

PROLEGOMENA TO A SYSTEM OF AKKADIAN STYLISTICS

Giorgio Buccellati

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This is conceived as a working paper in preparation for an oral discussion within the framework of the panel--"Literary and Linguistic Approaches to Cuneiform Literature," planned for the AOS meeting in Toronto. They are materials for discussion, literally "prolegomena." The argumentation is tight, hence I have chosen not to leave any part of it out; the documentation is only indicative, aimed at providing a preliminary exemplification, but this too could not be dispensed with. For oral presentation, I will limit myself to an outline and will go into some detail with regard to a few major points. The full text is submitted here for the benefit of the panelists.

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I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. Intuition and Formalization

I will bypass the question as to whether Assyriology is or is not ready for a task so boldly stated in the title--I will raise instead another question which will be found to be logically upstream, namely. . .whether the topic is worth bothering about in the first place. And I will let a musical theorist phrase the doubt. In a perceptive essay on Mozart's symphonies, Hans Keller writes: "The question arises why, nowadays, there is such a demand for formal description. The answer is--insecurity, an insecurity which is only partly of our time, inasmuch as it is part of our general artistic crisis, in the course of which we have arrived at a state of bewilderment which makes us welcome anything that replaces rather than explains our waning musical experiences, until we are glad to be told what we ought to feel" (Keller 1966: 50-51). As it turns out, this is meant ironically. To continue in the same vein, we may boast that Assyriology is clearly immune from any such insecurity, since no cry has yet come to be heard in the land for a formalizing approach to Mesopotamian literature. It is also fitting, in line with this, that one should not be able to detect any waning literary experience among Assyriologists since it was hardly ever there in the first place. Thus, rather than meeting a demand, this symposium will contribute to determine whether it might in fact be worth attempting to create such a new market for scholarly enterprise. Since the economy of intellectual ventures bears little resemblance to that of material means, we can all rest assured that the mere presence of a doubt establishes a successful trend. In fact, the larger looms the doubt, the richer is the field. My prolegomena, then, are an investment in what is bound to become a bullish market.

Not that we haven't heard yet, within the field, the word "style." It's that the concept behind this word is disappointing. It has been conceived, in fact, as some sort of limbo to which anything bizarre in the language

could be relegated. Much as archaeologists are forever teased for calling "cultic" what remains functionally unexplained in a cultural assemblage, so Assyriologists could be teased for calling "stylistic" whatever strays from their understanding of linguistic patterns. If there is then a degree of formalization in the accepted notion of style, it is primarily at the level of such a negative common denominator-- embryonic, perhaps, but certainly not in any way seminal and productive.

To help retrieve style out of this limbo I will, indeed, follow the path of formalization. And if I am to give a qualification for this choice, it is only to say that I do not view formalization per se as the ultimate panacea. It is rather a way of making explicit the inner relationships of a given whole as they are viewed by a perceptive vision. What matters then, before formalization, is the capacity of vision, of understanding, even of empathy. Without it, formalization remains a hollow construct, much as rhyme without poetry remains blabbering prose. (An interesting conceptual parallel to the use of formalization is that of quantification. For an insightful assessment of its role in historical research see Fogel 1975.)

1.2. Definition

I will deal primarily with linguistic and compositional, as defined below, style, and only as it applies to Akkadian texts. First, I will indicate what my working definition of style is.

I consider style as a purely diachronic and distributional category: a recurrent selection of idiosyncratic features--in the case of linguistic style, the last term has to be understood as "linguistic" features. Let us examine the scope and meaning of this definition.

Selection. This word is meant to be neutral with regard to the question of consciousness: we will simply establish patterns of cooccurrence as they are found in the text and as they can be ascribed to the initiative of the author, without concern as to whether the author was actively seeking to establish such patterns, or was even secondarily conscious of their presence. The question of active choice or secondary awareness belongs more properly to psychology than stylistics.

Features. Either a single feature or a cluster of features may be the object of selection. A single morphological, syntactical or lexical item may be sufficiently distinctive to acquire a stylistic value-- thus for instance the use of the terminative ending -iř in an adverbial function, the use of emphasis or the use of a "poetic" word. Clusters of features are even more distinctive, since they exhibit a higher degree of differentiation as a result of the higher number of components: thus a formula may be considered as a lexical cluster, and be specific for a single author or textual assemblage.

Recurrent. For features to form a pattern, they have normally to be repeated within the same textual assemblage. Use of a single "poetic" word may be insufficient to determine a stylistic mode; only if words of this type are recurrent can such a mode be identified. Such a need for recurrence implies that style is an essentially diachronic category, since time, or a temporal sequence, is the key sorting criterion within an assemblage: repetition implies a staggering of phenomena along a given temporal axis.

Idiosyncratic. The features are further identifiable on the basis of their distinctiveness within a given assemblage vis-à-vis other assemblages. Use of a formula becomes distinctive for a given assemblage only insofar as it is not found, at least not with the same degree of frequency, in other assemblages. This too is an essentially diachronic category, since assemblages must by necessity be juxtaposed in time, and their comparison is rooted on precisely such a juxtaposition.

1.3. Corollaries

A few additional comments are relevant here with regard to some of the notions advanced in the discussion.

Assemblage. The phenomenon of recurrence of repetition, assumed here as central to the definition of style, requires that explicit boundaries be set for (1) the containment of repetition itself and (2) the contrast with areas outside the boundaries where the same repetition does not occur. Such boundaries will vary, depending on the concerns and the modes of analysis, from a portion of a given text, to a complete text, to an author, a period, a genre, a culture. The term "(textual) assemblage" is used here as a neutral referent for any portion of the data base for which explicit boundaries are set.

Compositional style. I use this term to refer to textual semiotic features other than linguistic, i.e., other than grammatical, lexical or pertaining to discourse analysis--such as one can find for instance in the morphology of the folktale (Propp 1928) or the structural analysis of the story (Barthes 1966). This approach is of capital importance for an understanding of literature, and have tried myself to apply it to Akkadian literature (Buccellati 1972; see also Liverani 1973). It is at the same time imperative (and an important inherent benefit of structural analysis) to avoid mixing levels of analysis. Hence in this paper linguistic and compositional styles will be kept carefully distinct.

Discourse Analysis. I will consider discourse analysis as being within the boundaries of linguistic analysis. For the sake of ease of preparation (in such cases for instance as where an adjective is needed of the type "discourse analytical," which is precise but awkward), I will use occasionally the term "rhesiology" (from Greek ρῆσις "discourse") as a technical term

for "discourse analysis." The term "rhetorics," which could etymologically be assumed to serve the same purpose, has a more restricted sense in traditional (see e.g. Guiraud 1970; Ricoeur 1975: 13-86) or contemporary use (e.g., Groupe μ 1970), in that it refers only to the use of "figures" or "tropoi." I will use it instead in a way which includes formal mechanisms marking expression linkages within the boundaries of a single text; the concept is thus similar to that articulated by Harris 1952, although the criteria of identification will differ in my presentation.

Diachronic vs. Historical. Given the prominent role held by the notion of diachrony in the definition of style which is employed here, it may be in order to clarify certain aspects of this concept which are often not properly understood. As indicated above, where the concept of "recurrence" is explained, a diachronic system is one in which the key component elements include time as a chief sorting criterion. In this view, the elements can only be seen as juxtaposed along a temporal axis, i.e. with a time interval intervening among them. A style element can be identified as such only because the contrast with other elements takes their reciprocal time interval into account. Notice that a synchronic system, too, is posited in a temporal framework (hence "synchronic" rather than "achronic"), except that in that case the ordering criteria for the system do not build on contrasting time intervals. Notice further that synchrony is also different from contemporaneity, since contemporaneity is really a diachronic concept, meaning as it does a narrow segment of a temporal sequence. Notice finally that "diachronic" is also quite different from "historical," since the latter refers to a comparison of systems, whereas the former is a constitutive criterion in the establishment of a system.

Hence "historical stylistics" is not a redundant definition (the term stylistics implying already an essential diachronic component) since it refers to the process of growth from one stylistic mode to another.

Selection (choice) and equivalence. The term "selection" given in our definition of style has already been explained as referring to distributional cooccurrence rather than (necessarily) to conscious choice. While this restricted meaning applies rather rigidly to the scope of the present research, I do not mean to exclude the role which "choosing" in fact has in conditioning style. Rather, I wish to stress that selection or choice, where it exists, is not one among stylistic equivalents, but rather one which precedes style. There are in fact no equivalences in terms of style, although there may be stylistic features which are equivalent in terms of other aspects of the situation. Freedom of choice, to the extent that it is present in a given situation, is actually upstream of expression (and hence of style). The factors which condition a decision are many and are derived from a great variety of levels: style, itself a selection, is conditioned by non-stylistic factors, hence it is redundant to speak of a stylistic choice. If I ^{want} to buy a car, I have freedom of choice among various types of cars according to specific variables such as power, price, line, color; and if my color preference is white, I cannot say that white is equivalent to black in terms of color-- it is only equivalent in terms of, say, price. Similarly, in linguistic style, we can speak of equivalents only if we specify the referential point of the equivalence; otherwise the notion of equivalence (and of the ensuing selection) remains so vague as to lack any true explanatory power. In any case, it is methodologically indispensable to keep the levels of analysis separate, and to describe formal distributional

patterns before suggesting reasons for their choice. In the case of literature, it may be said that an integration of the levels of analysis (linguistic, compositional, psychological, etc.) is properly the task of literary criticism.

Stylistic Patterns. Style as selection is thus to be understood in terms of diachronic distribution, i.e. as consisting of features which contrast with one another along a temporal axis. Only patterns which are established on the basis of such an analysis can properly be considered stylistic. Note that the distributional criterion is absolute--i.e., it is not relative to a norm from which a given stylistic pattern would be considered a deviation; rather, distributional cooccurrence in a given assemblage is identified as such in virtue of its contrast to other (ideally: all) assemblages. (This is well expressed in a very insightful and succinct definition given by Enkvist 1964: 28, where the style of a text is said to be "the aggregate of the contextual probabilities of its linguistic items.") A stylistic system will consist therefore of the stylistic patterns thus identified and of their reciprocal relationships. The stylistic system of Akkadian as envisaged here includes both the linguistic and the compositional level.

Stylistic features. It appears from what has been said so far that no synchronic description of stylistic features is possible. That is to say that style is not composed of features which are contrasted to say, morphological or syntactical features: it is not as if emphasis or metaphors, for instance, are stylistic just as the tenses of the verb are morphological, or subordination is syntactical. In other words, style is not a node in a binary opposition with morphology or syntax. Rather, it is a matrix which superimposes.

a specific diachronic grid over the synchronic data established by morphology or syntax. Therefore, it is true to say that every single linguistic feature is potentially a feature within a system of linguistic stylistics, every compositional feature is potentially a feature within a system of compositional stylistics, and so on: these features become stylistic the moment they are used in diachronic distributional patterns which are meaningful in contrasting two or more textual assemblages. In other words, every stylistic feature must first be described in terms of a synchronic system before its diachronic distribution (stylistic value) can be mapped; on that basis one can then trace in turn a process of historical growth. For example: (1) the terminative-adverbial -iŝ must first be described synchronically as part of a case system of nominal inflection; (2) one can then map its diachronic distribution in given assemblages, thereby determining that it has a stylistic value; (3) at that point one can trace the historical growth whereby one identifies all possible cultural influences which have conditioned, and therefore contribute to explain, the articulation in time of the various moments of that particular phenomenon--going thus from a study of stylistic distribution to a study of stylistic development. On the other hand, linguistic features which do not exhibit any meaningful diachronic distribution (say, for instance, the alteration singular/plural), are not de facto stylistic, even though there is nothing intrinsic to the system which prevents them from being so.

Stylistics and linguistic development. It must be remarked by way of clarification that the definition of style given above specifically excludes the phenomenon of linguistic development. The difference may be explained as follows. On the one hand, stylistic development is based on the distribution of (1) idiosyncratic features as they can be found in (2) textual assemblages which are considered diachronically. Now idiosyncrasy may be defined in terms

of frequency (not only of presence or absence) of a phenomenon; and a diachronic consideration does not exclude textual assemblages which are contemporary, since contemporaneity is a diachronic consideration. On the other hand, linguistic development (1) depends exclusively on the recognition of patterns of presence or absence of phenomena

and (2) the assemblage boundaries on which it is based are always coterminous with broad and specific geographic and chronological boundaries. When, for example, there occurs in Middle Babylonian a phonological change /št/ > /lt/, the phenomenon is total (not just a matter of frequency) and its textual distribution corresponds to a specific area (Southern Mesopotamia) and period (latter part of the second millennium). (See also below, 3.1, for similar considerations as applicable to literary genres.)

