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A Grammar
of the Ugaritic
Language

by

Daniel Sivan

Brill

A GRAMMAR OF THE UGARITIC LANGUAGE

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A GRAMMAR OF THE UGARITIC LANGUAGE



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DANIEL SIVAN

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TO
MY PARENTS,
MY CHILDREN,
AND MY WIFE
WITH LOVE

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CONTENTS

Foreword	XVII
Abbreviations	XVIX
Introduction	1
General remarks	1
The Ugaritic language	2
Stylistic connections between ugaritic literature and the bible	4
Method of presentation	7
I. Orthography	9
General remarks	9
Writing and orthography	11
II. Phonology	20
Consonants	20
General remarks	20
Consonantal shifts	20
Interchanges	26
Assimilations	27
Dissimilations	31
The consonants ʿ and h	32
Table of consonants	36
Vowels	37
General remarks	37
Diphthongs	38
Triphthongs	41
Assimilations	43
Anaptyxis	46
Elision of unstressed vowels	46
Remarks on the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ shift	47
III. Pronouns	49
Independent pronouns	49
Nominative personal pronouns	49
Oblique	50
Pronominal suffixes	51
Singular	51
Plural	51
Dual	52

Determinative pronouns	54
<i>d</i> [<i>dū/dā/dī</i>]	55
Masculine singular	55
Feminine singular	56
Masculine plural	56
Feminine plural	56
<i>dt</i> [<i>dātu/a/i</i>]	56
Feminine singular	56
Masculine plural	57
Feminine plural	57
Deictic pronouns	57
Near demonstrative	57
Distant demonstrative	58
Interrogative pronouns	58
Personal	58
Impersonal	59
Indefinite pronouns	59
Personal	59
Impersonal	60
IV. The noun	61
Nominal forms	61
General remarks	61
Single consonantal forms	62
Bi-consonantal forms	62
Tri-consonantal forms	63
Prefixed forms	71
Suffixed forms	73
Reduplicated forms	74
Feminine nouns	74
General remarks	74
The feminine suffix [<i>-tu</i>]	75
The feminine suffix [<i>-atu</i>]	75
Plural noun forms	76
Masculine plural	76
Feminine plural	78
Dual noun forms	79
The alphabetic dual marker <i>-m</i>	79
Morphology of the dual forms	80
Morphology of the dual suffix	81
The case system	82

Singular	82
Masculine plural	83
Feminine plural	83
Dual	83
Case inflection on proper nouns	83
Words with no case inflection	84
Words with wrong cases	84
V. Numerals and numeric terms	86
General remarks	86
Cardinal numbers	86
The Cardinals 1-10	87
The Cardinals for 11-19	89
The Cardinals for the Tens	90
The Cardinals for the Hundreds	91
The Cardinals for the Thousands	92
The Multiplicative	92
Ordinal numbers	92
Fractions	94
VI. The verb	96
Tenses	96
General remarks	96
The functions of <i>qtl</i>	96
The functions of <i>yqtl</i>	98
The indicative mode	99
The injunctive mode	103
Violations of the indicative/injunctive system ...	106
Alternation of <i>qtl/yqtl yqtl/qtl</i> sequences	107
The morphology of the verb	108
The verbal stems	108
Person markers	109
The suffix (<i>qtl</i>) morphemes	109
The prefix (<i>yqtl</i>) morphemes	111
The imperative morphemes	112
The strong verbs	113
The G stem	113
<i>qtl</i>	113
<i>yqtl</i>	115
Imperative	120
Active participle	121
Passive participle	122

Infinitive	123
The absolute infinitive	123
The construct infinitive	125
The Gp stem	126
The Gt stem	128
<i>qtl</i>	128
<i>yqtl</i>	129
Imperative	130
The N stem	131
<i>qtl</i>	131
<i>yqtl</i>	132
Imperative	132
Participle	132
Infinitive	132
The D stem	133
<i>qtl</i>	133
<i>yqtl</i>	133
Imperative	136
Participle	136
Infinitive	137
The Dp stem (?)	137
The tD stem(?)	138
<i>qtl</i>	138
Imperative	138
The Š stem	138
<i>qtl</i>	138
<i>yqtl</i>	139
Imperative	140
Participle	140
Infinitive	140
The first <i>nun</i> verbs and the root <i>LQH</i>	140
The G stem	140
<i>qtl</i>	140
<i>yqtl</i>	141
Imperative	141
Participle	143
Infinitive	143
The Gp stem	143
<i>yqtl</i>	143
The Gt stem	143

<i>yqtl</i>	143
Participle	143
The N stem	144
<i>qtl</i>	144
<i>yqtl</i>	144
The D stem	144
<i>qtl</i>	144
<i>yqtl</i>	144
The Š stem	145
The Šp stem	145
Participle	145
The first <i>waw/yod</i> verbs and the root <i>HLK</i>	145
General remarks	145
The G stem	146
<i>qtl</i>	146
<i>yqtl</i>	147
Imperative	149
Active participle	149
Passive participle	149
Infinitive	150
The Gp stem	150
The Gt stem	150
<i>yqtl</i>	150
Imperative	151
The N stem	152
<i>qtl</i>	152
The D stem	152
<i>qtl</i>	152
<i>yqtl</i>	152
The Š stem	152
<i>qtl</i>	152
<i>yqtl</i>	153
Imperative	153
Participle	153
Infinitive	153
The Šp stem (?)	154
The second <i>waw/yod</i> verbs	154
General remarks	154
The G stem	154
<i>qtl</i>	154

