THE PARTICLE P IN UGARITIC

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There is no doubt concerning the existence of the Ugaritic conjunction p^{-1} , but although it has been discussed recently² to my knowledge it has not been the object of a separate study. Here all the relevant passages will be set out in the sequence of KTU and then various meanings for p will be proposed³. It will become apparent that unresolved problems remain.

1. Ugaritic Texts with p.

(A) 1.4 IV 59-62	(60)
p'bd.an.'nn.atrt	
p ^c bd.ank.ahd.ult	
hm.amt.atrt.tlbn	lbnt

"Am I a slave, then, Athiratu's lackey am I a trowel(?)-wielder, then, or a maid of Athiratu who makes bricks?"

(B) 1.5 I 14-16 (14)
pnp(.) š. npš.lbim	thw

"Well, my appetite is the appetite of a lion for the desert.

hm.brlt.anhr bym. hm.brky.tk§d rumm. or sperm-whales' desire for the sea, or a pool which the wild oxen (yearn

to) reach

cn.kdd.aylt

the source which the hinds (want to) attain".

See, for example, WUS 251 (§ 2178); UT § 19.1991.

² PU I, 14.48.53.56.69; II, 10.45.86-88.91.174; note especially II, p. 87.

The conjunction does not occur in RIH; cf. K. Aartun, Die belegten Partikelformen in den ugaritischen Texten aus Ras Ibn Hani: UF, 12 (1980), 1-6. However, note RIH 78/21 obv. 1' phn.

This is virtually the translation as in J.C. de Moor, An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit, Leiden 1987 [= ARTU], 54; cf. MLC, 201f.

The translation follows that of Verreet⁵ though he provides no equivalent for the initial p ⁶. On the insertion of p at the beginning of this couplet, a particle missing from the parallel passage 1.113:2-3, Pardee comments: "On ne devait pas commencer un discours par la conjonction p, car celle-ci marque en principe une suite de la pensée (conclusion, phrase adversative, etc.)"⁷.

(C) 1.5 I 19-20 (19)

hm.imt.imt.npš.blt hmr. If I have an appetite, indeed, indeed, to devour clay

pimt.bklat ydy.ilhm. then, indeed, with both my hands shall I eat, etc."8.

The sequence *pimt* is translated variously as "y es verdad que"⁹, "invero"¹⁰, "und in Wahrheit"¹¹.

(D) 1.5 I 26-27 (26) pnšt.b'l.[t]'n.it'nk

"And will you forget, Ba'lu, that I would pierce you with my [lan]ce ...".

[]-a. []k

This is the accepted translation¹² whereas de Moor prefers "while I, (o) Ba^clu, was forgotten - (therefore) I shall certainly pierce you, etc."¹³.

⁵ E. Verreet, Modi ugaritici. Eine morpho-syntaktische Abhandlung über das Modalsystem im Ugaritischen [= MU], Leuven 1988, 138-39.

⁶ Contrast the opening "Well" of de Moor, ARTU, 70, and the emphatic "sí" of MLC, 214.

D. Pardee, Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24e campagne (1961), Paris 1988, 159.

⁸ As in de Moor, ARTU, 71 (with a slight change).

⁹ MLC, 215.

¹⁰ P. Xella, Gli antenati di Dio, Verona 1983, 132.

¹¹ PU II, 87.

¹² So already TOu I, 243; similarly, MLC, 215. Also, cf. 1.5 IV 1 - where the first letter could be p: cf. ibid., 219 (textual note).

De Moor, ARTU, 71. The reading phn is assumed, without comment, by Aartun, PU I, 53.69. The reading in 1.6 I 30 is not pštbm (cf. PU II, 88) but []xhh.tštbm. [], so this passage can be ignored. Note that there is no conjunction p in 1.6. IV 1-3 // 12-14 (pl cnt šdm yšpš / pl cnt šdm il / yštk b l cnt mhrtt) as proposed in TOu I, 262 and note g. The cluster pl is most

(E) 1.6 VI 10-11 (10) p[]n.ahym.ytn.b4 I<s>puy.