2. THE COMPONENTS OF THE SYSTEM: AKKADIAN STYLISTIC FEATURES

2.1 Introduction.

If, as maintained above, all linguistic features are potentially stylistic, then an inventory of Akkadian stylistic features would in effect correspond to a linguistic description of Akkadian as a whole. Stylistic features would then have to be described synchronically as part of a linguistic system before their stylistic role can be described. Such a synchronic description is obviously not our task here; yet there are two ways in which it must be taken into account even within the framework of a given stylistic system. First, an inventory must be given of those linguistic features which have in fact come to have a stylistic value. Second, it will be useful to describe at least briefly those features

2.2 Linguistic level.

2.2.1. Phonology

It is uncertain whether individual phonemes may serve as stylistic features, whereas a clearer case can be made for phonemic clusters, especially discontinuous ones.

To say that an individual phoneme has stylistic value means that a given textual assemblage selects for a given phoneme, say /a/ or /m/, with a meaningfully higher degree of frequency than do other assemblages. Now such a distribution can in fact be shown to occur, but it is normally the direct result of a selection operating at a different linguistic level, so that the phonological distribution is, as such, accidental. For instance, Old Babylonian letters exhibit a high frequency for the vowel /a/, which may derive from a lexical selection for items such as *ana*, *-ma*, *umma* which occur regularly in the address formula and elsewhere. The selection for /ū/ in *ušūšib* versus the more common *ušēšib* appears to be ^{the} result not of phonological selection for one vowel over another, but rather of morphological analogy allowing special influence to the first radical {w}. Onomatopoeia may perhaps be considered a case of phonological selection where the phonological level is primary, e.g., *damāmu* "to mourn"; here however the phonological determination has taken place at a stage which precedes the individual selection of a given author, hence again it cannot properly be considered stylistic.

"Alliteration" is the best known case of discontinuous phonemic clustering, where the cluster is characterized by the identity of the

phonemes. ("Alliteration" is a poor term since it refers to a graphic configuration, whereas what is meant really is a phonological configuration; it is maintained here because it is explicit and well-established.) This phenomenon has often been pointed out in the literature--see for instance Eheloff 1916: 21f. n. 7; 44; 45; Groneberg 1972: 159-162; and cf. Kinnier Wilson 1968. An example to which I may refer here (since it will be shown later, in 4.3, to have several other implications) is the *m*-alliteration of *šamāmu* and *ammatum* in the first two lines of the *Enūma Eliš*. Rhyme is a special case of discontinuous phonemic clustering, and so is the acrostic. Both of these devices are coupled with metrical and compositional functions, hence their treatment belongs more properly to a later section. While rhyme is not operative in Akkadian, the acrostic is found, and will be discussed below in 2.4.2.

2.2.2. Morphology

A stylistic selection of individual morphemes is rare, and it seems to be closely conditioned by either the phonological or the syntactical level. A possible example of a true morphological stylistic feature is mimation.

Mimation has been explained as a positional morpheme, namely as a marker of the position where a genitival pronominal suffix would occur in a norm phrase--as a marker, in other words, signaling the absence of a pronominal suffix (Gelb 1969: 144f.). If one accepts this explanation, then the absence of mimation where expected may be understood as a

morphological stylistic feature: while generally automatic, mimation came to be dropped with increasing frequency, i.e., a selection was made for lack of positional marking.

The alternation presence/absence of markers is the most common source of morphological selection. A typical example is the use of resumptive markers, i.e., morphemes which refer to syntactical elements in the sentence, and which may be included or omitted. For instance, the ventive, or allative or terminative (Goetze 1936: 297f.; 324ff.), may be considered as resumptive with regard to an adverb of direction (to), e.g.

<i>īlam-ma</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>libbi</i>	<i>eleppi</i>
went up <u>to</u> --and	to	inside	the boat
he came up aboard the boat			(Gilg. XI 189)

Where it is missing, explicit mention of directionality is omitted:

<i>uštēli</i> [∅]	<i>uštakmis</i>	<i>sinništī</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>idiya</i>
he caused to go up [to]	he caused to kneel down	my wife	to	my side
he had my wife <u>go</u> up and kneel down next to me				(Gilg. XI 191)

Similarly, the separative (-t- stem) may be considered resumptive with respect to an adverb of direction (from), expressed in Akkadian by a preposition phrase with *ina*.

This interpretation of the ventive and the separative yields an example of what might be called a synthetic dimension in grammar, whereby morphology exhibits a higher degree of cross-references to syntax, expressed by means of inflection. Whether or not this dimension is, in Akkadian, subject to the influence of Sumerian, its role varies from period to period, generally in a direction away from syntheticity, and also from assemblage to assemblage. Selection for one form or another is certainly influenced by other phonological and morphological factors, such as the presence or

absence of pronominal suffixes and enclitics, and all of these variables would have to be clearly taken into consideration when attempting a stylistic definition of the resulting distributional classes.

Other important cases of alternation between a synthetic and an analytical dimension may be mentioned here. The pronominal suffix in the dative is used seldom in later texts, where a prepositional phrase with *ana* is more common. Where it occurs it acquires a special resonance, precisely in virtue of its rarity:

luptēka (for *ana kāša lupte*) "I will open for you" (Gilg. XI 9)
petassu (for *ana šuāti petā*) "it is open for him" (Theod. 62)

Quite similar is the use of adverbials in *iš* and *ūm* about which much has been written (e.g., Lambert 1969; Lambert 1971; Groneberg 1972). These may be considered as synthetic expressions for equivalent prepositional phrases with *kīma*; their patterning into distributional classes and their resulting stylistic value has clearly been illustrated in the literature.

Similar in some respects, but different in others, is the case of emphasis. This has not been dealt with in the literature; I will not go into a detail here, but refer instead to ^aforthcoming article under the title "Of Emphasis in Akkadian," of which I will relate here briefly the main pertinent conclusion. Emphasis may also be viewed as a synthetic device, which adds however the important element of undifferentiation. The enclitic *-ma*, when added to a noun, is "emphatic" in the sense that (1) it takes the place of a qualification such as an adverb, but at the same time (2) it does not identify explicitly the nature of the qualification: it might be one of contrast, of exclusion, of specification, of identification. For instance, when Gilgamesh meets Ut-napishtim, he is stunned by the fact that the latter has nothing of the heroic features he had expected

(*gummurka libbī ana ēpiš tuquntī*, Gilg. XI 5); instead, he says to Utnapishtim:

kī yati -ma atta

You are exactly like me (Gilg. XI 3)

Here *-ma* takes the place of some such noun phrase as *ina kittim*. In respect to a specification of that type, *-ma* is, as indicated above, both synthetic and undifferentiated. Selection for this latter possibility is frequent, and may indeed be mapped stylistically.

2.2.3. Syntax

One of the syntactical features which lends itself most readily to alternative selections is word order. Placement of the verb in initial position is clearly apparent in poetic texts, in contrast with sentence final position as found in prose (this is a contrast which has general applications, see e.g. J. Cohen 1966 for an insightful analysis of the phenomenon). Since both its distribution and its stylistic value are readily apparent, I will not go here into details--I may just refer to a pertinent example from the beginning of the *Enūma Elish* which is discussed below in 4.3.

Another syntactical feature which has not generally been recognized as serving a stylistic function is subordination. Alternate means which are used in Akkadian are coordination and nominalization, and these seem on the whole to be more frequent than subordination (for a few examples see below 3.1). Yet, when subordination occurs, it may reach a high degree of complexity, especially in prose, of which the prolog of the Code of Hammurapi may serve as an illustrious example. This indicates, not only that subordination was quite productive in the language, but also that it was highly developed in its potential

use. The selection for one of these alternate modes of expression, according to a paradigm

kīma tammaru. . . "as you see. . ."
tammar-ma. . . "you will see and. . ."
ina amārim. . . "in seeing. . .,"

may be considered as having a stylistic function. (We may also note here that the anacolouthon may be regarded as a special type of coordination; it will also be mentioned briefly below from a compositional point of view, see 3.2.)

A similar alternation may be noted with regard to relative clauses. On the one hand, there is a contrast between clauses with relative pronouns and clauses without--the first being non-restrictive, the latter instead restrictive (a contrast which has not apparently been recognized for Akkadian). On the other hand there is a contrast between clauses and noun phrases, whether attributive or *genitivai* (see Buccellati 1972^a; Buccellati 1976^a for pertinent examples). The following paradigm will give a general idea of the alternants:

<i>bīt ipušu</i>	the house he built. . .[restrictive]
<i>bītum ša ipušu</i>	the house, which he built, . . .[non-restrictive]
<i>bītum epšum</i>	the built up house
<i>bīt epēšim</i>	the house one ought to build

The selection for individual formulations is obviously conditioned by the differences in meaning, which derive not only from the type of syntactical construction but also from lexicalization (e.g., *bītum epšum* means normally "improved lot"). Yet the formulations are often close enough to be practically equivalent in terms of meaning. It is in this sense that paradigms such as these help to focus attention on features which are especially susceptible to become stylistically relevant.

2.2.4 Lexicon

A synonym set is the lexical equivalent of the syntactical paradigms just considered. Synonyms have closely overlapping semantic ranges, thus they are partially identical in terms of meaning, and as a result they can easily become stylistic features. As part of the semantic range we may consider the cultural associations which a given word may evoke. Thus a rare word such as *ammatum* in the second line of Enūma Elish has a special value deriving from its apparently being limited to poetic texts. In a "paradigm" which might list

<i>erše tum</i>	land, earth
<i>qaqqarum</i>	land, ground
<i>mātum</i>	land, country
<i>ēperum</i>	land, dirt
<i>pātum</i>	land, territory
<i>ammatum</i>	land, terra firma

the last word has an arcane connotations which might perhaps be rendered in English by using a loan word (Latin "terra firma" for "land as opposed to the sea, and seen from the sea") which is esoteric and thus conveys a special semantic value. These considerations contribute to defining a specific semantic value of *ammatum*; its stylistic value, if any, will have to be derived not from its single appearance in the text, but from it being part of a recurrent selection for similar linguistic features. (This is brought home already at the beginning of the text by the syntagmatic relationship with *šamāmu* in l. 1--an unusual plural formation built on a reduplicative pattern, like *alkakātu*--and then with Apsu and Tiamat in ll. 3-4--proper names which seem to reflect back on *ammatum*, almost as if the lexically arcane of this word were to put in a class with proper names).

Two opposing tendencies may be noted, often complementing each other in the same text. On the one hand the same word may be repeated

insistently throughout a text, so as to acquire the value of a Leit-motif--for instance the word *parṣū* in the first part of the Descent of Ishtar (on this see below, 2.4.3). On the other hand, there may be a search for variation, which results in a number of synonyms being used in succession: here too the syntagmatic dimension is important, in that the complementarity of the synonyms has something of a cumulative effect in establishing on a wider basis the entire semantic range of the concept which is intended. Thus for instance in the beginning of the *Enuma Elish* a set of complementary words is introduced to express the notion of progressive differentiation and definition (*ṁabū, ṣuma zakāru, ṣe'ū, ṣīma ṣāmu*), see below 2.4.2 and 4.3.

A special case of repetition of identical words is that of formulas. These tend not so much to mark a thematic point, as to provide a special type of transition--serving thereby as compositional, linear devices (see below 2.4.1). Formulas of the type

pāṣu ṁpuš-ma iqabbi, izakkar ana PN

"he opened his mouth to speak and said to PN"

serve as dialog markers, and through their lexical as well as positional predictability they are effective in channeling the compositional flow--about which more later.

2.2.5. Discourse Analysis (Rhesiology)

The structure of a text is built on relationships which hold the various parts together. As in all considerations of a structural type, these relationships are more than simple rules of juxtaposition. They provide an overarching scheme which sheds new light on the component parts. A good example of this is the structure of the administrative texts, for which the contributions of Gelb are of special importance (see e.g. Gelb 1967). While not normally regarded as such, the study of these "forms" and of their internal structure belongs properly to

discourse analysis; and the selection of variables (e.g. sequential and hierarchial order), often underscored by the graphic arrangement (e.g. spacing, indentation, rulings), has a stylistic value.

In common speech, the disagreement between enunciation pauses and syntactic boundaries (a special kind of "enjambement" or straddling) may also be classed under discourse analysis, and may equally be considered a stylistic feature. With one exception, I can think of no case where this can be documented in Akkadian, although it may readily be assumed for the spoken language and, if any texts were then read aloud (rather than recited from memory), then it may also be assumed for the oral rendering of written texts.

The exception is to be found in metrically structured language, where there are structuring rules for the sentence which intersect syntax, and create breaks (caesuras) where syntax calls for a close juncture. Stylistic definition plays here a major role, hence meter deserves considerable attention. While thoughtful contributions have already been made in this respect, I wish to submit here a different treatment of the subject. Given the complexity of the argumentation, I will present my case in the form of an excursus, to be found in the next section. First, however, I want to stress the relationship between meter and discourse analysis.

Features such as rhyme and patterns of recurrent syllable or word count are manifestations of a deeper principle which constitutes the essence of meter--namely the channeling of expression into predictable corridors. Predictability is posited afresh by the poet in every work, even when established corridors are used--established, that is, in the poet's culture; the declaration of the chosen metrical limits is embedded in the discourse, an epiphany which requires no label.