<i>yqtl</i>	155
Imperative	157
Participle	158
Infinitive	158
The Gp stem(?)	158
<i>yqtl</i>	158
The Gt stem	159
<i>yqtl</i>	159
The L stem	159
<i>yqtl</i>	159
Imperative	159
The Š stem	160
<i>qtl</i>	160
<i>yqtl</i>	160
Imperative	161
Infinitive	161
The Šp stem	161
<i>yqtl</i>	161
The third <i>waw/yod</i> verbs	161
General remarks	161
The G stem	162
<i>qtl</i>	162
<i>yqtl</i>	163
Imperative	165
Active participle	166
Passive participle	167
Infinitive	167
The Gp stem	168
The Gt stem	168
<i>yqtl</i>	168
The N stem	168
<i>qtl</i>	168
<i>yqtl</i>	168
The D stem	168
<i>qtl</i>	168
<i>yqtl</i>	169
Participle	169
Infinitive	170
The Dp stem	170
<i>yqtl</i>	170

The Š stem	170
<i>qtl</i>	170
<i>yqtl</i>	170
Imperative	171
The Št stem	171
The verbs with reduplicated second radical	171
The G stem	171
<i>qtl</i>	171
<i>yqtl</i>	172
Imperative	173
Active participle	173
Passive participle	173
Infinitive	173
The Gp stem	174
<i>yqtl</i>	174
The N stem	174
<i>qtl</i>	174
The D and L stems	174
<i>yqtl</i>	174
Participle	175
Imperative	175
The Lp or Dp stems	175
<i>yqtl</i>	175
Participle	175
The tL or tD stems	176
<i>yqtl</i>	176
The Š stem	176
<i>qtl</i>	176
<i>yqtl</i>	176
Quadrilateral verbs	176
<i>qtl</i>	176
<i>yqtl</i>	176
VII. Adverbial and adverbial suffixes	178
Adverbial suffixes	178
Locative adverbs	180
Temporal adverbs	180
Multiplicative adverbials	181
Manner adverbials	182
Interrogative adverbials	182
Negative particles	183

	Quantitative <i>m'id</i>	185
	Presentation particles	185
	Vocative particles	186
	Existential particles (positive and negative)	187
	Conjunctions	188
	Subordinating particles	188
	Emphatic particles	190
	Prepositions	194
	General remarks	194
	Mono-consonantal prepositions	194
	Bi-consonantal and longer prepositions	198
VIII.	Several syntactical points	201
	Introduction	201
	Non-verbal causes	201
	General remarks	201
	Adjectival complementation	202
	Nominal complementation	202
	Prepositional complementation	204
	Commitative clauses	204
	Locative clauses	204
	Possessive clauses	204
	Possessive/locative clauses	205
	Existential clauses	205
	Word order of nominal phrases	206
	General remarks	206
	Adjectival attribute	207
	Adverbial attribute	208
	Construct state in Ugaritic	209
	Verbal sentences	210
	Word order	210
	Word order of verbal sentences in prose	210
	Word order of verbal sentences in poetry	210
	Connections between objects and the verb	214
	Causative ditransitive verbs	214
	Ellipses	215
	Interrogatives	216
	Asyndetic coordination	217
	Extrapositional sentences	217
	Subordinated clauses	218
	Subject clauses	218

Predicate clauses	219
Attributive clauses	219
Conditional clauses	221
Temporal clauses	222
Object clauses	223
Causal clauses	224
Final clauses	224
Circumstantial clauses	225
Bibliography	227
Appendix: Text selections	239
Indices	285
Corrections to the first edition	329

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FOREWORD

Since the discovery of ancient Ugarit, the study of its literature and its language has enjoyed significant achievements. During the ensuing years grammars of this language have been written, the most important of which are in English, viz. the reference grammar by Cyrus Gordon 1965 and the introductory grammar by Stanislav Segert 1984. Gordon's work, though thorough and basic, is out of date and Segert's basic grammar was intended as a student's grammar. Consequently, there remains a need for an up-to-date reference grammar.

I owe a debt of thanks to all those who were closely related to this project. First of all, I am indebted to Professor A. F. Rainey who has constantly been reminding me during the past twenty five years of the need for a new grammar of Ugaritic. Obviously, his comments and his suggestions are found throughout this work. Although the urgent need for an up-to-date grammar containing the results of current research motivated the present work, the path for the present work was paved by a Hebrew version with the more modest aim of providing an introductory grammar for the Hebrew speaking audience. Professor Anson F. Rainey made an English translation of my introductory Ugaritic Grammar from Hebrew which facilitated the present work.

I am deeply indebted to Professor B. Levine who encouraged me to publish this book in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. Thanks to my friend and teacher Dr. I. Sadka for his help and guidance in the chapter on the syntax. Professor William Schniedewind also read through the manuscript and offered suggestions.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Sh. Yonah for his thorough reading the manuscript. Many of his suggestions (especially in the sphere of biblical and Ugaritic poetry) helped to eliminate many infelicitous nuances throughout the book.

This book have been benefited from criticism by many other scholars, including (in alphabetical order): Dr. K. Abraham, Professor Sh. Ahituv, Professor J. Blau, Professor Ch. Cohen, Professor M. Fruchtmann, Professor A. Hurvitz, Mr. M. Morgenstern, Professor E. Qimron, Dr. D. Talshir, Dr. Y. Ben-Tolila and Dr. P. Tromer.