"And [se]e, Ba'lu has given me my brothers to eat,

bnm.umy.klyy

my mother's sons to consume".

The generally accepted restoration at the beginning of the line is p[h]n - which could be either the particle p + hn, "behold" (as translated above)¹⁴ or less possibly a form of the verb *phy, "to see".

(F) 1.10 III 9-10 btlt.pbtlt 'n[t] wp. n'mt.a(!)ht. b [f]

"A virgin, indeed a virgin, is Anatu, even although she might be the prettiest of Ba'lu's sisters" 15.

Instead of understanding p as a particle here, de Moor has suggested it to be a noun - "mouth, vulva"- as reflected in his translation: "The orifice of the Virgin 'Anatu was deflowered, yes the orifice of the most graceful of the sisters of Ba'lu" 16. However, besides entailing the meaning "to deflower" for btl (here passive), his interpretation would also require a feminine gender for p, to agree with the passive form btlt.

(G) 1.14 III 38-40 (38) // VI 22-25 (22)

pd.in bbty.ttn

"So, give me what is not in my house,

tn.ly.mtt.hry g

give me Mistress H.,

n°mt.šph.bkrk

the prettiest of the family of your first-born".

probably a verb. For possible versions see de Moor, ARTU, 92; MLC, 229; CML², 78, etc.

- PU I, 53.56.69; MLC, 233; so already de Moor, AOAT 16, 229; cf. id., ARTU, 96; Verreet, MU, 176 ignores the initial p[]n; cf. his detailed discussion in UF, 17 (1985), 341-44. He translates "Meine eigene Brüder hat Bacl (mir) gegeben, damit ich (sie) esse, ja, die Sohne meiner Mutter, damit ich (sie) verzehre".
- 15 MLC, 472f. (also reading aht for nht) translates "No es más que una virgen/doncella la Virgen Anatu, aunque sea la más graciosa de las hermanas de [Ba'lu]".
- 16 ARTU, 114; cf. J.C. de Moor-K. Spronk, A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit, Leiden 1987 [= CARTU], 162. In TOU I, 287 note x, p is also considered to mean "mouth" (in its original sense) but the translation provided is based on a faulty reading (the initial blt is to be read btlt; cf. KTU, p. 33, n.3).

Pardee comments that here "the emphasis is not on the difference between the two choices at hand ['I do not want X but rather Y'] but on the result of the first choice ['X is of no use to me, so give me Y']"17.

(H) 1.17 I 4-5 (5) // I 13-15 (15)

yd. sth y'l wyškb "He took off his (outer) garment, climbed up

and lay down,

yd mizrth pyln he took off his (under)garment, then spent

the night"18.

(I) 1.19 III 48 // 55-56

'nt.brh.p'lmh. "Now, always and forever, now and for generations" 19.

The equivalence of p and w is shown by the third parallel passage, 1.19 IV 5-6: Iht. w'lmh / l'nt.pdr.dr where p is replaced by w in the first line of the couplet.

(J) 1.83:11

pl.tb 'n. sst "And the salt marshes will not rise (again)

hm ltht.pn[k] if [your] face is not terrified, ltp[l]m[if you do not fa[ll down]"20.

(K) 1.133:15-17 (16)

[] bn.ilm m[t] šmh. "Motu, son of Ilu, he eliminated, pydd if[.] gzr indeed, the beloved of Ilu, the hero"²¹.

¹⁷ D. Pardee: BO, 34 (1977), 5.

The text in line 5 is ynl but yln in the parallel passage (line 15); depending on which is the correct reading the verb is either n(y)l, "to sleep" or l(y)n, "to spend the night". For a very different translation see B. Margalit, The Ugaritic Poem of Aghat, Berlin 1989 [= UPA], 144; according to the same author (ibid., Excursus II, 260-66) these lines do not describe an incubation rite.

¹⁹ For a parallel in Hebrew (Amos 1,11) cf. M.L. Barré: CBQ, 47 (1985), 422, n.12.

