-G.II.131	LV.C-G.II.126-30
Potentially missing a verbum recogitandi				
			LV.C-G.II.72-3	LV.C-G.II.61-71
Rephrased Confirmation				
			LV.M, N, O.IV/C.26-9 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.26-9	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.18-27 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.16-20
Too fragmented				
				LV.C.I/B.13-5 LV.H, [N].III/A.12ff. LV.J.IV/A.b-8 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.37-8 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.12-14 LV.(K rev.).V/A.3ff.
No recognition				
			LV.A, B.I/A.28 LV.C-G.II.117 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.34 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.38 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.44 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.15	LV.A, B.I/A.26-7 LV.C-G.II.114-6 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.31-3 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.35-7 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.40-3 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.13-4

The capping formula also become more elaborate in the Late Version. There are two instances of not hearing:

ul išmešunūtima ul išmâ zikir mārī-šu [LV.C-G.II.50 + 102]

He did not listen to them, he did not listen to the words of his sons

Both of these following a speech by one of the eagle's offspring, showing that their pleading words have no impact.

There is an interesting repetition of the *verbum dicendi* that occurs in LV.C-G.II.23:

ištu māmītu itmû erṣetim rabītim

After they had sworn the oath by the netherworld.

While this is a different *verbum dicendi* than what introduced the speech, it marks a repetition that demonstrates the perlocutionary force of the speech act. By the Late Version, most instances of capping formula are actually discourse pivots that move the conversation back to the original speaker. However, these appear identical to the introductory formulae.

Erra exhibits very little remarkable in the quotative frame, in contrast to the highly literary nature of the text itself.[58]

The *verbum dicendi* are usually in the durative, with the exception of *qabû* that can appear in the perfect as *iqtabi* and *apālu* as *ītapla.* Erra.I.36 is part of Anu's speech to the *Sibbiti*, the seven gods, but the use of the perfect tense is unclear as *iqabbi* appears in I.33 and I.35 in the durative.

The opening of the mouth appears in two variants down to word order. *īpuš* is always in the preterite form, showing a completed action, with *īpuš-ma pâ-šu* appearing at *Erra.*I.126, I.129, I.92, and I.164. Of these forms, *ītami* is used as the only *verbum dicendi* in *Erra.*I.126. *ītami* and *izakkar* are used together in *Erra.*I.129-30, and *izakkar* appears alone in *Erra.*I.92 and I.163-4. Both *ītami* and *izakkar* appear in the Durative, used to make the accompanying speech. *pâ-šu īpuš-ma* in Erra III.C.57, III.D.2, V.4, III.C.38, II.Rev.Col iii.2-3/31, I.104, V.16A, III.C.34.

Only *ītami* is used for Erra III.C.57, III.D.2, V.4; *iqabbi* and *izakkar* are used for Erra.III.C.38, II.Rev.Col iii.2-3/31, I.104, V.16A, and III.C.34.

išme occurs most frequently as the *verbum recogitandi*, with the preterite form condensing the speech into a single act once it has been completed. It serves to cap the speech, closing off what was said. Within a dialogue, *išme* can be used to cap a speech but continue with the next speaker by the addition of an introductory formula.

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[58] 'The formulae and even the perception-reaction patterns are kept as neutral as possible, and they hardly influence the discourse that follows them. The fullest stress is put on the literary expressiveness of the speeches themselves, and both formulae and perception-reaction patters are subordinate to, and a mere tool for, the framework of this literary composition.' (Vogelzang, 1990, pp. 66–67)

The expression *amāt rubû* ^d*Marduk iqbû eli-šu iṭīb* – "the words prince Marduk said were pleasing to him" – in Erra I.190-1 and *amāt Sibitti iqbû kī ūlu šamni elīšu iṭīb* - "the words the Sibitti said to him like the finest oil were pleasing to him" – are supplementary lines to show the effect that the words had. In contrast, *ina šemû* as an infinitive construction is used to connect the subsequent speech without agreement with the former speech.

The narrative resumes with no recognition of the speech and thus no narrative demonstration of the perlocutionary act. *Erra*.I.7-46 features short speeches often contained within the same line that do not appear in the rest of the text. Mostly they are Anu speaking to the Sibitti, the Seven, and giving each a command, where a unique introductory phrase used for each, usually limited to the first part of a line with the speech taking up the rest of the line.

For example:

> *iqabbi ana šanê kīma* ^d*Girri kubum-ma ḫumuṭ kīma nabli* [*Erra*.I.33]
>
> He spoke to the second, "Like fire, burn, like flame"

These lines do not follow usual introductory formula and feature some peculiar forms. *Erra*.I.36 uses *ana ḫanši iqtabi*, making the only use of *qabû* in the perfect tense to introduce speech in the texts selected for this study.

Erra.I.101 (ES) has the more standard line *īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana qurādu* ^d*erra,* while Erra.I.101 (B) has *rēmu irtaši-ma iqtabi ana qurādu* ^d*erra*. The (B) line features *irtaši-ma* and iqtabi both in the perfect, with enclitic *-ma* linking them, making the illocutionary act of the speech itself *rēmu irašši (* 'he felt compassion): "O lord Erra, why

have you wickedly plotted evil against the gods, why have you wickedly plotted to destroy the earth and the people so that may never return?"

Erra.IV.45 and IV.130 use *u kīam* with *qabû* in the perfect as the only *verbum dicendi*. *kīam* is also used to introduce speech in Gilg.IV.76[59], where the verb *išpur-šu* is used in the preterite. Both uses of *kīam* use a *verbum dicendi* not in the durative, suggesting that it encapsulate a completed action, rather than being used for vivid description.

> *išmē-šunūtīma qurādu Erra amāt Sibitti iqbû kī ūlu šamni elīšu iṭīb* [Erra I.92-3]
>
> He heard them, *qurādu* Erra, the words the Sibitti spoke like the finest oil were pleasing to him
>
> *īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana Išum minsu šemātama qāliš tūšbu* [*Erra*.I.94-5]
>
> He opened his mouth he spoke to Išum, "Why do you listen and remain silent?"
>
> *išmēma Išum anna qabâ-šu īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana qurādu Erra*
>
> He heard, Išum, what he spoke to him, he opened his mouth he said to *qurādu* Erra

There seems very little deviation in the quotative frame throughout *Erra*. Vogelzang recognises that the overall effective of the poem is a lack of deviation in the quotative frame.[60] Recognition is regularly denoted by *šemû* in the preterite, showing comprehension of the speech as a single event that then moves back to narrative, as

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[59] *ana Tiāmat ša ikmilu kīam išpur-šu* – To Tiāmat who was raging, thusly he sent a message to him

[60] 'The formulae and even the perception-reaction patterns are kept as neutral as possible, and they hardly influence the discourse that follows them. The fullest stress is put on the literary expressiveness of the speeches themselves, and both formulae and perception-reaction patters are subordinate to, and a mere tool for, the framework of this literary composition.' (Vogelzang, 1990, pp. 66–7)

well as an infinitive construction *ina šemê-šu*. The infinitive construction is used to transition into another speech:

> *Y annita ina šemê-šu*
>
> *īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana X* [Erra.I.100-1, 168-9, 179-80]
>
> Y when in his hearing (when he heard this)
>
> Opened his mouth he spoke to X

This phrase directly links the second speech with the previous one, showing that it is a reaction to the act of speaking.

Erra.IV.65 uses *apālu* in the preterite (X *īpula qibīta*), while Erra II.rev.Col iii./17'-/18' uses *apālu* in the perfect (*ītapla X*). Both show reply, but the appearance of the *verbum dicendi* not appearing in the durative standing out as unusual. The act of reply is taken as a completion action in response to the durative, rather than the focus being on the words themselves.

Adapa significantly has a number of speeches where there is an immediate change of speaker with no intermediary line of narrative to break up the speech. The verbs that do introduce speech are highly varied in vocabulary, as well as being varied in their tense. Only *qabû* is used of the most expected verbs, appearing once in the preterite as *iqbâ*, and once in the durative as *iqabbi*. *apālu* is used in the form *ippal* to show response, with the responding speech giving the vividness that the durative conveys.

Recognition is predominately lacking in the text, with the infinitive construction of *šemû*, being used twice, leading into narrative that follows as a direct result of the speech itself.

There is an unusual phrase in *kīma ina pî-šu iqbû* ("As soon as in his mouth he spoke"). *Adapa* does not use any variant on the *pî-šu īpuš* phrase, as an introductory phrase, with this the only instance of *pû* in the quotative frame. The use of *pî-šu* gives an immediacy to the reaction, since it is when the words are in his mouth, rather than after, that he responds. *iqbû* is in the preterite, suggesting that the words are not long-lasting as the durative would imply. The line itself is the main crux of the narrative. Adapa has uttered the words *kappa-ki lušebbir* ("May your wing break") and the South-Wind's wing is indeed broken. The use of preterite in *iqbû* shows the immediate effect that the words had. Unfortunately, this piece occurs at the beginning of a fragment; as such, we are missing the introductory formula that introduced the speech. Nevertheless, the effect of the speech is made clear in the narrative, with the author demonstrating immediacy through an irregular tense for verbs of speaking.

Special attention should be paid to Fragment B obv.21'-70':

izzazzū immarūka iltana''alūka eṭlu

ana manni kâ emâta ⁱadapa ana manni

karra labšāta ina mātini ilū šina ḫalqūma

anāku akanna epšēku mannu ilū šena ša ina māti

ḫalqū ᵈdumuzi u ᵈgizzida šunu aḫāmiš ippallašū-ma [Adapa Fragment B obv.21'-25']

They will be standing. They see you; they will question you, "Young man

For whom are you changed this way? Adapa for whom

Are you dressed in a mourning garment? 'From our land two gods are missing

and so I have done this.' 'Who are the two gods from our land

That are missing?' 'Dumuzi and Gizzida' They will look at each other

Here the dialogue is presented with an immediate change of speaker contained within the line itself. If we separate the text narratologically rather than metrically, we can better see what is happening:

izzazzū immarūka iltana''alūka

eṭlu ana manni kâ emâta ⁱadapa ana manni karra labšāta

ina mātini ilû šina ḫalqūma anāku akanna epšēku

mannu ilū šena ša ina māti ḫalqū

ᵈdumuzi u ᵈgizzida šunu aḫāmiš

ippallašū-ma

They are standing. They see you; they will question you,

"Young man, for whom are you changed this way? Adapa for whom are you dressed in a mourning garment?"

"From our land two gods are missing and so I have done this."

"Who are the two gods from our land that are missing?"

"Dumuzi and Gizzida"

They will look at each other

This change of speakers within the same line occurs up until obv. 70'.

For the author of *Adapa*, the quotative frame is not required to transition between narrative and dialogue, though this seems limited only to Fragment B, which was discovered at Amarna dates the 14th Century BC, while the other fragments are from the library Aššurbanipal with a date of c. 7th Century BC (Izre'el, 2001, p. 5). We can see a difference between the fragment groups in the use of *qabû*, since Fragment B uses *iqbâ*, while Fragment C uses *iqabbi* in the regular durative. Unfortunately most of the text is lost and we are lacking sufficient fragments to make emendations to the rest of the text. What seems preserved here is a rather a tradition that presents dialogue in a different way. One of the most intriguing aspects about the Amarna fragments of the *Adapa* texts is the presence of red points on the tablets themselves. Izre'el discusses these red points and their counterpoints in Egyptian literature and gives them the term *verse points* (Izre'el, 2001, pp. 81–106). Having been found at Amarna, the text shows Egyptian influence on Akkadian literature and unfortunately a proper analysis of the red points would require expertise beyond my own. As such, Izre'el's observations must tentatively suffice. For the Egyptian reader, red points

'were added to teach the student the structure of the text' (Izre'el, 2001, p. 82). Izre'el draws on the research of Robertson (1993) and begins with from an initial hypothesis that the points 'mark words boundaries' (Izre'el, 2001, p. 82). Izre'el concludes that 'red points mark metreme boundaries, together with the basic understanding that a colon or a verse must coincide with a syntactic unit' and provides analysis of the text as such (Izre'el, 2001, p. 91). Looking at the above quoted passage:

immarūka iltana''alūka

They will see you, they will question you

eṭlu ana manni • *kâ emâta* • [l]*adapa* • *ana manni*

Young man, for whom • Are you changed this way? • Adapa • For whom

karra • *labšāta* • *ina mātini* • *ilū šina ḫalqūma* •

In a mourning garment • Are you dressed? • In our land • Two gods are missing

anāku • *akanna* • *epšēku* • *mannu ilū* • *šena* • *ša ina māti* •

I • Thus • Have done this • Who are the gods • The two • From the land?

ḫalqū • [d]*dumuzi* • *u* [d]*gizzida* •

Missing • Dumuzi • and Gizzida

šunu • aḫāmiš • *ippallašū-ma* • iṣṣeneḫḫū

• They • At each other • They look • They smile

• represents one of the red points that appear on the tablet.

Breaking the passage down in such a way gives a rather confused reading. Izre'el suggests that the red points mark metremes. However, while they may mark

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metremes, they do not align perfectly with the Akkadian metrical system. They are spaced not only to divide metremes but also to mark sense units within the text. Dividing the text at narratological boundaries would likely create a similar looking passage. What this means is that Akkadian metre aligned with sense unit. Unfortunately, the influence of the Egyptian literary approach means this study cannot go into further depth. What we do see is that *Adapa* makes use of metrical features (and metrical notation) to mark sense within the text, allowing the author some freedom in the quotative frame to deviate from rigid formulas.

Rephrased Confirmation (2.5.9)

One aspect that appears in several Akkadian texts is the rephrased confirmation, something that need clarification.

> *ᵈnusku edil bāb-ka*
>
> *kakkī-ka liqi iziz maḫrī-ja*
>
> *ᵈnusku īdil bāb-šu*
>
> *kakkī-šu ilqi ittaziz maḫar ᵈenlil [Atra-Ḫasīs.I.87-90]*
>
> "Nusku, bar your gate
>
> Take your weapons and stand before me"
>
> Nusku barred his gate,
>
> Took his weapons and stood before Enlil

In the Atra-Ḫasīs when Enlil is speaking to his vizier Nusku, he ends his speech with a command, *edil bāb-ka // kakkī-ka liqi iziz maḫrī-ja*. The text confirms that Nusku did indeed take this action by rephrasing those words into the preterite: *ᵈnusku īdil bāb-šu // kakkī-šu ilqi ittaziz maḫar ᵈenlil*. While this does not use a *verbum recogitandi*, it is the clearest sign in the narrative that the words have effect – indeed the perlocutionary force of the words could not be more clear, since the narrator explicitly states it. This also occurs in the Assyrian Recension:

> *qibâ-ma šurupû libši*
>
> *lišaklişī rigimšina namtar*
>
> *kīma meḫē liziqqāšinātima*

murṣu di'u šurupû asāku

iqbûma šurupû ibši

ūriš iṣi rigimšina namtar

kīma meḫē iziqqāšīnatīma

murṣu di'u šurupû asāku   [Assyrian Recension K3399+3934 (S), Reverse iv.9-16]

'Command that there be plague

Let Namtar diminish their noise

Let disease, sickness, plague and pestilence

Blow upon them like a tornado'

They commanded and there was plague

Namtar diminished their noise

Disease, sickness, plague and pestilence

Blew upon them like a tornado

The longer passage here rephrases *qibâma, lišakliṣī,* and *liziqqāšinātima* as *iqbûma, iṣi* and *iziqqāšinātima*, confirming that the command has taken place. The juxtaposition of a command in the direct speech with preterites in the narrative give an immediacy to the events that have just taken place.

ᵈenlil iltakan puḫur-šu	Enlil convened the assembly
izakkar ana ilāni mārē-šu	He spoke to the gods his sons
…rame ē taškuna-šinati	Do not…them
nišū la imṭâ ana ša pāna ītatrā	The people are not diminished, more numerous than before they have become
ina rigme-šina ātadar	In their uproar I have become disturbed
ina ḫubūrī-šina lā iṣabbatāni šĩtu	In their commotion sleep does not take me
pursama ana nišē tîta	Cut off from the people the food supplies
ina karšišina limeṣṣu šammu	In their stomachs may plant life be lacking
eliš ᵈadad zunna-šu lušaqqir	Above, may Adad make the rain scarce
līsakir šapliš ay iššâ melu ina naqbi	Below, may the river be blocked and not raise flood above the deep
līšur eqlu išpikē-šu	May the field reduce their yields
līne''irta-ša ᵈnišāba	May Nisaba turn aside her breast
ṣalmūti lipṣû ugāru	May the black fields become white
ṣēru palkû lūlid idrānu	May the broad plain produce salt
libalkat erṣetu rēmša	May the womb of the earth rebel
šammu ay uṣā šû ay imru	May no vegetables be sent out, no cereals grow
līšakin-ma ana nišē asakku	May pestilence be laid on the peoples
rēmu lū kuṣur-ma ay ušešer šerra	May the womb be constricted and give birth to no child
iptarsū ana nišē tîta	They cut from the people the food supplies
ina karši-šina emeṣu šammu	In their stomachs the plant life was lacking
eliš ᵈada zunna-šu ušaqir	Above, Adad made the rain scarce
isakir šapliš ul iššā mīlu ina naqbi	Below, the river was blocked and the food did not rise above the deep
iššur eqlu išpikê-šu	The fields reduced their yields
ine''irta-ša ᵈnisāba	Nisaba turned aside her breast
ṣalmūti ipṣû ugārū	The black fields became white
ṣēru palkû ūlid idrāna	The broad plain produced salt
ibbalkat erṣetu rēm-ša	The womb of the earth rebelled
šammu ul uṣâ šû ūl i'ru	No vegetables were sent out, no cereals grew
iššakin-ma ana nišē asakku	Pestilence was laid on the peoples
rēmu kuššur-ma ul ušešer šerra	The womb was constricted and gave birth to no child

[Assyrian Recension K3399+3934 (S), Reverse iv.37-61]

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These large section of almost repeated text makes use of a rephrased confirmation to show the effect of Enlil's words. The perlocutionary effect of his speech is made explicit by the narrator repeating these phrases with a change from precative to indicative that these events occurred. Akkadian is fond of repetition, most notable in the *Enuma Eliš*, where entire sections are repeated verbatim, but this uses a deviation on repetition to show confirmation.

The effect also occurs in other texts:

nīnu mīna nippus-su akal balāṭi

leqâniššumma līkul akal balāṭi

ilqûniššumma ul īkul mê balāṭi [*Adapa* – Fragment B rev.60' – 62']

"What we can do for him. The food of life

May he be brought and may he eat." The food of life

He was brought but he did not eat. The water of life

The sense units of *Adapa* run over lines on the tablet, but the key phrase her is *akal balāṭi // leqâniššumma līkul* ends the speech of Anu, while *akal balāṭi // ilqûniššumma ul īkul* is used to show what happened. While the grammatical sense has been shifted, the addition of *ul* marks a moment of dramatic irony. Despite being brought the food of life, Adapa does not eat it, unaware that Dumuzi and Gizzida have convinced Anu to change his mind and treat Adapa well. The repetition in the line adds a sense of immediacy to the events, while the minor shift in *ul* stands a shock for the audience.

Enuma Eliš also uses the phrased confirmation in varying degrees.

alkam-ma ṣīriš Tiāmat i nillik

illikū-ma qudmiš Tiāmatum ūšibū [*E.E.I.32-33*]

"Come, let us go to Tiāmat!"

They went and, facing Tiāmat, they sat

A minor case of the shift from *alkam-ma to illikū-ma*, the sense is preserved in juxtaposed rephrasing, though the rest of the line differs, aside from the mention of Tiāmat. The same technique is in tablet 3:

lillik-ma limḫura | nakar-kunu dannu [*E.E.*III.66-7]

illik kaka | urḫā-šu ušardī-ma

"May he go and face your powerful enemy"

"Kaka went. He directed his steps

The shift from *lillik* to *illik* is a very minor change, but demonstrates that Kaka has obeyed the speech of Anšar,

epšû pî-ka | li''abit lumāšu

tūr qibī-šum-ma | lumāšu lišlim

iqbī-ma ina pî-šu i''abit lumāšu

itūr iqbī-šum-ma | lumāšu ittabni [*E.E.*IV.23-6]

Having opened your mouth, may the constellation disappear

With a second speech let the constellation reappear

He spoke with his mouth and the constellation disappeared

With a second speech the constellation came into being again.

As the gods address Marduk, the urge him to wield the incredible power of speech, allowing him to both destroy and create. These lines show a slight change in word order, with *epšû pî-ka* becoming *iqbī-ma ina pî-šu*, but the overall sense is a rephrased confirmation, as Marduk obeys the gods.

> *ina muḫḫi irti-ja šukun irat-ka*
>
> *ina muḫḫi nāṣ kappi-ja šukun kappī-ka*
>
> *idī-šu šukun idī-ka*
>
> *ina muḫḫi irti-šu ištakan irat-šu*
>
> *ina muḫḫi nāṣ kappī-šu ištakan kappī-šu*
>
> *ina muḫḫi idī-šu ištakan idī-šu* [Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.16-20]
>
> "Above my chest, place your chest
>
> Above the quills of my wings, place your hands
>
> Above my sides, place your arms"
>
> Above his chest he placed his chest
>
> Above the quills of his wings, he placed his hands
>
> Above his sides he placed his arms

The eagle gives a command to Etana to secure himself, which Etana immediately follows. The brevity of this happening in the text, repeating the phrase immediately after the narrative, shows how obedient Etana is to the eagle's request.

A form of the technique occurs in the OBII Pennsylvania tablet (George, 2003b, pp. 172–92).

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akul aklam ^denkīdu simat balāṭim

šikaram šiti šīmti māti [Gilg.OB.II.96-8]

Eat the bread, Enkidu, the thing proper to life

Drink the ale, the lot of the land

īkul aklam ^denkīdu adi šibê-šu

šikaram išti'am assammim [Gilg.OB.II.99-101]

He ate the bread, Enkidu, until he was sated

Ale he drank, seven jugs

The shift from *akul aklam* to *īkul aklam* changes the command to narrative description, however the rest of the lines are not similar. There are no other occurrences in *Gilgameš,* so we can determine that it is not a technique employed by the author. It should be considered in the capping formula since it makes a grammatical demarcation between speech and narrative. Its repetition demonstrates a change in medium as the text moves from speech to narrative, with potential becoming realised.

The technique itself seems peculiar to Near-Eastern literature, since it does not occur in Greek, which tends to a preference for avoidance of repetition. The closest comparison with Greek would be an inverted instance discussed above:

Αἴαντε πρώτω προσέφη, μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτώ·

Αἴαντε, σφὼ μέν τε σαώσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν

ἀλκῆς μνησαμένω, μηδὲ κρυεροῖο φόβοιο.

ἀλλη μὲν γὰρ ἐγώ γ' οὐ δείδια χεῖρας ἀάπτους

Τρώων, οἳ μέγα τεῖχος ὑπερκατέβησαν ὁμίλῳ[61] [Hom.*Il*.XIII.46-50]

Here Homer uses Αἴαντε in primary position for both the introductory phrase and the speech itself. The same occurs elsewhere in the *Iliad*

...καὶ λίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,

Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω κοσμήτορε λαῶν:

Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί [Hom.*Il*.1.15-7]

And he begged all the Achaeans,

The two Atreïdes in particular, commanders of the people,

"Atreïdes and you other well-greaved Achaeans."

The change from accusative to nominative is here more clear because of the addition of *ι*. The paucity of these instances suggest that Greek is reluctant to repeat words at the same start of lines when transitioning from narrative to direct speech or from direct speech to narrative. The use of the technique in Akkadian can be said to be culturally unique and one that has no influence on Greek – indeed, such an influence would require linguistic familiarity with the text, since any translation would likely alter word order.

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[61] He first spoke to the two Aiantes, who themselves were striving:

O two Aiantes, you will save the Achaean people,

If you remember your strength, not chilling fear.

For otherwise I do not fear the invincible hands

Of the Trojans, those who climbed the great walls in a throng.

Septimus (2004) looks at the role of iterated quotation formulae in Talmudic narratives, an overlooked aspect of the quotative frame. Biblical narratives usually demonstrate a conversation through interlocutors taking turns to speak. The quotative frame stands as passage of narrative interjected between the speeches showing that the audience of the prior speech is now the locutor and the locutor is now the audience. In an iterated quotation formula, the roles are preserved, as the speaker speaks again.

This occurs multiple times in *Gilgameš*:

> *ᶠrīmat ᵈninsun itūr-ma ana pān ᵈšamaš ušanna' urtum* [Gilg.III.100 (iaa)]

> Wild-Cow Ninsun repeated before Šamaš the order

The line follows Ninsun's speech to Šamaš at lines 46-99, which were not introduced with a *verbum dicendi*. This line uses *târu* (G Preterite) – to repeat – and then follows with a speech that runs from line 101 to 110 with a lacuna, until line III.116:

> *ultu ᶠrīmat ᵈninsun ana ᵈšamaš iddinu urit* [Gilg.III.116 (aa)]

> After Wild-Cow Ninsun delivered the order to Šamaš

The break in speech to include an additional quotative frame despite the same speaker and audience being maintained is jarring in the narrative. Septimus suggests that 'Ninsun has paused for Shamash's reply (which, as a goddess, she expects). When he fails to respond to her first plea, she begins again with a second plea' (Septimus, 2004, p. 375).

Another iterated quotation formula occurs in table X, when Gilgameš is speaking to Šiduri:

^dGilgāmeš ana šâšīma izakkara ana sabītum [Gilg.X.46 (b), Gilg.X.72 (K1zb)]

Gilgameš to her he spoke to the ale-wife

The standard introductory formula is used to introduce speech that runs from line 47 to 71, during which Gilgameš explains that he has every right to have sorrow in his heart since Enkidu is dead, as he tells of their deeds together and his love for him. The line is repeated in identical manner as Gilgameš then asks Šiduri for the road to Ūta-napišti in a speech from lines 73-77. Gilgameš begins his speech with the word *eninna* – now – showing a change of topic. Merely using *eninna* should have been sufficient for Gilgameš to change his topic, but the text uses a new quotative frame to introduce a new topic. *Gilgameš* makes use of this device at other moments. When Gilgameš meets Ur-šanabi the same scene plays out

^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^mur-šunabi malāḫi

[Gilg.X.119 (K2), Gilg.X.149 (K1)]

Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi

Gilgameš repeats the same words to Ur-šanabi in a speech from lines 120 to 148, and makes the same speech afterwards inquiring the location of Ur-šanabi.

Finally, when Gilgameš has found Ūta-napišti, he again repeats the lines explaining his sorrow over Enkidu with the same introductory formula:

^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkar ana ^mŪta-napišti [Gilg.X.219 (z), Gilg.X.249 (K1f)]

Gilgameš to him he spoke to Ūta-napišti

This line is repeated after the speech, but now Gilgameš says something different

anāku umma lullik-ma ^mŪta-napišti rūqa ša idabbubuš lūmur

adḫur allika kali-šina mātāti

I thought thus, may I find find Ūta-napišti the Far-Away, who people talk of

I searched around again, I went to all the lands

What we can understand from this section is that the narrator felt the need to mark a change in topic with an additional quotative frame. The drastic change from discussing Enkidu to now discussing Ūtanapišti requires a more significant mark in the text than Gilgameš merely changing topic within his own speech.

Greek Transitional Phrases: The Discourse Pivot (2.6.1)

Riggsby's division of speech into four types demonstrates effectively the problem that critical analysis of Greek quotative frame has faced. Introductory phrases are grouped based on the verb that appears within it:

a. "speak (a speech)"

b. "speak to (one person)"

c. "speak among (several)"

d. "answer"

This division rests upon how the terms are translated, grouping terms into how they would function in English, albeit basing them upon the Greek words. Furthermore, Riggsby almost reduces this to merely three groups, since, 'one might be tempted to collapse the "speak to" (b) and "answer" (d) types into one group' (Riggsby, 1992, p. 108 n.2). The motivation behind this is because either of them 'can introduce a conversation so long as there are exactly two participants' (Riggsby, 1992, p. 108 n.23)

Riggsby places the emphasis of a line on the verb used within it, suggesting that, 'each of these types can be decomposed into determinants, whose form in an individual line is fixed by the story and are given priority in placement in the line, and by a series of variables, whose particular form is metrically economical and (where appropriate) are shared between schemata' (Riggsby, 1992, p. 109). This approach of determinants and variables reduces the line either to an intended verb so that everything follows, or an intended noun/epithet and everything follows. By exploring transitional phrases, this section will demonstrate that Riggsby's view is insufficient in exploring the

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quotative frame as it combines a simplicity of analysis with overlooking fundamental elements of phonic portrayal.

Edwards, meanwhile, analyses "answering" expressions primarily based on where the caesura lies, grouping into roughly three groups, entirely dependent on the noun-epithet formula (Edwards, 1970, pp. 86–7). Beck (2009) marks no difference between a line at the end of narrative introducing speech and a single line between speeches, showing no treatment of "answering" expressions or transitional discourse. de Jong treats the transition 'from simple narrator-text to character-text', dividing attributive discourse into 'the introduction and capping of direct speech' (de Jong, 1987, p. 207).

The scholarship so far has treated introductory remarks as a single cohesive unit, rather than recognising the difference between introductory and transitional phrases. This section will consider transitional phrases in isolation, rather than including them under the general banner of introductory phrases.

In the *Odyssey*, there are c.245 instances of a single line of narrative appearing between speeches, while the *Iliad* has c.211 transitional lines.[62] In no instances does direct speech transition from one speaker to another without at least a single line separating the two. In almost all cases, the transitional line begins with τὸν/τὴν δ'. The repeated use of this collection of sounds creates a specific phonic marker that indicates to the reader that there is a change of speaker. While ὣς (ἔ)φατ(ο) is so intrinsically associated with Homer concluding speech, scholarship has rather overlooked this collection of sounds, almost dismissing it out of grammatical simplicity – a pronoun indicating the former speaker with a usually elided particle. With so many

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[62] The actual value is uncertain considering extended transitional phrases and secondary dialogue.

lines occurring in the Homeric corpus starting with such regularity should be sufficient to analyse as a formula in its own right, the fact that they always occur sandwiched between speeches suggests that we must take transitional phrases in isolation.

Another key element in many transitional phrases is the particle αὖ. Klein deals with the term comprehensively, recognising a range of meaning that goes far beyond a mere conjunction. The usual definition suggests that it signals 'continuation within a series consisting of two (occasionally, more) members', being 'nearly equivalent to δέ' (Klein, 1988, p. 251). Its use in Homer, however, shows a variable function, as it can be continuative, adversative, additive, emphatic or as merely a conjunction (Klein, 1988, p. 264).

Presented in Appendix 16 are the different transitional phrases that occur in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

ἀντίον ηὔδα – "Then … spoke to him in reply" (2.6.2)

												Totals:
τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Od.1.213	Od.1.230	Od.1.306	Od.1.345	Od.1.388	Od.1.412	Od.2.129	Od.2.208	Od.2.309	Od.2.371	
		Od.3.21	Od.3.75*	Od.3.201	Od.3.225	Od.3.239	Od.4.290	Od.4.315	Od.4.593	Od.15.86	Od.15.154	
		Od.15.179	Od.15.265	Od.15.279	Od.17.107	Od.17.392	Od.17.598	Od.18.226	Od.19.26	Od.20.338	Od.21.342	
		Od.22.153	Od.23.122									42
τὸν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύμαχος Πολύβου πάϊς		Od.1.399	Od.2.177	Od.21.319								3
τὸν δ' Εὐηνορίδης Λειώκριτος		Od.2.242										1
τὸν δ' αὖ Νεστορίδης Πεισίστρατος		Od.4.155										1
τὸν δ' υἱὸς Φρονίοιο Νοήμων		Od.4.648										1
ἦ ῥα καὶ Ἑρμείαν υἱὸν φίλον		Od.5.28										1
τὸν δ' αὖ Νεστορίδης Πεισίστρατος		Od.7.186										1
τὸν δ' αὖ Λαέρτης πεπνυμένος		Od.24.375										1
τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος		Od.24.510										1
												52

The transitional phrase ending ἀντίον ηὔδα occurs 52 times in the *Odyssey* with a fairly regular format. The phonic aspect of the line is from αὐδάω – to speak/utter – combined with the adverbial form of ἀντίος – against or in reply. The phrase occurs on a single line between speeches with the exception of Od.3.75-8, which has an extended transitional phrase. The audience of the speech is usually given with τὸν or τὴν, followed by δ' αὖ/ δ' αὖτ' depending on the subsequent noun, which is always the speaker. The addressee of the audience is never mentioned while the subject is given in the middle of the line. In terms of pure instances, an epithet appears 45 times, however 43 of these are Telemachus, who receives the adjective πεπνυμένος in every case. Nausicaa and Laërtes also receives epithets (λευκώλενος and πεπνυμένος respectively), however the others present the speaker and their father[63]

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[63] Εὐρύμαχος Πολύβου πάϊς (Od.Α.399, Od.Β.177, Od.Π.433, Od.Φ.319)

Εὐηνορίδης Λειώκριτος (Od.Β.242)

Νεστορίδης Πεισίστρατος (Od.Δ.155, Ο.48)

υἱὸς Φρονίοιο Νοήμων (Od.Δ.648)

The uses of the ἀντίον ηὔδα phrase mostly substitutes Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος for another subject merely by name and father (Eurymachus, son of Polybus; Peisistratus, son of Nestor; Noëmon, son of Phronius; the dear son of Hermes). The other two instances attach an epithet, with Nausicaa described as λευκώλενος – white-armed, and Laërtes also described as πεπνυμένος.

The omission of δ' αὖ at Od.2.242 is likely to accommodate the names Εὐηνορίδης Λειώκριτος metrically within the line. Od.5.28, however, differs radically as the phrase, while located between speeches, is not transitional in the usual sense since it maintains the same speaker. As a result, while the line ends in the accustomed ἀντίον ηὔδα, the first part of the line - ἦ ῥα καὶ Ἑρμείαν, υἱὸν φίλον – has the conclusory ἦ - he spoke – and then the addressee given in the place of the speaker. The speaker, Zeus, is maintained, however he shifts to a different audience.

Od.3.75-8 has three lines between the ἀντίον ηὔδα phrase and the subsequent speech, so requires further analysis:

> τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα
>
> θαρσήσας: αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θάρσος Ἀθήνη
>
> θῆχ' ἵνα μιν περὶ πατρὸς ἀποιχομένοιο ἔροιτο
>
> ἠδ' ἵνα μιν κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχησιν:
>
> Then 'wise' Telemachus spoke to him in reply,
>
> Having taken courage; for Athene herself put courage in his mind,
>
> That he might ask about his father that was gone
>
> And that he might have good renown amongst men

Line 78 is omitted in most manuscripts and is a repetition of Od.I.95. The phrase overall is the only instance in the *Odyssey* of lines of narrative following after ἀντίον ηὔδα. Nevertheless, the lines are thematically appropriate and Od.3.75 is a useful line to consider the intention Homer has when using this phrase.

The phrase occurs 18 times in the *Iliad*, with some exceptions that do not occur in the

τὴν δ' αὖτ' Ἀντήνωρ πεπνυμένος	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Il.3.203						1
τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἰδομενεὺς Κρητῶν ἀγὸς		Il.4.265	Il.13.221	Il.13.259	Il.13.259	Il.13.274	Il.13.311	6
στῆ δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο ἔπος τέ μιν		Il.5.170						1
τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰνείας Τρώων ἀγὸς		Il.5.217						1
τὸν δ' αὖ Σαρπηδὼν Λυκίων ἀγὸς		Il.5.647						1
καί ῥα Ποσειδάωνα μέγαν θεὸν ἀντίον		Il.8.200						1
τὸν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύπυλος βεβλημένος/πεπνυμένος		Il.11.821						1
τὸν δ' αὖ Μηριόνης πεπνυμένος		Il.13.254	Il.13.266					2
τὸν δ' αὖ Μηριόνης δουρικλυτὸς		Il.13.619						1
τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς		Il.23.482						1
τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἀντίλοχος πεπνυμένος		Il.23.586						1
αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Ἑρμείαν υἱὸν φίλον		Il.23.333						1
								18

Odyssey.

The most common occurs with Idomeneus, given the descriptor leader of the Cretans, with δ' αὖτ' making up the rest of the line. 4.265 follows Agamemnon telling Idomeneus to rouse himself for battle, with Idomoneus agreeing, but telling Agamemnon to urge on the other Achaeans to fight soon. 13.221 has Idomeneus replying to Poseidon, disguised as Thoas, who is asking where the Greek threat to the Trojans are. Idomeneus replies and urges Thoas to rouse the Greek men for battle. At 13.259, Idomeneus replies to Meriones seeking a spear, as Idomeneus tells he has plenty of spears in his hut, taken from the Trojans he has slain, while he again replies to Meriones at 13.274 and 13.311, discussing a return to battle. Meriones himself is included in the phrase with the descriptor πεπνυμένος at 13.254 and 13.266, and δουρικλυτός at 16.619. It is of note that Meriones takes the epithet δουρικλυτὸς during battle with Aeneas, but πεπνυμένος when outside of battle with Idomeneus.

Idomeneus has a final instance where he is described as χολωσάμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς – the having been angered leader of the Cretans. He speaks in reply to Aias, son of Oïleus, rebuking him. Idomeneus returns his insult and places a wager of a tripod over the winner of the race.

At 3.203, Antenor responds to Helen, agreeing with her as she identifies Odysseus from the walls of Ilium, with an extended speech through to 3.224 giving a description of Odysseus. The phrase is used of Aeneas alongside the epithet Τρώων ἄγος, as ἄγος appears also for Idomeneus and Sarpedon. Aeneas was responding to Pandarus lamenting his arrow striking Diomedes and Menelaus, but only rousing them more. Aeneas urges him to join battle with him. Sarpedon is the subject of the phrase when he replies to Tlepolemus who has boasted of his father Herakles sacking Ilium and called Sarpedon a coward. Sarpedon replies by promising death for Tlepolemus, a threat he sees through, albeit being injured in the process.

The ἀντίον ηὔδα occurs in the *Iliad* before a rejoinder to battle contest. It does not have an inherently antagonistic component, as we see between Idomeneus and Meriones, though it can be used as such, as between Sarpedon and Tlepolemus, while having a friendly antagonism when used between Idomeneus and Aias. This phrase precedes speeches expressing a desire to create contest or battle, but the focus is on the speaker themselves.

πεπνυμένος

Every time Telemachus is mentioned in the phrase, he is given the epithet πεπνυμένος.[64] Usually translated as wise, it is mostly used in reference to speech; in fact the majority of uses are within this transitional phrase. There are 67 uses of πεπνυμένος in the *Odyssey*. Every use attributed to Telemachus is within the ἀντίον ηὔδα phrase.

In Od.1.361 and Od.21.354 the term is used to describe the μῦθον of Telemachus as Penelope takes what he says to heart. B.38 states that the herald Peisenor knows πεπνυμένα μήδεα – wise counsel, while the herald Medon is also described with the term (Od.4.696, Od.4.711, Od.22.361, Od.24.442). At Od.3.20, Athene states that Nestor does not speak a lie, for he is μάλα πεπνυμένος. The association with Nestor is reiterated when Athene rejoices at Od.3.52 that Nestor is a πεπνυμένος and δίκαιος man.

Od.3.20 is repeated at Od.3.328, but this time in a speech by Nestor describing Menelaus, suggesting the ability to speak truly is something both men share and that is the preserve of those described as πεπνυμένος. Menelaus is again called πεπνυμένος in Od.4.190 when Peisistratus is speaking, even saying he is more than mortal men. Menelaus in his reply also calls Peisistratus πεπνυμένος. Menelaus says that he who speaks πεπνυμένα receives good fortune from Kronos himself, and that Nestor has reached such an advanced age because of this gift.

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[64] So seldom are the words of Telemachus in the Odyssey introduced by any other than the familiar line τὸν (τὴν) δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα that the formula is virtually appropriated in our minds to this one character (G. M. Calhoun, 1935, p. 215)

There is notable juxtaposition when Od.3.20 is immediately followed in Od.3.21 by the ἀντίον ηὖδα phrase with Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος as the subject, attaching the quality to Telemachus that Athene just now vaunted.

There is repeated use of the term by Penelope when she is talking to a disguised Odysseus. Penelope says that no man as πεπνυμένος as the man before her has yet come to her house and that he is welcome because he speaks πεπνυμένα [Od.19.350-2]. The references to Nestor and Menelaus have established a connection between speaking the truth and being πεπνυμένος, so there is a dramatic irony here that Odysseus is in fact telling lies to Penelope; the words stand out to the Homeric audience to indicate that Penelope does indeed believe Odysseus' deceit. Alcinous also says that Odysseus seems πεπνυμένος to him [Od.7.388], though Odysseus has yet to reveal his true identity. When Alcinous is beseeching the stranger to reveal his name he gives the maxim that a comrade who knows πεπνυμένα is no less than kin [Od.8.586].

When Telemachus is speaking to Penelope he laments:

ἀλλά τοι οὐ δύναμαι πεπνυμένα πάντα νοῆσαι: [Od.18.230]

Telemachus is not able to know/perceive/plan πεπνυμένα πάντα, after Penelope has lamented that his mind and thoughts are no longer steadfast [Od.18.215] since he allows the stranger – the disguised Odysseus – to be maltreated by Irus. At Od.18.226 an ἀντίον ηὖδα phrase appears describing Telemachus as πεπνυμένος, meaning the transitional phrase between speeches demonstrates to the primary audience that Telemachus indeed has the quality he immediately laments not having. Likewise, there is further dramatic irony as Telemachus discusses not being able to perceive

πεπνυμένα, despite him having clarity at the situation while Penelope herself is unaware of the ruse.

Telemachus uses the terms in the dual to refer to Amphinomus and Eurymachus [Od.18.65], speaking to the disguised Odysseus and assuring that any who strike him will have more than him to fight with. As usual with Telemachus speaking to the suitors the words are replete with sarcasm. Saying that Amphinomus and Eurymachus are men of such a quality is clear blandishment of speech to the internal audience, but dramatic irony for the primary audience, who know how inappropriate such a term is. Odysseus also says that Amphinomus seems to him to be very πεπνυμένος [Od.18.125]. Odysseus uses exactly the same words that Alcinous spoke to him [ἦ μάλα μοι δοκέεις πεπνυμένος εἶναι]. Since Odysseus uses the words in reply to Amphinomus wishing him happy fortunes despite his many ills [Od.18.122-3], we may infer that Odysseus is being sincere. Nevertheless, the audience knows that, just as with Alcinous, such words are spoken untrue, and Amphinomus is still a suitor so cannot escape his fate. At least it is at the hand of Telemachus rather than Odysseus, so perhaps Odysseus does honour the qualities he sees in him.

Lastly, Laërtes is given the adjective in an ἀντίον ηὔδα phrase at Od.24.375, after Athene has breathed new life into Odysseus' aged father.

The term πεπνυμένος has a difficult etymology. LSJ states it to be an Epic perfect passive from πνέω, "to blow", however this seems an error. Frisk suggests it may derive from πινυτή as an abstract formation from πενυτή, with a shift from ε to ι, from a present *πε-ν-ευμι, relating it Latin *putāre* and proto-Slavic *pytati* (Frisk, 1960, p. 509). Chantraine also follows the suggestion of Szemerényi of a present tense of *πινυμαι, with πεπνύμενος resulting from syncope of πεπινυμένος and the ū being the

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result of metric lengthening of the perfect. This would give a root *peu-/pu-*, which again ties in with Latin *putāre*. Therefore, the term is semantically coherent, but morphologically obscure.[65] While Frisk does not reject a link to πνέω, Chantraine does not allow it as a possibility.[66] There is a clear link established in the *Odyssey* between πεπνυμένος and speaking ability, specifically speaking the truth, however the remarkable incidence of the term being applied the Telemachus only in the ἀντίον ηὔδα phrase could suggest a particular emphasis is intended.

The *Iliad* has 12 instances of πεπνυμένος being used. There are 4 uses within the ἀντίον ηὔδα phrase: once for Antenor (3.203) and Antilochus (23.586) and twice for Meriones 13.254, 13.266. The term appears in the dual to describe Ucalegon and Antenor in the description of the Trojan elders at the Scaean Gates (3.148); Talthybius and Idaeus (7.276); and two heralds that Odysseus says came with him and Aias (9.689). Individually, the herald Idaeus is stated to be knowing of prudent counsel (πεπνυμένα μήδεα εἰδώς 7.278); Nestor praises Diomedes for speaking πεπνυμένα (9.58); and Polydamas is described as πεπνυμένος in an ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν introductory phrase.

Each of these instances clearly associates the term with the ability to speak well, with heralds and the children of Nestor being the most usually attributed. Diomedes is

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[65] Ensemble sémantiquement coherent, mais morphologiquement obscure (Chantraine, 1963, p. 884)

[66] En ce qui concerne le rapport parfois admis avec πνέω « souffler », que Frisk n'écarte pas et que Onians, Origins of European Thought 53-58, défend avec quelque imprudence, il suppose l'identification de l'idée de « souffle » avec celle di « sagesse », ce qu'un terme comme français inspiration ne saurait justifier. (Chantraine, 1963, p. 884)

As regards the relationship sometimes admitted with πνέω "to blow", which Frisk does not rule out and Onians, Origins of European Thought 53-58, defends with some imprudence, it supposes the identification of the idea of "breath" with that of "wisdom", which a term like the French inspiration cannot justify.

perhaps an outlier, though Nestor continues to say that Diomedes is worthy of such a

term since he speaks according to fate (ἐπεὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες Il.I.59).

Appendix 19 provides a breakdown of the transitional formula used across the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. All of these instances are single lines that occur between two speeches. We can see that the majority of instances are introduced by τòν/τὴν δ(ὲ).

Participle	προσέφη		Speaker	
	προσηύδα		Speaker	
		Speaker	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:
	ἐνένιπεν		Speaker	
	προσέφη		Speaker	

Speaker	μύθοισιν	ἀμειβόμενος		προσέειπε:
	μύθοισιν	ἀμείβετο		Speaker
	ἀμείβετο		Speaker	
		ἀντίον		ηὔδα:

ἠμείβετ'	ἔπειτα	Speaker

ἄρ'	Participle	προσέφη	Speaker
	Participle	ἠμείβετο	Speaker

αὖ/ **αὖθ'/** **αὖτ'/** **αὖτε**		Speaker	ἠμείβετο	μύθῳ:
	Speaker	ἀπαμείβετο	φώνησέν	τε:
		Speaker	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:
	Speaker	προσεφώνεε		Speaker
	Speaker	προσηύδα		Speaker
		Speaker	ἀπαμειβόμενος	προσέειπε:
	Speaker	προσέφη		Speaker
	Speaker	πρòς	μῦθον	ἔειπεν:
	προσέειπε		Speaker	

As we can see, by breaking down the formula into smaller segments, we see a branching possibility that occurs within the line.

The first instance is usually τòν/τὴν δὲ/δ'. The first thing that the external audience experience of narrative after direct speech is this cluster of two words, either two syllables or a single syllable, but always with a heavy **tond** or **tēnd** sound, presenting

an audio cue for the audience. The line continues with either the particle αὖ[τε], a participle describing the speaker, the speaker, or the verb ἠμείβετ'.

Viewing them as 'pronoun-conjunction-participle-verb' that 'are almost invariably completed by a subject expression made up of a noun and one or two epithetic words' (Parry, 1971, p. 15) reduces the significance of the beginning of the line, while also ignoring the different possibilities that can exist within a small line. Parry focuses almost entirely on the epithets that are used, often ignoring the position that they have taken in the line. In the table above, I have grouped both name and epithet together into "Speaker" in order to consider the line in functional discourse units. While the epithet adds information to the audience and is an extensive topic of discussion in its own right, when we consider the necessities of the quotative frame, the speaker is but a single element. The addressee is already given in the pronoun that begins the line. There is a large range of *verba dicendi*:

- **ἀμείβω** – I reply (Middle)
    - ἀμείβετο, ἠμείβετ', ἠμείβετο μύθῳ, μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο
- **αὐδάω** – I speak
    - ἀντίον ηὔδα, προσηύδα
- **ἔειπον** – I said
    - μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε, ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε, πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν
- **ἐνίπτω** – I rebuke
    - ἐνένιπεν
- **φημί** – I say
    - προσέφη

- **φωνέω** – I produce a sound with the voice

  - προσεφώνεε

- **ἀμείβω + φωνέω**

  - ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε

By focusing on the *verba dicendi* themselves, previous analysis has taken a viewpoint from composition (which words the narrator picked), rather than on comprehension (what the audience hear). In fact, ignoring the latter is also ignoring the narrator's intention as they need to take into account how the audience will receive and perceive the text. Each of these verbs used has a specific location in the transitional line. Comparing προσέφη, for example, we see that it can appear in different lines:

τὸν/τὴν δὲ/ δ' ἄρ' – Participle – προσέφη – Speaker

τὸν/τὴν δ' αὖ/αὖθ'/αὖτ'/αὖτε – Speaker – προσέφη – Speaker

The verb sandwiches between the participle and the speaker or between an extended description of the speaker. The presence of the participle modifies *verba dicendi*.

A brief look at ἀντίον ηὖδα shows that it always appears in terminal position. As seen above, the phrase suggests a desire for contest, even if it is not directly antagonistic to the speaker. Each instance, however, usually follows a direct address to the character – Idomeneus is asked direct questions, Sarpedon is rebuked by Tlepolemus. The focus of the previous speech was on the addressee and as such the transitional line pushes the *verbum dicendi* ἀντίον ηὖδα into terminal position to place focus on the speaker of the subject line. In contrast, ἀπαμείβομενος προσέφη places emphasis on the subsequent speech.

τὸν/τὴν δὲ/δ' functions to signal to the audience that there is a break in the conversation, but in so doing it **primes** the audience, actually making them aware of the pragmatic choice that the narrator is taking. What follows after the τὸν/τὴν δὲ/ δ' informs the reader of the importance they are to attach to the transitional phrase. If a participle follows, then it impacts on the speech:

βαρὺ στενάχων – 'groaning heavily' describes Achilles [Hom.Il.1.364, Hom.Il.18.78] and Patroklos [Hom.Il.16.20] when they are at moments contemplating their own mortality. Achilles answers his mother Thetis, telling her that he is weeping since the Achaeans do not honour, as Agamemnon has taken Briseïs from him [Hom.Il.1.364]. Later, Achilles again groans heavily in response to his mother Thetis, telling her he mourns the loss of Patroklos and has resolved to either kill Hector or die at his hand. Patroklos also groans heavily in response to Achilles, explaining why he is in tears, mourning the loss of Achaeans and resolving to take Achilles' place leading the Myrmidons into battle.

δολοφρονέουσα – 'thinking of a trick' [Hom.Il.14.197 Hom.Il.14.299 Hom.Il.14.328], describes Hera's reaction and show the duplicity in her speech. παρισταμένη describes Flashing-eyed Athene [Hom.Od.24.516], standing next to Laërtes, indicating a supportive nature to her speech. Each of these forces the audience to consider the speech in a specific way.

Edwards' analysis of *Homeric Speech Introduction* concluded that there was no link between phrases with participle qualification and heightened moments of tension in

the narrative.[67] This view derives from viewing only the *verbum dicendi* and not considering every element of the line.

Janko considered both τὸν/τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα and τὸν/τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε and determined that 'there seem to be no common element in adjacent lines that affects the choice between phrases' (Janko, 1981, p. 256)

The line τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς received attention by Kahane, where it is analysed as a 'speech introductory phrase'[68]. Where Kahane states there is an 'interstice of silence', the line actually occurs in a transitional context and we can see from the branching system that it prioritises the participle, in this case ἀπαμειβόμενος. The fact that Odysseus is replying is brought to the forefront. The combined phrase τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος then makes a dramatic interruption to the direct speech as the narrator intrudes upon the text and resumes control, but it shows the audience that we are returning to speech straightaway and that such a speech will be in response to what has been said.

The use of τὸν/τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε usually pushes the noun phrase into terminal position in the line. The view of αὖτε as a topicalizing device is considered by Revuelta

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[67] 'The study was undertaken partly to discover if the more strongly expressive phrases, those with some adverbial or participial qualification or a verb of some distinct significance, occurred more frequently in certain parts of the poems. No appreciable result was achieved her; as might be expected, the parts of the poems where emotional tension is at its peak draw their effectiveness not from colourful language but from the setting and content of the speeches, which are introduced by the most regular and familiar of verse.' (Edwards, 1970, p. 3)

[68] 'As the poet says the much repeated hexameter line ending with the name of Odysseus *ton d'apameibomenos prosephē polumētis Odusseus* (answer him, said in reply many-minded Odysseus), he pauses, as surely he must, not only because the hexameter unit has come to an end, but also because a sense unit (the grammatical sentence) has terminated, and because a discourse unit (the narrative section) has ended, and we are about to begin a different type of discourse (direct-speech), which requires the poet notionally to change his person (from "narrator" to "Odysseus," and, of course, no physical change takes places in the here-and-now). An epiphany of Odysseus, the hero of the past, is thus invoked at the end of the speech introductory line, but immediately there follows a pause. This interstice of silence, brief as it may be, does not break the "flow of fiction"; but I would suggest that it momentarily alters the balance between the narrative reality "out there" and the time—present reality of the performance, contrasting the past and the present in a more vivid, concrete, experiential, rather than cerebral manner.' (Kahane, 1997, p. 117)

Puigdollers (2009). Revuelta Puigdollers notes that the translation as "again" is insufficient. In fact, if we consider *Il*.1.206, Athene is replying to Achilles, but her first speech in their conversation begins with τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε. As such, "again" cannot be used as a translation for αὖτε. Even viewing αὖτε as a discourse boundary-marker that introduces a 'further (second, third and so on) topic that is more or less related to the previous one(s)' overlooks its use as the first transitional phrase in a dialogue (Revuelta Puigdollers, 2009, p. 98).

As for δέ, Bakker considers it in the sense of a 'switch-reference' that creates a 'discontinuity of participants and events' (Bakker, 1997, pp. 282–4). Bakker is right to suggest that 'δέ marks 'cognitive boundaries' (Bakker, 1997, p. 287). This boundary of cognition is on the part of the external audience but being prone to elision it is easy to be reduced to a singular **d** sound within the line. By combining the particle with τὸν, the narrator gives a greater sense of demarcation for the audience.

By focusing excessively on the *verba dicendi*, previous studies have attempted to explain that choice in relation to the speech. By looking at the structure of the lines, it seems clear that the narrator is making his choice based on where he wants the attention of the audience to lie, whether that is on the speech act (by bringing the *verba dicendi* earlier in the line), on the speaker or on a participle. The narrator is able to direct the attention of the audience with the use of τὸν/τὴν δὲ/δ', a short, easily identifiable cluster of sounds that at once resumes narrative while also informing the audience that this is a mere break and direct speech will resume immediately.

Conclusions (2.7)

The instances of the quotative frame in Akkadian texts has shown that a breadth of styles used. The most consistent feature is that the *verba dicendi* appear in the durative, giving a vividness to the speech. Most speech is governed by the verb *zakāru*, either appearing by itself or within the extended introductory phrase *pâ-šu īpuš iqabbi izakkar* – He opened his mouth he said, he spoke. The sequence of tenses from preterite to a single or two duratives marks a distinction between the events of the past and the performance of the text now, as the speech comes alive, so to speak, in its recital.

There is, however, a degree of consistency contained within each tablet and not significant deviation from the schema set within a text or fragment itself. The use in *Gilgameš* shows that different tablets favour different speech introduction formulas, while across all texts there is a general change in preference depending on the text itself. While *Gilgameš*, some of the oldest material under discussion alongside *Atra-Ḫasīs*, favours a more regular introductory formula, the *Enuma Eliš* favours avoiding the *verba dicendi* as it introduces speech. We know that this text was performed at the Akītu festival, so the key to understanding shift from direct speech to narrative could be made explicit in the performance.

Observing the preference within text or within fragments could help with dating or reconstruction of passages. Despite the change between different fragments, there are minor differences within those instances, made most notable in *Gilgameš*. Akkadian uses introductory phrases either at the beginning of speech

There is an efficiency in the formulas, focusing mainly on the speaker, speech act, and addressee. This is most prominent in *Gilgameš* and least prominent in *Enuma*

Eliš. If we take the quotative frame and the presence of formulas to be evidence of oral literature, as Homeric scholars at times surmise, then the performative nature of Akkadian literature decreases over time.

In contrast, Homer displays a high degree of performance, with changes occurring within the text itself. Phrases can be developed throughout a narrative, as seen most clearly with πεπνυμένος. The narrator uses elements in the transitional phrase to indicate to the audience certain features, making them aware of connections being made and directing their attention. A branching system of formula makes associations in the mind of the audience so that they react to individual units and subsequently react to the speech correctly.

However, Akkadian literature does demonstrate two key features that are either lacking or less prominent in Homer. The Rephrased Confirmation makes an overt statement of recognition in the narrative that the speech has been successful, while the Iterated Quotation Formula shows that speech acts within narrative in Mesopotamian literature should focus on a specific topic. While both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* use a quotative frame when the speaker is preserved but the addressee has changed, significantly using introductory formula rather than transitional formula, Homer cedes space in the text to a speaker for a full speech act, rather than interjecting if he deviates off topic. Changes of subject are handled with discourse markers.

Chapter 2: Interjections

The Problem of Translation (3.1)

Within direct speech, the use of interjections, or exclamations, helps to draw attention to features in the speech: they bring focus to the emotions and situations of the speaker; they bring focus to the addressee; or they shift attention within speech. Despite their narrative function, little attention or consistency has been given to their translation, let alone the effect they have both within the specific speech and within the narrative as a whole.

By focusing on the terms ὤ μοι and ὤ ποποὶ this section will begin by demonstrating how the terms are habitually mistreated by translation. Next, it will consider how secondary literature has attempted to resolve these errors and demonstrate the limited successes of a descriptive approach. Lastly, this section will consider how both terms are used in precise circumstances whose nuances would have been understood by the contemporary audience.

Considering first how these terms are treated, it will suffice to look at specific lines and how different translators treat them, using the editions of Butler, Murray, and Kline as examples to demonstrate the range. As usual with translations, this runs into the problem of trying to discern what the English itself means and determining how the term was used at the time of translation. In terms of ὤ μοι, our first instance in the *Iliad* is uttered by Achilles, starting his speech:

> ‘ὤ μοι ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε κερδαλεόφρον
>
> πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείθηται Ἀχαιῶν
>
> ἢ ὁδὸν ἐλθέμεναι ἢ ἀνδράσιν ἶφι μάχεσθαι; [Hom.*Il*.1.149-51]

Murray translates the relevant words as 'Ah me'[69,] while Kline opts for 'why, you'[70,] however Butler leaves the words untranslated[71]. The difference between Murray and Kline is curious alone, with the former creating a more pathetic sentiment that the latter turns into an angrier tone. Butler's avoidance of translation pushes emphasis onto the following words. Achilles speaks the words again when addressing Patroclus:

τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς:

ὤ μοι διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες οἷον ἔειπες: [Hom.*Il.*16.48-9]

Murray again uses 'Ah me'[72,] Kline renders this as just 'ah'[73,] while Butler either leaves the word translation or incorporates it into οἷον as 'what'[74.] Considering the same words by difference characters, they are also uttered by Odysseus:

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:

ὤ μοι ἐγὼ τί πάθω; μέγα μὲν κακὸν αἴ κε φέβωμαι

πληθὺν ταρβήσας: τὸ δὲ ῥίγιον αἴ κεν ἁλώω

μοῦνος: τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Δαναοὺς ἐφόβησε Κρονίων. [Hom.*Il.*11.403-6]

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[69] 'Ah me, clothed in shamelessness, thinking of profit, how shall any man of the Achaeans obey your words with a ready heart either to go on a journey or to fight against men with force?'

[70] 'Why, you shameless schemer, why should any Achaean leap to obey your orders to march or wage war?'

[71] 'You are steeped in insolence and lust of gain. With what heart can any of the Achaeans do your bidding, either on foray or in open fighting?'

[72] Then, his heart deeply stirred, spake to him swift-footed Achilles: "Ah me, Zeus-born Patroclus, what a thing hast thou said!

[73] Fleet-footed Achilles, answered passionately: 'Ah, Zeus-born Patroclus, what words are these

[74] Achilles was deeply moved and answered, "What, noble Patroclus, are you saying?

Murray uses 'woe is me'[75], deviating from his usual translation; Kline opts for 'what now?'[76]; Butler chose 'alas'[77]. We might put Murray's deviation down to a change in character, but the same words are also uttered by Menelaus:

ὤ μοι ἀπειλητῆρες Ἀχαιΐδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί:

ἦ μὲν δὴ λώβη τάδε γ' ἔσσεται αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς

εἰ μή τις Δαναῶν νῦν Ἕκτορος ἀντίος εἶσιν. [Hom.*Il.*7.96-98]

Murray shows consistency by rendering the words, 'Ah me'[78], while Kline renders the words by merely, 'Ah'[79], and Butler uses, 'Alas'[80]. Menelaus' words show pity for the current state of the Greek forces, which all three translators attempt to get across.

The lack of consistency for Butler and Kline might suggest that they are trying to match the term to the specific usage. Murray's relative consistency and the use of 'me' seems closer to the Greek; he renders the phrase in only a limited number of ways, but deviates with 'woe is me' and even 'ah, woe is me' [Hom.*Il.*24.49]. At this stage we are even left with trying to interpret terminology excessively archaic to today, almost requiring translation in their own right. The term itself gives a false impression, being very simple etymologically. The exhortation ὤ coupled with a dative μοι certainly

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[75] Then mightily moved he spake unto his own great-hearted spirit: "Woe is me; what is to befall me? Great evil were it if I flee, seized with fear of the throng; yet this were a worse thing, if I be taken all alone, for the rest of the Danaans hath the son of Cronos scattered in flight.

[76] Perturbed yet proud, he asked himself: 'What now? Shame if I flee in fear of enemy numbers but worse to be cut off, since Zeus has routed the rest of the Danaans.

[77] "Alas," said he to himself in his dismay, "what will become of me? It is ill if I turn and flee before these odds, but it will be worse if I am left alone and taken prisoner, for the son of Kronos has struck the rest of the Danaans with panic.

[78] 'Ah me, Ye braggarts, ye women of Achaea, men no more! Surely shall this be a disgrace dread and dire, if no man of the Danaans shall now go to meet Hector.'

[79] 'Ah, you braggarts, you women of Achaea, no longer men! What a dark and dreadful thing, if not one Greek should stand to challenge Hector.'

[80] 'Alas…vain braggarts, women indeed not men, double-dyed indeed will be the stain upon us if no man of the Danaans will now face Hektor.'

makes us consider Murray's 'Ah me' favourably, but it is completely unrelated to content of the speech itself. Butler peculiarly avoids translation of the words in the majority of instances, at times altering the speech itself to portray meaning. Kline, meanwhile, at times uses 'ah', but also 'why', 'ah me', or even leaving untranslated. Its meaning seems to lie somewhere between Butler's and Murray's treatment.

Similar discrepancies are evident in ὤ πόποι. The first use in the *Iliad* comes from Nestor:

ὅ σφιν ἐὺ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν:

ὤ πόποι ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν ἱκάνει: [Hom.*Il.*1.253-254]

Murray treats the term as 'Comrades'[81;] Kline uses 'Well'[82]; Butler opts for the unusual 'Of a truth'[83.] Merely looking at translation alone, one would certainly never tell that they were all referring to same word. Similar deviation is evident when dealing with the words of Poseidon:

τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος·

'ὤ πόποι ἦ ῥ' ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν ὑπέροπλον ἔειπεν

'εἴ μ' ὁμότιμον ἐόντα βίη ἀέκοντα καθέξει. [Hom.*Il.*15.185]

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[81] 'He with good intent addressed the gathering and spoke among them: "Comrades, great grief has come upon the land of Achaea'

[82] 'Well, here is grief indeed to plague Achaea.'

[83] 'Of a truth…a great sorrow has befallen the Achaean land'

Murray translates this as 'Out upon it'[84;] Kline chooses to ignore the words[85]; Butler uses 'Great Heavens'[86.] The same word can be translated in completely different ways. Unlike ὤ μοι there is not even consistency by the same author. Murray uses 'now look' [Hom.*Il*.20.293], 'look you now' [Hom.*Il*.23.103], and even 'ah me' [Hom.*Il*.8.201]. 'Out upon it' and 'look' both shift emphasis away from the speaker onto the addressee, while the use of 'ah me' equates the term with ὤ μοι, suggesting that the terms are interchangeable.