My son, Gal Sivan, deserves mention for designing and creating the Ugaritic cuneiform font.

Special thanks are due to the faculty of Humanities in Ben-Gurion University (especially to the Dean Professor J. Weinblatt) and to Beit Berl college for their financial support.

Needless to say, only the author can be held accountable for any faults or shortcomings in the present work. It is only hoped that errors and omissions are minimal and that the resulting grammar will be useful to others.

Daniel Sivan
Beer Sheva
September, 1996

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AANLR</i>	<i>Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Rendiconti Morali.</i>
acc.	accusative.
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
<i>AHw</i>	Von Soden, W., <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , Wiesbaden, 1959-1981.
Akk.	Akkadian.
Arab.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic.
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalia.</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
<i>BibOr</i>	<i>Bibbia e Oriente.</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago.</i>
<i>CDUL</i>	Ch. Cohen, <i>Comprehensive Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language.</i> (forthcoming)
c.	common.
Clas.	Classical.
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
DN	Deity Name.
du.	dual.
<i>EA</i>	Knudtzon, J. A., <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> , 2 Vols, Leipzig, 1915 (reprinted Aalen 1964).
f.	feminine.
gen.	genitive.
GN	Geographical Name.
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review.</i>
Heb.	Hebrew.
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal.</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies.</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages.</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies.</i>
<i>KAI</i>	Donner, H. and Röllig, W., <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische</i>

	<i>Inschriften</i> , Wiesbaden, 3 Vols, 1966-1969.
<i>KL</i>	Kâmid el-Lôz.
<i>KTU²</i>	Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. and Sanmartín, J., <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places</i> , Münster, 1995.
lit.	literary.
<i>LXX</i>	Septuagint.
m.	masculine.
Mid.	Middle.
nom.	nominative.
obliq.	oblique.
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> .
pl.	plural.
PN	Personal Name.
Prd	Period.
<i>PRU</i>	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit</i> .
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie Orientale</i> .
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i> .
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Revista degli Studi Orientali</i> .
<i>RŠ</i>	Ras Shamra tablet number.
s.	singular.
Sem.	Semitic.
<i>TO I</i>	Caquot, A., Sznycer, M. and Herdner, A., <i>Textes ougaritiques</i> , I (mythes et légendes), Paris, 1974.
<i>TO II</i>	Caquot, A., de Tarragon, J-M and Cunchillos, J-L, <i>Textes ougaritiques</i> , II (textes religieux et rituels, correspondance), Paris, 1989.
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit Forschungen</i> .
Ug.	Ugaritic.
<i>Ug 5</i>	Nougayrol, J. <i>et al.</i> <i>Ugaritica V</i> , Paris, 1968.
<i>Ug 7</i>	Al-Ouche, A. F. <i>et al.</i> , <i>Ugaritica VII</i> , Paris, 1978.
vol.	volume.
<i>VT (Suppl.)</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum (Supplements)</i> .
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i> .
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> .
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> .
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .
⌈ ⌋	enclose partially damaged sign(s).
[]	enclose damaged sign(s).
	enclose phonetic normalization.

- \ gloss sign.
/ indicates another possible reconstruction or interpretation; or indicates a form separated in two lines.
! indicates correction of scribal error.
< > enclose scribal omission.
> < enclose scribal.
// indicates parallelism
Biblical books: Gen., Exod., Lev., Num., Deut., Jos., Judg. 1 Sam., 2 Sam., 1 Kgs, 2 Kgs, Isa., Jer., Ezek., Hos., Joel., Amos, Obad., Micah, Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal., Ps, Job, Prov., Ruth, Cant., Eccl., Lam. Esth. Dan. Ezra, Neh. 1 Chron., 2 Chron.

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INTRODUCTION

GENERAL REMARKS

The ancient harbor city of Ugarit was located in north Syria, eleven kilometers north of Latakia, at the site known today by the Arabic name Râs Shamra. In the spring of 1929 an archaeological expedition headed by Claude F. A. Schaeffer began excavations on the Tel and soon uncovered findings dating between the 14th and the 12th centuries B.C.E. In the ensuing season excavations uncovered clay tablets inscribed in Ugaritic, Akkadian (Peripheral Middle Babylonian), Hurrian, Hittite and Sumerian. The documents were of various types including literary, administrative and lexical fragments.

The alphabetic texts excavated at Râs Shamra currently number about 1253. Excavations at other sites unearthed more tablets: Râs Ibn-Ḥâni (some 61 texts), Bet Shemesh (1 text), Hala Sultan Tekke (1 text), Mount Tabor (1 text), Kâmed el-Lôz/Kumidi (2 texts), Sarepta (1 text), Tel Sukas (1 text), Tel Nebi Mend (1 text) and Tel Taanak (1 text). These texts have been typologically divided into seven main genres (*KTU*², p. X): "Literary and Religious Texts" (= *KTU*² 1); "Letters" (= *KTU*² 2); "Legal Texts" (= *KTU*² 3); "Economic texts" (= *KTU*² 4); "Scribal Exercises" (= *KTU*² 5); "Inscriptions on Seals, Labels, Ivorys, etc". (= *KTU*² 6); "Not Classified Texts" (= *KTU*² 7).

At the present time, these clay tablets represent the only substantial second millennium B. C. E. source wholly written in the language of the inhabitants of the greater Syria-Israel region. Other valuable written sources include the Mari letters, the Amarna letters and most recently the tablets from Emar, but all these are written in the *lingua franca* of the day, i.e. Akkadian.