²⁰ As translated in ARTU, 182; cf. TOu II, 30 ("et, certes, le suivront...").

Following Pardee, Les textes..., 157.162.

(L) 2.14:10-14 (12)

wht.ahy bny yšal.tryl. "And now, may my brother, my son,

ask Sharelli

prgm lmlk 8my to mention my name to the king wlh[.] y'lm because it is hidden from him"22.

Note that p is replaced by w in the matching line later in the same letter (line 16: $yšal tryl.wrgm ttb.lahk ladnk)^{23}$.

(M) 2.15:6-7

itr hw pihdn gnryn "Bring it (i.e. the oil) along the road and

then I, G., will be very happy"24.

(N) 2.23:17

mlk.r[b.b']y.p.l.hy. "...Gr[eat] King, my [Lor]d, and for his

very

np[š life...(have I asked)"25.

Although the context is broken here p is most probably simply a conjunction.

(0) 2.26:7-8 (8)

pank.atn 'sm.lk "Well, I shall give (or: sell) you the

logs"26.

(P) 2.33:28

w.hn.ibm šsq.ly.p.l.ašt "B

atty.

auty.

n^cry.<u>t</u>h.lpn.ib

"But if the enemy (plur.) causes

me distress

then I shall place my wife (and) children in GN in the face of the

enemy".

The translation is disputed; for recent discussion and bibliography see J.L. Cunchillos-Ilarri, *Estudios de epistolografia ugarítica*, Valencia 1989, 101-108, esp. 106f. and 67 and now TOu II, 294-96.

²³ See Cunchillos' comment, Estudios, 107.

Verreet, MU, 88-89, suggests the following translation: "Bringe es (das Ol = \$mn) auf dem Weg/Folge dem nach (/behalte es im Auge), und ich, Gnryn, werde mich dann sehr freuen".

²⁵ See TOu II, 310. Virolleaud, PRU 2, p. 34 translates: "Eh bien! Pour la vie de l'âm[e de ... je fais des] vœux".

²⁶ Cunchillos, Estudios, 128; Aartun, PU II, 45: "und daher gebe ich dir die Holzstämme".

Yet again the translation is only one of the various possibilities, but the sequence protasis-apodosis (whn p, "But if ... then ...) seems highly probable²⁷.

(Q) 2.36+2.73+2.37+2.74:36'

p.at.mk.tškh [...] "so you, for your part, you will certainly (??) find/be found (??) [...]".

A slightly different rendering to Pardee's (given here)²⁸ is "mais toi, de toi-même, tu as trouvé []"²⁹.

(R) 2.70:25-28 (27)

w.kymgy 'bdk.

lšlm 'mk.

pl.yšb'l hpn.lb'ly

and that your two servants have come
to you to please you
and that (they) had a h.-garment made
for 'my' (= our master) etc."

Verreet, whose rendering is followed here, comments "Der Parallelismus zwischen den beiden Finalkonstrutionen, - das nominale Satzgefuge I (Praposition) + Inf. cstr. (...), und der Verbalsatz I (Sunjunktion) + Subj. -, durch die Konjunktion p verbunden, ist wohl augenfallig" 30 .

(S) 2.72:7'-9' (8')

Im.tlikn.hpt.hndn
"Why are you sending this soldier
p.m8m't.mlk inn.
and not the royal guard?".

Brooke comments: "for the present text it is necessary to understand inn [which comes after mlk] as the final word of the clause to be taken in conjunction with p as meaning 'and not'. This provides structural grounds for Pardee's morphological and

²⁷ So TOu II, 335-37; see there for discussion (esp. 336, n.32) and bibliography.

D. Pardee, The Letter of Puduhepa: AfO, 29-30 (1983-84), 321-29, 326 and 329.

Tou II, 418; see *ibid.*, nn. 220 (on p), 221 (on mk = prep. m + 2nd sing. suffix) and 222 (on <math>škh = "to find" or perhaps "to forget").