Linguistically, πόποι gives us much more trouble. *LSJ* states it to be an exclamation 'of surprise, anger, or pain…always at the beginning of a verse and sentence', while Autenrieth says it is an 'interjection, always ὤ πόποι, alas! alack! well-a-day! *Il.* 2.272, usually of grief or displeasure, except in the passage cited'. Frisk interprets it as an exclamation of amazement or displeasure, like παπαί, βαβαί.[87] [:88]

In Lycophron the etymology of the term is given as a 'perhaps onomatopoeic expression of grief', though this is dismissed by (Papadogiannaki, 2009, p. 124). Maguire believed that the term 'express[es] the tremulous motion of the lips', citing *Philoctetes 745,6* as proof; being considerably later than Homer, one likely assumes that this is a dramatic effect by Sophocles, explaining merely the excessive

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[84] Out upon it, verily strong though he be he hath spoken overweeningly, if in sooth by force and in mine own despite he will restrain me that am of like honour with himself

[85] He may be powerful, but this is arrogance, to try and restrain me against my will, and threaten force, I who share equal honour with himself.

[86] Great heavens! strong as Zeus may be, he has said more than he can do if he has threatened violence against me, who am of like honor with himself.

[87] Ausruf des Staunens, des Unwillens usw. Elementarschöpfung wie, παπαί, βαβαί

Über die Umdeutung von ὤ (ὦ) πόποι als "ihr Götter!" bei Lykophr. und Euph. s. Leumann Hom. Wörter 33 und Ruijgh L'élém. ach. 101 (Frisk, 1960, p. 579)

[88] Chantraine gives an almost identical definition (Chantraine, 1963, p. 928)

reduplication in ἀπαππαΐ, παπαππαπαππαπαππαΐ rather than deriving πόποι (Maguire, 1887, p. 145). In the Homeric corpus, the term only occurs as in the set phrase ὤ πόποι with little imitation in the following line(s), suggesting that onomatopoeic component is a later addition. The *Etymologicum Magnum* gives the word Scythian origins, however the argument merely observes that the Scythians use the term πόποι to refer to their gods as well as referring to Zeus as Παπαῖος[89]:

> οἱ Σκύθαι, ἀγάλματα τινὰ ἔχοντες ὑπόγαια τῶν θεῶν, πόπους αὐτὰ καλοῦσι[90]

> The Scythians, having some underground statues of the gods, call them ποποί

Being merely a term for the gods, it becomes a simple divine exclamation/exhortation, though this explanation of the *Etymologicum Magnum* seems more recognition of similarity than serious explanation of the terms origins. Besides, the use in Homer of the term by the gods themselves would therefore make little sense if it were derived as a divine invocation; either there is no cognisance of the term by the time of Homer or it becomes an intentional self-referential interjection. The most rational decision would be to reject the Scythian explanation, which regrettably leaves us without answer. The paucity of the term sadly makes primarily etymological analysis mere speculation. With no reliable etymology available, we must rely on gleaning meaning through observation.

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[89] Hdt. 4.59.2

[90] *Etym. M.*p.823, 30

Greek Interjections (3.2)

Papadogiannaki applies the most comprehensive overview of both terms – alongside ἇ and τῆ, which she terms ἐπιφωνήματα as 'essentially phonemes that define other words or phrases and acquire their meaning from them' – saying that the 'interjections per se do not convey meaning, but are directly dependent on their immediate context' (Papadogiannaki, 2009, p. 121). In this respect, Papadogiannaki takes the approach that it is more context that conveys meaning of the term itself, subsequently placing the focus of her research on the interjectional phoneme rather than the interjectional phrase. Certainly her research goes further than any before, identifying that 'interjections chiefly express emotions and that they are an instinctive expression of human discourse', while ὤ πόποι can variably mean 'anger, indignation, surprise, reproach, protest, irony, grief' (Papadogiannaki, 2009, pp. 122–3). The 'emotional condition' of Achilles and Odysseus 'is often expressed with interjectional phrases, in order to make it more vivid', with greatest intensity following the death of Patroclus for Achilles but used throughout for Odysseus (Papadogiannaki, 2009, p. 126).

Despite Papadogiannaki convincingly showing the ability of the term itself to be used in a variety of contexts and thus subject to a variety of translations, her research does not go far enough, discussing individual instances then considering the whole, rather than a combined approach that would demonstrate greater insight.

Taking raw usage first, we see a roughly even distribution throughout both texts:

	ὤ μοι Iliad	ὤ μοι Odyssey	ὢ πόποι Iliad	ὢ πόποι Odyssey
1	2		1	2
2			3	
3				
4	1			3
5		4	1	1
6		1		
7	1		2	
8	1		3	
9				1
10				1
11	1	1		1
12				
13		2	1	4
14			1	
15		1	3	1
16	2		1	1
17	1		1	3
18	3		1	1
19		1		
20		1	2	
21			3	3
22	1		3	
23			2	
24	2			
Total	15	11	28	22

Considering ὤ μοι, the *Iliad* features 15 uses spread over 10 books, with the longest gap being 4 books (12 to 15). Interestingly, there is a fairly steady system of peaks and troughs, as the longest gap (which details the battle being taken to the Greek ships), is followed by the biggest cluster of use. The *Odyssey*, however, has fewer instances (11), spread over fewer books (7), meaning the majority of books do not feature the term despite having direct speech.[91] It is not until book 5 that the term is first used, incidentally with the

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[91] The *Iliad* has c.7067 verses of direct speech in c.15724 total verses, making direct speech constitute 44.9% of the text. This comprises c.678 speeches.

introduction of Odysseus. We can see that ὤ μοι is more evenly distributed throughout the *Iliad*, while the *Odyssey* punctuates the book it first appears in then saves the term to be used sparingly.

As for ὤ πόποι, the *Iliad* has 28 instances spread over 15 books, with 5 books featuring the term 3 times (Books 2, 8, 15, 21, 22), meaning that that majority of books use the term. The *Odyssey*, however, has 22 uses spread over 12 books, exactly half of the overall total. The highest point is book 13 (4 uses). Both texts feature a significant gap: *Iliad* has nothing for 4 books (9 to 12), while *Odyssey* has nothing in the final 3 books.

For the *Iliad*, both books have 4 books gaps where the terms do not feature, featured roughly in the middle of the narrative. The gap of ὤ πόποι blends into ὤ μοι. The *Odyssey* has more erratic distribution, with significant moments having very high uses of both terms. ὤ μοι appears most with the introduction of Odysseus; ὤ πόποι appears most as Odysseus leaves Alcinous and returns to Ithaca. Evidently for the *Odyssey*, the terms have narrative significance.

ὤ μοι appears at the start of speech in all but two instances in the *Iliad*, in each case appearing after a two-line address. The first has Thetis telling the Nereids to pay attention, with the speech introduced with κλῦτε κασίγνηται Νηρηΐδες – 'Listen, sister Nereids' [Hom.Il.18.50], while the latter has Priam drawing the attention of his children with σπεύσατέ μοι κακὰ τέκνα κατηφόνες – Hurry to my, children who cause shame [Hom.Il.24.253]. In both instances, the preliminary

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The *Odyssey* has c. 8176 verses of direct speech in c. 12111 total verses, making direct speech constitute 67.5% of the text. This comprises c.545 speeches.

lines bring a specific audience into his words and the speech continues as normal from the instance of ὤ μοι.

ὤ πόποι appears at the start of speech 26 times in the *Iliad*. The first exception is when Poseidon is rousing the Achaeans, where the first four lines of his speech are addressing the Argives. The speech begins with αἰδὼς Ἀργεῖοι, κοῦροι νέοι – 'Shame you Argives, young boys!' [Hom.Il.13.95] and continues to explain the cause of that shame. Poseidon is actually describing the situation that gives rise to his use of ὤ πόποι, leaving it as a self-created reaction. The second exception is spoken by Agamemnon, who address Nestor - ὦ Νέστορ Νηληϊάδη μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν – 'O Nestor, son of Neleus, great glory of the Achaeans [Hom.Il.14.42]. The first seven lines of the ten-line speech are explaining the words of Hector, while the remainder reacts to this information.

It seems, then, that deviation from an initial position in the speech is either to specifically target an audience which had been indicated by the prior narrative or to provide necessary information to the audience for the speech act to make sense. In all instance, ὤ μοι and ὤ πόποι function as normal from their use.

We can categorise the terms even further by denoting both speaker and audience. In so doing further information comes to light.

Interjection	Interjectional Phrase	Reference	Line	Introductory/Transitional	Verba Dicendi	Speaker	Audience
ἆ							
	ἆ δειλ						
		Il.11.441	ἆ δείλ᾽ ἦ μάλα δή σε κιχάνεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος.	**Introductory** γνῶ δ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς ὅ οἱ οὔ τι τέλος κατακαίριον ἦλθεν ἂψ δ᾽ ἀναχωρήσας Σῶκον πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:	μῦθον ἔειπεν	Odysseus	Socus
		Il.11.815	ἆ δειλοὶ Δαναῶν ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες	**Introductory** τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ᾤκτειρε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱός καί ῥ᾽ ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:	ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα	Patroclus (son of Menoetius)	Euryplus
		Il.17.201	ἆ δείλ᾽ οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιός ἐστιν ὅς δή τοι σχεδὸν εἶσι: σὺ δ᾽ ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δύνεις ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος τόν τε τρομέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι:	**Introductory** κινήσας ῥα κάρη προτὶ ὃν μυθήσατο θυμόν	μυθήσατο	Zeus	His own heart
		Il.17.443	ἆ δειλώ τί σφῶϊ δόμεν Πηλῆϊ ἄνακτι	**Introductory** μυρομένω δ᾽ ἄρα τώ γε ἰδὼν ἐλέησε Κρονίων κινήσας δὲ κάρη προτὶ ὃν μυθήσατο θυμόν:	μυθήσατο θυμόν	Zeus	Himself
		Il.24.518	ἆ δείλ᾽ ἦ δὴ πολλὰ κάκ᾽ ἄνσχεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν.	**Introductory** αὐτίκ᾽ ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρτο γέροντα δὲ χειρὸς ἀνίστη οἰκτίρων πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:	ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα	Achilles	Priam

αἳ						
	Il.4.189	αἲ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἴη φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων:	ἀπαμειβόμεν ος προσέφη	Agamemnon	Menelaus

δεῦρ						
	Il.3.130	δεῦρ' ἴθι νύμφα φίλη ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα ἴδηαι Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων	**Introductory** ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις:	προσέφη	Iris	Helen
	Il.3.162	δεῦρο πάροιθ' ἐλθοῦσα φίλον τέκος ἵζευ ἐμεῖο ὄφρα ἴδῃ πρότερόν τε πόσιν πηούς τε φίλους τε:	**Intermediary Line - not transitional:** ὣς ἄρ' ἔφαν Πρίαμος δ' Ἑλένην ἐκαλέσσατο φωνῇ:	ἐκαλέσσατο φωνῇ	Priam	Helen
	Il.3.390	δεῦρ' ἴθ': Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἶκον δὲ νέεσθαι	**Introductory** τῇ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσεφώνεε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη:	προσεφώνεε	Aphrodite	Helen

ἦ						
	Il.1.293	ἦ γάρ κεν δειλός τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καλεοίμην	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑποβλήδην ἠμείβετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς:	ἠμείβετο	Achilles	Agamemnon
	Il.1.518	ἦ δὴ λοίγια ἔργ' ὅ τέ μ' ἐχθοδοπῆσαι ἐφήσεις	**Transitional** τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς:	προσέφη	Zeus	Thetis
	Il.1.573	ἦ δὴ λοίγια ἔργα τάδ' ἔσσεται οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀνεκτά	**Introductory** τοῖσιν δ' Ἥφαιστος κλυτοτέχνης ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν μητρὶ φίλῃ ἐπίηρα φέρων λευκωλένῳ Ἥρῃ:	ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν	Hephaest us	Hera
	Il.2.370	ἦ μὰν αὖτ' ἀγορῇ νικᾷς γέρον υἷας	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων:	ἀπαμειβόμεν ος προσέφη	Agamemnon	Nestor

Il.14.53	ἦ δὴ ταῦτά γ' ἑτοῖμα τετεύχαται οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ:	ἠμείβετ	Nestor	Agamemnon
Il.14.190	ἦ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο φίλον τέκος ὅττί κεν εἴπω	**Introductory** αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῒ θήκατο κόσμον βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο καλεσσαμένη δ' Ἀφροδίτην τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε θεῶν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε:	μῦθον ἔειπε	Hera	Aphrodite
Il.15.14	ἦ μάλα δὴ κακότεχνος ἀμήχανε σὸς δόλος Ἥρη	**Introductory** τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε δεινὰ δ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν Ἥρην πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:	μῦθον ἔειπεν	Zeus	Hera
Il.17.538	ἦ δὴ μὰν ὀλίγον γε Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος	**Introductory** κείμενον: Αὐτομέδων δὲ θοῷ ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ τεύχεά τ' ἐξενάριξε καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ηὔδα:	ἔπος ηὔδα	Automedon	Aloud
Il.18.394	ἦ ῥά νύ μοι δεινή τε καὶ αἰδοίη θεὸς ἔνδον	**Transitional** τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις:	ἠμείβετ	Hephaestus	Thetis
Il.19.315	ἦ ῥά νύ μοί ποτε καὶ σὺ δυσάμμορε φίλταθ' ἑταίρων	**Introductory** μνησάμενος δ' ἀδινῶς ἀνενείκατο φώνησέν τε:	φώνησέν	Achilles	Patroclus (dead)
Il.21.583	ἦ δή που μάλ' ἔολπας ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ	**Introductory** ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἄρ' ἀσπίδα μὲν πρόσθ' ἔσχετο πάντοσ' ἐΐσην ἐγχείη δ' αὐτοῖο τιτύσκετο καὶ μέγ' ἀΰτει:	μέγ' ἀΰτει	Agenor	Achilles

		Il.22.356	ἦ σ' εὖ γιγνώσκων προτιόσσομαι οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον	**Transitional** τὸν δὲ καταθνήσκων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ:	προσέφη	Hector	Achilles
ναὶ δὴ							
	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε						
		Il.1.286	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα γέρον κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Agamemnon	Nestor
		Il.18.128	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε τέκνον ἐτήτυμον οὐ κακόν ἐστι	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα:	ἠμείβετ	Thetis	Achilles
		Il.24.379	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα γέρον κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε διάκτορος ἀργεϊφόντης:	προσέειπε	Hermes	Priam
τῇ							
		Il.14.219	τῇ νῦν τοῦτον ἱμάντα τεῷ ἐγκάτθεο κόλπῳ ποικίλον ᾧ ἔνι πάντα τετεύχαται: οὐδέ σέ φημι	**Introductory** τὸν ῥά οἱ ἔμβαλε χερσὶν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε:	ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε	Aphrodite	Hera
		Il.23.618	τῇ νῦν καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο γέρον κειμήλιον ἔστω	**Introductory** ἀμφίθετος φιάλη: τὴν Νέστορι δῶκεν Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀργείων ἀν' ἀγῶνα φέρων καὶ ἔειπε παραστάς:	ἔειπε	Achilles	Nestor
τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι							
ὤ μοι							

Il.1.149	ὤ μοι ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε κερδαλεόφρον πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείθηται Ἀχαιῶν	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς:	προσέφη	Achilles	Agamemnon
Il.1.414	ὤ μοι τέκνον ἐμόν τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα;	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα:	ἠμείβετ	Thetis	Achilles
Il.4.370	ὤ μοι Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο	**Introductory** καὶ τὸν μὲν νείκεσσεν ἰδὼν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνωνκαί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:	ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα	Agamemnon	Diomedes (son of Tydeus)
Il.7.96	ὤ μοι ἀπειλητῆρες Ἀχαιΐδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί:	**Siopic Hiatus** ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ Μενέλαος ἀνίστατο καὶ μετέειπε νείκει ὀνειδίζων μέγα δὲ στεναχίζετο θυμῷ:	μετέειπε	Menelaus	Achaeans (Hector)
Il.8.152	ὤ μοι Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος οἷον ἔειπες.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ:	ἠμείβετ	Nestor	Diomedes (son of Tydeus)
Il.16.49	ὤ μοι διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες οἷον ἔειπες:	**Introductory** τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς:	προσέφη	Achilles	Patroclus
Il.18.18	ὤ μοι Πηλέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἦ μάλα λυγρῆς πεύσεαι ἀγγελίης ἢ μὴ ὤφελλε γενέσθαι	**Introductory** τόφρά οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν ἀγαυοῦ Νέστορος υἱὸς δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων φάτο δ' ἀγγελίην ἀλεγεινήν:	φάτο	Nestor	Achilles
Il.24.201	ὤ μοι πῆ δή τοι φρένες οἴχονθ' ἧς τὸ πάρος περ ἔκλε' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ξείνους ἠδ' οἷσιν ἀνάσσεις	**Transitional*** ὣς φάτο κώκυσεν δὲ γυνὴ καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ:	ἀμείβετο μύθῳ	Hecabe	Priam

		πῶς ἐθέλεις ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθέμεν οἶος				
ὤ μοι ἐγὼ						
	Il.11.404	ὤ μοι ἐγὼ τί πάθω μέγα μὲν κακὸν αἴ κε φέβωμαι πληθὺν ταρβήσας:	**Introductory** ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε	Odysseus	Himself (Odysseus)
	Il.16.433	ὤ μοι ἐγὼν ὅ τέ μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο δαμῆναι.	**Introductory** τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω Ἥρην δὲ προσέειπε κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε:	προσέειπε	Zeus	Hera
	Il.18.6	ὤ μοι ἐγὼ τί τ' ἄρ' αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ νηυσὶν ἔπι κλονέονται ἀτυζόμενοι πεδίοιο	**Introductory** ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε	Achilles	Himself (Then Odysseus)
	Il.21.552	ὤ μοι ἐγὼν: εἰ μέν κεν ὑπὸ κρατεροῦ Ἀχιλῆος φεύγω τῇ περ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀτυζόμενοι κλονέονται	Introductory **αὐτὰρ** ὅ γ᾽ ὡς ἐνόησεν Ἀχιλλῆα πτολίπορθον ἔστη πολλὰ δέ οἱ κραδίη πόρφυρε μένοντι: ὀχθήσας δ᾽ ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Achilles	Himself
	Il.22.99	ὤ μοι ἐγὼν εἰ μέν κε πύλας καὶ τείχεα δύω Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει ὅς μ' ἐκέλευε Τρωσὶ ποτὶ πτόλιν ἡγήσασθαι	**Introductory** ὣς Ἕκτωρ ἄσβεστον ἔχων μένος οὐχ ὑπεχώρει πύργῳ ἔπι προὔχοντι φαεινὴν ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας: ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Achilles	Himself
ὢ πόποι						

Il.2.157	ὢ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη	**Introductory** εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίην Ἥρη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:	μῦθον ἔειπεν	Hera	Athene
Il.7.455	ὢ πόποι ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές οἶον ἔειπες	**Transitional** τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς:	προσέφη	Zeus	Poseidon
Il.8.201	ὢ πόποι ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές οὐδέ νυ σοί περ ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν ὀλοφύρεται ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός.	**Extended Transitional** ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος νεμέσησε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον καί ῥα Ποσειδάωνα μέγαν θεὸν ἀντίον ηὔδα:	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Hera	Poseidon
Il.8.352	ὢ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος οὐκέτι νῶϊ ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν κεκαδησόμεθ' ὑστάτιόν περ	**Introductory** τοὺς δὲ ἰδοῦσ' ἐλέησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη αἶψα δ' Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:	ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα	Hera	Athene
Il.8.427	ὢ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος οὐκέτ' ἔγωγε νῶϊ ἐῶ Διὸς ἄντα βροτῶν ἔνεκα πτολεμίζειν:	**Introductory** αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίην Ἥρη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:	μῦθον ἔειπεν	Hera	Athene
Il.17.629	ὢ πόποι ἤδη μέν κε καὶ ὃς μάλα νήπιός ἐστι γνοίη ὅτι Τρώεσσι πατὴρ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀρήγει.	**Introductory** τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας:	μύθων ἦρχε	Telamonian Aias	Aloud/ Achaeans/ Zeus
Il.21.229	ὢ πόποι ἀργυρότοξε Διὸς τέκος οὐ σύ γε βουλὰς εἰρύσαο Κρονίωνος ὅ τοι μάλα πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε	**Introductory** ὣς εἰπὼν Τρώεσσιν ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος: καὶ τότ' Ἀπόλλωνα προσέφη ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης:	προσέφη	Apollo	River Scamander

	Il.21.420	ὢ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη καὶ δ' αὖθ' ἡ κυνάμυια ἄγει βροτολοιγὸν Ἄρηα	**Introductory** τὴν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη αὐτίκ' Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:	ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα	Hera	Athene
ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ						
	Il.22.297	ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλα δή με θεοὶ θάνατον δὲ κάλεσσαν:	**Introductory** Δηΐφοβον δ' ἐκάλει λευκάσπιδα μακρὸν ἀΰσας: ᾔτεέ μιν δόρυ μακρόν: ὃ δ' οὔ τί οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦεν Ἕκτωρ δ' ἔγνω ᾗσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε:	φώνησέν	Hector	Aloud
	Il.22.373	ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερος ἀμφαφάασθαι Ἕκτωρ ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέῳ.	**Introductory** Ἕκτορος: οὐδ' ἄρα οἵ τις ἀνουτητί γε παρέστη ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον:	εἴπεσκεν	τις	ἄλλον
ὢ πόποι, ἦ						
	Il.1.254	ὢ πόποι ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν ἱκάνει:	**Introductory** ὅ σφιν ἐὺ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν:	ἀγορήσατο... μετέειπεν	Nestor	Agamemnon
	Il.2.272	ὢ πόποι ἦ δὴ μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε βουλάς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων:	**Introductory** ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον	εἴπεσκεν	*τις*	Achaeans
	Il.2.337	ὢ πόποι ἦ δὴ παισὶν ἐοικότες ἀγοράασθε	**Introductory** τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ:	μετέειπε	Nestor	Achaeans

	νηπιάχοις οἷς οὔ τι μέλει πολεμήϊα ἔργα.				
Il.7.124	ὢ πόποι ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν ἱκάνει.	**Introductory** Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἀνίστατο καὶ μετέειπεν:	μετέειπεν	Nestor	Argives
Il.15.185	ὢ πόποι ἦ ῥ' ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν ὑπέροπλον ἔειπεν εἴ μ' ὁμότιμον ἐόντα βίη ἀέκοντα καθέξει.	**Transitional** τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος:	προσέφη	Posiedon	Iris
Il.15.286	ὢ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι οἷον δ' αὖτ' ἐξαῦτις ἀνέστη κῆρας ἀλύξας Ἕκτωρ:	**Introductory** νίκων ὁππότε κοῦροι ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μύθων: ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν:	μετέειπεν	Thoas	Achaeans
Il.15.467	ὢ πόποι ἦ δὴ πάγχυ μάχης ἐπὶ μήδεα κείρει δαίμων ἡμετέρης ὅ τέ μοι βιὸν ἔκβαλε χειρός	**Introductory** Τεῦκρος δ' ἐρρίγησε κασίγνητον δὲ προσηύδα:	προσηύδα	Teucer	Telamonian Aias
Il.16.745	ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνήρ ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ.	**Introductory** τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφης Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ:	προσέφης	Patroclus	Cebriones
Il.18.324	ὢ πόποι ἦ ῥ' ἅλιον ἔπος ἔκβαλον ἤματι κείνῳ θαρσύνων ἥρωα Μενοίτιον ἐν μεγάροισι:	**Introductory** ὣς ὃ βαρὺ στενάχων μετεφώνεε Μυρμιδόνεσσιν:	μετεφώνεε	Achilles	Myrmidons
Il.20.293	ὢ πόποι ἦ μοι ἄχος μεγαλήτορος Αἰνείαο	**Introductory** τὸν δέ κε Πηλείδης σχεδὸν ἄορι θυμὸν ἀπηύρα εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων: αὐτίκα δ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπεν:	μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπεν	Poseideon	Gods

		Introductory αἶψα δ' ἔπειτ' Ἀχιλῆος ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν σκέδασ' ἀχλὺνθεσπεσίην: ὃ δ' ἔπειτ μέγ' ἔξιδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Achilles	Himself
Il.20.344	ὢ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι:				
Il.21.54	ὢ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι:	Introductory ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν ῥ' ἀπὸ πάντα χαμαὶ βάλε: τεῖρε γὰρ ἱδρὼς φεύγοντ' ἐκ ποταμοῦ κάματος δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἐδάμνα: ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Achilles	Himself
Il.22.168	ὢ πόποι ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ τεῖχος ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι:	Introductory ὣς τὼ τρὶς Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρι δινηθήτην καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι: θεοὶ δ' ἐς πάντες ὁρῶντο: τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε:	μύθων ἦρχε	Zeus	Gods
Il.23.103	ὢ πόποι ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν:	Introductory ᾤχετο τετριγυῖα: ταφὼν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλεὺς χερσί τε συμπλατάγησεν ἔπος δ' ὀλοφυδνὸν ἔειπεν:	ἔπος δ' ὀλοφυδνὸν ἔειπεν	Achilles	Aloud
Il.23.782	ὢ πόποι ἦ μ' ἔβλαψε θεὰ πόδας ἣ τὸ πάρος περ μήτηρ ὣς Ὀδυσῆϊ παρίσταται ἠδ' ἐπαρήγει.	Introductory στῆ δὲ κέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων βοὸς ἀγραύλοιο ὄνθον ἀποπτύων μετὰ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἔειπεν:	μετὰ … ἔειπεν	Aias (son of Oileus)	Argives
ὢ πέπον					

Il.6.55	ὦ πέπον ὦ Μενέλαε τί ἢ δὲ σὺ κήδεαι οὕτως ἀνδρῶν;	**Introductory** δώσειν ᾧ θεράποντι καταξέμεν: ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων ἀντίος ἦλθε θέων καὶ ὁμοκλήσας ἔπος ηὔδα:	ἔπος ηὔδα	Agamemnon	Menelaus
Il.12.322	ὦ πέπον εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε	**Conclusory*** (Secondary Narrative) <u>ὄφρά τις ὧδ' εἴπη Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων:</u> οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα: ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἲς ἐσθλή ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται.	προσέφη Appears at Il.12.309 αὐτίκα δὲ Γλαῦκον προσέφη παῖδ' Ἱππολόχοιο:	Sarpdeon	Glaucus
Il.15.472	ὦ πέπον ἀλλὰ βιὸν μὲν ἔα καὶ ταρφέας ἰοὺς κεῖσθαι ἐπεὶ συνέχευε θεὸς Δαναοῖσι μεγήρας:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας:	ἠμείβετ	Telamonian Aias	Teucer
Il.17.238	ὦ πέπον ὦ Μενέλαε διοτρεφὲς οὐκέτι νῶϊ ἔλπομαι αὐτώ περ νοστησέμεν ἐκ πολέμοιο.	**Introductory** καὶ τότ' ἄρ' Αἴας εἶπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸν Μενέλαον:	εἶπε	Aias	Menelaus

Table 1. Iliad Interjections

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
ᾷ							
	ᾷ δειλ						
		Od.10.431	ᾷ δειλοί πόσ' ἴμεν τί κακῶν ἱμείρετε τούτων	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative) καί σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:	φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα	Eurylochus	Odysseus' crew
		Od.14.361	ᾷ δειλὲ ξείνων ἦ μοι μάλα θυμὸν ὄρινας	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφης Εὔμαιε συβῶτα:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφης	Eumaeus	Odysseus
		Od.18.389	ᾷ δείλ' ἦ τάχα τοι τελέω κακόν οἷ' ἀγορεύεις	**Introductory** ὣς ἔφατ' Εὐρύμαχος δ' ἐχολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον καί μιν ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα:	ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα	Eurymachus	Odysseus
		Od.20.351	ᾷ δειλοί τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων	**Introductory** τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής:	μετέειπε	Theoclymenus	Suitors
		Od.21.287	ᾷ δειλὲ ξείνων ἔνι τοι φρένες οὐδ' ἠβαιαί:	**Introductory** Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν:	ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν	Antinous	Odysseus
αἲ							
		Od.4.697	αἲ γὰρ δή βασίλεια τόδε πλεῖστον κακὸν	**Transitional** τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μέδων πεπνυμένα εἰδώς:	προσέειπε	Medon	Penelope
		Od.8.339	αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο γένοιτο ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα διάκτορος ἀργεϊφόντης:	ἠμείβετ'	Hermes	Apollo

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.9.522	αἲ γὰρ δὴ ψυχῆς τε καὶ αἰῶνός σε δυναίμην	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative) ὣς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐγώ μιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπον:	ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπον	Odysseus	Polyphemus
		Od.17.163	αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο ξεῖνε ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἴη:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια:	προσέειπε	Penelope	Theoclymenus
		Od.19.22	αἲ γὰρ δή ποτε τέκνον ἐπιφροσύνας ἀνέλοιο	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια:	προσέειπε	Eurycleia	Telemachus
		Od.19.309	αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο ξεῖνε ἔπος τετελεσμένον εἴη:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια:	προσέειπε	Penelope	Odysseus
		Od.20.169	αἲ γὰρ δὴ Εὔμαιε θεοὶ τισαίατο λώβην	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολυμήτις Ὀδυσσεύς:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Eumaeus
		Od.20.236	αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο ξεῖνε ἔπος τελέσειε Κρονίων:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε βοῶν ἐπιβουκόλος ἀνήρ:	προσέειπε	Eumaeus	Odysseus
		Od.21.401	αἲ γὰρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν	**Introductory** ἄλλος δ' αὖ εἴπεσκε νέων ὑπερηνορεόντων:	εἴπεσκε	ἄλλος	Suitors
		Od.24.376	αἲ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖ Λαέρτης πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα:	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Laërtes	Odysseus

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Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
			Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον				
δεῦρ							
		Od.8.145	δεῦρ' ἄγε καὶ σύ ξεῖνε πάτερ πείρησαι ἀέθλων	**Introductory** στῆ ῥ' ἐς μέσσον ἰὼν καὶ Ὀδυσσῆα προσέειπε:	προσέειπε:	Alcinous	Odysseus
		Od.8.292	δεῦρο φίλη λέκτρονδε τραπείομεν εὐνηθέντες:	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative) ἐρχομένη κατ' ἄρ' ἔζεθ': ὁ δ' εἴσω δώματος ἤει ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε:	ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε	Ares	Aphrodite
		Od.8.424	δεῦρο γύναι φέρε χηλὸν ἀριπρεπέ' ἥ τις ἀρίστη:	**Introductory** δή ῥα τότ' Ἀρήτην προσέφη μένος Ἀλκινόοιο:	προσέφη	Alcinous	Arete
		Od.12.184	δεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰών πολύαιν' Ὀδυσεῦ μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative) ῥίμφα διώκοντες τὰς δ' οὐ λάθεν ὠκύαλος νηῦς ἐγγύθεν ὀρνυμένη λιγυρὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν:	ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν	Sirens	Odysseus
		Od.22.395	δεῦρο δὴ ὄρσο γρηῢ παλαιγενές ἥ τε γυναικῶν	**Introductory** ὣς φάτο Τηλέμαχος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθετο πατρί κινήσας δὲ θύρην προσέφη τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν:	προσέφη	Telemachus	Eurycleia
ἦ̃							

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.2.325	ἦ μάλα Τηλέμαχος φόνον ἡμῖν μερμηρίζει.	**Introductory** οἱ δ' ἐπελώβευον καὶ ἐκερτόμεον ἐπέεσσιν. ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκε νέων ὑπερηνορεόντων:	εἴπεσκε	τις	Suitors
		Od.4.770	ἦ μάλα δὴ γάμον ἄμμι πολυμνήστη βασίλεια	**Introductory** ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκε νέων ὑπερηνορεόντων:	εἴπεσκε	τις	Suitors
		Od.5.182	ἦ δὴ ἀλιτρός γ' ἐσσὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀποφώλια εἰδώς	**Introductory** ὣς φάτο μείδησεν δὲ Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν:	ἔπος τ' ἔφατ'	Calypso	Odysseus
		Od.11.505	ἦ τοι μὲν Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος οὔ τι πέπυσμαι	**Transitional*** (Secondary Narrative) ὣς ἔφατ᾽ αὐτὰρ ἐγώ μιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπον:	ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπο	Odysseus	Achilles
		Od.14.391	ἦ μάλα τίς τοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἄπιστος	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Eumaeus
		Od.15.431	ἦ ῥά κε νῦν πάλιν αὖτις ἅμ' ἡμῖν οἴκαδ' ἔποιο	**Transitional*** (secondary Narrative) τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἀνήρ ὃς ἐμίσγετο λάθρη:	προσέειπεν	A Phoenician	Daughter of Arybas
		Od.18.201	ἦ με μάλ' αἰνοπαθῆ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλυψεν.	**Introductory** φθόγγῳ ἐπερχόμεναι: τὴν δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε καί ῥ' ἀπομόρξατο χερσὶ παρειὰς φώνησέν τε:	φώνησέν	Penelope	Eurynome

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.18.338	ἦ τάχα Τηλεμάχῳ ἐρέω κύον οἷ' ἀγορεύεις	**Transitional** τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς:	προσέφη	Odysseus	Melantho
		Od.19.474	ἦ ἀλ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι φίλον τέκος: οὐδέ σ' ἐγώ γε	**Introductory** δακρυόφι πλῆσθεν θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή. ἀψαμένη δὲ γενείου Ὀδυσσῆα προσέειπεν:	προσέειπεν:	Eurycleia	Odysseus
		Od.21.396	ἦ τις θηητὴρ καὶ ἐπίκλοπος ἔπλετο τόξων:	**Introductory** ὧδε τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον:	εἴπεσκεν	τις	Suitors
		Od.22.171	ἦ τοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τηλέμαχος μνηστῆρας ἀγαυοὺς σχήσομεν ἔντοσθεν μεγάρων μάλα περ μεμαῶτας.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Melanthius
		Od.23.148	ἦ μάλα δή τις ἔγημε πολυμνήστην βασίλειαν:	**Introductory** ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν ἀκούων:	εἴπεσκε	τις	Aloud
ναὶ δὴ							
	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε						
		Od.4.266	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα γύναι κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.	**Transitional** τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Menelaus	Helen

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.18.170	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα τέκος κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες	**Transitional** τὴν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρυνόμη ταμίη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:	μῦθον ἔειπεν	Eurynome	Penelope
		Od.20.37	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα θεά κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες:	**Transitional** τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Athene
		Od.22.486	ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε τέκνον ἐμόν κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια:	προσέειπε	Eurycleia	Odysseus
τῆ							
τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι							
		Od.1.179	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεά γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη:	προσέειπε	Athene	Telemachus
		Od.1.214	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι, ξεῖνε, μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα:	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Telemachus	Athene
		Od.3.254	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι, τέκνον, ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ:	ἠμείβετ'	Nestor	Telemachus
		Od.4.383	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ξεῖνε μάλ'	**Transitional*** (Secondary Narrative)	ἀμείβετο	Eidothea	Menelaus

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
			ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	ὣς ἐφάμην ἡ δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο δῖα θεάων:			
		Od.4.399	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ξεῖνε μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional*** (Secondary Narrative) ὣς ἐφάμην ἡ δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο δῖα θεάων:	ἀμείβετο	Eidothea	Menelaus
		Od.7.28	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ξεῖνε πάτερ δόμον ὅν με κελεύεις δείξω ἐπεί μοι πατρὸς ἀμύμονος ἐγγύθι ναίει.	**Introductory** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεά γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη:	προσέειπε	Athene	Odysseus
		Od.14.192	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Eumaeus
		Od.15.266	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ξεῖνε μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα:	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Telemachus	Theoclymenus
		Od.15.352	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ξεῖνε μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε συβώτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν:	προσέειπε	Eumaeus	Odysseus
		Od.16.61	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι τέκνον ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφης Εὔμαιε συβῶτα:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Eumaeus	Telemachus

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.16.112	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ξεῖνε μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα:	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Telemachus	Odysseus
		Od.16.225	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι τέκνον ἀληθείην καταλέξω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς:	προσέειπε	Odysseus	Telemachus
		Od.16.258	τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καί μευ ἄκουσον:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς:	προσέειπε	Odysseus	Telemachus
		Od.17.107	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι μῆτερ ἀληθείην καταλέξω.	**Transitional** τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα:	ἀντίον ηὔδα	Telemachus	Penelope
		Od.22.420	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι τέκνον ἀληθείην καταλέξω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια:	προσέειπε	Eurycleia	Odysseus
		Od.23.129	τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Telemachus
		Od.24.303	τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Laërtes
ὤ μοι							
		Od.5.408	ὤ μοι ἐπεὶ δὴ γαῖαν ἀελπέα δῶκεν ἰδέσθαι	**Introductory** καὶ τότ' Ὀδυσσῆος λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Odysseus	Himself

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.11.216	ὤ μοι τέκνον ἐμόν περὶ πάντων κάμμορε φωτῶν	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative) ὣς ἐφάμην ἡ δ᾽ αὐτί , ἀμείβετο πότνια μήτηρ:	ἀμείβετο	Anticleia	Odysseus
		Od.13.168	ὤ μοι τίς δὴ νῆα θοὴν ἐπέδησ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ	**Introductory** ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον:	εἴπεσκεν	τις	Phaeacians
		Od.15.326	ὤ μοι ξεῖνε τίη τοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο νόημα	**Transitional** τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφης Εὔμαιε συβῶτα:	ὀχθήσας προσέφης	Eumaeus	Odysseus
	ὤ μοι ἐγὼ						
		Od.5.299	ὤ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται	**Introductory** καὶ τότ' Ὀδυσσῆος λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Odysseus	Himself
		Od.5.356	ὤ μοι ἐγώ μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον	**Introductory** αὐτὰρ ὁ μερμήριξε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Odysseus	Himself
		Od.5.465	ὤ μοι ἐγώ τί πάθω τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται	**Introductory** ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:	εἶπε πρὸς	Odysseus	Himself
		Od.6.119	ὤ μοι ἐγώ τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἱκάνω	**Introductory** αἱ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσαν: ὁ δ' ἔγρετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς ἑζόμενος δ' ὤρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν:	ὤρμαινε	Odysseus	Himself

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.13.200	ὤ μοι ἐγώ τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαῖαν ἱκάνω	**Introductory** ᾤμωξέν τ' ἄρ ἔπειτα καὶ ὢ πεπλήγετο μηρὼ χερσὶ καταπρηνέσσ' ὀλοφυρόμενος δ' ἔπος ηὔδα:	ἔπος ηὔδα	Odysseus	Aloud
		Od.19.363	ὤ μοι ἐγώ σέο τέκνον ἀμήχανος: ἦ σε περὶ Ζεὺς	**Introductory** ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη γρηῢς δὲ κατέσχετο χερσὶ πρόσωπα δάκρυα δ' ἔκβαλε θερμά ἔπος δ' ὀλοφυδνὸν ἔειπεν:	ἔειπεν:	Eurycleia	Odysseus
ὢ πόποι							
		Od.1.32	ὢ πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται:	**Introductory** ὅ γ' ἐπιμνησθεὶς ἔπε' ἀθανάτοισι μετηύδα:	μετηύδα:	Zeus	Gods
		Od.10.38	ὢ πόποι ὡς ὅδε πᾶσι φίλος καὶ τίμιός ἐστιν	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον:	εἴπεσκεν	τις	Odysseus' crew
		Od.13.140	ὢ πόποι ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές οἷον ἔειπες.	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Zeus	Poseidon
		Od.16.363	ὢ πόποι ὡς τόνδ' ἄνδρα θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν.	**Introductory** τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντίνοος μετέφη Εὐπείθεος υἱός:	μετέφη	Antinous	Suitors
		Od.17.248	ὢ πόποι οἷον ἔειπε κύων ὀλοφώϊα εἰδῶ	**Transitional** τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μελάνθιος αἰπόλος αἰγῶν:	προσέειπε	Melanthius	Eumaeus

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Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.17.454	ὦ πόποι οὐκ ἄρα σοί γ' ἐπὶ εἴδεϊ καὶ φρένες ἦσαν:	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀναχωρήσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς:	προσέφη	Odysseus	Antinous
		Od.18.26	ὦ πόποι ὡς ὁ μολοβρὸς ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγορεύει	**Transitional** τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσεφώνεεν Ἶρος ἀλήτης:	προσεφώνεεν	Irus	Odysseus
	ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ						
		Od.4.169	ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ φίλου ἀνέρος υἱὸς ἐμὸν δῶ	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Menelaus	Peisistratus
		Od.4.333	ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῇ	**Transitional** τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέθη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος:	προσέθη	Menelaus	Telemachus
		Od.5.286	ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ μετεβούλευσαν θεοὶ ἄλλως	**Introductory** πόντον ἐπιπλώων. ὁ δ' ἐχώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον κινήσας δὲ κάρη προτὶ ὃν μυθήσατο θυμόν:	μυθήσατο	Poseidon	Aloud
		Od.9.506	ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλα δή με παλαίφατα θέσφαθ' ἱκάνει.	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative) ὣς ἐφάμην, ὁ δέ μ' οἰμώξας ἠμείβετο μύθῳ:	ἠμείβετο μύθῳ:	Polyphemus	Odysseus
		Od.11.436	ὦ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ γόνον Ἀτρέος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς	**Transitional*** (Secondary Narrative) ὣς ἔφατ' αὐτὰρ ἐγώ μιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπον:	ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπο	Odysseus	Agamemnon

Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.13.172	ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαίφατα θέσφαθ' ἱκάνει	**Introductory** τοῖσιν δ' Ἀλκίνοος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν:	ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν	Alcinous	Phaeacians
		Od.13.383	ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο	**Transitional** τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Odysseus	Athene
		Od.17.124	ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλα δὴ κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῇ ἤθελον εὐνηθῆναι ἀνάλκιδες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες.	**Introductory*** (Secondary Narrative) καὶ τότε δή με ἔπεσσιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν:	ἔπεσσιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν	Menelaus	Telemachus
		Od.21.201	ὢ πόποι ἦ μάλα με Ζεὺς ἄφρονα θῆκε Κρονίων:	**Introductory** τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειφ' ἱερὴ ἲς Τηλεμάχοιο:	μετέειφ'	Telemachus	Suitors and Odysseus
ὢ πόποι, ἦ							
		Od.1.253	ὢ πόποι, ἦ δὴ πολλὸν ἀποιχομένου Ὀδυσῆος	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἐπαλαστήσασα προσηύδα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη:	προσηύδα	Athene	Telemachus
		Od.4.663	ὢ πόποι ἦ μέγα ἔργον ὑπερφιάλως ἐτελέσθη	**Introductory** τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντίνοος μετέφη Εὐπείθεος υἱός ἀχνύμενος: μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναι πίμπλαντ' ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐίκτην:	μετέφη	Antinous	Suitors

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Interjection:	Interjectional Phrase:	Reference:	Line:	Introductory/Transitional:	Verba Dicendi:	Speaker:	Audience:
		Od.21.131	ὢ πόποι ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα κακός τ' ἔσομαι καὶ ἄκικυς	**Introductory** τοῖς δ' αὖτις μετέειφ' ἱερὴ ἲς Τηλεμάχοιο:	μετέειφ'	Telemachus	Suitors and Odysseus
		Od.21.249	ὢ πόποι ἦ μοι ἄχος περί τ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων:	**Introductory** ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶρος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν:	ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν	Eurymachus	Suitors
ὢ πέπον							
		Od.13.154	ὢ πέπον ὡς μὲν ἐμῷ θυμῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα	**Transitional** τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς:	ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη	Zeus	Poseidon

Table II. *Odyssey* Interjections

Taking ὤ μοι first in the *Odyssey*, it was important to correctly designate the speakers. ὤ μοι is clearly associated with Odysseus more than any other character, but we can also note that it is only mortals that support Odysseus that ever use the term, while the audience is always Odysseus, whether he is speaking to himself or being addressed. Of note are Hom.*Od.*11.216, which is uttered by another character in speech contained within Odysseus' own speech; Hom.*Od.*19.363 in which the audience is Odysseus in disguise; and Hom.*Od.*20.209 where Odysseus is addressed *in absentia* as well as also being present in disguise. The term only attaches meaning to Odysseus himself.

The term is a little more complicated in *Iliad*, with the majority of the terms spoken by the Greeks, but also used by Trojans, something which can be attributed merely to the fact that the Greeks receive far more focus in the narrative anyway. What is perhaps significant is that no gods who are in favour of the Greeks use the term, whether that is speaking it themselves or are addressed as such.

If ὤ μοι is a term that indicates whom the audience should pity then it makes sense to apply it to Odysseus alone in the *Odyssey*; none of the suitors should be considered sympathetic. Homer uses the term in *Iliad* for both sides to demonstrate that they both require the sympathy of his audience; there is no sympathy shown by or to gods hostile to the Greeks, since that would be a futile endeavour; mortals at the whim of the gods on either side are pitiable, but hostile divinities are not.

Considering ὤ πόποι, the *Odyssey* splits the term fairly evenly, being used by Odysseus, those supporting Odysseus, and those against him, whether mortal or divine, as well as being addressed to all such recipients. While it is still a lamentable phrase, showing suffering at their current lot, ὤ πόποι is unconcerned with designating sympathy; protagonist and antagonist alike utter the word. More importantly, and completely negating any Scythian connection, the term is used by mortals and immortals, whether they are addressing mortals or immortals or are even speaking aloud. This contradicts the idea that it can be an invocation to the gods, since there is no demarcation of divinity in its use. On the contrary, ὤ μοι seems reserved for mortals in the *Odyssey*; ὤ πόποι has no such concerns.

The *Iliad* has the term mostly used by Greeks with a small number of uses by Trojans, however there is equal instance of Greek and Trojans being the audience of such a term. Likewise, the gods are almost as likely as the Greeks to use the words, though only those that favour the Greeks (and Zeus, who seems to exhibit unique designation for a large number of speech patterns as discussed above/below). The gods only have a single instance of being the audience.

If we consider the use of ὤ πόποι in the *Iliad* in more detail, a curious range of speakers becomes evident. What begins clustered around Nestor and Hera gradually spreads to other Greeks, but the individual speaker adopts the term at moments important to the narrative. Patroclus uses the term in Book 16, marking his entering battle and swift death at the hands of Hector. Hector – the only Trojan that gets to use the term – utters it twice: first in Book 17 following

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the defeat of Patroclus and taking Achilles' armour; and second in Book 22, when his fate becomes sealed. Achilles uses the term more than any other mortal (Hera uses the term more), at significant moments relating to learning of Patroclus' death and joining battle, while the interplay between Achilles and Scamander (Book 21) uses the term in their repartee.

The progression of the term throughout the *Iliad* follows where our sympathy lies. Nestor, as the poetic voice of reason, highlights its use, and any time it occurs we are supposed to notice the significance of the term. It works to draw attention to the lamentable lot of the speaker, but is always used to address an antagonistic audience. ὤ μοι gets used by Greeks but is addressed mostly to Greeks; it shows self-pitying lamentation. ὤ πόποι is used more by Greeks and gods but it is used to address the cause of lamentation; it is not self-pitying, but indicative of anger at one's current lot. Likewise, in the *Odyssey*, ὤ μοι is also self-pitying, but shows true pathos, while ὤ πόποι bears indignation and anger towards its audience.

Looking at the use of ἆ, we can see that it occurs in the interjectional phrase ἆ δειλ'. In the *Iliad*, these are all used following introductory phrases, while the *Odyssey* has a single use following a transitional phrase.
Od.10.431 has Eurylochus as a lone dissenting voice amongst Odysseus' crew, questioning where they are going.
Od.14.361 has Eumeaus respond to the disguised Odysseus, but he contradicts what he said, by questioning why he is lying - τί σε χρὴ τοῖον ἐόντα μαψιδίως ψεύδεσθαι; [Hom.*Od.*14.364-5].

Od.18.389 also starts a speech with a question, in this case Eurymachus speaking to the disguised Odysseus. Eurymachus angrily chides him, saying he oversteps his mark having beaten Irus, but that he still should be in his place.

Od.20.351 has Theoclymenus speaking as he questions what evil the suitors suffer. This immediately follows the vision he had of all the suitors drenched with blood, an omen of their imminent demise.

Lastly, Od.21.287 has Antinous rebuking the disguised Odysseus, threatening great harm if he can string the bow.

Most of the uses in the *Odyssey* occur in a speech with a question, where the speaker is responding to something they perceive to be out of place. As an interjection, it recognises something that is not right, demonstrating unease by the speaker.

Looking to the *Iliad*, the phrase is spoken by Odysseus in Iliad.11.441 in response to Socus striking him with a spear, though failing to hit a fatal spot. Odysseus says that destruction has caught up to Socus, immediately killing him after his speech.

Later in book 11 at line 815, Patroklos sees Euryplus, wounded from battle, and questions him whether the Achaeans will be able to hold back Hector.

Il.17.201 shows Zeus speaking to his own heart, having seen Hector dress in the armour of Achilles, stripped from Patroklos. Zeus laments how Hector will not return to Andromache.

Il.17.443 features Zeus, again, taking pity, this time as he sees the horses of the son Aeacus, weeping since their charioteer had been killed by Hector.

Lastly, Il.24.518 shows Achilles speaking to Priam, after Priam roused a desire to weep for his own father in him.[92] Whereas before Achilles was cold towards Priam,

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[92] τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἵμερον ὦρσε γόοιο [Il.24.507]

now he invites him to come sit with him and no longer wail for his son. This phrase creates a pivot in the text at Achilles' change in character.

The phrase seems to suggest some kind of change of heart on the part of the speaker, demonstrative of a shift in perspective, perhaps. What could have been a fatal wound to Odysseus becomes death for Socus; Zeus witnesses scene of victory (stripping the armour), but recognises that Hector has sealed his fate; the irony of Patroklos seeing a wounded Euryplus, setting him down a path that leads to his own demise. In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, therefore, they rest on a sense of perception. They show a speaker witnessing something that it not right. In terms of the narrator guiding the audience, however, their usage changes between texts. The Odyssean narrator uses it to indicate something not right in the prior speech. The Iliadic narrator refocalizes the audience to display where their sympathy lies. What seemed like Odysseus being injured is shifted to sympathy for Socus being killed; what looked like a moment of victory for Hector is actually foreshadowing his death. The δειλ' component shows a speaker witnessing something not right, but the interjectional phrase ἄ δειλ' as a whole acts a focalization, showing the correct target of sympathy for the audience.

αἲ γὰρ is used in the *Odyssey* during transitional phrases, usually after a τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε, which places the emphasis on the speech that came before. As such, the phrase functions as a lament on the previous speech.

Od.4.697 shows Medon replying to Penelope wishing that the evil she described were the greatest, while lamenting a worse event. Od.8.339 occurs after Hephaestus has trapped Aphrodite and Ares and is a humorous use that shows Apollo asking Hermes if he would like to be ensnared on the couch with Aphrodite; Hermes' response is a

mock wish for such a thing to happen, even if he were bound by three times as many snares.

Od.9.522 is contained within a transitional phrase, but during Odysseus' speech, which is why it uses the grammar of a capping phrase to introduce it. Odysseus responds to Polyphemus, saying he wishes he could kill Polyphemus and send his soul to Hades. Importantly, Polyphemus' speech at Od.9.507-21 begins with ὢ πόποι. While πόποι is used to focus on the words contained within Polyphemus' speech, αἴ γὰρ here keeps the focus on that speech, since it is relevant to what Odysseus says. Whereas the other uses wish for the state described in the prior speech, Odysseus is here wishing for the opposite, an inversion the secondary narrator uses to deviate from the Homeric narrator.

Od.17.163 has Penelope responding to Theoclymenus state that an omen told him Odysseus is still alive, with Penelope reacting that she wishes that were the case.

Od.19.22 shows Eurycleia responding to Telemachus, wishing that the control of the house he expresses in his speech would be a permanent feature.

Od.19.309 shows Penelope responding to replying to a disguised Odysseus, who tells her that Odysseus will return this very month. Penelope replies by wishing that it would be fulfilled.

Od.20.169 shows Odysseus replying to Eumaus. Eumaeus questions if the suitor show Odysseus any more respect or if they still dishonour him. Odysseus' speech is lamenting on this, as he wishes that gods would take vengeance.

Od.21.401 is spoken by a nameless suitor, responding to another nameless suitor who comments on the disguised Odysseus handling the bow. The prior speech comments that it may seem he knows how to handle a bow or have one at home. The speech

introduced by αἲ γὰρ δὴ expresses a wish that the disguised Odysseus might be so capable.

Lastly, Od.24.376 has Laërtes respond to Odysseus, who questioned whether some god had imbued him with strength. Unaware that Athene had done so, Laërtes wishes he still had the strength when he was younger.

Throughout the *Odyssey*, αἲ γὰρ is used within a conversation following a discourse pivot, where the previous speech is most important for comprehension of the current speech. The words commonly combined with an optative construction to denote a wish. All the transitional lines push the subject into terminal position with the exception of Od.9.522, which follows Odysseus' marked difference to Homeric usage, and Od.24.376, which uses an ἀντίον ηὔδα expression highlight Laërtes, who is the focus on both the preceding and succeeding speeches.

As for the *Iliad*, the phrase only appears once at the start of speech:

> τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων:
>
> αἲ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἴη φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε: [Hom.*Il*.4.188-9]
>
> And to him, answering, he spoke, lord Agamemnon
>
> αἲ γὰρ δὴ would that it were thus, O dear Menelaus

Menelaus has just told Agamemnon that his wound is not in a fatal spot, to which Agamemnon wishes that it were so, but he must wait for the healer to determine. This is a consistent use of the interjection, showing a focus on the previous speech.

τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι is conspicuous in its absence from the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey*, the interjectional phrase always follows a transitional phrase, spoken by sympathetic characters. The inclusion of this as an interjection might be debated or more accurately

included in discourse markers, but the phrase itself is a very clear cluster of sounds marking the first two feet in the line. The speaker uses them to direct the audience to what they are about to say. With the exception of Od.3.214 and Od.15.266, the interjection always follows a transitional phrase with speaker in terminal position. The exceptions are both τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα, which is focusing on Telemachus' rhetorical ability. As such, the phrase is used to place further emphasis on the speech itself, marking to the audience to pay closer attention. Some of the interjections to seem to only fulfil a function within the speech, rather than at the narrative level. δεῦρ' shows the speaker urging the internal audience to action, and only occurs in introductory phrases as the very start of a speech. ναὶ δὴ is used only following transitional phrases showing agreement between the speakers. Papadogiannaki is right to show that interjections have a range of uses depending on context, however what is significantly lost is the situations where one term is appropriate while the other is not. Rather than being interchangeable – as Murray might have us believe – or irrelevant – as Butler's omissions would suggest – the terms are vital to indicating where our sympathies lies within the text. The use of interjections is to guide or manipulate the primary audience into responding in certain ways to the dialogue.

Having considered an overview of the primary interjections in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, it is important to consider the theoretical approach to interjections. As seen above, Pagadogiannaki's fundamental error lies in her analytical approach, whereby she attempts to understand meaning through analysis of the surrounding – primarily subsequent – speech. The fault lies in using subsequent speech to understand the interjection, shifting comprehension of

the term to the following locutionary act. In a continuous narrative, each speech element must have immediate effect on the audience, something that must be even more true of interjections since these *agrammatical* occurrences stand out in the text. To resolve the matter, we must also consider Nordgren's categorisation of interjections, but take them further.

Nordgren bases much of his work on Ideforss and Ameka. Ideforss divides interjections into three categories:

> Impulsions have an emotional emphasis, and the subjective element is predominant (e.g. woe, ouch, wow); imitations have a conceptual emphasis, mimicking a course of events (e.g. pow, crash, splash); imperations have an emphasis on intention (e.g. heave-ho, shoo, ahoy)
>
> (Nordgren, 2015, pp. 29–30)

Ideforss' study was on Swedish interjections, but demonstrates a significant step in analysis, showing that the focus of the study is on the intention of the speaker. We may see a chronal delineation within these categories: impulsions are driven by prior events; imitations "[mimic] a course of events", thus showing what is in the present; and imperations turn attention to the future.

Ameka's study attempts a universal approach to interjections, considering interjections to be "relatively conventionalised vocal gestures (or more generally, linguistic gestures) which express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation" (Ameka, 1992, p. 16). What these gestures are is specific to a culture and the conventions associated thereby seemingly unique. Nevertheless, there are common elements and classifications.

Nordgren identifies several common properties of interjections. Firstly, "morphologically, interjections are invariable" (Nordgren, 2015, p. 15). In the Greek corpus considered in this study, this holds true, though interjections do change over time. Most notably they are modulated by dramatists, but this is done with the regular poet's disregard for orthography for effect rather than a grammatical malleability in the interjections themselves. In contrast, there is far more variability in the ANE material, though this can easily be put down to polysemy and homonymy as a result of the cuneiform script, scribal errors, or diachronic shifts rather than phonic variance in the interjections themselves. Secondly, in terms of syntax, interjections are "complete, non-elliptical utterances" that "rarely enter into construction with other word-classes" (Nordgren, 2015, p. 15). While this holds true for Greek interjections, Akkadian uses constructions where the 'interjection' seems dependent on a verb, for example *u'a* + *qabû*. It therefore can enter into any construction with the main verb, though it will be considered below whether the entire phrase should be considered the interjection or merely *u'a* itself, or if we should disregard these types as interjections entirely.

Nordgren discusses interjections from both a semantic and pragmatic perspective. In terms of the former, interjections express the "speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation", while for the latter they "act as context-bound utterances encoding speaker attitudes or communicative intentions, which in some way are related to the ongoing discourse" (Nordgren, 2015, p. 15)

Considering these common properties, and influenced by Ameka and Ideforss, Nordgren proposes three categories for interjections, which can be summarised as (1) expressive, (2) exhortive, and (3) reflective.

- Category 1 contain "prototypical interjections, exclamation words expressing a conventionalized mental reaction, state or attitude, which in turn is caused by some event or situation" (Nordgren, 2015, p. 17)

- Category 2 are used to "express the will or desire of the speaker, and not his or her mental state" (Nordgren, 2015, p. 20)

- Category 3 indicate the speaker's "mental state towards the on-going discourse, and [consist] primarily of back-channeling or feedback signalling vocalizations" (Nordgren, 2015, p. 21)

Both Ameka and Nordgren treat interjections as exclamations – intended utterances – by a single cognisant speaker and as such ignore their effects of the narrative on the audience. By thinking of them in terms of linguistics and phonetics, the studies overlook how interjections act within an actual text and what impact their specific use has on the audience. Resolving their weaknesses demands a marrying f linguistic and narratological approaches. Nordgren attempts to take a pragmatic approach – "situating utterances in context, to analyse utterances of any sort completely" (Nordgren, 2015, p. 189) – but his final hypotheses still place focus firmly on 'speaker', a somewhat erroneous term either in a continual narrative or when presented by an actor. It is vital, at this stage, that we modify our categories to take account of *audience*.

In light of the discussion of ὤ μοι and ὤ ποποί and with an eye to shift the focus of categorising interjections in an interlocutionary act onto the effect on the audience,, we can begin with a simpler binary division, viewing interjections as either (1) Reactive (I-R) and (2) Prefatory (I-P):

- Reactive Interjections serve to punctuate a reaction to information currently available to the audience, either serving as a direct reaction to preceding speech or actions or reflecting on the feelings and emotions of the speaker as a result of preceding speech or action They take on many of the features of Nordgren's (1) expressive and (3) reflective categories.

- Prefatory interjections serve to make the audience of the text or auditor of the speech focus on the subsequent speech. They have some elements of (2) exhortive, but require separation since they are designed to draw attention to the following speech, rather than leave the audience time to consider.

Including Ideforss' categories in this schema is problematic, since it mostly ignores narratological consideration. One would be inclined to see impulsions as reactive, since one is driven to speak or act and imperations as prefatory, since they urge the addressee, with imitations potentially acting as reactive to the current situation. However, the intention of this study is to realise that the text is aimed at the audience, so we must consider the narrative impact. Each interjection, therefore, causes the audience to either think about what has come before – usually, but not always, alongside the characters of the text – or to turn their attention to what comes after; simply, interjections rely on rumination or revelation. Impulsions should rightly be included in I-R, since people are driven to act, but it is not quite so simple, since one may want to draw attention to cause or effect.

To demonstrate the difference, we can consider two phrases:

Alas! Your words wound me

Look! Your words wound me

The change of interjection gives a dramatic shift in meaning, as the former considers the words themselves, while the latter draws attention to their effects.

This split shows what effect the interjection actually has on the audience. With such a division, we can make further distinctions as we consider the terms themselves.

From looking at the individual uses in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, ὤ μοι was concluded to indicate that the audience should pity the speaker or the situation, while ὤ πόποι highlights the anger of the speaker at their current situation. If we apply a view of reflective or prefatory interjections, we can recognise ὤ μοι as reflective, since it gives the audience the time to consider the situation and does not precede new and relevant information. ὤ πόποι, however, acts as prefatory narrative, for the anger of the speaker usually drives them to action. Considering two instances where the interjections do not start the speech, we can compare Poseidon using ὤ πόποι in Hom.*Il.*13.95ff, with Thetis using ὤ μοι in Hom.*Il.*18.50ff. Poseidon begins his speech by providing background information then lamenting the situation with a mind to urge the Achaeans to action to alter their current fate. Thetis, meanwhile, begins her speech with an address to the Nereids and then explains a situation in which she is unable to help – οὐδέ τί οἱ δύναμαι χραισμῆσαι ἰοῦσα [Hom.*Il.*18.62]. Not only is Homer showing to the audience who should be the object of pity, but he is also demonstrating to the audience what is forthcoming in the narrative.

Akkadian Interjections (3.3)

Moving to the Akkadian material, there is a lack of analysis of Akkadian interjections, with no single study having been undertaken to examine this. Their absence in Akkadian grammars is distinct, with Ungnad merely stating that they comprise *i, e* "Ah!", *kēna*, "to be sure", (*a)gana,* "Come now"*, enna,* "behold", and *ū'a* "alas!" (Ungnad, 1992, p. 108), while Sayce merely says that he has 'only noticed '*a "O,"* and *ninu,* "behold," *nin-su* "behold him". We may also add *adu* "now," "thus" (Sayce, 2015, p. 143). Of these, *kēna* and *enna* are adverbs and used as such grammatically, while *ninu* appears to be the OA plural personal pronoun; with Ungnad given no reference for this meaning, it is difficult to determine the specific use he is referring it. Because of this lack of cataloguing interjections in Akkadian, it would serve to give a run through of interjections that are mentioned in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. Since interjections are so uncommon in extended mythological narratives, I will consider other genres for this section in order to have sufficient examples to develop an understanding of how interjections function within the culture.

Amma – "Lo, behold"

Acting to draw attention to something, *amma* prefaces information rather than reacting to it.

> *a-ma ṣuḫārīja redēma ana kaspim diššunu*[93]
>
> Behold! Take (these) my slaves and sell them
>
> *appuḫ 1/3 MA.NA 5 GÍN e'ulātīja a-ma 5/6 MA.NA kaspim ka'il*[94]
>
> Instead of my property being 25 shekels, behold! Keep 50 shekels of silver (as a deposit)

The clear use of the term is to draw attention to the words immediately following, sometimes at the expense of the preceding words, acting to divert attention from one thing to another. The term is, however, also used with reference to preceding material:

> *a-ma uzakkunu apti*[95]
>
> Behold! I have informed you
>
> *a-ma uzakka lu patiat*[96]
>
> Behold! You (there) should be fully instructed

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[93] JSOR 11 135 No. 44:9

[94] MVAG 33 No. 263:20

[95] BIN 6138:3

[96] BIN 4 84:14

While both of these do refer, obliquely, to preceding information, their main use is to draw attention to a material shift in knowledge for the audience. This demonstrates that they act in a prefatory respect to make the following words most important.

