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Altorientalische Studien zu Ehren von Pascal Attinger

mu-ni u_4 ul-li_2-a-aš $ĝa_2$-$ĝa_2$-de_3

Herausgegeben von
Catherine Mittermayer und Sabine Ecklin

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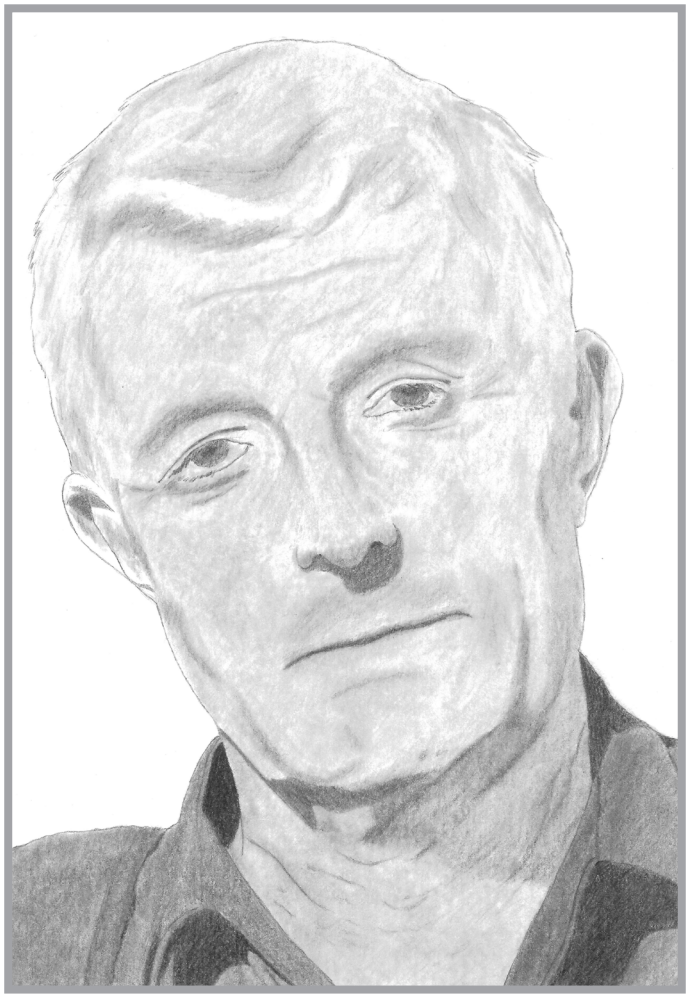

Pascal Attinger
(Zeichnung von Clemens Jandrlić)

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tartāmū "mutual love", the noun pattern *taPtaRS* in Akkadian and the classification of Eblaite

Michael P. Streck[1]

Two Old Babylonian literary texts contain the word tartāmū "mutual love". The noun pattern taPtaRS and its implications for the classification of Eblaite are discussed.

The famous *Ištar Hymn of Ammiditana* (SEAL no. 2.1.5.3, dated 2010) was first edited by Thureau-Dangin 1925. Lines 17f. read as follows:

17 *ta-ar-ta-mi te-eš-me-e ri-tu-ú-mi ṭú-ú-bi*
18 *ù mi-it-gu-ra-am te-be-el ši-i-ma*

The *crux* here is the word *ta-ar-ta-mi*. A similar word occurs in the *Ištar and Dumuzi Lament*, first edited by Lambert 1966: 53f. (SEAL no. 3.1.3.5, dated 2011). Lines rev. 14f. read as follows:

14 [*uš*]*-ta-an-na-aḫ ki-sa-al-lu ud-daḫ-ḫa-su a-bu-us-su*
15 [*ša*] *i-na lib-bi ni-te-ep-pu-šu ši-pir tar-ta-mi*

Thureau-Dangin 1925: 175 translated *ta-ar-ta-mi* "elle est aimante" without any commentary, apparently analyzing the word as a finite verbal form 3. sg. f. of the root RʾM "to love". However, this analysis is impossible, because there is no 3. sg. f. with suffix *-ī*. F.J. Stephens, ANET p. 383 translated "she dwells in", obviously deriving *ta-ar-ta-mi* from *ramûm* "to dwell", which makes no sense in the context. W. von Soden, SAHG p. 235 rendered the word "sie

[1] The following article was inspired by the work on the project Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (SEAL) directed by N. Wasserman and the author. This project funded by the German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development aims to create a corpus of early Akkadian literary texts. The texts are published on the internet: see http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de. I thank C.W. Hess for correcting my English.

liebt", which causes the same difficulty as Thureau-Dangins interpretation. The same is true for R. Labat, Les religions du Proche-Orient (1970) 238 "qui aime" and M.-J. Seux, LAPO 8 (1976) 40 "elle aime".