So much so that the haunting quality of poetry can capture us even when we cannot articulate the rules of its own self-imposed strictures--witness, precisely, Akkadian poetry of which I believe the rules have eluded us (though not the creative power behind the rules. But the rules are there. They are rules of discourse channeling which imply, like all rules, two important corollaries. On the one hand, there are specific exclusions in the flow of discourse, which reduce considerably the range of possible distributional classes; paradoxically, expression is limited just where it seems to become more powerful. On the other hand, there is a higher degree of predictability, resulting in part from the lower range of available directions which the discourse can take; paradoxically, again, expression comes perilously close to banality just where it seems to soar the most above commonplaces. But these two paradoxes hold the key to an understanding of the intrinsic value of meter. It is precisely because the constraints are greater, and the danger of banality impending, that the escape from both is all the more glorious. This Russian roulette of expression is that to which Hopkins refers as an explosion (1966: 200), a very apt description of the ultimate issue of poetry in general and metrical discourse in particular. The target of channeled expression cannot itself be channeled--it explodes out of the constraints and beyond predictability. The first half of a couplet, in Akkadian parallelism limits severely the possibilities of what can be said in the second: the target then is to "explode" beyond these limits by couching, within them, the unexpected.

In this light, it appears why meter is far more than a set of technical devices, and is rather the single force which most can unify the discourse. The devices, which certainly are there, must be understood in terms of the overall tensional factor which binds the whole together, not as isolated components of an atomized universe. In the attempt which

follows, I have tried to ignore already recognized devices as they have been applied in the past to Akkadian (from the classical and western tradition), and have made instead an effort to focus on the central impact of meter, deriving then from it the elements which seem to be germane and intrinsically constitutive.

Regardless of what its validity may be, this proposal remains an excursus in terms of the overall argumentation. The main point is simply that meter is a selection which operates at the level of the discourse, and is in this sense a major stylistic feature.

2.3. Excursus on the Akkadian metrical system

Two principles are proposed here as the specific and constitutive properties of Akkadian meter: syntactic isotonism and counter-patterning. Syntactic isotonism means a balance among stress units which are defined both phonologically and syntactically. Counterpatterning means that a balance represented by even sequences is tensionally strengthened by the counterpattern of odd sequences. In order to understand the nature of the two principles, it will be necessary to define the basic metrical units of Akkadian.

I will be speaking here of what appears to be the most rigid application of the Akkadian metrical system, namely the one which is found in such texts as the Theodicy, Gilgameš, Enūma eliš and the Descent of Ishtar, excluding for instance, the hymns or Erra.

2.3.1. Minimal units: (A) the foot

By the term "foot" I refer to the first component of the system, which is a syntactical stress unit. This is defined phonologically as exhibiting a single major tonic stress, and syntactically as consisting of either a single word or a definable word group. It must be stressed from the start that the present system is based on a tight interplay between the phonological and the syntactical level: the limitations on cooccurrence, i.e., the distributional classes into which metric phenomena fit, are derived from the nature of syntactic relationships, and from the ways in which these relationships may be solidified, as it were, into accentual blocks. It may also be noted here that the term "syntactically bound" refers in what follows to the dependence of two syntactical elements from the same immediately supraordinated node in a binary tree system (since, otherwise, all items of a syntactical sequence are by definition "bound" at some other level of the tree system).

The single word, although imperfectly described in Akkadian syntax (see Gelb 1969, 133-135; Buccellati 1970, 46-48), may serve as our starting point, since the simplest foot consist of a single word. However, and this is our first limitation of a metrical nature, not all words may occur as single constituents of a foot-- and the limitation is to be stated in syntactical terms. Prepositions, particles, the relative and determinative pronoun, and coordinating conjunctions are excluded from the status of single foot constituents; hence, they will be called here "non-metrical words," while all others will be considered "metrical words." (For occasional exceptions with prepositions see *ultu* in Gilg. X vi 32 and *kīma* in Isht. D. 29. For subordinating conjunctions see *kīma* in Gilg. XI 200 and *enūma* in E. e. I 1.)

Non-metrical words are such because they carry no weight in metric composition. They can thus combine in any number together with metrical words without affecting the nature of the foot. Accordingly, word groups such as *lā išū* (Theod. 24, 268) are metrically identical to *išū*. I will use the term simple foot to refer to any such word or word group, i.e., any foot consisting of a single metrical word or of a metrical word plus any combination of non-metrical words.

It may be noted explicitly at this juncture that the principle of isosyllabism plays no role in Akkadian metrics. Not only is it possible to have a sequence of words in perfect metrical equivalence to a single word; we can also have a single long word in metrical equivalence to a single short word, e.g. *šū* (Gilg. XI 133) vs. *anaṭṭalakkumma* (Gilg. XI 2), i.e., a monosyllabic vs. a six syllable, single word foot.

A complex foot is one which includes two metrical words, plus any combination of non-metrical words, always with a close syntactical bond. There is no formal marker which identifies the two words as constituting a single foot; hence, metrical definition at the foot level can only be gained, in this case, from the supraordinate levels of the colon and the verse. A construct chain of the type *gimil dumqi* may constitute either a single complex foot (Theod. 66) or two simple feet (cf. Theod. 57: *gimil/naqab nēmeqi*), depending on the wider structure framework of the verse.

There is only one common type of complex foot, i.e., a construct chain consisting of two metrical words (i.e., excluding pronouns and pronominal

suffixes): e.g. *gimil dumqi* To this type belongs also a construct chain with a noun as head and a verbal clause as modifier; from the graphic markers given in some manuscripts of the Theodicy, it appears as though the head noun and the first word of the clause belong together in the same foot, while the next word of the clause (the verb) belongs in the next foot (the raised segment is my notation for foot):

$\overline{\hspace{2cm}}$ <i>qillat nēšu</i>	$\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$ <i>ipušu</i>
$\overline{\hspace{2.5cm}}$ <i>girri annūtu</i>	$\overline{\hspace{1.5cm}}$ <i>ikušu</i>

Less frequent are other types of complex foot, such as the ones listed below:

conjunctive clause:	ultu ikribūšu	(Gilg. X vi 35)
attributive phrase:	mē dalhūte	(Isht. D. 34)
nominal compound:	amēla eṭla	(Gilg. XI 203)
verb ~ object sentence:	zummū nūra	(Isht. D. 7)
subject ~ verb sentence:	nāru išša	(Gilg. X vi 29)

Naturally, any non-metrical word may be found in combination with the above mentioned types, yielding at times feet which are syllabically very long, such as a nine syllable foot quoted below:

construct chain:	ana ālid abišu	(E.e. I 19)
	ša ultu šun hā'irīšina	(Isht. D. 35)
attributive phrase:	ana šerri laqē	(Isht. D. 35)

2.3.2. Minimal units: (B) colon and verse

A colon consists typically of either one or two feet.

A colon with a single foot is called here an odd colon. Its constituent will always be a simple foot, whether with an individual metrical word (e.g. *mūta* Gilg. X vi 38) or with the addition of non-metrical words (u *balāṭa* ibid.). Metrical definition of an odd colon is only possible in terms of the supraordinate level of the verse.

More frequently, a colon consists of two feet, in which case it will be called an even colon. The two feet may or may not be syntactically bound, except that in a sequence of two cola within one verse, at least one of the two cola will normally be syntactically bound. As for the structure of even cola, both simple and complex feet are available, so that potentially four types of even cola are possible (disregarding the amplification by means of non-metrical words, which is of course always possible). In fact, however --and this is a very important distributional limitation in metrical structural analysis-- cola with two complex feet are as a rule excluded. This is all the more meaningful in that the same type of syntactical sequence is otherwise very frequent in prose, where it provides a sort of fluid, oratorical rhythm (see several examples in the excerpts from the Code and in the Sippar inscription quoted in the Appendix). Occurrence of this pattern within a strict metric system are truly an exception, as in



gīš *mašrē* *bēl* *pāni* (Theod. 63);

otherwise, the standard structural types are limited to a sequence of two simple cola:

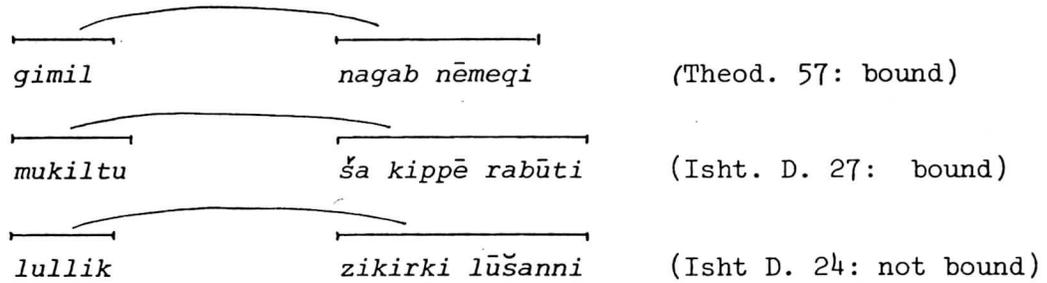


ina *ilani* *ahhēsu* (E.e. I 20: bound)

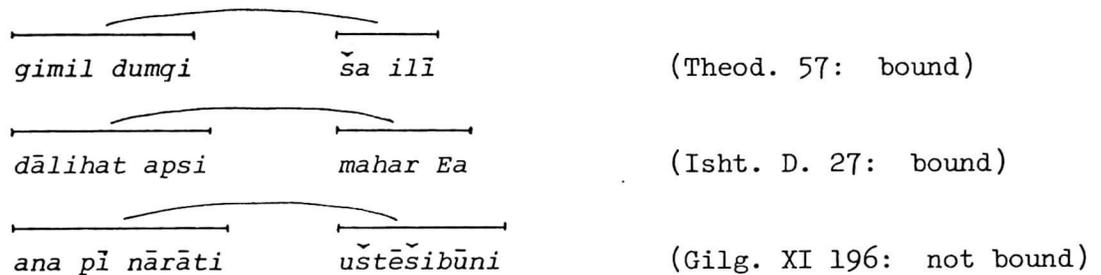


enūma *eliš* (E.e. I 1: not bound);

a sequence of a simple and a complex foot:

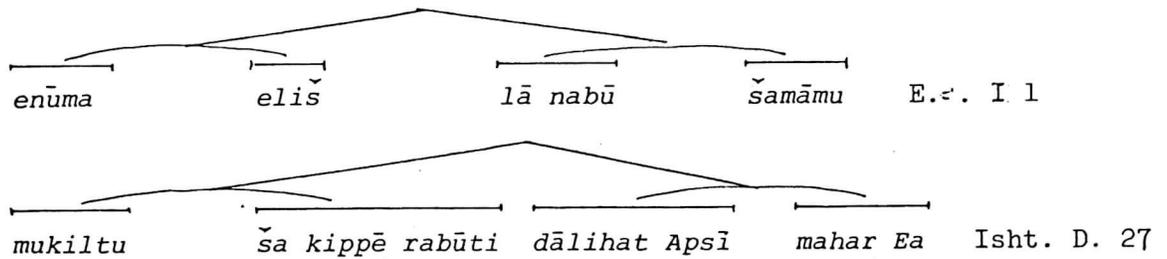


or a sequence of a complex and a simple foot:



An interesting, though very rare, non-systemic exception to the structure of cola as stated above, is that a single word may straddle two cola, e.g. *illigimīya-ma* (Theod. 72). This is, as it were, an extreme case of syntactical bond, and in this particular case we may presuppose the existence of a strong secondary stress defining a second colon just before the enclitic *-ma*. A summary of structural types for feet and cola will be found in Chart 1.

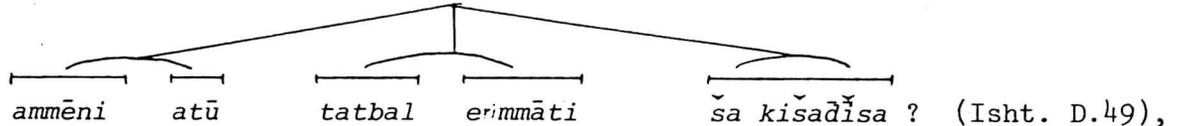
The normal verse structure consists of two even cola--which may of course exhibit varying degrees of complexity of the type already explored above, e.g.:



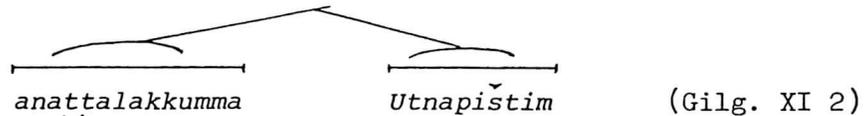
The most frequent variant to this first type of verse structure consists of three odd cola, e.g.:



Far less common variants include sequences of even and odd cola:



or a sequence of just two odd cola:



Regardless of structural differences--which in any case are largely limited to the first two types--the Akkadian verse is throughout a self-contained syntactical unit, in the sense that verse boundaries coincide normally with major syntactical boundaries, often of a sentence type. No straddling ("enjambement") is possible from one verse to the next, in the sense that even if the syntactical nexus carries over from one verse to the next, there is, nevertheless, an internal syntactical boundary coinciding with verse boundary, so that the syntactical units represented by the verses run on a parallel course within the broader syntactical structure of the overall sentence. Notice, for instance, the beginning of E.e. (see below, in the Appendix) which provides a rare example of a long subordinated clause (otherwise common in prose, see for instance the Code and the Sippar inscription in the Appendix), or see, for a shorter example, Gilg. XI 11-14:

<p>Šurippak, ālum [ālum ša ina ah]</p> <p>ālum šū labir-ma [ana] šakān abūbi</p>	<p>ša tidūsu atta, Purattim šaknu,</p> <p>ilānu qerbuššu ubla libbašunu</p>
--	---

Here the first two verses are not completed sentences, but they are completed units of a broader sentence which is resumed and ends in the following two verses.