They rely on prior words or deeds, but show that they have made (or should make) a material difference in the present (or future). It is this change, which the speaker explains, that is the intended focus.

Apputtu – "Please, it is urgent"

Apputtu acts a prefatory exclamation to increase the importance of what is said next:

> *a-pu-tum assurri ūmē 2 ammakam e tasḫurma*[97]
>
> It is urgent, heaven forbid that you should remain there two days
>
> *ap-pu-tum awâtum dannā*[98]
>
> Please! The matter is urgent
>
> *ap-pu-tum la teggi*[99]
>
> Please, do not be negligent

What comes before is somewhat irrelevant; certainly the speaker wishes the auditor to respond to their words rather than react to prior information. The interjection is commonly followed by an imperative or exhortation, so it serves to demand attention.

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[97] Kienast ATHE 42:20

[98] YOS 2 83:25

[99] TCL 1 15:29

Alāla – exclamation of joy

The term *alāla* occurs only with verbs of speaking, usually *šasû*, but also *qabû* and *šūdû*[100.] Its use is seemingly an exclamation:

> *šarrum a-li-li lišēdīkum ṣalamka lišziz ina maḫar ṣalmišu*[101]

> May the king honour you with public acclamation, may he erect your statue in front of his own statue

It also seems to bear a musical aspect:

> *ikkaršu ina ṣēri aj ilsâ a-la-la*[102]

> May his farmer (the king's who breaks the oath) not intone the *a.*-song in the field

This *a.*-song is explained as a "refrain of a work song"[103], though its use implies the work song is positive rather than a lament from labour. It is associated with fecundity and prosperity, whose absence causes problems for mankind:

> GIŠ.APIN *a-la-la ina māti kališa* KUD-*is suqu ina nišē*[104]

> … the *a.* will stop everywhere in the land, [there will be] a famine among the people

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[100] CAD A1, 329

[101] RA 45 182:36

[102] AfO 8 25 iv 19

[103] CAD A1 328

[104] LBAT 1580 r. 4

This *a.*-song, which is at times given the DINGIR determinative[105], elevating its importance through divinising it into a concept, therefore cannot refer to events following its use, since it carries specific meaning for what the current situation must be, being self-reflective and descriptive. One could compare the term to the "Heigh-Ho" of Disney's Seven Dwarfs, which carries inherently positive aspects despite being related to work, sung both at the start and close of the workday. The term "heigh-ho" seems to have its origins in c. 14th Century from a now lost work song, perhaps with nautical origins[106.] This is an example of an interjection derived with specific meaning that has been lost, preserving the interjection but transposing it onto another meaning.

Whether we should even consider this an interjection is uncertain, since it only occurs obliquely in indirect speech. Its categorisation as an interjection relies on the categorisations seen above denoting speaker intention, abstracted from narratological impact. Placing it in indirect speech means it does not disrupt narrative flow, since it continues in a descriptive, rather than imitative, medium. Either way, it has a purely reactive element, describing the current scene rather than prefacing important information.

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[105] Cf. (Lambert, 1996, p. 36:101), BA 5 673 No. 29:8, Or. NS 27 141:18 *et.al.*

[106] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/86644

    http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/85483

Agana – "Well now!"

Agana, like *amma*, draws attention to the immediately subsequent words:

> *a-ga-na 1* GUR *ana ṣibat idinma ina kî maṣi šanātim limtaḫar*[107]
>
> Now then! Give (i.e., lend) one gur (of barley) on interest, in how many years would (interest and capital) be equal?
>
> *a-ga-na ša* GAL.NI.MEŠ *ša imtanaḫḫarûninni suluppīšunu lūmur*[108]
>
> Well now! I would like to see the dates of the *šandanakku*-officials who have appealed to me repeatedly

What comes before *agana* is rendered unimportant, and the term is used to ensure that due attention is paid to the following words. This a clear example where an imperation easily correlates to a prefatory interjection: the speaker wishes their audience to value their speech over what has gone before.

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[107] TMB 72 No. 146:1

[108] VAS 16 118:8

Aḫulap – exclamation used to express or to seek compassion

Aḫulap is able to stand on its own at the start of a spoken clause as an invocation of lament or pity:

> *a-ḫu-lap-ki bēlet šamê u erṣeti*[109]
>
> Your *aḫulap* (please!), mistress of heaven and earth
>
> *a-ḫu-lap zumrija nassi ša malû ešâti u dalḫāti*[110]
>
> *aḫulap* (Please!) for my wretched body which is full of disorders and troubles

The sense of asking for pity or mercy is shown when it is used as a noun with a verb of speaking:

> *ina tēmeqi ṣullê labān appi kamis eli dūr ālišu ū'a aja ṣarpiš ibakkīma iqtanabbâ a-ḫu-lap*[111]
>
> With supplications and prayer, and in prostration, kneeling on the wall of his city, he wept pitifully, and kept crying "*aḫulap!*"

The use of *aḫulap* as a noun shows it has specific connotations of lamentation and pity. Therefore when it stands alone as an interjection it must invoke such concepts, making it a reflective interjection on the current lot of the speaker.

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[109] STC 2 pl. 77:27

[110] STC 2 pl. 79:46

[111] Borger Esarh. 103 i 7.

Ē – No!

Ē functions primarily as a prefatory interjection, but it has elements of reaction since it serves to be a contradiction to what has gone before. Ē is therefore used to preface what the speaker wants to be the case:

> *e bēlī rubû nādu…ša bēlti* DN *mișirša ul ussaḫḫa kudurraša ul uttakar*[112]

> No, no, my lord, pious prince! The border of the Lady DN cannot be violated, her boundary cannot be altered.

> *e arad anāku niqâ ana ilija ul eppuš*[113]

> No, no slave! I will not offer a sacrifice to my god

The important speech is that directly following the *ē*, but the interjection has even more force because it simultaneously negates that which has come before.

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[112] BE 1/1 83:20

[113] KAR 96 r. 8

Ezib – Never mind!

In contrast with *ē*, the force of *ezib* is reflective, focusing more on the negation than the subsequent speech.

> *[ul ut]ârka umma PN-ma e-zi-ib la tutarranni*[114]

> "I will not bring you back" – PN said (to that), "Never mind! Do not bring me back!"

> *tamkāram ūtaddiam … umma anākuma e-zi-ib* DAM.GÀR*(!) ša libbišu luwaddiam*[115]

> He specified a *tamkāru* to me – I said to myself: "Let it be! Let him specify to me any *tamkāru* he wishes"

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[114] JSOR 11 135 No. 44:8

[115] BIN 4 35:41

Gana – Come!

Formed from the Sumerian gan.a, *gana* originally meant literally "come!", but has developed to be a prefatory remark before giving a command:

> *ga-na ē tattil 6 urrī u 7 mūšāti*[116]
>
> Now then, you must not sleep for six days and seven nights!
>
> *ga-na ut-li-li-ma ina e-la-a-tú tíš-bi*[117]
>
> Come! Mount the steps and sit down in an elevated place

Used to draw attention, any preceding speech or thought is rendered less important to the listener, and the speaker wishes to make sure his words are focused upon.

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[116] Gilg. XI 199

[117] TCL 6 51:37f.

Luman – Now

Luman functions in a prefatory manner:

> *lu-man takkap [erṣeti tepette]*[118]
>
> If only you would open the window of the nether world
>
> *lu-man ana ummi[ja iqabbī]ma*[119]
>
> Now he says, "Oh, for my mother"

Both of these have a negative implication, but it projects the negative onto the following speech rather than reacting to speech or emotion beforehand.

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[118] Gilg. XII 79

[119] Gilg. XII 145

Mā – What? Why!

The CAD states that *mā* expresses 'doubt, disbelief', suggesting a reactive element:

> *ma šuwāti taqīpma jâti ula taqtīpanni*[120]

> What? You trusted him but you did not trust me?

> *ma-ʿ* DINGIR.MEŠ *lušpurakka ina muḫḫika i-mar-ṣu*[121]

> What! By the gods, should I write you, it would only worry you

However, if we consider the other uses of *mā*, we can see that the actual effect of the word is to draw attention to the following speech. This is shown by its use as 'thus', introducing or continuing direct speech:

> *lā kî annê ina libbi adê qabi ma-a*[122]

> Is it not stated in the oath as follows?

> *assa'alšu ma-a la addini*[123]

> I asked him (and he answered) as follows

> *iqabbûni ma-a kaspu la gammur la tadin*[124]

> (Those) who will say as follows: the silver was not paid fully

In these cases, it is clear that the force of the interjection is to focus the attention of the auditor for the subsequent words. It seems reflective, but the definition of disbelief

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[120] CCT 4 3b:23

[121] YOS 3 19:22

[122] ABL 656 r. 19

[123] ABL 537 r. 19

[124] ADD 474:11

is merely explaining the motivation of the speaker rather than actually understanding

what effect it has on the audience.

Ū'a (ūja, ū'i) – Woe, cry of woe

Similar to *alālu*, *ū'a* most often works with a verb of speaking:

> *amassu ana eṭli ina ú-a izzakkarma eṭlu šū idammum*[125]

> [When] he speaks his word to a young man in a ū'a [manner], that man moans

> *šapassu iššukma u₈-a pīšu umtalli*[126]

> He (Ea) bit his lip and filled his mouth with cries of woe

It also functions as a noun referring to the cry itself, being metonymy as well for lamentation:

> *ina libbi u₈-u-a atabbi uššab*[127]

> In the midst of woe, I will rise and sit down (beside you)

> *[ina muḫḫi bī]ti isappid ù u₈-i iqabbīma*[128]

> Before the temple he performs the wailing and says, "Woe!"

Rather than quoting the speech, the words functions more here that "he says the Ū'a", a substantive with specific associations of lamentation. It functions as both a substantive and an exclamation:

> *kabittu ušaṣriḫma u₈-a libbī iqabbi…rigmu galtu ištakkan u₈-a aj[a]*[129]

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[125] SBH 8 No. 4:56f.

[126] CT 16 20:130f.

[127] 4R 61 i 27

[128] Weissbach Misc. pl. 12:18

[129] ZA 73 18:71

He became inflamed with lamentation and called out, "Woe, my heart!," time

and again he gave a terrified shout, "Woe and alas!"

This compares the term with *rigmu,* and *aja*, making it a substantive with inherent

meaning, however there is an undeniable onomatopoeic component, made clear by

its inclusion as a bird call:

u₈-u-a u₈-u-a ištanassi[130]

It keeps crying, "Woe, woe"

Likewise this onomatopoeic component likely allows its functions as an exclamation

without necessarily being governed by a word of speaking, shown through its

appearance with clear direct speech (indicated by the 1st person pronominal suffix).

The use of *libbī* suggests that *iqabbi* governs a single quotation - *u₈-a libbī. Similarly*:

*ša ú-a (*var. *u₈-i) mutī iqabbi ša ú-a (*var. *u₈-[i]) mārī [iqabbi]*[131]

"Oh, my spouse!" she says, "Oh, my child!" she says

As it address *mutī* and *mārī,* we must see these as individual utterance with *iqabbi*

governing the entire phrase, rather than viewing it as "she speaks the Ū'a to her

spouse".

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[130] AnSt 20 112:5

[131] SBH 102 No. 54 r. 30f.

Conclusion (3.4)

In conclusion, we have grouped the interjections into two:

Prefatory	Reactive
amma	*alāla*
apputtu	*aḫulap*
agana	*ezib*
ē	*ū'a*
gana	
luman	
mā	

We can see a clear distinction between when the narrator wishes to draw attention to speech before or after the interjection. As Buccellati states, "interjections are, precisely, interjected in the syntactical flow" (Buccellati, 1996, p. 218), however their significance on the text is far more than mere interruption. They are intending to direct the narrative flow by punctuating the syntactical flow to point either forward or backwards[132]. Even when a reactive interjection seemingly introduces new information with its subsequent words, the impetus is for reflection on the current state of affairs or prior events and information, rather than changing the narrative direction.

While it is clear to see the distinction between types of interjections in the Near-Eastern texts, there are remarkably few instances in the main mythological narratives. Overall,

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[132] Or to the current moment in time but certainly not past the current utterance

the Standard Babylonian edition of Gilgameš rarely features any interjections, besides *al-ka*, whose inclusion will be debated. The only potential interjection is *ū'a*:

ū'a ištasi | šapāt-su ittaška [Enuma Elish II.50]

He cried "Woe!" and bit his lip.

This is Anšar's reaction to Tiāmat elevating Qingu to acquire the power of Anu-ship. Despite Lambert's translation as an interjection, as seen above it can be used here merely as a verb + substantive construction, meaning it may preferably be translated as: "he gave the *ū'a*-lament". Since the *Enuma Elish* features many clear instances of direct speech, the lack of any 1st person features in this line suggest that we ought not read it as an interjection or exclamation.

Having established a lack of interjections in Mesopotamian extended mythological narratives, the frequency of interjections in Homer is instantly noticeable. This raises the question why there is a drastic increase as we move from Mesopotamia to Greece. If we consider the actual purpose of these interjections, of either reflection or preface, then the lack of these features in the text means that we seek other ways in which the narrative is progressed. There is an abundance of diegetic features, certainly, but since Mesopotamian texts, especially the *Enuma Elish,* blend direct speech within primary narrative through switching grammatical person we must reconsider how these features are distributed throughout the texts. However, with the *Enuma Elish* being a very late text in our consideration, it may not be representative of ANE material overall. Both Greek and Akkadian are capable of demonstrating moments of reflection and direct the audience's attention during the narrative either to features within or without direct speech by using interjections. While the Greek texts do so frequently, we must question if the absence in Akkadian texts means these features are lacking,

or if ANE writers are using different methods to achieve the same result. Likewise, does their absence demonstrate a difference in the audience of a text: are reflection and audience-direction unnecessary when the texts are not revelatory?

Greek portrays vivid narrative as the narrator guides the attention of the audience throughout, shifting attention between rumination and revelation. Ancient Near-Eastern mythological narratives seem to lack that revelatory component – the only potential interjection is reactive, demonstrating the effect of words and acts on the current situation. We must, therefore, question whether this indicates a fundamental difference in approach to mythological narrative. Greece treats these texts as progressive narratives with story revelations. Since Mesopotamian literature lacks the narrative features that display a conscious awareness by the narrator of their revelatory interaction with the audience, we must rightly question whether this is the result of a key difference in culture: did the Mesopotamian audience have a much stronger familiarity with the story? If so, the narrator's role is presenting a known, a very different form of interaction than Greece. This question raises a fundamental difference between the two cultures and the purpose and function of literature in those societies.

Chapter 3: Silence

The Sound of Silence (4.1)

> Kiedy wymawiam słowo Cisza,
>
> niszczę ją
>
> When I say the word Silence,
>
> I destroy it[133]

There is an inherent irony in expressing silence using sound; through producing the term you prevent the very thing you are describing. The focus on locutionary acts in discourse theory and narratology considers what effect words have and how they enact them, but such a paradoxical situation as one in using sound to describe or imitate the absence of sound is often overlooked.

Considering interjections frequently have an onomatopoeic origin (chapter 2) and *verba dicendi* often have either an imitative quality or use specific sound clusters associated with verbs in order to indicate to the audience how they should react (Chapter 1), it is important to consider how silence can actually be expressed in narrative. In a genre where sound is so important, it is necessary to consider the inverse. However, what we mean by 'silence' is not necessarily clear.

When considering sound, most secondary criticism overlooks the portrayal of 'silence', considering it merely its inverse as the absence of sound. Silence is defined as both, 'the fact of abstaining or forbearing from speech or utterance (sometimes with

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[133] Kiedy wymawiam słowo Cisza,

niszczę ją[Szymborska, Trzy Słowa Najdziwniejsze]

reference to a particular matter); the state or condition resulting from this; muteness, reticence, taciturnity'[134]; and 'the state or condition when nothing is audible; absence of all sound or noise; complete quietness or stillness; noiselessness'[135]. 'Silence', therefore, has two basic meanings that could be separated into cause and effect.

The conflation of these terms in English is exacerbated with ancient texts, since we see multiple terms in Greek and Akkadian being translated as "silence", a term which is 'culturally specific, its usage within a given society may be misunderstood by strangers'(Montiglio, 2000, p. 3). Separate words with their own nuanced meaning within their cultural context are expressed with ambiguous terminology in English.

lā našir apsû rigim-šun

u Tiāmat šuqammumat ina maḫrī-šun   [*Enuma Elish* I.25-6]

Apsû did not diminish their clamour,

And Tiāmat was silent when confronted with them

imtarṣam-ma alkat-sunu elī-ya

urriš lā šupšuḫ-āku mūšiš lā ṣallāku

lušḫalliq-ma alkat-sunu lusappiḫ

 qūlu liššakin-ma | i niṣlal nīni   [*Enuma Elish* I.35-40]

"Their behaviour is noisome[136] to me!

By day I have no rest, at night I do not sleep!

I wish to put an end to their behaviour, to do away with it!

Let silence reign that we may sleep"(Foster, 2005, p. 161)

From the translation we can see the words 'silent' and 'silence' appear, however they are translating the terms *šuqammumat* and *qūlu* respectively. It becomes rather jarring that in the translation you have Tiāmat being 'silent' at the clamour Apsû does not diminish, followed shortly after by Apsû addressing Tiāmat and wishing for 'silence'. It is clear that Tiāmat is 'silent' out of disturbed rage and distress, since their conduct was displeasing to her – *imtarṣamma epšetašun elī-ša* [Enuma Elish I.27]. The 'silence' that Apsû wishes for is peaceful. This comparison demonstrates the troubles of translation, conflating terms in one language with terms of another.

The term 'silence', then, suffers a double fault of translation, simultaneously covering multiple terms in the original language while also being somewhat ambiguous in English.

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the words creates an inextricable association between the two. Foster likely opted for a word of displeasure that instils some aural component in the audience's mind to reflect how Apsû's displeasure is on account of noise.

Silence can be inherently antithetical, attempting to portray through words and sounds the absence of sound. 'Shh' as an interjection is a short, sharp sound intended to induce silence in the audience; related words like 'shush' and 'hush' are imitative of the least amount of sound one can make. This transitive form of 'silence' is making someone silent, specifically through the use of sound. There is clearly an attempt at an imitative quality, but it relies on an incomprehensible sound where the smallest sound with no inherent meaning is used to indicate a lack of sound overall. Within this breadth of definition, 'any vocal expression that is not fully audible can be called silence'(Montiglio, 2000, p. 290). While the presence of any audibility contradicts a definition of silence as the absence of sound, the inclusion of 'not fully audible' places the emphasis on intelligibility – if speech is not merely the act of making sound, but also the creation of intelligible sounds and their reception and comprehension, then silence would be not merely the lack of sound, but also the refusal or inability to create intelligible sounds and the inability to receive or comprehend those sounds. In this respect, 'silence and speech are mutually constitutive, not mutually exclusive' (Dinkler, 2013, p. 205).

If we broaden our analysis of speech to include audience, then silence becomes a vital component, since 'a person speaking causes others to be silent, making them his audience and determining their silence by his speech.'(Wulf and Gebauer, 1992, p. 7) Without one being silent while another speaks, there can be no dialogue, merely a volley of sounds between two unreceptive participants. Through being silent, one makes themselves receptive to the speech of others, so without silence words struggle to be intelligible, since 'their listening is part of the dialogue and therefore also of the understanding.' (Wulf and Gebauer, 1992, p. 7) Silence, then, is not merely lack of

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sound, but also lack of social discourse and the reception or comprehension of information.

Generally, in English there is also the demarcation of *quiet* ('absence of noise'); *silence* ('absence of speech') and *calm* ('absence of disturbance'), yet the definitions overlap considerably and the terms are sometimes used interchangeably with each other. Another dimension is also added when we consider silence strictly within a narrative, since there is 'narratorial silence vis-à-vis the reader (but *not* silence within the story world) … [and] character silence vis-à-vis other characters in the story (but *not* silence for the reader)' (Dinkler, 2013, p. 44). The former hides information from the audience, while the latter privileges the audience with information the characters can or do not know. Just as the expressions the narrator used for speech acts are modulated to guide the audience into both positive and negative reactions, so too 'silence and speech are neutral in and of themselves. Both can be used in positive or negative ways; thus, both require qualification'(Dinkler, 2013, p. 213). Just as the strict definition is difficult to determine, we must also consider how and where the terms are used, taking into account '*context of expression* (silence in a library differs from silence in a torture chamber), its *source* (personal choice or external pressure, for example), and its interpersonal *functions* (silence can alienate, or silence can unify)'(Dinkler, 2013, p. 6).

The attempt to cause silence through words for silence plays with the boundary of the illocutionary and perlocutionary act, since the intended effect and action of speaking are the same in a metaphorical manner, but utterly opposite in reality. It is this separation of illocutionary and perlocutionary that will be the focus of this chapter. Since a comprehensive view of silence in Greek and ANE mythological narrative is

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beyond the scope of this thesis, the focus will continue to look at how shifts in narrative style from narrative to discourse, marked by specific words and phrases with reference to silence, couple with the inherent irony in referencing silence in a narrative.

Specifically, this will consider a *siopic hiatus*, a break from dialogue in the narrative indicated by clustered reference to silence where the *locutionary act* is words for silence, the *illocutionary act* is an ironic threat to suspend or even end the narrative, and the *perlocutionary act* is to prime the audience for a shift away from what the preceding dialogue had established or threatened. The narrator bridges the gap between narratorial and character silence in order to guide the audience in their reaction. Such a technique further demonstrates that the nature of Greek mythological narrative is a performative, revelatory piece between narrator and audience and that how to receive and perceive the text is continually manipulated by the narrator. In contrast, this chapter will consider how sound in Near-Eastern mythological narrative infrequently uses silence that is tied purely to a mythological and cultural concept rather than as a narrative tool, showing that the same narrator-audience guidance is not present.

Silence in Greek (4.2)

It is important to consider how Greek deals with 'silence' both in terms of vocabulary and cultural view, since "silence" is seen as having a wider semantic range than it does in English (Dinkler, 2013, p. 45). While Dinkler's study conflated several terms in Greek at the same time as ignoring the full semantic range in English, we should not only view 'silence' in Greek as the complete absence of sound, but we should also view 'Greek phrases and words denoting silence to be located at various points along a communication continuum'(Dinkler, 2013, p. 45).

This breadth of meaning in the terms alone is expanded by the unique ways that different genres deal with them. Performance in the Greek world shapes and moulds language, employing vocabulary in different ways due to specific contexts:

> 'dramatists create silence on stage through the voice of their characters that announces or demands silence; Pindar signposts thematic shifts in his songs by introducing maxims about silence; orators too declare their intention to keep silent when they wish to arouse the audience's attention at a climactic moment in their speech.'(Montiglio, 2000, p. 289)

Performers use silence as a marker of something important to arouse interest from the audience, but what significance that has is dependent upon context. However, these examples are not silence in and of themselves. The narrator announcing silence is using its cultural significance to inform the audience of something important; likewise, the lyricist and orator rely on the audience's inherent association between silence and importance. We can see from wider Greek society that silence requires reverence and increased attention.

In religious or ritual contexts, there is a "code of silence". The Mysteries have a strong link to silence, as speaking of the rituals was forbidden. The *Hymn to Demeter* is frequently cited as giving an insight into the Eleusinian Mysteries. Foley details how the narrative echoes the progression an initiate takes(Foley, 1993, pp. 65–75). The change from *myêsis* to *epopteia* is described by Foley as going from "one who closes his eyes and/or keeps his mouth shut" to "one who sees"(Foley, 1993, p. 63), conflating the two senses into one. We have several words in Greek that all preserve the same root, but which vastly differ in our understanding:

- μύ/μῦ – "a muttering sound"
- μυέω – "to initiate into the mysteries"
- μύζω – "to murmur with closed lips, to mutter, moan, to drink with closed lips"
- μυθέομαι – "to say, to speak

Foley's assertion that during *myêsis* one has their mouth shut does demonstrate that there is an inherent sound element within the word, but the consideration of it as also one who has their eyes shut seems to be adding information onto the word from assumptions about the ceremony. However, we must consider *epopteia* further, taken here from from ἐποπτεύω, "to look over, overlook, watch" and exhibiting the key element ὀπ-. The etymology of ὀπ- is problematic, seemingly exhibiting a conflation of visual and oral within the Greek language. What Foley presents is a progression from silence (specifically mumbling) to sight. If we take the meaning of meaning to be related to voice here instead of sight, then it is a progression from silence/mumbling to overt speech.

It is noted that "aside from the display of sacred objects and sights, spoken words and sounds certainly played some role in the ceremony" (Foley, 1993, p. 68), but the

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elaboration on this point in somewhat lacking. Foley discusses the *pannychis* and *aischrologia* that were performed by the women, but overall the attempt to reconstruct the actions, attire, and accoutrements of the rituals, overlooks sound. By not considering the root of the words sufficiently, sight has been treated as more important.

Featured in the Festival of the Greater Mysteries, we see the *prorrhêsis*, that forbade "those impure in hands and incomprehensible in speech" (Foley, 1993, p. 67) in Athens; then after several days of sacrifice the procession honoured Iakhos, an onomatopoeic deity indicating the ritual cry; after further procession the women engage in the *pannychis* and *aischrologia*; then a period where unknown events occur; finally, following the rites, dancing and sacrifice occur as attendants cried to the sky and the earth. Sounds of different form were clearly important, ranging from the audible to inaudible or incomprehensible. There was an 'unspeakability of the mysteries – as defined by *arrhêtos* and *aprorrhêtos*, two adjectives that contain privative particles' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 38). The imposition in the initiates is 'inhibitory force that eradicates language at its source' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 38). This is done both out of reverence to the gods but also to limit the spread of information, to make what happens private. In ritual and religious contexts, therefore, But silence is also clearly complementary to sound, with the uproarious nature of the *pannychis* and the *aischrologia* providing contrast. These moments of noise are made more distinct because they follow moments of silence; likewise, the moments of silence are even more dramatic as they follow ritual cries. Both are necessary and accentuate the other: silence is reverential and preserved for the ritual aspects of the Mystery. This "code of

silence" extends to most Greek rituals, 'where 'the silent person is seated, immobile, veiled, and often refrains from eating' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 4).

When we look at Homeric speech, there is actually a surprising lack of 'silence'. When finished speaking, 'orators "get up and speak" but never fall silent; instead, having spoken they sit down' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 54). Moments we might expect silence to occur, such as in an assembly, are curiously lacking. Even in the moment of death, 'vocally dying heroes do not become silent' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 81). In the Underworld, named heroes are not silent, though we do see unknown warriors who are silent. The reason for this is renown, since if a hero were to '[dissolve] into silence he would disappear from the memory of others, which is built by strings of voices' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 81). Just as the poet keeps these heroes alive by telling of their *kleos*, so too must their shade continue to be able to speak of their own deeds, at times the only way to preserve their fame after death. This is shown by the fate of Tithonus, whose body wastes away to nothing after Eos wished merely for immortality, forgetting to preserve his youth. It is only his voice that is left:

> τοῦ δ' ἤτοι φωνὴ ῥέει ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυς
>
> ἔσθ' οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνι, γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν [Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 237-8]
>
> His voice flows unceasing, but there is none of the strength,
>
> Which used to be in his bent limbs.

His fate is to be a mere voice, eternally shouting of his agony and torment. But that eternal voice is not his alone, for he is forever remembered. Should he fall silent, he would be entirely forgotten. The songs of poets exist to preserve the memory of the hero, to sing their renown through the ages.

While song and speech are necessary to preserve *kleos*[137], and silence threatens to mean we forget, we must contrast this with intended silence. Achilles, when offended by the actions of Agamemnon, chooses to be silent. Achilles withdraws from speech with Agamemnon alongside withdrawal from the war as a whole. Seemingly, engagement in one requires engagement in the other. But Achilles' silence cannot be seen to possess the reverence of the ritual context, nor should it be seen as passivity or submission; Achilles uses his silence to oppose Agamemnon. Again, however, this ties in with renown. For him, Agamemnon's actions have stripped him of renown, so he chooses to withdraw from speech. Yet, had Achilles maintained his silence and continued to refuse to engage with the other heroes, holding back from battle, the war would not continue. Sulking in silence gives the potential of fulfilling Thetis' wishes for her son; a long life, but one without *kleos*. Throughout the *Iliad*, those who make noise are at a great risk of death, typified by the scene from inside the Trojan horse, relayed By Menelaus to Telemachus:

> ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἀκὴν ἔσαν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
>
> Ἄντικλος δὲ σέ γ᾽ οἶος ἀμείψασθαι ἐπέεσσιν
>
> ἤθελεν. ἀλλ᾽ Ὀδυσεὺς ἐπὶ μάστακα χερσὶ πίεζεν
>
> νωλεμέως κρατερῇσι, σάωσε δὲ πάντας Ἀχαιούς: [H.Od.IV.285-288]
>
> Then all the other sons of Achaeans were silent,
>
> But Anticlus alone wanted to answer you in words.

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[137] κλέος itself is derived from PIE **ḱlew-** "to hear", showing that fame is being spoken of by others. This brings an element of sound into the very fabric of the term, since speech or song are necessary terms for renown to exist.

But Odysseus closed his strong hands on his mouth

Unceasingly, and saved all the Achaeans

It is only Odysseu's actions in preventing Anticlus from speaking that saves the Achaeans.

In literature, silence rarely has the reverent component found in Greek religious life. It is a product of conflict and disparity in power. Characters are silent because of another, whether that is forced into silence by subjugation or choosing to be silent out of opposition. Achilles does both.

While Homeric heroes often have their ability to speak persuasively or issue the war-cry praised, in post-Homeric Greek, silence starts to reference death (Montiglio, 2000, pp. 213–51). Either foreshadowing or being representative of the state of death, this is a more human element, rather than the heroic concept that sound – to be sung of for the rest of time – is necessary to maintain renown. The link between silence and fate shows a 'foolish hope of suppressing a world inscribed in the divine order, a world that no human silence could ever hold back' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 7). Silence in the face of fate is futile, since the silence of death is inevitable. Yet in the world of Greek discourse it is the upheaval of normal events. Nevertheless, the scope of this study is focused on the Homeric texts, where silence and death are not yet equated.

While Montiglio has provided the most comprehensive overview of how silence was viewed in the Ancient Greek world, ranging from its use within ritual and mysteries to its appearance on the Greek stage, the study often treats the speakers in the Homeric texts too much as cognisant agents and discusses how their silence affects other characters, rather than fully engaging with how the author uses the concept of silence

and its specific words to present a narrative to the audience. The Greek view of silence is a variable one, dependent upon context: for a ritual, one should be silent out of respect; for speeches, the listener may not speak, but they are not "silent"; for the hero, silence is obscurity and shows they are forgotten, the ultimate disgrace.

The variform nature of silence means its presence in a text cannot be immediately interpreted in one way. Even within each genre there is variation. However, first we must consider what terms we are dealing with.

The main terms in Greek are σιγή, σιωπή, and ἀκή. Chantraine originally viewed the origins of σιωπή/σιωπάω and σιγή/σιγάω as likely resting in onomatopoeic representation, with secondary variation accounting for the consonantal shifts.[138] However, despite being used as an interjection to invoke silence, it was not used in Greek in the way we use "hush", as a sharp sound that demands silence. This highlights a considerable problem as onomatopoeia played a part later. Schmidt differentiates σιωπῶ and σιγάω as the former referring to the absence of sound and the latter the absence of speech.[139] σιγάω potentially connects with Indo-European *σϜιγ, giving cognates in Old High German swīgēn. σιωπάω has been claimed to be a reduplication of σι-σϜωπ-, though this is not entirely credible.[140] Both words are claimed to share the same etymology, but a root has yet to be confirmed. σιωπή itself is probably a modification of σωπή, done to bring it 'closer to its synonym σιγή by the analogical introduction of -ῑ- (later reduced to an -ῐ- because of the vicinity to the long vowel -ω-)' (Kazanskaya, 2016, p. 17). Whether the words are from the same origin, or if they were originally separate but considered so synonymous that their morphology affected one another, they preserve the element of a silence with evident sibilance. Indeed, for σιγάω, 'the initial σ- seems to have been preserved for onomatopoeic reasons' (Kazanskaya, 2016, p. 17). Peculiar terms that are used in later Greek, especially on the Greek stage, with onomatopoeic qualities, but may not have

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[138] 'Tout le système est issu de σῖγα, σιωπῶ, σιγάω, qui reposent en définitive sur une onomatopée ; le groupe de σιωπή, σιωπάω est ancien mais résulte d'une variation secondaire, p.-ê. Par recherche d'expressivité'

The whole system comes from σῖγα, σιωπῶ, σιγάω, which are ultimately based on an onomatopoeia; the group of σιωπή, σιωπάω is old but results from a secondary variation, p.-ê. By search for expressiveness (Chantraine, 1963, p. 1001)

[139] Schmidt 1968; p.73

[140] Curtius 379 with Fick, Persson BB 19, 265ff. a.o.; s. Bq

onomatopoeic origins, despite their morphology being guided by an attention to imitative sibilance. The sibilant is a common feature of onomatopoeic words for silence – compare with *hush(t)* from Middle English – though Greek lacks the voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant seen in other languages.[141]

Both words can be used interchangeably by many authors and are given as synonyms in Hesychius. However, 'contrary to σιγᾶν, σιωπᾶν often takes on the meaning of deliberately preserving silence, especially when it would be more natural, possible, or even necessary to speak' (Kazanskaya, 2016, p. 17). For our purposes, σιωπή will be the focus, and the deliberate nature of preserving silence when speech would be natural or necessary needs to be borne in mind. It is not merely the absence of sound, but an intentional act and one that implies a human – or divine – agency. As the 'absence of speech', it makes more sense for σιωπή to be used by the Homeric narrator, and its presence in specific framing devices evidences this meaning.

ἀκή is somewhat more difficult, being an archaic term that originally meant "sweetness" rather than silence, being a vocalism of the root in ἦκα, ἥκιστος, however this link likely occurred early enough that they were treated as separate words in Archaic Greek.[142] In contrast, Prellwitz connects the term with ἀκούω/ἀκεύω – to hear/listen – suggesting a translation of being attentive (Prellwitz, 1930, pp. 120–1). Montiglio chooses to translate ἀκήν as "quietly", since it can 'account for the complexity

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[141] An example pertinent to the overall thesis is in the rendering of *Aššur* as Ἀσσυρια

[142] 'Cette série de mots archaïques et rares exprime l'idée de « douceur », non de « silence ». Ils peuvent donc comporter le vocalisme bref de la racine qui est dans ἦκα, ἥκιστος, etc. voir ss.uu. Mais du point du vue grec les deux groupes se sont séparés de bonne heure'

This series of archaic and rare words expresses the idea of "gentleness", not "silence". They can therefore include the short vocalism of the root which is in ἦκα, ἥκιστος, etc. see ss.uu. But from the Greek point of view the two groups parted ways early (Chantraine, 1963, p. 47) 7

of a visible behaviour, provided that we do not identify the type of quiet described by *akên* with a condition of mental tranquillity' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 48). This seems a recognisable trait of silence in discourse as 'a person speaking causes others to be silent, making them his audience and determining their silence by his speech' (Wulf and Gebauer, 1992, p. 7). Silence only becomes evident in contrast with speech. In either meaning, there is a transferred sense of silence, with the word describing the state of being silent rather than the more imitative forms that σιγή and σιωπή eventually represent. With σιωπή representing a deliberate act of silence and ἀκή representing a description of the calm of being silent, σιγή seems to rest between the two, imitative of production but without the more intentional nature of σιωπή.

For Greek we also have a selection of α-privates that are often translated as 'silence': ἄναυδος, ἄνεω, ἀπόφθεγκτος, ἄφθεγκτος, ἄφθογγος, ἀφώνητος, ἄφωνος, ἄψοφος , ἀψόφητος. Generally, these are used in contrast to their positive adjective form, tying silence to a lack of sound or action, without the mimetic quality of σιγή and σιωπή. Being privatives, these words focus on the disability of the described to produce sound, but do not in and of themselves show an intentional silence. Indeed, they inherently demonstrate an imposed silence – likely of subjugation – but rest more on the negation of the positive *kleos* of being able to speak. Their translation as 'silence', therefore, shifts the focus on a description of the scene rather a comment on the cause.

The terms for silence in Akkadian are somewhat more difficult. The most frequent terms are *qālu/qūlu*, *šuḫarruru*, and *šuqammumu*. All three are most frequently translated merely as silence, but the extended reliance on translations for Ancient Near-Eastern texts, especially within interdisciplinary discussions rooted in Classical or Biblical studies, has left a conflation of passages:

> Le silence avait des résonances multiples : il pouvait définir des situations différentes, les unes d'ordre cosmique, comme le retour au monde de l'avant-création après le déferlement des eaux du déluge sur la terre, les autres d'ordre « national », comme les désastres de la guerre qui transforment les pays vaincus en brousse et en désert. Mais c'est encore au terme « silence » que les Accadiens ont recours lorsqu'ils désirent définir d'un mot une situation individuelle dominée par la souffrance, la désolation.[143]

This paints an entirely negative view of silence, immediately at odds with the reverence and renown in the Greek world. However, this considers only one aspect of 'silence'. Without considering the individual terms it would be easy to focus too intently on 'silence' being a marker of suffering.

Korpel and de Moor explore the nature of divine speech and silence in *The Silent God*, with the third chapter covering *Silence Between Humans in Antiquity*. The chapter runs through the different reasons for silence between humans, covering silence because of 'offenses', 'awe and fear', 'forbearance or prudence', 'incapacity', and 'sleep' in the

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[143] 'Silence had multiple resonances: it could define different situations, some of cosmic order, like the return of the world of pre-creation after the flood of the waters of the deluge on the earth, and those "national" orders, like the disasters of war that transform conquered countries into bush and desert. But it is still the term "silence" that the Akkadians resort to when they wish to define in a word an individual situation dominated by suffering and desolation' (Cassin, 2016, p. 39)

Near East and the Bible. Korpel and de Moor take a broad range of sources, but only refer to translations, rather than original texts. There is no consideration of the difference in terms used in the original languages, which could have given a drastically different set of categories. Indeed, just looking at *šuqammumu* and *qalû* show how the former expresses subjugation – likely to fall within the 'forbearance or prudence' or 'incapacity' categories – and the latter has elements of calm or the silence of death – likely to fall within the 'sleep' category. Referring solely to the translations has removed nuance and the cultural relevance of recognition that 'it would be too simple to describe silence merely negatively as "the absence of sound"' (Korpel and de Moor, 2011, p. 70).

There is also a far bleaker view of silence. Since sound is so present in the mortal world, the absence bears an abhorrent aspect, being 'something unnatural, evoking human destruction, as sound has penetrated the life of man (Rendu Loisel, 2008, pp. 511–2). It carried a metaphorical component as the sleep of death, since 'the realm of death was seen as a place of utter silence' (Korpel and de Moor, 2011, p. 108). While in Greek a relationship between silence and death developed in the post-Homeric world, Korpel and de Moor note this association throughout Near-Eastern thought, while Rendu Loisel sees silence as 'the rejection of human life in all its forms.'[144] It becomes a primal fear.

The terrible nature of silence that is picked up on by critics is in response to the nature of sound in Near-Eastern mythology. The *Enuma Elish* and the *Atra-Hasis* detail the impact of *rigmu* on the gods, driving them to wish for the eradication of all that

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[144] 'Le silence total devient l'expression du rejet de la vie humaine sous toutes ses formes.' (Rendu Loisel, 2008, pp. 511–2)

produces such sound. As seen above in the *Enuma Elish*, Apsû wishing for silence can only be the result of wholesale destruction, while in the *Atra-Hasis* Enlil wishes to eradicate the sounds of mankind. In both, the desired resulting silence would be evidence of that divine destruction, but such a view overlooks how there are different types of 'silence' in these texts. To determine what silence actually means for Mesopotamian literature, we must look at the terminology used.

pâ ṣabātu

Often translated as 'to silence, interrupt', the phrase literally means 'to seize the mouth'.

> *[anāku] ina da'ānija aṣ-ṣa-bat pu-u ša qalli u danni* [KAR 71 r. 15 (NA egalkurra-rit]

> I (the kettledrum) through my loud noise have 'silenced' the weak and the strong

The meaning here is of submission, causing others to be unable to produce through one's own sounds. The balance of power suggests ability to produce sound is a marker of dominance, one capable of physically binding the ability of others to produce their own sound.

qâlu

The primary meaning is 'to be silent, to stay quiet', with a secondary meaning of 'to heed, to pay attention to, to listen'[145]. This subsequent meaning seems to denote a revered silence, often coupled with *šemû*, with an intransitive of 'to be silent' or exhibit a transitive meaning with an indirect object as 'to be silent (out of respect towards)'. The Š-stem in *šuqūlu* means 'to draw someone's attention to a matter', a causative of making silence out of respect, rather than forcing somebody to be silent.

Rendu Loisel connects *qâlu* – « *faire silence* – with *kalû* « *cesser* » (Rendu Loisel, 2008, p. 145). This meaning of cessation from activity – specifically cessation from speaking – makes sense in context, but also shows that the verb rests on inactivity. The transitive meaning of being silent (out of respect) focuses on the one speaking, rather than the one being silent. It is also used in reactionary phrases - 'la perte de la

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[145] CAD Q, 72

parole suite à un bouleversement affectif'[146]. This 'loss of speech' is the salient aspect of the term, denoting abstention from sound because of a cause.

Related to *qâlu* are the terms *qūlu* and *qūltu*. The former functions to mean 'calm, silence, stupor' and works 'in parallelism with words for daze, worry, etc.'[147] These translations take on aspects of *qâlu* and *kalû* to exhibit cessation, either of speech or of activity.

Derived from *qâlu*, *qūltu* is used in contexts to refer to the silence at the dead of night. *qūltu* appears in the Gilgameš narrative when we first meet Enkidu, with a term usually translated as offspring of silence:

> *ina ṣēri (*edin*) ᵈEnkīdu ibtani qurādu*
>
> *ilitti qūlti kiṣir ᵈNinurta*
>
> In the wild, she created Enkidu, the hero,
>
> An offspring of silence, knit strong by Ninurta [*Gilgameš* I.103 (Phcc) - 104 (Ph)]

This is the moment when Enkidu is first seen. While George does not reject this translation, he does 'not see why Enkidu should be the offspring of the quiet of night as against any other part of the day' (George, 2003b, p. 789). This suggests that since Enkidu 'was not delivered into the world through the travail of a human mother: silence, not screams attended his arrival on the earth (George, 2003b, p. 789). Wasserman focuses on the aspect of name giving, suggesting that the *iliiti qūlti* epithet 'proves that there was no one in the wilderness to pronounce his name' (Wasserman, 2005, p.

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[146] 'The loss of speech following an emotional upheaval' (Rendu Loisel, 2008, p. 145)

[147] CAD Q, 304

595). There is another 70 lines until Enkidu is named in the text, suggesting that his naming, 'unsurprisingly, happens when the human, civilized surrounding, in the person of the harlot Šamḫat, approaches the nameless creature' (Wasserman, 2005, p. 595).

Streck agrees that *iliiti qūlti* is not the silence of the night, though disagrees that it refers to the pains of labour, citing *qūltu* as meaning a terrifying silence, equated with *šaḫurratu* and *šaqummatu.* [148] Antonioz follows Wasserman, thinking that the theme of speech is a vital component in the creation of Enkidu, since he is created without speech, and that the phrase *ilittu qūlti* does reference the silence of the deep night.

The texts of the exorcist *Kiṣir-Nabu* refer to *ina qūlti mūši* – 'in the silence of the night', as the ambient silence guarantees the effectiveness of the incantation and the ritual practiced (Rendu Loisel, 2008, p. 477). We also see *qūlti* being used for the silence of temples as in a historical inscription of Šamši-Adad:

ᵈŠamši-adad	Šamši-adad,
šàr kiššati	king of the world,
šākin ᵈEnlil	governor of Enlil,
pāliḫ ᵈDagan	pious to Dagan,
iššiak ᵈAššur	viceroy of Aššur
bāni é.ki.si.ga	the builder of Ekisiga,
bīt qūlti-šu	his temple of silence,
bīt dagan	the temple of Dagan,

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[148] Streck 2007, p. 410-11 (note to 1. 104)

qirib terqa^{ki}	within Terqa	[IAK VIII/5]

The phrase *bīt qūltišu* translated as 'his temple of silence', 'parallels ki.si.ga, "funerary offering" in é.ki.si.ga. Here the silence may be that of the dead (Livingstone, 2007, p. 148). The reverential component is also evident in 'religious contexts: e.g. 22 (intercalary Nisan) *qu-la-te* (*Hém 72 27*), "the 22nd of intercalary Nisan: the silences"; DIŠ (^{iti}*kislimi*) ud.6.kám *ina qu-ul-ti* [(STT 302 rev. 2), "6th of Kislimu' (Livingstone, 2007, p. 148).

This religious context extends to Ishtar being described as *bēlet qūlati* – mistress of silence [KAR 38 – r.22], while the gods of the night (DINGIR.MEŠ mušītim) are also described as (DINGIR.MEŠ EN *qūlatim)* (Caplice, 1970, p. 130 n.38)*. Despite Streck's objections, night seems to be regularly linked to the term, though the other instances suggest this is descriptive of the silence that exists then.

The terms derived from *qâlu* all seem to demonstrate a cessation of activity to a great extent. By considering the description of Enkidu as *iliiti qūlti,* we might surmise that the term is not necessarily used for absolute silence as we would imagine it – indeed, it would be unlikely to imagine the natural world into which Enkidu is born as being without a multitude of sounds. Rather, it is descriptive of the state of the world without human sound interfering. In this way, the revered silence in temples and the ambient sound of the middle of the night are equivalent, since they both lack human intervention.

sakātu

Meaning, 'to be silent', with *sukkutu* 'to silence', used from OB onwards. The verb is equated with qâlu[149]. The term has relatively few attestations, though the variety in NB letters suggests a range of uses that suggest attributing submission would be inappropriate.

> *ammēni Bābili gabbi qāssunu ana bēlija idekkû u bēlī sa-ki-it* [ABL 1431 r. 7]

> Why is it that all the Babylonians beg my lord for help, yet my lord remains silent?

> *ina muḫḫi aḫḫēja la i-sak-ku-tu* [UET 4 190:10]

> My colleagues should not remain silent in this matter

> LÚ *qīpānu kî iplaḫū is-sak-tu* [ABL 542:17]

> Officials, being afraid, kept silent

The former suggests inactivity, but the lord is in no way forced to be silent. There is an expectation of action in the second example, but, again, it rests on inaction. While the latter is used in a situation with fear, the anxious, submissive motivation of the officials is entirely portrayed by *palāḫu*. The meaning is purely to remain silent by refraining from speaking, with specific reference to speech,

> *mamma dibbīšu bi'šūti idabbubu kî ša aḫḫēja ile''û lu-sak-ki-tu* [CT 22 155:15]

> Let my colleagues silence whoever is saying foul things about him as best they can

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[149] *qālu = sakatu*   Izbu Comm. 141

The use of *sakātu*, therefore, seems to clearly display "to refrain from speaking", with no moral evaluation of that action.

In mythological context, when Anu speaks to Adapa, asking why he broke the wing of the South Wind, Adapa replies that the South Wind cut the sea in half and tried to drown him. In his rage of heart Adapa cursed her. Anu's heart becomes less angry after Dumuzi and Gizzida recite Adapa's speech. He becomes silent, with *sakātu:*

> *it-tu-uˀḫˋ li-ib-ba-šu is-sà-ku-at*[150]   *Adapa* - Fragment B, Reverse, 56'

> His heart calmed, he became silent

Here the 'silence' could be equated with an abatement of rage, but just as [ABL 542:17] above coupled *sakātu* with fear, placing the cause of the verb with the coupled verb, so too does the *Adapa* fragment use the morally neutral term for silence coupled with *ittūḫ libbašu* to provide causative context. Appearing in isolation, the word purely means "to not speak" but is frequently used in conjunction with other verbs.

According to Albright, 'there can be no doubt that *iskut*, *isákut* means *be silent* in Assyrian *sakâtu is contrasted with *ḳâlu, iḳûl*, shout) but the correct spelling is *šakâtu* = Aram. שכת. In Assyrian *š* before *k* or *ḳ* frequently becomes s' (Albright, 1920, p. 167).

*šapû (*šapā'û)*
The instances in OA show withholding from speaking, with a somewhat negative connotation, suggesting that speaking would be the correct action.

> *miššum kaspam…iltanaqqeua attune ta-áš-ta-pu-a-ni* [TCL 19 79 :12]

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[150] 'Note the spelling is-sa-ku-at, which reflects vacillation between two inflectional patters: issakut, which is the normal pattern for this verb, and issakat, which is the more widely used pattern for Akkadian verbs" (Izre'el, 2001, p. 28)

How is it that they keep taking the silver and you remain silent?

imaššu''ukunuma u ta-áš-ta-pu-a-ma [ICK 1 17b :31]

Despite the fact that they rob you, you just keep silent

aššum še'im šuššîm ana mīnīm ši-i-pa-ta [Studies Landberger 194: 43]

Why are you so quiet about having the barley carried (up here)?

This sense of withholding information carries over to the meaning in II/1 stem, though it bears a more subdued component. In all situations, speaking would be the right thing to do, but for whatever reason the addressee chooses to remain silence. *šapû* gives a sense of silence against moral obligation.

šaqammumu/šuḫarruru

The ready translation of *šaqummumu* and *šuḫarruru* belies a rather difficult etymology. *šaqummumu* is stated to mean '1. To fall silent, to become still, subdued' and '2. To cause silence'[151], while *šuḫarruru* is '1. To become dazed, still numb with fear,' and '2. To abate, subside'[152]. This meaning of *šuḫarruru* overlooks the more specific definition of 'silence' exhibited in *šuḫarruru* (adj.; silent)[153], and *šaḫartu* (s. 1. Deathly silence, 2. Devastation)[154]. Whiting dealt with the problems of the etymology of these words in his analysis of the R Stem in Akkadian – 'verbal stems with the middle radical reduplicated' (Whiting, 1981, p. 1). *šaqummumu* likely comes from *ŠQM "still, silence"*¸ though a cognate in other Semitic languages is yet to be found (Whiting,

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[151] CAD Š/3, 332

[152] CAD Š/3 203

[153] CAD Š/3 203

[154] CAD Š/1 100

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1981, p. 8). Whiting dismisses the apparent Arabic cognate *saḫara,* corresponding to an Akkadian *ša'ārum*' as implausible, though he determines that 'all evidence points to the conclusion that the verb *šuḫarrurum* is derived from the triradical root ŠḪR' (Whiting, 1981, p. 9).

Whiting's work is in part a response to Speiser, itself following Heidel's analysis. Speiser's view is that 'it is scarcely sound to deny to *šḫrr* and *šqmm* underlying bases without š- just because these are either lacking in Akkadian or have not been found in the expected meanings' (Speiser, 1952, p. 88), suggesting that the š- 'may be used with forms denoting stillness (lack of sound or motion, sometimes resulting from fear), e.g. *šḫrr*, *šqmm* (Speiser, 1952, p. 92).

Speiser analysed both *šḫrr* and *šqmm,* comparing with 'significant morphological parallels elsewhere in Semitic' (Speiser, 1952, p. 87). This verb ŠḪR has some element of conquering, forming an R stem in *šuḫarrurum* "to be(come) completely subdued (inactive), to be(come) paralyzed with fear" (Whiting, 1981, p. 16). As we will see when we consider its use, translators highlight this element most of all.

Both words are similar in their meaning and show the same rare grammatical form that causes such problems. Despite a lack of cognates, 'to silence' seems a suitable translation for *šaqummumu*, though there are instances of submission that should be considered in any context, suggesting the word bears within it the cause of the silence, rather than merely the physical action (or lack of action). This contrasts well with *sakātu* that showed pure silence, rather than giving any evaluation of its nature, legitimacy, or cause. *šuḫarruru* displays a more evident power dynamic, suggesting subjugation more than just silence.

Both of these words feature a sibilant beginning that coincides with silence in other languages. While Akkadian and Sumerian both feature elements of onomatopoeic words[155], the words seem to bear far more meaning than mere "silence", showing that an onomatopoeic origin cannot be the full explanation.

Cassin takes *šaqummumu* and *šuḫarruru* together, defining them as 'le silence figé de ce qui est immobile, inerte, de sorte que la notion de silence semble indissoluble de celle di'immobilité, fixité, stupeur.'[156] Cassin refers to Ištar's Descent into the Underworld, when *šuḫarruru* is used to show the complex of realities that silence creates on the world of darkness.[157]

The multiform nature of *šaqummumu* and *šuḫarruru* as a 'complex of realities' shows that silence is insufficient to explain it alone. In Ashurbanipal's Acrostic Hymn to Marduk and Zarpanitu, the term is used with a clear element of submission:

> *il-si* ^d*5.1.1* ^d*600 kit-mus-su ma-ḫar-šu ù* DINGIR.MEŠ *za-ri-šú šá-qu-um-meš ra-mu-u a-na* GÌR.MEŠ-*šú*
>
> *mit-lu-uk mil-ki ši-it-tal šu-'i-i-ti ši-tul-tú a-na* ^dAMAR.UTU-*ma ba-šá-a uz-na-šú-un*

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[155] E.g., šaḫû representing the snuffling of pigs

[156] Cassin 2016; p.37

'The frozen silence of what is motionless, inert, so that the notion of silence seem indissoluble from that of immobility, fixity, stupor.' (Cassin, 2016, p. 37)

[157] 'le mythe qui raconte la descente d'Ištar aux enfers, après avoir décrit quelle est la condition des morts – revêtus, comme des oiseaux, de plumes, ayant pour nourriture de la poussière et de la fange – parait résumer la situation en disant que sur ce monde de ténèbres le silence s'est répandu : *šu-ḫar-ra-a-tu tab-ka-at*, et, par silence, tout un complexe de réalités liées l'une à l'autre était sous-entendu.' (Cassin, 2016, p. 37)

'The myth which recounts the Descent of Ishtar into the Underworld, after describing the condition of the dead - dressed as birds, with feathers, having as food dust and mire - seems to sum up the situation by saying that on this world of darkness the silence spread: šu-ḫar-ra-a-tu tab-ka-at, and, by silence, a whole complex of realities related to each other was implied.'

He summonsed the Igigi and the Anunnaki, they kneel before him, and the gods who begot him repose in silence at his feet. To take advice, to consult in lordly consultation, their attention is directed towards Marduk alone.(Livingstone, 1989, pp. 6–10)

This power dynamic is useful to show how the Igigi and Anunnaki are subject to Marduk. They display their position through being silent, but this is favourable, rather than the domination that *šuḫarruru* would have intimated.

It is for this reason that the term is used to describe the silence in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi:*

mut-tál-lu pi-ia a-pa-tíš i-teš-'-ú

šap-ta-a-a šá it-ta-aṣ-ba-ra ḫa-šik-kiš e-me

šá-put-tum šá-gi-ma-ti šá-qum-meš ip-pár-šid [Ludlul bēl nēmeqi I.70-3]

My eloquent speech they hindered as with reins,

My lips, which prattled constantly: I became as a deaf-mute,

My resounding cries trailed off into silence.

Despite all the afflictions on our protagonist, heis are still totally supportive of Marduk, and the choice of *šaqummumu* rather *šuḫarruru* shows the silence of one subordinate but compliant, rather than one subordinate but wishing for rebellion.

šiššu
It is equated with *qūlu* and *šuḫarruru* in Malku:

si=*ši-iš-šu*, si.dug₄.ga = *šu-ḫar-ru-ru* Antagal III 275f. ; SI = *ši-iš-šum* [MSL 9 131 : 375 (Proto-Aa)]

ši-iš-šú = qu-ú-lu Malku IV 98, *ši-iš-šú, šuḫarruru = ka-lu-u* ibid. 100f.

This equivalence likely does not show the full meaning of the term, since it appears alongside *qūlu* rather than replacing it:

qūlu u ši-iš-šú ina māti iššakkkanuš [ACh Supp. 2 Sin 2 : 7 [CAD Š/3 127]

*S*ilence and quiet will occur in the land

Since hendiadys is usually used to denote complementary aspects creating an encompassing whole, we can surmise that *qūlu* and *šiššu* are not strictly equivalent.

In *The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince,* *šiššu* is used to describe silence in the underworld. In the text, Kumma, the prince, who could be Aššurbanipal,[158] has a dream of descending into the Underworld, meeting and speaking to a number of Underworld gods (Livingstone, 1989, p. xxviii). Kumma meets fifteen gods who were present and greets them all.

a-ra-al-lu ma-lu pu-luḫ-tu i-na pa-an DUMU NUN-*e na-di ši-iš-šú dan-nu*

[x x x ina] a-bu-sa-ti-ia iṣ-bat-an-ni-ma a-na maḫ-ri-šú ú-qar-ˈri-baˋ-an-ni

The netherworld was full of terror; a mighty silence lay before the crown prince. He took me by my forelock and pulled me in front of him

The term exhibits reverential silence, but the lines also feature *puluḫtu* to demonstrate terror, perhaps lending its context to *šiššu* in the same manner as with *sakātu*. The lack of sufficient examples limits precise definition, but the term seems to appear

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[158] Livingstone 1989; xxviii

coupled with other verbs that have a greater contextual meaning, suggesting that *šiššu*

itself merely means to be silent, rather than intimating cause.

Within a narrative, especially an orally performed piece, silence is used for dramatic effect, since it is of a complementary type to speech. Being so markedly different, speakers can use silence as punctuation, since moments of 'silence so often mark a transition … because they are supposed to promote the attentive listening necessary to follow the dramatic development' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 167). In that respect, it is necessary to explore a feature of Homeric verse that uses the transitional, jarring nature of silence to bring attention to the text. The *siopic hiatus* can be considered a deviant play on the utterance, or adjacency, pair. The utterance pair has three key features: '(1) two utterance length, (2) adjacent positioning of component utterances, (3) different speakers producing each utterance' (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973, p. 74). While the first and third are evident, the deviation occurs with (2), since the utterances are no longer adjacent within the text. What occurs, however, is a phrase sandwiched between the utterances that suggests 'silence' but in fact indicates to the audience a subsequent reply. In effect, the silence creates hiatus between the adjacency pair.

A subset of turn-taking within dialogue, the adjacency pair is composed of two moves in a sequence requiring several identifying features:

(i) 'Adjacent or containing an insertion sequence (e.g. a clarifying question between question and answer)

(ii) Produced by different individuals

(iii) Ordered as first part and a second part

(iv) Typed, so that a particular first part has range of second parts, those preferred and those dispreferred' (Person, 2011, p. 329)

This sequential system creates expectation in the audience that is either met by the narrator or subverted – 'preferred' or 'dispreffered'. It relies on an interdependent system, whereby the former triggers the latter, and the latter is expected precisely because of the former.

As part of a conversation, the adjacency pair forms 'contiguous, alternating turns of talk' (Miller, 1996, p. 235). A conversation occurs in alternating turns, where 'the first pair-part of an adjacency pair produces the expectation of a relevant and acceptable rejoinder in the second pair-part' (Miller, 1996, p. 35). Both parts of the pair are conditional and cooperative, with a protasis creating expectation for the external audience that is met in the apodosis, whereby the internal audience will 'produce a second pair part from the pair type of which the first is recognizably a member' (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973, p. 74). This forms part of the 'structuring principle of conversation' (Miller, 1996, pp. 268–269).

Adjacency-pairs are a subset of turn-taking within dialogue, however the interaction between narrator and internal speaker can be overlooked. While the first pair-part elicits a response – indeed, in conversation it demands some reaction, recognition, or rejection – in a narrative it also provides the audience with an expectation of response, but that response might not be from the internal characters. Miller's analysis of adjacency pairs in Hebrew verse considers them as part of the quotative frame, with the former part eliciting a set of responses. As part of a cooperative conversation, the first pair-part invites response that is usually met by a second speaker. However, continued dialogue is not the only possible response in the adjacency pair. The response part of an adjacency pair can be represented, '(1) by mention of an action that is functionally equivalent to a second pair-part (pragmatic response), (2) by the

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narrator's statement that the expectation called for by the first pair-part was accomplished (narrative response), (3) by the character's silence, and (4) by the narrator's failure to specify and response (zero response)' (Miller, 1996, p. 258).

Dialogue is vitally important to the progression of the plot, the driving force that creates pivots by which the narrative alters its course. The *siopic hiatus* occurs when there is a momentary break from dialogue, but the language used by the narrator demonstrates an inevitable return to dialogue. In Homer this hiatus occurs at moments where there is potential for a drastic shift in the plot, where the text could take a radically different approach to the mythology. Comparable to the 'a terrible thing would have come to pass had x not happened'[159], which often follows on from στεναχίζω. In this situation, the narrator gives a warning to the audience, only for something in the narrative to remove that threat. This has already been 'primed' in the audience so that rather than the threat or fear or destruction, the narrator is in fact foreshadowing a dramatic turn of events for the positive. When used for certain characters, in particular Odysseus with the verb στεναχίζω, the audience have an instinctive reaction that subverts their expectation of the narrative, only for some intervention, usually divine, to take place that brings the narrative back to the familiar. Gradually, this association is given to the audience, so that the conditioned response can be subverted by the narrator even further in the narrative. Rather than relying on a single word like στεναχίζω, the narrator with the siopic hiatus uses a stunned silence within the text that appears to be the second pair-part of an adjacency pair to create a situation that is in direct contrast to the regular narrative. It threatens the audience with such a drastic deviation from the narrative that had silence continued, the plot could not have

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[159] καί νύ κεν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀμήχανον ἤματι κείνῳ… εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. [*Hes. Theog.* 836-8]

been resolved, which in the case of the *Iliad* would mean no further slaughter, and we see time and again that it is out of fear that the momentary silence occurs. For the Greeks, silence is safety, albeit submissive, which is hardly conducive for a continuing narrative.

With the adjacency pair, the second pair-part constitutes either a preferred or dispreferred response. The preferred merely continues the conversation in a regular format, but the dispreferred characteristically requires 'a delay', 'a preface', 'an account of why the dispreferred response is performed, and a 'declination component' (Person, 2011, pp. 328–30). Miller categorises silence as part of the dispreferred response, which it usually is in Hebrew verse. This dispreferred response in silence is a close to individual conversation, but merely another point in the continuing narrative. Miller still treats conversation within a text as equivalent to turn-taking in conversation, following Bakhtin's view that the speaker of the first pair-part 'expects response' (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 69). However, while the internal character would expect a response and is met only with silence, the external audience is able to experience a different level of response. Within conversation silence can be a refusal to engage within the conversation.

The key to using the term siopic hiatus is that the utterance pair is the cause of consternation and the eventual reply. Conversation being made up of utterance pairs suggests that silence is the response to the initial statement and the eventual statement begins new dialogue. In fact, the second pair-part is the reply, but the narrative has to break to demonstrate this delay. In the adjacency pair the narrative exists as $A_1A_2B_1B_2\ldots$, with each letter being a pair and numeral first and second part. The general view of the adjacency pair is that if it is not verbal then it can be

represented '(1) by mention of an action that is functionally equivalent to a second pair-part (pragmatic response), (2) by the narrator's statement that the expectation called for by the first pair-part was accomplished (narrative response), (3) by the character's silence, and (4) by the narrator's failure to specify and response (zero response)' (Miller, 1996, p. 258). However, here the response is not actually the silence, but the resumption of not only dialogue but also narrative. In effect, we have $A_1...A_2$, with a separation between external and internal expectation.

By using a term like 'adjacency pair', narrative has been analysed in close units. When taken in isolation, the dispreferred response creates a moment of tension as the 'implied uncertainty gives way to stunned silence' (Foley, 1995, p. 13). Yet, the silence eventually gives way, 'by traditional convention, to an absolutely predictable – *because traditional* – response' (Foley, 1995, p. 13). Viewing the silence as the second pair-part places narrative focus and audience attention on this, with narrative progression deviating from the silence. In fact, the second pair-part is also speech. The narrator is teasing the audience with a dispreferred response. For Greek verse, the preferred response would continue narrative as expected, while the dispreferred response would deviate from the expected mythological track. By providing a dispreferred response initially using silence and then moving to a preferred response by the delayed speech, the narrator is playing with the expectations of the audience. However, as we will see, the siopic hiatus relies on both the narrator and the audience knowing that a preferred response will occur immediately after. It is incorrect to consider the second pair-part as silence, since that would threaten future narrative. In this respect, 'silence … signals the poet's resistance against the prospected destruction of his narrative' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 66).