Numerous Ugaritic tablets contain portions of a poetic cycle pertaining to Baal and his sister Anat, about the head of the pantheon, El, and his consort, Ashera, and about Athtar and the divine craftsman, master of arts and crafts, Kothar.

Other mythological texts include the story of the marriage of the deities Nikkal and the moon, Yarih, and a ritual drama about the

birth of the good and beautiful gods, the heroes of which are El and the two gods Shahar and Shalem. Legendary material was also found concerning the hero Daniel and his son, Aqhat. Other documents recount the legend of king Keret and his military campaign against Udim, the motivation of which was Keret's desire to take a wife who could bear him a son (cf. further Cassuto 1965:13-17).

The administrative documents from Ugarit shed much light on the organization of the kingdom. A portion of these texts were written in Ugaritic, and others were written in Akkadian (Peripheral Middle Babylonian), which was the international diplomatic language of the Late Bronze Age. Inasmuch as Akkadian was not the mother tongue of the Ugaritian scribes, they consciously or unconsciously inserted many Ugaritic words (approximately 300 words) in the Akkadian texts. Those words are especially important for the study of Ugaritic because their vowels are indicated.

Nevertheless, many of the Ugaritic tablets are broken, a fact that increases the difficulty of studying Ugaritic, the knowledge of which is still only partial in many respects. Therefore, the interpretation of many Ugaritic passages remains obscure and there remain numerous conflicting opinions among the scholars engaged in their study.

The Ugaritic alphabetic texts have been assembled in several editions. The most important of them was published in 1976 by Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín under the title *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (abbreviated *KTU*). The edition includes all texts known up to the time of its publication. Additional Ugaritic texts discovered later at Râs Ibn-Ḥâni were published by Bordrueil and Caquot in 1979 and 1980 in the journal *Syria*; the texts from that site are designated by the sigla *RIH*. In the present work I made use of the second and enlarged edition of *KTU* (*KTU²*) published in 1995. It contains all cuneiform alphabetic texts from Ugarit, Râs Ibn-Ḥâni and other places in Syria and Palestine.

The Akkadian texts from Ugarit were assembled and published in the series, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, cited as *PRU* (volumes III, IV and VI) and in *Ugaritica* V (abbreviated *Ug* 5).

THE UGARITIC LANGUAGE

Ugaritic belongs to the language group known as Northwest Semitic. A few scholars hold the view that Ugaritic is a Canaanite dialect

(the Canaanite languages include the Old Canaanite of the Amarna glosses, Phoenician, Moabite and Biblical Hebrew; cf. al-Yasin 1952:175-187 and most recently Tropper 1994:343-353; for possible relations with Arabic cf. Kaye 1991:115-118). Others maintain that Ugaritic is an independent language quite distinct from Canaanite.

We share the view of these latter scholars. There is evidence in the texts that the Ugaritians did not see themselves as Canaanites but distinguished themselves from them. One entry (*KTU*² 4.96) indicates that the people of Ugarit viewed a Canaanite as a foreigner like an Egyptian, an Ashdodite and an Assyrian. Further support for this view derives from a text written in Akkadian (*Ug* 5 no. 36). In that text there is reference to a payment which the "sons of Ugarit" must pay to "the sons of Canaan", probably as reparations or compensation for someone murdered in Ugarit. This demonstrates that there was a legal distinction between the citizens of Ugarit and those of Canaan. It is thus clear that the Ugaritians distinguished themselves from Canaanites geographically, ethnically and politically (cf. Rainey 1967:57,87,109).

Also from the standpoint of language it appears that the Ugaritic language was a Northwest Semitic one, but not Canaanite. Anyone who examines the Ugaritic language will become aware of marked differences between it and the Canaanite dialects. The following are the most striking of those differences:

1. The shifts $z > t$ and $z > g$.
2. The absence of the shift $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$.
3. There is no definite article.
4. Instead of the shift $d > z$ there exists the shift $\underline{d} > d$.
5. It does not have the relative pronouns š -, ʾš or ʾašer .
6. The causative stem is Shaphel.
7. There are independent pronouns for the accusative and the genitive.
8. Nearly all the Proto-Semitic consonants were preserved in Ugaritic unlike most of the other Northwest Semitic languages.

Because of the limited corpus of texts and the fragmentary nature of many of them, we are constrained to reconstruct words and even whole sentences in order to make sense out of some passages. When we recognize that all historical linguistic reconstructions are necessarily conjectures, it is no wonder that the study of Ugaritic, which

depends in large measure on reconstructions and various assumptions regarding the fixing of vocalic structure, leads to frequent disagreements between scholars. Therefore, the reconstructions, readings and opinions that we suggest in this book are often tentative and other interpretations are possible.

STYLISTIC CONNECTIONS BETWEEN UGARITIC LITERATURE AND THE BIBLE

Ever since the discovery of the Ugaritic writings many studies have been written concerning the expressions of style and of form that are common to Ugaritic and Biblical literature both in larger literary units and isolated refrains. Phenomena such as word pairs, continuation from column to column (so-called "gapping"), chiastic constructions, *yqtl-qtl* or *qtl-yqtl* sequences, metaphors, similes, recurring refrains, etc., have been discussed extensively during the past sixty years.