		Examples	Exclusions	
foot	simple	A. single metrical word $\overline{sū}$	single non-metrical word \overline{sa} , \overline{ana} , \overline{u} , $\overline{ū}$	
		B. " plus any non-metrical word $\overline{ša lā išū}$	two or more non-metrical words $\overline{ul ana sa}$	
	complex	<p>two metrical words in bound syntactical form,</p> <p>Common:</p> <p>constr. w/nouns $\overline{gimil dumqi}$</p> <p>constr. w/clause $\overline{girri annūtu}$</p> <p>Rare:</p> <p>conjunct. clause $\overline{ultu ikrubūšu}$</p> <p>attrib. phrase $\overline{mē dalhūte}$</p> <p>compound $\overline{amēla eṭla}$</p> <p>verb-object $\overline{zummū nūra}$</p> <p>subject verb $\overline{nāru issā}$</p>	<p>Two metrical words not bound syntactically $\overline{Anunnaki mē}$ $\overline{enūma elis}$</p> <p>coord. $\overline{mūta u balāṭa}$ $\overline{lakē lubkī}$</p>	
	" plus any non-metrical word $\overline{ana serri laqē}$ $\overline{sa ultu sūn ha'irīsina}$			
colon	odd	simple foot	<p>A. $\overline{mūta}$</p> <p>B. $\overline{u balāṭa}$</p>	<p>complex foot for odd colon $\overline{banāt simti}$</p>
		two simple feet	<p>Not bound $\overline{enuma elis}$</p> <p>Bound $\overline{ina ilāni ahhesu}$</p>	<p>Two complex feet for even colon $\overline{mārat Sīn}$ $\overline{banāt simti}$</p>
	even	simple/complex feet	Not bound $\overline{lullik zikirki lušarri}$	
			Bound $\overline{mukiltu sa kippē rabūti}$	
		complex/simple feet	Not bound $\overline{ana ḫī nārāti}$ $\overline{uštēšibūni}$	
			Bound $\overline{dālihat apsi}$ $\overline{mahar Ea}$	

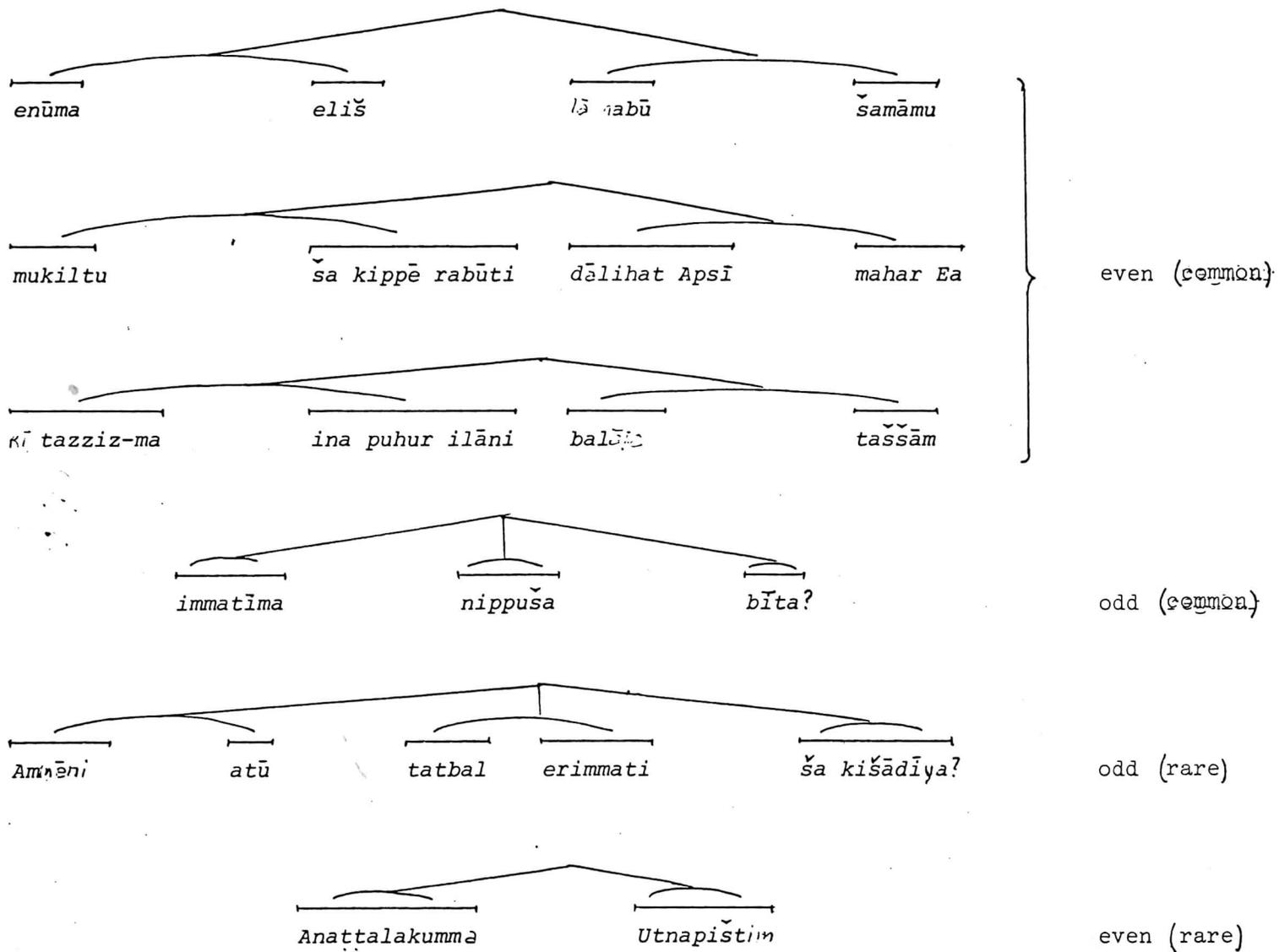


Chart 2
Verse Patterns

2.3.3. Intermediate units: monostichs, couplets and tercets

Verses are in turn integrated into broader intermediate units, normally of two or three verses--couplets and tercets. These units exhibit a close formal parallelism of the internal components (the verses have all an identical or very similar structure within each couplet or tercet), and a tight syntactical bond delimited at either end by corresponding metrical boundaries. Various other devices, such as chiasm or parallelism, underscore the internal structural unity of these intermediate units, e.g.:

<i>Luptēka, Gilgameš,</i>	<i>amāt niširti,</i>	
<i>u pirišta ša ilānī</i>	<i>kāša luqbīka</i>	(Gilg. XI 9-10),

where one will notice the parallelism of sentence structure and the chiasm of word order; also:

<i>Immatīma</i>	<i>nippuša</i>	<i>bīta ?</i>	
<i>Immatīma</i>	<i>nikanna[k</i>	<i>tuppa]?</i>	
<i>Immatīma</i>	<i>ahhū</i>	<i>izuz[zū]</i>	(Gilg X vi 26-27),

again with the parallelism of sentence structure and (partially) of word order, as well as the chiasm of the third verse in relation to the first two.

Occasionally, one can also find intermediate units consisting of single verses (rarely, instead, of four or more verses). These are identified both formally and in terms of the content, through a process of exclusion which sets them apart from the other verses, as these form couplets or tercets in the flow of the text. The only case where such monostich units are used regularly is in the Theodicy, where certain metrical and compositional distributional patterns may be observed (Buccellati 1972: 167-170).

2.3.4. Maximal unit: stanza.

Stanzas have generally been posited, in Akkadian poetry, only for the Theodicy, because there they are marked by the acrostic and, in several manuscripts, also graphically as well. A closer scrutiny of that text indicates that there is in fact a powerful tensional dynamism intrinsic to the structure of the stanza, a dynamism which derives from an interplay of various elements at the metrical and compositional level (Buccellati 1972: 165-170). The same elements can be recognized in other poetic texts as a general characteristic of metrical structure, even when they are not explicitly marked by graphical means. Accordingly, I propose to identify stanza units in, e.g., Gilgamesh, Enūma eliš or Ishtar's Descent.

Stanza's can primarily be identified compositionally as units in the linear development of a text (see below, 2.4.1). The metrical boundaries are not as specific as in the case of the minimal and intermediate units. Naturally, a stanza will include a certain number of the latter, but no fixed pattern can be formulated. Generally, however, one can say that the boundary of a stanza coincides always with the boundary of an intermediate unit, without any strophic enjambement, as it were. Also, one can say that a stanza will never consist of tercets only, and seldom of couplets only; normally, it will consist instead of an alternation of couplets and tercets (sometimes monostichs) often used to obtain a distinct variation in the rhythm of the expression--see for instance Isht. D. 5-7, where the tercet of odd verses contributes to slowing down the narration, reinforcing the compositional effect resulting from the lack of transitions in the exposition of the plot (see below, 2.4.1.); see also Gilg. XI 193-195 where the tercet of odd verses coincides with a climactic speech uttered by Enlil, whereby the metrical pattern underscores the special solemnity of the occasion. If there is a distributional pattern to odd and even verses, it would appear to be in the sense that a nucleus of even verses is punctuated with odd verses at junctures which appear important from a compositional point of view. The stanza then can be defined from within the metrical and compositional flow, rather than in terms of external boundaries (such as are projected

by the rhyme or acrostic devices). For this reason, perhaps, a graphic marker for the stanza is generally missing in the ancient texts, much as punctuation, too, is missing -- an otherwise important notation for marking external syntactical boundaries. We can say that the sense of the stanza, just like the sense of the sentence, is generated from within "writing" (in a Barthesian sense), rather than being appended from without.

If this is true (and I have tried to show that it is at any rate feasible by marking off with horizontal lines the intended stanzas in my transcription in the appendix), it is because the stanza builds on a tier system of syntactical bonds: the obligatory bond within the foot, the verse and the couplet on the one hand vs., on the other, the optional bond within the colon and the stanza. The elements of the stanza may in fact be linked syntactically (e.g. E.e. 1-9; Gilg. XI 215-218 or Isht D. 3-11), or they may be linked only compositionally. There ensues a true syntactic rhythm of pauses which may or may not be expected, thereby providing a delicate balance of channeled directionality on the one hand and tensional dynamism on the other--the conditions of aesthetic effectiveness of the Akkadian metrics.

2.3.5. Syntactic isotonism

The special type of rhythm which we have just observed may be defined as "syntactic isotonism." The building blocks of the system are stress units which impose phonological boundaries on syntactic functions. Hence neither syllable quantity (as in Greek and Latin metrics), nor number of syllables (isosyllabism) nor lexical stress (simple isotonism) play any role as metrical principles in Akkadian; it is rather the sequence of syntactical functions embedded in a specifiable phonological framework.

A verification of the regularity of this framework may be had if one considers the exclusions which are implicit in the system posited above. The principal ones are indicated in the right portion of Chart 1. Two general remarks are in place here. First, the typological range of metrical exclusions is sufficiently vast to indicate that the system as reconstructed here is indeed as rigorous as one would expect of a metrical

system. The exclusions consist of perfectly acceptable Akkadian syntactical sequences; in fact, as has been noted, above, some of these are very frequent in, and quite distinctive of, literary prose, so that the distinctiveness of meter (as reconstructed here) is fully confirmed vis-à-vis the properties of Akkadian prose.

Second, the range of exclusions enhances the value of the boundaries between metrical units (which is in fact another way of verifying the validity of the proposed system as truly metrical). Since linkage possibilities among metrical units are indeed limited, the compositional flow is channeled and is marked with a clear sense of directionality. Syntactic isotonism, through both what it predicts and what it excludes, establishes an expectable pattern which conditions, and strengthens, the means of expression.

2.3.6. Counterpatterning

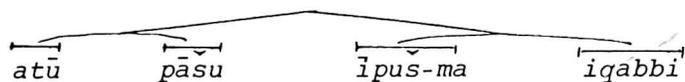
The metric system described above is built on a fine counterpointal structure of set patterns and their binary alternations--a principle which I will call "counterpatterning." The two basic channels are the even/odd alternation of metrical units and the presence or absence of a syntactical bond between the same. The resulting effect is one of balance and imbalance at the same time, since there is a clear range of predictability and directionality to the basic channel, and yet sufficient variation within it (see already, on this notion of intrinsic dynamism conditioned by the metrical system, Buccellati 1972: 167f). The articulation of the verses in an even or odd number of cola, for instance, is not part of a set sequential pattern, yet it is expected. Accordingly, a linear succession of even verses is generally interrupted at some point by one or three odd verses; this interruption point is in turn in balance with the broader structure of the stanza, since it normally occurs at a single point of the maximal unit, often in keeping with compositional patterns.