Greek Siopic Hiatus (4.7)

The most frequent way for Homer to end conversation is through the phrase ὣς φάτο, τὸν/τὴν δ' οὔ τι προσέφη. This gives a 'polemical breaking off of the verbal exchange' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 63). While translators can render οὔ τι προσέφη as 'he became silent', there is necessity within narrative that must exclude any actual words for silence. Indeed, throughout the majority of the Homeric texts 'speakers are not said to become silent once they have terminated their speech because speech as such is always there' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 62). In this respect, the correct translation must always be 'so he spoke, but he (change of speaker) did not address him'. The subtle difference is the difference between not continuing dialogue and refusing to engage in the dialogue. Any deviation from such a formula creates tension within the narrative, since the usual rules of capping formulae are not respected. While this formula occurs frequently and has been described as demonstrating 'aggressive silence', it actually represents a rejection of speaking or engaging in continued discourse, rather than specifically denoting silence itself.

In both epics, Homer utilises another set line to create a momentary break from dialogue, forcing an evaluation of the current events both for the characters within and the audience without. The highlighted act of silence makes a sharp distinction within the dialogue as Homer uses the line in (almost) identical form to make the break from speech immediately obvious:

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ

The line appears 16 times throughout both texts, 10 in the *Iliad* and 6 in the *Odyssey*. Foley (1995) discusses the thematic relevance of the term ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ and recognises 'the existence of a value-added, extra-semantic level of meaning that

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resonates within the poetic tradition' and is right to reject the Parry-Lord theory 'to interpret this recurrency as a measure of utility' as his study focuses on the more thematic elements of the usage (Foley, 1995, pp. 9–10). The study, however, focuses mostly on the singular line and then considers how that is affected by the prior speech and influences the subsequent, placing the focus on the impact on the characters themselves. As the first major investigation of this phrase it provided a focused analysis but attempted to determine the overarching meaning of the phrase, rather than taking a more detailed examination of how it functions narratively. The focus here will be to discuss how the line itself works with other words and phrases to create a recognisable system that contributes to audience recognition and how they are used by the narrator to give the audience direction.

Following Foley's analysis, Person stated that the formula 'functions as a narrator's bridge from one character's speech to another's' (Person, 2011, p. 332). That study draws in elements of the adjacency pair, as the preceding speech creates a situation where the internal audience can either accept or reject the situation. For Person, the "became silent to silence" formula is a rejection of that request, following 'the structure of the dispreferred seconds, especially providing the account for why the request was not accepted' (Person, 2011, p. 333). This certainly seems the case with an adjacency pair in mind, as silence is clearly a dispreferred second to continued speech. In this study, it is the contrastive conjunction δέ ("but") that suggests 'that the silence will soon be broken', while the particle ὀψέ ("after a long time") that emphasizes 'the *delay* expressed in the silence' (Person, 2011, p. 333). This delay is characteristic of dispreferred seconds, further conforming to the adjacency pair paradigm. Overall, Person claims the "became silent to silence" formula serves to inform the audience

that a dispreferred response will follow, similar to the English, "Well…". This "Well…" acts at the external audience level, so that the Homeric audience know that there will be a 'dispreferred response'. Yet, the view that it is a dispreferred second is dependent purely on adjacency. If the narrator is in fact indicating to the audience that the second pair-part is coming, but merely delayed, then that actually becomes a preferred second. Person rightly saw the phrase as a 'narrator's bridge' but views the characteristics of the pair-parts too closely to see how the narrator is giving delayed expectation to the audience. The main problem with this study is the conflation of passages in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* that present very different material. As we have seen throughout, it is necessary to separate the Homeric texts and give them individual treatment, for while there is certainly overlap, the deviations are significance enough to cause problems of definition.

Viewed as a conclusory phrase, the line caps speech with silence that represents 'a complete block of the channels of communication, both verbally and physically' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 64). This break from dialogue causes a momentary break in the narrative, as speech demands a reply – the second pair-part of the uttering pair – but nothing is returned.

The first pair-part is highly variable and each will discussed in detail below. Montigilio takes the view that each episode where the phrase occurs has the same structure, detailing 'an assembly [where] a hero (or his mouthpiece) gets up to give a particularly compelling speech, either because it demands a perilous decision or because of its intrinsic force',[160] so that whatever occurs in the first pair-part has 'an immobilizing

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[160] Montigilio 2000; p. 64

effect: the audience remains silent and nailed to the spot' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 64). However, the effect of this compelling speech is only momentarily, as it eventually gives way to further speech. The analysis recognises the flow of conversation and deleterious effect that silence can have. Any moment of silence is an aberration. Where Montigilio takes the study further than Person is in recognising that the ἀκὴν…σιωπῇ phrase 'occurs at a turning point in the narrative that suggests the impossibility of alternative developments that would significantly depart from the mythic tradition' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 66). By taking a viewpoint not merely of the characters within the text and the texts itself, but contextualising that within a background of mythological narratives, the study rightly concludes that silence is not inevitable.

The most recent study is that of Porter, which treats the phrase 'as a metonymic harbinger or traditional narrative cue for the external audience of an ensuing pattern of response' (Porter, 2011, p. 496). Building upon the former studies, Porter takes a narratological viewpoint, considering how the phrase is received by the external audience. There is a separation between the internal and external audience. The narrator provides the internal audience with a silence that is still recognizable as a significant moment, and one individual from that internal audience is called forth to give 'an authoritative response that it should heed' (Porter, 2011, p. 507). Meanwhile, the external audience is given a different set of cues. Since the poet is aware 'where he is taking the narrative' the use of the phrase means that 'his audience, informed by the traditional cue, also expects what will transpire' (Porter, 2011, p. 496). What follows is thus intended by the narrator, but, more importantly, indicated to the audience, as the phrase foreshadows what will happen next in the narrative.

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The phrase exhibits a number of contrasting components: the use of silence foreshadowing speech; the 'assuming and limited perspective of the characters and the more informed and objective perspective of the audience' combine to create a sense of irony, but while Porter claims this 'operates to harbinger peril,' this negative view ignores many instances of the phrase (Porter, 2011, p. 507).

It is necessary to consider each instance in depth, taking into account the analysis that has gone before, however some emendations to approach are needed. All critics ran into problems trying to create a cohesive explanation for the phrase across both Homeric texts. As in previous chapters, it is therefore necessary to take each text in turn to determine how the phrase functions, whether the same function occurs in all cases, and if any deviation occurs whether it happens initially, deviating from a accepted trope, or terminally, deviating from the use within its own narrative.

In this respect, the locution of the narrator in the phrase seems to upend the concept of perlocution. By *speaking* this phrase, the author is *imposing* silence. The paradox here is that the perlocution is the opposite of the locutionary and illocutionary act. Paralocutionary may be appropriate to explain how the act is the opposite of what it intends: while the narrator explains the scene he can only do so through speech.

Iliad 3.95

> ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔσχοντο μάχης ἄνεῴ τ'ἐγένοντο
>
> ἐσσυμένως· Ἕκτωρ δὲ μετ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔειπε· [Hom. *Il*.3.84-5]
>
> So he spoke, and they ceased from battle and became without a cry
>
> At once. But Hector spoke amongst them both

Before the first instance of hiatus we have a phrase that thematically seems very similar. This is the only occurrence of ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔσχοντο μάχης ἄνεῴ τ'ἐγένοντο ἐσσυμένως in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The use of a privative rather than a specific word for silence reinforces the use of ἔσχοντο, showing cessation from the sounds of warfare. The line follows Agamemnon in *Il*.3.82-3 calling on the Argives to hold as Hector approaches. They stop their fighting, but they are not yet 'silent'.

Hector addresses the Trojans and Achaeans in *Il*.3.86-94, beginning with the imperative κέκλυτε νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο [Hom.*Il.3.97*] – 'Listen now also to me' –that functions as an interjection. The final words of Hector are wishing for φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ [Hom. *Il*.3.94] – 'friendship and solemn oaths' – between the two sides.

Following Hector delivering Alexander's offer of single combat with Menelaus to decide the fate of Helen. The siopic hiatus lasts just two lines:

> ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ
>
> τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος: [Hom.*Il.3.95-6*]
>
> So he spoke and they all became calm in silence
>
> And amongst them spoke Menelaus, good at the war cry

The silence is at last broken by Menelaus, who maintains the same audience by addressing the Achaeans and the Trojans. The supplementary line describes the new speaker as βοὴν ἀγαθὸς – 'good at the war cry' – while μετέειπε shows that he is a member of the audience of Hector's speech and included in the πάντες just described. μετέειπε itself is in the aorist, putting 'focus is upon the act itself' (Voelz, 1993, p. 159).

Hom.*Il.*3.95 itself is rather overlooked in commentaries. The Basel commentary cites Latacz in describing it as a silence of '«not knowing what to say», an indecisive silence' (Latacz, [1968] 1994, p. 610, transl.). Kirk merely describes it is as 'a formular verse, 10X *Il.*, 5X *Od.*.'(Kirk, 1985, p. 276). The presence of ἀκὴν is 'certainly does imply silence, and even in ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ the first word probably reinforces, rather than adding a new idea to, σιωπῇ' (Kirk, 1985, p. 276). The combined effect is a calm silence, in contrast to the ἄνεω used in *Il.*3.84. The Greeks paused from battle to allow Hector to speak, but this is a more dramatic instance of a complete end to any sound.

Menelaus' speech begins with the same words as Hector - κέκλυτε νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο [Hom. *Il.*3.97]. The use of the same words shows agreement between Hector and Menelaus as the latter agrees to fight Alexander in single combat.

The scene gives an immediate hope for a resolution of the conflict, but divine intervention robs Menelaus of victory and causes the war to continue.

> ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐχάρησαν Ἀχαιοί τε Τρῶές τε
>
> ἐλπόμενοι παύσασθαι ὀιζυροῦ πολέμοιο [Hom. *Il.* 3.111]
>
> So he spoke, and the Achaeans and Trojans rejoiced
>
> Hoping that they had won rest from woeful war

In roughly 30 lines the narrator has established a principle in the text, and 'primed' the audience to recognise a response. *Il*.3.84 demonstrates the reactions of the Greeks as they pause from battle, but the offer of Hector would not be a mere pause of battle but an end to the entire war. As such, the narrator categorically states what the result would be, that they would enjoy a 'rest from woeful war'. This constitutes a threat from the narrator to make a change in the narrative that would stop the expected plot. By such obvious flagging, the narrator associates the phrase with such a twist.

Iliad 7.92

The second instance again comes between speeches by Hector and Menelaus. Hector has issued another challenge to the Trojans, again introducing his speech with κέκλυτε [Hom. *Il*.7.67]. This challenge is now personal, as Hector offers himself for single combat. The hiatus, however, is four lines long:

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ:

αἴδεσθεν μὲν ἀνήνασθαι δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι:

ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ Μενέλαος ἀνίστατο καὶ μετέειπε

νείκει ὀνειδίζων μέγα δὲ στεναχίζετο θυμῷ: [Hom.*Il.7.92-5*]

So he spoke and they all became calm in silence

They were ashamed to refuse him, but they feared to take up the challenge

After a long time, Menelaus arose among them and spoke,

Reproaching them with reviling words, and deeply did he groan at heart

We again see the verb μετέειπε used to end the hiatus, demonstrating that Menelaus is one of the audience of Hector's speech. The verb now comes at the end of the third

line of the hiatus in combination with ἀνίστατο, in the imperfect. This combination of imperfect and aorist shows a double focus on both the act and agent, with the character of Menelaus causing his standing, with the line ending with a focus on the breach of silence. Both αἴδεσθεν and δεῖσαν in *Il.*7.93 were in the aorist, again showing it is the act of silence that is important. The further use of στεναχίζετο in the imperfect again puts emphasis on the relationship between Menelaus as the activity. While he lacks the βοὴν ἀγαθὸς epithet he had earlier, the physical act of him groaning accomplishes a similar effect, giving a further cue to the audience of imminent death.

The phrase now features ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ to suggest the amount of time that has passed, but the fact it is four lines also gives a performative delay between the speeches.

It is Menelaus again that breaks the silence, this time with ὤ μοι, as he pledges to don armour and face Hector. We are given in the narrative a potential future narrative:

> ἔνθα κέ τοι, Μενέλαε, φάνη βιότοιο τελευτὴ
>
> Ἕκτορος ἐν παλάμῃσιν   [Hom. *Il.* 7.104-5]
>
> And now, Menelaus, the end of line would have appeared for you,
>
> At the hands of Hector

The narrator is stating that the situation created by Menelaus stepping up would have resulted in his death, but Agamemnon's intervention brings the narrative back to established mythology. In both instances of this phrase so far, the narrator references a situation that would deviate significantly from the expected narrative.

Iliad 7.398

The hiatus follows Idaeus addressing the Danaans. Idaeus speaks to the 'sons of Atreus and other chief me of the armies of Achaea' [Hom.*Il.*7.385-6], bringing the words of Priam and Alexander. They offer the Greeks 'the treasure that Alexander brought to Troy in his hollow ship – κτήματα μὲν ὅσ' Ἀλέξανδρος κοίλης ἐνὶ νηυσὶν ἠγάγετο Τροίηνδ' [Hom.*Il.*7.389-90] – with the exception of Helen. They also hope that the Greeks will cease from dolorous war – παύσασθαι πολέμοιο δυσηχέος [Hom.*Il.*7.395] – to allow each side to burn their dead.

> ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ:
>
> ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης: [Hom.*Il.7.398-9*]
>
> So he spoke and they all became calm in silence
>
> After a long time Diomedes, good at the war cry, spoke amongst

This instance combines some features of the past two hiatus, with ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ that appeared in *Il.*7.94 followed by μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς that appear in *Il.* 3.96, though the new speaker here is now Diomedes. This transfer of epithet suggests the adjectival function is more important to the context than it is to the speaker. The vocal nature of the epithet is thematically very appropriate, since their famed booming voice shatters the adopted silence. Diomedes begins his speech with a prohibitive introduced by μήτ', used to address the same audience – the Danaans. In this speech, Diomedes rejects the offer of treasure from Idaeus, since 'the coils of destruction have been fastened on to the Trojans - ὡς ἤδη Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφῆπται [Hom. *Il. 7.402]*. We then have a conclusory phrase demonstrating recognition and showing acceptance by the Acheans.

ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπίαχον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν [Hom. Il. 7.403]

So he spoke, and all the sons of Achaeans shouted aloud

This more simplified hiatus maintains the verb in the aorist to place the focus on the act, while the change of speaker with preserved epithet makes Diomedes less important to the scene. Agamemnon then steps in to agree to the burning of the bodies, but the rejection of Idaeus' offer demonstrates a further potential situation – the acceptance of gifts and rejection of warfare – that is not realised. Again, the potential situation is one marked by a lack of warfare; despite the burning of the bodies the war will be rejoined. As the third instance, the narrator does not give an overt statement within the narrative, instead uses character speech to mark this effect.

Iliad 8.28

The next instance occurs when Zeus addresses the assembled Olympian gods and picks up the speech of Zeus that begins:

κέκλυτέ μευ, πάντες τε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι [Hom. Il.8.5]

Hear me, all you gods and goddesses

Again, the use of κέκλυτέ is used as a command to obey. Zeus orders the gods to not cut through his word – διακέρσαι ἐμὸν ἔπος [Hom. Il.8.8] – and take no part in the war, threatening to hurl any that disobey into Tartarus. There is a three-line siopic hiatus following his speech:

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ

μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι: μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν.

ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη: [Hom.Il.8.28-30]

So he spoke, and they all became calm in silence,

Marvelling at his word: for very strongly had he addressed their assembly.

After a long time the goddess Athene of the flashing eyes spoke amongst

Again, we see the phrase ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε, with a verb-epithet-subject introducing the following speech, now describing θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. The intermediary line uses the participle ἀγασσάμενοι to further describe the πάντες – the assembled gods – with the rest of the line describing Zeus' strength of speaking.

The silence is broken by Athene, who addresses Zeus with the vocative ὦ πάτερ, as she explains that even though they will refrain from battle, he cannot stop them from giving counsel to the Greeks. Montiglio claims that Athene 'only reacts belatedly, in a cautious albeit critical way' because 'she is under the impact of the same divine *muthos* that has hushed the other gods in silence' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 65). This view, however, fails to give sufficient agency to Athene. The silence that falls over all, broken by the only one brave enough to speak, can be seen as a moment for potential *kleos*, albeit a *kleos* tinged with inevitable failure. The phrase "all remained quietly in silence" is followed by speech because it predicts a single member of the audience being brave enough to either agree with the original speaker or to oppose. Twice Menelaus accepted battle when all others were silent. Here Athene is willing to go against the wishes of Zeus, albeit not willing to do so entirely.

The reaction of Zeus, however, shows an inevitability in the response.

τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς

θάρσει, Τριτογένεια, φίλον τέκος· οὔ νύ τι θυμῷ

πρόφρονι μυθέομαι, ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἤπιος εἶναι [Hom. *Il.* 8.38-40]

Then smiling Zeus the cloud-gatherer spoke to her:

"Take heart, Tritogeneia, dear children: In no way do I

Speak my real intention, but am minded to be kindly to you"

By not speaking his true intention and being kindly towards Athene, Zeus knows that his plan will not happen as he states. He knows the gods will continue to take part. Without the intervention of the many gods, the narrative would be very different, again showing a potential situation that could have arisen had all remained silent.

Iliad 9.29

Returning to the mortal world, Agamemnon addresses the Greeks as ὦ φίλοι and suggests that Zeus has planned cruel deceit for him and victory can no longer be theirs:

φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς παρίδα γαῖαν·

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἱρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν [Hom. *Il.* 9.27-8]

Let us flee with our ships to our dear native-land

For no longer is there hope that we shall take broad-wayed Troy

This is followed by a three line hiatus

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.

δὴν δ' ἄνεῳ ἦσαν τετιηότες υἷες Ἀχαιῶν·

ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης: [Hom.*Il.9.29-31*]

So saying they all became calm in silence

And for a long time they were without a voice, the deeply troubled sons of the Achaeans

After a long time Diomedes, good at the war cry, spoke amongst

An intermediary line occurs here to give further information on the πάντες, who are described as ἄνεῳ and τετιηότες, with the verb in the imperfect showing relationship between agent and action, emphasising the nature of πάντες. δὴν δ' gives a further sense of the passage of time, which is exaggerated even further with ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ, followed by the recurrent μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης. Diomedes then addresses Agamemnon, questioning if the son of Atreus thinks the Greeks so unwarlike and lacking in valour – ἀπτολέμους τ' … καὶ ἀνάλκιδας [Hom. *Il.* 9.41] – that they would withdraw from the war. Diomedes says even if Agamemnon departs then they would remain there and fight until they sacked Troy. The reaction Diomedes' speech is of stark contrast:

ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπίαχον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν [Hom. *Il.* 9.50]

So he spoke and all the sons of the Achaeans shout aloud

The difference in reaction is clear as 'in contrast to the gloomy silence that receives Agamemnon's despondent words (*Iliad 9.29-30*), a unanimous cry greets the liberating speech of Diomedes, who himself is a "good crier" (31)' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 78). Again, the proposition that is put forward by the original speaker, here Agamemnon, creates total silence in the audience while referencing something at odds with the known plot of the Trojan War, indeed, had their wish been fulfilled the narrative would have ended then and there.

Achilles addresses a lengthy speech beginning at line 308 at just Odysseus to begin with, however he includes the others in attendance in lines 417-19[161], informing us of the πάντες in the hiatus, which lasts 4 lines. Achilles says that he will take his ships and sail as he counsels the others to do the same – καὶ δ᾽ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην οἴκαδ᾽ ἀποπλείειν [Hom. *Il.* 9.417-18] – aware that it would mean loss of *kleos*, but not willing to give his life. Achilles ends his speech by saying that Phoenix should remain there with him:

> ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ
>
> μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι: μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀπέειπεν:
>
> ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ
>
> δάκρυ' ἀναπρήσας: περὶ γὰρ δίε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν: [Hom.*Il.9.430-4*]
>
> So he spoke, and they all became calm in silence
>
> Marvelling at his word; for very strongly did he refuse:
>
> After a long time old-man Phoenix, driver of horses, spoke amongst
>
> Bursting forth tears: for greatly did he fear for the ships of the Achaeans

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[161] καὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην
οἴκαδ' ἀποπλείειν ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι δήετε τέκμωρ
Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς:
And you others I would encourage
to sail homewards since no longer will you reach the goal
Of lofty Ilium

What is now becoming a common repetition in ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε occurs again with a verb-epithet-subject ending the line, however it does not occur directly before the speech, as Phoenix is given further description. There is the same intermediary line that we found in Hom.*Il*.8.29, further giving information on both the πάντες and the previous speaker, though the verb ἀγόρευσεν has now changed to ἀπέειπεν.

Phoenix breaks the silence to address Achilles and attempts to change his mind, lest some god persuade him down this path – μὴ δέ σε δαίμων ἐνταῦθα τρέψειε [Hom. *Il.* 9.600-1]. This is followed by the dialogue pivot τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς: [Hom. *Il.* 9.606] that focuses on Achilles' character and the relationship between the speakers. Despite the speech of Phoenix, Achilles is unconvinced. Porter claims that since 'the embassy leaves in dejection…the normal pattern of the authoritative answer setting the narrative trajectory has been broken,' creating 'a moment of irony as the implications of what traditionally follows are muted by Achilles' refusal to assist his friends or heed the speech of a member of his own household' (Porter, 2011, p. 510). The claim that the narrator refuses 'to follow the normal narrative trajectory' is predicated upon a view of merely characters; Achilles' silence 'was a refusal to participate and perform – it functioned as a conscious provocation against what is expected and demanded, a refusal to be possessed' (Porter, 2011, p. 510). The use of the hiatus has been established so far to demonstrate a possible turn of events that occur in the speech before the hiatus – in this case one in which Achilles leaves with his ships to live a long life without renown – but in each case before the subsequent speech rejects that future. Here, while the words of Phoenix do not alter the mind of Achilles, they do lead to a resumption of the plot. It is certainly a 'moment of irony', but it is narrative irony that makes clear to the audience that Achilles' speech

will not come to pass. The 'authoritative answer' does not mean 'the narrative trajectory has been broken'. In fact, the audience has been shown that up until this point the speech that comes before is not realised. Likewise, Achilles' rejection of both and glory and death will not be realised.

Iliad 9.693

Following the embassy returning to Agamemnon, Odyssey relates Achilles' refusal to take part and his suggestion that the Greeks take to their ships and leave, since there is no longer hope of taking Ilium – ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι δήετε τέκμωρ Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς [Hom. *Il.* 9.685-6]. Odysseus addresses Agamemnon personally in the preceding speech, however it is those in attendance take silence:

> ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ
>
> μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι: μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσε.
>
> δὴν δ' ἄνεῳ ἦσαν τετιηότες υἷες Ἀχαιῶν:
>
> ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης: [Hom.*Il.9.693-6*]
>
> So he spoke, and they all became calm in silence
>
> Marvelling at his word; for very strongly did he address them
>
> And for a long time they were without a cry the deeply troubled sons of the Achaeans
>
> After a long time, Diomedes, good at the war cry, spoke amongst

The silence follows Odysseus explaining that Achilles does not want to quench his anger – κεῖνός γ' οὐκ ἐθέλει σβέσσαι χόλον [Hom.*Il.9.678*] – and that Phoenix also lays down to rest and is minded to leave in the ships with Achilles. Without Achilles, further

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battle seems a hopeless endeavour. The first two lines are similar to *Il.*9.430-431 with ἀπέειπεν changed to ἀγόρευσε. The transitional line that occurred at *Il.*9.30 now appears again, while the final line occurs again, with ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ used to demonstrate the passage of time, with Diomedes, good at the war-cry, used again as the new speaker.

The speech by Diomedes rejects what Achilles suggested, as he pledges to rejoin the war at dawn. The reaction to his speech echoes the silence formula to show acceptance by the Greek forces:

ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνησαν βασιλῆες

μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο [Hom. *Il.* 9.710-11]

So he spoke, and all the kings assented

Marvelling at the words of Diomedes, tamer of horses

Again, the narrator has presented with the original speaker a situation that would reject warfare and end the narrative in a most unheroic manner – the Greek forces taking to their ships and retreating. What is more, Diomedes claims that Achilles will indeed rejoin the fighting, enforcing the expectations of the external audience through the prescience of an internal narrator.[162]

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[162] τότε δ' αὖτε μαχήσεται, ὁππότε κέν μιν

θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνώγῃ καὶ θεὸς ὄρσῃ [Hom.*Il.*9.702-3]

But then he will fight, whenever

The heart in his chest commands him and a god urges him on

The next examples at first seems somewhat to deviate from the regular use. Nestor addresses the Greeks and asks if there is no man that would offer to take part in the night-raid on the Trojan camp, for whoever does so would be greatly honoured by the Greeks. After Nestor has addressed the Achaeans, a short hiatus occurs:

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης: [Hom.*Il.10.218-9*]

So he spoke and they all became calm in silence

And amongst them spoke Diomedes, good at the war cry

The second line is the familiar repetition, albeit with τοῖσι rather than ὀψὲ, as we saw in Hom.*Il.3.96*. Diomedes again breaks the silence, as he addresses Nestor, offering to go himself while suggesting that it would be better for two to go on the raid, with Odysseus eventually taking the second position.

The use of the phrase so far has created a situation described by the first speaker that will not be fulfilled. For the moment, Nestor's suggestion of honour for those that undertake the raid seems both desirable and likely to happen, with Diomedes eager to take part. Likewise, each suggestion before would have ended the narrative, while this continues it. However, the purpose of Nestor here is only realised shortly after.

Iliad 10.313

In a comparable scene, Hector is asking who among the Trojans will undertake a deed for him, which will bring glory for themselves – οἵ τ᾽ αὐτῷ κῦδος ἄροιτο [*Hom. Il.*10.307]. Following Hector's speech to the Trojans, we have a longer hiatus:

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.

ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δόλων Εὐμήδεος υἱὸς

κήρυκος θείοιο πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος

ὃς δή τοι εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός ἀλλὰ ποδώκης:

αὐτὰρ ὃ μοῦνος ἔην μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτῃσιν.

ὅς ῥα τότε Τρωσίν τε καὶ Ἕκτορι μῦθον ἔειπεν: [Hom.*Il.10.313-18*]

So he spoke and they all became calm in silence

But there was a certain Dolon among the Trojans, son of Eumedes

Godlike herald a man rich in gold,

Who was certainly ill-favoured to look on, but swift of foot

But he was the only brother among five sisters.

He then spoke a word to the Trojans and Hector

The subsequent lines do not use the same features as previous instances, instead giving detail to Dolon, who eventually breaks the silence and addresses Hector. Just as *Il.*9.430 and *Il.*9.693 occur close together with some slight deviation between the two uses, here we have *Il.*10.218 and *Il.*10.313 both presenting the exact same proposition by the initial speaker – that they will earn great glory by taking part in the night raid – followed by a hiatus broken by a volunteer. What seemed a slight deviation at *Il.*10.218 is in fact revealed in *Il.*10.313 as presenting to the audience two possibilities, heightening the events of the raid. Only one proposition can be realised; unfortunately for Dolon we now know that his is an unhappy fate. This is again a

situation of Nestor being a more reliable narrator than the external narrative, deviating from some of the rules established. Danek argues that the *Doloneia* diverges stylistically from the *Odyssey* to the extent it can be considered a later addition, 'added to the *Iliad* when it had already been set down in writing…in the early sixth century BC, at the latest' (Danek, 2011, p. 121). Being a later addition would explain how the lines following the hiatus deviate from other sections. However, the preservation of ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ maintains the importance of the scene in the progression of the narrative.

Iliad 23.676

The final instance subverts expectation by there being no subsequent speech. After Nestor announces that they want the two best boxers to compete, Epeius states that no man could beat him and he would tear the flesh and break the bones of any opponent – ἀντικρὺ χρόα τε ῥήξω σύν τ' ὀστέ' ἀράξω [Hom*. Il.*23.673] – hoping that his opponent's kin would be present to take him away [Hom*. Il.*23.674-5]

The hiatus phrase follows in *Il.*23.676, though nobody breaks the silence. Epeius alone stands up – Εὐρύαλος δέ οἱ οἶος ἀνίστατο [Hom*. Il.*23.677]. While the instance here does subvert expectation by having nobody speak, it in fact marks the narrator enforcing the idea of contrarian speech, since Epeius proceeds to defeat Euryalus, who leaves the battle spitting out clotted blood and letting his head hang to one side – αἷμα παχὺ πτύοντα κάρη βάλλονθ' ἑτέρωσε [Hom*. Il.*23.697] – as he is helped from battle [Hom*. Il.*23.698-9] What Epeius said would happen comes to pass, because nobody speaks to oppose it. While Euryalus stands up, his lack of speech shows a narrative acceptance of what will happen.

Turning to the *Odyssey,* it is Odysseus himself addressing Arete that precedes the first instance of hiatus:

ὣς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν κονίῃσιν

πὰρ πυρί: οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.

ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε γέρων ἥρως Ἐχένηος

ὃς δὴ Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν προγενέστερος ἦεν

καὶ μύθοισι κέκαστο παλαιά τε πολλά τε εἰδώς:

ὅ σφιν ἐὺ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν: [Hom.*Od.7.153-8*]

So speaking he sat down on the hearth in the ashes

By the fire; and they all became calm in silence.

And after a long time amongst them spoke the hero Echenüs, the old man,

Who was an elder among the Phaeacians

And well skilled in speech, understanding all the wisdom of old:

He with good intent addressed the assembly and spoke amongst

The first instance in the *Odyssey* deviates significantly, not only by shifting from ἔφαθ' to εἰπὼν, but also by splitting the phrase over two lines. The intervening clause qualifies the former speaker, rather than focus on the silence of their audience. Despite this change, we see ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε with subsequent verb-adjective-subject, albeit with a couplet qualifying the speaker immediately after. There is repetition of μετέειπεν with ἀγορήσατο – both in the aorist to place attention on the action of speaking. While

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the formula deviates significantly from the instances in the *Iliad*, it must be remembered that as with Introductory and Conclusory remarks an attempt to treat the two texts as using identical techniques can lead to a failure to recognise what actually occurs in the text.

Deviating further, the πάντες are not the audience of Odysseus' speech. Odysseus was addressing Arete, hoping that he may be quickly returned to his home, all the while keeping his identity secret. Echeneüs breaks the silence, but addresses Alcinous rather the original speaker, referring to Odysseus as ξεῖνον [Hom. *Od.*7.160].

Odyssey 8.234

The second instance of the phrase again occurs in relation to Odysseus speaking amongst the Phaeacians. This time, Odysseus is boasting of his ability that he would win in any contest, though he fears he may be bested in running. Following his boast a short hiatus occurs:

> ὣς ἔφαθ' οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.
>
> Ἀλκίνοος δέ μιν οἶος ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν: [Hom.*Od.8.234-5*]
>
> So he spoke and they all became calm in silence
>
> But Alcinous alone answering said to him

Here we have the regular phrase on a single line, though the resumption of speech has different word order, with Ἀλκίνοος brought to the start of the line, with the participle-verb construction ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν placing focus on the speech act. Alcinous' speech begins with ξεῖν', marking a second close collocation of the term.

Odyssey 11.333

Odysseus is again addressing the Phaeacians, though his identity has now been revealed. He is telling them of his travels; having just detailed shades he saw in the underworld, Odysseus says that he wishes to sleep and the means of sleep is in the hands of the gods or the Phaeacians – πομπὴ δὲ θεοῖς ὑμῖν τε μελήσει [Hom. *Il.*11.332]. This is immediately followed by silence::

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,

κηληθμῷ δ' ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα·

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀρήτη λευκώλενος ἤρχετο μύθων· [Hom.*Od.11.333-5*]

So he spoke and they all became calm in silence,

And they were held in enchantment throughout the shadowy halls:

And amongst them white-armed Arete began to speak

The subsequent lines do not contain repetition from earlier in the *Odyssey*, though we have τοῖσιν δ' as occurred in *Il.*3.96. The imperfect ἤρχετο places emphasis on the character of Arete, as she breaks the silence. In her speech she mentions that Odysseus is her guest - ξεῖνος δ' αὖτ' ἐμός ἐστιν [Hom. *Od.*11.338] – another instance of the term in the speech immediately following the hiatus. Immediately after Arete's speech, where she pleads with the Phaeacians, a familiar phrase occurs:

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε γέρων ἥρως Ἐχένηος [Hom. *Od.*11.342]

And amongst them spoke old hero Echeneüs

This has the same form as *Il.3.96*, showing Echeneüs also breaking the silence, though he was been pushed to do so through the words of Arete. He exhorts the

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Phaeacians to obey the words of their queen. This double response enforces the breach of silence.

Odyssey 13.1

As Odysseus concludes his tale, finishing as he came to the halls of the Phaeacians, there is more silence:

> ὣς ἔφαθ' οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ
>
> κηληθμῷ δ' ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα.
>
> τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἀλκίνοος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε: [Hom.*Od.13.1-3*]
>
> So he spoke and they all became calm in silence,
>
> And they were held in enchantment throughout the shadowy halls:
>
> And again Alcinous answered and spoke to him

*Od.*13.2 is a repetition of *Od.*11.334, though with the same speaker, audience and location this is likely narrative consistency. *Od.*13.3 uses a transitional phrase, with an imperfect – ἀπαμείβετο – and aorist – φώνησέν – combined to show emphasis on both the speaker speech-act. Alcinous offers gifts to Odysseus and also tells him that clothes already lie stored in the polished chest – εἵματα μὲν δὴ ξείνῳ ἐϋξέστη ἐνὶ χηλῷ κεῖται [Hom. *Od.*13.10] – showing yet again an instance of ξεῖνος in the speech immediately following the hiatus.

Odyssey 16.393

The next instance occurs following a speech by Antinous, who suggests that they should plan a sad death for Telemachus [Hom. *Od.*16.371-2]. If they are not willing and decide to let him life, they should disperse, stop consuming his store of luxuries,

and let each man woo Penelope from his own house [Hom. *Od.*16.387-392]. This suggestion is met by silence:

ὣς ἔφαθ' οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀμφίνομος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε

Νίσου φαίδιμος υἱός Ἀρητιάδαο ἄνακτος

ὅς ῥ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου πολυπύρου ποιήεντος

ἡγεῖτο μνηστῆρσι μάλιστα δὲ Πηνελοπείη

ἥνδανε μύθοισι: φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῇσιν:

ὅ σφιν ἐϋφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν: [Hom.*Od.16.393-9*]

So he spoke and they all became calm in silence,

And amongst them Amphinomus addressed and spoke

The glorious son of Nisus, the lord, son of Aretias,

Who from Doulichios, rich in wheat and grass,

Led the suitors, and pleased Penelope most

With his words: for he had an understanding heart

He with good intent addressed the assembly and spoke among them

The lengthy description immediately states that Amphinomus breaks the silence, with τοῖσιν δ' … μετέειπε being a familiar use, though the ν in τοῖσιν δ' in contrast to τοῖσι δὲ is an adaptation of the formula. The subsequent lines give further details to

Amphinomus, though μετέειπεν is repeated to introduce his speech. The use of the two verbs in the aorist – ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε – show a focus on the speech itself, making a curious contrast with the lengthy description of the speaker. Amphinomus suggests that they should not kill Telemachus, but see if the oracles of great Zeus agree – εἰ μέν κ᾽ αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο θέμιστες [Hom. Od. 16.403]. While this speech does not mention a form of ξεῖνος, seeking the wisdom of Zeus is significant, since he oversees *xenia*. The suggestion of Antinous certainly violates the laws of hospitality; Amphinomus here wishes to determine if that is allowed.

Odyssey 20.320

The final instance follows a speech where Telemachus rebukes Ctesippus for attempting to strike the disguised Odysseus. Telemachus says it would be far worse to die than to see such terrible deeds as strangers being mishandled – ξείνους τε στυφελιζομένους [Hom. Od.20.318] – that bring shame upon the halls. His words bring about silence in the suitors:

> ὣς ἔφαθ' οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ:
>
> ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε Δαμαστορίδης Ἀγέλαος: [Hom.Od.20.320-1]
>
> So he spoke and they all became calm in silence
>
> After a long time Agelaus, son of Damastor, spoke amongst

The hiatus is ended by ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε, marking its second use in the *Odyssey*, having appeared six times in the *Iliad*. Agelaus says that they should follow Telemachus' words and that they should not abuse strangers any more – μήτε τι τὸν ξεῖνον στυφελίζετε [Hom. Od.20.324]. This again ties in the concept of *xenia* as occurring in close proximity to the passage.

Porter claims that Agelaus breaks the silence, with a response that the audience 'expects…to be authoritative' (Porter, 2011, p. 510). However, this requires a consistent audience response. The question of how often this formula has been expressed is vitally important. Appearing so late in the narrative, we can expect the audience to have built up a specific reaction to have been primed to respond in a certain way. For Porter, this "stricken to silence" formula suggests that 'destruction looms'(Porter, 2011, p. 512). However, this is based on comparison with all sixteen instances of the phrase. In this instance, there is clear tension between the speaker and audience, but the tension rests on the violation of the concept of *xenia*. In every case, there is specific reference to that concept in the speech that immediately follows. Porter focuses on an authoritative response that contradicts the original speaker because that is what occurred in the *Iliad*. When we isolate the *Odyssey* we see that each instance occurs in a moment where breaking *xenia* would be a very negative moment. In *Od.7153-8, Od.8.234-5, Od.11.333-5,* and *Od.13.1-3*, Odysseus is relying on being treated as a ξεῖνος and the Phaeacians continue to treat him as such. *Od.16.393-9* and *Od.20.320-1* deal with the question of *xenia* being broken.

The phrase marks a narrative moment of reflection, but at no point does the first speaker suggest a potential course of action that could be followed. Rather each instance occurs at a potential moment that relies on obeying the strict rules of *xenia*, with the speaker that breaks that silence ensuring they conform to these rules.

Observations (4.8)

In terms of coincidental vocabulary, the term μετέειπε appears in 8 of the 10 hiatus in the *Iliad*, with the exceptions being *Il.*10.313-18, which describes Hector talking to the Trojans, and *Il.*23.676ff., which has no subsequent speech. Of these 8 instances, only *Il.*7.92-5 has μετέειπε at the end of the line; the other 7 have it following ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ or τοῖσι δὲ, followed by a two-word adjectival phrase and the subsequent speaker. The *Odyssey* uses μετέειπε in three of its hiatus. *Od.7.153-8* and *Od.20.320-1* use ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε followed by an adjective and the speaker. *Od.7.153-8,* and *Od.13.393-9* put μετέειπε at the final position in the line, enforced by the word ἀγορήσατο, with *Od.13.393-9* repeating the phrase following qualification and *Od.7.153-8* using both forms of μετέειπε.

The difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can be explained thematically, as Foley does. When we consider the *Iliad*, however Homer establishes a phraseology that is set by *Iliad* 7.398 and consistent in *Il.8.28, Il.9.29, Il.9.430, Il.9.963,* and *Il.10.218*. It deviates in *Il.10.313* with the first absence of μετέειπε. What before was disparate voices, either Greeks and Trojans arguing or Greeks arguing amongst themselves, is now Trojan with Trojans. The final instance in *Il.23.676* has no subsequent speech, but the scene is of Greeks at funeral games, with a unified audience. Each instance of the siopic hiatus creates narrative tension in the *Iliad* and a split between the expected and delivered narrative may take place. μετέειπε is used to break the silence of such disparity. This may hold for the *Iliad*, but is not the case in the *Odyssey,*

We do see that both instances in the *Odyssey* of μετέειπε do not address the original speaker, with *Od.16.393-9* and *Od.20.320-1* addressing the same audience, while *Od.7.153-8* picks a singular member of that audience to address. The other hiatus in

the *Odyssey* feature a member of the original audience addressing the original speaker.

In the *Iliad*, the hiatus at Il.*3.95-6, Il.7.92-5,* and *Il.7.398-9,* all feature a shift from the speaker addressing an audience to a member of the audience addressing that same audience. After these, however, every other hiatus[163] in the *Iliad* features the speaker addressing an audience and a member of the audience addressing the original speaker. The shift in audience begins with an assembly of the gods, potentially suggesting a shift in how the narrator wants the audience to react to these terms.

The other significant occurrence is the use of μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι: μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀπέειπεν/ ἀγόρευσε. ἀγασσάμενοι appears 8 times in the *Iliad*, with three of those instances in a siopic hiatus, with another three in the line μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο[164] as the second line in a conclusory remark. *Il.9.693-6* also uses the phrase attached to Diomedes, giving cause to question why this particular verb is associated with him in the majority of cases.

Returning to Foley's study, he summarises the 'silently to silence' phrase as follows:

> an initial speech proposing or reporting a radical, usually unexpected
> action will give way to stunned silence, followed by a response that
> immediately or eventually involves substantial qualification if not
> dismissal of proposed or reported action (Foley, 1995, p. 23)

This certainly explains a thematic function of the phrase as a modulator for *kleos*, being used both for martial and rhetoric *kleos*, with the latter explaining the phrase

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[163] *Il.8.28-30, Il.9.29-31, Il.9.430-4, Il.9.693-6, Il.10.218-9,* and *Il.10.313-18*

[164] See 1.1 Conclusory Remarks

μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀπέειπεν/ ἀγόρευσε. In ignoring the surrounding words and phrases, Foley overlooks a key aspect. Far more significance needs to be attached to μετέειπε, which in the majority of cases breaks this silence while simultaneously displaying to the audience a narrative tension. It is clear 'that the traditional idiom provides more than one avenue to a given traditional, metonymic implication' (Foley, 1995, p. 25), however Foley sees the single phrase rather than greater contextualisation and attempts to apply the same rule to both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Smith argues that the phrase has a 'retarding effect on the unfolding story, since the note of silence always leads to a speech introduction that could have bridged the two speeches by itself' (Smith, 2014, p. 29). However, Smith is taking this view from knowledge of the form. In the instances of the siopic hiatus, the audience at the beginning is unaware that it will end, since it follows a regularly capping formula. The siopic hiatus creates an artificial break in the dialogue, which leaves the preceding speech 'ringing in the ears of the audience' while also giving 'prominence to whoever speaks next by raising the level of difficulty of speaking' (Beck, 2012, p. 98). What the phrase does not do, however, is suggest to the audience that this is the end of speaking. It is indicating that somebody will step forward, leaving the audience waiting to discover who will.

The siopic hiatus shows what is fundamental to the plot. This must change between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* because they are concerned with different things. In the *Iliad* it is warfare that is important, and the βοὴν ἀγαθὸς is the purest demonstration of that. In the *Odyssey*, however, the plot centres on the concept of ξενία, so the phrase must function differently.

		Hiatus Length		Verba Dicendi	New Speaker
Iliad	3.95-96	2	τοῖσι δὲ καὶ	μετέειπε	βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος
Iliad	7.92-5	4	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	Μενέλαος
Iliad	7.396-9	2	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
Iliad	8.28-30	3	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
Iliad	9.29-31	3	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
Iliad	9.430-4	5	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ
Iliad	9.693-6	4	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
Iliad	10.218-19	2	τοῖσι δὲ καὶ	μετέειπε	βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
Iliad	10.313-18	6	ὅς ῥα τότε	μῦθον ἔειπεν	Μενέλαος
Iliad	23.676	/			None
Odyssey	7.153-8	6	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	γέρων ἥρως Ἐχένηος
Odyssey	8.234-5	2		ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν	Ἀλκίνοος δέ μιν οἶος
Odyssey	11.333-5	3	τοῖσιν δ'	ἤρχετο μύθων	Ἀρήτη λευκώλενος
Odyssey	13.1-3	3	τὸν δ' αὖτ'	ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε	Ἀλκίνοος
Odyssey	16.393-9	7	τοῖσιν δ'	ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε	Ἀμφίνομος
Odyssey	20.320-1	2	ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ	μετέειπε	Δαμαστορίδης Ἀγέλαος

Conclusions (4.9)

The main fault of critical analysis is attempting to apply a single rule across both Homeric texts. By focusing on each text and determining why the siopic hiatus is used, we can see that each text uses the term to highlight a specific concept, which is relevant to the overarching theme of the text. By recognising their differences, this allows us to create a rule that covers both texts.

For the *Iliad*, the critical analysis is mostly accurate. It does occur 'at a turning point in the narrative thus suggests the impossibility of alternative developments that would significantly depart from the mythic tradition' and the phrase functions as a 'proleptic formula intimating that the proposition which has engendered that silence is not bound to come true, or at least not entirely' (Porter, 2011, p. 66). The only instances where the threat comes true is *Il.23.*676, since there is no speech that contradicts the narrative. This supports the hypothesis since silence is acceptance of the potential

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raised in the prior speech, while an individual stepping forward to speak is an act of rejection, one that shows the external audience it will not take place. Montiglio claims that the 'silence therefore signals the poet's resistance against the prospected destruction of his narrative' (Montiglio, 2000, p. 66). However, *Il.23.676* shows that it is not the silence that signals the resistance but breaking the silence.

The narrator plays on this concept in *Iliad* 10, when we are given two possibilities in quick succession, leaving the external audience to wonder whether the Greeks or the Trojans will suffer a terrible loss. This close coincidence shows that the narrator is subverting the technique in order to make a more dramatic narrative.

This is an example of metonymic irony, which intensifies the performance, however the traditional view assumes a pervasive understanding of metonyms shared by the audience and the narrator and requires that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are metonymically synonymous. Having taken this view, critical discourse of the ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ formula claims both so that 'a sense of foreboding is felt, and peril looms large in the auditors' minds as they think of what will follow in the future' (Porter, 2011, p. 513). While this is true, the reason is very different.

For the *Odyssey,* the moment occurs at an implicit moment of a potential breach of *xenia*. Whoever breaks the silence enforces the concept of *xenia*, something that even Amphinomus and Agelaus do. The audience recognises this phrase as a moment of reflection, but it is far more significant than merely expecting doom. It functions as a metonymic rumination on the very concept at the heart of the narrative. For the *Iliad* it appears in moments of potential peace: single combat that could avert the entire war; or Zeus forbidding the gods from interfering (an act that would have shortened the war considerably). Not merely peace, it is a moment of martial *kleos*. Had the silence held,

that *kleos* would have been lost, but by speaking they perpetuate the cycle. In the *Odyssey*, however, it is *xenia* that drives the narrative. As such, the phrase forces the audience to consider what would happen had that been broken: a far worse fate and the potential destruction of narrative.

The occurrence does mark a potential deviation in the narrative. The destination is set, but the route belongs to the narrator. By employing this formula – ὣς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ – the author threatens the audience with a fundamental divergence from the essence of the plot.

išmē-ma zikrī abī-šu anšar

iṣbat ḫarrāš-šū-ma | uruḫ-ša uštardi

illik anum | šibqū-š Tiāmat iše'am-ma

ūšib ušḫarrir-ma | itūr-a arkiš

īrum-ma maḫra | abi aba'ūlu-šu anšar

unnīnna iṣbat-am-ma izakkar-šu [*E.E.II.103-6*]

He heard the speech of Anšar his father,

He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her.

Anu went, he perceived the tricks of Tiāmat,

He stopped, fell silent, and turned back.

He entered the presence of Anšar, the father who begat him,

Penitently addressing him.

After Anšar tells his son to address words of petition to Tiāmat, Anu goes to the goddess, but falls silent in her presence (*ušḫarrir-ma*). Anu returns to Anšar and tells him that Tiāmat is far too powerful for him and he urges his father to find some hero to send to face her.

ušḫarrir-ma anšar | qaqqari inaṭṭal

ikammam ana ea | unašši qaqqad-su

paḫrū-ma igigi | kalī-šunu anukki

šaptā-šunu kuttumā-ma | qāliš ušbū

ilu aym-ma | ul iār ki in ...

maḫāriš Tiāmat | ul uṣṣi ina šaptī-šu

u bēlum anšar | abi ilāni rabiūtim

kamil libba-šū-ma | ul išassi mamman

aplum gašru | mutirru gimillu abī-šu

ḫāʾiš tuqmāte | marūtuk qardu

ilsī-ma ea | ašar pirištī-šu

kaʾinimmak libbī-šu ītamī-šu [E.E.II.119-30]

Anšar lapsed into silence, staring at the ground,

Nodding to Ea, shaking his head.

The Igigi and all the Anunnaki had assembled,

They sat in tight-lipped silence.

No god would go to face . . [. .]

Would go out against Tiāmat . . . . [. .]

Yet the lord Anšar, the father of the great gods,

Was angry in his heart, not summoning any one.

A mighty son, the avenger of [his] father,

He who hastens to war, the warrior Marduk,

Ea summoned (him) to his private chamber

To explain to him his plans.

The *Enuma Eliš* makes clear here that silence demonstrates a breakdown of social order and an act of fear, even submission, to the threat of Tiāmat. All are afraid to go and face her. Within these lines are contained:

ušḫarrir-ma, a G Preterite of *šuḫarruru*,

He became silent

šaptā-šunu kuttumā-ma, D Stative from *katāmu*

They covered their lips

qāliš ušbū G Preterite of *wašābu*

Quietly they sat

Silence encompasses everybody, Anšar, Igigi, and Anunnaki, as they are afraid to face Tiāmat, We are then told that Anšar, being angry in his heart, is not summoning anyone – *ul išassi mamman*, with the Perfect of *šasu*. We are then given an inversion of expected phrase order, as Marduk is given a three-line description, followed by *ilsī-ma ea* – Ea summoned him.

The narrative comes to stand still as nobody is able to face Tiāmat. Anšar's refusal to summon somebody shows a refusal to bring Marduk into the action – a refusal to summon someone to a royal court excludes them from participation. It is Ea who breaks this deadlock through the act of summoning Marduk to his private chamber, where he urges the god to speak to Anšar. Ea tells Marduk, *epuš pī-ka – open your*

mouth, persuading him to start conversation with Anšar and we know that Ea's words are persuasive through the capping formula:

iḫdū-ma bēlum | ana amātu abī-šu [E.E.II.135]

He rejoiced, Bel, at the words of his father

When Anšar sees Marduk, he is joyous and kisses his lips – *iššiq šaptī-šu*. The mention of lips picks up the closed lips of the Igigi and Anunnaki, while the mouth opening that Ea urges shows an engagement.

This section seems to demonstrate parallels with the *siopic hiatus* from Greek, where all frightened into a state of silence until one is brave enough to speak. What differs is that Greek achieves this regularly through a set phrase, while Akkadian takes more extended narrative to explain the process. This suggests that while the concept of silence being a sign of submission, the method of demonstrating such a concept in literature was very different.

Conclusion (5.0)

Both Greek and Near-Eastern mythological narratives feature large amounts of direct speech. The transition between narrative and dialogue is usually marked in the text by the presence of the quotative frame. Akkadian literature makes use of several quotation formulae to mark the introduction of speech, with the most recognisable being *pâ-šu īpuš izakkar* – he opened his mouth and spoke. The mixed-tense line puts the physical action of opening the mouth into the preterite, since it took place at a specific time, with the durative form of the verb *zakāru*. In so doing, the narrator makes a more vivid account, where the speech could be considered to be taking place, since the durative can also be the present tense. While there is some deviation in the introductory and capping formulas, there seems a relative consistency in the use and no significant difference between the presence or absence of *iqabbi* in the extended introductory phrase. While Akkadian literature features sparse use of *apālu* to denote that a speech is in reply, there is generally no difference between a introductory phrase and a transitional phrase, with Akkadian also regularly changing between speakers with no narrative interjection.

This contrasts heavily with Homer, which uses the transitional phrase extensively whenever there is conversation between character. While the phrase occurs frequently with a high degree of stability, there is sufficient difference in the single line to have specific uses. The phrase actually functions as a branching path system. Repeated use of the phrase by the narrator means the distinctive beginning of τὸν δ' snaps the audience out of character speech, plunging them into a moment of narrative. The presence of αὖ(τε) in some transitional phrases gives the semblance of simplicity to the Greek text, despite far more complicated linguistic techniques being employed,

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since it is 'under no circumstances a simple conjunction' (Klein, 1988, p. 272). Despite Kelin's recognition, the phrase has been analysed as merely another introductory phrase with focus on the *verba dicendi*. When analysed in its own right, it is revealed to have its own pragmatic function.

During this moment, the narrator is able to encode information through the specific phrases he uses. ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα uses a brisk metre to focus on the speaker and return quickly to the narrative; a speaking verb followed by the speaker increases the importance of the speaker; an immediate participle frames the speech accordingly, changing the external audience's perspective.

The quotative frame serves to provide contextual information to the audience for understanding a speech. For the audience to react to the text in the way intended by the narrator, they require specific prompts in the narrative to guide evaluation, since 'the intentions of the character must be filtered through the communicative intent of the narrator, in whose voice the original communication is conveyed' (Bortolussi and Dixon, 2009, p. 228). Without understanding the ways in which the narrator allows information to the audience, we cannot fully engage with the narrative.

A text itself can be divided between narrative and direct speech, with the quotative frame demarcating the boundaries between the two. In liminal moments of discourse and narrative the author provides information to the external audience to guide reception of the text. Speaking itself is a 'cultural practice' and speakers are 'social actors' (Duranti, 2000, p. 4). What is meant by this is that any speech act occurs within a cultural framework, whereby the full comprehension of a speech act is reliant not

merely upon an understanding of the specific words used, but also their current context and how these features are used in similar contexts.[165]

The Conventionalist Perspective of a speech act believes that the illocutionary force of a locution is determined by the context in which it is received (during utterance for spoken text or during recitation/reading for a written text), while the Intentionalist Perspective of a speech act believes that the illocutionary force of a locution is determined by the intention of the speaker. In the context of a narrative text, both of these impact upon each other since the narrator chooses the context.

Chapter 2 analysed the role of interjections. Since interjections occur in speech rather than narrative, their presence at the beginning of a section of direct speech marks an immediate shift in the text. As such, they function as a boundary marker between narrative and speech, albeit on the other side of the divide to the quotative frame. Both Greek and Akkadian interjections have a directive component to them, either reflective or prefatory, as the speaker directs attention onto what has come before or what is contained with his speech. Despite both cultures using interjections in such a way, only Greek uses this concept in extended mythological narratives, with interjections being mostly absent from the Near-Eastern texts. In Homer, interjections have an additional layer of meaning, acting at both the level of internal and external narrator. They are used to direct attention within the text as the narrator tells the external audience where their sympathies should lie. The most distinct of these are ὤ μοι and

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[165] 'This means that communicative forms (linguistic expressions, graphic signs, gestures, live performance) are vehicles for cultural practices to the extent to which they either presuppose or establish some contextual features (for example, who is the recipient of what is being said, the relative social relation between speaker and hearer) that are not necessarily "described" by the message (or its denotational meaning), but are nevertheless understood. This type of meaning covers not only the so-called deictic terms like here, there, now yesterday, I, you, etc., which must be interpreted vis-à-vis the conventionalized spatio-temporal context of the utterance in which they are used. It also includes highly ideological aspects of language and culture such as the establishment of authorship and recipientship (through the use of pronominal forms and reported speech) and the relative status of the participants (through special lexical or morphological choices). In this framework, a language, through its indexical uses of its elements, provides a theory of human action, or a metapragmatics.' (Duranti, 2000, p. 38)

ὤ πόποι. The former inspires pity, showing a character who has accepted a grim fate, while the latter presents someone angry at their current lot and willing to make a change. Both of these meanings are developed by the narrator throughout the text, as associations are gradually developed. Alongside these, αἴ γὰρ δὴ shows a focus on the previous speech, ἇ δειλ' demonstrates unease by the speaker while focalizing the external audience the object of pity. It contradicts what occurred in the speech before to shift the target of pathos. This use of interjections in Homer shows a double-level of meaning, with the external audience understanding things the internal audience might not recognise. Significantly, this association is developed throughout the narrative, with each instance of the interjection developing a basis on which to evaluate the subsequent use and thus priming the audience for a specific response. Akkadian literature lacks interjections in general. This is emblematic of the different relationship between narrator and audience. While information is gradually given to the external audience, the narrator does not develop narrative techniques to focus attention throughout to guide their reaction. This absence of this development means expectations cannot be subverted and the audience does not feel shock at the events. While the audience of a text such a Gilgameš still interacts with his audience, such as the directions in the prologue to 'go up on to the wall of Uruk and walk around,'[166] inviting participation, it is not a dynamic and changing relationship between narrator and audience, such as we find in Greek.

Chapter 3 looked at the *siopic hiatus*, a moment of narrative following a speech where characters are driven to silence. The narrator uses this act as a threat towards the audience, showing a potential end of the narrative. It is not until some brave (or foolish)

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[166] *elīma ina muḫḫi dūri ša uruk ītallak*   *Gilg.*I.18

soul steps forward to break the silence that the narrative can resume. The specific phrase used ὣς ἔφαθ' οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ actually has a paradoxical meaning, since it creates an association in the external audience that somebody will step forward to speak.

The siopic hiatus could rightly be considered a transitional frame since it bridges between two speeches, giving the impression that the dialogue has come to a conclusion but in fact indicating that it will be continue. It should rightly fall under the 'elongated speech frames [that enable] the listener to focus on some contextual feature of special importance' (Smith, 2014, p. 26). However, while Smith rightly includes the verse ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ under the category of speech frames, he miscategorises the nature of it, focusing on the 'inherently retarding effect on the unfolding of the story, since the note of silence always leads to a speech introduction that could have bridged the two speeches by itself' (Smith, 2014, p. 29). This slowing of the narrative is intentionally deceptive on the part of the narrator. Where Smith claims a speech introduction 'could have bridged the two speeches by itself', the verse ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ is in itself introducing the eventual speech, since it begins the process of speech being resumed. There is no direct comparison between this phrase and anything in Akkadian. Nevertheless, the idea of stricken to silence and a brave soul standing up is used in *Enuma Eliš*, albeit explained through regular narrative rather than a sophisticated narratorial technique.

Morris posited that 'it may be a greater challenge to isolate and appreciate what is Greek in Homeric poetry than to enumerate its foreign sources' (Morris, 1997, p. 599). Trying to look for comparisons between Greek and Near-Eastern texts is a task as

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easy as one makes it and it is easy to read connections into something when they are not there. In a similar vein, George Smith in the *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, translated a text detailing the tower of Babylon, drawing biblical comparisons that received much attention. Unfortunately, the comparison was mostly the result of translation error; the text in question is now known as the Toil of Babylon, an interesting text, albeit with very little biblical comparison. Such an anecdote serves to highlight the difficulty in taking knowledge from one discipline into another.

With that in mind, this study intended to take a similar approach to analysis of Greek and Near-Eastern literature. Akkadian literature presents many of the same features that Homeric literature does, with the quotative frame a key aspect of navigating between narrative and discourse. However, Homer seems to exhibit a greater degree of interaction with the audience, creating references through the text as he goes and in places toying with their expectation. Near-Eastern mythology seems to often omit that misdirection. Formulas are used regularly, with few surprises. With a text like the *Enuma Eliš*, performed at the New Year Festival, it could be expected that the audience, who would recite at least parts of the text, would be familiar with the story, which would negate any sense of suspense on the part of the narrator. The question of familiarity of text is important. The concept of revelation is a vital component for the performance of a narrator giving a new story or creating a new narrative portraying a familiar story. It allows the narrator to create suspense and narrative irony or to develop expectation in the audience that is either met or subverted. This dynamic seems evident in Homer and is mediated through functions that are highly evident at junctures between narrative and speech. In circumstances where the audience is more familiar with the story or the specific portrayal in a narrative, we see these features

less. Such familiarity could occur in texts that are regularly performed or involve audience participation, such as religious texts or those performed yearly at festivals. However, we might expect a text like Gilgameš to provide a more dynamic interaction between narrator and audience, unless its main purpose is to preserve known mythology rather than be a performance that is enjoyed. This rests on the purpose and performance Near-Eastern literature, raises questions about the relationship between narrator and audience, and makes us question what the Near-Eastern audience expected from a performance of the text.

Some of these questions could be developed if we understood more about the transmission and performance of Gilgameš. As to the question of Near-Eastern influence on Greek myth, there seems no evidence of direct influence on Homer[167]. The existence of extended mythological narratives show that both cultures are telling stories about their own culture with an, at times, highly formulaic approach. These formulas and by extension that approach, differ greatly. Comparative studies have shown many elements from Mesopotamian mythology that have passed from East to West and appear in some form within the Greek corpus. Despite this, the Greek corpus itself approaches narrative in its own way.

Both Greek and Akkadian literature makes use of the quotative frame to provide additional information to the audience. The iterated quotation formula in Akkadian demonstrates that each a speech act concerns itself with a specific concept and a move to another concept, even with the same speaker, requires reframing by the narrator within the narrative. This shows a sophistication in narrative similar to Greek.

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[167] 'it seems certain that Homer did not read Giglameš, nor Hesiod the Epic of Creation. Rather the literary works are products from intellectual cultures interrelated in more than one way. Common traditions going back to Neolithic times may be suspected, while interaction both oral and written no doubt took place in some cases in historical times.' (Lambert, 1991, p. 114)

Where they differ, however, is in Greek adding additional information into the quotative frame, specifically in transitional phrases. While Akkadian predominately uses variations on the single phrase *pâ-šu īpuš (iqabbi) izakkar* that are indistinguishable from their use in introductory phrases*,* with only very infrequent use of *apālu* ("to reply"), Greek uses a set phrase where minor differences in words in primary-position are imbued with different meanings. These changes occur within the text itself. A feature that appears in Akkadian texts but is absent from Homer is the rephrased confirmation, where a line from direct speech is adapted into the narrative to demonstrate immediate action in agreement with the speech. Such a feature being particular to Akkadian literature suggests the narrator in these texts used explicit confirmation to establish events.

By comparing select passages of Greek and Akkadian it would be possible to see similarities between the quotative frame. However, from looking at the range contained within Akkadian, we can see that the approach changes, with a different focus being placed depending on time period or even location. Even within a culture with the physical transmission of texts, some features are copied while others are overlooked; what is more, developments occur. It would seem logical that some form of quotative frame is required within a narrative to inform the audience that this is now mimetic and descriptive. However, this is not seen in practice in Mesopotamian literature. In fact, Akkadian often omits the introductory or conclusory phrase entirely, even changing immediately between speakers. In contrast, Homer makes clear when speech is occurring and who is participating.

The intent of this analysis was to highlight some aspects of Greek and Mesopotamian attitudes towards performance within each culture. What cannot be achieved is

showing cultural influence from East to West through the comparison of the quotative frame. Nevertheless, by identifying the key features we can see what is unique within a culture and what overlaps, giving us a better understanding of how each culture approaches their literature.