Verreet, MU, 170; cf. also 196f. D. Pardee, La lettre de pnht et de yrmhd à leur maître: AAAS, 29-30 (1979-80), 23-35, translates "Et quand ton serviteur arrivera pour te saluer, alors il fera faire un vêtement-hupnu pour mon maître" (p. 24).

syntactical arguments that the phrase be translated 'and not the royal guard' "31.

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(T) 2.72:33'-35' (33') (= left margin 1-3)

p.u[ybnn.ib]t.kly.b.kpr "So Y. brought an end to enmity when he atoned for the rebellion of your enemies".
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Like Caquot, Pardee comments on the strange combination p.u here; Pardee rejects the meaning "here" for p and wonders whether u might mean "also" in the present context³².

2. Dubious occurrences of p.

The following two texts are too broken for more than a passing mention:

(U) 2.2:4³³
bth.p\$Imt.p?\$Im["??... his/her house and you are well and? well-being".

(V) 2.5:3 p (erasure: x) $\delta Im.x[$] (untranslatable)³⁴.

In another text it is uncertain whether p is a conjunction:

(W) 2.10:12 (=lower edge)

w.yd ilm.p.kmtm 'z.mid "And the hand of a god is here, for Death(here) is very strong".

³¹ G.J. Brooke, The Textual, Formal and Historical Significance of Ugaritic Letter RS 34.124 (=KTU 2.72): UF, 11 (1979), 69-71.73; cf. D. Pardee: BO, 34 (1977), 5. Verreet, MU, 53, prefers "these soldiers".

³² A. Caquot: ACF, 75 (1975), 430-32; D. Pardee: BO, 34 (1977), 20. See also Aartun, PU II, 91.

³³ J.L. Cunchillos, *Estudios*, 189, considers this text to be religious in character and not a letter.

D. Pardee, La lettre (note 30), 31, n.6 with a reference to A. Herdner, U 7, p. 76. Another broken text is 2.60:6 p[]; M. Dietrich-O.Loretz, Die Elfenbeininschriften und S-Texte aus Ugarit (AOAT, 13), 1976, 34 comment "Wahrscheinlich p, 'und'".

Most scholars agree that p has the meaning "here" in this passage³⁵. Cunchillos has argued, instead, that in the present instance p is a conjunction: "The hand of the gods will be greater than the strength of the warriors if we resist"³⁶. In view of the uncertainty 2.10 has not been included in the main discussion. In one passage from the mythological texts, it is uncertain whether p is a particle or whether it forms part of a name or title³⁷:

(X) 1.3 I 2f. prdmn. bd.ali[yn] bletc. "Prdmn/And Rdmn..."38.

The conjunction may be attested in two further texts:

(Y) 1.16 VI 7-10 (8) §rr.htm.t^cmt ptrptm.zbln.^cl.ri§h wttb trh§nn.bd^ct

"She attaches a string to (his) navel, and medicinal leaves to his head while repeatedly wiping him of sweat".

The translation and stichometry are Margalit's³⁹; other renderings (with differing lineation) are also possible⁴⁰.

³⁵ See most recently D. Pardee, "As Strong as Death": J.H. Marks-R.M. Good (eds.), Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of M.H. Pope, Guilford 1987, 65-69.

³⁶ J.L. Cunchillos, Estudios, 220-22; cf. TOu II, 279, n.15.

³⁷ Aartun, PU II, 88, translates: "Dann erhob sich die Schar der Diener des Ali[yn] Ba'l, etc.". See also PU I, 43 and Aartun: WO, 4 (1968), 249f. D. Pardee, *Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetic Parallelism.* A Trial Cut. ('ont I and Proverbs II), Leiden 1988, 1, n.4 (end) remarks: "Note that the first word of line 2, prdmn, is not included in any of the analyses below because it apparently belonged to the end of the preceding poetic unit - though we cannot be certain of this because of the damaged state of the tablet".

In 1.19 I 2 there may be an initial p: G. Del Olmo Lete: AF, 2 (1976), 242, n.42 (also, MLC, 386) suggested [p]k[k]b[d(t)]. In UF, 16 (1984), 119f. B. Margalit proposed the reading [p/t]krb but in UPA, 131, the initial letter is t; see ibid. 214, n.1 and 345, n.4.