Again, a verification of the nature of the phenomenon of counterpatterning

may come from an examination of the metrical exclusions. On Chart 1 are listed some that seem most meaningful: obviously, they are not linguistically impossible, they simply go against the regularity of a metrical pattern. Thus a conjunction is allowed to cooccur in the same foot with another word only if this is the predicate, e.g.. *ultu ikrubūšu*; on the other hand, the sequence *enūma eliš*, though obviously possible as a sequence in the language, is not a normal foot since there is no close syntactical bond between the two words--where syntactical bond is always to be understood in the sense given above in 2.3.1. (There are of course exceptions where such excluded patterns are in fact found in the texts -- e.g. *šuhuzūšu aššu* "they cause him to have because" in Theod. 285, or, at the level of the colon, *giš mašrē bēl pāni* in Theod. 63, for which see above under 2.3.2. But these remain, precisely, exceptions.) The exclusions carry over to the level of the verse. For instance the following couplet would be considered metrically unacceptable:

enūma eliš šuma lē zakrū →
 + *šamamu, šapliš ammatum lā nabāt*

The syntax and the meaning are quite clear, but the straddling ("enjambement," symbolized by the two arrows → ←) from the first to the second verse is metrically irregular (see Von Soden 1969: 420-21 for two exceptional examples from Atram-hasīs). The same type of straddling is instead acceptable between cola, e.g.


atū pāsu ipus-ma iqābbi (Isht. D. 21).

It appears therefore that counterpatterning remains a channeled mode of expression. Thus, straddling is expectable, but across predictable boundaries. Similarly, odd verses and tercets will be used only to break an existing sequence of even verses, but will not by themselves constitute a stanza; nor is the sequence of couplets normally broken by other types of verse or cola arrangement. Counterpatterning remains therefore itself patterned and does not refer simply to a metrically uncontrolled interruption of the metrical rhythm.

2.4. Compositional Level

2.4.1. Linear devices

Viewed in its unfolding, a text may be conceived as a linear entity: this is held together by the overall notional unity of the message, by the internal substructuring into segmental building blocks, and by the resulting junctures between the latter. These, among others, are what may be called the most important linear devices of composition.

The term *composition* may be used in a general sense to refer to the internal connective texture of the message, whether in fact there is (1) a *plot* or *story* built, for example, on the contrastive growth of characters and situations or there is simple (2) an *account* of data stated as coterminous. To the first category, that of contrastive growth, belongs typically the modern novel. The closest we come to this in Akkadian literature is perhaps with the Poor Man of Nippur, where the unfolding of the story is in itself the dominant of the message. But also such texts as Irra, the Vision of the Netherworld, the Descent of Ishtar, or even the Theodicy rely on contrastive growth, often in ways which are not immediately apparent and which are therefore all the more effective, if more difficult to detect. For an in-depth compositional analysis along these lines of Gilgames, the Theodicy and the Dialog of Pessimism I will refer frequently to three essays I wrote in Italian a few years ago (Buccellati 1972).

The composition appears as a statement, rather than as a contrastive description, with poetic texts such as hymns or with prose texts such as the political oratory of royal inscriptions. Here events which are obviously part and parcel of a given time process are flattened, as it were, within the framework of what is essentially, from a compositional point of view, a synchronic account. The Sippar inscription of Hammurapi is a little compositional jewel

in this respect--no matter how worn out by continuous reading in introductory classes. The text (reproduced below in the Appendix) is a political glorification of the King which describes two major building activities at Sippar (the city wall with its moat and the Euphrates canalization system) and then goes on to derive the conclusions which are appropriate for the political interest of the text.

The logical flow of a text like the Sippar inscription is emphasized in its intrinsic unity by the clear articulation into three component *structural parts*. The first one gives the factual basis for the King's glorification, i.e., the two distinct building activities. The second affirms the benefit (*šubat nehtim ušēšib*) derived therefrom for the province and the capital. This is then the socio-political intent of the inscription, underscored compositionally by the interlocking device (see 2.4.3.) of cross-reference: the royal title used in this section is the socio-political epithet *bāni mātim*, which harks back to the fuller titulary given at the beginning, as if to justify it. The third structural unit affirms the religious intent of the king, who sublimates the building activity by making god as its primary referent. Differently from the case in the preceding section, the juncture is marked by the introduction of a new epithet (*migir Šamaš, narām Marduk*), which asserts a special religious prerogative for the king: compositionally, this epithet serves as a link between the juxtaposition of province and capital in the preceding section (Sippar ~ Šamaš, Babylon ~ Marduk) and the final dedication to the provincial god alone (Šamaš). It may finally be noted that the compositional unity of the text has a correlate in the rhesiological feature of the repetition of the name of the king, Hammurapi, at the beginning of each section.

An even closer correlation between compositional and "rhesiological"

levels in defining structural units is found in the case of stanza's as defined metrically (for which see above, 2.3.3).

An important linear device to be considered in compositional analysis is the one which may be called generically *transition*. Let us look for instance at the beginning of the Descent of Ishtar (see below in the Appendix). The text begins *in medias res* with a statement about Ishtar's decision to go to the Netherworld. It then proceeds with a stanza which contains a detailed description of those who enter the Netherworld and of their state once they are there: this stanza ends with an imperceptible shift of subject from people to place (l. 11). At this point (the beginning of the second stanza in my analysis), Ishtar is presented as being already face to face with the door of the Netherworld and its keeper, and she addresses him without preamble. We are thus effectively transferred to an unsavory world of immobility and stasis through an artful use of compositional devices. The trip of Ishtar is never described, it is only intimated indirectly by the description of others who enter; and these are left anonymous, so that the emphasis is on the act of entering, setting the stage for the elaborate entrance of Ishtar herself later on. On the linguistic level, this is stressed by the anacoluthon resulting from the lack of a syntactical coordinate to *iškun-ma* in l. 3 (an emphatic use of *-ma* seems most unlikely here)--or, if we restore *illik* in the same line, by the metrical straddling between *illik* and the place complements which follow in ll. 3-11 (on this type of straddling see above, 2.3.5). Transitions are also used skillfully in what follows immediately. The dialog between Ishtar and the doorkeeper is introduced at each point by a standard formula which simply identifies the speakers, but adds otherwise nothing to their characterization (ll. 13, 21-22, 25); in contrast, the transition to Ereškigal's speech is preceded by a characterization of her emotional reaction (ll. 29-30) which is the first of its kind in the poem, and thus sets the stage for the dynamic contrast Ishtar/Ereškigal which is quite the opposite of the static juxtaposition Ishtar/doorkeeper.

While in the beginning of the Descent of Ishtar the transition is abrupt and may be considered as a compositional equivalent to a syntactical asyndeton or a metrical caesura, there are cases where the transition defines a close juncture between structural units. A notable example is found at the beginning of Gilgameš XI, where the text underscores explicitly that a key turning point has been reached in the unfolding of the story: Gilgameš had been searching for the most heroic moment in his adventures, and is confronted instead with an anti-hero (Utnapištim) who is no different from a Gilgameš who is at his most human at this point (for a detailed compositional analysis of this theme in Gilgameš see Buccellati 1972, 22-32).

2.4.2. Inclusive devices

The unity of a text is often highlighted by compositional devices which bracket or include the "composition" (whether plot or account). The most obvious of these devices is what may be called *frame*--i.e., a notional structure in which the message is embedded, a suprasegmental link which overarches the linear progression of the story from beginning to end (on the notion of frame see e.g. Oppenheim 1956: 187f; 213). A typical example is the dialog form of the Dialog of Pessimism, which serves to give an internal unity to what would otherwise appear as a disconnected collection of proverbs and maxims (this notion is elaborated in detail in Buccellati 1972: 83-90). Another example which has perhaps not been appreciated in its full impact is the Code of Hammurapi. As shown schematically in the Appendix, the Code may be viewed compositionally as political oratory, in which (paradoxically) the "laws" are presented as the overlong subject of a ^{single,} abnormal nominal sentence. The entire text may be divided into five portions, of which the first one describes the mythical past (establishment of the cosmic order and of the political order within it), and the last one the mythical future (the curses, i.e. protection ad infinitum of the political order by the cosmic order); the second portion, as well as the fourth, focus

on the administration of justice as a specific and concrete expression of the political order as embodied in Hammurapi; and the third portion, in central position, gives the concrete evidence for the king's claim by spelling out one by one the "verdicts of justice" which Hammurapi had in fact, or could have potentially, issued. Here then a notional frame pushes to the hilt a device which we have seen already used at the linguistic level with reference to syntax (2.2.3 and 2.2.5): texts like the Borsippa inscription, which consists of a single sentence, or the Code, which consists basically of five overlong sentences, show how productive the trend was toward inclusion of the message into a rigid conceptual scheme.

The *acrostic* may be regarded as a special form of frame, especially when it results in a statement which serves to proclaim the dominant theme of the text--as in the *Theodicy*. Here the acrostic underscores on the one hand the lyrical dimension of the poem (by identifying explicitly a first person speaker who is presumably at the same time the sufferer and the author); on the other hand it points to a recognition of the religious and political order (*kāribu ša ilī u šarri*) which had been questioned in the text (ll. 143-153) only to show in bolder relief that the evils of the social order derive exclusively from the disinterest and apathy of the members of the social group (ll. 265-286; see a detailed analysis in Buccellati 1972: 163-5). The acrostic then provides a compositional frame which should not be underestimated in its literary effect. This is not to be sought on the phonological and metrical level (as is the case with the phenomenon of rhyme, only apparently related to the acrostic) but rather on the compositional level. An illustrious parallel may be found in the *Divine Comedy*, where each of the three major parts ends with the same word, *stelle* "stars"): coupled with the rigid formal subdivision of the three cantica's into 33 canto's each, plus an introductory canto at the beginning, thus totalling to an even 100 canto's altogether, we have here an explicit indication of the author's awareness for a special type of inclusion, which is signalled by both notional and formal

features. Seen in this perspective, the acrostic device is much more than a pedantic curiosity, as one might otherwise be inclined to consider it.

2.4.3. Interlocking devices

Similar in function to inclusive devices are those devices, here called interlocking, which overarch portions of a given text; in so doing they serve as a tensional factor in binding a composition together and in underscoring thematic developments. One might distinguish two main types depending on whether the structural components which are so linked are contiguous or not.

To the first type belongs the best known of these devices, namely *parallelism*: of two contiguous segments, the second parallels the first in a variety of ways, and with regard to grammatical, semantic or other characteristics. Since much has been written about this particular device, from the viewpoint of ancient Near Eastern literatures (see recently Greenstein 1976), or from a broader and comparative viewpoint (see especially Jakobson 1966), I need not proceed any further here. It may only be worth to point out that the notion of parallelism refers expressly only to *metrical* (contiguous) segments, and that these normally are verses, rather than, for instance, couplets. There may of course be parallelism also in prose (see for instance the royal epithets in the Sippar inscription, given in the Appendix); here, however, there is no thorough going correlation between rhesiological and compositional structure, so that parallelism is more diffused and generally at a notional level only. The aversion to straddling between verses (2.3.5) magnifies even more the role of parallelism in Akkadian poetry.

Another type of linkage between contiguous segments is provided by *anticipation*. This too has been noted in the literature (see for instance Bowra 261-270), but it has not perhaps been developed for Akkadian literature as much as it deserves. A typical example of

negative anticipation is found at the beginning of the *Enūma eliš* (see Appendix), where it provides a powerful description of the cosmic setting against which creation takes place: when there was no sky nor earth, and there was only an infertile watery chaos, when no gods were known, then did the gods come into being. The announced theme is that of contrastive growth: being is explained in terms of not being. Most especially, and this is perhaps the dominant theme of the entire poem, differentiation comes out of undifferentiation, according to a precise evolutive scheme which is resumed explicitly and with a constant crescendo throughout the entire poem: the fifty names of Marduk are in this respect, a resolution of Wagnerian proportions to the initial emphasis on the lack of a name for the cosmos and the gods. (Thus we have also another beautiful example of a notional frame as an inclusive device, as suggested in 2.4.2.; see also 4.3).

Another interlocking device is that of *repetition*, which may occur between contiguous and non-contiguous segments. A good example of the former is found in E.e. I 32-33:

" . . .alkam-ma, širis Tiamat i nillik."
 Illikū-ma qudmis Tiamat ūšibū.

" . . .come over that we may go toward Tiamat."

They went and sat down before Tiamat.

The triple repetition of *alāku* marks on the lexical level the inertia of Apsu who is here speaking to his attendant--an inertia which is otherwise amply stressed by the text, and which finds an (ironical?) confirmation in the detail about their "sitting down" when in need to plan an emergency program.