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Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Tablet I								
Gilg.I.45-46 (gh)	*mannu ša ittišu iššannanu ana šarrūti* *u kî Gilgāmeš iqabbû* **anakuma šarru**	Who is there that with him can be compared in kingly status And like Gilgāmeš say, "I am King"?	X iqabbû "…"	Gilg.I.46 (gh)	Quoted words contained to single line			
Gilg.I.73 (d1x) – 74)F3x	*…tušina arḫiš* *…tazimtašina … ina pāni-šin*	…their…soon …their complaint…before them	Too fragmented	Gilg.I.75-6 (Px)	Gilg.I.77-8 (Px)	*marat qurādi ḫirat eṭli* *tazimtašina ištennemma* ᵈ*Ištarātu*	The daughter of the warrior, the bride of To their complaint they were listening, the goddesses	*tazimtašina ištennemma Y*
Gilg.I.80 (hx)	*Fragmented*			Gilg.I.81-91	Gilg.I.92-3 (Ph)	*marat qurādi ḫirat eṭli* *tazimtašina ištennemma* ᵈ*Ištarātu*	The daughter of the warrior, the bride of the young man To their complaint they were listening, the goddesses	*tazimtašina ištennemma Y*
Gilg.I.94 (Ph)	ᵈ*Aruru issû rabītu*	Aruru, they summoned, the great one	No verba dicendi	Gilg.I.95-8	Gilg.I.99 (Phncc) - 100 (B2Phncc)	ᵈ*Aruru anni ina šemeša* *zikru ša* ᵈ*Anim ibtani ina libbiša*	Aruru when she heard this The speech of Anu she placed in her heart	*Y anni ina šemeša* *zikru ša X ibtani ina libbiša*
Gilg.I.122 (P**g**)	*ṣayyādu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana abi-šu*	The hunter, his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to his father	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.I.123-133	Gilg.I.134 (P)	*abušu pâ-šu īpuš iqabbi izakkara ana ṣayyādu*	His father his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to the hunter	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.I.134 (P)	*abušu pâ-šu īpuš iqabbi izakkara ana ṣayyādu*	His father his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to the hunter	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.I.135-45	Gilg.I.146 (B2P)	*ana milki ša abišu…* *ṣayyādu itallak*	To the advice of his father… The hunter went off…	*ana milki ša X*
Gilg.I.148-9 (B2)	*iṣbat urḫa ina libbiša uruk ištakan panišu* *ana šarri Gilgāmeš…*	He took the road, he set his face towards Uruk To the king Gilgameš …	*ana Y …*	Gilg.I.150-60	Gilg.I.161 (B2F2Pcc)	*Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ṣayyādi*	Gilgamesh to him he spoke, to the hunter	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.I.161 (B2F2Pcc)	*Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ṣayyādi*	Gilgamesh to him he spoke, to the hunter	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.I.162-6	Gilg.I.167 (F2P)	*illik ṣayyādi ittišu ḫarimti šamḫat uruma*	He went, the hunter, with him Šamḫat the harlot he took	No recognition
Gilg.I.178 (Px) – (B1Px)	*imuršuma šamḫat lullâ amēla* *eṭla šaggaša ša qabalti ṣēri*	She saw him, Šamḫat, the man-savage A murderous fellow from the midst of the wild		Gilg.I.180-7	Gilg.I.187-8 (B1F1Px)	*urtammi šamḫat didaša* *urša iptêma kuzûbša ilqe*	Šamḫat let loose her skirts Her sex she bared, he took in her charms	No recognition
Gilg.I.205-6 (B₂F₁P)	*u ša ḫarimti iqabbû išemma uznāšu* *ḫarimtu ana šâšūma izakkara ana* ᵈ*enkidu*	Then what the harlot spoke, his ears heard The harlot to him said, to Enkidu	*u ša X iqabbû išemma uznāšu* *X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.I.207-12	Gilg.I.213-4 (B1B2Phcc)	*itamašumma magir qabāša* *mudû libbašu iše'a ibra*	She talked to him, her speech found favour His heart now wise was seeking a friend	*itamašumma magir qabāša*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.I.215 (B1Phcc)	*ᵈEnkīdu ana šâšīma izakkara ana ḫarimti*	Enkidu to her he spoke, to the harlot	*X ana šâšīma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.I.216-23	Immediate change of speaker			
Immediate change of speaker				Gilg.I.224-98	Gilg.I.299-300 (B1F1ho)	*ultu ᶠšamḫat šunati ᵈGilgāmeš itamā ana ᵈEnkīdu* *urta'amu kilallan*	*After Šamḫat told the dreams of Gilgāmeš to Enkidu* *The two of them were making love together*	*ultu X itamā ana Y*
Gilg.I.245 (B1F1P)	*itbema ᵈGilgāmeš šunata ipaššar izakkara ana ummišu*	He arose, Gilgameš, a dream he revealed, he spoke to his mother	*itbema X šunata ipaššar izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.I.246-58	Gilg.I.259 (Ph), 260 (B1F1Ph)	*ummi ᵈGilgāmeš enqet mudat kalama ide izakkar ana mārišu* *ᶠrimat Ninsun enqet mudat kala ide izakkar ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	The mother of Gilgameš was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to her son Wild-Cow Ninsun was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to Gilgameš	No recognition No recognition
Gilg.I.259 (Ph), 260 (B1F1Ph)	*ummi ᵈGilgāmeš enqet mudat kalama ide izakkar ana mārišu* *ᶠrimat Ninsun enqet mudat kala ide izakkar ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	The mother of Gilgameš was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to her son Wild-Cow Ninsun was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to Gilgameš	*X … izakkar ana Y* *X … izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.I.261-73	Gilg.I.273a (h), 274 (h), 275 (B1-h)	*šanitum itamar šunātu* *itbêma iterub ana maḫar ᵈIštari ummišu* *Gilgāmeš ana šašima izakkar ana ummišu*	He saw a second dream He arose, he entered into the presence of the goddess, his mother Gilgameš to her he spoke to his mother	No recognition
Gilg.I.273a (h), 274 (h), 275 (B1-h)	*šanitum itamar šunātu* *itbêma iterub ana maḫar ᵈIštari ummišu* *Gilgāmeš ana šâšīma izakkar ana ummišu*	He saw a second dream He arose, he entered into the presence of the goddess, his mother Gilgameš to her he spoke to his mother	*X ana šâšīma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.I.276-85	Gilg.I.286-7 (B1ho)	*ummi ᵈGilgāmeš enqet mudat kalama ide izakkara ana māriša* *ᶠrimat ᵈninsun enqet mudat kalama ide izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	The mother of Gilgameš was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to her son Wild-Cow Ninsun was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to Gilgameš	No recognition

Introductory Line	*Text*	Translation	*Introduction Formula*	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	*Text*	*Translation*	Capping Formula
Gilg.I.286-7 (B1ho)	*ummi ^{d}Gilgāmeš enqet mudat kalama ide izakkara ana māriša* ^{f}*rimat ^{d}ninsun enqet mudat kalama ide izakkara ana ^{d}Gilgāmeš*	The mother of Gilgameš was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to her son Wild-Cow Ninsun was clever, she was wise, she knew everything, she said to Gilgameš	*X … izakkar ana Y* *X … izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.I.288-93	Gilg.I.294 (B1ho)	*Gilgāmeš ana šāšima izakkar ana ummišu*	Gilgameš to her he spoke to his mother	No recognition
Gilg.I.294 (B1ho)	*Gilgāmeš ana šâšīma izakkar ana ummišu*	Gilgameš to her he spoke to his mother	*X ana šâšīma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.I.295-7	Gilg.I.298 (B1ho)	*itamar šunātišu*	[Thus] he has seen his dreams	*itamar šunātišu*
Tablet II								
Lacuna				Gilg.II.29	Gilg.II.30-1 (bb)	*mitluku ramani-šu …* *ina ṭemi-šu-ma …*	Taking his own counsel… By his own judgement	*mitluku ramani-šu …* *ina ṭemi-šu-ma …*
Gilg.II.38-9 (zbb)	*rē'ûtu puḫḫurat eli-šu* *ina ṭemi-šunu-ma ina ramani-šu-ma*	The band of shepherds was gathered around him Of their own will and by himself	No verba dicendi	Gilg.II.40-3	Gilg.II.44 (zbb)	*akālu iškunu maḫar-šu*	They put bread before him	No recognition
Gilg.II.49 (X$_2$)	^{f}*ḫarimtu ana šāšūma izakkara ana ^{d}Enkīdu*	The harlot to him she said, to Enkidu	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.II.50-1	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.II.162-4	Gilg.II.165-6 (X$_2$)	*ummu ^{d}Gilgāmeš pâ-ša īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkarra ana māri-ša* ^{f}*rimat ^{d}Ninsun pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ^{d}Gilgāmeš*	The mother of Gilgameš her mouth she opened, she said, she spoke to her son Wild-Cow Ninsun her mouth she opened, she said, she spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X* *Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.II.165-6 (X$_2$)	*ummu ^{d}Gilgāmeš pâ-ša īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkarra ana māri-ša* ^{f}*rimat ^{d}Ninsun pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ^{d}Gilgāmeš*	The mother of Gilgameš her mouth she opened, she said, she spoke to her son Wild-Cow Ninsun her mouth she opened, she said, she spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-ša īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkarra ana Y* *X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkarra ana Y*	Gilg.II.168-77	Gilg.II.178-9 (X$_2$)	*izzaz ^{d}enkidu išme qabaša* *uštadan-ma ittašab ibakki*	Being present, Enkidu heart what her speech Thinking it over, he sat down weeping	*izzaz Y išme qabaša*
Gilg.II.184-5 (X$_2$p)	^{d}*Gilgāmeš iṭṭurum la…* *ana ^{d}enkidu amat izakkar*	Gilgameš … To Enkidu a word he spoke	*X…* *ana Y amat izakkar*	Gilg.II.186-7	Gilg.II.188 (X$_2$p)	^{d}*Enkīdu ana šāšūma izakkara ana ^{d}Gilgāmeš*	Enkidu to him he speak, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šāšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.II.188 (X$_2$p)	^{d}*Enkīdu ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^{d}Gilgāmeš*	Enkidu to him he speak, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.II.189-92	Gilg.II.193 (p)	^{d}*Gilgāmeš pā-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ^{d}Enkīdu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened he said he spoke to Enkidu	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.II.193 (p)	ᵈGilgāmeš pā-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu	Gilgameš his mouth he opened he said he spoke to Enkidu	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y	Gilg.II.194-201	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.II.213-5	Gilg.II.216 (ee)	ᵈEnkīdu pā-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.II.216 (ee)	ᵈEnkīdu pā-šu īpuš-ma izakkar ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana Y	Gilg.II.217-29	Gilg.II.230a (zee)	*Gilgāmeš pā-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana denkidu*	Gigameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
					Gilg.230b (X₂)	*Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkar ana ᵈEnlil*	Gilgameš to him, he spoke to Enlil	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.II.230a (zee)	*Gilgāmeš pā-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana denkidu*	Gigameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana Y	Gilg.II.231-41	Gilg.II.242 (e ee)	*ana kiškattê…*	To the forge…	
Gilg.II.230b (X₂)	*Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkar ana ᵈenlil*	Gilgameš to him, he spoke to Enlil	*X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y*					No recognition
Gilg.II.247 (bb)	*ašbū-ma uštanamdanu ana…*	They were sitting exchanging views…	*…uštanamdanu ana…*	Gilg.II.248-53	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.II.260-71	Gilg.II.272-3 (bbee)	*ᵈenkidu ana šibūtu milka imallik* *ana eṭlūti ša uruk mudu…tum*	Enkidu to the elders, he gave advice To the young men of Uruk, expert…	*Y ana X milka imallik*
Gilg.II.272-3 (bbee)	*ᵈEnkīdu ana šibūtu milka imallik* *ana eṭlūti ša uruk mudu…tum*	Enkidu to the elders, he gave advice To the young men of Uruk, expert…	*X ana Y milka imallik*	Gilg.II.274-286	Gilg.II.287-8 (zee)	*itbū-ma malikê rabūtu* *ṭēmu utarri ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	The senior advisors arose He expressed in return the opinion towards Gilgameš	*itbū-ma Y*
Gilg.II.287-8 (zee)	*itbū-ma malikê rabūtu* *ṭēmu utarri ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	The senior advisors arose He expressed in return the opinion towards Gilgameš	*ṭēmu utarri ana Y*	Gilg.II.289-99	Gilg.II.300-301	*išmē-ma ᵈGilgāmeš awat malik rabûti* *ippalis-ma … ᵈEnkīdu*	He heard, Gilgameš, the words of the senior advisers He looked…Enkidu	*išmē-ma Y awat X* No recognition
Tablet III								
Lacuna				Gilg.III.1-12	Gilg.III.13-14 (M₃BB₂)	*Gilgāmeš pā-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana ᵈenkidu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he spoke He said to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana Y*
Gilg.III.13-14 (M₃BB₂)	*Gilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said He spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.III.15-18	Gilg.III.19-20 (M₃BB₂c)	*iṣṣabtu-ma qatu qatusun* *ᵈGilgāmeš u ᵈEnkīdu illaku ana é.gal.maḫ*	They took each other hand in hand Gilgameš and Enkidu, they went to Egal-maḫ	*iṣṣabtu-ma qatu qatusun*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.III.21-2 (M-₃BB₂c), 23 (c)	ana maḫar ^{d}Ninsun šarratum rabīti ^{d}Gilgāmeš itbē-ma īterub ana maḫar ^{d}ištari ummi-šu ^{d}Gilgāmeš ana šāšima izakkara ana ^{d}ninsun	Into the presence of Ninsun, the great queen Gilgameš arose and entered before the goddess, his mother Gilgameš to her he spoke to Ninsun	X ana šāšima izakkara ana Y	Gilg.III.24-34	Gilg.III.35-6 (M₂c)	^{f}rimat ^{d}Ninsun amatum ša ^{d}Gilgāmeš māri-ša u ^{d}Enkīdu marṣiš ištenemme	Wild-Cow Ninsun, to the words of Gilgameš, her son And Enkidu, in sorrow was she listening	Y amatum ša X u Y marṣiš ištenemme
Gilg.III.45 (M₁M₃BB₁aa)	iškun surqenna ana maḫar ^{d}Šamaš idišu išši	She scattered incense before Šamaš, she lifted her arms	No verba dicendi	Gilg.III.46-99	Gilg.III.100 (iaa)	^{f}rimat ^{d}Ninsun itur-ma ana pān ^{d}Šamaš ušanna' urtum	Again Wild-Cow Ninsun repeated before Šamaš the order	X itur-ma ana pān Y ušanna' urtum
Gilg.III.100 (iaa)	^{f}rimat ^{d}Ninsun itur-ma ana pān ^{d}Šamaš ušanna' urtum	Again Wild-Cow Ninsun repeated the order before Šamaš	X itur-ma ana pān Y ušanna' urtum	Gilg.III.101-10	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.III.113-5	Gilg.III.116 (aa)	ultu ^{f}rimat ^{d}Ninsun ana ^{d}Šamaš iddinu urit	After Wild-Cow Ninsun delivered the order to Šamaš	ultu X ana Y iddinu urit
Gilg.III.120 (M₁aa)	^{d}Enkīdu issam-ma išakkana ṭēmu	Enkidu she summoned to declare (her) intentions	Y isâm-ma išakkana ṭēmu	Gilg.III.121-3	Gilg.III.124 (M₁aa)	indi ittadi ana tikki ^{d}Enkīdu	The symbols she placed on the neck of Enkidu	No recognition
Gilg.III.124 (M₁aa)	indi ittadi ana tikki ^{d}Enkīdu	The symbols she placed on the neck of Enkidu	No verba dicendi	Gilg.III.125-35	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.III.166-73	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.III.202-11	Gilg.III.212-4 (c)	izzizu-ma šakkanakkū-šu ikarrabu-šu paḫru eṭlūtu ša uruk iltanasumu arki-šu u šakkanakkū-šu unaššaqu šēpī-šu	The officers stood there paying homage In a crowd of young men of Uruk they were running behind him And the officers were kissing his feet	No recognition
Gilg.III.212-4 (c)	izzizu-ma šakkanakkū-šu ikarrabu-šu paḫru eṭlūtu ša uruk iltanasumu arki-šu u šakkanakkū-šu unaššaqu šēpī-šu	The officers stood there paying homage In a crowd of young men of Uruk they were running behind him And the officers were kissing his feet	No verba dicendi	Gilg.III.215-31	Lacuna			
Tablet IV								

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.IV.7-8 *	*ili-ma* ^d*Gilgāmeš ina muḫḫi šadi* *maṣḫat-su utteqâ ana ḫursāni*	He went, Gilgameš, up on to the top of the mountain He made his offerings of *maṣḫatu* flour to the hill	No verba dicendi	Gilg.IV.9	Gilg.IV.10 *	*īpušaššum-ma dEnkīdu ana šâšū bīt zaqiqi*	Enkidu made for him a '*house* of Zaqīqu'	No recognition
Gilg.IV.16-17 *	*ina qabliti šitta-šu uqatti* *itbē-ma itamā ana ibri-šu*	In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end He arose, he spoke to his friend	*itbē-ma itamā ana Y-šu*	Gilg.IV.18-25	Gilg.IV.26-7 *	*ša i'aldam-ma ina ṣēri mitluka ile'i* *izakkara ana ibri-šu* ^d*Enkīdu šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu*	The one who was born in the wild was able to give counsel He spoke to his friend, Enkidu made his dream meaningful to him	*X mitluka ile'i* *izakkara ana Y šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu*
Gilg.IV.26-7 *	*ša i'aldam-ma ina ṣēri mitluka ile'i* *izakkara ana ibri-šu* ^d*Enkīdu šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu*	The one who was born in the wild was able to give counsel He spoke to his friend, Enkidu made his dream meaningful to him	*izakkara ana Y-šu X šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu*	Gilg.IV.28-33	Gilg.IV.34 (Y₁uw₁)	*ana 20 bēr iksupu kusāpu*	At twenty *bēra* they broke bread	No recognition
Gilg.IV.40-1 (Y₁)	*ilima Gilgāmeš ina muḫḫi šadī* *maṣḫat-su utteqâ ana ḫursāni*	Gilgameš went up on to the top of the mountain He made his offerings of *maṣḫatu* flour to the hill	No verba dicendi	Gilg.IV.42	Gilg.IV.43 (Y₁)	*īpušaššum-ma* ^d*Enkīdu ana šâšū bīt zaqiqi*	Enkidu made for him a '*house* of Zaqīqu'	No recognition
Gilg.IV.49-50 (MS Y)	*ina qabliti šitta-šu uqatti* *itbē-ma itamā ana ibri-šu*	In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end He arose, he spoke to his friend	*itbē-ma itamā ana Y-šu*	Gilg.IV.51-5	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.IV.78	Gilg.IV.79 *	*ana 20 bēr iksupu kusāpu*	At twenty *bēra* they broke bread	No recognition
Gilg.IV.85-6 (CC)	*ilima Gilgameš ina muḫḫi šadī* *maṣḫat-su utteqâ ana ḫursāni*	Gilgameš went up on to the top of the mountain He made his offerings of *maṣḫatu* flour to the hill	No verba dicendi	Gilg.IV.87	Gilg.IV.88 (Y₂CC)	*īpušaššum-ma* ^d*Enkīdu ana šâšū bīt zaqiqi*	Enkidu made for him a '*house* of Zaqīqu'	No recognition
Gilg.94-5 (Y₂CC)	*ina qabliti šitta-šu uqatti* *itbē-ma itamā ana ibri-šu*	In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end He arose, he spoke to his friend	*itbē-ma itamā ana Y-šu*	Gilg.IV.96-107	Gilg.108 (Y₂)	*išme zikir ibri-šu* ^d*enkidu šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu izakkara ana* ^d*Gilgāmeš*	He heard the words of his friend, Enkidu made his dreams meaningful to him, he spoke to Gilgameš	*išme zikir X šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu izakkara ana Y*
Gilg.108 (Y₂)	*išme zikir ibri-šu* ^d*Enkīdu šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu izakkara ana* ^d*Gilgāmeš*	He heard the words of his friend, Enkidu made his dreams meaningful to him, he spoke to Gilgameš	*išme zikir Y-šu X šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.IV.109	Lacuna			

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.IV.127-8 (r)	*ilima Gilgāmeš ina muḫḫi šadī* / *maṣḫat-su utteqā ana ḫursāni*	Gilgameš went up on to the top of the mountain / He made his offerings of *maṣḫatu* flour to the hill	No verba dicendi	Gilg.IV.129	Gilg.IV.130 (r)	*īpušaššum-ma ᵈEnkīdu ana šâšū bīt zaqiqi*	Enkidu made for him a 'house of Zaqīqu'	No recognition
Gilg.IV.136-7 (r)	*ina qabliti šitta-šu uqatti* / *itbē-ma itamā ana ibri-šu*	In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end / He arose, he spoke to his friend	*itbē-ma itamā ana Y-šu*	Gilg.IV.138-42	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.IV.155-62	Gilg.IV.163 (CCrw₂v)	*ana 20 bēr iksupu kusāpu*	At twenty *bēra* they broke bread	No recognition
Gilg.IV.177-8 *	*ina qabliti šitta-šu uqatti* / *itbē-ma itamā ana ibri-šu*	In the middle watch (of the night) he reached his sleep's end / He arose, he spoke to his friend	*itbē-ma itamā ana Y-šu*	Gilg.IV.179-83	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.IV.190-3	Gilg.IV.194 (AADD), 195 (DD)	*ᵈŠamaš išme-ma zikir pī-šu* / *ultu illanum-ma tukku ultu šamê iltanasaššu*	Šamaš heard what he had spoke / Straightaway a voice cried to him from the heavens	*Y išme-ma zikir pī-šu*
Gilg.IV.194 (AADD), 195 (DD)	*ᵈŠamaš išme-ma zikir pī-šu* / *ultu illanum-ma tukku ultu šamê iltanasaššu*	Šamaš heard what he had spoke / Straightaway a voice cried to him from the heavens	*ultu illanum-ma tukku ultu šamê iltanasaššu*	Gilg.IV.195-8	Gilg.IV.199 (AA)	*1-et? ḫalip-ma 6 šaḫit*	One he was wrapped in, six he had divested	No recognition
Lacuna				Gilg.IV.210	Gilg.IV.211 (S)	*ᵈGilgameš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.IV.211 (S)	*ᵈGilgameš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.IV.212-3	Gilg.IV.214 (S)	*ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgameš*	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.IV.214 (S)	*ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgameš*	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.IV.215-6	Gilg.IV.217 (S)	*ᵈGilgameš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.IV.217 (S)	*ᵈGilgameš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.IV.218ff.	Lacuna			
Gilg.IV.229 (AA)	*ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgameš*	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.IV.230-1	Gilg.IV.232 (AA)	*ᵈGilgameš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.IV.232 (AA)	ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.IV.233-48	Gilg.IV.249-50 (AA)	*…reqi ikšudu kilallan* *ugammeru amati-šunu šunu izzizzu*	At the distant…they both arrived They stopped their conversation, they came to a halt	No recognition *ugammeru amati-šunu šunu izzizzu*
Tablet V								
Gilg.V.65 (H)	ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.66-9	Gilg.V.70 (H)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.V.70 (H)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.71-7	Lacuna			
Gilg.V.85 (dd)	ᵈḪumbaba pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Ḫumbaba his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.86-94	Gilg.V.95 (dd)	ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.V.95 (dd)	ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.96-8	Gilg.V.99 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.V.99 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.100-107	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.V.130	Gilg.V.131 (dd)	*išmi-šunuti-ma ina rûqu*	He heard them…from a distance	*išmi-šunuti-ma ina rûqu*
Gilg.V.144	ᵈḪumbaba napšatuš iše'e izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Ḫumbaba pleading for his life spoke to Gilgameš	*X napšatuš iše'e izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.145-55	Gilg.V.156 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.V.156 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.157ff.	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.V.175-80	Gilg.V.181 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.V.181 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.182-9	Gilg.V.190-1 (dd)	*išmê-ma ᵈḪumbaba ša ᵈEnkīdu qabâ-šu* *išši-ma rešišu ᵈ ḫumbaba…*	He heard, Ḫumbaba, what Enkidu said Ḫumbaba lifted up his head…	*išmê-ma Y ša X qabâ-šu* *išši-ma rešišu Y*
Lacuna				Gilg.V.229	Gilg.V.230-1 (dd)	*išmê-ma ᵈ ḫumbaba ša Enkidu qabâ-šu*	He heard, Ḫumbaba, what Enkidu said	*išmê-ma Y ša X qabâ-šu*

Introductory Line	*Text*	Translation	*Introduction Formula*	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	*Text*	*Translation*	Capping Formula
						išši-ma rešišu ᵈḪumbaba…	Ḫumbaba lifted up his head…	*išši-ma rešišu Y*
Gilg.V.230-1 (dd)	*išmê-ma ᵈḫumbaba ša Enkidu qabâ-šu* / išši-ma rešišu ᵈḪumbaba…	He heard, Ḫumbaba, what Enkidu said / Ḫumbaba lifted up his head…	No verba dicendi	Gilg.V.232-9	Gilg.V.240 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.V.240 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.241-5	Gilg.V.246 (dd)	išmê-ma ᵈḪumbaba ša ᵈEnkīdu qabâ-šu	He heard, Ḫumbaba…	*išmê-ma Y*
Lacuna				Gilg.V.255-7	Gilg.V.258 (Hdd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X*
Gilg.V.258 (Hdd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.259-61	Gilg.V.262 (dd)	*išme ᵈGilgāmeš zikir ibri-šu*	He heard, Gilgameš, the speech of his friend	*išme Y zikir X*
Gilg.V.292 (dd)	ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.V.293-8	Too fragmented			
Tablet VI								
Gilg.VI.6 ($A_1O_1Q_1\mathbf{a_1}$)	*ana dumqi ša Gilgāmeš ini ittaši rubutu ᵈištar*	On the beauty of Gilgameš, lady Ištar raised her eyes (looked covetously)	No verba dicendi	Gilg.VI.7-21	Gilg.VI.22-3 (A_1Q_1)	ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana rubuti ᵈIštar*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana X*
Gilg.VI.22-3 (A_1Q_1)	ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana rubuti ᵈištar*	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VI.24-79	Gilg.VI.80-1 ($A_1Q_3\mathbf{a_2}$)	*ᵈIštar anna ina šemeša* / *ᵈIštar uggugat-ma ana šamami ili*	Ištar when she heard this / Ištar was furious, she went up to heaven	*Y anna ina šemeša*
Gilg.VI.82 ($A_1Q_3\mathbf{a_3}$), 83 ($A_1O_2Q_3\mathbf{a}^2$)	*illik-ma ᵈištar ana pān ᵈanim abi-ša ibakki* / *ana pān antum ummi-ša illaka dimâ-ša*	Ištar went, in front of Anu, her father, she wept / In front of Antu, her mother, she flowed her tears	*ana Y illaka dimâ-ša*	Gilg.VI.84-6	Gilg.VI.87-8 ($O_2Q_3\mathbf{a_2}$)	ᵈAnum pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana rubuti ᵈIštar*	Anu his mouth he opened, he said, / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana X*
Gilg.VI.87-8 ($O_2Q_3\mathbf{a_2}$)	ᵈAnum pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana rubuti ᵈIštar*	Anu his mouth he opened, he said, / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VI.89-91	Gilg.VI.92-3 ($A_1O_2Q_3\mathbf{a_2}$)	ᵈIštar pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana ᵈAnim abi-ša*	Ištar his mouth he opened, he said, / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana X*
Gilg.VI.92-3 ($A_1O_2Q_3\mathbf{a_2}$)	ᵈIštar pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana ᵈAnim abi-ša*	Ištar his mouth he opened, he said, / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VI.94-100	Gilg.VI.101 ($A_1\mathbf{a_2}$), 102 ($A_1A_2\mathbf{a_2}$)	ᵈAnum pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana rubuti ᵈIštar*	Anu his mouth he opened, he said, / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana X*
Gilg.VI.101 ($A_1\mathbf{a_2}$), 102 ($A_1A_2\mathbf{a_2}$)	ᵈAnum pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana rubuti ᵈIštar*	Anu his mouth he opened, he said, / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VI.103-105	Gilg.VI.106-107 (A_2)	ᵈIštar pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / *izakkara ana ᵈAnim abi-ša*	Ištar his mouth he opened, he said, / He spoke to the lady Ištar	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* / *izakkara ana X*
	ᵈIštar pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi	Ištar his mouth he opened, he said,	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi*	Gilg.VI.108-	Gilg.VI.113-4	*išme-ma ᵈAnu anna qaba ᵈIštar*	He heard, Anu, this speech of Ištar	*išme-ma Y anna qaba X*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.VI.106-107 (A₂)	*izakkara ana ᵈAnim abi-ša*	He spoke to the lady Ištar	*izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VI.108-112	Gilg.VI.110-4 (Q₃**a₂**)	*u ṣerret alê ana qātī-ša iškun*	And he placed in her hands the nose-rope of the Bull of Heaven	
Gilg.128 (A₁A₂O₁), 129 (A₁O₁Q₂)	*ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, He spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VI.130-40	Gilg.VI.141-2 (O₂**a₂**)	*iṣudam-ma ᵈEnkīdu ana kutal alê* *išbassu-ma ina kubur zibbati-šu*	He circle, Enkidu did, behind the Bull of Heaven He seized it by the tuft of its tail	No recognition
Gilg.VI.151 (A₁O₃**a₂**), 152 (A₁O₁**a₁₊₂**)	*ilima ᵈištar ina muḫḫi dūri ša uruk supuri* *išḫiṭ ḫuppa ittadi aruruta*	She went up, Ištar, to the walls of Uruk-the-Sheepfold, She hopped and stamped, she uttered a woeful wail	*išḫiṭ ḫuppa ittadi aruruta*	Gilg.VI.153	Gilg.VI.154-5 (A₁O₁Q₁)	*išme-ma ᵈEnkīdu anna qabê ᵈⁱštar* *išluḫ imitti alêm-ma ana pāni-ša iddi*	He heard, Enkidu, this speech of Ištar He tore a haunch off the Bull of Heaven, down before her he threw it	*išme-ma Y anna qabê X*
Gilg.VI.154-5 (A₁O₁Q₁)	*išme-ma ᵈEnkīdu anna qabê ᵈⁱštar* *išluḫ imitti alêm-ma ana pāni-ša iddi*	He heard, Enkidu, this speech of Ištar He tore a haunch off the Bull of Heaven, down before her he threw it	No verba dicendi	Gilg.VI.156-7	Gilg.VI.158 (A₁O₁Q₁**a₁**)	*uptaḫḫir ᵈIštar kezrēti ᶠŠamḫāti u ᶠḫarimāti* *ina muḫḫi imitti alê bikīta iškun*	She assembled, Ištar, the courtesans, prostitutes, and harlots, She instituted mourning over the Bull of Heaven's haunch	No recognition
Gilg.VI.171	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana muttabbilati ša bīti-šu amāta izakkar*	Gilgameš to the serving girls of his house, a word he spoke	*X ana Y amāta izakkar*	Gilg.VI.172-8	Gilg.VI.179 (A₁O₁Q₁)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ina ekalli-šu ištakan ḫidutu*	Gilgameš in his palace he made merry	No recognition
Tablet VII								
Gilg.VII. 28-9 (L₂)	*ᵈEnkīdu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana Gilgāmeš*	Enkidu his mouth he opened, he said, He spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VII.30-33	Lacuna			
Gilg.VII.37-8 (L₂)	*ᵈEnkīdu … ittaši īnī-šu* *itti ᵍⁱšdalti itamā kî…*	Enkidu…raised his eyes With the door he talked like…	*itti Y itamā kî…*	Gilg.VII.39-63	Gilg.VII.65-7 (GG**f**)	*amāti-šu ištenem-ma ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illaka dimā-šu* *ᵈGilgāmeš amāti-šu ᵈEnkīdu ibri-šu ištenem-ma* *ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illaka dimā-šu*	At his words he was listening, swiftly and soon were flowing his tears Gilgameš at his words, Enkidu's, his friend's, he was listening Swiftly and soon were flowing his tears	*amāti-šu ištenem-ma ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illaka dimā-šu* *Y amāti-šu X ištenem-ma* *ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illaka dimā-šu*

Introductory Line	*Text*	Translation	*Introduction Formula*	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	*Text*	*Translation*	Capping Formula
Gilg.VII.68 (GG**f**)	ᵈGilgāmeš pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana ᵈEnkīdu	Gilgameš his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to Enkidu	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.VII.69-83				
					Gilg.VII.84 'The change in speaker is marked only by a ruling' George 2003, p.846			
Gilg.VII.84 'The change in speaker is marked only by a ruling' George 2003, p.846				Gilg.VII.84-9	Gilg.VII.90 (**f**), 91-2 (**f**g₃)	*mimmu šeri ina namari* / *išši reši-šu ᵈEnkīdu ana pān ᵈŠamaš inambi* / *ana pān šaruri ša Šamaš illaka dima-šu*	At the very first light of dawn / He lifted his head, Enkidu, before Šamaš he lamented / Before the rays of Šamaš he flowed his tears	No recognition
Gilg.VII.90 (**f**), 91-2 (**f**g₃)	*mimmu šeri ina namari* / *išši reši-šu ᵈEnkīdu ana pān ᵈŠamaš inambi* / *ana pān šaruri ša šamaš illaka dima-šu*	At the very first light of dawn / He lifted his head, Enkidu, before Šamaš he lamented / Before the rays of Šamaš he flowed his tears	*anaY illaka dima-šu*	Gilg.VII.93-99	Gilg.VII.100-1 (E₁Z₁g₃)	*ultu ṣayyādu izzuru mala libbi-šu* / *u ḫarimti ᶠŠamḫat libba-šu arara ubla*	After he cursed the hunter to his heart's content, / He cursed the harlot Šamḫat also	*ultu X izzuru mala libbi-šu* / *u Y libba-šu arara ubla*
Gilg.VII.100-1 (E₁Z₁g₃)	*ultu ṣayyādu izzuru mala libbi-šu* / *u ḫarimti ᶠŠamḫat libba-šu arāra ubla*	After he cursed the hunter to his heart's content, / He cursed the harlot Šamḫat also	Paraphrastic	Gilg.VII.102-23	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.VII.127-31	Gilg.VII.132-3 (E₃L₁)	*ᵈŠamaš išma zikir pî-šu* / *ultu ullanum-ma tukku ultu šamê iltanasaššu*	Šamaš heard the speech of his mouth / Straightaway a voice was crying to him from the heavens	*Y išma zikir pî-šu*
Gilg.VII.132-3 (E₃L₁)	*ᵈŠamaš išma zikir pî-šu* / *ultu ullanum-ma tukku ultu šamê iltanasaššu*	Šamaš heard the speech of his mouth / Straightaway a voice was crying to him from the heavens	*ultu ullanum-ma tukku ultu šamê iltanasaššu*	Gilg.VII.134-47	Gilg.VII.148-50 (L₁)	*išme-ma ᵈEnkīdu amat ᵈŠamaš qurādi* / *…agga libba-šu inuḫ-ma inuḫ-ma* / *ezza libba-šu inuḫ*	He heard, Enkidu, the words of Šamaš-qurādi / …his angry heart grew calm / …his furious heart grew calm	*išme-ma Y amat X*
Gilg.VII.148-50 (L₁)	*išme-ma ᵈEnkīdu amat ᵈŠamaš qurādi* / *…agga libba-šu inuḫ-ma inuḫ-ma*	He heard, Enkidu, the words of Šamaš-qurādi / …his angry heart grew calm		Gilg.VII.151-61	Gilg.VII.162 (L₁), 163-4 (L₁L₃)	*ša ᵈEnkīdu marṣatu karas-su* / *uštabbâl ittalu edanuš-šu*	As for Enkidu, his mind was deranged. / He was lying on his thinking	

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
	ezza libba-šu inuḫ	…his furious heart grew calm	No verba dicendi			*idabbub-ma mimmu kabtati-šu ana ibri-šu*	What was on his mind he told to his friend	No recognition
Gilg.VII.162 (L₁), 163-4 (L₁L₃)	*ša ᵈEnkīdu marṣatu karas-su* *uštabbâl ittalu edanuš-šu* *idabbub-ma mimmu kabtati-šu ana ibri-šu*	As for Enkidu, his mind was deranged. He was lying on his thinking What was on his mind he told to his friend	*idabbub-ma mimmu kabtati-šu ana Y*	Gilg.VI.165-178	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.VII.182-210	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.VII.213-5	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.VII.221	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.VII.251-3	Gilg.VII.254 (L₂GG)	*ūm šutta iṭṭulu gamir emūq?-šu*	The day he saw the dream his strength was exhausted	No recognition
Gilg.VII.261 (L2₍G₎) 262 (L₂)	*ᵈEnkīdu ina maiāli* *ilsima ᵈGilgāmeš*	Enkidu in his bed… Called to Gilgameš	*ilsima Y*	Gilg.VII.263-7	Lacuna			
Tablet VIII								
Gilg.VIII.1-2 (V₃/**e**)	*mimmu šēri ina namari* *Gilgāmeš ibakki ana ibri-šu*	At the very first light of dawn Gilgameš was mourning for his friend	No verba dicendi	Gilg.VIII.3-56	Gilg.VIII.57-8 (RV₂/**e**)	*u šu ul inaša rēšī-šu* *alapate libba-šu-ma inakkud mimmāma*	But he, he would not lift his head He felt his heart, but it was not beating any more	*u šu ul inaša rēšī-šu*
Gilg.VIII.65-6 (RV₂/**e**)	*mimmu šēri ina namari* *Gilgāmeš ibakki ana ibri-šu*	At the very first light of dawn Gilgameš was mourning for his friend	No verba dicendi	Gilg.VIII.67-8	Gilg.VIII.69-70 (RV₂/**e**)	*…ibnā ṣalam ibrišu*	…he fashioned a statue of his friend	No recognition
Gilg.VIII.69-70 (RV₂/**e**)	*…ibnā ṣalam ibrišu*	…he fashioned a statue of his friend	No verba dicendi	Gilg.VIII.70-2	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.VIII.84-91	Gilg.VIII.92 (Rm₁)	*mimmu šēri ina namari* *Gilgāmeš ibakki ana ibri-šu*	At the very first light of dawn Gilgameš was mourning for his friend	No recognition
Too fragmented				Gilg.VIII.132	Too fragmented			
Gilg.VIII.135-6 (m₁)	*tām?ḫi?ṣu kallirê iṣṣi elli* *ana ᵈIštar šarratum rabītum ᵈŠamaš uktalim*	A throw stick of…the pure wood For Ištar, the great queen, to Šamaš he displayed	*ana Z Y uktallim*	Gilg.VIII.137-8	Gilg.VIII.139-40 (m₁)	*…* *ana ᵈaš.ím.babbar… ᵈŠamaš uktallim*	… For Namra-ṣīt…to Šamaš he displayed	No recognition
Gilg.VIII.139-40 (m₁)	*…* *ana ᵈaš.ím.babbar… ᵈŠamaš uktallim*	… For Namra-ṣīt…to Šamaš he displayed	*ana Z Y uktallim*	Gilg.VIII.141-42	Gilg.VIII.143 (m₁)	*šabba ⁿᵃ⁴za.gín*	A flash of lapis lazuli	No recognition
						embubu ša ⁿᵃ⁴sāndi …	A flute of carnelian	No recognition

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.VIII.145 (m₁)	ana ^{d}Ereškigal šarrat erṣeti ^{d}Šamaš uktallim	For Ereškigal, queen of the Netherworld, to Šamaš he displayed		Gilg.VIII.146-7	Gilg.III.148-9 (m₁)	ana ^{d}Dumizi rē'l naram Ištar ^{d}Šamaš uktallim	For Dumuzi, shepherd beloved of Ištar, to Šamaš he displayed	
Gilg.III.148-9 (m₁)	embubu ša ^{na4}sāndi …	A flute of carnelian	ana Z Y uktallim	Gilg.VIII.150-1	Gilg.VIII.152 (m₁)	^{giš}kussâ ša uqnî lī igi…	A throne of lapis lazuli, a steer…	No recognition
	ana ^{d}Dumizi rē'l naram Ištar ^{d}Šamaš uktallim	For Dumuzi, shepherd beloved of Ištar, to Šamaš he displayed	ana Z Y uktallim					No recognition
Gilg.VIII.154 (m₁)	ana ^{d}Namtar sukkal erṣeti ^{d}šamaš uktallim	For Namtar, vizier of the netherworld, to Šamaš he displayed	ana Z Y uktallim	Gilg.VIII.155-6			Lacuna	
Gilg.VIII.159 (m₁)	ana ^{d}ḫušbiša abarakkat erṣeti ^{d}Šamaš uktallim	For Ḫušbišag, stewardess of the Netherworld, to Šamaš he displayed	ana Z Y uktallim	Gilg.VIII.160-1	Gilg.VIII.162 (m₁)	ušepiš-ma …	He had them make…	No recognition
Gilg.VIII.164	ana ^{d}Qāssaṭābat šabit ^{d}Ereškigal ^{d}Šamaš uktallim	For Qāssa-ṭābat, sweeper of Ereškigal, to Šamaš he displayed	ana Z Y uktallim	Gilg.VIII.165-7	Gilg.VIII.168 (m₁)	…parutum ša libba-šu ^{na4}uqnâ ^{na4}sānda ra'izu	…of alabaster, the inside of which was inlaid with lapis lazuli and carnelian	No recognition
Gilg.VIII.171 (RV₁m₁)	ana ^{d}Ninšuluḫḫatumma museširat bīti ^{d}šamaš uktallim	For Ninšuluḫḫatumma, cleaner of the house, to Šamaš he displayed	ana Z Y uktallim	Gilg.VIII.172-4	Gilg.VIII.175 (RV₁m₁)	patri katappê ^{na4}uqnî škir-šu	A double-edged dagger with a haft of lapis lazuli	No recognition
Gilg.VIII.177 (RV₁m₁)	ana ^{d}Bibbi ṭābiḫ erṣeti ^{d}Šamaš uktallim	For Bibbu, butcher of the Netherworld, to Šamaš he displayed	ana Z Y uktallim	Gilg.VIII.178-9	Gilg.VIII.180 (V₁m₁)	…šikkatum parutum	…a flash of alabaster	No recognition
Gilg.VIII.181 (V₁)	ana ^{d}Dumuzi-abzu mašḫaltappê erṣetiim ^{d}Šamaš uktallim	For Dumuzi-abzu, scapegoat of the Netherworld, to Šamaš he displayed	ana Z Y uktallim	Gilg.VIII.182-3	Gilg.VIII.184 (V₁)	…ḫi ša muḫḫa-šu ^{na4}uqnû	…the top of which was lapis lazuli	No recognition
Lacuna				Gilg.VIII.199-203	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.VIII.208-10	Gilg.VIII.211 (R)	^{d}Gilgāmeš annitu ina šemêšu	Gilgameš when he heard this	Y annitu ina šemêšu
Tablet IX								
Gilg.IX.1-2 (DJJ)	^{d}Gilgāmeš ana ^{d}Enkīdu ibri-šu ṣarpiš ibakki-ma irappud ṣēra	Gilgameš for Enkidu his friend Bitterly he was weeping as he roamed the wild	No verba dicendi	Gilg.IX.3-12	Gilg.IX.13 (D)	^{d}Gilgāmeš itbe iggeltuma šuttum	Gilgameš arose he awoke with a start, it was a dream	No recognition
Gilg.IX.24-5 (D)	išši rešišu ana ^{d}Sîn ikarrab ana ^{d}… namirti ilī illikū supûšu	He lifted his head, to Sîn he prayed, to…light of the gods, his supplications went	išši rešišu ana Y ikarrab ana Y illikū supûšu	Gilg.IX.26-8	Lacuna			

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Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.IX.48 (D)	*girtablūlu ana sinništi-šu išassi*	The scorpion-man called to his female	*X ana Y išassi*	Gilg.IX.49	Gilg.IX.50 (D)	*girtablūlu sinništa-šu ippal-šu*	The scorpion-man's female answered him	*Y ippal-šu*
Gilg.IX.50 (D)	*girtablūlu sinništa-šu ippal-šu*	The scorpion-man's female answered him	*X ippal-šu*	Gilg.XI.51	Gilg.IX.52-3 (D)	*girtablūlu zikaru išassi* *ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš šarri šīr ilī amātu izakkar*	The scorpion-man called out a speech To Gilgameš the king, flesh of the gods, a word he spoke	*Y zikaru išassi* *ana Y$_2$ amātu izakkar*
Gilg.IX.52-3 (D)	*girtablūlu zikaru išassi* *ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš šarri šīr ilī amātu izakkar*	The scorpion-man called out a speech To Gilgameš the king, flesh of the gods, a word he spoke	*X zikaru išassi* *ana Y amātu izakkar*	Gilg.IX.54-9	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.IX.75-7	Gilg.IX.78-9 (D)	*girtablūlu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkaru ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš*	The scorpion-man his mouth he opened, he said He spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkaru ana X$_2$*
Gilg.IX.78-9 (D)	*girtablūlu pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkaru ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš*	The scorpion-man his mouth he opened, he said He spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkaru ana Y*	Gilg.IX.80-90	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.IX.125-8	Gilg.IX.129-30 (D)	*girtablūlu zikaru išassi* *ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš šarri šīr ilī amātu izakkar*	The scorpion-man his mouth he opened, he said He spoke to Gilgameš	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkaru ana X$_2$*
Gilg.IX.129-30 (D)	*girtablūlu zikaru išassi* *ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš šarri šīr ilī amātu izakkar*	The scorpion-man his mouth he opened, he said He spoke to Gilgameš	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *ana Y amātu izakkar*	Gilg.IX.131-5	Gilg.IX.136-7 (D)	*^{d} Gilgāmeš annīta ina šemšu* *ana zikri ša girtablūlu…*	Gilgameš when he heard this To the speech of the scorpion-man	*Y annīta ina šemšu* *ana zikri ša X*
Tablet X								
Gilg.X.11-2 (K$_3$f)	*uštam-ma ana libbi-ša amāta iqabbi* *itti ramani-ša-ma šî imtallik*	She talked to her own heart, a word she said With her own mind she took counsel	*uštam-ma ana libbi-ša amāta iqabbi* *itti ramani-ša-ma šî imtallik*	Gilg.X.13-4	Gilg.X.15 (K$_3$f)	*emur-šu-ma sabitum etedil bāb-šu*	The ale-wife saw him, she barred her gate	No recognition
Gilg.X.19 (K$_3$b)	*^{d} Gilgāmeš ana šâšīma izakkara ana sabit*	Gilgameš to her he spoke, to the ale-wife	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.20-4	Gilg.X.25 (K$_1$K$_3$b)	*sabitum ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš*	The ale-wife to him she spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.25 (K$_1$K$_3$b)	*sabitum ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš*	The ale-wife to him she spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.26-8	Gilg.X.29 (K$_1$K$_3$b)	*^{d} Gilgāmeš ana šâšīma izakkara ana sabit*	Gilgameš to her he spoke, to the ale-wife	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.29 (K$_1$K$_3$b)	*^{d} Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana sabit*	Gilgameš to her he spoke, to the ale-wife	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.30-4	Gilg.X.35 (b)	*sabitum ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš*	The ale-wife to him she spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.35 (b)	*sabitum ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^{d} Gilgāmeš*	The ale-wife to him she spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.36-45	Gilg.X.46 (b)	*^{d} Gilgāmeš ana šâšīma izakkara ana sabit*	Gilgameš to her he spoke, to the ale-wife	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.X.46 (b)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana sabit*	Gilgāmeš to her he spoke, to the ale-wife	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.47-52	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.X.53-71	Gilg.X.72 (K₁zb)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšīma izakkara ana sabit*	Gilgāmeš to her he spoke, to the ale-wife	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.72 (K₁zb)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana sabit*	Gilgāmeš to her he spoke, to the ale-wife	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.73-7	Gilg.X.78 (K₁zb)	*sabitum ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	The ale-wife to him she spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.78 (K₁zb)	*sabitum ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	The ale-wife to him she spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.79-91	Gilg.X.92-3 (K₁zb)	*^dGilgāmeš annita ina šemêšu iššu ḫaṣinna ana idi-šu*	Gilgameš when he heard this He took up an axe in his hand	*X annita ina šemêšu*
Gilg.X.109 (K₁zb)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšuma izakkara ana ^mUr-šanabe malāḫi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke to Ur-šanabi the boatman	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.110-11	Gilg.X.112 (K₁zb)	*^mUr-šunabi ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	Ur-šanabi to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.112 (K₂b)	*^mUr-šunabi ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	Ur-šanabi to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.113-118	Gilg.X.119 (K₂)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^mur-šunabi malāḫi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.119 (K₂)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkar ana ^mUr-šunabi malāḫi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.120-48	Gilg.X.149 (K₁)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkar ana ^mUr-šunabi malāḫi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.149 (K₁)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkar ana ^mUr-šunabi malāḫi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi	*X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.X.150-4	Gilg.X.155 (K-₁)	*^mUr-šanabi ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	Ur-šanabi to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.155 (K-₁)	*^mUr-šanabi ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	Ur-šanabi to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.156-62	Gilg.X.163 (K₁)	*^dGilgāmeš annita in šemêšu išši ḫasinna ana idi-šu*	Gilgamesh when he heard this He took an axe in his hand	*X annita ina šemêšu*
Gilg.X.173 (K₁)	*^mur-šanabi ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	Ur-šanabi to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.174-9	Gilg.X.180 (K₁)	*ina 2.gìš ^dGilgāmeš ugdammera parisi*	At one hundred and twenty double-furlongs, Gilgameš ran out of punting-poles	No recognition
Gilg.X.184-6 (K₁)	*^dUD-napišti ana ruqi inaṭṭalaš-šu-ma* *uštam-ma ana libbi-šu amāta iqabbi* *itti ramani-šu-ma imtallik*	Ūta-napišti was from a distance was watching him He was talking to his own heart, saying a word With his own mind he was taking counsel	*uštam-ma ana libbi-šu amāta iqabbi* *itti ramani-šu-ma imtallik*	Gilg.X.187-94	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.X.196-203	Gilg.X.204 (z)	*^dGilgāmeš ana kari iṭḫe…*	Gilgameš drew near to the quay	No recognition
Gilg.X.207 (z)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^mUD-napišti*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti	*X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.X.208-11	Gilg.X.212 (z)	*^mUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.212 (z)	*^mUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^dGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.213-8	Gilg.X.219 (z)	*^dGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ^mUD-napišti*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.X.219 (z)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUD-napišti*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.220-48	Gilg.X.249 (K_1f)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUD-napišti*	Gilgameš to him he spoke to Ūta-napišti	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.249 (K_1f)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUD-napišti*	Gilgameš to him he spoke to Ūta-napišti	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.250-65	Gilg.X.266 (K_1b)	*ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.X.266 (K_1b)	*ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.X.267-93	Lacuna			
Lacuna				Gilg.X.293-322	Gilg.XI.1 (K_3bf)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUD-napišti*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti, the Far-Away	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Tablet XI								
Gilg.XI.1 ($CJ_2K_3W_1$bf)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUD-napišti*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti, the Far-Away	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.2-7	Gilg.XI.8 (CJ_2W_1j)	*ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.XI.8 (CJ_2W_1j)	*ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.9-209	Gilg.X.210-12 (CJ_1)	*kima ašbu-ma ina birit puridi-šu* *šittu kima imbari inappuš eli-šu* *ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšīma izakkar ana marḫiti-šu*	As soon as he sat down on his haunches Like a fog, sleep was breathing over him Ūta-napišti to her he spoke, to his wife	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y₂*
Gilg.X.210-12 (CJ_1)	*kima ašbu-ma ina birit puridi-šu* *šittu kima imbari inappuš eli-šu* *ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšīma izakkar ana marḫiti-šu*	As soon as he sat down on his haunches Like a fog, sleep was breathing over him Ūta-napišti to her he spoke, to his wife	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.213-4	Gilg.XI.215 (CJ_1)	*marḫis-su ana šâšūma izakkar ana ᵐUD-napišti ruqi*	His wife to him she spoke, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.XI.215 (CJ_1)	*marḫis-su ana šâšūma izakkar ana ᵐUD-napišti ruqi*	His wife to him she spoke, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.216-8	Gilg.XI.219 (CJ_1j)	*ᵐUD—napišti ana šâšīma izakkar ana marḫiti-šu*	Ūta-napišti to her he spoke, to his wife	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.XI.219 (CJ_1j)	*ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšīma izakkar ana marḫiti-šu*	Ūta-napišti to her he spoke, to his wife	*X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.XI.220-2	Gilg.XI.223 (CJ_1j)	*šî ipi kurummati-šu šitakkani ina reši-šu*	She baked his daily rounds of bread, she lined them up by his head	No recognition
Gilg.XI.231 (CJ_1T_1j)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUD-napišti ruqi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti the Far-Away	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.232-3	Gilg.XI.234 (CJ_1T_1)	*ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.XI.234 (CJ_1T_1)	*ᵐUD-napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵈGilgāmeš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.235-41	Gilg.XI.242 ($CJ_1T_1W_1$b)	*ᵈGilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana ᵐUD-napišti ruqi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*

Introductory Line	*Text*	Translation	*Introduction Formula*	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	*Text*	*Translation*	Capping Formula
Gilg.XI.242 (CJ$_1$T$_1$W$_1$**b**)	^{d}*Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana* ^{m}UD-*napišti ruqi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ūta-napišti	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.235-46	Gilg.XI.247 (CJ$_1$T$_1$W$_1$**b**)	^{m}UD-*napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana* ^{m}*ur-šanabi malaḫi*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi the boatman	*Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X*
Gilg.XI.247 (CJ$_1$T$_1$W$_1$**b**)	^{m}UD-*napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana* ^{m}*ur-šanabi malaḫi*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi the boatman	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.248-61	Gilg.XI.262 (CJ$_1$T$_1$W$_1$**b**)	*ilqe-šu-ma* ^{m}*ur-šanabi ana namšê ubil-šu-ma*	Ur-šanabi took him and got him to the washtub	No recognition
Gilg.XI.273 (CJ$_1$W$_1$**b**)	*marḫis-su ana šâšūma izakkar ana* ^{m}UD-*napišti ruqi*	His wife to him she spoke, to Ūta-napišti	*X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.XI.274-5	Gilg.XI.276 (CJ-$_1$W$_1$)	*u šū išši parisa* ^{d}*Gilgāmeš*	And he raised the punting-pole, Gilgameš	No recognition
Gilg.XI.278 (CJ$_1$W$_1$)	^{m}UD-*napišti ana šâšūma izakkara ana* ^{d}*Gilgameš*	Ūta-napišti to him he spoke, to Gilgameš	*X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.XI.279-86	Gilg.XI.287 (C)	^{d}*Gilgameš annitu ina šeme-šu*	Gilgameš when he heard this	*Y annitu ina šeme-šu*
Gilg.XI.294 (Cj)	^{d}*Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana* ^{m}*ur-šanabi malaḫu*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi the boatman	*X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.XI.295-300	Gilg.XI.301 (CT$_1$W$_1$j)	*ana 20 bēr iksupu kusapu*	At 20 *bēra* they broke bread	No recognition
Gilg.XI.310 (CW$_1$**zj**)	…*izakkar ana ur-šanabi malaḫu*	…he spoke to Ur-šanabi the boatman	… *izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.XI.311-317	Gilg.XI.318 (CT$_1$W$_1$**zj**)	*ana 20 bēr iksupu kusapu*	At 20 *bēra* they broke bread	No recognition
Gilg.XI.322 (CW$_1$**z**)	^{d}*Gilgāmeš ana šâšūma izakkara ana* ^{m}*ur-šanabi malaḫi*	Gilgameš to him he spoke, to Ur-šanabi the boatman	*X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.323-8	End of tablet. Gilg.XII.1 (CW$_1$) starts with speech			
Ūta-napišti's Speech XI.9-209								
Gilg.XI.19 (CJ$_2$W$_1$j), 20 (J$_2$W$_1$j)	^{d}*ninšiku* ^{d}*Ea itti-šunu tamima* *amat-sunu ušannâ ana kikki-šu*	The Prince Ea with them was under oath likewise, Their words he repeated to the reed fence	*amat-sunu ušannâ ana Y*	Gilg.XI.21-31	Gilg.XI.32 (T$_2$W$_1$)	*anaku ide-ma azakkara ana* ^{d}*Ea belija*	I understand, I spoke to Ea, my lord	*anaku ide-ma azakkara ana Y*
Gilg.XI.32 (T$_2$W$_1$)	*anaku ide-ma azakkara ana* ^{d}*Ea belija*	I understand, I spoke to Ea, my lord	*anaku ide-ma azakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.33-5	Gilg.XI.36-7 (T$_2$W$_1$)	^{d}*Ea pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana ardi-šu yâti*	Ea his mouth he opened, he spoke He said to servant, me	*Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana X*
Gilg.XI.36-7 (T$_2$W$_1$)	^{d}*Ea pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana ardi-šu yâti*	Ea his mouth he opened, he spoke He said to servant, me	*X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana Y*	Gilg.XI.38-47	Gilg.XI.48 (T$_2$**c**$_1$)	*mimmu šēri ina namari*	At the very first light of dawn	No recognition
Gilg.XI.87 (J$_1$T$_1$W$_1$)	*adanna* ^{d}*Šamaš iškunam-ma*	A deadline Šamaš had set me	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XI.88-9	Gilg.XI.90 (J$_1$T$_1$W$_1$)	*adannu šû iktalda*	That deadline had arrived	No recognition
Gilg.XI.90 (J$_1$T$_1$W$_1$)	*adannu šû iktalda*	That deadline had arrived	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XI.91	Gilg.XI.92 (CJ$_1$T$_1$W$_1$)	*ša umi attaṭal buna-šu*	I watched the look of the weather	No recognition
Gilg.XI.118 (CJ$_1$T$_2$)	*unabbi bēlet-ilī ṭabat rigma*	Bēlet-ilī, the sweet-voiced, was wailing aloud	*unabbi X rigma*	Gilg.XI.119-24	Gilg.XI.125 (CJ$_1$T$_1$)	*ilū šūt* ^{d}*Anunnaki bakū itti-ša*	The gods, the Anunnaki, were weeping with her	No recognition
Gilg.XI.164 (CJ$_1$**c**$_2$), 165 (CJ$_1$W$_3$**c**$_2$)	*ultu ullanum-ma Bēlet-/ilī ina kašadi-šu* *išši zumbē rabûti ša* ^{d}*Anum īpušu kī šuḫi-šu*	As soon as Bēlet-/ilī arrived She lifted high the great flies that Anu had made when he wooed her	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XI.166-71	Gilg.XI.172-4 (CJ$_1$**c**$_2$)	*ultu ullanum-ma* ^{d}*enlil ina kašadi-šu* *imur* ^{giš}*eleppam-ma iteziz* ^{d}*Enlil* *ibbati imtali ša ilī* ^{d}*Igigi*	As soon as Enlil arrived He saw the boat and he grew angry, Enlil did He was filled with rage against the Igigi gods	No recognition

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.XI.172-4 (CJ$_1$**c**$_2$)	*ultu ullanum-ma* ^{d}*enlil ina kašadi-šu* *imur* ^{giš}*eleppam-ma iteziz* ^{d}*Enlil* *ibbati imtali ša ilī* ^{d}*igigi*	As soon as Enlil arrived He saw the boat and he grew angry, Enlil did He was filled with rage against the Igigi gods	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XI.175-6	Gilg.XI.177-8 (CJ$_1$**c**$_2$)	^{d}*Ninurta pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkar ana qurādi* ^{d}*enlil*	Ninurta his mouth he opened, he said, He spoke to Enlil-qurādi	Y *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana X*
Gilg.XI.177-8 (CJ$_1$**c**$_2$)	^{d}*Ninurta pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkar ana qurādi* ^{d}*Enlil*	Ninurta his mouth he opened, he said, He spoke to Enlil-qurādi	X *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.XI.179-80	Gilg.XI.181-2 (CH$_1$**bc**$_2$)	^{d}*Ea pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkar ana qurādi* ^{d}*enlil*	Ea his mouth he opened, he said he spoke to Enlil-qurādi	X2 *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkara ana y*
Gilg.XI.181-2 (CH$_1$**bc**$_2$)	^{d}*Ea pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkar ana qurādi* ^{d}*Enlil*	Ea his mouth he opened, he said he spoke to Enlil-qurādi	X *pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi* *izakkar ana Y*	Gilg.XI.183-98	Gilg.XI.199 (CJ-$_1$**b**)	*ilam-ma* ^{d}*Enlil ana libbi* ^{giš}*eleppi*	Enlil came up into the boat	No recognition
Gilg.XI.201-2 (CJ$_1$**b**)	*ušteli uštakmis sinništi ina idija* *ilput putni-ma izzaz ina birinni ikarrabannaši*	He brought out my woman, he made her kneel at my side He touched our foreheads, standing between us to bless us	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XI.203-5	Gilg.XI.206 (CJ$_1$)	*ilqu-inni-ma ina ruqi ina pî nārāti uštešibu-inni*	They took me and settled me far away, at the mouth of the rivers	No recognition
Tablet XII								
Start of tablet				Gilg.XII.1-5	Gilg.XII.6 (Na)	^{d}*Enkīdu* ^{d}*Gilgāmeš ippal-šu*	Enkidu to Gilgameš he replied to him	Y X *ippal-šu*
Gilg.XII.6 (Na)	^{d}*Enkīdu* ^{d}*Gilgameš ippal-šu*	Enkidu to Gilgameš he replied to him	X Y *ippal-šu*	Gilg.XII.7-9	Gilg.XII.10 (G$_1$NHHHa)	^{d}*Gilgāmeš* ^{d}*Enkīdu ippal-šu*	Gilgameš to Enkidu he replied to him	Y X *ippal-šu*
Gilg.XII.10 (G$_1$NHHHa)	^{d}*Gilgāmeš* ^{d}*Enkīdu ippal-šu*	Gilgameš to Enkidu he replied to him	X Y *ippalu-šu*	Gilg.XII.11-30	Gilg.XII.31 (G$_2$q)	^{d}*Enkīdu ana erṣeti urrad*	Enkidu descending into the Netherworld	No recognition
Gilg.XII.55-6 (G$_1$)	*inu-šu-ma šarru mār* ^{d}*Ninsun ana ardi-šu* ^{d}*Enkīdu ibakki* *ana* é.kur *bīt* ^{d}*Enlil edišši-šu ittalak*	Then the king, son of Ninsun, for his servant, Enkidu, he was weeping To the Ekur, house of Enlil, he went off alone	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XII.57-62	Gilg.XII.63 (G$_2$KK)	*abu* ^{d}*Enlil amat ul ipul-šu*	Father Enlil a word he did not reply to him	Y *amat ul ipul-šu*
Gilg.XII.64 (G$_2$KK)	*ana uri bīt sîn edišši-šu itallak*	To Ur, house of Sîn, he went off alone	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XII.65-70	Gilg.XII.71-2 (q)	*abu* ^{d}*Sîn amat ul ipul-šu* *ana eridu bīt* ^{d}*Ea edišši-šu ittallak*	Father Sîn with a word he did not answer him To Eridu, house of Ea, he went off alone	Y *amat ul ipul-šu*
Gilg.XII.71-2 (q)	*abu* ^{d}*Sîn amat ul ipul-šu* *ana eridu bīt* ^{d}*Ea edišši-šu ittallak*	Father Sîn with a word he did not answer him To Eridu, house of Ea, he went off alone	No verba dicendi	Gilg.XII.73-8	Gilg.XII.79-80 (G$_1$q)	*abu* ^{d}*Ea ina?...* *ana qarradi eṭli* ^{d}*Šamaš iqabbi*	Father Ea… to the young hero Šamaš he said	?
	abu ^{d}*Ea ina?...*	Father Ea…	X				To the words of…	

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Gilg.XII.79-80 (G₁q)	*ana qarradi eṭli ᵈ Šamaš iqabbi*	to the young hero Šamaš he said	*ana Y iqabbi*	Gilg.XII.80-3	Gilg.XII.84 (G₁q)	*ana qibi ᵈEa…*	To the words of Ea…	*ana qibi X*
Gilg.XII.88-9 (G₁)	*innēdru-ma uttaššaqu* *imtalliku ištannalu*	They hugged each other, kissed one another They shared thoughts and exchanged questions	*imtalliku ištannalu*	Gilg.XII.90-1	Immediate change of speaker			