Lambert 1966: 56 translated the pertinent line of the lament "wherein we used to perform the rites you loved", a translation which would not only require a form with subordinative but also, in a subordinate past relative clause, preterite instead of perfect tense; moreover, the parallel to l. rev. 13 which reads [*ša i*]-*na lib-bi ni-tep-pu-šu ši-pir kal-lu-ti* "[wh]erein we used to perform the rites of marriage" shows that a noun in the genitive or oblique case is to be expected.

A completely new interpretation was given by von Soden in AHw 1332 (see also id., ZA 67 [1977] 279) where both instances of the word are derived from *ratāmum* "to whisper(?)" and analyzed as a noun *tartāmū* (pattern *taPRāS*) "Geflüster". This interpretation was followed by K. Hecker, TUAT II/5 (1989) 722 "Geflüster"; D.O. Edzard, OBO 160/4 (2004) 511 "Liebesraunen"; B. Foster, Before the Muses (2005) 86 "whispers". However, the existence of a verb *ratāmum*, for which only one broken lexical reference was given, is quite uncertain, see CAD R 217. There seems to be no root RTM in Akkadian.

Whereas CAD T 245 and 374 s.v. *tešmû* b 1' for the *Ištar Hymn* still retains the agrammatical analysis of a finite verbal form 3. sg. f. ("she (Ishtar) loves") the same volume on p. 245, for the first time, offers a grammatically, lexically and contextually convincing solution for the *Ištar and Dumuzi Lament*, i.e., a noun *tartāmū* "mutual love", and translates "(the house) in which we keep engaging in mutual love". No doubt the same word is also found in the *Ištar Hymn* that can be translated as follows:

17 "Mutual love, obedience, passion, good will
18 and harmony she alone controls."

And the lines of the *Ištar and Dumuzi Lament*:

14 "The courtyard is [de]jected, the storeroom[2] (of the temple) is depressed,
15 [where]in we used to perform the rites of mutual love."

This interpretation presupposes that *tartāmū* is a noun of the pattern *taPtaRS* from the root R$^{\text{ʾ}}$M as was explicitly assumed by Kouwenberg 2010: 397. This noun pattern is, apart from the uncertain form *taltabšu* (ibid. 397), unattested in (Mesopotamian) Akkadian, which explains the reluctance of von Soden and others to adopt this analysis. However, in the lexical texts from Ebla,

[2] Derived from *abūsu*. Lambert 1966: 56 "intercession" derives the word from *abbūtu*.

which were only discovered in the mid-seventies of the 20th century, the noun patterns *taPtaR*(*a*)*S* and *taPtaR*(*R*)*iS* are well known.[3] See Krebernik 1984; Hecker 1984: 205-223; Kienast 1984: 224-255; Krebernik 1996: 238-240. These noun patterns apparently have reciprocal or iterative meaning, e.g.: Á.DU$_7$.DU$_7$ = *da-da-ga-bù-um* /tattak(a)pum/ "to butt each other" (root NKP) MEE 4, 544, EDEN.DU.DU = *dar-da-bí-um* /tartap(p)idum/ "to roam about" (root RPD) MEE 4, 1342.

Since in the *Ištar Hymn* also the words *ritūmī* and *mitguram* have reciprocal meanings a similar meaning for the word *tartāmū* is quite convincing. There is hardly any doubt that *tartāmū* is the first clear example of the reciprocal noun pattern *taPtaR*(*a*)*S* in (Mesopotamian) Akkadian.