An example of non-contiguous repetition is found in the first tablet of *Gilgameš*, where the episode of the harlot and Enkidu is preannounced twice, first by the hunter's father (iii 19-24) and then by *Gilgameš* (41-45). This repetition serves in turn as an anticipation to the actual description of the encounter (iv 8-21), which is however given with much greater detail. Here then the repetition neutralizes on the one hand

the interest of the plot (since what is going to happen is already known) but enhances thereby the interest in the description--which in this case is well worthwhile! ^P More subtle, and hence more difficult to perceive but also literarily all the more effective, is the last device we will consider here, *crossreferencing*. This applies always to non-contiguous segments, and it is not in the form of lexical correlations, hence the difficulty in identifying the referential components. But precisely because not fully explicit, the device is a great tensional factor in holding together a composition and serves a major role in helping to identify the key compositional themes. I have discussed at length a number of such themes in *Gilgameš*, which reveal a strong unity in the text and enhance to a high degree the poetic quality of the poem (Buccellati 1972: 2-36, and especially 33). To repeat here just one example which seems particularly telling (*ibid.*, p. 29), one may compare (1) the discovery of the anti-hero, heralded by the verses:

<i>Anaṭṭalakkum-ma</i>	<i>Utnapištim,</i>
<i>minātūka ul šanā:</i>	<i>kī yatī-ma atta (Gilg. XI 2-3)</i>
As I look at you	Utnapistim
your statuē is not strange:	you are just like me, --

with the earlier discovery of Enkidu as a hero:

<i>Anaṭṭalka</i>	<i>Enkidu</i>
<i>kīma ili</i>	<i>tabašši (Gilg. II OB ii 11)</i>
I look at you	Enkidu
you have become	like a god.

From a different text I will quote another important example. When Ereškigal first hears of Ishtar's arrival at the gate of the Netherworld, she expresses her dismay in terms which go beyond personal animosity (Isht. D. 32-36, see Appendix). The thrust of her surprise follows a double crossreferential direction, back to the theme of food and forward to the theme of love. As for the theme of food, it had first been stated in ll. 8-9, in the description of the Netherworld

as an undesirable place; now Ereškigal resumes it, but in an inverted form: if Ishtar has come to the Netherworld, does that mean that Ereškigal should exchange place with her and taste the water of the upper world (of the Anunnaki), which to her would have the same undesirable effect that the Netherworld water has for Ishtar and those who enter from above? As for the theme of love, Ereškigal asks herself why should she (were she to exchange places with Ishtar) prove any feelings of compassion for lovers who are separated by death--a theme which is found later, with a variation, where it is said that love disappears with the disappearance of Ishtar (ll. 73-80). In Ereškigal's statement, we have the dominant theme of the poem which is expressed explicitly in a verse immediately following:

Uppissī-ma

kīma paršī labirūti!

Treat even her

according to the old norms! (Isht. D. 38)

The poem in effect underscores the fact that natural and cultural laws have a full grip even on gods: Ishtar's attempt to subvert them is purely a whim, and Ereškigal knows that it is to no avail. Just as the Netherworld food is good for her, Ereškigal, so she can but remain indifferent in front of death, even when it affects the closest bonds of love. From this point of view she knows that Ishtar cannot escape the rule of the *paršū*: if Ishtar gives up the prerogative she has under the laws of the upper world, then she will have to submit to the laws of the Netherworld. And the term *paršū* is in fact repeated as a continuous staccato during the episode of Ishtar's entry through the gates: to her repeated question as to the reasons for being progressively disrobed, there comes no direct answer, but rather a statement of fact:

ša Bēlet-eršetim

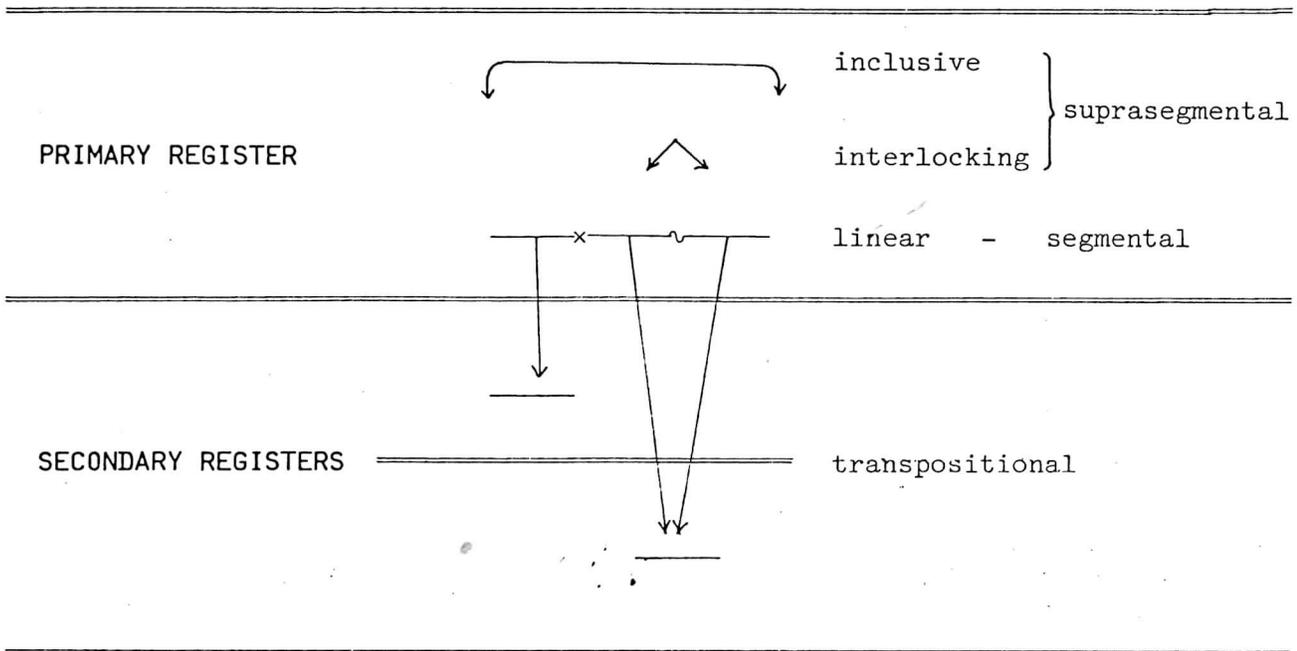
kī'am paršīša (ll. 44 ff).

The quiet monotony of the episode, punctuated only by the progressive invasion of Ishtar's privacy, underscores the relentless momentum of the

parṣū which eventually take completely over. The complex cross-referencing of the themes of food and love on the one hand, of law on the other, gives a strong impact to the message conveyed by these themes, and lends a haunting quality to the poem.

2.4.4. Transpositional devices

While the devices discussed so far operate on the level of composition viewed as a single and primary register of segmental relationships, there is also a secondary register which does not have a compositional structure of its own, but consists only of compositional fragments: the link between these fragments of the secondary register and the full segmental structure of the primary register is provided by the transpositional devices. Before explaining this with examples, a graphic rendering of the intended configuration may be useful.



When Sennacherib says of himself that "he swept over the land of the enemy like a storm" (*gimir mātišu...kīma imbari ašup*, OIP 2, p. 59: 28), he switches registers and invokes a fragment of a different composition (pertaining to a natural phenomenon) into the primary composition, which describes his military exploits. All that is left undeveloped of the second register (i.e., all that is left unsaid about the storm) is present as a potential composition of its own; the context of the primary register calls for a selection of the pertinent implications--in this case, for instance, the fierceness, danger, noise of the storm might be the pertinent qualities which apply to the primary register, whereas such questions as the amount of rainfall are in the background. It is proper then of transpositional devices to invoke fragments of other compositions without indicating fully the range of applicability (this is true even of the complex similes such as those, for instance, found in Homer).

Ⓟ An important element of transpositional devices is that they tend to violate the natural sequence of things: by extracting one compositional fragment from its context, and transposing it onto a different register, the natural identity of the fragment is lost. In our example, only a portion of the notion "storm" is envisaged, and the overall natural context of the phenomenon is explicitly pushed into the background. Such a dislocation of the natural sequence can only take place within given bounds: its effectiveness is proportional to the tensional range of the dislocation (i.e., the farthest one pushes away from the level of banality, the more captivating is the transposition); on the other hand there must remain a fundamental intelligibility of the proposed linkage between registers. Poetry has been defined as a type of composition which exhibits such features in the extreme (J. Cohen 1955).

Simile and metaphor are the two most characteristic realizations of such device. Their formal properties within Akkadian are described briefly in an earlier paper (Buccellati 1976), to which I may simply refer here for a preliminary exemplification. For an interesting example of a different type of dislocation in Biblical poetry see Weiss 1967, especially p. 419.

3. DISTRIBUTIONAL CLASSES WITHIN THE SYSTEM:
AKKADIAN STYLISTIC PATTERNS

3.1. Linguistic level

The dynamics of the system are defined by distributional classes along the diachronic axis as explained above (1.2 and 1.3). Such a distributional analysis is a most complex task, because the very definition of textual assemblages is at the same time a presupposition and a result of such analysis. One can only start therefore with assemblages which can be defined as such on the basis of extralinguistic criteria, and then verify their stylistic gradation in linguistic terms. It is also apparent that assemblages will intersect one another in terms of different criteria, in such a way as to make a potential hierarchy of assemblages all the more difficult. Computerized data bases lend themselves ideally to a thorough analysis of this type, not only because the data are susceptible to much more rapid inspection along traditional lines, but also because electronic processing allows for an infinitely greater insight into clustering possibilities. I am only prepared to offer the most preliminary type of exemplification, not necessarily derived from computerized data.

Literary genres may be regarded as broad textual assemblages. The distinction between prose and poetry is the broadest subdivision in this respect, as it can be defined especially along the lines of discourse analysis (meter), but also, for instance, along the lines of syntax (greater use of emphatic *-ma* after verbs in poetry) or lexicon ("poetic" words, such as, for instance, *ammatum*). More properly within the range of literary genres are such distinctions as the one (rhesiological) pertaining the use of two complex feet in hymns, which is excluded instead in other poetic texts, or the other (morphological) pertaining to the wider use of adverbials in *-iš* and *-ūm* in the so-called hymnic-epic dialect.

Even though the distinction between prose and poetry or between literary genres does not seem at first to include explicitly a reference to a diachronic scale, closer scrutiny reveals that there is in fact a diachronic dimension to the contrast, which is therefore properly stylistic. The definition of these broad textual assemblages is based on the recurrent selection of idiosyncratic features--thus in poetry, for instance, the rhesiological feature of meter does not occur in isolation but repeatedly, and yet it is not a necessary device of Akkadian discourse; in other words it is neither accidental nor universal, but stylistic.

The narrower the assemblages, the more obvious the diachronic clarity and, hence, the finer the stylistic patterning. Two examples will suffice here as an indication of what is meant. The first deals with syntax. On the basis of a limited sample from the royal inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal, Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon and Esarhaddon it appears that in the case of the latter two there is a much higher incidence of coordination among sentences, in the order of 5 to 1 for Sargon and 3 to 1 for Esarhaddon. Similarly, Sargon exhibits a higher incidence of relative clauses, almost in order of 2 to 1 with respect to the others. A second instructive example, also drawn from syntax, pertains to the royal letters of the first dynasty of Babylon. The letters of Hammurapi use consistently the prepositional phrase *tuppī annīam ina amārim* as an introductory formula, while the later kings use just as consistently a subordinate clause *tuppī annīam kīma tammaru/ā*.

On the linguistic level, nothing more can be done besides pointing out the existence of these distributional classes, and the way in which they contribute to define the boundaries of given textual assemblages. The more distributional classes one can find that pertain to the same textual assemblage, the more will such an assemblage appear as stylistically defined. There are, in other words, varying degrees of stylistic definition, and these can be ascertained distributionally. Broader implications will be found as one integrates the linguistic with other levels of analysis.

3.2. Compositional level

Patterning of compositional features is another powerful indicator of stylistic distributional classes.

There are linear devices which are exclusive of a given genre, which are, in other words, distributionally very specific. For instance, the adverb *šanītam* used to introduce a new topic is a marker of transition specific to letters of certain periods: it emphasizes a sharp break in the flow of information, while at the same time providing a carry-over from one stage to the next. The anacolouthon, on the other hand, seems to obtain the opposite effect by introducing a sharp break where there is in fact no boundary between topics. It may be considered stylistically specific in "scientific" literature--for instance in the *šumma awīlum* type of clause of the laws, where it serves to highlight the beginning of a new section by providing something like a paragraph title.

An inclusive device which is characteristic of contemporary textual assemblages but is missing in Akkadian is a composition title. An equivalent role is played in Akkadian by the notion of frame, which is often signaled by the use of the first line of a composition as a way of referring to the composition as a whole. The *enūma* clauses which are found so often at the beginning of literary and scientific compositions provide an indication of how first lines may in fact have been construed to fit into a given compositional pattern. Stylistic specificity of this type may also be recognized when dealing with non-literary texts such as administrative texts, where the internal structure is signaled for instance by total entries given at the end of a text.