Verba Dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
zakāru (G Durative)				
	… izakkar ana Y	He spoke to Y	Gilg.XI.310 (CW₁**zj**)	Gilg.XI.311-317
	anaku ide-ma azakkara ana Y	I understand, I spoke to Y	Gilg.XI.32 (T₂W₁)	Gilg.XI.33-5
	išme zikir Y-šu X šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu izakkara ana Y	He heard the speech of Y, X made his dreams meaningful, he spoke to Y	Gilg.IV.108 (Y₂)	Gilg.IV.109
	u ša X iqabbû išemma uznāšu X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y	Then what Y spoke his ears heard X to her he spoke to Y	Gilgameš.I.205-6 (B₂F₁P)	Gilg.I.207-12
	X … izakkar ana Y	X…spoke to Y	Gilg.I.259 (Ph), 260 (B1F1Ph) Gilg.I.286-7 (B1ho)	Gilg.I.261-73 Gilg.I.288-93
	X ana šâšīma izakkar ana Y	X to her he spoke to Y	Gilg.I.273a (h), 274 (h), 275 (B1-h) Gilg.I.294 (B1ho)	Gilg.I.276-85 Gilg.I.295-7
	X ana šâšīma izakkara ana Y	X to her he spoke to Y	Gilg.I.215 (B1Phcc) Gilg.III.21-2 (M-3-BB2c), 23 (c)	Gilg.I.216-23 Gilg.III.24-34
	X ana šâšūma izakkar ana Y	X to him he spoke to Y	Gilg.230b (X2) Gilg.X.149 (K1) Gilg.X.207 (z) Gilg.X.210-12 (CJ1) Gilg.XI.215 (CJ1) Gilg.XI.219 (CJ1j) Gilg.XI.273 (CJ1W1b) Gilg.XI.278 (CJ1W1)	Gilg.II.217-29 Gilg.X.150-4 Gilg.X.208-11 Gilg.XI.213-4 Gilg.XI.216-8 Gilg.XI.220-2 Gilg.XI.274-5 Gilg.XI.279-86
	X ana šâšūma izakkara ana Y	X to him he spoke to Y	Gilg.I.161 (B2F2Pcc) Gilg.II.49 (X2) Gilg.188 (X2p) Gilg.X.19 (K3b) Gilg.X.25 (K1K3b) Gilg.X.29 (K1K3b) Gilg.X.35 (b) Gilg.X.46 (b) Gilg.X.72 (K1zb) Gilg.X.78 (K1zb) Gilg.X.112 (K2b) Gilg.X.119 (K2) Gilg.X.155 (K-1) Gilg.X.173 (K1) Gilg.X.212 (z) Gilg.X.219 (z) Gilg.X.249 (K1f) Gilg.X.266 (K1b) Gilg.XI.1 (CJ2K3W1bf) Gilg.XI.8 (CJ2W1j) Gilg.XI.231 (CJ1T1j) Gilg.XI.234 (CJ1T1) Gilg.XI.242 (CJ1T1W1b) Gilg.XI.247 (CJ1T1W1b) Gilg.XI.294 (Cj) Gilg.XI.322 (CW1z)	Gilg.I.162-6 Gilg.II.50-1 Gilg.II.189-92 Gilg.X.20-4 Gilg.X.26-8 Gilg.X.30-4 Gilg.X.36-45 Gilg.X.47-52 Gilg.X.73-7 Gilg.X.79-91 Gilg.X.113-118 Gilg.X.120-48 Gilg.X.156-62 Gilg.X.174-9 Gilg.X.213-8 Gilg.X.220-48 Gilg.X.250-65 Gilg.X.267-93 Gilg.XI.2-7 Gilg.XI.9-209 Gilg.XI.232-3 Gilg.XI.235-41 Gilg.XI.235-46 Gilg.XI.248-61 Gilg.XI.295-300 Gilg.XI.323-8
	X ana Y amāta izakkar	X to Y words he spoke	Gilg.VI.171	Gilg.VI.172-8
	X napšatuš iše'e izakkara ana Y	X pleading for his life spoke to Y	Gilg.V.144	Gilg.V.145-55
	X…ana Y amat izakkar	X…to Y a word he spoke	Gilg.184-5 (X₂p)	Gilg.II.186-7
zakāru (G Durative) + maḫāru (Š Durative)				
	izakkara ana Y X šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu	He spoke to Y, X his dream he made meaningful	Gilg.IV.26-7 *	Gilg.IV.28-33
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + qabû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkar ana Y	X his mouth he opened he said he spoke to Y	Gilgameš.I.122 (Pg) Gilg.I.134 (P) Gilg.II.165-6 (X2) Gilg.II.193 (p) Gilg.II.216 (ee) Gilg.II.230a (zee) Gilg.IV.211 (S) Gilg.IV.214 (S) Gilg.IV.217 (S) Gilg.IV.229 (AA) Gilg.IV.232 (AA) Gilg.V.65 (H) Gilg.V.70 (H) Gilg.V.85 (dd) Gilg.V.95 (dd) Gilg.V.99 (dd) Gilg.V.156 (dd) Gilg.V.181 (dd) Gilg.V.240 (dd) Gilg.V.258 (Hdd) Gilg.V.292 (dd) Gilg.VII.68 (GGf)	Gilg.I.123-133 Gilg.I.135-45 Gilg.II.168-77 Gilg.II.194-201 Gilg.II.217-29 Gilg.II.231-41 Gilg.IV.212-3 Gilg.IV.215-6 Gilg.IV.218ff. Gilg.IV.230-1 Gilg.IV.233-48 Gilg.V.66-9 Gilg.V.71-7 Gilg.V.86-94 Gilg.V.96-8 Gilg.V.100-107 Gilg.V.157ff. Gilg.V.182-9 Gilg.V.241-5 Gilg.V.259-61 Gilg.V.293-8 Gilg.VII.69-83
	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y	X his mouth he opened he said He spoke to Y	Gilg.III.13-14 (M3BB2) Gilg.VI.22-3 (A1Q1) Gilg.VI.87-8 (O2Q3a2) Gilg.VI.92-3 (A1O2Q3a2) Gilg.VI.101 (A1a2), 102 (A1A2a2) Gilg.VI.106-107 (A2) Gilg.128 (A1A2O1), 129 (A1O1Q2) Gilg.VII. 28-9 (L2) Gilg.XI.36-7 (T2W1) Gilg.IX.78-9 (D) Gilg.XI.177-8 (CJ1c2) Gilg.XI.181-2 (CH1bc2)	Gilg.III.15-18 Gilg.VI.24-79 Gilg.VI.89-91 Gilg.VI.94-100 Gilg.VI.103-105 Gilg.VI.108-112 Gilg.VI.130-40 Gilg.VII.30-33 Gilg.XI.38-47 Gilg.IX.80-90 Gilg.XI.179-80 Gilg.XI.183-98
	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi ana Y amātu izakkar	X his mouth he opened he said To Y words he said	Gilg.IX.129-30 (D)	Gilg.IX.131-5
pašāru (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	itbē-ma X šunata ipaššar izakkara ana Y	He arose to his friend, a dream he revealed, he spoke to Y	Gilg.I.245 (B1F1P)	Gilg.I.246-58
šasû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	X zikaru išassi ana Y amātu izakkar	X a speech called out To Y words he spoke	Gilg.IX.52-3 (D)	Gilg.IX.54-9
qabû (G Durative)				
	X iqabbû "…"	X said, "…"	Gilg.I.45-46 (gh)	Gilg.I.46 (gh)
	X…ana Y iqabbi	X…to Y a word he said	Gilg.XII.79-80 (G₁q)	Gilg.XII.80-3
nadānu (Š Preterite)				
	ašbū-ma uštanamdanu ana…	They were sitting exchanging views	Gilg.II.247 (bb)	Gilg.II.248-53
šanû (D Preterite)				
	amâs-sunu ušannâ ana Y	Their words he repeated to Y	Gilg.XI.19 (CJ₂W₁j), 20 (J₂W₁j)	Gilg.XI.21-31
alāku dima-šu (G Durative)				
	ana pān Y illaka dimâ-ša	In front of Y she flowed her tears	Gilg.VI.82 (A₁Q₃**a**₃), 83 (A₁O₂Q₃**a**²) Gilg.VII.90 (f), 91-2 (fg3)	Gilg.VI.84-6 Gilg.VII.93-99
kullumum (D Perfect)				

Verba Dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
	ana Z Y uktallim	For Z, to Y he displayed	Gilg.VIII.135-6 (m1) Gilg.VIII.139-40 (m1) Gilg.VIII.145 (m1) Gilg.III.148-9 (m1) Gilg.VIII.154 (m1) Gilg.VIII.159 (m1) Gilg.VIII.164 Gilg.VIII.171 (RV1m1) Gilg.VIII.177 (RV1m1) Gilg.VIII.181 (V1)	Gilg.VIII.137-8 Gilg.VIII.141-42 Gilg.VIII.146-7 Gilg.VIII.150-1 Gilg.VIII.155-6 Gilg.VIII.160-1 Gilg.VIII.165-7 Gilg.VIII.172-4 Gilg.VIII.178-9 Gilg.VIII.182-3
dabābu (G Durative)				
	idabbub-ma mimmû kabtati-šu ana Y	He told what was on his mind to Y	Gilg.VII.162 (L₁), 163-4 (L₁L₃)	Gilg.VI.165-178
šasû (G Preterite)				
	ilsima Y	He called to Y	Gilg.VII.261 (L2₍G) 262 (L₂)	Gilg.VII.263-7
	X ana Y išassi	X to Y he called	Gilg.IX.48 (D)	Gilg.IX.49
šâlu (Gtn Durative)				
	imtalliku ištannalu	They shared thoughts and exchanged questions	Gilg.XII.88-9 (G₁)	Gilg.XII.90-1
nadûm (G Perfect)				
	išḫiṭ ḫuppa ittadi arūrūta	She hopped and stamped, she uttered a woeful wail	Gilg.VI.151 (A₁O₃**a**₂), 152 (A₁O₁**a**₁₊₂)	Gilg.VI.153
karābu (G Durative) alāku supû-šu (G Preterite)				
	išši rešišu ana Y ikarrab *ana Y illikū supûšu*	He lifted his head, to Y he prayed, to Y went his supplications	Gilg.IX.24-5 (D)	Gilg.IX.26-8
atmû (G Durative)				
	itbē-ma itamma ana Y-šu	He arose he spoke to his friend	Gilg.IV.16-17 * Gilg.IV.49-50 (MS Y) Gilg.94-5 (Y2CC) Gilg.IV.136-7 (r) Gilg.IV.177-8 *	Gilg.IV.18-25 Gilg.IV.51-5 Gilg.IV.96-107 Gilg.IV.138-42 Gilg.IV.179-83
ṭēmu târu (D Durative)				
	ṭēmu utarri ana Y	He expressed in return the opinion towards Y	Gilg.II.287-8 (zee)	Gilg.II.289-99
arāru abālu (G Preterite)				
	u Y libba-šu arara ubla	Also Y he cursed	Gilg.VII.100-1 (E₁Z₁g₃)	Gilg.VII.102-23
atmu (Š Perfect) + qabû (G Durative)				
	uštam-ma ana libbi-ša amāta iqabbi *itti ramani-ša-ma šī imtallik*	She talked to her own heart, a word she said With her own mind she took counsel	Gilg.X.11-2 (K₃f) Gilg.X.184-6 (K1)	Gilg.X.13-4 Gilg.X.187-94
milku malāku (G Durative)				
	X ana Y milka imallik	X to Y advice he gave	Gilg.II.272-3 (bbee)	Gilg.II.274-286
apālu (G Durative)				
	X ippal-šu	X answered him	Gilg.IX.50 (D)	Gilg.XI.51
	X Y ippal-šu	X Y replied	Gilg.XII.6 (Na) Gilg.XII.10 (G1NHHHa)	Gilg.XII.7-9 Gilg.XII.11-30
târu (G Preterite) + šanû (D Preterite)				
	X itur-ma ana pān Y ušanna' urtum	X returned before Y he repeated the order	Gilg.III.100 (iaa)	Gilg.III.101-10
nabû (D Preterite) rigma				
	unabbi X rigma	X wailed aloud	Gilg.XI.118 (CJ₁T₂)	Gilg.XI.119-24
šasû (G Preterite Ventive) + šakānu (G Durative)				
	Y issam-ma išakkana ṭēmu	Y she summoned to declare intention	Gilg.III.120 (M₁aa)	Gilg.III.121-3
Immediate change of speaker				
			Gilg.III.221-223	Gilg.I.224-98
Marked only by ruling				
	'The change in speaker is marked only by a ruling' George 2003, p.846		Gilg.VII.84	Gilg.VII.84-9
Lacuna				Gilg.II.213-5 Gilg.II.260-71 Gilg.II.29 Gilg.III.1-12 Gilg.III.113-5 Gilg.III.166-73 Gilg.III.202-11 Gilg.IV.155-62 Gilg.IV.190-3 Gilg.IV.210 Gilg.IV.78 Gilg.IX.125-8 Gilg.IX.75-7 Gilg.V.130 Gilg.V.175-80 Gilg.V.229 Gilg.V.255-7 Gilg.VII.127-31 Gilg.VII.182-210 Gilg.VII.213-5 Gilg.VII.221 Gilg.VII.251-3 Gilg.VIII.199-203 Gilg.VIII.208-10 Gilg.VIII.84-91 Gilg.X.196-203 Gilg.X.293-322 Gilg.X.53-71
No verba dicendi			Gilg.I.94 (Ph) Gilg.I.178 (Px) – (B1Px) Gilg.II.38-9 (zbb) Gilg.III.45 (M1M3BB1aa) Gilg.III.124 (M1aa) Gilg.III.212-4 (c) Gilg.IV.7-8 * Gilg.IV.40-1 (Y1) Gilg.IV.85-6 (CC) Gilg.IV.127-8 (r) Gilg.V.230-1 (dd) Gilg.VI.6 (A1O1Q1a1) Gilg.VI.154-5 (A1O1Q1) Gilg.VII.37-8 (L2) Gilg.VII.148-50 (L1) Gilg.VIII.1-2 (V3/e) Gilg.VIII.65-6 (RV2/e) Gilg.VIII.69-70 (RV2/e) Gilg.IX.1-2 (DJJ) Gilg.X.92-3 (K1zb) Gilg.XI.87 (J1T1W1) Gilg.XI.90 (J1T1W1) Gilg.XI.164 (CJ1c2), 165 (CJ1W3c2) Gilg.XI.172-4 (CJ1c2) Gilg.XI.201-2 (CJ1b) Gilg.XII.55-6 (G1) Gilg.XII.64 (G2KK) Gilg.XII.71-2 (q)	Gilg.I.95-8 Gilg.I.180-7 Gilg.II.40-3 Gilg.III.46-99 Gilg.III.125-35 Gilg.III.215-31 Gilg.IV.9 Gilg.IV.42 Gilg.IV.87 Gilg.IV.129 Gilg.V.232-9 Gilg.VI.7-21 Gilg.VI.156-7 Gilg.VII.39-63 Gilg.VII.151-61 Gilg.VIII.3-56 Gilg.VIII.67-8 Gilg.VIII.70-2 Gilg.IX.3-12 Gilg.X.110-11 Gilg.XI.88-9 Gilg.XI.91 Gilg.XI.166-71 Gilg.XI.175-6 Gilg.XI.203-5 Gilg.XII.57-62 Gilg.XII.65-70 Gilg.XII.73-8
Too fragmented	Start of tablet		Start of tablet	Gilg.XII.1-5
Start of tablet	Too fragmented		Gilg.I.73 (d1x) – 74 (F3x) Gilg.I.80 (hx) Gilg.I.148-9 (B2) Gilg.VIII.132 (m1)	Gilg.I.75-6 Gilg.I.81-91 Gilg.I.150-60 Gilg.VIII.132

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula
	?		Gilg.XII.73-8	Gilg.XII.79-80 (G₁q)
gamāru (D Preterite) amati-šunu				
	…reqi ikšudu kilallan ugammeru amati-šunu šunu izzizzu	At the distant…they both arrived They stopped their conversation, they came to a halt	Gilg.IV.233-48	Gilg.IV.249-50 (AA)
šemû (Gtn Durative)				
	amāti-šu ištenemma ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illaka dimā-šu Y amāti-šu X ištenemma ḫanṭiš ḫarpiš illaka dimā-šu	At his words he was listening, swiftly and soon were flowing his tears Y at his words, X's, he was listening Swiftly and soon were flowing his tears	Gilg.VII.39-63	Gilg.VII.65-7 (GGf)
	Y amatum ša X u X₂ maršiš ištenemme	Y to the words of ša X and X₂ in sorrow was she listening	Gilg.III.24-34	Gilg.III.35-6 (M₂c)
ana "Noun"				
	ana milki ša X	To the advice of X	Gilg.I.135-45	Gilg.I.146 (B2P)
	ana qibi X	To the speech of X	Gilg.XII.80-3	Gilg.XII.84 (G₁q)
edû (G Preterite)				
	anaku ide-ma azakkara ana Y	I understand and I spoke to Y	Gilg.XI.21-31	Gilg.XI.32 (T₂W₁)
	End of Tablet		Gilg.XI.323-8	End of tablet. Gilg.XII.1 (CW₁) starts with speech
	Immediate change of speaker		Gilg.I.216-23	Immediate change of speaker
šemû (G Preterite)				
	išmê Y zikir X	He heard, did Y, the speech of X	Gilg.V.259-61	Gilg.V.262 (dd)
	išmê zikir X Y šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu izakkara ana X	He heard the speech of X, Y his dreams he made meaningful, he spoke to X	Gilg.IV.96-107	Gilg.108 (Y₂)
	išmê-ma Y	He heard, Y	Gilg.V.241-5	Gilg.V.246 (dd)
	išmê-ma Y amat X	He heard, Y, the word of X	Gilg.VII.134-47 Gilg.II.289-99	Gilg.VII.148-50 (L₁) Gilg.II.300-301
	išmê-ma Y anna qabā X	He heard, Y, the speech of X	Gilg.VI.108-112 Gilg.VI.153	Gilg.VI.113-4 (Q₃a₂) Gilg.VI.154-5 (A1O1Q1)
	išmê-ma Y ša X qabâ-šu išši-ma rešišu Y	He heard, Y, X's speech He lifted his head, Y	Gilg.V.182-9 Gilg.V.229	Gilg.V.190-1 (dd) Gilg.V.230-1 (dd)
	išmi šunutima ina rûqu	He heard them from a distance	Gilg.V.130	Gilg.V.131 (dd)
	izzaz Y išme qabaša	Being present Y heard her speech	Gilg.II.168-77	Gilg.II.178-9 (X₂)
	Y tazimtašina ištennem-ma Y	X To their complaint they were listening, Y	Gilg.I.75-6 (Px) Gilg.I.81-91	Gilg.I.77-8 (Px) Gilg.I.92-3 (Ph)
	Y išma zikir pî-šu	Y heard the speech of his mouth	Gilg.IV.190-3 Gilg.VII.127-31	Gilg.IV.194 (AADD), 195 (DD) Gilg.VII.132-3 (E₃L₁)
ṣabātu (G Perfect)				
	iṣṣabtu-ma qatu qatusun	The took each other hand in hand	Gilg.III.15-18	Gilg.III.19-20 (M₃BB₂c)
amāru (G Perfect) šunāti				
	ītamar šunātišu X and Y illaku ana é.gal.maḫ	He saw the dreams X and Y went to Egal.maḫ	Gilg.I.295-7	Gilg.I.298 (B1ho)
atmû (G Durative)				
	itammašum-ma magir qabâ-ša	She talked to him, it found favour, her speech	Gilg.I.207-12	Gilg.I.213-4 (B1B2Phcc)
	ultu X itamma ana Y	After X told to Y	Gilg.I.224-98	Gilg.I.299-300 (B1F1ho)
tebû (G Preterite)				
	itbū-ma Y	They rose, Y	Gilg.II.274-286	Gilg.II.287-8 (zee)
malāku (Gt Stative) ramani-šu				
	mitluku ramani-šu … ina ṭemi-šu-ma …	Taking his own counsel… By his own judgement…	Gilg.II.29	Gilg.II.30-1 (bb)
	Y mitluka ile'l izakkara ana X šutta-šu ušamḫar-šu	Y was able to give counsel He spoke to X, he made his dream meaningful	Gilg.IV.18-25	Gilg.IV.26-7 *
ul našû (rēšī-šu)				
	u šu ul inaša rēšī-šu	But he did not lift his head	Gilg.VIII.3-56	Gilg.VIII.57-8 (RV₂/e)
nadānu (G Preterite) urit				
	ultu X ana Y iddinu urit	After X to Y the order delivered	Gilg.III.113-5	Gilg.III.116 (aa)
nazāru (G Preterite) arāru abālu (G Preterite)				
	ultu X izzuru mala libbi-šu u Y libba-šu arara ubla	After he cursed X to his heart's content Then Y he decided to also curse	Gilg.VII.93-99	Gilg.VII.100-1 (E₁Z₁g₃)
ina šemû (Participle)				
	Y annita ina šemê-šu	Y when in his hearing	Gilg.X.79-91 Gilg.X.156-62	Gilg.X.92-3 (K₁zb) Gilg.X.163 (K1)
	Y anna ina šeme-ša	Y when in her hearing	Gilg.VI.24-79	Gilg.VI.80-1 (A₁Q₃a₂)
	Y anni ina šeme-ša zikru ša X ibtani ina libbiša	Y when in her hearing The speech of X, she placed in her heart	Gilg.I.95-8	Gilg.I.99 (Phncc) - 100 (B2Phncc)
	Y annīta ina šeme-šu ana zikri ša X	Y when in his hearing To the speech of X…	Gilg.IX.131-5	Gilg.IX.136-7 (D)
	Y annitu ina šeme-šu	Y when in his hearing	Gilg.VIII.208-10 Gilg.XI.279-86	Gilg.VIII.211 (R) Gilg.XI.287 (C)
târu (G Preterite)				
	X itur-ma ana pān Y ušanna' urtum	X repeated before Y the order	Gilg.III.46-99	Gilg.III.100 (iaa)
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + qabû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	X2 pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana Y	X₂ his mouth he opened to speak He said to Y	Gilg.XI.179-80	Gilg.XI.181-2 (CH₁bc₂)
apālu (G Durative)				
	Y amat ul īpul-šu	Y a word did not reply	Gilg.XII.57-62 Gilg.XII.65-70	Gilg.XII.63 (G₂KK) Gilg.XII.71-2 (q)
	Y ippal-šu	Y replied to him	Gilg.IX.49	Gilg.IX.50 (D)
	Y X ippal-šu	Y to X replied to him	Gilg.XII.1-5 Gilg.XII.7-9	Gilg.XII.6 (Na) Gilg.XII.10 (G1NHHHa)
zakāru (G Durative)				

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula
	Y ana šâšūma izakkara ana X	Y to him he spoke, to X	Gilg.I.150-60 Gilg.II.186-7 Gilg.X.20-4 Gilg.X.26-8 Gilg.X.30-4 Gilg.X.36-45 Gilg.X.53-71 Gilg.X.73-7 Gilg.X.110-11 Gilg.X.113-118 Gilg.X.120-48 Gilg.X.150-4 Gilg.X.208-11 Gilg.X.213-8 Gilg.X.220-48 Gilg.X.250-65 Gilg.X.293-322 Gilg.XI.2-7 Gilg.XI.213-4 Gilg.XI.216-8 Gilg.XI.232-3 Gilg.XI.235-41 Gilg.XI.235-46	Gilg.I.161 (B2F2Pcc) Gilg.II.188 (X2p) Gilg.X.25 (K1K3b) Gilg.X.29 (K1K3b) Gilg.X.35 (b) Gilg.X.46 (b) Gilg.X.72 (K1zb) Gilg.X.78 (K1zb) Gilg.X.112 (K1zb) Gilg.X.119 (K2) Gilg.X.149 (K1) Gilg.X.155 (K-1) Gilg.X.212 (z) Gilg.X.219 (z) Gilg.X.249 (K1f) Gilg.X.266 (K1b) Gilg.XI.1 (K3bf) Gilg.XI.8 (CJ2W1j) Gilg.XI.215 (CJ1) Gilg.XI.219 (CJ1j) Gilg.XI.234 (CJ1T1) Gilg.XI.242 (CJ1T1W1b) Gilg.XI.247 (CJ1T1W1b)
milku malāku (G Durative)				
	X_2 ana Y milka imallik	X_2 to Y gave advice	Gilg.II.260-71	Gilg.II.272-3 (bbee)
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + qabû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X	Y his mouth he opened, he spoke, He said to X	Gilg.VI.7-21 Gilg.VI.84-6 Gilg.VI.89-91 Gilg.VI.94-100 Gilg.VI.103-105	Gilg.VI.22-3 (A1Q1) Gilg.VI.87-8 (O2Q3a2) Gilg.VI.92-3 (A1O2Q3a2) Gilg.VI.101 (A1a2), 102 (A1A2a2) Gilg.VI.106-107 (A2)
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X	Y his mouth he opened, he spoke, he said to X	Gilg.I.123-133 Gilg.II.162-4 Gilg.II.189-92 Gilg.II.213-5 Gilg.II.217-29 Gilg.II.217-29 Gilg.IV.210 Gilg.IV.212-3 Gilg.IV.215-6 Gilg.IV.230-1 Gilg.V.66-9 Gilg.V.86-94 Gilg.V.96-8 Gilg.V.145-55 Gilg.V.175-80 Gilg.V.232-9 Gilg.V.255-7	Gilg.I.134 (P) Gilg.II.165-6 (X2) Gilg. 193 (p) Gilg. 216 (ee) Gilg. 230a (zee) Gilg.II.230b (X2) Gilg.IV.211 (S) Gilg.IV.214 (S) Gilg.IV.217 (S) Gilg.IV.232 (AA) Gilg.V.70 (H) Gilg.V.95 (dd) Gilg.V.99 (dd) Gilg.V.156 (dd) Gilg.V.181 (dd) Gilg.V.240 (dd) Gilg.V.258 (Hdd)
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara ana X		Gilg.III.1-12 Gilg.XI.33-5 Gilg.XI.175-6	Gilg.III.13-14 (M3BB2) Gilg.XI.36-7 (T2W1) Gilg.XI.177-8 (CJ1c2)
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkaru ana X2	Y his mouth he opened, he spoke he said to X_2	Gilg.IX.75-7 Gilg.IX.125-8	Gilg.IX.78-9 (D) Gilg.IX.129-30 (D)
šasû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y zikaru išassi ana Y_2 amātu izakkar	Y a speech called out To Y_2 a word he said	Gilg.IX.51	Gilg.IX.52-3 (D)
Marked only by a ruling			Gilg.VII.69-83	Gilg.VII.84 'The change in speaker is marked only by a ruling' George 2003, p.846
Lacuna			Gilg.II.50-1 Gilg.III.101-10 Gilg.III.125-35 Gilg.III.166-73 Gilg.III.215-31 Gilg.IV.51-5 Gilg.IV.109 Gilg.IV.138-42 Gilg.IV.179-83 Gilg.IV.218ff. Gilg.V.71-7 Gilg.V.100-107 Gilg.V.157ff. Gilg.VII.30-33 Gilg.VII.102-23 Gilg.VI.165-178 Gilg.VII.182-210 Gilg.VII.213-5 Gilg.VII.221 Gilg.VII.263-7 Gilg.VIII.70-2 Gilg.VIII.155-6 Gilg.VIII.199-203 Gilg.IX.26-8 Gilg.IX.54-9 Gilg.IX.80-90 Gilg.X.47-52 Gilg.X.187-94 Gilg.X.267-93	Lacuna

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula
No recognition			Gilg.I.46 (gh)	Quoted words contained to single line
			Gilg.I.162-6	Gilg.I.167 (F2P)
			Gilg.I.180-7	Gilg.I.187-8 (B1F1Px)
			Gilg.I.246-58	Gilg.I.259 (Ph), 260 (B1F1Ph)
			Gilg.I.261-73	Gilg.I.273a (h), 274 (h), 275 (B1-h)
			Gilg.I.276-85	Gilg.I.286-7 (B1ho)
			Gilg.I.288-93	Gilg.I.294 (B1ho)
			Gilg.II.40-3	Gilg.II.44 (zbb)
			Gilg.II.231-41	Gilg.II.242 (e ee)
			Gilg.III.121-3	Gilg.III.124 (M1aa)
			Gilg.III.202-11	Gilg.III.212-4 (c)
			Gilg.IV.9	Gilg.IV.10 *
			Gilg.IV.28-33	Gilg.IV.34 (Y1uw1)
			Gilg.IV.42	Gilg.IV.43 (Y1)
			Gilg.IV.78	Gilg.IV.79 *
			Gilg.IV.87	Gilg.IV.88 (Y2CC)
			Gilg.IV.129	Gilg.IV.130 (r)
			Gilg.IV.155-62	Gilg.IV.163 (CCrw2v)
			Gilg.IV.195-8	Gilg.IV.199 (AA)
			Gilg.VI.130-40	Gilg.VI.141-2 (O2a2)
			Gilg.VI.156-7	Gilg.VI.158 (A1O1Q1a1)
			Gilg.VI.172-8	Gilg.VI.179 (A1O1Q1)
			Gilg.VII.84-9	Gilg.VII.90 (f), 91-2 (fg3)
			Gilg.VII.151-61	Gilg.VII.162 (L1), 163-4 (L1L3)
			Gilg.VII.251-3	Gilg.VII.254 (L2GG)
No recognition			Gilg.VIII.67-8	Gilg.VIII.69-70 (RV2/e)
			Gilg.VIII.84-91	Gilg.VIII.92 (Rm1)
			Gilg.VIII.137-8	Gilg.VIII.139-40 (m1)
			Gilg.VIII.141-42	Gilg.VIII.143 (m1)
			Gilg.VIII.146-7	Gilg.III.148-9 (m1)
			Gilg.VIII.150-1	Gilg.VIII.152 (m1)
			Gilg.VIII.160-1	Gilg.VIII.162 (m1)
			Gilg.VIII.165-7	Gilg.VIII.168 (m1)
			Gilg.VIII.172-4	Gilg.VIII.175 (RV1m1)
			Gilg.VIII.178-9	Gilg.VIII.180 (V1m1)
			Gilg.VIII.182-3	Gilg.VIII.184 (V1)
			Gilg.IX.3-12	Gilg.IX.13 (D)
			Gilg.X.13-4	Gilg.X.15 (K3f)
			Gilg.X.174-9	Gilg.X.180 (K1)
			Gilg.X.196-203	Gilg.X.204 (z)
			Gilg.XI.9-209	Gilg.X.210-12 (CJ1)
			Gilg.XI.220-2	Gilg.XI.223 (CJ1j)
			Gilg.XI.248-61	Gilg.XI.262 (CJ1T1W1b)
			Gilg.XI.274-5	Gilg.XI.276 (CJ-1W1)
			Gilg.XI.295-300	Gilg.XI.301 (CT1W1j)
			Gilg.XI.311-317	Gilg.XI.318 (CT1W1zj)
			Gilg.XI.38-47	Gilg.XI.48 (T2c1)
			Gilg.XI.88-9	Gilg.XI.90 (J1T1W1)
			Gilg.XI.91	Gilg.XI.92 (CJ1T1W1)
			Gilg.XI.119-24	Gilg.XI.125 (CJ1T1)
			Gilg.XI.166-71	Gilg.XI.172-4 (CJ1c2)
			Gilg.XI.183-98	Gilg.XI.199 (CJ-1b)
			Gilg.XI.203-5	Gilg.XI.206 (CJ1)
			Gilg.XII.11-30	Gilg.XII.31 (G2g)
Too fragmented			Gilg.V.293-8	Too fragmented
			Gilg.VIII.132	

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
E.E.I.29-30 (ablm)	inū-šu apsū	zāri ilāni rabiūtim issi-ma mummu sukkalla-šu izakkar-šu	Thereupon Apsū, the begetter of the great gods, Called Mummu, his vizier, and addressed him,	issi-ma Y izakkar-šu	E.E.I.31-2 (abEm)	33 (aBbEFmOZ)	illikū-ma qudmiš tāmatum ūšibū	They went facing Tiamat they sat	alkam-ma širiš Tiāmat i nillik Come, let us go to Tiāmat!"
E.E.I.35 (abCEFO) - 36 (aBbEFO)	apsū pā-šu īpušam-ma	Apsu his mouth he opened	X pā-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-ši	E.E.I.37-40	EE.I.41 (aBbCEFggnOopS), 42 (aBbCEFnOopS), 43 (aBbEhpS), 44 (aBbEhJnpS)	Tiāmat annīta ina šemē-ša	Tiāmat when she heard this	Y annīta ina šemē-ša
	ana Tiāmat elletam-ma izakkar-ši	To radiant Tiāmat they spoke				izuz-ma iltasi elu ḫarmē-ša issi-ma maršiš	uggugat ēdiššī-ša lemutta iittadi ana karši-ša	She raged and cried out to her spouse She cried in distress, fuming within herself She grieved over the evil plot	
EE.I.1 (aBbCEFggnOopS), 42 (aBbCEFnOopS), 43 (aBbEhpS), 44 (aBbEhJnpS)	Tiāmat annīta ina šemē-ša izuz-ma iltasi elu ḫarmē-ša issi-ma maršiš	uggugat ēdiššī-ša lemutta iittadi ana karši-ša	Tiāmat when she heard this She raged and cried out to her spouse She cried in distress, fuming within herself She grieved over the evil plot	No verba dicendi	E.E.I.45-6	E.E.I.47 (aBbEghJpqS)	īpul-ma mummu	apsā imallik	He answered, Mummu, advising Apsu	ipulma Y X
E.E.I.47 (aBbEghJpqS) - 48 (aBbEghJOpqS)	īpul-ma mummu	apsā imallik sukkallum lā māgiru	milik mummi-šu	He answered, Mummu, advising Apsu As a rebellious vizier he advised his Mummu	ipulma X Y	E.E.I.49-50	E.E.I.51 (aBbEghJOPqS)	iḫdu-šum-ma apsū	immerū pānū-šu	He was pleased, Apsu, his face beamed	iḫdu-šum-ma apsū	immerū pānū-šu
E.E.I.111-2 (aghiLOQS)	iktapdū-ma karšu-sunu lemutta ana Tiāmat ummī-šunu	šunu izzakrū	They plotted in their minds evil To Tiamat their mother they were speaking	No verba dicendi	E.E.I.113-24	E.E.I.125 (abbbDiQ)	išmē-ma Tiāmat	amatum iṭīb el-ša	She heard, Tiāmat, the speech pleased her	išme Y…
E.E.I.125 (abbbDiQ)	išmē-ma Tiāmat	amatum iṭīb el-ša	She heard, Tiāmat, the speech pleased her	išme Y…	E.E.I.126	E.E.I.127 (abbbDi)	paḫru-nim-ma ilāni qirib-ša	They assembled, the gods, within her	No recognition
E.E.I.138 (abDddEffiiiMU)	melammi uštašša	iliš umtaššil	With an aura she loaded them, god like she made	No verba dicendi	E.E.I.139-40	E.E.I.141 (abddEffKMU)	ušziz bašmu	mušḫuš u laḫāmu	She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero	No recognition
E.E.I.152 (abcEFfM)	ipqid-ma qātuš-šu	ušēšib-aš-šu ina karri	She entrusted to him, she set him on a throne	No verba dicendi	E.E.I.153-6	E.E.I.157 (abcEFfM)	iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāti	iratuš ušatmiḫ	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No recognition
E.E.I.157 (abcEFfM)	iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāti	iratuš ušatmiḫ	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No verba dicendi	E.E.I.158	E.E.I.159 (abcEFfM) - 160 (abEFJM)	innanu qingu šušqū	leqū enūtu an ilāni mārē-šu	šīmata ištīma	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship The destinies of the gods her sons she declared	No recognition
E.E.I.159 (abcEFfM) - 160 (abEFJM)	innanu qingu šušqū	leqū enūtu an ilāni mārē-šu	šīmata ištīma	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship The destinies of the gods her sons he declared		161-2	End of Tablet		
E.E.II.4-5 (AabcGhL)	ananata kī iṣmida	ana ea iptašri išmē-ma ea	amatum šuāti	That she arranged this conflict, to Ea it became known He heard, Ea this matter		No speech following			
E.E.II.9-10 (abcGhL)	īrum-ma maḫru abi alīdī-šu anšar mimmū Tiāmat ikpudu	ušannâ ana šāšu	He entered the presence of the father of his begetter, Anšar What Tiāmat plotted he related to him	irūmma maḫru Y X …ušanna ana šāšu	E.E.II.11-48	E.E.II.49 (CDeGgJk)	išmema anšar amatu magal dalḫat	He heard, Anšar; the matter was profoundly disturbing	išme Y amatu…
E.E.II.24 (aBdHL)	melammu uštašša	iliš umtaššil	With an aura she loaded them, god like she made them	No verba dicendi	E.E.II.25-6	E.E.II.27 (abddEffKMU)	ušziz bašmu	mušḫuš u laḫāmu	She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero	No recognition
E.E.II.38 (abcEFfM)	ipqid-ma qātuš-šu	ušēšib-aš-ši ina karri	She entrusted to him, she set him on a throne	No verba dicendi	E.E.II.39-42	E.E.II.43 (DcgJ)	iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāte	iratuš ušatmiḫ	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No recognition
E.E.II.43 (DcgJ)	iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāte	iratuš ušatmiḫ	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No verba dicendi	E.E.II.44	E.E.II.45-6 (CDeGgJ)	innanu qingu šušqū	leqū anūti ana ilāni mārē-šu	šīmata ištīma	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship The destinies of the gods her sons she declared	No recognition
E.E.II.45-6 (CDeGgJ)	innanu qingu šušqū	leqū anūti ana ilāni mārē-šu	šīmata ištīma	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship The destinies of the gods her sons he declared	No verba dicendi	E.E.II.47-8	E.E.II.49 (CDeGgJk)	išmē-ma anšar	amatu magal dalḫat	He heard, Anšar; the matter was profoundly disturbing	išme Y…
E.E.II.52 (CDegJ)	elī ea bukri-šu	šagīma-šū uštaḫḫaḫ	Over Ea his son his cry was faltering	No verba dicendi	E.E.II.53-6	E.E.II.57 (CDgJ), 58 (CDg), 59-60 (CgJ)	āšiš milki	rubē tašimti bānū nēmequ	ilu nudimmud amatu tapšuḫtum	seqar taneḫi anšar abā-šu	ṭābiš ippal	The gather of counsel, the learned prince The creator of wisdom, the god Nudimmud With soothing words and claming speech Anšar his father gently he answered	Y Y amatu tapšuḫtum seqar taneḫi X tābiš ippal
E.E.II.57 (CDgJ), 58 (CDg), 59-60 (CgJ)	āšiš milki	rubē tašimti bānū nēmequ	ilu nudimmud amatu tapšuḫtum	seqar taneḫi anšar abā-šu	ṭābiš ippal	The gather of counsel, the learned prince The creator of wisdom, the god Nudimmud With soothing words and calming speech Anšar his father gently he answered	X X amatu tapšuḫtum seqar taneḫi Y tābiš ippal	E.E.II.61-70	E.E.II.71-2 (gJ)	išmē-ma anšar	amatu iṭīb el-šu ipšaḫ libba-šu-ma	ana ea izakkar	He heard, Anšar, the words were pleasing to him His heart relaxed, to Ea he spoke	išme Y amatu… …ana Y izakkar
E.E.II.71-2 (gJ)	išmē-ma anšar	amatu iṭīb el-šu ipšaḫ libba-šu-ma	ana ea izakkar	He heard, Anšar, the words were pleasing to him His heart relaxed, to Ea he spoke	išmē-ma Y amatu… …ana Y izakkar	E.E.II.73-78	E.E.II.79-80 (g) 81-4 (gJ)	išmē-ma zikrī abī-šu anšar iṣbat ḫarrān-šu	uruḫ-ša uštardi illik ea	šibqū-š Tiāmat īše ʿam-ma ūšib ušḫarrir-ma	itūr-a arkiš īrum-ma maḫra ba ūlu anšar unnēnna iṣbat-am-ma izakkar-šu	He heard the speech of his father Anšar He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her He went, Ea, the tricks of Tiāmat he perceived He stopped, he fell silent, he turned back He entered the prence of august Anšar Penitently he spoke to him	išmē-ma zikrī X ūšib ušḫarrir-ma	itūr-a arkiš …izakkar-šu
E.E.II.83-4 (gJ)	īrum-ma maḫra ba ūlu anšar unnēnna iṣbat-am-ma izakkar-šu	He entered the prence of august Anšar Penitently he spoke to him	īrum-ma maḫra Y …izakkar-šu	E.E.II.85-94	E.E.II.95-6 (Eg)	anšar uzzuziš īšassi ana anim mari-šu	šū izakkar	Anšar in intense fury cried out To Anu his son he spoke	ana Y šū izakkar
E.E.II.95-6 (Eg)	anšar uzzuziš īšassi	Anšar in intense fury cried out		E.E.II.97-102	E.E.II.103 (CEg), 104-8 (CEgJ)	išmē-ma zikrī abī-šu anšar iṣbat ḫarrān-ša-ma	uruḫ-ša uštardi illik anum	šibqū-š Tiāmat īše ʿam-ma ūšib ušḫarrir-ma	itūr-a arkiš īrum-ma maḫra	abi alīdī-šu anšar unnēnna iṣbat-am-ma izakkar-šu	He heard the speech of his father Anšar He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her He went, Ea, the tricks of Tiāmat he perceived He stopped, he fell silent, he turned back He entered the prence of august Anšar Penitently he spoke to him	išmē-ma zikrī Y ūšib ušḫarrir-ma	itūr-a arkiš …izakkar-šu
	ana anim mari-šu	šū izakkar	To Anu his son he spoke	ana Y izakkar					
E.E.II.103 (CEg), 104-8 (CEgJ)	išmē-ma zikrī abī-šu anšar iṣbat ḫarrān-ša-ma	uruḫ-ša uštardi illik anum	šibqū-š Tiāmat īše ʿam-ma ūšib ušḫarrir-ma	itūr-a arkiš īrum-ma maḫra	abi alīdī-šu anšar unnēnna iṣbat-am-ma izakkar-šu	He heard the speech of his father Anšar He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her He went, Ea, the tricks of Tiāmat he perceived He stopped, he fell silent, he turned back He entered the prence of august Anšar Penitently he spoke to him	išmē-ma zikrī X ūšib ušḫarrirma itura arkiš īrum-ma maḫra Y unnēnna iṣbat-am-ma izakkar-	E.E.II.109-118	E.E.II.119 ((fgJ), 120-22 (fglJ)	ušḫarrir-ma anšar	qaqqari inaṭṭal ikamam ana ea	unaši qaqqad-su paḫrū-ma igigi	kalī-šunu anukki šaptā-šunu kuttumā-ma	qāliš ušbū	He became silent, Anšar, his head he shook He nodded to Ea, he shook his head They had assembled, the Igigi and all the Anunnaki They all sat in tight-lipped silence	ušḫarrir-ma Y ikammam ana X unaši qaqqad-su šaptā-šunu kuttumā-ma	qāliš ušbū
E.E.II.129 (DdglJl), 130 (DdGgJlZ)	issī-ma ea	ašar pirišti-šu ka ʿinimmak libbi-šu itamī-šu	Ea summoned him to his private chamber To explain his plan to him	…itamī-šu	E.E.II.131-4	E.E.II.135-6 (aDdGglJ), 137-8 (abcdDGHJ)	iḫdū-ma bēlum	ana amatu abī-šu iṭḫē-ma ittaziz maḫāriš anšar īmur-sū-ma anšar	libba-šu ṭubbāti imla iššiq šaptī-šu	aḏīra-šu uttessi	He rejoiced, Bēl, at the words of his father He drew near in the presence of Anšar Hims Anšar saw, his heart filled with satisfaction He kissed his lips and removed his fear	iḫduma Y ana amat X-šu
E.E.II.135-6 (aDdGglJ), 137-8 (abcDdGHJ)	iḫdū-ma bēlum	ana amatu abī-šu iṭḫē-ma ittaziz maḫāriš anšar īmur-sū-ma anšar	libba-šu ṭubbāti imla iššiq šaptī-šu	aḏīra-šu uttessi	He rejoiced, Bēl, at the words of his father He drew near in the presence of Anšar Hims Anšar saw, his heart filled with satisfaction He kissed his lips and removed his fear	Recognition No verba dicendi	E.E.II.139-52	E.E.II.153 (abcDFGK), 154 (abcDdFGKm)	iḫdū-ma bēlum	ana amat abī-šu iliṣ libba-sū-ma	ana abī-šu izakkar	He rejoiced, Bēl, at the words of his father With glad heart he spoke to his father	iḫduma Y ana amat X-šu ana X-šu izakkar
E.E.II.153 (abcDFGK), 154 (abcDdFGKm)	iḫdū-ma bēlum	ana amat abī-šu iliṣ libba-sū-ma	ana abī-šu izakkar	He rejoiced, Bēl, at the words of his father With glad heart he spoke to his father	iḫdū-ma Y ana amat X-šu … ana Y izakkar	E.E.II.155-62	End of Tablet			
E.E.III.1-2 (AaD)	anšar pā-šu īpuš-am-ma ana kaka sukkalli-šu	amatu izakkar	Anšar his mouth he opened To Kaka, his vizier, he spoke words:	X pā-šu īpuš-am-ma ana Y amatu izakkar	E.E.III.3-66	E.E.III.67 (Aabcjkl)	illik kaka	urḫa-šu ušardī-ma	He went, Kala, his steps he directed	
E.E.III.11-12 (AaD)	i ʾir alik kaka	qudme-šunu iziz-ma mimmū azakkarū-ka	šunnā ana šāšun	Go, be gone, Kaka, stand before them What I tell you, repeat to them	mimmū azakkarū-ka	šunnā a	E.E.III.13-52	E.E.III.53 (AaBbcZ)	ašpur-ma anum	ul ilē ʾa maḫar-ša	I sent Anu but he could not face her	
E.E.III.13 (AaD), 14 (Aahi)	anšar māru-kunu uma ʾir-an-ni tēret libbīšu	ušaṣbir-an-ni yāti	Anšar, your son has sent me The plan of his I am to explain		E.E.III.15-66	E.E.III.67 (Aabcjkl)	illik kaka	urḫa-šu ušardī-ma	He went, Kala, his steps he directed	No recognition
E.E.III.28 (A)	melamme uštašša	eliš umtaššil	With an aura she loaded them, god like she made them	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.29-30	E.E.III.31 (A)	ušziz bašmu	mušḫuššu u laḫāmu	She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero	
E.E.III.42 (AB)	ipqid-ma qātuš-šu	ušēšib-aš-šu ina karri	She entrusted to him, she set him on a throne	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.43-46	E.E.III.47 (Abbc)	iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāti	iratuš ušatmiḫ	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No recognition
E.E.III.47 (Abbc)	iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāti	iratuš ušatmiḫ	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.48	E.E.III.49-50 (ABbc)	innanu qingu šušqū	leqū enūti an ilāni mārē-ša	šīmata ištīmu	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship The destinies of the gods her sons she declared	No recognition
E.E.III.49 (ABbc), 50 (ABbc)	innanu qingu šušqū	leqū enūti an ilāni mārē-ša	šīmata ištīmu	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship The destinies of the gods her sons he declared	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.51-2	E.E.III.53 (AaBbcZ)	ašpur-ma anum	ul ilē ʾa maḫar-ša	I sent Anu but he could not face her	
E.E.III.56-7 (AaBbc)	maḫāriš Tiāmat	libba-šu āra ubla epšū pī-šu	itamā ana yāti	To meet Tiāmat he has determined Opening his mouth he said to me	epšū pī-šu	itamā ana yāti	E.E.III.58-64	E.E.III.65 (Aabcjk)	ḫumṭā-nim-ma šimat-kunu arḫiš šimā-šu	Quickly, decree your destiny for him without delay	No recognition

Reference	Akkadian	English	Verba dicendi	Reference	Reference	Akkadian	English	Recognition
E.E.III.69-70 (AabCcdjkl)	*uškīn-ma iššiq qaqqara maḫar-šun* / *išir izzaz izakkar-šun*	He prostrated himself, he kissed the ground before them, / He got up, standing he said to them	*...izakkar-šun*	E.E.III.71-124	E.E.III.125-6 (Aam)	*išmū-ma laḫḫa laḫāmu | issū elītum* / *igigi napḫar-šunu | inūqū marṣiš*	They heard, the Laḫḫa and Laḫamu, they cried aloud / The Igigi all moaned in distress	*išmū-ma Y issū elītum*
E.E.III.71-2 (AabCcdjk)	*anšar-ma māru-kunu umaʾʾir-an-ni* / *tēret libbi-šu | ušaṣbir-an-ni yāti*	Anšar, your son has sent me / The plan of his I am to explain		E.E.III.73-124	E.E.III.125-6 (Aam)	*išmū-ma laḫḫa laḫāmu | issū elītum* / *igigi napḫar-šunu | inūqū marṣiš*	They heard, the Laḫḫa and Laḫamu, they cried aloud / The Igigi all moaned in distress	*išmū-ma Y issū elītum*
E.E.III.86 (Abcf)	*melamme uštašša | iliš umtaššil*	With an aura she loaded them, god like she made them	No verba dicendi	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.89 (Acf)	*ušziz bašmu | mušḫuššī u laḫāmu*	She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero	No recognition
E.E.III.100 (Ac)	*ipqid-ma qātuš-šu | ušēšib-aš-šu ina karri*	She entrusted to him, she set him on a throne	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.101-104	E.E.III.105 (Ac)	*iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāti | iratuš ušatmiḫ*	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No recognition
E.E.III.105 (Ac)	*iddin-šum-ma tuppi šīmāti | iratuš ušatmiḫ*	She gave to him the Tablet of Destinies, she fastened it to his breast	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.106	E.E.III.107-8 (A)	*innana qingu šušqū | leqū enūti* / *an ilāni mārē-ša | šīmāta ištīmu*	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship / The destinies of the gods her sons declared	No recognition
E.E.III.107-8 (A)	*innana qingu šušqū | leqū enūti* / *an ilāni mārē-ša | šīmāta ištīmu*	When Qingu was elevated, he had acquired the power of Anuship / The destinies of the gods her sons he declared	No verba dicendi	E.E.III.109-10	E.E.III.111 (A)	*ašpur-ma anum | ul ilēʾa maḫar-ša*	I sent Anu but he could not face her	
E.E.III.114-5 (A)	*maḫāriš Tiāmat | libba-šu āra ubla* / *epšū pī-šu | itamā ana yāti*	To meet Tiāmat he has determined / Opening his mouth he said to me	*epšū pī-šu | itamā ana yāti*	E.E.III.116-22	E.E.III.123 (A)	*ḫumṭā-nim-ma šimat-kunu arḫiš šīmā-šu*	Quickly, decree your destiny for him without delay	No recognition
E.E.III.125-6 (Aam)	*išmū-ma laḫḫa laḫāmu | issū elītum* / *igigi napḫar-šunu | inūqū marṣiš*	They heard, the Laḫḫa and Laḫamu, they cried aloud / The Igigi all moaned in distress	*išmū-ma Y issū elītum*	E.E.III.127-8	E.E.III.129-30 (Ade)	*iggaršū-nim-ma | illakū-ni* / *ilāni rabūti kalī-šunu | mušimmu šīmāti*	They gathered as they went / All the great goods who decree destinies	No recognition]
E.E.IV.1-2 (aeKL)	*iddū-šum-ma parak rubūti* / *maḫāriš abbē-šu | ana malikūti irme*	They set for him a lordly daïs / Before his fathers for receiving kingship to took his seat	No verba dicendi	E.E.IV.3-18	E.E.IV.19-20 (AaFK)	*ušzizū-ma ina bīrī-šunu | lumāša išten* / *an marūtuk bukrī-šunu | šunu izzakrū*	They set in the middle a constellation / And to Marduk their son they spoke	*an Y šunu izzakrū*
E.E.IV.19-20 (AaFK)	*ušzizū-ma ina bīrī-šunu | lumāša išten* / *an marūtuk bukrī-šunu | šunu izzakrū*	They set in the middle a constellation / And to Marduk their son they spoke	*an Y šunu izzakrū*	E.E.IV.21-4	E.E.IV.25 (aFKM) 26 (abFKM)	*iqbī-ma ina pī-šu i ʾabit lumāšu* / *itūr iqbī-šum-ma | lumāšu ittabni*	He said in his mouth and the constellation disappeared / Again he spoke the constellation came into being	
E.E.IV.71-2 (CdfK)	*iddi tā-ša Tiāmat | ul utāri kišād-sa* / *ina šaptī-ša lullā | ukāl sarrāti*	Her spell Tiāmat cast, not turning her head / In her lips she held untruth and lies		E.E.IV.73-4	E.E.IV.75-6 (CDdfK)	*iššī-ma bēlum | abūba kakka-šu rabā* / *ana Tiāmat ša ikmilu | kiām išpur-šu*	He lifted up, Bēl, the storm, his great weapon / At Tiāmat who was angry, thus he sent	
E.E.IV.75-6 (CDdfK)	*iššī-ma bēlum | abūba kakka-šu rabā* / *ana Tiāmat ša ikmilu | kiām išpur-šu*	He lifted up, Bēl, the storm, his great weapon / At Tiāmat who was angry, thus he sent		E.E.IV.77-86	E.E.IV.87 (CcDqKN)	*Tiāmat annīta ina šemī-ša* / *maḫḫūtiš ītemi | ušanni ṭēn-ša*	Tiāmat when she heard this / She went insane, she lost her reason	*Y annīta ina šemē-ša*

Verba Dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
zakāru (G Perfect)				
	ana Y šunu izzakrū	To Y they spoke	E.E.IV.19-20 (AaFK)	E.E.IV.21-4
zakāru (G Durative)				
	īrum-ma maḫra Y …izakkar-šu	He entered into the presence of Y …He spoke to him	E.E.II.83-4 (gJ) E.E.II.103 (CEg), 104-8 (CEgJ)	E.E.II.85-94 E.E.II.109-118
	išmē-ma Y amatu… …ana Y izakkar	He heard of Y the words To Y he he spoke	E.E.II.71-2 (gJ)	E.E.II.73-78
zakāru (G Perfect) + šanû (D Imperative)				
	mimmū azakkarū-ka | šunnā ana šāš	What I will say	E.E.III.11-12 (AaD)	E.E.III.13-52
	X … ana Y šū izakkar		E.E.II.95-6 (Eg)	E.E.II.97-102
ḫadû (G Preterite) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	iḫdū-ma Y ana amat X-šu iliṣ libba-šū-ma ana Y izakkar	He rejoiced, Y, at the words of X With joy in her heart to Y she said	E.E.II.153 (abcDFGK), 154 (abcDdFGKm)	E.E.II.155-62
epēšu (Verbal Adjective) pī-šu + tamû (G Preterite)				
	epšū pī-šu | ītamā ana yāti	Having opened his mouth he talked to	E.E.III.56-7 (AaBbc) E.E.III.114-5 (A)	E.E.III.58-64 E.E.III.116-22
kullû (D Durative)				
	ina šaptī-ša lullā | ukāl sarrāti	In her lips untruths she held and lies	E.E.IV.71-2 (CdfK)	E.E.IV.73-4
šasû (G Preterite) + tamû (G Preterite)				
	ilsī-ma X ašar pirištī-šu ka ʾinimmak libbi-šu ītamī-šu	He summoned, X, to his private chamber Thw wish of his heard he told to him	E.E.II.129 (DdgIJI), 130 (DdGgIJIZ)	E.E.II.131-4
šasû (G Preterite) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	issī-ma Y izakkar-šu	He called Y he spoke to him	E.E.I.29-30 (ablm)	E.E.I.31-2 (abEm)
apālu (G Durative)				
	īpul-ma X Y	He replied, X Y	E.E.I.47 (aBbEghJpqS) - 48 (aBbEghJOpqS)	E.E.I.49-50
ṣabāru (Š Preterite)				
	tēret libbi-šu | ušaṣbir-an-ni yāti	The plan to his heart I made it explain	E.E.III.71-2 (AabCcdjk) E.E.III.13 (AaD), 14 (Aahi)	E.E.III.73-124 E.E.III.15-66
šanû (D Durative)				
	īrum-ma maḫru Y X …ušannā ana šāšu	He entered into the presence of Y …He reported to him	E.E.II.9-10 (abcGhL)	E.E.II.11-48
šasû (G Preterite) + naqû/nuāqu (G Preterite)				

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Verba Dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
	išmū-ma Y issū elītum *X napḫar-šunu inūqū marṣiš*	*They heard, Y, they cried aloud* *X all of them groaned in distress*	E.E.III.125-6 (Aam)	E.E.III.127-8
ešēru (G Preterite) + *izuzzu* (G Preterite) + *zakāru* (G Durative)				
	uškīn-ma iššiq qaqqara maḫar-šun *īšir izzaz izakkar-šun*	He prostrated himself, he kissed the ground before them, He got up, he stood, he spoke to them	E.E.III.69-70 (AabCcdjkl)	E.E.III.71-124
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + *zakāru* (G Durative)				
	X pā-šu īpuš-am-ma *ana Y amatu izakkar*	X his mouth he opened To Y words he spoke	E.E.III.1-2 (AaD)	E.E.III.3-66
	X pā-šu īpušam-ma *ana Y izakkar-ši*	*X his mouth he opened* *To Y he spoke to her*	E.E.I.35 (abCEFO) - 36 (aBbEFO)	E.E.I.37-40
apālu (G Durative)				
	X *X* *amatu tapšuḫtum seqar taneḫi* *Y tabiš ippal*	*Y* *Y* *Calm words and a soothing speech* *X favourably replied*	E.E.II.57 (CDgJ), 58 (CDg), 59-60 (CgJ)	E.E.II.61-70
No *verba dicendi*				
			EE.I.1 (aBbCEFggnOopS), 42 (aBbCEFnOopS), 43 (aBbEhpS), 44 (aBbEhJnpS) E.E.I.111-2 (aghiLOQS) E.E.I.125 (abbbDiQ) E.E.I.138 (abDddEffiiiMU) E.E.I.152 (abcEFfM) E.E.I.157 (abcEFfM) E.E.I.159 (abcEFfM) - 160 (abEFJM) E.E.II.24 (aBbdHL) E.E.II.38 (abcEFfM) E.E.II.43(DGgI) E.E.II.45-6 (CDeGgIJ) E.E.II.52 (CDegJ) E.E.II.135-6 (aDdGgIJ), 137-8 (abcDdGHJ) E.E.III.28 (A) E.E.III.42 (AB) E.E.III.47 (Abbc) E.E.III.49 (ABbc), 50 (ABbc) E.E.III.86 (Abcf) E.E.III.100 (Ac) E.E.III.105 (Ac) E.E.III.107-8 (A) E.E.IV.1-2 (aeKL) E.E.IV.75-6 (CDdfK)	E.E.I.45-6 E.E.I.113-24 E.E.I.126 E.E.I.139-40 E.E.I.153-6 E.E.I.158 161-2 E.E.II.25-6 E.E.II.39-42 E.E.II.44 E.E.II.47-8 E.E.II.53-6 E.E.II.139-52 E.E.III.29-30 E.E.III.43-46 E.E.III.48 E.E.III.51-2 E.E.III.87-8 E.E.III.101-104 E.E.III.106 E.E.III.109-10 E.E.IV.3-18 E.E.IV.77-86

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Line(s) for capping formula	Line(s) for capping formula2	Speech
ḫadû (G Preterite)				
	iḫdu-šum-ma Y immerū pānū-šu	*He rejoiced, Y, his face beamed*	E.E.I.51 (aBbEghJOPqS)	E.E.I.49-50
šemû (G Preterite)				
	išmē-ma zikri X	*He heard the words of X*	E.E.II.79-80 (g) 81-4 (gJ) E.E.II.103 (CEg), 104-8 (CEgJ)	E.E.II.73-78 E.E.II.97-102
	išmū-ma Y issū elītum *Y napḫar-šunu | inūqū marṣiš*	*They heard, Y, they cried aloud* *X all of them groaned in distress*	E.E.III.125-6 (Aam) E.E.III.125-6 (Aam)	E.E.III.71-124 E.E.III.73-124
	išme Y amatu…	*He heard, Y, the words*	E.E.I.125 (abbbDiQ) E.E.II.49 (CDeGgJk) E.E.II.71-2 (gJ)	E.E.I.113-24 E.E.II.11-48 E.E.II.61-70
ina šemû (Participle)				
	Y annīta ina šemē-ša	*Y when in his hearing*	EE.I.41 (aBbCEFggnOopS), 42 (aBbCEFnOopS), 43 (aBbEhpS), 44 (aBbEhJnpS) E.E.IV.87 (CcDgKN)	E.E.I.37-40 E.E.IV.77-86
šuḫarruru (G Preterite) + katāmu (D Preterite) qališ wašābu (G Preterite)				
	ušḫarrir-ma Y qaqqari inaṭṭal *ikammam ana X unaši qaqqad-su* *paḫrū-ma ...* *šaptā-šunu kuttumā-ma | qāliš ušbū*	*He became silent, Y, at the ground he looked* *He nodded to X, he shook his head* *They assembled …* *Their lips they silenced, quietly they sat*	E.E.II.119 ((fgJ), 120-22 (fglJ)	E.E.II.109-118
ḫadû (G Preterite)				
	iḫduma Y ana amat X-šu	*He rejoiced, Y, at the words of X*	E.E.II.135-6 (aDdGgIJ), 137-8 (abcDdGHJ) E.E.II.153 (abcDFGK), 154 (abcDdFGKm)	E.E.II.131-4 E.E.II.139-52

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Line(s) for capping formula	Line(s) for capping formula2	Speech
apālu (G Durative)				
	ipulma Y X	_He replied, Y X_	E.E.I.47 (aBbEghJpqS)	E.E.I.45-6
	Y Y _amatu tapšuḫtum seqar taneḫi_ _X tabiš ippal_	Y Y _Calm words and a soothing speech_ _X favourably replied_	E.E.II.57 (CDgJ), 58 (CDg), 59-60 (CgJ)	E.E.II.53-6
zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y _ana X šū izakkar_	Y _To X he spoke_	E.E.II.95-6 (Eg)	E.E.II.85-94
No recognition				
			E.E.I.127 (abbbDi) E.E.I.141 (abddEffKMU) E.E.I.157 (abcEFfM) E.E.I.159 (abcEFfM) - 160 (abEFJM) E.E.II.27 (abddEffKMU) E.E.II.43 (DGgI) E.E.II.45-6 (CDeGgIJ) E.E.III.53 (AaBbcZ) E.E.III.67 (Aabcjkl) E.E.III.31 (A) E.E.III.47 (Abbc) E.E.III.49-50 (ABbc) E.E.III.53 (AaBbcZ) E.E.III.65 (Aabcjk) E.E.III.89 (Acf) E.E.III.105 (Ac) E.E.III.107-8 (A) E.E.III.111 (A) E.E.III.123 (A) E.E.III.129-30 (Ade) E.E.IV.75-6 (CDdfK)	E.E.I.126 E.E.I.139-40 E.E.I.153-6 E.E.I.158 E.E.II.25-6 E.E.II.39-42 E.E.II.44 E.E.III.13-52 E.E.III.15-66 E.E.III.29-30 E.E.III.43-46 E.E.III.48 E.E.III.51-2 E.E.III.58-64 E.E.III.87-8 E.E.III.101-104 E.E.III.106 E.E.III.109-10 E.E.III.116-22 E.E.III.127-8 E.E.IV.73-4
End of Tablet				
				E.E.I161-2 E.E.II.155-62
Rephrased Confirmation				
			E.E.I.33 (aBbEFmOZ) E.E.III.67 (Aabcjkl) E.E.IV.19-20 (AaFK) E.E.IV.25 (aFKM) 26 (abFKM)	E.E.I.31-2 E.E.III.3-66 E.E.IV.3-18 E.E.IV.21-4