The noun patterns with both *t*-prefix and *t*-infix are normally considered to be typical for Eblaite as opposed to Akkadian and the other Semitic languages and have regularly been adduced as one of the most important morphological arguments for the classification of Eblaite; see Krebernik 1984: 191; Hecker 1984: 223; Kienast 1984: 241 ("unterstreichen dessen sprachliche Eigenständigkeit, aber diese Sonderheit ist keineswegs so gravierend, dass wir deswegen das Eblaitische aus dem Rahmen des Altsemitischen lösen und in eine bis dahin unbekannte Sprachgruppe des Semitischen einordnen müssen"); J. Tropper, Fs. B. Kienast (= AOAT 274) 652f. with n. 5 (noting corresponding Ugaritic forms); Huehnergard 2006: 5 ("verbal nouns with two *t*'s ..., which are surely innovations, are unusual enough to suggest that Eblaite constitutes an innovative branch within East Semitic"). The newly discovered noun pattern *taPtaRS* in (Mesopotamian) Akkadian represents an important isogloss between (Mesopotamian) Akkadian and the language of Ebla and can no longer be considered a clear argument for a dissociation of Akkadian and Eblaite, although it must be admitted that forms with both *t*-prefix and *t*-infix are much more frequent in the latter than in the former. It is probable that the literary language of (Old) Babylonian preserved an archaic noun pattern that was still well attested in Ebla but was given up in the normal language of Babylonian (Kouwenberg 2010: 397).

Whether this noun pattern originally represented an East Semitic or Akkadian innovation as was assumed by Huehnergard 2006: 5 and Kouwenberg 2010: 396f. or rather a Proto-Semitic archaism is a different question. Kouwenberg assumes a complicated process by which deverbal nouns of the *t*-stems originally only had prefixes, then by paradigmatic pressure also acquired *t*-infixes and subsequently eliminated the *t*-prefix so that only the *t*-infix was left. In my view, the frequent noun pattern *taPRīS* which is normally associated with

[3] The peculiarities of the Ebla orthography do not allow a precise reconstruction of the vocalism and of long consonants.

the D-stem in Akkadian and other Semitic languages (Kouwenberg 2010: 401f. especially mentions Arabic, but this is also true, e.g., for Aramaic, see W. Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik [1898] 75) speaks – in agreement with the *communis opinio* of Semitic studies – in favor of a *t*-prefix without special connection with the *t*-stems that originally formed deverbal nouns of different verbal stems. Kouwenberg 2010: 402, instead, is forced to explain *taPRīS* of the D-stem as a secondary development under the influence of deverbal nouns belonging to the *t*-stems. This is, considering its frequency in different branches of Semitic, unconvincing; on the contrary, it is much more probable that rare reciprocal *taPRīS* forms in Akkadian such as *tašnintu* "quarrel" are influenced by *taPRīS* of the D-stem than *vice versa*. In other words: only the *t*-infix of *taPtaR*(*a*)*S* and related forms is specifically associated with reciprocal or iterative stems, the *t*-prefix is quite different and, like the *m*-prefix, a morpheme that forms deverbal nouns. Forms with both *t*-prefix and *t*-infix were abandoned in both West and East Semitic for phonological reasons whereas deverbal *taPRīS* (and rarer patterns such as *taPRā*/*aS* and *taPRuS*) and verbal nouns with *t*-infix survived.

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Zusammenfassung

Prof. Dr. Pascal Attinger lehrt seit 20 Jahren an der Universität Bern die Sprachen des Alten Orients. Internationale Reputation verdankt er seinen Arbeiten zur sumerischen Grammatik und zur sumerischen Literatur der altbabylonischen Zeit. Der vorliegende Band vereinigt zwanzig Beiträge von Freunden, Kollegen und Doktoranden des Geehrten, die sich mehrheitlich mit den rund fünfhundert Jahren um die Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jahrtausend vor Christus befassen. Inhaltlich decken sie mehrere Themenbereiche ab: Es liegen sprachliche und linguistische Arbeiten zum Sumerischen und semitischen Akkadisch mit seinen verschiedenen Dialekten vor; andere Studien fokussieren auf kulturwissenschaftliche oder historische Fragestellungen. Mehrere Beiträge bieten (Neu-)Bearbeitungen von zum Teil noch unpublizierten sumerischen Texten oder Literaturwerken.

About this book

Prof. Dr. Pascal Attinger has taught Ancient Near Eastern languages at the University of Bern for twenty years. He owes his international reputation to his works on Sumerian grammar and Sumerian literature of the Old Babylonian period. The present volume brings together twenty contributions by his friends, colleagues and doctoral students, mainly concentrating on the 500 years spanning the turn from the third to the second millennium BCE. Some studies deal with philological and linguistic aspects of Sumerian and Semitic Akkadian, including its dialects, while others focus on issues of history and culture. Several contributions present new editions of Sumerian (literary) texts, some of them hitherto unpublished.