The profound connection between the two literatures serves to elucidate many difficult passages in the Bible on one hand and points to a common stylistic stock on the other. The following are a few examples (without scholarly commentary):

Examples From Ugaritic Literature Which Elucidate Difficult Biblical Passages

יָפִיחַ, יָפַח (Prov. 14:5,25; 19:8,9) — Prior to the discovery of Ugaritic, the forms יָפִיחַ, יָפַח were taken as verbs from the root *PWH*. Loewenstamm (1962:205-208) and Pardee (1978c:204-213) showed that the Ugaritic *yph* "witness" (4.258,5 and elsewhere) provided the proper rendering of the Biblical terms. Confirmation was found in the Biblical contexts where the terms יָפִיחַ and יָפַח are in parallel with עָד "witness", for example יָפִיחַ וְיָפַח כְּוָבִים יֵאבֹד (Prov. 19:9). As a result of this solution, it was possible to make better sense of another difficult verse, עוֹד חוֹן לְמוֹעֵד וְיָפַח לְקָץ וְלֹא יָכֹב (Hab. 2:3), where לְמוֹעֵד is paralleled to לְקָץ and יָפַח should be paralleled to עָד. Therefore, the original of the verse may have read כִּי עָד (!) חוֹן לְמוֹעֵד "because the vision (has been written down) as a witness to the appointed time".

בֵּית חֶבֶר (Prov. 21:9; 25:24) — In the light of the *LXX* οἶκος κοινῶν (Prov. 21:9) and οἶκος κοινῆ (Prov. 25:24) the Biblical Hebrew expression was assumed to be the result of metathesis, the original

having been בֵּית רָחֹב “wide house”, which would stand in contrasting parallelism to פִּנְתֵי-יָג “the corner of a roof”. But in the light of *bt hbr* in Ugaritic (1.14 II,29) and Akkadian *bū hubūri* (cf. *CAD* H, p. 220b) with the meaning “house of noise”, “noisy house”, the Proverbs passage may be understood in a different manner, namely that “the corner of a roof” may be a quiet place as opposed to a noisy house. The Biblical text already hints in this direction; בֵּית חֶבֶר is parallel to כַּעַס “anger” in Prov. 21:19 (cf. Albright 1955:2-11 and especially Cohen 1976:598-599 and 1978:139-140, n. 78a).

כֶּסֶף סִיגִים — This combination is found only once in the Hebrew Bible, in the obscure verse: עַל-חֲרָשׁ שִׁפְתָיִם דְּלָקִים וְלִב־רָע (Prov. 26:23). After the form *spsg* (1.17 VI,36) was discovered in Ugaritic with the apparent meaning of “glazing material” used to glaze pottery, a new reading was proposed for the Biblical passage, viz. כֶּסֶפְסוּם מְצֻפָה “as coated glazure” with the preposition *k-* and enclitic *mem*. The *mem* can also be taken as the result of dittography (cf. Albright 1955:12-13 and Cohen 1978:122-123). That suggestion suits the parallelism and finds some support from the fact that כֶּסֶף סִיגִים is not found elsewhere in the Bible (one does find כֶּסֶף סִיגִים one time, Ezek. 22:18). In the verses הֲנֵנוּ סִיגִים מִכֶּסֶף “Take away the dross from the silver” (Prov. 25:4) and כֶּסֶף הָיָה לְסִיגִים “Your silver has become dross” (Isa. 1:22) the word סִיגִים is not employed in combination.

Literary Examples Common to the Bible and Ugaritic Literature

Progression of Numbers — This formula has been discussed at length in many studies. The most frequent formula has one number in the first member of the parallelism and a number one digit higher in the second member (i.e. $x//x + 1$). In that model things are numbered according to the larger figure (cf. Roth 1965:42-49; Weiss 1967:307-318; Haran 1972:238-267; Zakovitch 1977; Avishur 1981:1-9). A striking example from Ugaritic is:

tn dbh̄m šn'a b'l ilt rkb rpt “Two sacrifices Baal hates, three the Rider of the Clouds” (1.4 III, 17-18; the continuation of the text describes the three kinds of sacrifices).

The following are Biblical examples:

שֵׁשׁ הֵנָּה שִׂנְאָה יְהוָה וְשֶׁבַע הוֹעֲבֹת (הוֹעֲבֹת) נַפְשׁוֹ “Six, these the Lord hates and seven are the abomination of his soul” (Prov. 6:16).

שְׁלֹשָׁה הֵמָּה נִפְלְאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ וְאַרְבַּע [וְאַרְבָּעָה] לֹא יִדְעוּתֵימָם “Three are they that

are too wonderful for me and four I know them not" (Prov. 30:18).

תַּחַת שְׁלוֹשׁ רַגְלָהּ אֶרֶץ וְתַחַת אַרְבַּע לֹא-תִכְבֵּל שָׂמַיָא "For three things the earth is disquieted and four it cannot bear" (Prov. 30:21).

The Expanded Colon — This is a formation in which one line is expanded to two by the sequence: an open formula, a vocative particle (usually), a repeated formula and a culminating formula (cf. especially Loewenstamm 1969b:176-196, for a thorough survey of the phenomenon; also Greenstein 1974:87-105). The following are examples from Ugarit:

ht ʾibk bʿlm ht ʾibk tmḥš "Behold your enemies, O Baal, behold your enemies you will smite" (1.2 IV, 8-9).

ʾirš hym l ʾaqht ḡzr ʾiʾrš hym w ʾatnk "Request for life, O Aqhat the hero, request life and I will give (it) to you" (1.17 VI, 26-27).

Examples from the Bible:

בֵּן פֶּרֶחַ יוֹסֵף בֵּן פֶּרֶחַ עַל-יַעֲיִן "Joseph is a fruitful bough, a fruitful bough by a spring" (Gen. 49:22).