Interlocking devices, on the other hand, as well as transpositional devices are more typically found in literary texts.

Texts where the unfolding of a plot is in evidence are especially rich in interlocking devices. These are in fact a major component of the art of story-telling, in that they provide a network of linkages which are normally unmarked and for this very reason are especially effective in securing the internal unity of the composition. The subtler the compositional artistry, the higher will be the incidence of these devices: thus Gilgamesh or the Descent of Ishtar seem much more complex in this respect than, say, the Poor Man of Nippur or even perhaps Erra.

Transpositional devices are most typical of what we know as a lyrical poetry, which might be described as a composition based almost exclusively on fragments from the secondary registers integrated onto a nominal primary register--as if the primary register existed only as a means of invoking the secondary registers. This extreme realization of the poetic mode does not seem to have appeared fully yet in Akkadian literature, at least not in the sense of our having texts which may be exhaustively defined, compositionally, in terms of transpositional devices. But there are at least "lyrical" portions embedded in broader textual assemblages--e.g., Gilg. X vi 26-39, or in such texts as the Theodicy or the hymns. And then of course there is ample use of transpositional devices in the normal sense, i.e., as individual similes or metaphors occurring within a well established main register composition. There are gradations in the use of similes and metaphors, which remain to be traced and could then be used as stylistic determinants. Such matters as the degree of formal complexity or the interrelationship between compositional levels (e.g., interlocking devices which link different transpositional devices through the medium of the main compositional register) provide promising lines of inquiry for a determination of diachronic scalarity or stylistic patterning.

3.3. Other levels

A distributional arrangement of textual assemblages may be undertaken in

a variety of other directions, some of which are intrinsic to the text itself (e.g. the graphic and the informational level), and other extrinsic (e.g. the place and date of composition or the place of recovery of the text). These criteria allow for the establishment of distributional classes, but clearly they do not all pertain to stylistics. Extrinsic criteria are relevant only indirectly, to the extent, namely, that they contribute to a suggestion or confirmation of distributional classes derived from internal analysis; they are not properly stylistic because there is by definition no element of selection on the part of the author.

Intrinsic criteria are more directly pertinent, and we may properly speak of a graphic or an informational style. The first is treated under the heading of palaeography in what concerns the design element of the script, and under the heading of graphemics in what concerns the correlation between graphic symbols and phonology. Thus we speak traditionally of the ductus of a scribe or scribal school, or of the syllabary of a given period of type of texts--which are in fact stylistic definitions.

By "informational" style, on the other hand, I refer to a patterned selection of specific items of information. For instance, the normal exclusion of a date formula from the standard structure of Old Babylonian letters, or the normal inclusion of a list of witnesses in contracts, may be considered as stylistic determinants in the way in which information is conveyed. A distributional analysis based on these criteria is possible, is valid, and is in fact common in Assyriological practice. A comprehensive study of Akkadian stylistics will have to include all of these levels, since they are all found in Akkadian texts. If style is truly, as maintained at the beginning, not a separate set of features, but rather a special distributional arrangement of features which are to be otherwise defined in terms of their own synchronic structure, then style applies to all dimensions from which a text can in fact be viewed in a structural sense.

My effort here has been precisely to define synchronically (in section 2)

two types of textual features, linguistic and compositional, which have not been properly stressed in the literature, in order then to outline briefly (in section 3) their possibilities in terms of distributional analysis--i.e., of style proper. The emphasis given here to the linguistic and compositional levels as over against other possible levels, has been in function of a higher level of integration to which I will turn briefly in the next and concluding section.

4. CORRELATION OF LEVELS BEYOND THE SYSTEM: AKKADIAN LITERARY ANALYSIS

4.1. The Secret Kinship

The ways in which different stylistic levels come to be integrated in a text account for its literary nature. To put it differently, literary style may be conceived as the interweaving of all other types of style present in a text. The author's creative integration unifies in the work itself all the levels which we have kept, and must keep, separate for the sake of analysis. Integration, as distinct from juxtaposition, means that the connections are from within, that the counterpointal registers blend as of necessity into a unified harmony. This has been captured in a beautiful statement by a Czech poet who dates back to the early eighteen hundreds and is quoted by R. Jakobson (Matejka and Titunik 1976: 164):

". . .true poetry--the more original and alive
its world, the more contradictory the contrasts
in which the secret kinship occurs."

Much of the study on poetry has brought out just what the various dimensions of this "secret kinship" are (see for instance the notion of coupling in Levin 1962). And indeed poetry develops this aspect of expression to the extreme, to a point where the complex internal architecture of the poem is immediately felt as necessary at the very

moment in which it is posited freely by the author--causing, in the words of Valéry (1958: 72) the poem to acquire something like an intrinsic regenerative power:

The poem. . .does not die for having lived: it is expressly designed to be born again from its ashes and to become endlessly what it has just been. Poetry can be recognized by this property, that it tends to get itself reproduced in its own form: it stimulates us to reconstruct it identically.

The notion of secret kinship, however, applies to all levels of expression. The farther away from poetry, the less secret and necessary may be the bonds; but they are there nevertheless, in however embryonic and imperceptible a fashion, as filaments which holds together whatever the unit of expression may be. Stylistic analysis gives us a handle with which to identify these bonds or filaments, and conceptualize their relationships. The selections which operate at the various levels are a function of a higher selection, a broader system which subsumes all the various stylistic levels. The distributional classes which are recognized as present in a given textual assemblage are not just cumulative, but rather reciprocally integrated in a unifying structure. In the measure in which we can discern their patterns, we can perceive what the architecture of the whole is. From a formalized description of idiosyncratic selections we can reach the point of origin behind it all, the author's preference; we can discover, as it were, the ancestral source from which the secret kinship emanates--for whatever type of textual assemblage.

Hence, the effort at formalization about which I spoke at the beginning may be seen to serve a vital, pedagogical role. By bringing us back to the locus where the author's idiosyncratic selections take place, stylistic analysis does more than dissecting an object of study: it also trains our sensitivity. Formal recognition of patterns where patterns are not otherwise perceived generates an active patterning

ability. We assimilate, in other words, the same presuppositions which were operative in the initial creative process. Through a mediate, scientific process we acquire an immediate power of perception. We become educated, humanistically.

4.2. The limit of expectation

The internal structure of the text is declared by the text itself, not by any label outside the text. We have seen this above with regard to the structure of the discourse (2.2.5), but the same obtains for all other levels. The code is given with the data themselves, and ultimately any decoding must be possible from within the text; for fruition of the secret kinship to be possible, its inner bonds must be apparent of their own volition at the same time that they remain secret, as if in a transfigured state. The self-declaration of the text is not embedded in any single place, but rather it "happens" at the same time that the text "happens." The text sets its own limits, and the degree of expectation created thereby grows apace with the definition of those limits. Poetry pushes to the extreme this process, which is only adumbrated in simpler texts. The limit of expectation is all the more operative the more complex a text is, and it is especially of these texts that I am speaking now, even though in principle the argumentation applies to all texts.

Both the notion of limit and ^{that} of expectation imply directionality. Reading a text means going from threshold to threshold, each one being a limit to what precedes and to what follows: they are at the same time resolutions of announced limits and pointers to further limits. In this constant thresholding lies the dynamism of a text. The delicate balance which is necessary is one between banality and unintelligibility. Whether the resolution of a limit is obvious, and thus banal, or whether it is too obscure, and thus unintelligible--in either case the expectation is ^{frustrated. This necessary} balancing between extremes is partly the cause for the selections

made by the author, selections which make up the many stylistic dimensions of a text.

The goal of literary analysis is to disentangle these dimensions, and to indicate how effectively they have been ordered along the creative axis to produce the intended result. The directionality implied in the notion of the limit of expectation is a guide to literary analysis. The overarching question is then: how well are the limits posited, how well are they resolved, and what is their hierarchy? Stylistic analysis, in the distributional sense outlined above, will serve as an apposite tool.

4.3. A Literary Reading of the first Stanza of Enūma Eliš

I will conclude with the analysis of a brief text--the first stanza (as defined above, 2.3.4) of Enūma Eliš, of which the Akkadian text will be found below in the Appendix (5.1). Only a few remarks will be given here, followed by an English translation. My goal is primarily to bring out some of the dimensions which have been elaborated in the discussion above, especially as they pertain to the integration of the various stylistic levels.

The main theme of the stanza and perhaps of the poem is a poetic capturing of the phenomenon of differentiation. At the notional or informational level, this intersects a variety of configurations. The sphere of nature is evidenced in the first stanza by the description, in negative terms, of the basic elements of earth, air and water: they are without a name, and even water, though named (Apsu and Mummu-Tiamat), is presented as an inform mass, i.e. without the definition provided (as it is today in Southern Iraq) by the low grasses which surround canals and marshes (*gipara lā kišsurū*) and by the reeds (*šuṣū*) which grow at the edges. There is however a beginning of definition, because their waters are considered as intermingling, which

entails, at least implicitly, separation and thus some degree of incipient differentiation.

The social sphere is evidenced (in later stanzas) by the description of the growth from one generation to the next, where the later one is always at a higher degree of development than the former one: the sons are explicitly and emphatically recognized as excelling over their fathers. The political sphere is evidenced by the establishment of Babylon as the ideal state, coming out of chaos.

One more sphere is of special importance, that of the gods^X. They are implicitly present, existent, but as a divine mass which is as yet undifferentiated: unmanifested (*lā šūpū*), unidentified (*šuma lā zukurū*), undetermined (*šimātī lā šīmū*). Out of this mass, differentiation takes place: the gods are created, manifested, identified by name. Divine differentiation is set in motion, and reaches its climax at the very end of the poem: the expectation for differentiation, created so artfully by the first stanza, reaches its full resolution with the apotheosis of Marduk who, at the opposite end of unnamedness, has not just one, but fifty names. With him, differentiation reaches a point of complete saturation.

X On the compositional level, we have here a most effective use of interlocking devices, as pointed out already in 2.4.3. The relationship between the primeval, inform divine mass on the one hand and the fully differentiated personality of Marduk, with his fifty names, provides a remarkable example of an inclusive frame. Within the limits of the first stanza, the device^{of} anticipation is also exploited to its full extent. There is the obvious pair negative/positive:

- When the heavens were not identified,
when no god was manifest as yet,
- + then were the gods created,
Lahmu and Lahamu were manifested.

But there is more. The inform mass of physical elements (1-6) is

paralleled by the inform mass of divinity (7-8). However, the resolution of the problem of undifferentiation is achieved with different means. In the second case, it is explicit: the gods are ^{explicitly} said to have been created, named. In the first case, the resolution is implicit: names (Apsu, Mummu-Tiamat) are already advanced where the inform mass is being described, as if to point to an incipient, self-motivated process of differentiation.

Lexical and grammatical considerations parallel on the linguistic level what we have just been saying about compositional features. Lexically we have some interesting sets of names (which, as set, lend themselves also to compositional considerations as cross-referencing devices). Notice first the correlation between *šamāmū* and *ammatum*: their notional link is strengthened not only by the phonological device of alliteration (prevalence of m), but also by the fact that *šamāmū* is an "arcane" morphological formation, while *ammatum* has an "arcane" semantic range. In addition, this correlation lends itself to three interesting extensions.

First, there is another pair of words which appears immediately below with a similar lexical alternation. *Gipāru* and *šūšū* are used to describe the watery mass, and of these *gipāru*, in the sense of meadows or grass banks, may be considered an arcane word, thus parallel to *ammatum*.

Second, the set *šamāmū* *ammatum* is extended by the inclusion of the names Apsu and Mummu-Tiamat, referring to the watery mass. We thus obtain a syntagmatic definition of the set as a paradigm, meaning that the contextual arrangement endows the sequence with a paradigmatic value, as follows:

noun	:	<i>šamāmū</i>
arcane noun	:	<i>ammatum</i>
proper name	:	<i>Apsū, Mummu-Tiamat</i>

The result is that the middle term, the arcane noun, serves as a middle ground between a common noun and a name.