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
A-Ḫ.I.39-40 (A)	*idabubuma ikkalu karṣi* *uttazzamu ina talakki*	They were complaining, backbiting Shouting in the excavation	Paraphrastic	A-Ḫ.I.40-46	A-Ḫ.I.47-8 (A)	*…pâšu ipušamma* *issaqar ana ilu aḫḫēšu*	…his mouth he opened He spoke to the gods, his brothers	*X pâ-šu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḫ.I.47-8 (A)	*…pâšu ipušamma* *issaqar ana ilu aḫḫēšu*	…his mouth he opened He spoke to the gods, his brothers	*X pâ-šu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.49-62	A-Ḫ.I.63 (A)	*ilu išmû siqiršu*	The gods heard his speech	*Y išmû siqiršu*
K10082 (J) 3-4	*…pâšu ipušamma* *isaqqarā ana ilu aḫḫēšu*	…his mouth he opened He spoke to the gods, his brothers	*X pâ-šu ipušamma isaqqara ana Y*	K10082 (J) 5-8		End of tablet - continued A-Ḫ.I.49-62 (A)		
A-Ḫ.I.78 (A, K)	*ᵈNusku iddeki bēlšu* *ina majali ušetbišu*	Nusku roused his lord He got him out of his bed	No *verba dicendi*	A-Ḫ.I.80-3	A-Ḫ.I.84 (A)	*ᵈenlil…ušardi ana šubtišu*	Enlil…to his dwelling	No recognition
A-Ḫ.I.85-6 (A)	*ᵈEnlil pâšu ipušamma* *ana šukkaii ᵈnusku issaqar*	Enlil his mouth he opened To his vizier Nusku he spoke	*X pâ-šu ipušamma ana Y issaqar*	A-Ḫ.I.87-8	A-Ḫ.I.87-90(A)	*ᵈnusku edil babka* *kakkika liqi iziz maḫrija* *ᵈnusku idil babšu* *kakkišu ilqi ittaziz maḫar ᵈenlil*	*ᵈ*Nusku, bar your gate Take your weapons and stand before me" Nusku barred his gate, Took his weapons and stood before Enlil	Rephrased Confirmation
A-Ḫ.I.91-2 (A)	*ᵈnusku piašu ipušamma* *issaqar ana qurādi ᵈenlil*	Nusku his mouth he opened He spoke to *qurādi* Enlil	*X pâ-šu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.93-8	A-Ḫ.I.99 (A)	*išpur anam ušeriduniššu*	He sent and Anu as fetched down	No recognition
A-Ḫ.I.105-6 (A) 106 (L)	*ᵈenlil pia-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana ili rabutim*	Enlil his mouth he opened He spoke to the great gods	*X pâ-šu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.107-10	A-Ḫ.I.111-2 (A, F)	*anu piašu ipušamma* *issaqar ana qurādi ᵈenlil*	Anu his mouth he opened He spoke to *qurādi* Enlil	*X pâšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḫ.I.111-2 (A, F, L)	*anu piašu ipušamma* *issaqar ana qurādi ᵈenlil*	Anu his mouth he opened He spoke to *qurādi* Enlil	*X pâ-šu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.113-9	A-Ḫ.I.118-9 (A, F, L)	*ᵈenlil pia-šu ipušamma* *issaqar ana šukkalli ᵈnusku*	Enlil his mouth he opened He spoke to the vizier Nusku	*X pâšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḫ.I.118-9 (A, F, L)	*ᵈenlil pia-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana šukkalli ᵈnusku*	Enlil his mouth he opened He spoke to the vizier Nusku	*X pâ-šu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.120-33	A-Ḫ.I.134-5 (E)	*illik ᵈnusku ana puḫri kala ilima* *…ipšur*	Nusku went to the assembly of all the gods …he explained	Nusku went to the assembly of all the gods …*ipšur*
A-Ḫ.I.134-5 (E)	*illik ᵈnusku ana puḫri kala ilima* *…ipšur*	Nusku went to the assembly of all the gods …he explained	No *verba dicendi*	A-Ḫ.I.136-52	A-Ḫ.I.153-4 (A)	*ᵈnusku ilqi kakkišu* *allik xxx*	Nusku took his weapons He went…	No recognition
A-Ḫ.I.153-4 (A)	*ᵈnusku ilqi kakkišu* *allik xxx*	Nusku took his weapons He went…	No *verba dicendi* (fragmented)	A-Ḫ.I.155-65	A-Ḫ.I.166-7 (A,M) 166 (G)	*išme awatam šuati* *ᵈenlil illaka dimašu*	He heard that word Enlil flowed his tears	*išme awatam šuati*
A-Ḫ.I.168-9 (A, K) 169 (L)	*ᵈenlil i-X-ar awassu* *issaqar ana qurādi anim*	Enlil…his words He spoke to *qurādi* Enlil	*…awassu issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.170-3	A-Ḫ.I.174-5 (A, K, L, M, N)	*ᵈanu pâšu ipušamma* *issaqqar ana ilī aḫḫišu*	Anu his mouth he opened He spoke to the gods his brothers	*X pâšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḫ.I.174-5 (A, K, L, M, N)	*ᵈanu pâ-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana ilī aḫḫišu*	Anu his mouth he opened He spoke to the gods his brothers	*X pâ-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.176-81		Lacuna		
K8562 (S), Column ii.8	*ᵈanu pâšu ipuša iqabbi izzakar ana…*	Anu his mouth he opened, he said, he spoke to…	*X pâ-šu ipuša iqabbi izzakar (MU) an…*	K8562 (S), Column ii.9ff.		Lacuna		
BM 78257 (G) Column ii.1-2	*ᵈea pâ-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana ilī ᵐᵉˢ aḫḫišu*	Ea his mouth he opened He spoke to the gods his brothers	*X pâ-šu tepušam-ma issaqar ana Y*	BM 78257 (G) Column ii.3-12		Lacuna		
A-Ḫ.I.192-3 (E)	*iltâm issû išalu* *tabsut ilᵐᵉˢ eristam ᵈmami*	They goddess they summoned, they asked The midwife of the gods, wise Mami	*Y issû išalu*	A-Ḫ.I.194-7	A-Ḫ.I.198-9(E)	*ᵈnintu piašu tepušamma* *issaqar ana ilᵐᵉˢ rabuti*	Nintu her mouth she opened She spoke to the great gods	*X pâ-šu tepušam-ma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḫ.I.198-9 (E)	*ᵈnintu piašu tepušamma* *issaqar ana ilᵐᵉˢ rabuti*	Nintu her mouth she opened She spoke to the great gods	*X pâ-šu tepušam-ma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.200-203	A-Ḫ.I.204-205(E)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana ilᵐᵉˢ rabuti*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to the great gods	*X pâ-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḫ.I.204-205(E)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana ilᵐᵉˢ rabuti*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to the great gods	*X pâ-šu tepušam-ma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.206-17	A-Ḫ.I.218-20 (A, E)	*ina puḫri ipulu anna* *rabutum ᵈanunna ²²⁰ paqidu šimati*	In the assembly they answered "Yes" The great Anunnaki who administer destinies	*ina puḫri ipulu anna*
A-Ḫ.I.235-6 (A)	*ᵈmami piašu tepušamma* *issaqar ana ilī rabutim*	Mami her mouth she opened She spoke to the great gods	*X pâ-šu tepušam-ma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.237-43	A-Ḫ.I.244-5 (A, P)	*išmuma anniam qabašu* *iddarruma inaššiqu šepiša*	They heard this speech of hers They ran together, the kissed her feet	*išmuma anniam qabašu*
A-Ḫ.I.244-5 (A, P)	*išmuma anniam qabašu* *iddarruma inaššiqu šepiša*	They heard this speech of hers They ran together, the kissed her feet	No *verba dicendi*	A-Ḫ.I.246-8	A-Ḫ.I.249-250 (A, P)	*iterbu ana bīt šimti* *niššiku ᵈea erištu ᵈmama*	They entered the house of destiny Prince Ea and wise Mami	No recognition
A-Ḫ.I.288-9 (A, E, P)	*išir qema u libitta iddi*	She drew a pattern in mean and placed a brick		A-Ḫ.I.290-5	A-Ḫ.I.296 (A, E, P)	*ᵈmami …-šunu itabbi*	Mami their…they approach	No recognition
A-Ḫ.I.356-7 (A)	*ᵈenlil išteme rigimšin* *issaqar ana ilī rabutim*	Enlil heard their noise He spoke to the great gods	*X išteme rigimšin (Y) issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.358-3	A-Ḫ.I.34-9 (A)	*u šu ⁱatram-ḫasīs* *ilšu ᵈenki ubassar* *itamu itti ilišu* *u šu ilšu ittišu itamu* *ⁱatram-ḫasīs pia-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana belišu*	Now Atra-Ḫasīs His god, Enki, he was informing He spoke with his god And his god spoke with him Atra-Ḫasīs his mouth he opened He spoke to his lord	*X pâšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
A-Ḫ.I.34-9 (A)	*u šu ⁱatram-ḫasīs* *ilšu ᵈenki ubassar* *itamu itti ilišu* *u šu ilšu ittišu itamu* *ⁱatram-ḫasīs pia-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana belišu*	Now Atra-Ḫasīs His god, Enki, he was informing He spoke with his god And his god spoke with him Atra-Ḫasīs his mouth he opened He spoke to his lord	*X pâšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḫ.I.370-1	A-Ḫ.I.372-3 (A)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma* *issaqar ana ardišu*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to his slave	*X pâšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḫ.I.372-3 (A)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma*	Enki his mouth he opened	*X pâšu ipušamma*	A-Ḫ.I.374-84	A-Ḫ.I.385-6 (A)	*ⁱatram-ḫasīs ilqia tertam*	Atra-Ḫasīs took the command	*Y ilqia tertam*

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
A-Ḥ.I.372-3 (A)	*issaqar ana ardišu*	He spoke to his slave	*issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.I.374-84	A-Ḥ.I.385-6 (A)	*šibuti upaḥir ana babišu*	The elders he gathered to his gate	
A-Ḥ.I.387-8 (A)	*ᴵatram-ḥasīs pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana šibuti*	Atra-Ḥasīs his mouth he opened He spoke to the elders	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.I.389-99	A-Ḥ.I.400-402 (A)	*šibutum išmû siqiršu namtara ina ali ibnû bissu*	The elders heard his speech For Namtara in the city they built his temple	*Y išmû siqiršu*
A-Ḥ.II.Column i.5-6 (B)	*ᵈenlil išteme rigimšin issaqar ana ilī rabutim*	Enlil heard their noise He spoke to the great gods	*X išteme rigimšin (Y) issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.II.Column i.7-22		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.II.Column iii.17-8 (D)	*šid?...âmru issaqar ana...nari*	...seen He spoke to...of the river	?	A-Ḥ.II.Column iii. 19-24	A-Ḥ.II.Column iii. 25 (D)	*ištuma iš...*	After...	Could read *išme*, but woul...
	Lacuna				A-Ḥ.II.Column iii.29-30 (D)	*išmêma ᵈenki awassu ana laḥmi u...*	He heard, Enki did, his words To the water-monsters...	*išmêma Y awassu*
A-Ḥ.I.Column v.2 (D)	*iqbu...*	They commanded						
A-Ḥ.I.Column v.12-3 (D)	*armana ite... libbati mali ša ᵈigigi*	A pomegranate?... He was filled with anger at the Igigi	No introduction	A-Ḥ.I.Column v.14-21 (D)	A-Ḥ.II.Column v.22-3 (D)	*ᵈenlil piašu ipušamma ana šukkalli ᵈnusku issaqar*	Enlil his mouth he opened To the vizier Nusku he spoke	*X pāšu ipušamma ana Y issaqar*
A-Ḥ.II.Column v.22-3 (D)	*ᵈenlil pia-šu ipušam-ma ana šukkalli ᵈnusku issaqar*	Enlil his mouth he opened To the vizier Nusku he spoke	*X pāšu ipušamma ana Y issaqar*	A-Ḥ.II.Column v.24-5 (D)	A-Ḥ.II.Column v.26-7 (D)	*še (?) na ... mari ibbikunišu issaqaršunuši qurādu ᵈenlil*	He spoke to them, *qurādu* Enlil	*issaqaršunuši X*
A-Ḥ.II.Column v.26-7	*še (?) na ... mari ibbikunišu issaqaršunuši qurādu ᵈenlil*	To him they brought... He spoke to them, *qurādu* Enlil	*issaqaršunuši X*	A-Ḥ.II.Column v.28-3' (D)		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.II.Column vii.40-1 (B, D)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana ilī aḥḥišu*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to the gods his brothers	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.II.Column v.42-52		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.II.viii.36-7 (B, D)	*ᵀatram-hasīs pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana belišu*	Atra-Ḥasīs his mouth he opened He spoke to his lord	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	Tablet breaks off at A-Ḥ.II.viii.37 (B, D)		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.III.i.1-2 (B, D)	*ᵀatram-hasīs pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana belišu*	Atra-Ḥasīs his mouth he opened He spoke to his lord	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	Tablet breaks off at A-Ḥ.III.i.2 (B, D)		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.III.i.11-2 (C)	*ᵀatram-hasīs pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana belišu*	Atra-Ḥasīs his mouth he opened He spoke to his lord	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.III.i.13-4(C)	A-Ḥ.III.i.15-6 (C)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana ardišu*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to his slave	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḥ.III.i.15-6 (C)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana ardišu*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to his slave	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.III.i.17-26 (C)		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.III.i.37-39 (C)	*bā'a' abubi 7 mūšišu iqbišu* *ᵀatram-ḥasīs ilqia tertam šibuti upaḥḥir ana babišu*	The coming of the flood for the seventh night be announced to him Atra-Ḥasīs took the command The elders he assembled to his gate						
A-Ḥ.III.i.40-41 (C)	*ᵀatram-hasīs pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana belišu*	Atra-Ḥasīs his mouth he opened He spoke to his lord	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.III.i.42-50 (C)		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.III.iii.32-4 (C)	*imūrma iltum ibâkki tâbsut ilī erišta ᵈmami*	She saw sit, the goddess she wept The midwife of the gods, wise Mami	No *verba dicendi*	A-Ḥ.III.iii.35-54 (C)		Lacuna		
A-Ḥ.III.v.37-8 (C)	Lacuna			A-Ḥ.III.iv.4-11 (C)	A-Ḥ.III.iv.12 (C)	*ibkīma libbaša unappiš*	She wept, she eased her heart	No recognition
A-Ḥ.III.v.37-8 (C)	*ᵈnintu itbêma ³⁸ napharšunu uttazzam*	Nintu arose ³⁸ against them he		A-Ḥ.III.v.39-45 (C)	A-Ḥ.III.v.46 (C)	*u šī itḥêma ana subē rabūti*	Then she approached the big flies	No recognition
A-Ḥ.III.v.46-7 (C)	*u šī itḥêma ana subē rabuti ša anu ipušma ipânqalu*	Then she approached the big flies Which Anu had made and was carrying	No *verba dicendi*	A-Ḥ.III.v.48-52, vi.1-4	A-Ḥ.III.vi.5-6 (C)	*maqura itamar qurādu denlil libbati mali ša ᵈigigi*	The vessel he saw, the warrior Enlil His heart was filled with anger at the Igigi	No recognition
A-Ḥ.III.vi.5-6 (C)	*maqura itamar qurādu ᵈenlil libbati mali ša igigi*	The vessel he saw, *qurādu* Enlil He was filled with anger at the Igigi	No *verba dicendi*	A-Ḥ.III.vi.7-10 (C)	A-Ḥ.III.vi.11-2 (C)	*anu piašu ipušamma issaqar ana qurādi ᵈenlil*	Anu his mouth he opened He spoke to qurādi Enlil	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḥ.III.vi.11-2 (C)	*anu piašu ipušamma issaqar ana qurādi ᵈenlil*	Anu his mouth he opened He spoke to qurādi Enlil	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.III.vi.13-5 (C)	A-Ḥ.III.vi.16-7 (C)	*ᵈenki piašu ipišamma issaqar ana ilī rabuti*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to the great gods	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḥ.III.vi.16-7 (C)	*ᵈenki piašu ipišamma issaqar ana ilī rabuti*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to the great gods	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.III.vi.18-40 (C)	A-Ḥ.III.vi.41-2 (C)	*ᵈenlil pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana ᵈenki niššiki*	Enlil his mouth he opened He spoke to Enki the prince	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḥ.III.vi.41-2 (C)	*ᵈenlil pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana ᵈenki niššiki*	Enlil his mouth he opened He spoke to Enki the prince	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.III.vi.43-4 (C)	A-Ḥ.III.vi.45-6 (C)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana ᵈnintu sassuri*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to Nintu, the birth-goddess	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*
A-Ḥ.III.vi.45-6 (C)	*ᵈenki pia-šu ipušam-ma issaqar ana ᵈnintu sassuri*	Enki his mouth he opened He spoke to Nintu, the birth-goddess	*X pāšu ipušamma issaqar ana Y*	A-Ḥ.III.vi.47-50ff. (C)		Lacuna		
Introductory Line	**Text**	**Translation**	**Introduction Formula**	**Speech**	**Line(s) for capping formula**	**Text**	**Translation**	**Capping Formula**
Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.4-5	*ᵈenlil iltakan puḥuršu izzakara ana ilāni ᵐᵉˢ mārē ᵐᵉˢ-šu*	Enlil convened his assembly He spoke to the gods, his sons	*X iltakan puḥuršu izzakara ana Y*	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.6-12	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.13-14	*iqbuma šurupū ibši uriš iṣi rigimšina namtar*	They commanded and there was plague Namtar diminished their noise	Rephrased Confirmation
Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.17-22	*bēl tašimti ᵐatar-ḥasīs amēlu ana bēlišu ᵈea uzunšu pitât ittamu itti ilišu u šu ᵈea ittišu itamu ᵐatar-ḥasīs pāšu ipuša iqabbi izzakar ana ᵈea bēlišu*	The discerning one, Atra-ḥasīs To his lord Ea he kept an ear open He spoke with his god And Ea with him he spoke Atra-ḥasīs his mouth he opened he said He spoke to Ea his lord	*ittamu itti ilišu u šu Y ittišu itamu X pāšu ipuša iqabbi izzakar ana Y*	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.23-8	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.29	*ᵈea pā-šu ipuša iqabbi ana ᵐatar-ḥasīs-me izzakaršu*	Ea his mouth he opened he said To Atra-ḥasīs he spoke to him	*X pāšu ipuša iqabbi ana ᵞ izzakaršu*
Assyrian Recension	*ᵈea pāšu ipuša iqabbi*	Ea his mouth he opened he said	*X pāšu ipuša iqabbi*	Assyrian Recension	Assyrian Recension	*ᵈenlil iltakan puḥuršu*	Enlil convened his assembly	*X iltakan puḥuršu*

Reference	Text	Translation	Formula	Reference	Reference	Text	Translation	Formula
K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.29	ana ᵐatar-ḫasīs-me izzakaršu	To Atra-ḫasīs he spoke to him	ana ⁱ izzakaršu	K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.30-36	K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.37	izzakara ana ilāni^meš mārē^meš-šu	He spoke to the gods, his sons	izzakara ana Y
Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.37	ᵈenlil iltakan puḫuršu / izzakara ana ilāni^meš mārē^meš-šu	Enlil convened his assembly / He spoke to the gods, his sons	X iltakan puḫuršu / izzakara ana Y	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.38-51	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.52-3	iptarsu ana nišē tita / ina karšišina emeṣu šammu	They cut off from the people food supplies / In their stomachs were in short supply vegetables	Rephrased Confirmation
Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse v.27-30	bēl tašimti ᵐatar-ḫasīs amēlu / ana bēlišu ᵈea uzunšu pitāt / ittamu itti ilišu / u šu ᵈea ittišu itamu	The discerning one, Atra-ḫasīs / To his lord Ea he kept an ear open / He spoke with his god / And Ea with him he spoke	ittamu itti ilišu / u šu Y ittišu itamu	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse v.31-33		Lacuna		
Reverse i. incipit-1	ᵈenlil pâšu ipušamma iqabbi / izzakar ana…	Enlil his mouth he opened he said / He spoke to …	X pâ-šu ipušam-ma iqabbi / izzakar ana Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.2-7	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.8	iqbima iṣṣuru danum u dadad elenu	He commanded and Anu and Adad guarded the upper regions	Rephrased Confirmation
BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.18-9	ši… / izzakar ana …	… / He spoke to…	… / izzakar ana Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.19ff. Too fragmented to determine speech location	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.27	išmêma ᵈea / išmêma ᵈea	He heard, Ea… / He heard, Ea…	išmêma Y
Lacuna					BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.8	terti ᵈenlil ana ᵈea ušannû	The message Enlil to Ea he repeated	terti X ana Y ušannû
BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.8	terti ᵈenlil ana ᵈea ušannû	The message Enlil to Ea he repeated	terti X ana Y ušannû	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.9-13	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.14-15	ᵈea pâ-šu ipuš-ma iqabbi / izzakar ana mār šipri	Ea his mouth he opened he spoke / He said to the messenger	X pâšu ipušma iqabbi
BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.14-15	ᵈpâ-šu ipuš-ma iqabbi / izzakar ana mār šipri	Ea his mouth he opened he spoke / He said to the messenger	X pâšu ipušma iqabbi / izzakar ana Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.16-27	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.28-31	…ilqû terta / …tamatu rapaštu / illikuma ušannu / terti ᵈea ana qurādi ᵈenlil	…took the message / …the wide sea / He went and repeated / The message of Ea to Enlil-qurādu	illikuma ušannu / terti X ana Y ušannû
BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.28-31	…ilqû terta / …tamatu rapaštu / illikuma ušannu / terti ᵈea ana qurādi ᵈenlil	…took the message / …the wide sea / He went and repeated / The message of Ea to Enlil-qurādu	…ušannû / terti X ana Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.32-43	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.44-5	ᵈenlil pâ-šu ipuš-ma iqabbi / ana puḫur kala ilī^meš izzakar	Enlil his mouth he mouth he opened he said / To the assembly of all the gods he said	X pâšu ipušma iqabbi / ana Y izzakar
BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.44-5	ᵈenlil pâ-šu ipuš-ma iqabbi / ana puḫur kala ilī^meš izzakar	Enlil his mouth he mouth he opened he said / To the assembly of all the gods he said	X pâ-šu ipuš-ma iqabbi / ana Y izzakar	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.46	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.47-8	ᵈanam ina pani tamuni / ᵈenlil ittami mārē^meš-šu ittišu tamun	Anu first took an oath / Enlil took an oath, his sons with him took an oath	Y ina pani tamuni
Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.3-4	ᵐatar-ḫasīs ikmis uškin itaziz … / pâšu ipušama izzakar	Atra-ḫasīs bowed down, he prostrated himself, he stood up / His mouth he opened he spoke	pâšu ipušama izzakar	Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.5-12	Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.13-14	ᵈea pâ-šu ipuša iqabbi / izzakar ana kikiši	Ea his mouth he opened he said / He spoke to the reed-hut	X pâšu ipuš iqabbi / ana Y izzakar
Recension BM 98977 + 99231	ᵈea pâ-šu ipuša iqabbi / izzakar ana kikiši	Ea his mouth he opened he said / He spoke to the reed-hut	X pâšu ipuš iqabbi / izzakar ana Y	Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U)	Lacuna			
DT 42 (W). 11-12	ᵐatra-ḫasīs pâ-šu ipuš-ma iqabbi / izakkar ana ᵈea bēlišu	Atra-ḫasīs his mouth he opened he said / He spoke to Ea his lord	X pâšu ipuš iqabbi / izzakar ana Y	DT 42 (W). 13-15	DT 42 (W). 16	ᵈea ina qaqqari eṣir uṣurtu	Ea on the ground the design he drew	No recognition

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
zakāru (G Durative)				
	... *izzakar ana Y*	… He spoke to Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.18-9	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.19ff.
šanû (D Preterite)				
	terti X ana Y	The message of X_2 to Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.28-31	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.32-43
	terti X ana Y ušannû	The message X ana Y_2 he repeated	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.8	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.9-13
saqāru (G Perfect)				
	issaqar ana Y	He spoke to Y	A-Ḫ.II.Column iii.18 (D)	A-Ḫ.II.Column iii. 19-24
	…awassu *issaqar ana Y*	His words He spoke to Y	A-Ḫ.I.168-9 (A, K) 169 (L)	A-Ḫ.I.170-3
	issaqaršunuši X	He said to them, X	A-Ḫ.II.Column v.26-7	A-Ḫ.II.Column v.28-3' (D)
	issaqar ana Y	He spoke to Y	A-Ḫ.I.356-7 (A) A-Ḫ.II.Column i.5-6 (B)	A-Ḫ.I.358-3 A-Ḫ.II.Column i.7-22
zakāru (G Perfect)				
	izzakara ana Y	He spoke to Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.18-9	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.38-51
pašāru (G Preterite)				
	…ipšur	…he explained	A-Ḫ.I.134-5 (E)	A-Ḫ.I.136-52
atmû (G Perfect) *pâ epēšu (G Preterite) +* *saqāru (G Preterite)*				
	X *ana Y uzun-šu pitat* *ittamu itti ili-šu* *u šu Y itti-šu ittamu* *X pâ-šu īpušam-ma* *issaqar ana Y*	X To Y he kept an open ear He talked with his god And Y with him he talked X his mouth he opened He spoke to Y	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.17-22	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.23-8
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + *zakāru (G Preterite)*				
	X ikmis uškin itaziz *pâ-šu īpuša-ma izzakar*	X bowed down, he prostrated himself, he stood up His mouth he opened, he spoke	The Assyrian Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.3-4	The Assyrian Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.5-12
šakānu (G Perfect) + zakāru (G Perfect)				
	X iltakan puḫur-šu *izzakara ana Y*	X convened the assembly He spoke to Y	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.37 Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.4-5	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.38-51 Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.6-12
nazāmu (G Perfect)				
	X itbêma napḫaršunu uttazzam	X arose to complain against all of them	A-Ḫ.III.v.37-8 (C)	A-Ḫ.III.v.39-45 (C)
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + qabû *(G Durative) + zakāru (G* *Perfect)*				
	X pâ-šu īpuša iqabbi *izzakara ana Y*	X his mouth he opened he said He spoke to Y	The Assyrian Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.13-14 DT 42 (W). 11-12	The Assyrian Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.15ff. DT 42 (W). 13-15
	X pâ-šu īpuša iqabbi izzakar ana…	X his mouth he opened he said he spoke toY	K8562 (S), Column ii.8	K8562 (S), Column ii.9ff.
	X pâ-šu īpuša iqabbi *ana Y izzakar-šu*	X his mouth he opened he said To Y he spoke to him	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.29	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.30-36
	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma iqabbi *izzakar ana Y*	X his mouth he opened he said He spoke to Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i. incipit-1	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.2-7
	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi *ana Y izzakar*	X his mouth he opened he said To Y he sooke	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.44-5	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.46
	X pâ-ša īpušma iqabbi *izzakar ana Y*	X his mouth he opened he said He spoke to Y	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.14-15	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.16-27
	X pâ-šu tepušam-ma *issaqar ana Y*	X her mouth she opened She spoke to Y	BM 78257 (G) Column ii.1-2 A-Ḫ.I.198-9 (E) A-Ḫ.I.204-205(E) A-Ḫ.I.235-6 (A)	BM 78257 (G) Column ii.3-12 A-Ḫ.I.200-203 A-Ḫ.I.206-17 A-Ḫ.I.237-43
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) saqāru *(G Perfect)*				
	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma *ana Y issaqar*	X his mouth he opened To Y he spoke	A-Ḫ.II.Column v.22-3 (D)	A-Ḫ.II.Column v.24-5 (D)

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma issaqar ana Y	X his mouth he opened He spoke to Y	A-Ḫ.I.47-8 (A) K10082 (J) 3-4 A-Ḫ.I.85-6 (A) A-Ḫ.I.91-2 (A) A-Ḫ.I.105-6 (A) 106 (L) A-Ḫ.I.111-2 (A, F, L) A-Ḫ.I.118-9 (A, F, L) A-Ḫ.I.174-5 (A, K, L, M, N) A-Ḫ.I.34-9 (A) A-Ḫ.I.372-3 (A) A-Ḫ.I.387-8 (A) A-Ḫ.II.Column vii.40-1 (B, D) A-Ḫ.II.viii.36-7 (B, D) A-Ḫ.III.i.1-2 (B, D) A-Ḫ.III.i.11-2 (C) A-Ḫ.III.i.15-6 (C) A-Ḫ.III.i.40-41 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.11-2 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.16-7 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.41-2 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.45-6 (C)	A-Ḫ.I.49-62 K10082 (J) 5-8 A-Ḫ.I.87-8 A-Ḫ.I.93-8 A-Ḫ.I.107-10 A-Ḫ.I.113-9 A-Ḫ.I.120-33 A-Ḫ.I.176-81 A-Ḫ.I.370-1 A-Ḫ.I.374-84 A-Ḫ.I.389-99 A-Ḫ.II.Column v.42-52 Tablet breaks off at A-Ḫ.II.viii.37 (B, D) Tablet breaks off at A-Ḫ.III.i.2 (B, D) A-Ḫ.III.i.13-4(C) A-Ḫ.III.i.17-26 (C) A-Ḫ.III.i.42-50 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.13-5 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.18-40 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.43-4 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.47-50ff. (C)
šasû (G Preterite) + *šâlu* (G Preterite)				
	Y issû išalū Y	They summoned and asked Y Y	A-Ḫ.I.192-3 (E)	A-Ḫ.I.194-7
Lacuna				
			Lacuna	A-Ḫ.II.Column iii.29-30 (D) A-Ḫ.III.iv.4-11 (C) BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.8
No verba dicendi				
			A-Ḫ.I.78 (A, K) A-Ḫ.I.134-5 (E) A-Ḫ.I.244-5 (A, P) A-Ḫ.I.288-9 (A, E, P) A-Ḫ.I.153-4 (A) A-Ḫ.I.Column v.12-3 (D) A-Ḫ.III.iii.32-4 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.5-6 (C)	A-Ḫ.I.80-3 A-Ḫ.I.136-52 A-Ḫ.I.246-8 A-Ḫ.I.290-5 A-Ḫ.I.155-65 A-Ḫ.I.Column v.14-21 (D) A-Ḫ.III.iii.35-54 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.7-10 (C)

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Capping Line	Speech
šemû (G Preterite)				
	išme awatam šuati	*He heard that speech*	A-Ḫ.I.166-7 (A,M) 166 (G)	A-Ḫ.I.155-65
	išmê-ma Y	*He heard, Y*	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.27	BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.19ff.
	išmê-ma Y awassu	*He heard, Y, his words*	A-Ḫ.II.Column iii.29-30 (D)	
	išmuma anniam qaba-ša	*They heard this speech of hers*	A-Ḫ.I.244-5 (A, P)	A-Ḫ.I.237-43
	Y išmû siqir-šu	*Y her his speech*	A-Ḫ.I.63 (A) A-Ḫ.I.400-402 (A)	A-Ḫ.I.49-62 A-Ḫ.I.389-99
apālu (G G Preterite)				
	ina puḫri īpulu anna X	*In the assembly answered, "Yes" X*	A-Ḫ.I.218-20 (A, E)	A-Ḫ.I.206-17
leqû (G Preterite)				
	…ilqû terta	*…took the message*	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.28-31	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.16-27
	Y ilqia tertam	*Y received the command*	A-Ḫ.I.385-6 (A)	A-Ḫ.I.374-84
terti šanû (D Preterite)				
	terti X ana Y ušannû	*The message X ana Y₂ he repeated*	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.8	
alāku (G Preterite)				
	illik Y ana puḫri kala ilīma …ipšur	*He went, Y, to the assembly of all the gods …he explained*	A-Ḫ.I.134-5 (E)	A-Ḫ.I.120-33
u				
	u šu…	*Now he…*	A-Ḫ.I.364 (A)	A-Ḫ.I.358-63
saqāru (G Durative)				
	… issaqaršunuši X	*He said to them X*	A-Ḫ.II.Column v.26-7 (D)	A-Ḫ.II.Column v.24-5 (D)
zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y iltakan puḫuršu izzakara ana X	*Y convened his assembly He spoke to Y₂*	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.37	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.30-36
tamû (Verbal adjective + 1ˢᵗ person Acc. suffix)				
	Y ina pani tamuni	*Y first swore*	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.47-8	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.46
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + qabû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y pâ-šu īpuš iqabbi ana X izzakar	*Y his mouth he opened he said to X he spoke*	The Assyrian Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.13-14	The Assyrian Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.5-12
	Y pâ-šu īpuša iqabbi ana X izakkar-šu	*Y his mouth he opened he spoke to X he spoke to him*	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.29	Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.23-8
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi ana X izzakar	*Y his mouth he opened he said To X he spoke*	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.44-5	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.32-43

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Capping Line	Speech
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izzakar ana X	Y his mouth he opened he said He spoke to X	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.14-15	BE 39099 (x) Reverse ii.9-13
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana X issaqar	Y his mouth he opened To X he spoke	A-Ḫ.I.47-8 (A) A-Ḫ.I.118-9 (A, F, L) A-Ḫ.I.174-5 (A, K, L, M, N) A-Ḫ.I.204-205(E) A-Ḫ.I.372-3 (A) A-Ḫ.II.Column v.22-3 (D) A-Ḫ.III.i.15-6 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.11-2 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.16-7 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.41-2 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.45-6 (C)	A-Ḫ.I.40-46 A-Ḫ.I.113-9 A-Ḫ.I.170-3 A-Ḫ.I.200-203 A-Ḫ.I.370-1 A-Ḫ.I.Column v.14-21 (D) A-Ḫ.III.i.13-4(C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.7-10 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.13-5 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.18-40 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.43-4 (C)
	Y pâ-ša tepušam-ma issaqar ana X	Y her mouth she opened She said to X	A-Ḫ.I.198-9(E)	A-Ḫ.I.194-7
	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma issaqar ana X	Y his mouth he opened He said to X	A-Ḫ.I.111-2 (A, F)	A-Ḫ.I.107-10
Lacuna				
				K10082 (J) 5-8 A-Ḫ.I.176-81 K8562 (S), Column ii.9ff. BM 78257 (G) Column ii.3-12 A-Ḫ.II.Column i.7-22 A-Ḫ.II.Column v.28-3' (D) A-Ḫ.II.Column v.42-52 Tablet breaks off at A-Ḫ.II.viii.37 (B, D) Tablet breaks off at A-Ḫ.III.i.2 (B, D) A-Ḫ.III.i.17-26 (C) A-Ḫ.III.i.42-50 (C) A-Ḫ.III.iii.35-54 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.47-50ff. (C) Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse v.31-33 The Assyrian Recension BM 98977 + 99231 (U) Obverse.15ff.
No recognition				

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Capping Line	Speech
			A-Ḫ.I.84 (A) A-Ḫ.I.99 (A) A-Ḫ.I.153-4 (A) A-Ḫ.I.249-250 (A, P) A-Ḫ.I.296 (A, E, P) A-Ḫ.III.iv.12 (C) A-Ḫ.III.v.46 (C) A-Ḫ.III.vi.5-6 (C) DT 42 (W). 16	A-Ḫ.I.80-3 A-Ḫ.I.93-8 A-Ḫ.I.136-52 A-Ḫ.I.246-8 A-Ḫ.I.290-5 A-Ḫ.III.iv.4-11 (C) A-Ḫ.III.v.39-45 (C) A-Ḫ.III.v.48-52, vi.1-4 DT 42 (W). 13-15
Rephrased Confirmation				
			A-Ḫ.I.87-90(A) Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.13-14 Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.52-3 BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.8	A-Ḫ.I.87-8 Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.6-12 Assyrian Recension K3399 + 3934 (S), Reverse iv.38-51 BE 39099 (x) Reverse i.2-7
Fragmented				
			A-Ḫ.II.Column iii. 25 (D)	A-Ḫ.II.Column iii. 19-24

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Old Version								
Etana OV$_1$.I/C.14	erû ina libbi-šu…	The eagle in his heart…	Too fragmented	Etana OV$_1$.I/C.15-21	Etana OV$_1$.I/C.22-3	admum ṣeḫru atram-ḫasīs ana erî abišu awatam izakar	A young one that had great understanding Spoke a word to his father, the eagle (saying)	X ana Y awatam izakar
Etana OV$_1$.I/C.22-3	admum ṣeḫru atram-ḫasīs / ana erî abišu awatam izakkar	A young one that had great understanding Spoke a word to his father, the eagle (saying)	X / ana Y awatam izakar	Etana OV$_1$.I/C.24-5	Etana OV$_1$.I/C.26-7	ul imgur... / ul išemme…	He did not consent... / He did not listen…	ul imgur... / ul išemme…
Etana OV$_1$.I/C.36-7	ṣerrum maruṣ ibakki / maḫar ^{d}Šamši illaka dimašu	Sick at heart the serpent wept; Before Šamaš flowed his tear-streams	No introduction - ibakki potentially used as a verbum dicendi	Etana OV$_1$.I/C.38-51			Lacuna	
Lacuna				Etana OV1.I/D.1-2	Etana OV$_1$.I/D.3	ṣeru pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana erim-ma issa	The serpent opened his mouth, to the eagle he spoke to him	Y pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana X-ma issaqar-šu
Etana OV1.I/D. 3	ṣeru pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana erim-ma issaqaršu	The serpent opened his mouth, to the eagle he spoke to him	X pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana Y-ma issaqar-šu	Etana OV1.I/D. 4-5	Etana OV$_1$.I/D.6	uttazik agāpi-šu …	He cut off his wings …	Return to narrative
Etana OV$_1$.I/D.11	umišamma […	Daily […	Too fragmented	Etana OV$_1$.I/D.12	Etana OV$_1$.I/D.13	^{d}Šamšu pī-šu ipušam-ma ana erim-ma is	Šamaš opened his mouth, to the eagle he said	Y pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana X-ma issaqar-šu
Etana OV$_1$.I/D.13	^{d}Šamšu pī-šu ipušam-ma ana erim-ma issaqaršu	Šamaš opened his mouth, to the eagle he said	X pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana Y-ma issaqar-šu	Etana OV$_1$.I/D.14-5				
Etana OV$_1$.I/E.4	erûm pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Etana-ma issaqar-šu	The eagle opened his mouth, to Etana he spoke:	X pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana Y-ma issaqar-šu	Etana OV$_1$.I/E.5-6	Etana OV$_1$.I/C.7	Etana pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana erim iss	Etana opened his mouth, to the eagle he spoke	Y pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana X-ma issaqar-šu
Etana OV$_1$.I/E.7	Etana pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana erim-ma issaqar-šu	Etana opened his mouth, to the eagle he spoke	X pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana Y-ma issaqar-šu	Etana OV$_1$.I/E.8			Lacuna	
Middle Assyrian Version								
Lacuna				Etana MA$_1$.I/A.1-7	Etana MA$_1$.I/A.8	lušeziz appi iṣi erû ^{mušen} alīd-ma	At the top of the tree, the eagle beget young	Return to narrative
Etana.MA$_1$.I/B.3-4	admu ṣeḫru atar-ḫasīsa / ana erî ^{mušen} abišu amāta izakkar	But a young one that had great understanding To the eagle, his father, a word he spoke	ana Y amāta izakar	Etana MA$_1$.I/B.5-9	Etana MA$_1$.I/B.10-1	ul imgur… / ul išemme…	He did not consent… / He did not listen…	ul imgur... / ul išemme
Etana.MA$_1$.I/B.24	ušeṣašuma […	Dragging him (?)	Too fragmented	Etana MA$_1$.I/B.25ff. (fragmented and tablet breaks off before speech finishes)			Lacuna	
Lacuna				Etana MA$_2$.I/C.1-4	Etana MA$_2$.I/C.5	ittil-ma ^{m}Etana iberi	Etana lay down (hoping) to see (a dream)	Return to narrative
Etana.MA$_2$.I/D.7	ana ^{m}Etana izakkaršu	To Etana, he (the eagle) spoke to him	ana Y izakkaršu	Etana MA$_2$.I/D.8-13	Etana MA$_2$.I/D.14	^{m}Etana ana šuašu ana erî ^{mušen} izakkar	Etana to him, to the eagle he spoke	Y ana X izakkar
Etana.MA$_2$.I/D.14	^{m}Etana ana šuašu ana erî ^{mušen} izakkar	Etana to him, to the eagle, he spoke	X ana Y izakkar	Etana MA2.I/D.15-7			Lacuna	
Lacuna				Etana MA$_2$.I/E.1-5	Etana MA$_2$.I/E.6	^{m}Etana annīta ina šamêšu	Etana when he heard this	Y ina šamêšu
Etana.MA1;MA$_3$.I/G.3-4	erû ^{mušen} ^{m}Etana šuta ušamher / …ilu ašib maḫrišu	The eagle persuaded Etana to accept the dream …The god who confronted him	Too fragmented	Etana MA1;MA$_3$.I/G.5-10	Etana MA$_1$; MA$_3$.I/G.11	^{m}Etana ana šuašu izakkarma	Etana to him he spoke	Change of Speaker
Etana.MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.11	^{m}Etana ana šuašu izakkarma	Etana to him he spoke	X ana šuašu izakkar -ma	Etana MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.12-18	Etana MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.19-20	erû ^{mušen} ^{m}Etana šuta ušamḫer / … ilu ašib maḫrišu	The eagle persuaded Etana to accept the dream …The god who confronted him	
Etana.MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.19-20	erû ^{mušen} ^{m}Etana šuta ušamher / …ilu ašib maḫrišu	The eagle persuaded Etana to accept the dream …The god who confronted him	verba dicendi missing?	Etana MA1;MA3.I/G.21ff.			Lacuna	
Etana.MA$_3$.I/H.1	^{m}Etana ana šuašu ana erî ^{mušen} izakkaršu	Etana to him the eagle he spoke to him	X ana šuašu ana Y izakkar -šu	Etana MA$_3$.I/H.2-3	Etana MA$_3$.I/H.4-5	šalša bēra ullišu / erû ^{mušen} ana šuašu ana ^{m}Etana izakkar	A third bēru he bore him upwards / The eagle to him to Etana he spoke to him	Y ana šuašu ana X izakkar -šu
Etana.MA$_3$.I/H.4-5	šalša bēra ullišu / erû ^{mušen} ana šuašu ana ^{m}Etana izakkaršu	A third bēru he bore him upwards / The eagle to him to Etana he spoke to him	X ana šuašu ana Y izakkar -šu	Etana MA$_3$.I/H.6-7	Etana MA$_3$.I/H.8	^{m}Etana ana šuašu ana erî ^{mušen} izakkarš	Etana to him to the eagle he spoke to him	Y ana šuašu ana X izakkar -šu
Etana.MA$_3$.I/H.8	^{m}Etana ana šuašu ana erî ^{mušen} izakkaršu	Etana to him the eagle he spoke to him	X ana šuašu ana Y izakkar -šu	Etana MA$_3$.I/H.9-10	Etana MA$_3$.I/H.11	ina bāb ^{d}Anim KIMIN	(They passed) through the gates of Anu, etc	Return to narrative
Late Version								
Etana.LV.A, B.I/A.7	…lū rē'ušina […	They..the black headed people…	verba dicendi missing	Etana.LV.A, B.I/A.7-9	Etana.LV.A, B.I/A.10	rabutum ^{d}Anunnaki mušimmu šīmāti	The great gods, the Anunnaki, who determine destinies	Return to narrative
Etana.LV.A, B.I/A.25	^{d}Enlil iḫaṭ parakki ^{d}Etana / etla ša ^{d}Ištar kiniš […	Enlil surveyed the site of a throne-dais for Etana The young man who Ištar duly (nominated for king)	No introduction	Etana.LV.A, B.I/A.26-7	Etana.LV.A, B.I/A.28	šarrutu aga rušša kussâ	The (sceptre) of kingship, the shining crown, the throne	Return to narrative
Etana LV C.I/B.4	ḫirassu ana šašuma ana ^{d}Etani izakkaršu	His wife to him to Etana she spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkar -šu	Etana LV C.I/B.6-8	Etana LV C.I/B.9	ḫirassu ana šašuma ana ^{d}Etani izakkarš	His wife to him to Etana she spoke to him	Y ana šašima ana X izakkar -šu
Etana LV C.I/B.9	ḫirassu ana šašuma ana ^{d}Etani izakkaršu	His wife to him to Etana she spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkar -šu	Etana LV C.I/B.10-11	Etana LV C.I/B.12	^{d}Etana ana šašima ana ḫirtišu izakkarši	Etana to her to his wife he spoke to her	Y ana šašima ana X izakkar -ši
Etana LV C.I/B.12	^{d}Etana ana šašima ana ḫirtišu izakkarši	Etana to her to his wife he spoke to her	X ana šašima ana Y izakkar -ši	Etana LV C.I/B.13-5			Too fragmented	
Etana LV.C-G.II.7	erû ^{mušen} pâšu īpušamma izakkar ana ṣerri	The eagle his mouth he opened he spoke to the serpent	X pâ-šu īpušamma izakkar ana Y	Etana LV.C-G.II.8-9	Etana LV.C-G.II.10	ṣerru pâšu ipušamma izakkar ana erî ^{mušen}	The serpent his mouth he opened he spoke to the eagle	Y pâ-šu ipušam-ma izakkar ana X
Etana LV.C-G.II.10	ṣerru pâšu ipušamma izakkar ana erî ^{mušen}	The serpent his mouth he opened he spoke to the eagle	X pâ-šu īpušamma izakkar ana Y	Etana LV.C-G.II.11-5	Etana LV.C-G.II.16	ina maḫar ^{d}Šamaš qurādi māmītu itmû	In the presence of Šamaš-qurādu an oath he swore	
Etana LV.C-G.II.16	ina maḫar ^{d}Šamaš qurādi māmītu itmû	In the presence of Šamaš-qurādu an oath he swore		Etana LV.C-G.II.17-22	Etana LV.C-G.II.23	ištu māmītu itmû erṣetim rabītim (?)	After they swore the oath by the netherworld (majesty?)	Repetition of verbum dicendi
Etana LV.C-G.II.40	erû ^{mušen} pâšu īpušamma izakkar ana mārišu (?)	The eagle his mouth he opened he spoke to his offspring	X pâšu īpušamma izakkar ana Y	Etana LV.C-G.II.41-4	Etana LV.C-G.II.45	admu ṣeḫru atar-ḫasīs ana erî ^{mušen} ama	A young offspring exceeding in wisdom to the eagle a word h	Y ana X amāta izakkar
Etana LV.C-G.II.45	admu ṣeḫru atar-ḫasīs ana erî ^{mušen} amāta izakkar	A young offspring exceeding in wisdom to the eagle a word he spoke	X ana Y amāta izakkar	Etana LV.C-G.II.46-9	Etana LV.C-G.II.50	ul išmešunutima ul išma zikir mārīšu	He did not listen to them, he did not listen to the speech of his	ul išmešunutima ul išma
Etana LV.C-G.II.59-60	ṣerru itati ilma ibakki / ana pān ^{d}Šamaši illaka dimašu	The serpent lay down, he wept Before Šamaš flowed his tear-streams	No introduction - ibakki potentially used as a verbum dicendi	Etana LV.C-G.II.61-71	Etana LV.C-G.II.72-3	unnini ša ṣerri [… / ^{d}Šamaš pâšu īpušamma ana ṣerri izakkarš	the petition of the serpent [… Šamaš his mouth he opened to the serpent he spoke to him	Potentially missing a verbum audiendi / Y ana šašuma ana X izakkar -šu
Etana LV.C-G.II.72-3	unnini ša ṣerri [… / ^{d}Šamaš pâšu īpušamma ana ṣerri izakkaršu	the petition of the serpent [… Šamaš his mouth he opened to the serpent he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.C-G.II.4-85	Etana LV.C-G.II.86	ana zikir ^{d}Šamši qurādi / ṣerru illik itiq šada	At the speech of Šamši-qurādu The serpent went off, into the mountainland	ana zikir X
Etana LV.C-G.II.95	erû ^{mušen} pâšu īpušamma izakkara ana mārišu	The eagle his mouth he opened, he spoke to his sons	X pâšu īpušamma izakkar ana Y	Etana LV.C-G.II.96	Etana LV.C-G.II.97	admu ṣeḫru atar-ḫasīsa ana erî ^{mušen} abi	A young one exceeding in wisom to the eagle his father a word he spoke	Y ana X amāta izakkar
Etana LV.C-G.II.97	admu ṣeḫru atar-ḫasīs ana erî ^{mušen} abišu amāta izakkar	A young one exceeding in wisom to the eagle his father a word he spoke	X ana Y amāta izakkar	Etana LV.C-G.II.98	Etana LV.C-G.II.99	erû ^{mušen} itti libbišu amātum iqabbi	The eagle with his heart a word he spoke	Y itti libbišu amāta izakkar

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Etana LV.C-G.II.99	erû^{mušen} itti libbišu amātum iqabbi	The eagle with his heart a word he spoke	X itti libbišu amāta izakkar	Etana LV.C-G.II.100-101	Etana LV.C-G.II.102	ul išmešunutima ul išmā zikir mārīšu	He did not listen to them, he did not listen to the speech of his	ul išme-šunuti-ma ul išmā zikir X
Etana LV.C-G.II.109	ana libbi ina erebišu šerru iṣṣabassu ina kappišu	As he went inside the serpent seized him by his wings	No verbum dicendi	Etana LV.C-G.II.110	Etana LV.C-G.II.111	erû^{mušen} pâšu īpušamma ana šerri izakk	The eagle his mouth he opened, to the serpent he spoke to h	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.C-G.II.111	erû^{mušen} pâšu īpušamma ana šerri izakkaršu	The eagle his mouth he opened to the serpent he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.C-G.II.112	Etana LV.C-G.II.113	šerru pâšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} izakk	The serpent his mouth he opened, to the eagle he spoke to h	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.C-G.II.113	šerru pâšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} izakkaršu	The serpent his mouth he opened, to the eagle he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.C-G.II.114-6	Etana LV.C-G.II.117	unakkis kappi-šu abri-šu nuballi-šu	He cut off his wings, kappu, abru and nuballu	
Etana LV.C-G.II.120-1	erû^{mušen} epra (?) iktum (?) qaqqadu umišamma imdanaḫara ^dŠamši	The eagle covered his head (?) with the dust of the pit. Daily he prayed to Šamaš	No verba dicendi	Etana LV.C-G.II.122-5	Etana LV.C-G.II.125	^dŠamaš pâšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} iza	Šamaš his mouth opened, to the eagle he spoke to him	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.C-G.II.125	^dŠamaš pâšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} izakkaršu	Šamaš his mouth he opened, to the eagle he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.C-G.II.126-30	Etana LV.C-G.II.131	^dEtana umišamma imtaḫara ^dŠamši	^dEtana daily prayed to Šamaš	
Etana LV.C-G.II.131	^dEtana umišamma imtaḫara ^dŠamši	^dEtana daily prayed to Šamaš	No verbum dicendi	Etana LV.C-G.II.132-40	Etana LV.C-G.II.141	^dŠamaš pâšu īpušamma ana ^dEtana iza	Šamaš his mouth he opened, to Etana she spoke to him	
Etana LV.C-G.II.141	^dŠamaš pâšu īpušamma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	^dŠamaš his mouth he opened, to Etana she spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.C-G.II.142-5	Etana LV.C-G.II.146-7	ana zikir ^dŠamaš qurādi ^dEtana illik itiq šadâ	At the speech of Šamaš qurādu. The serpent went off, into the mountainland	
Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.1	erû^{mušen} pâšu īpušamma ana ^dŠamši bēušu izakkaršu	The eagle his mouth he opened, to Šamaš his lord he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.2-6	Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.7	ina pî ^dŠamaš qurādi […	In the mouth of Šamaš qurādi	NB: ina pî could be used in the same sense as ana zikir
Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.9	erû^{mušen} pīšu īpušamma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle his mouth he opened, to Etana he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.10	Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.11	^dEtana pīšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} izak	Etana his mouth he opened, to the eagle he spoke to him	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.11	^dEtana pīšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} izakkaršu	Etana his mouth he opened, to the eagle he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.H, [N].III/A.12ff.			Too fragmented	
Etana LV.J.IV/A.a	^dEtana ana šašuma ana erî^{mušen} izakkaršu	^dEtana to him, to the eagle he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.J.IV/A.b-8			Too fragmented	
Etana LV, K, L, M.IV/B.1	erû^{mušen} pâšu ēpušamma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle his mouth he opened, to Etana he spoke to him	X pâšu īpušamma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.2-14	Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.15	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ^dEtana izakka	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.K, L, M. IV/B.15	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.16-20	Resumes Narrative	ina muḫḫi irti-šu ištakan iras-sa	He placed his chest above the eagle's breast	
Etana LV.K, L, M. IV/B.25-6	išten bēra ušaqišuma	One bēru he bore him upwards		Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.27-30	Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.31-2	šanâ bēra ušaqišuma	A second bēru he bore him upwards	
	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu			erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakka	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.K, L, M. IV/B.31-2	šanâ bēra ušaqišuma	A second bēru he bore him upwards		Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.33-4	Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.35-6	šalša ušaqišuma	A third bēru he bore him upwards	
	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu			erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakka	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.K, L, M. IV/B.35-6	šalša ušaqišuma	A third bēru he bore him upwards		Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.37-8	Too fragmented			
	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu					
Etana LV.M, N, O. IV/C.a	erû^{mušen} pīšu īpušamma ana ^dŠamši bēlišu izakkaršu	The eagle his mouth he opened, to Šamaš his lord he spoke to him	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.6	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.7-9	ina pî ^dŠamši qurādi [… atmi iṣṣuri [… erû^{mušen} pīšu īpušamma ana ^dEtana iza	In the mouth of Šamši qurādi [… atmi iṣṣuri [… The eagle his mouth he opened to ^dEtana he spoke to him	
Etana LV.M, O. IV/C.19	erû^{mušen} pīšu īpušamma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle his mouth he opened to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.10	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.11	^dEtana pīšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} izak	Etana his mouth he opened, to the eagle he spoke to him	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu
Etana LV.M, N, O. IV/C.11	^dEtana pīšu īpušamma ana erî^{mušen} izakkaršu	Etana his mouth he opened, to the eagle he spoke to him	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.12-14			Too fragmented	
Etana LV.M, N, O. IV/C.17		Too fragmented		Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.18-27	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.26-9	ina muḫḫi idija šukun idika	Place your arms above my sides	Rephrased Confirmation
Etana LV.M, N, O. IV/C.30	išten bēra ušaqišuma	One bēru he bore him upwards	Cf. Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.25-6	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.31-3	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.34	šanâ bēra ušaqišuma	A second bēru he bore him upwards	Cf. Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.31-2
Etana LV.M, N, O. IV/C.34	šanâ bēra ušaqišuma	A second bēru he bore him upwards	Cf. Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.31-2	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.35-7	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.38-9	šalša ušaqišuma	A third bēru he bore him upwards	Cf. Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.35
Etana LV.M, N, O. IV/C.38-9	šalša ušaqišuma	A third bēru he bore him upwards	Cf. Etana LV.K, L, M.IV/B.35	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.40-3	Etana LV.M, N, O.IV/C.44	išten bēra issukašumma	One bēru he lay slumped against him	Return to narrative
Etana LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.1-2	išten bēra ušaqišuma	One bēru he bore him upwards		Etana LV.(N rev.).IV/D.3-6	Etana LV.(N rev.).IV/D.7-8	šanâ bēra ušaqišuma	A second bēru he bore him upwards	
	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu			erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakka	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	Y ana šašuma ana X izakkaršu
Etana LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.7-8	šanâ bēra ušaqišuma	A second bēru he bore him upwards		Etana LV.(N rev.).IV/D.9-10	Etana LV.(N rev.).IV/D.11-12	šalša ušaqišuma	A third bēru he bore him upwards	
	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu			erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakka	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	Y ana šašuma ana X izakkaršu
Etana LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.11-1	šalša ušaqišuma	A third bēru he bore him upwards		Etana LV.(N rev.).IV/D.13-4	Etana LV.(N rev.).IV/D.15	ištu elû ana šamê ^dAnim	When they had flown up to the heaven of Anu	Return to narrative
	erû^{mušen} ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	The eagle to him, to ^dEtana he spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu					
Etana LV. (K rev.).V/A.2	marḫissu ana šašuma ana ^dEtana izakkaršu	His wife to him to Etana she spoke to him	X ana šašuma ana Y izakkaršu	Etana LV.(K rev.).V/A.3ff.			Too fragmented	

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
saqāru (G Durative)				
	X *ana* Y *awatam isaqqar*	X ana Y a word he spoke	OV$_1$.I/C.22-3	OV$_1$.I/C.24-5
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + saqāru (G Durative)				
	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma ana Y-*ma issaqar-šu*	X his mouth he opened to Y he spoke to him	OV$_1$.I/D.3 OV$_1$.I/D.11 OV$_1$.I/D.13 OV$_1$.I/E.4 OV1.I/E.7	OV$_1$.I/D. 4-5 OV$_1$.I/D.12 OV$_1$.I/D.14-5 OV$_1$.I/E.5-6 OV1.I/E.8
No introduction				
			OV$_1$.I/C.36-7	OV1.I/D.1-2
Too fragmented				
			OV1.I/C.14 OV1.I/D.11	OV1.I/C.15-21 OV$_1$.I/D.12
verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
zakāru (G Durative)				
	ana Y *amāta izakkar*	To Y words he spoke	MA$_1$.I/B.3-4	MA$_1$.I/B.5-9
	X ana Y *izakkar*	X to Y spoke	MA$_2$.I/D.14	MA$_2$.I/D.15-17
	ana Y *izakkar-šu*	To Y he spoke to him	MA$_2$.I/D.7	MA$_2$.I/D.8-13
	X ana šuāšu izakkar -ma	X to him he spoke	MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.11	MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.12-18
	X ana šuāšu ana Y *izakkar -šu*	X to him to Y he spoke to him	MA$_3$.I/H.1 MA$_3$.I/H.4-5 MA$_3$.I/H.8	MA$_3$.I/H.2-3 MA$_3$.I/H.6-7 MA$_3$.I/H.9-10
Fragmented				
			MA$_1$.I/B.24 MA$_1$;MA3.I/G.3-4 MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.19-20	MA$_1$.I/B.25ff. MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.5-10 MA$_1$;MA3.I/G.21ff.
Lacuna				
				MA$_1$.I/A.1-7 MA$_4$.I/C.1-4 MA$_2$.I/E.1-5
verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
zakāru (G Durative)				
	X ana Y *amāta izakkar*	*X to Y words he spoke*	LV.C-G.II.45 LV.C-G.II.97	LV.C-G.II.46-9 LV.C-G.II.98
	X itti libbišu amāta izakkar	*X with his heart words he spoke*	LV.C-G.II.99	LV.C-G.II.100-101
	X ana šāšuma ana Y *izakkar -šu*	*X to him to Y he spoke to him*	LV.C.I/B.4 LV.C.I/B.9 LV.J.IV/A.a	LV.C.I/B.6-8 LV.C.I/B.10-11 LV.J.IV/A.b-8
	X ana šāšima ana Y *izakkar -ši*	*X to her to Y he spoke to her*	LV.C.I/B.12	LV.C.I/B.13-5

	X ana šāšuma ana Y izakkaršu	*X to him to Y he spoke to him*	LV.K, L, M. IV/B.15 LV.K, L, M. IV/B.25-6 LV.K, L, M. IV/B.31-2 LV.K, L, M. IV/B.35-6 LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.1-2 LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.7-8 LV.D, (N rev.). IV/D.11-12 LV. (K rev.).V/A.2	LV.K, L, M.IV/B.16-20 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.27-30 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.33-4 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.37-8 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.3-6 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.9-10 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.13-4 LV.(K rev.).V/A.3ff.
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	X pâ-šu īpušam-ma izakkar ana Y	*X his mouth he opened he spoke to Y*	LV.C-G.II.7 LV.C-G.II.10 LV.C-G.II.40 LV.C-G.II.95	LV.C-G.II.8-9 LV.C-G.II.11-5 LV.C-G.II.41-4 LV.C-G.II.96
	X pā-šu ipušam-ma ana Y izakkar-šu	*X his mouth he opened to Y he spoke to him*	LV.C-G.II.72-3 LV.C-G.II.111 LV.C-G.II.113 LV.C-G.II.125 LV.C-G.II.141 LV.H, [N].III/A.9 LV.H, [N].III/A.11 LV. K, L, M.IV/B.1 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.a LV.M, N, O.IV/C.19 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.11 LV.H, [N].III/A.1	LV.C-G.II.4-85 LV.C-G.II.112 LV.C-G.II.114-6 LV.C-G.II.126-30 LV.C-G.II.142-5 LV.H, [N].III/A.10 LV.H, [N].III/A.12ff. LV.K, L, M.IV/B.2-14 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.6 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.10 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.12-14 LV.H, [N].III/A.2-6
tamû (G Preterite)				
	ina maḫar Y māmītu itmû	*Before Y an oath the swore*	LV.C-G.II.16	LV.C-G.II.17-22
maḫāru (Gtn Durative)				
	X umišamma imdanaḫḫara Y	*X Daily was praying to Y*	LV.C-G.II.120-1 LV.C-G.II.131	LV.C-G.II.122-5 LV.C-G.II.132-40
No *verba dicendi*				
			LV.A, B.I/A.7 LV.A, B.I/A.25 LV.C-G.II.59-60 LV.C-G.II.109 LV.M, N, O. IV/C.30 LV.M, N, O. IV/C.34 LV.M, N, O. IV/C.38-9	LV.A, B.I/A.7-9 LV.A, B.I/A.26-7 LV.C-G.II.61-71 LV.C-G.II.110 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.31-3 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.35-7 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.40-3
Lacuna				
			LV.M, N, O. IV/C.17	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.18-27

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Capping Line	Speech
magāru (G Preterite) + šemû (G Durative)				
	ul imgur... *ul išemme…*	He did not agree… He did not hear	OV$_1$.I/C.26-7	OV$_1$.I/C.24-5
saqāru (G Durative)				
	Y *ana X awatam isaqqar*		OV$_1$.I/C.22-3	OV$_1$.I/C.15-21
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + saqāru (G Durative)				
	Y pâ-šu ipušam-ma ana X-ma issaqar-šu	Y his mouth he opened to X he spoke to him	OV$_1$.I/D.3, OV$_1$.I/D.13, OV$_1$.I/C.7	OV$_1$.I/D.1-2, OV$_1$.I/D.12, OV$_1$.I/E.5-6
Return to narrative				
			OV$_1$.I/D.4-5	*OV$_1$.I/D.6*
Lacuna				
				OV$_1$.I/C.38-51, OV$_1$.I/D.14-5, OV$_1$.I/E.8
verba recogitandi	**Capping Formula**	**Translation**	**Capping Line**	**Speech**
magāru (G Preterite) + šemû (G Durative)				
	ul imgur... *ul išemme…*	He did not agree… He did not hear	MA$_1$.I/B.10-1	MA$_1$.I/B.5-9
ina šemû (Participle)				
	Y ina šamêšu	Y in his hearing	MA$_2$.I/E.6	MA$_2$.I/E.1-5
zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y ana šuāšu izakkar -ma	Y to him he spoke	MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.11	MA1;MA$_3$.I/G.5-10
	Y ana šuāšu ana X izakkar -šu	Y to him to X he spoke to him	MA$_3$.I/H.4-5 MA$_3$.I/H.8	MA$_3$.I/H.2-3 MA$_3$.I/H.6-7
	Y ana šuāšu ana X izakkar	Y to him to X he sooke	MA$_2$.I/D.14	MA$_2$.I/D.8-13
Return to narrative				
	Return to narrative		MA$_1$.I/A.8 MA$_4$.I/C.5 MA$_1$;MA3.I/G.19-20 MA$_3$.I/H.11	MA$_1$.I/A.1-7 MA$_4$.I/C.1-4 MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.12-18 MA$_3$.I/H.9-10
Lacuna				
	Lacuna			MA$_1$.I/B.25ff. MA$_2$.I/D.15-7 MA$_1$;MA$_3$.I/G.21ff.
verba recogitandi	**Capping Formula**	**Translation**	**Capping Line**	**Speech**
šemû (G Preterite)				
	ul išme-šunuti-ma ul išmā zikir X	He did not hear them, he did not hear the speech of X	LV.C-G.II.102	LV.C-G.II.100-101
	ina maḫar X māmītu itmû		LV.C-G.II.16	LV.C-G.II.11-5
ul šemû (G Preterite)				
	ul išme-šunūti-ma ul išmā zikir X	*He did not hear them, he did not hear the speech of X*	LV.C-G.II.50	LV.C-G.II.46-9
ana zikru				
	ana zikir X	*To the speech of X*	LV.C-G.II.86 LV.C-G.II.146-7	LV.C-G.II.4-85 LV.C-G.II.142-5
ina pû				
	ina pî X		LV.H, [N].III/A.7 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.7-9	LV.H, [N].III/A.2-6 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.6
ištu māmītu tamû (G Preterite)				
	ištu māmītu itmû erṣetim rabītim (?)	After an oath they swore, by the netherworld	LV.C-G.II.23	LV.C-G.II.17-22
zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y ana šāšima ana X izakkar -ši	*Y to her to X he spoke to him*	LV.C.I/B.12	LV.C.I/B.10-11