עַד-יַעֲבֹר עַמּוֹךְ יִהְיֶה עַד-יַעֲבֹר עַמּוֹנֵי קְנִיָּה "Till the people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over which you have purchased" (Exod. 15:16b).

רְאוּךָ מַיִם | אֱלֹהִים רְאוּךָ מַיִם יַחֲזִילוּ "The waters saw you, O God, the waters saw you, they were afraid" (Ps 77:17).

כִּי הִנֵּה אֹיְבֶיךָ יִהְיֶה כִּי-הִנֵּה אֹיְבֶיךָ יִאֲבֹדוּ "For behold your enemies, O Lord, for behold your enemies will perish" (Ps 92:10).

לִבְבַתִּי אֶחֶתִּי כָלָה לִבְבַתִּי בְּאֶחָד [בְּאַחַת] מֵעֵינֶיךָ "You have ravished my heart, my sister, (my) bride, you have ravished my heart with one of your eyes" (Cant. 4:9).

שׁוּבִי שׁוּבִי הַשׁוּבִלְמִית שׁוּבִי שׁוּבִי וְנִחְזֶה בְּךָ "Return, return, O Shulamite, return, return, that we may look upon you" (Cant. 7:1a).

Word Pairs

The study of word pairs has enjoyed considerable attention ever since the publication of the Ugaritic tablets. The leading scholars in this endeavor have been Ginsberg, Cassuto, Held, Loewenstamm, Dahood and Greenfield. The most extensive study on this topic is that of Avishur (1984). Examples of Ugaritic word pairs common to Biblical literature are:

yd//ymn "hand//right (hand)" (1.2 I,39), *ʾars//ʿpr* "earth//dust"

(1.2 IV,5), *ks//krpn* “cup//goblet” (1.3 I,10-11), *bt//h̄zr* “house//courtyard” (1.14 III,28-29), *‘lm//drdr* “era//generations on generations” (1.2 IV,10) *’ib//srt* “enemy//oppressor” (1.2 IV,9), *r’iš//qdqd* “head//top of head” (1.16 VI,56-57), *‘h’lb//h̄m’at* “milk//butter” (1.23,14), *ksp//h̄rṣ* “silver//gold” (1.24,20-21), *‘i’rt//yn* “new wine//wine” (1.17 VI,7-8), *h̄ym//bl mt* “life//immortality” (1.16 I,14-15), *mlk//tpt* “king//judge” (1.4 IV,43-44).

METHOD OF PRESENTATION

1. Books, articles and journals are cited by the accepted abbreviations. All the Ugaritic texts from Ugarit, Râs Ibn-Ḥâni and other places are cited by their numbers in KTU². The Akkadian texts from Ugarit are cited according to the number and page as established by the editors of *PRU* III, *PRU* IV, *PRU* VI and *Ug* 5.

2. Throughout most of the book, text references are given for the various words dealt with.

3. The vowels of Ugaritic were distinguished by length. Vowels without the macron are considered short, the conjectured grammatical length in forms is indicated by the macron, *ā ī ō ū*, while long vowels resulting from the reduction of diphthongs, triphthongs or from elisions of *aleph* or *hé* are marked by the circumflex, *â ê î ô û*.

4. This grammar ignores proper nouns, since those preserve archaic elements and it is not possible to deduce much evidence from them for the linguistic stage described in this study. Furthermore, the fact that a particular name occurs in a Ugaritic text does not guarantee that it is Ugaritic in origin. Such a name may be foreign, e.g. Canaanite, Hurrian or Hittite.

5. The readings suggested in this book are in square brackets while Proto-Ugaritic reconstructions are in parentheses. Thus, for example, the suggested reconstruction of the word *’ibr* is [*’ibb̄ru*], while the Proto-Ugaritic reconstruction is (*’abb̄ru*).

6. Proper names comprised of two components joined by the *w*-conjunction (such as *ghn w ’amrr*) are taken here as two entities, though there are those who prefer to see them as one. This is noted in the discussion of the various dual forms.

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CHAPTER ONE

ORTHOGRAPHY

The Ugaritic alphabet contains 30 cuneiform signs which express 27 consonantal phonemes. This alphabet is attested in a fixed order in several documents (e.g. 5.6; 5.12; 5.13; 5.17). The following are the cuneiform signs according to that order as found in those texts with their equivalents in Latin characters and the accepted diacritical marks below:

'a	b	g	h	d	h	w	z	h	t
y	k	s	l	m	d	n	z	s	
c	p	s	q	r	t	g	t	i	u
s									

GENERAL REMARKS

1. Scholars have long since noted the resemblance and the differences between the order of the letters in the Ugaritic and the Hebrew alphabets (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1989:101-112).

2. The Ugaritic alphabet does not indicate vowels except for the three *aleph*-signs which indicate the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and the reason for their invention is not known. As a result, these *aleph*-signs play a major role in the interpretation of the vocalic sequences and the morphology of Ugaritic (as will be seen in discussions throughout this book).

3. The signs for 'i, 'u, s seem superfluous and the common assumption is that they were added at a later stage. The original

sign was $\text{'}a$ and it stood for *aleph* without distinguishing any vowel. With the addition of the signs for $\text{'}i$ and $\text{'}u$, the first sign lost some of its functions and came to stand for $\text{'}a$ only (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:7-12; for $\text{'}a$ representing vowelless *aleph* see *infra*).