Finally, and almost by way of confirmation of the second point, though more tentatively, the set we have just analyzed is paralleled at the end of the stanza by another set: *ilū* ~ *Lahmu/Lahamu*. We may perhaps see in this, the first declared name of a divinity, a Proto-Tigridian noun, of the phonological shape which is usual for these nouns, and hypothetically referring to the sea. If so, then we would have a combination of arcane noun (as an archaic loanword) and proper name, thereby reproducing the paradigm found at the beginning of the stanza:

noun	:	<i>ilū</i>
arcane noun	:	[<i>laham</i>]
proper name	:	<i>Lahmu/Lahamu</i>

Still lexically, but on a different plane, we may note the variety of terms which are used to introduce the notion of differentiation. Viewed in this respect, the English translation may vary from the usual, in such a fashion as to bring out the compositional and notional levels of the text. A good test for the validity of the translation is that, if we try to suggest other means whereby Akkadian can render these English concepts, we do not seem to find any which are more appropriate. Here is the list:

<i>šuma zakāru</i>	"to identify by name"
<i>nabū</i>	"to identify"
<i>še'ū</i>	"to define"
<i>šīma šāmu</i>	"to determine the personality"

Grammatically, there is an interesting interplay of verbal forms which serve to underscore the dimensions seen so far. Fientive and positive forms appear at crucial junctures in the stanza where the process of differentiation is alluded to, while stative and negative forms are used in the opposite case. The sequence is as follows:

lā nabū
lā zakrat

ihīqū

action of mixing (to be mixed)

line 5 or 4

lā kissurū

lā še ū

lā šūpū

lā zukkurū

lā šīmū

ibbanū

uštapū

izzakrū

original sentence (very un-akbarian)

line 9 - action begins

lā nabū

In the translation, I have respected this, by using an auxiliary ("did blend"), by adding an adverb of time ("were then created") by stressing the ingressive aspect ("became manifested," "came to be identified"). Note also that *ibbanū* is the first verb to occur in sentence initial position.

The metrical dimension of the stanza brings out the structure observed so far. The sequence of even verses and even couplets makes rhesiological boundaries coincide with notional boundaries, in such a cadenced manner as to strengthen the static picture conveyed by the prevalence of stative forms, by arcane nouns, and by the notional insistence on undifferentiation.

The resulting impact is remarkable--"resulting" not from an atomized, cumulative juxtaposition of considerations, as we have ^{been} adducing so far, but from the integration of these, and countless more, dimensions in a single text. When all is said and done, what remains is the haunting quality of the text, the perduring resonance which never seems to wane once it has been heard.

- 1 When up above the heavens were not identified
- 2 and down below firm ground was yet without a name,
- 3 when only primeval Apsu as begetter
- 4 and Mummu-Tiamat, the universal mother,

- 5 did blend their waters into one,
6 ungirdled as to meadows,
 undefined as to marsh reeds,
- 7 when no god was manifest as yet,
8 none was identified by name,
 determined as to personality,--
- 9 out of within their midst
 the gods were then created:
- 10 Lahmu and Lahamu become manifested,
 come to be identified by name, . . .

5. SAMPLE TEXTS

Following are five texts which have a special place in the argumentation above. They are given here as much as possible in extenso, in order to bring out (1) overall compositional features and (2) metrical features especially at the level of intermediate and maximal units.

5.1. Enūma Eliš

1	ēnūma eliš		la nabū šamāmu,
2	šapliš ammatum		suma la zakrat,
3	Apsūma	reštū	zārūšun
4	Mummu-Ti'āmat		mu'allidat gimrišun
5	mēšunu	ištēš	ihīqūma
6	gipāra la kiššuru		šušā lā še'ū,
7	enūma ilū		lā šūpū maṇāma,
8	suma lā zukkurū		šimāte lā šimū--
9	ibbanūma	ilū	qiribšun
10	Lahmu Lahamu uštāpū		šumi izzakrū

. . .

5.2. Descent of Ishtar

1	Ana māt lā tārī,		qaqqar [Ereškigal],
2	Istar, mārāt Sīn,		uzunsa [iskun].
<hr/>			
3	Iškun-ma mārāt Sin		uzun[ša---illik]
4	ana bīt eṭē,		šubat Ir[kalla]
5	ana bīti	ša ēribūsu	lā ašū[]
6	ana harrāni	ša alaktaša	lā tayya[rat]
7	ana bīti	ša ēribūsu	zummū nū[ra]
8	ašar epru bubussunu,		akalšunu ṭi[ttu]
9	nūra ul immarū,		ina eṭūti as[bū]
10	labsū-ma kima iṣṣūrī		šubat kap[pi]
11	eli dalti u sikkūri		šabuh epru.
<hr/>			
12	Ištar		ina kašādīša
	ana bāb māt lā tārī		amāta izzakkar:
13	ana atī bābi		
14	"Atū-me,	pitā	babka!
15	Pitā babka-ma		lūruba anāku!
16	Šumma lā tapattā bāba		lā erruba anāku,
17	amahhaš dalta		sikkūra ašabbir
18	amahhaš sippam-ma		usbalakkat dalāti
19	ušellā mitūti		ikkalū baltūti
20	eli baltūti		ima'adū mitūtu.
<hr/>			
21	Atū pāšu		īpuš-ma iqabbi
22	izakkar	ana rabīti	Ištar:
23	"Izizzī,	beltī,	lā tanaddašši!
24	lullik, zikirki lušanni		ana šarrati Ereškigal."
25	Erūm-ma atū		izzakkara [ana Ereškigal]:
26	"Annītu-mē ahatki		Ištar i[na bābil]--
27	mukiltu ša kippē rabūti		dālihat apsi mahar Ea."
<hr/>			

28	Ereškigal	annīta	ina šemi[ša]
29	kīma nikis binī		ēriqū paṇūša
30	kīma šapat kunīni		išlimā sapātūša:
31	"Minā libbaša ublanni,		minā uštamdanni-ma
32	Annītu-mē anāku		itti Anunnaki mē ašatti?
33	Kīma akli	aḳkal	tiṭṭa,
	Kīma šikāri	ašattā	mē dalhūte?
34	Lubki ana eṭlūti		ša ēzibū hirēti?
35	Lubki ana ardāti		ša ultu sūn hā'irīšina šallūni?
36	Ana šehri lakē lubki		ša ina lā umīšu tardu?
37	Alik, atū:		pitāssi babka!
38	Uppissi-ma	kīma paršī	labīrūti!
<hr/>			
39	Illik atū		iptāssi bab[ta]
40	"Erbī belti,		Kuta lirīški,
41	eḳal māt lā tāri		lihdū ina panīki!
42	Istēn bāba		ušēribši-ma umtaši,
43	"Ammēni, atū,	tatbal agā rabā	ša qaqqadiya?"
44	"Erbī, belti,	sa Bēlet-eršetim kī'am parsīša."	
. . .			
<hr/>			
66	Ereškigal pāšu		īpuš-ma iqabbi
67	ana Namtar sukallīša		amāta izzakkar:
68	"Alik, Namtar		[]
69	sūšašši sūši		muršī Istar!
70	Muruš	inī	[ana inī]ša
71	muruš	aḫi	a[na aḫi]ša
72	muruš	sēpi	a[na sēpi]ša,
73	muruš	libbi	a[na libbi]ša
74	muruš	qaqqadi	[]
75	ana šāša gabbiša-ma		ana []."
<hr/>			
76	Arki Istar belti		[]
77	ana burti	alpu	ul išahhit
	imēru	atana	ul ušārā;
78	ardata	ina su i	ul ušārā eṭlu;
79	iṭṭil	eṭlu	ina kummišu
80	iṭṭil	ardatu	ina ahiša."

5.3. Gilgameš

X vi 26	"Immatīma Immatīma	nippuša nikanna[k	bīta? tuppa]?
27	Immatīma	ahhū	izuz[zū]?
28	Immatīma zērūtum		ibašši ina [nakrī]?
29	Immatīma nāru issā,		mīlu ub[bal]?
30	Kulīlu	qilippa	[izzib-ma]
31	panūša	inaṭṭalū	pan samsi.

32	Ultu ullānumma		ul ibašši [dāriš]:
33	sallu u mītum		kī ahāmiš [sunū]!
34	Ša mūti	ul išširū	šalam[šū]?
35	Lullū amēlu eṭil		ultu ikrubū[šū ilū-ma]:
36	Anunnaki ilānū		rabūtu pa[hrū],
37	Mammētum	bānāt	šimti
	ittišunū	šimāti	iš[emmi]:
38	ištaknū	mūta	u balāṭa
39	ša mūti	ul uddū	ūmēšu."

XI 1	Gilgameš ana šāsūma izzakkara		ana Utnapištim rūqi:
2	"Anaṭṭalakkum-ma,		Utnapištim,
3	mīnātūka ul šanā:		kī yātī-ma atta;
4	u atta ul šanāta:		kī yātī-ma atta.
5	Gummurka libbī		ana ep š tuqunti:
6	[attā-ma ina] ahi		nadāta, elu sērīka.
7	[Qibanni:] ina puhur ilāni		kī tazziz-ma balāṭa taššām?"

8	Utnapištim ana šāsū-ma		izzakkara, ana Gilgameš:
9	"Luptēka, Gilgameš,		amāt niširti,
10	u pirišti ša ilāni		kaša luqbīka.
11	Šurippak, ālum		ša tīdūšu attā,
12	[ālum ša ina ah]		Purattim šaknu,
13	ālum šū labir-ma		ilānū qirbuššu
14	[ana] šakān abūbi		ubla libbašunū.

. . .			
XI 189	Īlam-ma Enlil		ana libbi, eleppi
190	išbat qātiya-ma		ultēlanniyāši;
191	uštēli uštakmis		sinništi ana idiya,
192	ilput putni-ma		izzaz ina bīrīni,
	ikarrabannāši:		
193	"Ina panā	Utnapištim	amēlūtum-ma,
194	enennāma	Utnapištim	u sinništašu
	lū emū	kī ilāni	nāši-ma:
195	lū ašib-ma Utnapištim		ina ūqi, ina pī nārāti."
196	Ilqūnī-ma ana rūqi		ana pī nārāti, ustēsibūni.
<hr/>			
197	Enennāma		ilāni upahharakkum-ma
	ana kāša mannu		tuttā atta?
198	balāṭa ša tuba' 'ū		
199	Gana		ē tattīl
	šesšet urrī		u sebet mūsāti."
200	Kīma ašbu-ma		ina bīrīt purīdišu
201	šittu kīma imbari		inappuš elīšu.
<hr/>			
202	Utnapištim ana šāši-ma		izzakkar ana marhitīšu:
203	"Amrī amēla eṭla		ša irišu balāṭa!
204	Šittu kīma imbari		inappuš elīšu."
205	Marhišsu		ana Utnapištim rūqi:
	ana šāšū-ma izzakkar,		
206	"Lupussu-ma	liggeltā	amēlu:
207	harrān illika		lītūr ina šulme
208	abul ušā		lītūr ana mātīšu!"
<hr/>			
209	Utnapištim ana šāši-ma		izzakkar, ana marhitīšu:
210	"Raggat	amēlūtu,	iraggikki:
211	gana		šitakkanī ina rēšīšu
	epī kurummātīšu		ina igāri ešrī."
212	u ūmī ša ittilu		
213	Šī		ištakkan ina rēšīšu
	ipī kurummātīšu		ina igāri uddašsu.
214	u ūmī ša ittilu		

XI 215	Ištāt	šābulat	kurummassu,
216	šanītum mussukat,		šaluštum raṭbat,
217	rebūtum	ipteši	kamaṅšu,
(218)	hamuštum	šība	ittadi,
	šēdištum	bašlat,	/ sebūtum--
	ina pittim-ma ilpussu-ma		iggeltā amēlu.

219	Gilgameš ana šāsū-ma izzakkara	ana Utnapištītim rūqi:
220	"Annimmīš šittum	irhū eliya
221	hantiš taltaptanni-ma	taddikanni atta."
222	Utnapištītim [ana šāsū-ma	izzakkalra, ana Gilgameš:
223	"[Gana	
	amur, Gilgalmeš	munā kurummātīka,
224	[ša ina igāri ešru]	lū edakka kāsa.

225	[Ištāt	šābulat]	kurummatka
226	[šanītum mussukat,		šaluštum raṭbat,
227	rebūtum	ipteši	kamanka,
(228)	[hamuštum	šībla	ittadi,
	šēdištum	bašlat,	/ [sebūtum--
	ina pittim-ma	tettegeltā	atta."

229	[Gil]gameš ana šāsū-ma izzakkara	ana Utnapištītim rūqi:	
230	"[Kī] lūpuš, Utnapištītim,	ayyikā lullik?	
231	[Šīrīlya	uššabbit	ekkēmu:
232	[ina] bīt mayyāliya	ašib mūtum,	
233	u ašar [... uškun	šū mūtum-ma."	

5.4. Code of Hammurapi: overall structure

- I. 11 Inu Anum šīrum. . .Enlil. . .
 ana Marduk. . .kišsat niši išīmušum
 Bābilim šumsu šīram ibbū. . .
 ina libbišu šarrūtam dārītam. . .ukinnušum
 inūmīšu
 Hammurapi. . .yāti. . .Anum u Enlil. . .šumī ibbū.
-
- II. 150 Hammurapi, re'ūm nibīt Enlil, anāku
 mukammer. . .
 v14 inūma Marduk. . .uwa"eranni
 kittam u mišarim
 ina pī mātīm
 aškun,
 šir niši
 uṭīb.
-
- III. v25 Inūmīšu,
Laws
 x/vii 1 dīnāt mišarim
 ša Hammurapi. . .ukinnu-ma
 mātām usām kīnam. . .ušašbitu.
-
- IV. 9 Hammurapi, šarrum gītmālum, anāku. . .
-
- V. xlviii 59 Ana warkiāt ūmī, ana mātīma,
 šarrum ša ina mātīm ibbaššū. . .

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