	Y ana šāšuma an X izakkar -šu	*Y to him to X he spoke to him*	LV.C.I/B.9 LV.C-G.II.72-3 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.15 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.31-2 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.35-6 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.7-8 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.11-12	LV.C.I/B.6-8 LV.C-G.II.61-71 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.2-14 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.27-30 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.33-4 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.3-6 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.9-10
	Y ana X amāta izakkar	*Y to X words he spoke*	LV.C-G.II.45 LV.C-G.II.97	LV.C-G.II.41-4 LV.C-G.II.96
qabû (G Durative)				
	Y itti libbišu amātum iqabbi	*Y with his heart words he said*	LV.C-G.II.99	LV.C-G.II.98
pâ epēšu (G Preterite Ventive) + *zakāru* (G Durative)				
	Y pâšu īpušam-ma ana X izakkar-šu	*Y his mouth he opened to X he spoke to him*	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.11 LV.H, [N].III/A.11 LV.C-G.II.111 LV.C-G.II.113 LV.C-G.II.125 LV.C-G.II.141	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.10 LV.H, [N].III/A.10 LV.C-G.II.110 LV.C-G.II.112 LV.C-G.II.122-5 LV.C-G.II.132-40
	Y pâ-šu īpušam-ma izakkar ana X	*Y his mouth he opened he spoke to X*	LV.C-G.II.10	LV.C-G.II.8-9
maḫāru (G Perfect)				
	Y ūmišam-ma imtaḫar X	*Y daily he appealed to X*	LV.C-G.II.131	LV.C-G.II.126-30
Potentially missing a *verbum recogitandi*				
			LV.C-G.II.72-3	LV.C-G.II.61-71
Rephrased Confirmation				
			LV.M, N, O.IV/C.26-9 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.26-9	LV.M, N, O.IV/C.18-27 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.16-20
Too fragmented				
				LV.C.I/B.13-5 LV.H, [N].III/A.12ff. LV.J.IV/A.b-8 LV.K, L, M.IV/B.37-8 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.12-14 LV.(K rev.).V/A.3ff.
No recognition				
			LV.A, B.I/A.28 LV.C-G.II.117 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.34 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.38 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.44 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.15	LV.A, B.I/A.26-7 LV.C-G.II.114-6 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.31-3 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.35-7 LV.M, N, O.IV/C.40-3 LV.(N rev.).IV/D.13-4

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Erra.I.7	itami ana ᵍⁱˢ kakkē-šu litpata imat mūti	He swore to his weapons: "May you smear yourselves with deadly venom"	itamī ana Y	Erra.I.7	Erra.I.8	ana ᵈ sibitti qarād la šanān nandiqa kakkēkun	To the seven, warriors without rival, " Take your weapons!"	No recognition
Erra.I.8	ana ᵈ sibitti qarād la šanān nandiqa kakkēkun	To the seven, warriors without rival, " Take your weapons!"	No verba dicendi	Erra.I.8	Erra.I.9	iqabbi-ma ana kaša luṣi-ma ana ṣēri	And he spoke to you, "I will take to the field."	No recognition
Erra.I.9	iqabbi-ma ana kaša luṣi-ma ana ṣēri	And he spoke to you, "I will take to the field."	iqabbi-ma ana Y	Erra.I.8-15	Erra.I.16	iqabbi ana libbī-šu lūtbi lūṣlal-ma	He spoke to his heart, "Shall I get up or sleep?"	No recognition
Erra.I.16	iqabbi ana libbī-šu lūtbi lūṣlal-ma	He spoke to his heart, "Shall I get up or sleep?"	iqabbi-ma ana Y	Erra.I.16	Erra.I.17	itāma ana kakkē-šu ummeda tubqāti	He swore to his weapons: "Stay in the corners"	No recognition
Erra.I.17	itāma ana kakkē-šu ummeda tubqāti	He swore to his weapons: "Stay in the corners"	itāma ana kakkē-šu	Erra.I.17	Erra.I.18	ana Sibitti qarād la šanān ana šubtekunu turama	To the seven, warriors without rival, "To your dwellings, return"	No recognition
Erra.I.18	ana Sibitti qarād la šanān ana šubtekunu turama	To the seven, warriors without rival, "To your dwellings, return"	No verba dicendi	Erra.I.18	Erra.I.19	adi atta tadēku-šu ṣalil uršuš-šu	Until you rouse him, he will sleep in in his bedroom	No recognition
Erra.I.31	issi-ma ištēn išakkana ṭēma	He summoned the first to give instructions	issi-ma Y išakkana ṭēma	Erra.I.32	Erra.I.33	iqabbi ana šanē kīma ᵈ Girri kubum-ma ḫumuṭ kīma nabli	He spoke to the second, "Like fire, burn , like flame"	No recognition
Erra.I.33	iqabbi ana šanē kīma ᵈ Girri kubum-ma ḫumuṭ kīma nabli	He spoke to the second, "Like fire, burn , like flame"	iqabbi ana Y	Erra.I.33	Erra.I.34	itāmi ana šalši zīm labi lu šaknata-ma amirka liš/liḫḫarmiṭ	He swore to the third, "Look like a lion, let him who sees you be paralysed with fear	No recognition
Erra.I.34	itāmi ana šalši zīm labi lu šaknata-ma amirka liš/liḫḫarmiṭ	He swore to the third, "Look like a lion, let him who sees you be paralysed with fear	itāmi ana Y	Erra.I.34	Erra.I.35	iqabbi ana ribī ana našē ᵍⁱˢ kakkē-ka ezzuti šadu litabbit	He spoke to the fourth, "At your fierce weapons presented, may a mountain collapse"	No recognition
Erra.I.35	iqabbi ana ribī ana našē ᵍⁱˢ kakkē-ka ezzuti šadu litabbit	He spoke to the fourth, "At your fierce weapons presented, may a mountain collapse"	iqabbi ana Y	Erra.I.35	Erra.I.36	ana ḫanši iqtabi kīma šāri zīq-ma kippata ḫīta	At the fifth he spoke, "Like the wind, blast the circumference of the earth"	No recognition
Erra.I.36	ana ḫanši iqtabi kīma šāri zīq-ma kippata ḫīta	At the fifth he spoke, "Like the wind, blast the circumference of the earth"	ana Y iqtabi	Erra.I.36	Erra.I.37	šeš-ša umta'ir eliš u šapliš bā'ma la tagammil mama	The sixth he enjoined, "On high and on low, go, do not spare anyone"	No recognition
Erra.I.37	šeš-ša umta'ir eliš u šapliš bā'ma la tagammil mama	The sixth he gave an order, "On high and on low, go, do not spare anyone"	Y umta'ir	Erra.I.37	Erra.I.38	sibâ imat bašme išenšu-ma šumqita napišta	The seventh with the venom of a viper he loaded, "Slay whatever is alive"	No recognition
Erra.I.38	sibâ imat bašme išenšu-ma šumqita napišta	The seventh with the venom of a viper he loaded, "Slay whatever is alive"	No verba dicendi	Erra.I.38	Erra.I.39	ultu šīmat ᵈ Sibitti napḫar-šunu išimu ᵈ anu	After the destinies of the seven he had ordained, Anu	ultu šīmat Y išimu X
Erra.I.40	iddin-šunuti-ma ana ᵈ erra garrad ilāni lilliku idaka	He gave them to Erra, hero of the gods, "Let them march beside you"	No verba dicendi	Erra.I.40-4	Erra.I.45-6	sunu ezzu-ma tebū kakkē-šun	These are the ones in a fury, they hold up their weapons	No recognition
						itamū ana ᵈ erra tebi izziz-ma	They swear to Erra, "Up, do your duty"	
Erra.I.45-6	sunu ezzu-ma tebū kakkē-šun	These are the ones in a fury, they hold up their weapons				išme-sunuti-ma qurādu ᵈ erra	He heard them, Erra qurādu	išme-sunuti-ma Y
	itamū ana ᵈ erra tebi izziz-ma	They swear to Erra, "Up, do your duty"	itamū ana Y	Erra.I.47-91	Erra.I.92	amat sibitti iqbū kī ulu šamni elī-šu iṭib	The words the seven spoke like fine oil were pleasing to him	amat X iqbū kī ulu šamni elī-šu iṭib
						īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana dišum	He opened his mouth he said to Išum	
Erra.I.92	išme-sunuti-ma qurādu ᵈ erra	He heard them, Erra qurādu				ᵈ išum annita ina šeme-šu	Išum when he heard	Y annita ina šeme-šu īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana X
	amat sibitti iqbū kī ulu šamni elī-šu iṭib	The words the seven spoke like fine oil were pleasing to him	īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana Y	Erra.I.93-9	Erra.I.100-1 (ES)	īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana qurādu derra	He opened his mouth he said to qurādu Erra	
	īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana dišum	He opened his mouth he said to Išum			Erra.I.100-1 (B)	išmē-ma ᵈ išum anna qaba-šu	He heard, Išum, what he spoke to him	išme-ma Y anna qaba-šu
						rēmu irtaši-ma iqtabi ana qurādu ᵈ erra	He felt pity, he spoke to qurādu Erra	rēmu irtaši-ma iqtabi ana X
Erra.I.100-1 (ES)	ᵈ išum annita ina šeme-šu	Išum when he heard	X annita ina šeme-šu īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana Y			derra pâ-še īpuš-ma iqabbi	Erra his mouth he opened, he spoke	Y pâ-še īpuš-ma iqabbi ana X amatu izakkar
	īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana qurādu derra	He opened his mouth he said to qurādu Erra						
Erra.I.100-1 (B)	išmē-ma ᵈ išum anna qaba-šu	He heard, Išum, what he spoke to him	išmē-ma X anna qaba-šu rēmu irtaši-ma iqtabi ana Y	Erra.I.102-3	Erra.I.104-5	ana ᵈ išum alik maḫri-šu amatu izakkar	To Išum, the one who goes in front of him, words he said	
	rēmu irtaši-ma iqtabi ana qurādu ᵈ erra	He felt pity, he spoke to qurādu Erra						No recognition
derra pâ-še īpuš-ma iqabbi		Erra his mouth he opened, he spoke						
Erra.I.104-5	ana ᵈ išum alik maḫri-šu amatu izakkar	To Išum, the one who comes in front of him, words he said	X pâ-še īpuš-ma iqabbi ana Y amatu izakkar	Erra.I.106-123	Erra.I.124	qurādu ᵈ erra ana šuanna āl šar ilāni ištakan pani-šu	qurādu Erra for the šuanna, city of the king of the gods he set out	
Erra.I.126	īpuš-ma pâ-še ana šar ilāni itāmi	He opened his mouth , to the king of the gods he swore To Erra	īpuš-ma pâ-še ana Y itāmi	Erra.I.127-8	Erra.I.129-30	īpuš-ma pâ-šu šar ilāni itāmi ana ᵈ erra qarrad ilāni amat izakkar	He opened his mouth, the king of the gods To Erra qurādu of the gods, words he said	īpuš-ma pâ-šu Y itāmi ana X amat izakkar
Erra.I.129-30	īpuš-ma pâ-šu šar ilāni itāmi	He opened his mouth, to the king of the gods he swore	īpuš-ma pâ-še X itāmi ana Y amat izakkar	Erra.I.131-162	Erra.I.163-4	išmi-šu-ma izziz? qurādu ᵈ erra	He heard, standing(?), qurādu Erra	išmi-ma …Y
	ana ᵈ erra qarrad ilāni amat izakkar					īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana rubê dMarduk	He opened his mouth he said to noble Marduk	īpu-š-ma pa-šu izakkar ana X
Erra.I.163-4	išmi-šu-ma izziz? qurādu ᵈ erra	He heard, standing(?), qurādu Erra	išmi-ma …X īpu-š-ma pa-šu izakkar ana Y	Erra.I.165-7	Erra.I.168-9	ᵈ marduk annita ina šeme-šu	Marduk when he heard this	Y annita ina šeme-šu īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana X
	īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana rubê dMarduk	He opened his mouth he said to noble Marduk				īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana qurādu derra	His mouth he opened, he said to qurādu Erra	
Erra.I.168-9	ᵈ marduk annita ina šeme-šu	Marduk when he heard this	X annita ina šeme-šu īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana Y	Erra.I.170-8	Erra.I.179-80	ᵈ erra annita ina šeme-šu	Erra when he heard this	Y annita ina šeme-šu īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana X
	īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana qurādu derra	His mouth he opened, he said to qurādu Erra				īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana rubê dMarduk	He opened his mouth he said to noble Marduk	
Erra.I.179-80	ᵈ erra annita ina šeme-šu	Erra when he heard this	X annita ina šeme-šu īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana Y	Erra.I.181-9	Erra.I.190-1	išmi-šu-ma rubû Marduk	He heard him, noble Marduk	išmi-šu-ma Y amat X iqbū eli-šu iṭib
	īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana rubê dMarduk	He opened his mouth he said to noble Marduk				amat ᵈ erra iqbū eli-šu iṭib	The words Erra spoke were pleasing to him	
Too fragmented				Erra.II.Obv.Col i./12-14/29	Erra.II.Obv.Col i.15/3	ᵈ ea šarru uštamma amatu iqabba	Ea the king reflected, words he spoke	X…uštamma amatu iqabba
Erra.II.Obv.Col i.15/3(	ᵈ ea šarru uštammâ amatu iqabba	Ea the king reflected, words he spoke	X…uštamma amatu iqabba	Erra.II.Obv.Col i.16/31-45	Too Fragmented			
Too Fragmented				Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./24	Erra.II.obv.Col ii.b53/	išme šāšu…ana šar ilī itama	He heard him…to the king of the gods he swore	išme šāšu…ana X itama

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Erra.II.obv.Col ii.b53/?	išme šāšu…ana šar ilī itama	He heard him…to the king of the gods he swore	išme šāšu…ana Y itama	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./26	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./27	iqabbi ana šāšu…	He spoke to him…	iqabbi ana šāšu…
Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./27	iqabbi ana šāšu…	He spoke to him…	iqabbi ana šāšu…	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./28-/29	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./30	išme-šu-ma ᵈerra…	He heard him, did Erra	išme-šu-ma Y
Too fragmented				Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./10'-/16'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./17'-/18'	itapla ᵈinnina ina puḫur ilanī	She replied, Innina, in the assembly of the gods	itapla Y
Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./17'-/18'	itapla ᵈinnina ina puḫur ilanī / ana ᵈanim u ᵈdagan amatu…	She replied, Innina, in the assembly of the gods / To Anu and Dagan words…	itapla Y	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./19'-/28'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./29' - c1/30'	illik-ma ᵈištar iterubu ana ganūn… / ana ᵈerra uštemīq-ma ul imangura	She went, the goddess, they entered the storehouse? / Erra she begged, he did not comply	No recognition
Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.2-3/31'	dišum pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara amata ana dištar	Išum his mouth he opened, he spoke he said words to Ištar	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara amata ana Y	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.4/32' - 6/34'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.7/35'	aplu ᵈenlil šīru ša la ᵈišum alik maḫri ul iṣṣabat urḫā…	The heir, Enlil, the exalted one, without Išum who goes in front of him will not take the warpath	No recognition
Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.11/39'	išal ana šāšu qibis-su-ma	He asks him for his speech	išal ana šāšu qibis-su-ma	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.12/40'ff.	Lacuna			
Start of tablet				Erra.III.A.1ff.	Lacuna			
				Erra.III.C.1-10	Erra.III.C.11	ᵈerra ana ᵈišum alik maḫri-šu amatu izakkar	Erra to Išum, who goes in front of him words he said	Y ana X amatu izakkar
Erra.III.C.11	ᵈerra ana ᵈišum alik maḫri-šu amatu izakkar	Erra to Išum, who goes in front of him words he said	X ana Y amatu izakkar	Erra.III.C.12-27	Erra.III.C.28-9	išme-ma ᵈišum annā qabā-šu	He heard, Išum, what he spoke to him	išme-ma Y annā qabā-šu
Erra.III.C.28-9	išme-ma ᵈišum annā qabā-šu / rēma irtaši iqtabi ana libbī-šu	He heard, Išum, what he spoke to him / Pity he felt, he said to his own heart	rēma irtaši iqtabi ana libbī-šu	Erra.III.C.30-33	Erra.III.C.34	ᵈišum pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi	Išum his mouth he opened he spoke	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi
Erra.III.C.34-5	ᵈišum pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi / ana qurādu ᵈerra amāta izakkar	Išum his mouth he opened he spoke / To qurādu Erra words he said	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi	Erra.III.C.36-7	Erra.III.C.38	ᵈerra pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi	Erra his mouth he opened, he spoke	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi
Erra.III.C.38	ᵈerra pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi	Erra his mouth he opened, he spoke	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi	Erra.III.C.39-56	Erra.III.C.57	ᵈišum pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana qurādu ᵈerra itami	Išum his mouth he opened to qurādu Erra he swore	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana X itami
Erra.III.C.57	ᵈišum pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana qurādu ᵈerra itami	Išum his mouth he opened to qurādu Erra he swore	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana Y itami	Erra.III.C.58ff.	Lacuna			
Erra.III.D.2	ᵈišum pâ-šu epuš-ma iqabbi ana qurādu ᵈerra	Išum his mouth he opened he spoke to qurādu Erra	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana Y itami	Erra.III.D.315	End of Tablet			
Start of Tablet				Erra.IV.1-127	Erra.IV.128-30	išme-šu-ma qurādu ᵈerra / amat ᵈišum iqbu-šu kī ulu šamni elī-šu iṭib / u kīam iqtabi qurādu ᵈerra	He heard him, qurādu Erra / The words Išum spoke to him like the finest oil were pleasing to him / Thus spoke qurādu Erra	išme-šu-ma Y / amat X iqbu-šu kī ulu šamni elī-šu iṭib / u kīam iqtabi Y
Erra.IV.45	u kīam iqtabi rubū ᵈMarduk	And thus did speak great Marduk	u kīam iqtabi X	Erra.IV.46-49	Erra.IV.50	ša ᵘʳᵘsipar āl šâti ša ᵈbēl mātāti ina aqar pani-šu abubu la ušbi'ū-šu	As for Sippar the eternal city, to which the Lord of the world did not allow the flood, since it was precious to him	Continuing Speceh
Erra.IV.65	Ištaran īpula qibīta	Ištaran replied with a speech	X īpula qibīta	Erra.IV.66-75	Erra.IV.76	ša ina qablu la imtutu imat ina šipṭi	He who in this battle did not die will die in the epidemic	Continuing speech
Erra.IV.88	šakin āli ana alitti-šu iqabbi kīam	The man in charge of the city to his mother will speak thus	X ana Y iqabbi kīam	Erra.IV.89-94	Erra.IV.95	ša māra uldu mari-ma iqabbi	He who a son begot, will speak	X iqabbi
Erra.IV.95	ša māra uldu mari-ma iqabbi	He who a son begot, will speak	X iqabbi	Erra.IV.96-8	Erra.IV.99	ša bīta īpušu ganuni-ma iqabbi	He who built a house will speak	X iqabbi
Erra.IV.99	ša bīta īpušu ganuni-ma iqabbi	He who built a house will speak	X iqabbi	Erra.IV.100-103	Erra.IV.10	qurādu ᵈerra kīnamma tuštamit	qurādu Erra a just man you have put to death	Continuing speech
Erra.IV.128-30	išme-šu-ma qurādu ᵈerra / amat ᵈišum iqbu-šu kī ulu šamni elī-šu iṭib / u kīam iqtabi qurādu ᵈerra	He heard him, qurādu Erra / The words Išum spoke to him like the finest oil were pleasing to him / Thus spoke qurādu Erra	išme-šu-ma X / amat Y iqbu-šu kī ulu šamni elī-šu iṭib / u kīam iqtabi X	Erra.IV.131-6	Erra.IV.137	qurādu ᵈerra ana ᵈišum alik maḫri-šu amāti izakkar	qurādu Erra to Išum who goes in front of him, words he said	Y ana X amāti izakkar
Erra.IV.137	qurādu ᵈerra ana ᵈišum alik maḫri-šu amāti izakkar	qurādu Erra to Išum who goes in front of him, words he said	X ana Y amāti izakkar	Erra.IV.138	Erra.IV.139	ᵈišum ana Ḫl.Ḫl šadî ištakan pani-šu	Išum to Mt. Sharshar he set out	No recognition
Erra.V.4	ᵈerra pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana kali ilāni itami	Erra his mouth he opened to all the gods he swore	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana Y itami	Erra.V.5-15	Erra.V.16A-16B	ᵈišum pâ-šu epuš-ma iqabbi / ana qurādu ᵈerra amate izakkar	Išum his mouth he opened he spoke / To qurādu Erra words he said	Y pâ-šu epuš-ma iqabbi ana X amate izakkar
Erra.V.16A-16B	ᵈišum pâ-šu epuš-ma iqabbi / ana qurādu ᵈerra amate izakkar	Išum his mouth he opened he spoke / To qurādu Erra words he said	X pâ-šu epuš-ma iqabbi ana Y amate izakkar	Erra.V.17-19	Erra.V.20	išme-šu-ma ᵈerra immera panū-šu	He heard this, Erra, his face beamed	išme-šu-ma Y…
Erra.V.23-4	issi-ma ᵈišum idabbub ittu / aššu nišī ᵏᵘʳAkkadī ᵏⁱ saphāti išakkan-šu ṭēmu	He summoned Išum to tell him the sign / To the scattered people of Akkad, to give instructions to them	issi-ma Y idabbub ittu	Erra.V.25ff.	Erra.V.45	_End of Tabet 5 blurs the speech of Erra with the speech of the narrator_ / išme-šu-ma ᵈerra imdaḫar pani-šu	He heard it, Erra, he approved	išme-šu-ma Y imdaḫar pani-šu

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
qabû (G Perfect)				
	ana Y iqtabi	To Y he spoke	Erra.I.36	Erra.I.36
	išmē-ma Y anna qaba-šu rēmu irtaši-ma iqtabi ana X	He heard, X, what he spoke to him He felt pity he spoke to Y	Erra.I.100-1 (B)	Erra.I.102-104
	u kīam iqtabi X	And thus he spoke, X	Erra.IV.45 Erra.IV.130	Erra.IV.46-49 Erra.IV.131-6
qabû (G Durative)				
	iqabbi ana šāšu…	He spoke to him…	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./27	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./28-/29
	iqabbi ana Y	He spoke to Y	Erra.I.33 Erra.I.35	Erra.I.33 Erra.I.35
	iqabbi-ma ana Y	He spoke to Y	Erra.I.9 Erra.I.16	Erra.I.8-15 Erra.I.16
	X ana Y iqabbi kīam	X to Y spoke thus	Erra.IV.88	Erra.IV.89-94
	X iqabbi	X spoke	Erra.IV.95 Erra.IV.99	Erra.IV.96-8 Erra.IV.100-103
apālu (Perfect)				
	itapla X	She replied, X	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./17'-/18'	Erra.II.Rev.Col
epēšu (G Preterite) pī-šu + tamû (G Durative)				
	īpuš-ma pâ-še ana Y itami	He opened his mouth to Y he swore	Erra.I.126	Erra.I.127-8
epēšu (G Preterite) pī-šu + tamû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	īpuš-ma pâ-še X itāmi ana Y amat izakkar	He opened his mouth, X swore To Y a word he said	Erra.I.129-30	Erra.I.131-162
epēšu (G Preterite) pī-šu + zakāru (G Durative)				
	īpuš-ma pâ-šu izakkar ana Y	He opened his mouth he said to Y	Erra.I.92	Erra.I.93-9
epēšu (G Preterite) pâ-šu + zakāru (G Durative)				
	išmi-ma …X īpuš-ma pa-šu izakkar ana Y	He heard…X Opened his mouth he said to Y	Erra.I.163-4	Erra.I.165-7
ša'ālu (G Durative)				
	išal ana šāšu qibis-su-ma	He asks him for his speech	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.11/39'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.12/40'ff.
tamû (G Durative)				
	išme šāšu…ana X itama	He heard him…to Y he swore	Erra.II.obv.Col ii.b53/25	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./26
	itāma/i/u ana Y	He swore to Y	Erra.I.17 Erra.I.7 Erra.I.34	Erra.I.17 Erra.I.7 Erra.I.34
šasû (G Preterite) + šakānu (G Durative) ṭēmu				

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
	issi-ma X idabbub ittu *Y išakkan-šu ṭēmu*	*He summoned Y to tell him the sign*	Erra.V.23-4	Erra.V.25ff.
	issi-ma Y išakkana ṭēma	He summoned Y to give instructions	Erra.I.31	Erra.I.32
rēma rašû (G Perfect) + qabû (G Perfect)				
	rēma irtaši iqtabi ana libbī-šu	*He felt pity he spoke to his own heart*	Erra.III.C.28-9	Erra.III.C.30-33
zakāru (G Durative)				
	X ana Y amāti/u izakkar	*X to Y words he said*	Erra.IV.137 Erra.III.C.11	Erra.IV.138 Erra.III.C.12-27
	X annita ina šeme-šu *īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana Y*	*X when he heard* Opened his mouth he said to Y	Erra.I.100-1 (ES) Erra.I.168-9 Erra.I.179-80	Erra.I.102-3 Erra.I.170-8 Erra.I.181-9
apālu (G Preterite)				
	X īpula qibīta	*X replied with a speech*	Erra.IV.65	Erra.IV.66-75
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + tamû (G Durative)				
	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana Y itami	*X his mouth he opened to Y he swore*	Erra.III.C.57 Erra.III.D.2 Erra.V.4	*Erra.III.C.58ff.* *Erra.III.D.315* *Erra.V.5-15*
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + qabû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi *ana Y amāta izakkar*	*X his mouth he opened he spoke* *To īpuš words he said*	Erra.III.C.38	Erra.III.C.39-56
	X pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi izakkara amāta ana Y	*X his mouth he opened he spoke he said words to Y*	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.2-3/31'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.4/32' - 6/34'
	Y pâ-še īpuš-ma iqabbi *ana X amatu izakkar*	*X his mouth he opened he spoke* *To Y words he said*	Erra.I.104-5 Erra.V.16A-16B Erra.III.C.34-5	Erra.I.106-123 Erra.V.17-19 Erra.III.C.36-7
šamû (Š Perfect) + qabû (G Durative)				
	X…uštamma amatu iqabba	*X…reflected, words he spoke*	Erra.II.Obv.Col i.15/30	Erra.II.Obv.Col i.16/31-45
âru (G Perfect)				
	Y umta'īr	*To Y he gave an order*	Erra.I.37	Erra.I.37
No verba dicendi				

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
			Erra.I.8 Erra.I.18 Erra.I.38 Erra.I.40	Erra.I.8 Erra.I.18 Erra.I.38 Erra.I.40-4
Too fragmented				
				Erra.II.Obv.Col i./12-14/29 Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./24 Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./10'-/16'
Start of tablet				
				Erra.III.A.1ff. Erra.IV.1-127

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Line(s) for capping formula	Speech
šemû (G Preterite)				
	išme šāšu…ana X itama	*He heard him…to X he swore*	Erra.II.obv.Col ii.b53/25	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./24
	išmē-ma Y anna qaba-šu	*He heard, Y, what he spoke to him*	Erra.I.100-1 (B)	Erra.I.93-9
	rēmu irtaši-ma iqtabi ana X	*He felt pity, he spoke to X*	Erra.III.C.28-9	Erra.III.C.12-27
	išme-šu-ma Y	*He heard him, Y*	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./30	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./28-/29
			Erra.IV.128-30	Erra.IV.1-127
	išme-sunuti-ma Y			
	amāt Sibitti iqbū kī ūlu šamni elīšu iṭīb	*He heard them, Y*		
			Erra.I.92	Erra.I.47-91
	išmi-ma …Y	*He heard…Y*		
	īpuš-ma pa-šu izakkar ana X	*He opened his mouth he spoke to X*	Erra.I.163-4	Erra.I.131-162
	išmi-šu-ma Y	*He heard him, Y*		
	amat X iqbū eli-šu iṭib	*The words X said were pleasing to him*	Erra.I.190-1	Erra.I.181-9
šemû (G Preterite) + maḫāru (G Perfect)				
	išme-šu-ma Y imdaḫar pani-šu	*He heard him, Y, he approved*	Erra.V.45	Erra.V.25ff.
šemû (G Preterite) + namāru (G Perfect)				
	išme-šu-ma Y immera panū-šu	*He head this Y, his face beamed*	Erra.V.20	Erra.V.17-19
ina šemû (Participle)				
	Y annita ina šeme-šu	*Y when he heard*		
	īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana X	*He opened his mouth he said to X*	Erra.I.100-1 (ES)	Erra.I.93-9
	Y annita ina šeme-šu	Y when he heard		
	īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana X	He opened his mouth he said to X	Erra.I.168-9	Erra.I.165-7
	Y annita ina šeme-šu	Y when he heard		
	īpuš-ma pâ-še izakkar ana X	He opened his mouth he spoke to X	Erra.I.179-80	Erra.I.170-8
epēšu (G Preterite) pī-šu + tamû (G Preterite) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	īpuš-ma pâ-še Y itāmi	*He opened his mouth, swore*		
	ana X amat izakkar	*To X a word he spoke*	Erra.I.129-30	Erra.I.127-8
pâ epēšu (G Preterite) + qabû (G Durative) + zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma iqabbi	*Y his mouth he opened he spoke*	Erra.I.104-5	
	ana X amatu izakkar	*To X words he said*	Erra.V.16A-16B	
			Erra.III.C.34	
			Erra.III.C.38	Erra.I.102-3
qabû (G Durative)				
	iqabbi ana šāšu…	*He said to him…*	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./27	Erra.II.Obv.Col ii./26
apālu (G Perfect)				

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Line(s) for capping formula	Speech
	itapla Y	She replied Y		
	to X amātu…	To X words…	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./17'-/18'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./10'-/16'
ultu šīmat šiāmu (G Preterite)				
	ultu šīmat Y išimu X	After the destinies of Y he had ordained, X	*Erra.I.39*	*Erra.I.38*
qabû (G Durative)				
	X iqabbi	X spoke	Erra.IV.95	Erra.IV.89-94
	X iqabbi	X spoke	Erra.IV.99	Erra.IV.96-8
šamû (Š Perfect)				
	X…uštam-ma amatu iqabba	X reflected, words he spoke	Erra.II.Obv.Col i.15/30	Erra.II.Obv.Col i./12-14/29
zakāru (G Durative)				
	Y ana X amāti izakkar	*Y to X words he spoke*	Erra.IV.137	Erra.IV.131-6
	Y ana X amatu izakkar	Y to X words he spoke	Erra.III.C.11	Erra.III.C.1-10
	Y pâ-šu īpuš-ma ana X itami	*Y his mouth he opened to X he swore*	Erra.III.C.57	Erra.III.C.39-56
Speech of Erra becomes speech of narrator				
				Erra.V.25ff.
Continuing Speech				
			Erra.IV.50	Erra.IV.46-49
			Erra.IV.76	Erra.IV.66-75
			Erra.IV.10	Erra.IV.100-103
End of Tablet				
			Erra.III.D.315	
No recognition				
			Erra.I.8	Erra.I.7
			Erra.I.9	Erra.I.8
			Erra.I.16	Erra.I.8-15
			Erra.I.17	Erra.I.16
			Erra.I.18	Erra.I.17
			Erra.I.19	Erra.I.18
			Erra.I.33	Erra.I.32
			Erra.I.34	Erra.I.33
			Erra.I.35	Erra.I.34
			Erra.I.36	Erra.I.35
			Erra.I.37	Erra.I.36
			Erra.I.38	Erra.I.37
			Erra.I.45-6	Erra.I.40-4
			Erra.I.124	Erra.I.106-123
			Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./29' - c1/30'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii./19'-/28'
			Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.7/35'	Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.4/32' - 6/34'
			Erra.IV.139	Erra.IV.138
Too Fragmented				
			Too Fragmented	Erra.II.Obv.Col i.16/31-45
Lacuna				

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Line(s) for capping formula	Speech
				Erra.II.Rev.Col iii.12/40'ff.
				Erra.III.A.1ff.
				Erra.III.C.58ff.

Introductory Line	Text	Translation	Introduction Formula	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	Text	Translation	Capping Formula
Lacuna				Adapa – Fragment B obv. 1'-5'	Fragment B obv. 5'	*kappa-ki lūšebbir kīma ina pî-šu iqbû*	"I shall break your wing", As soon as he spoke	...*kīma ina pî-šu iqbû*
Adapa – Fragment B obv.7'-8'	*šūtu ana māti ul iziqqa ᵈanu* *ana šukkali-šu ᵈilabrat išassi*	The South Wind did not blow toward the land. Anu To his minister Ilabrat, he cried:	...X *ana Y išassi*	Adapa – Fragment B obv.8'-9'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.10'	*šukkal-šu ilabrat ippal-šu bēli*	His minister, Ilabrat, replied to him, "My lord"	*Y ippal-šu*
Adapa – Fragment B obv.10'	*šukkal-šu ilabrat ippal-šu bēli*	His minister, Ilabrat, replied to him, "My lord"	X *ippal-šu*	Adapa – Fragment B obv.10'-12'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.12'-13'	*ištebir ᵈanu amata annīta ina šêmi-šu* *ilsi nārāru ittibi ina kussî-šu šupur-ma lilqûniš-šu*	He broke." Anu, when the words he heard Cried, "Help," he got up from his throne, "Send someone to bring him"	*Y annīta ina šêmi-šu*
Adapa – Fragment B obv. 12'-13'	*ištebir ᵈanu amata annīta ina šêmi-šu* *ilsi nārāru ittibi ina kussî-šu šupur-ma lilqûniš-šu*	He broke." Anu, when the words he heard Cried, "Help," he got up from his throne, "Send someone to bring him"	¨ X *amata annīta ina šêmi-šu ilsi...*	Adapa – Fragment B obv.12'-14'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.14'	*annikâ ᵈea ša šamê ide ilpus-su-ma*	"here!" Ea, who knows heaven, touched him	No recognition
Adapa – Fragment B obv.16'	*ultalbis-su ţema išakkan-šu*	He dressed him, he gave him instructions	...*ţema išakkan-šu*	Adapa – Fragment B obv.17'-34'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.34'	*ša aqbaku lu ṣabatata mār šipri* *ša ᵈani iktalda ˡadapa ša šūti* *kappa-ša išbir ana muḫija šubilaš-šu*	"What I said to you, do not neglect." The messenger Of Anu arrived: "Adapa, of the South Wind His wing, he broke. To my me, send him!"	No recognition
Adapa – Fragment B obv. 21'	*izzazzu immaruka iltanaluka eţlu*	They will be standing, they will see you, they will greet you, "Young man"	...*iltanaluka*	Adapa – Fragment B obv.21'-23'	Immediate change of speaker			Immediate change of speaker
Immediate change of speaker				Adapa – Fragment B obv.23'-24'	Immediate change of speaker			Immediate change of speaker
Immediate change of speaker				Adapa – Fragment B obv.24'-25'	Immediate change of speaker			Immediate change of speaker
Immediate change of speaker				Adapa – Fragment B obv.25'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.25'-26'	*ḫalqū ᵈdumuzi u ᵈgizzida šunu aḫāmiš ippalašū-ma* *iṣṣeneḫḫu šunu amata damiqta*	"Are missing?" "Dumizi and Gizzida." They will look at each other and Smile. They will say good words	*šunu aḫāmiš ippalašū-ma* *iṣṣeneḫḫu šunu amata damiqta*
Adapa – Fragment B obv.34'-36'	*ša aqbaku lu ṣabatata mār šipri* *ša ᵈani iktalda ˡadapa ša šūti*	"What I said to you, do not neglect." The messenger Of Anu arrived: "Adapa, of the South Wind	...*mār šipri iktalda*	Adapa – Fragment B obv.35'-36'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.37'	*ḫarran šamê ušeṣbis-su-ma ana šamê itteli-ma*	On the road to heaven he put him and he ascended to heaven	No recognition
Adapa – Fragment B rev.40'	*imuru-šu-ma ˡadapa ilsū nārāru*	They saw Adapa and they cried, "Help!"	*imuru-šu-ma Y ilsū nārāru*	Adapa – Fragment B rev.40'-42'	Immediate change of speaker			
Immediate change of speaker				Adapa – Fragment B rev.42'-44'	Immediate change of speaker			
Immediate change of speaker				Adapa – Fragment B rev.44'-45'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.45'-47'	*ᵈdumuzi ᵈgizzida aḫamiš ippalsu-ma* *iṣṣeneḫḫu ˡadapa ana pani ᵈani šarri* *ina qerebi-šu imur-šu-ma ᵈanu ilsima*	"Dumizi and Gizzida." They looked at each other and They smiled. Adapa into the presence of Anu the king He approached. He saw, Ani did, he cried	*aḫamiš ippalsu-ma iṣṣeneḫḫu*
Adapa – Fragment B rev.46'-47'	*iṣṣeneḫḫu ˡadapa ana pani ᵈani šarri* *ina qerebi-šu imur-šu-ma ᵈanu ilsima*	They smiled. Adapa into the presence of Anu the king He approached. He saw, Anu did, he cried	*Y ana pani X ina qerebi-šu imur-šu-ma X ilsima*	Adapa – Fragment B rev.48'-49'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.48'-49'	*alka ˡadapa ammini ša šūti kappa-ša* *tešbir ˡadapa ᵈana ippal bēli*	Come! Adapa, why the wing of the South Wing Did you break? Adapa answered Anu: "My lord"	*Y ippal X*
Adapa – Fragment B rev.48'-49'	*alka ˡadapa ammini ša šūti kappa-ša* *tešbir ˡadapa ᵈana ippal bēli*	Come! Adapa, why the wing of the South Wing Did you break? Adapa answered Anu: "My lord"	...X Y *ippal*	Adapa – Fragment B rev.49'-54'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.54'-56'	...*attazar ippalū idāšu ᵈdumuzi* *u gizzida amas-su banīta ana ᵈani* *iqabbû ittūḫ libba-šu issakat*	I cursed…" They answered, at her side, Dumuzi And Gizzida. His good speech to Anu They spoke. His heart calmed, he became silent	*ippalū idāšu Y*
Adapa – Fragment B rev.54'-56'	...*attazar ippalū idāšu ᵈdumuzi* *u gizzida amas-su banīta ana ᵈani*	I cursed…" They answered, at her side, Dumuzi And Gizzida. His good speech to Anu	*ippalū idāšu X Y amas-su banīta ana Y iqabbû ittūḫ libba-šu issakat*	Adapa – Fragment B rev.57'-61'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.60'-62'	*nīnu mīna nippus-su akal balāţi* *leqanišum-ma līkul akal balāţi*	"What we can do for him. The food of life May he be brought and may he eat. The food of life	Rephrased Confirmation

Introductory Line	*Text*	Translation	*Introduction Formula*	Speech	Line(s) for capping formula	*Text*	*Translation*	Capping Formula
	iqabbû ittūḫ libba-šu issakat	They spoke. His heart calmed, he became silent				*ilqûniššumma ul īkul mê balāṭi*	He was brought but he did not eat. The water of life	
Adapa – Fragment B rev.66'	*idgul-šu-ma ᵈanu iṣṣīḫ ina muḫḫi-šu*	He looked at him, Anu did, he laughed at him	*idgul-šu-ma X iṣṣīḫ ina muḫḫi-šu*	Adapa – Fragment B rev.67'-68'	Immediate change of speaker			Immediate change of speaker
Immediate change of speaker				Adapa – Fragment B rev.68'-69'	Immediate change of speaker			Immediate change of speaker
Immediate change of speaker				Adapa – Fragment B rev.69'-70'	Lacuna			Lacuna
Adapa – Fragment B rev.68'	*lā balṭāta ayya nišī dallāti ᵈea bēlī* *iqbâ lā takkal lā tašatti*	"you shall not live! Alas for inferior humans." "Ea my lord Said, "Do not eat, do not drink!"	*...X* *iqbâ*	Adapa- Fragment B rev.69'	Immediate change of speaker			Immediate change of speaker
Lacuna				Lacuna	Adapa – Fragment C.1	*…ina šemi-šu*	When he heard	*…ina šemi-šu*
Adapa – Fragment C.14	*…amāta iqabbi-šu*	words he said to him	*…amāta iqabbi-šu*	Adapa – Fragment C.15ff.	Lacuna			
Adapa – Fragment D rev.4'	*ᵈanu ana epšet ᵈea šaqiš iṣiḫ-ma*	Anu at the deed of Ea loudly laughed	*X ana epšet Y šaqiš iṣiḫ-ma*	Adapa – Fragment D rev.5'-6'	Adapa – Fragment D rev.7'	*…adapa ultu išid šamê ana elat šamê*	Adapa, from the horizon to the top part of the sky	No recognition
Adapa – Fragment D rev.11'	*ᵈanu bēlūs-su ana arkat ūmē ana šūpī šīmta išīm*	Anu set a decree to make his lordship be seen forever	*X bēlūs-su ana arkat ūmē ana šūpī šīmta išīm*	Adapa – Fragment D rev.12'-14'	Adapa – Fragment D rev.15'	*šūtu ša zâq-ša lemniš ana nišī ištaknu*	The South Wind, who her blowing wickedly upon the people she set	

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
alālu (Gtn Durative)				
	...iltanaluka	They will greet you	Adapa – Fragment B obv. 21'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.21'-23'
kašādu (G Perfect)				
	…X iktalda	…X Arrived	Adapa – Fragment B obv.34'-36'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.35'-36'
šakānu (G Durative)				
	...ṭema išakkan-šu	They gave	Adapa – Fragment B obv.16'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.17'-34'
šasû (G Preterite)				
	¨ X amata annīta ina šêmi-šu ilsi...	X the words when he heard them He shouted	Adapa – Fragment B obv. 12'-13'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.12'-14'
	Y ana pani X ina qerebi-šu imur-šu-ma X ilsi-ma	Y to the presence of X In his approaching he saw him, X shouted	Adapa – Fragment B rev.46'-47'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.48'-49'
qabû (G Preterite)				
	...X iqbâ	X Said	Adapa – Fragment B rev.68'	Adapa- Fragment B rev.69'
qabû (G Durative)				
	…amāta iqabbi-šu	…words he said to him	Adapa – Fragment C.14	Adapa – Fragment C.15ff.
apālu (G Durative)				
	…X Y ippal	X Y replied	Adapa – Fragment B rev.48'-49'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.49'-54'
	X ippal-šu	X replied to him	Adapa – Fragment B obv.10'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.10'-12'
šasû (G Durative)				
	…X ana Y išassi	X To Y he shouted	Adapa – Fragment B obv.7'-8'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.8'-9'
dagālu (G Preterite) + ṣiāḫu (G Preterite)				
	idgul-šu-ma X iṣṣīḫ ina muḫḫi-šu	He looked at him, X laughed at him	Adapa – Fragment B rev.66'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.67'-68'
amāru (G Preterite) + šasû (G Preterite)				
	imuru-šu-ma Y ilsū nārāru	They saw Y, they cried, "Help!"	Adapa – Fragment B rev.40'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.40'-42'
nâḫu (Gt Perfect) + sakātu (G Perfect)				
	ippalū idāšu X Y amas-su banīta ana Y iqabbū ittūḫ libba-šu issakat	They answered at his side Y his good speech to Y They said. His heart calmed, he became silent	Adapa – Fragment B rev.54'-56'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.57'-61'
ṣiāḫu (G Preterite)				
	X ana epšet Y šaqiš iṣiḫ-ma	X at the deed of Y loudly he laughed	Adapa – Fragment D rev.4'	Adapa – Fragment D rev.5'-6'
šiāmu (G Preterite)				

verba dicendi	Introduction Formula	Translation	Introductory Line	Speech
	X ... šīmta išīm	*X*	Adapa – Fragment D rev.11'	Adapa – Fragment D rev.12'-14'
Immediate change of speaker				
				Adapa – Fragment B obv.23'-24'
				Adapa – Fragment B obv.24'-25'
				Adapa – Fragment B obv.25'
				Adapa – Fragment B rev.42'-44'
				Adapa – Fragment B rev.44'-45'
				Adapa – Fragment B rev.68'-69'
				Adapa – Fragment B rev.69'-70'
Lacuna				
				Adapa – Fragment B obv. 1'-5'

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Line(s) for capping formula	Speech
qabû (G Preterite)				
	...kīma ina pî-šu iqbû	As soon as in his mouth he spoke	Fragment B obv. 5'	Adapa – Fragment B obv. 1'-5'
ina šemû (Participle)				
	...ina šemi-šu	In his hearing	Adapa – Fragment C.1	Lacuna
	Y annīta ina šêmi-šu		Adapa – Fragment B obv.12'-13'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.10'-12'
palāsu (N Preterite)				
	aḫamiš ippalsu-ma iṣṣeneḫḫu	At each other they looked and Smiled	Adapa – Fragment B rev.45'-47'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.44'-45'
palāsu (N Durative)				
	šunu aḫāmiš ippalašū-ma	They at each other will look	Adapa – Fragment B obv.25'-26'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.25'
apālu (G Durative)				
	ippalū idāšu Y	They answered at his side	Adapa – Fragment B rev.54'-56'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.49'-54'
	Y ippal X	Y answered X	Adapa – Fragment B rev.48'-49'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.48'-49'
	Y ippal-šu	Y answered him	Adapa – Fragment B obv.10'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.8'-9'
Immediate change of speaker				
			Immediate change of speaker	Adapa – Fragment B obv.21'-23' Adapa – Fragment B obv.23'-24' Adapa – Fragment B obv.24'-25' Adapa – Fragment B rev.40'-42' Adapa – Fragment B rev.42'-44' Adapa – Fragment B rev.67'-68' Adapa – Fragment B rev.68'-69' Adapa- Fragment B rev.69'
No recognition				

verba recogitandi	Capping Formula	Translation	Line(s) for capping formula	Speech
			Adapa – Fragment B obv.14' Adapa – Fragment B obv.34' Adapa – Fragment B rev.37' Adapa – Fragment D rev.7' Adapa – Fragment D rev.15'	Adapa – Fragment B obv.12'-14' Adapa – Fragment B obv.17'-34' Adapa – Fragment B obv.35'-36' Adapa – Fragment D rev.5'-6' Adapa – Fragment D rev.12'-14'
Rephrased Confirmation				
			Adapa – Fragment B rev.60'-62'	Adapa – Fragment B rev.57'-61'
Lacuna				
			Lacuna	Adapa – Fragment B rev.69'-70' Adapa – Fragment C.15ff.

Greek Transitional Phrase Tables

									Reference
ἄλλος	δ'	αὖτ'	εἴπεσκε	νέων	ὑπερηνορεόντων:				Od.2.331 Od.21.401
δεύτερον	αὖτ'	Ὀδυσσῆα	ἰδὼν	ἐρέειν'	ὁ	γεραιός:			Il.3.191
		ἠρᾶτο	βοὴν	ἀγαθὸς	Διομήδης:				Il.10.283
ἤ	καὶ	ἐπὶ	στίχας	ἆλτο	κέλευε	δὲ	φωτὶ	ἑκάστῳ:	Il.20.353
		Πείραιον	προσεφώνεε	πιστὸν	ἑταῖρον:				Od.15.539
		Ταλθύβιον	θεῖον	κήρυκα	προσηύδα:				Il.4.192
		ὑπόδρα	ἰδὼν	προσεφώνεεν	Ἕκτορα	δῖον:			Il.20.428
ἤ	ῥ'	ἅμα	τε	προσέειπεν	Ὀδυσσῆα	πτολίπορθον:			Od.18.356
	ῥα	καὶ	ἀμφιπόλοισιν	ἐυπλοκάμοισι	κέλευσε:				Od.6.198
		Ἑρμείαν	υἱὸν	φίλον	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:			Od.5.28
		Εὐρυνόμην	ταμίην	πρὸς	μῦθον	ἔειπεν:			Od.19.96
καὶ	τότε	δὴ	θάρσησε	καὶ	ηὔδα	μάντις	ἀμύμων:		Il.1.92
τὸν/τὴν	δὲ	βαρὺ	στενάχων	προσέφη	πόδας	ὠκὺς	Ἀχιλλεύς:		Il.1.364 Il.18.78
		βαρὺ	στενάχων	προσέφης	Πατρόκλεες	ἱππεῦ:			Il.16.20
		δολοφρονέουσα	προσηύδα	πότνια	Ἥρη:				Il.14.197 Il.14.299 Il.14.328
		καταθνῄσκων	προσέφη	κορυθαίολος	Ἕκτωρ:				Il.22.355
		μέγ'	ὀχθήσας	προσέφη	νεφεληγερέτα	Ζεύς:			Il.1.517 Il.4.30 Il.7.454
					κρείων	ἐνοσίχθων:			Il.8.208
					κλυτὸς	ἐννοσίγαιος:			Il.15.184
					ξανθὸς	Μενέλαος:			Il.17.18 Od.4.30 Od.4.332
					πόδας	ὠκὺς	Ἀχιλλεύς:		Il.18.97 Il.22.14
				προσέφης	Εὔμαιε	συβῶτα:			Od.15.325
		Πάρις	μύθοισιν	ἀμειβόμενος	προσέειπε:				Il.3.437
		παρισταμένη	προσέφη	γλαυκῶπις	Ἀθήνη:				Od.24.516
		χολωσάμενος	προσεφώνεεν	Ἶρος	ἀλήτης:				Od.18.25
		χολωσαμένη	προσεφώνεε	δῖ	Ἀφροδίτη:				Il.3.413
			προσέφη	λευκώλενος	Ἥρη:				Il.24.55
		χολωσάμενος	Κρητῶν	ἀγὸς	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:			Il.23.482
	δ'	αἰσχρῶς	ἐνένιπεν	Ὀιλῆος	ταχὺς	Αἴας:			Il.23.473
		ἀναχωρήσας	προσέφη	πολύμητις	Ὀδυσσεύς:				Od.17.453
		ἀπαμειβόμενον	προσέφη	εἴδωλον	ἀμαυρόν:				Od.4.824 Od.4.835
		ἀπαμειβόμενος	προσέφη	κορυθαίολος	Ἕκτωρ:				Il.6.520
					κρατερὸς	Διομήδης:			Il.5.814 Il.11.316
					κρείων	Ἀγαμέμνων:			Il.1.130 Il.1.285 Il.2.369 Il.4.188 Il.10.42
					νεφεληγερέτα	Ζεύς:			Il.1.560 Il.5.764 Il.8.469 Il.14.311 Il.14.340 Il.20.19 Il.22.182 Il.24.64 Od.1.63 Od.5.21 Od.13.139 Od.13.153 Od.24.477
					πόδας	ὠκὺς	Ἀχιλλεύς:		Il.1.215 Il.9.307 Il.9.602 Il.9.639 Il.11.606 Il.18.187 Il.19.145 Il.19.198 Il.21.222 Il.23.93 Il.24.138
					πολύμητις	Ὀδυσσεύς:			Il.10.382 Il.10.423 Il.10.554 Il.19.154 Il.19.215 Od.20.168 Od.5.214 Od.7.207 Od.7.240 Od.7.302 Od.8.152 Od.8.412 Od.8.463 Od.9.1 Od.13.311 Od.13.382 Od.13.416 Od.14.191 Od.14.390 Od.15.380 Od.16.200 Od.17.16 Od.17.192 Od.17.353 Od.18.124 Od.18.365 Od.19.41 Od.19.106 Od.19.164 Od.19.220 Od.19.261 Od.19.335 Od.19.382 Od.19.499 Od.19.554 Od.19.582 Od.20.36 Od.20.226 Od.22.105 Od.22.170 Od.22.430 Od.22.490 Od.23.129 Od.23.263 Od.24.302 Od.24.330 Od.24.356 Od.24.406 Od.11.354 Od.11.377
					Πρίαμος	θεοειδής:			Il.24.299
					προσέφης	Εὔμαιε	συβῶτα:		Od.14.55 Od.14.165 Od.14.360 Od.14.442 Od.14.507 Od.16.60 Od.16.134 Od.16.463 Od.17.272 Od.17.311 Od.17.380 Od.17.512 Od.17.579
					Τελαμώνιος	Αἴας:			Il.7.283 Il.13.76
					ξανθὸς	Μενέλαος:			Od.4.147 Od.4.168 Od.4.203 Od.4.265
				προσεφώνεε	δῖος	ὑφορβός:			Od.14.401
					νήδυμος	Ὕπνος:			Il.14.242
					Τεῦκρος	ἀμύμων:			Il.8.292
					φαίδιμος	υἱός:			Od.16.307
	ἄρ'	ὑπόδρα	ἰδὼν	προσέφη	κορυθαίολος	Ἕκτωρ:			Il.12.230 Il.17.169 Il.18.284
					κρατερὸς	Διομήδης:			Il.4.411 Il.5.251 Il.10.446
					νεφεληγερέτα	Ζεύς:			Il.5.888
					πόδας	ὠκὺς	Ἀχιλλεύς:		Il.1.148 Il.22.260 Il.22.344 Il.24.559
					πολύμητις	Ὀδυσσεύς:			Il.4.349 Il.14.82 Od.8.165 Od.18.14 Od.18.337
			ὑποβλήδην	ἡμείβετο	δῖος	Ἀχιλλεύς:			Il.1.292
	αὖ	διογενὲς	Ὀδυσεὺς	ἡμείβετο	μύθῳ:				Od.15.485
		Λαέρτης	ἀπαμείβετο	φώνησέν	τε:				Od.24.327 Od.24.375
		Μηριόνης	πεπνυμένος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:				Il.13.254 Il.13.266
		Μηριόνης	δουρικλυτὸς	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:				Il.16.619
		Ναυσικάα	λευκώλενος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:				Od.6.186
		Νεστορίδης	Πεισίστρατος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:				Od.4.155 Od.15.48
		Πείραιος	δουρικλυτὸς	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:				Od.15.544
		Πηλεγόνος	προσεφώνεε	φαίδιμος	υἱός:				Il.21.152
		Σαρπηδὼν	Λυκίων	ἀγὸς	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:			Il.5.647
		Τηλέμαχος	πεπνυμένος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:				Od.1.213 Od.1.230 Od.1.306 Od.1.345 Od.1.388 Od.1.412 Od.2.129 Od.2.208 Od.2.309 Od.2.371 Od.3.21 Od.3.201 Od.3.225 Od.3.239 Od.4.290 Od.4.315 Od.4.593 Od.15.86 Od.15.154 Od.15.179 Od.15.265 Od.15.279 Od.15.512 Od.15.535 Od.16.30 Od.16.68 Od.16.111 Od.16.145 Od.16.239 Od.16.261 Od.17.45 Od.17.77 Od.17.107 Od.17.392 Od.17.598 Od.18.226 Od.19.26 Od.20.338 Od.21.343 Od.22.153 Od.23.123 Od.24.510
		αὖθ'	Ἱππολόχοιο	προσηύδα	φαίδιμος	υἱός:			Il.6.144

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Reference
		αὖτ'	Αἰνείας	Τρώων	ἀγὸς	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:					Il.5.217
			Αἰνείας	ἀπαμειβόμενος	προσέειπε:							Il.20.86
			Αἰνείας	ἀπαμείβετο	φώνησέν	τε:						Il.20.199
			Ἀλκίνοος	ἀπαμείβετο	φώνησέν	τε:						Od.7.298 Od.11.347 Od.11.362 Od.17.445
				ἀπαμειβόμενος	προσέειπε:							Od.17.405
				προσέφη	Εὐπείθεος	υἱός:						Od.17.477 Od.21.256
			Ἀντήνωρ	πεπνυμένος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:						Il.3.203
			Ἀντίλοχος	πεπνυμένος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:						Il.23.586
			Αὐτόλυκος	ἀπαμείβετο	φώνησέν	τε:						Od.19.405
			Αὐτομέδων	προσέφη	Διώρεος	υἱός:						Il.17.474
			Εὐρύαλος	ἀπαμείβετο	φώνησέν	τε:						Od.8.140 Od.8.158
			Εὐρύμαχος	Πολύβου	πάϊς	ἀντίον	ηὔδα					Od.1.399 Od.2.177 Od.16.433 Od.21.320
			Εὐρυνόμη	ταμίη	πρὸς	μῦθον	ἔειπεν:					Od.17.495 Od.18.169
			Εὐρύπυλος	βεβλημένος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:						Il.11.821
			Ἰδομενεὺς	Κρητῶν	ἀγὸς	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:					Il.4.265 Il.13.221 Il.13.259 Il.13.274 Il.13.311
		αὖτε	προσέειπε	βοῶν	ἐπιβουκόλος	ἀνήρ:						Od.20.235 Od.21.199
				διάκτορος	ἀργεϊφόντης:							Od.5.145
				θεά	γλαυκῶπις	Ἀθήνη:						Od.1.178 Od.1.221 Od.3.25 Od.3.229 Od.3.356 Od.7.27 Od.13.236 Od.13.361 Od.20.44 Od.15.271 Od.15.508 Od.20.363
				Θεοκλύμενος	θεοειδής:							Od.4.696
				Μέδων	πεπνυμένα	εἰδώς:						Od.17.247 Od.22.135
				Μελάνθιος	αἰπόλος	αἰγῶν:						Od.8.349
				περικλυτὸς	ἀμφιγυήεις:							
				περίφρων	Πηνελόπεια:							Od.4.830 Od.17.162 Od.17.498 Od.17.528 Od.17.585 Od.18.177 Od.19.308 Od.19.349 Od.19.559 Od.19.588 Od.21.311 Od.21.330 Od.23.10 Od.23.58 Od.23.104 Od.23.173 Od.23.256 Od.23.285
				περίφρων	Εὐρύκλεια:							Od.19.491 Od.20.134
				πολύτλας	δῖος	Ὀδυσσεύς:						Od.14.148 Od.16.90 Od.16.224 Od.16.257 Od.16.265 Od.17.560
				Ποσειδάων	ἐνοσίχθων:							Od.8.354
				συβώτης	ὄρχαμος	ἀνδρῶν:						Od.15.351 Od.15.389 Od.16.36
				φίλη	τροφὸς	Εὐρύκλεια:						Od.4.742 Od.19.21 Od.22.419 Od.22.485 Od.23.25 Od.23.39
			ψυχὴ	προσεφώνεεν	Ἀτρεΐδαο:							Od.24.35 Od.24.191
			ψυχὴ	προσεφώνεεν	Ἀμφιμέδοντος:							Od.24.120
		Ἑλένη	μύθοισιν	ἀμείβετο	δῖα	γυναικῶν:						Il.3.171
		Ἑλένη	τανύπεπλος	ἀμείβετο	δῖα	γυναικῶν:						Il.3.228
		ἐπαλαστήσασα	προσηύδα	Παλλὰς	Ἀθήνη:							Od.1.252
		ἐπιθαρσύνων	προσέφη	ξανθὸς	Μενέλαος:							Il.4.183
		ἐπιμειδήσας	προσέφη	νεφεληγερέτα	Ζεύς:							Il.8.38
		ἐπιμειδήσας	προσέφη	πολύμητις	Ὀδυσσεύς:							Il.10.400 Od.1.252
		Εὐηνορίδης	Λειώκριτος	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:							Od.22.371 Od.2.242
		ἠμείβετ'	ἔπειτα	ἄναξ	ἀνδρῶν	Ἀγαμέμνων:						Il.1.172 Il.10.86 Il.14.103
				βοὴν	ἀγαθὸς	Διομήδης:						Il.8.145
				βοὴν	ἀγαθὸς	Μενέλαος:						Il.10.60 Od.15.67
				βοῶπις	πότνια	Ἥρη:						Il.1.551 Il.4.50 Il.16.439 Il.18.360 Il.20.309
				Γερήνιος	ἱππότα	Νέστωρ:						Il.4.317 Il.8.151 Il.9.162 Il.10.102 Il.10.128 Il.10.143
				γέρων	Πρίαμος	θεοειδής:						Il.24.372 Il.24.386 Il.24.405 Il.24.552 Il.24.659
				διάκτορος	ἀργεϊφόντης:							Od.8.338
				Διὸς	θυγάτηρ	Ἀφροδίτη:						Il.14.193
				Διώνη	δῖα	θεάων:						Il.5.381
				Δόλων	ὑπὸ	δ'	ἔτρεμε	γυῖα:				Il.10.390
				Δόλων	Εὐμήδεος	υἱός:						Il.10.426
				Ἑλένη	Διὸς	ἐκγεγαυῖα:						Il.3.199
				θεὰ	γλαυκῶπις	Ἀθήνη:						Il.5.825 Od.1.44 Od.1.80 Od.1.314 Od.13.329
				θεὰ	λευκώλενος	Ἥρη:						Il.15.92
				θεὰ	Θέτις	ἀργυρόπεζα:						Il.18.127 Il.19.28 Il.24.89
				Θέτις	κατὰ	δάκρυ	χέουσα:					Il.1.413 Il.18.428
				μέγας	κορυθαίολος	Ἕκτωρ:						Il.6.263 Il.6.359
				μέγας	Τελαμώνιος	Αἴας:						Il.15.471
				Μέδων	πεπνυμένα	εἰδώς:						Od.4.711
				πατὴρ	ἀνδρῶν	τε	θεῶν	τε:				Il.1.544
				πατὴρ	κατὰ	δάκρυον	εἴβων:					Od.24.280
				περικλυτὸς	ἀμφιγυήεις:							Il.18.393 Il.18.462 Od.8.357
				περίφρων	Πηνελόπεια:							Od.18.250 Od.19.123 Od.23.80
				ποδάρκης	δῖος	Ἀχιλλεύς:						Il.1.121 Il.18.181
				ποδήνεμος	ὠκέα	Ἶρις:						Il.15.200
				πολύτλας	δῖος	Ὀδυσσεύς:						Od.15.340 Od.16.185 Od.17.280
				Ποσειδάων	ἐνοσίχθων:							Il.13.231 Il.20.132 Od.13.146
				συβώτης	ὄρχαμος	ἀνδρῶν:						Od.14.121
				φιλομμειδὴς	Ἀφροδίτη:							Il.5.375
				φίλη	τροφὸς	Εὐρύκλεια:						Od.23.69
		ὀλιγοδρανέων	προσέφη	κορυθαίολος	Ἕκτωρ:							Il.15.246
				Πατρόκλεες	ἱππεῦ:							Il.16.843
				κορυθαίολος	Ἕκτωρ:							Il.22.337
		οὐ	ταρβήσας	προσέφη	κρατερὸς	Διομήδης:						Il.5.286 Il.11.384
				κορυθαίολος	Ἕκτωρ:							Il.20.430
			υἱὸς	Φρονίοιο	Νοήμων	ἀντίον	ηὔδα:					Od.4.648
ὡς	ἀρ'	ἔφαν	Πρίαμος	δ'	Ἑλένην	ἐκαλέσσατο	φωνῇ:					Il.3.161
	δέ	τις	αὖ	Τρώων	μεγαθύμων	αὐδήσασκεν:						Il.17.420
		εἰπὼν	Αἴαντε	καλέσσατο	καὶ	Μενέλαον:						Il.17.507
			ἵπποισιν	ἐκέκλετο	φώνησέν	τε:						Il.8.184 Il.23.442
			Τρώεσσιν	ἐκέκλετο	μακρὸν	ἀΰσας:						Il.17.183
		ἔφατ'	Ἀντίνοος	δ'	ἔπεσιν	νείκεσσε	συβώτην:					Od.17.374
			Ἀτρεΐδης	ἐπὶ	δ'	ἤνεον	ἄλλοι	Ἀχαιοί.				Il.3.461
		ἔφατο	κλαίουσ'	ἐπὶ	δὲ	στενάχοντο	γυναῖκες.					Il.22.515
		φάτο	γήθησεν	δ'	ὁ	γέρων	καὶ	ἀμείβετο	μύθῳ:			Il.24.424
			κώκυσεν	δὲ	γυνὴ	καὶ	ἀμείβετο	μύθῳ:				Il.24.200
			τὸν	δ'	ὁ	γέρων	ἠγάσσατο	φώνησέν	τε:			Il.3.181
			τὸν	δ'	ἐνένιπε	Μενοιτίου	ἄλκιμος	υἱός:				Il.16.626
			τὸν	δ'	οὐ	πείθεν:	ἀμειβόμενος	δὲ	προσηύδα:			Il.17.33
		χήρατο	δ'	Ὕπνος	ἀμειβόμενος	δὲ	προσηύδα:					Il.14.269
		φάθ'	ὃ	δ'	ἐν	χερσὶ	σκῆπτρον	λάβε	καὶ	οἱ	ὄμοσσεν	Il.10.328
		φάτο	καί	ῥ'	ἐκέλευσε	Μελάνθιον	αἰπόλον	αἰγῶν:				Od.21.175
			Λαέρτης	δ'	ἐχάρη	καὶ	μῦθον	ἔειπε:				Od.24.513
τοῖσι	δὲ	καὶ	μετέειφ'	ἱερὴ	ἲς	Τηλεμάχοιο						Od.18.405