The sign $\text{'}s$ seems to have the same usage as the *s*, since they are used interchangeably. It is generally, but not always, limited to loanwords, e.g.:

$m[r]^{[u]}$ *škn* (4.36,3) beside *mr'u skn* "the officer's troops" (4.99,13); *ššw* (4.427,22; an Indo-European word) beside *sswm* "horse(s)" (1.20 II,3); *ks'u* (1.4 VIII,12) beside *ks'u* "chair" (1.53,7). Likewise in personal names (Indo-European names) such as $\text{'}arswn$ (4.35 II,4) beside $\text{'}arswn$ (4.54,10); $\text{'}sm$ (4.75 III,2) beside *sm* (4.39,3).

The two signs can even appear in the same word, e.g. *ymsš* "it should be melted" (1.85,3; from the root *MSS*).

Recently Segert (1983c:201-218) pointed out that the sign $\text{'}s$ does express vowelless [s], but also can stand for the syllabic values [su] and [sš]. This idea is difficult to accept for it is not known why Ugaritic needed to express a syllabic value just for this consonant (cf. Blau 1985:292). However, since this sign is used especially with foreign words and is placed at the end of the alphabet, it would seem to be a non-Semitic borrowing and that might explain its having a syllabic value, i.e., it follows the rule of other cuneiform languages.

Since the alphabetical lists from Ugarit were discovered much later, the modern dictionaries composed in the wake of the initial discovery of the language follow an order close to that used for Hebrew. The Ugaritic consonants not found in Hebrew were inserted in logical places to produce the following accepted order (the non-Hebrew letters are in parentheses):

$\text{'}a, \text{'}i, \text{'}u b g d (\underline{d}) h w z \text{'}h (\underline{h}) \text{'}t (\underline{z}) y k l m n s (\underline{s}) \text{'} (\underline{g}) p \text{'} q r$
 $\text{'}s t (\underline{t})$

4. Text 5.14 preserves a portion of the alphabetic signs, each followed by an Akkadian syllabic sign. The syllabic values have been used to reconstruct the beginnings of the respective names of each letter, e.g. *a* for $\text{'}a(lpu)$ "ox", *be* for $\text{'}b\dot{a}(tu)$ "house", *ga* for $\text{'}ga(mlu)$ "throw stick", etc. The resulting names correspond to the names of the pictographs of the Proto-Sinaitic script (Albright 1950b:23-24;

Cross and Lambdin 1960:21-26; Cross 1967:23*-24*; and also Speiser 1964:42-47).

5. A few of the Ugaritic cuneiform signs are similar in shape and are easily confused. It is possible that even the Ugaritian scribes may have made such errors, and this must be taken into consideration when dealing with the text of any particular document. The following signs are especially noteworthy for their similarity to one another: *n* and *r*, *k* and *r*, *ʿ* and *t*, *k* and *w*, *h* and *t*, *ʿu*, *d* and *b*.

There are a few sign combinations that are similar to some other compound sign, e.g. the *qof* looks like *taw* and *ʿayin*, the *lamed* looks like *šadi* followed by *gimel*, the *nun* could be a combination of *taw* and *aleph* plus *a*-vowel.

WRITING AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Ugaritic is written from left to right but there are a few texts with right-to-left orientation, e.g. 4.31. Those minority texts are set apart from the body of regular Ugaritic documents by other characteristic features, so that it would appear that they reflect a different school from that prevailing at Ugarit. For example, these minority texts use the sign *h* for both *h* and *h*; and there is a text which uses a circle, *Ø*, to represent *š*, *š*, and *t* (cf. 4.31,2).

The Ugaritian scribes were not consistent in dividing words. Usually, words were separated by a small wedge, *ʾ* (which may sometimes be confused with *gimel* because of the similarity in shape). In modern transcriptions, the word divider is represented by a period. There are many instances, however, when no word divider was used in the original but when words are separated by a space on the tablet (e.g. 1.92, especially lines 1-9). At times, the words are written in an unbroken sequence and the reader has to decide where to divide between words. One finds instances when a word is separated from its proclitic particle or from its suffixed pronoun and there are even word dividers within words. Here are some examples:

km.lb "as the heart of" (1.6 II, 29); *w.ʾap* "and even" (2.11,13); *l.ʾumy* "to my mother" (2.13,6); *w.rgm* "and say" (2.13,13); *w.ytn.nn* "and he gave it" (3.5,11); *ʾl ʾaʾšʾi.hm* "let me verily bring them out" (1.2 IV,2); *ym.šyn* "he arrives" (1.19 IV,8); *l.qh* "they took" (4.188,18,20); *bn.šm* "men" (4.243,6); *l.ʾiʾkʾt* "you

(m.s.) sent” (2.45,25); $\text{rnp}^1\text{.š}$ “soul” (1.5 I,14). Likewise in personal names, e.g. *n.m* [*Nūrānu*] (4.188,12); $\text{r}^1\text{p}^1\text{dr.}^1\text{y}^1$ [*Pidrāya*] (1.106,11); *dn.ʿil* [*Dān(ṭ)ʿilu*] (1.17 II,24).

Generally, the word divider does not come at the end of a line though there are some exceptions such as 1.3 II,33; 1.13,4,5,6 etc.; 1.14 IV,44,45; 1.19 I,9,14,41; 4.188,12,13. In this grammar, we shall separate words and particles by spaces.

Occasionally the Ugaritian scribes separated lines by using horizontal lines; cf. for example 1.13, 1.52, 1.108, 4.12 etc.