³⁹ B. Margalit: UF, 8 (1976), 156-58; similarly, UF, 11 (1979), 546. According to Margalit, the cluster ptrptm = p + trptm, "and shoots of sickness".

⁴⁰ See MLC, 320 (with textual note); also, J.C. de Moor: UF, 11 (1979), 647. The passage remains enigmatic.

(Z) 1.19 I 8-9

pthrs ad(!)n(.) ph "Then she incised the gums of his

mouth,

tihd.šnth.pltlnlkl she grasped his teeth and extracted

(them)".

Again, the reading and translation are Margalit's - note especially the re-reading of the cuneiform cluster wakl as $ptnkl^{41}$. If correctly understood the passage would yield a further example of p // p (as in [F]) but once again alternative renderings are possible⁴².

3. Ugaritic p within Semitic.

It is common knowledge that the conjunction p is also found in other Semitic languages⁴³: in Aramaic⁴⁴, Ya³udic⁴⁵, Nabataean⁴⁶, Palmyrene⁴⁷, Old South Arabic (as f)⁴⁸ and Arabic (as f)⁴⁹. The conjunction does not occur in Akkadian (Assyrian/Babylonian) which may be significant in classifying Ugaritic within the family of

Detailed discussion and translation in B. Margalit: UF, 11 (1979), 547; UPA, 131.157.218 and n.21.

⁴² E.g. MLC, 387; de Moor, ARTU, 248, etc.

⁴³ For bibliography see Aartun, PU II, 87 n.864 and the additional references, p. 177. Also, R.S. Tomback, A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages, Missoula 1978, 261.

In Barrakab I (= KAI 216) 18 and in Sefire II B (= KAI 223) 4.6. See R. Degen, Altaramäische Grammatik, Wiesbaden 1969, 63 and 63 n.41.

⁴⁵ P.-E. Dion, La langue de Ya³udi, 1974, 172f. (§ 38).

⁴⁶ J. Cantineau, Le nabatéen, Paris 1930, 103.

⁴⁷ Id., Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique, Cairo 1935, 139.

⁴⁸ A.F.L. Beeston, A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian, London 1962, 61f.

W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Cambridge 1962-1964, 87. Whether or not the conjunction p occurs in classical Hebrew is debatable; for bibliography cf. D. Pardee: AfO, 34 (1987), 437 and note especially K. Aartun, Textüberlieferung und vermeintliche Belege der Konjunktion pV im Alten Testament: UF, 10 (1978), 1-14. See now B.K. Waltke-M. O' Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax, Winona Lake 1990, 522, n.9 and 655f (§ 39.2.6). For Eblaite cf. P. Fronzaroli: SEb, 4 (1981), 167-76.

Semitic languages⁵⁰. It is uncertain what relationship there is, if any, between p and the particles ap and pn ⁵¹.

4. The Meaning of Ugaritic p.

Driver (following Gaster) suggested the following meanings: "and, and so, so" and distinguished three subtypes: (1) between verbal clauses; (2) between nouns; (3) in questions (with the meaning "but so")⁵². Pardee remarks: "As is generally well known, the conjunction p indicates immediate succession and/or result, not adversative or concessive notions"⁵³. Gibson simply opts for "then, so"⁵⁴. In his recent grammar Segert refers to the "coordinating conjunction" p-, which he vocalizes /pa-/ and he only cites one example, 1.19 IV 6⁵⁵, on which see above (I). Dion proposes five functions for p: emphatic: (A), (N); contrastive: (G); explicative: (H)⁵⁶. Aartun concludes that p assists the continuation or resumption of narrative⁵⁷ and is also used as an inter-clausal connector⁵⁸. In

⁵⁰ See M. Sekine, The Subdivisions of the North-West Semitic Languages: JSS, 18 (1973), 205-21 esp. 210 and 214f. Also, G. Garbini, La congiunzione semitica *pa: Biblica, 38 (1967), 419-27; Id., II Semitico di Nord-ovest, Napoli 1960, 167f. It is probably coincidence that Hurrian -pa overlaps in meaning with Semitic *pa; on this "satzeinleitende Partikel" cf. V. Haas-H.J. Thiel: UF, 11 (1979), 345, n.52.

⁵¹ See P. van Zijl, The Elements w-, 'p, p-, and p'- in the Semitic Languages: Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika, 10 (1967) [unavailable to me]; Aartun, PU II, 88-90.

⁵² CML¹, 162a (glossary).

⁵³ D. Pardee: BO, 34 (1977), 5. See his comment, quoted above under (G).

⁵⁴ CML², 155b.

⁵⁵ S. Segert, A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language, Berkeley 1985 [= BGUL], § 57.22 (p. 79).

⁵⁶ Dion, La langue de Ya'udi, 308.

^{57 &}quot;An den vorhandenen Stellen dient p mehrmals der Weiterführung oder Fortsetzung der schlichten Erzahlung": Aartun, PU II, 87. His examples are (A), (B), (C), (H), (O) and (P).

^{58 &}quot;Oft dient ferner ugaritische p (...) zur Verbindung von konstatierenden und nicht-konstatierenden Satzen resp. Aufforderungssätzen, oder auch von zwei beigeordneten Aufforderungs- bzw. Wunschsatzen, verbaler oder nominaler Art": Aartun, PU II, 87. His examples include (G), (I), (L) and (M).

addition, he makes the further distinction between prose and poetry.

Yet another distinction can be made. If letters can be considered as belonging to the category of discourse (since they comprise in written form the words of one person to another) then almost all the occurrences of the conjunction p in Ugaritic are in discourse⁵⁹. The exceptions are texts (H), (I) and (K).

In view of the foregoing, various meanings for Ugaritic p can be listed:

- "and" (simple coordinating conjunction): (D), (E), (I), (N);
- "indeed, well" (asseverative): (B), (F/1), (K), (O);
- "then, subsequently" (indicating succession): (H), cf. (I);
- "then, perhaps": (A);
- "so that" (indicating result): (C), (G), (J), (L), (M), (P), (Q), (R), (T), cf. (A):
 - "and (not)": (S);
 - "although" (concessive): (F/2).

The allocation of meanings is, to a certain extent, tentative. A principal difficulty is that several times p occurs in broken or obscure contexts.

Note the following parallel and repetitive sequences: p // p // hm (A); p // hm // Ø (=hm) (J); p // hm // hm (B); hm // p (C); p // p (F); p // ? (D); ? // p (K). Of the 25 or so occurrences of p, six have a word-divider immediately after the particle [texts: (F), (N), (P), (S), (T) and (W)60]. The conjunction can be followed by the subject [as in (A), (B), (F), (O) and (Q)], the object [as in (G), (K) and (S)] or the predicate [(D), (H), (I), (L), (M)]. The conjunction p can be preceded (F) or followed (R), (T) by a particle and can itself precede a negative (J), (P)61.

In his study of the conjunction p in terms of alliteration Margalit concludes "It is our submission that virtually without exception the preference of the conjunction p over w is motivated alliteration is causa. Specifically: in any given context in which (α) P or B are dominant letters or (β) the use of P results in an alliterative, or

It may, perhaps, be termed a "discourse marker" on which cf. A.M. Zwicky, Clitics and Particles: Language, 61 (1985), 283-305, esp. 302-305.

In UT \$12.1 Gordon comments: "Like w, p is often followed by the word divider" but he only cites two texts. Segert, BGUL \$57.22 (p. 79) simply remarks that p "is usually written together with the following word".

⁶¹ For classification along these lines see already Aartun, PU II, 87f.

partially alliterative, sequence, the poet will prefer p to w^{-62} . This may explain why p never occurs in the administrative documents.

B. Margalit, Alliteration in Ugaritic Poetry: UF, 11 (1979), 537-57, 546.