The lines of a text do not necessarily correspond to sentence components or to the lines of a poem. Words may even be divided at the end of a line and continue on the next line (cf. most recently Segert 1987:283-288). Examples:

b/kyt [*bākiyātu*] “weepers, mourning women” (1.19 IV, 9-10); *qdq/d* [*qadqadu/qudqudu*] “top of head” (1.2 IV,21-22); *tm/thš* [*tmtaḥašu/tmtaḥišu*] “you (m.s.) smite” (1.3 II, 5-6); *yšl/h* [*yīšlahu*] “he melts” (1.4 I,25-26); *yšq/m* [*yāsiqu-mā*] “he pours, casts” (1.4 I,27-28); *lʿaq/ht* “to Aqhat” (1.19 IV, 15-16); *tl/ṭ* [*talātu*] “three” (4.203,11-12).

Ugaritic writing does not indicate gemination of consonants. The doubled consonant is written with one sign only (there is no basis for the suggestion of Good [1981:119-121], that consonants *l,m,n,r* may be written twice when geminated). Thus, for example:

prt [*parratu*] “cow” (1.5 V,18); *prm* [*parrūma*] “bulls” (4.142,1); *dlt* [*dallatu*] “poor (f.s.)” (1.82,24); likewise *ttt* [*ṭittatu*] “six” (4.341,9); *tšʿu* [*tīššāʿu*] “she lifts up” (1.6 I,14); *ym* [*yammu*] “sea” (2.46,14); *ʿum* [*ʿummu*] “mother” (1.82,9). It seems that the word *yddll* “he is suppressed” (1.103+1.145,46) does not indicate a gemination of *d*, but it is better considered as dittography (*contra* Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:142). The same is true with *mtt* [*mīttā*] “you are dead” (1.5 V,17; cf. Gordon 1949:42 and 1967:79; Aartun 1978:93; *TO* I, p. 248; Rin and Rin 1996:294), where apparently the form does not represent gemination of *t*, but rather dittography (*contra* Verreet [1988:93] who transcribes *mīVtā*, i.e. an unexplained vowel between the two *t*s).

Since the Ugaritic writing system is almost entirely consonantal, there are homographs that have entirely different meanings, e.g.:

ʿamt can mean “handmaiden” [*amatu*], “cubit” [*ammātu*], “cubits” [*ammātu*] or “I will die” [*amātu*]; the spelling ʿalpm can be “two thousand” or “thousands”; ʿn can be “eye” [*ēnu*] or

“he answer(ed)” [*anā*] or other forms.

This homography creates difficulties for the interpretation of Ugaritic texts and one is frequently forced to resort to comparison with other Semitic languages (especially Hebrew and Arabic) for solutions or else to decide on the basis of the context.

In Ugaritic there is practically no use of *matres lectionis*. There are no certain examples of the use of *waw* or *hé* as vowel indicators (for suggestions concerning *waw*, cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1975a:559-560; for possible instances of *hé*, cf. Kutscher 1967:33-34). By contrast, there are a few examples of *aleph* or *yod* as *matres lectionis*.

aleph as Mater Lectionis

The use of *aleph* as *mater lectionis* is confined to isolated instances only:

ʾmʾrʾiʾa [*marʾa*] “fatling (accusative)” (1.4 VI,41-42) beside the standard spelling *mrʾa* (1.4 V,45); *šbʾiʾa* [*šabrʾa/šabaʾa*] “the army (accusative)” (1.15 V,19) beside *šbʾa* (1.16 I,36), the normal spelling.

In both these examples with two *aleph*-signs, one might assume scribal errors, but it is also possible that the first *aleph*, viz. ʾi, reflects the vowel that precedes the root consonant *aleph*, i.e. *ī*.

An additional example:

ʾyrʾaʾun “he fears him” (1.5 II,6; from the root *YR*’).

The ʾa-sign may express the thematic vowel of the form, that is *ʾāraʾunnū* (< *yīraʾunhū*; cf. Zevit 1980:3; for other possibilities, cf. *infra*, p. 148).

One problematic spelling is found in the following:

ʾlʾʾan [*tiʾlʾuwannūʾ?*] (< *tiʾlʾayanhūʾ/tiʾlʾawanhūʾ?*) “sleep overcame him” (1.14 I,33; from the root *LʾY*).

The ʾa-sign might be a glide, or perhaps the scribe just made a mistake for *ʾlʾunn* [*tiʾlʾun(n)annūʾ?*] (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:23, n. 28 following de Moor 1965:357; likewise cf. *TO* I, p. 509).

yod as Mater Lectionis

The use of *yod* as a vowel indicator is rare in poetry but more common in prose texts. The particle *ky* “because, since, verily” (for emphatic or circumstantial nuances) is always written full in prose (cf. e.g. 2.16,7; 2.17,13) while the correct reading may have been **kī* (or **kī*). In poetic contexts it is always written *k* without *yod*.

The same holds true for the preposition *b-*, written *by* in prose (e.g. 2.38,13,25) but without *yod* in poetry (for this, cf. Blau 1978a:295).

When the suffix pronoun for 1st c.s., *-y* [*-ya*] is attached to a noun in the nominative, the *yod* is not written and not pronounced (cf. *infra*, p. 52). Nevertheless, there are instances when the *yod* is written (it holds true in the Amarna letters too; cf. Rainey 1996 I:71-71). In such cases, the *yod* must be a vowel indicator; thus, for example:

ʾumy [*ʾummā*] “my mother” is in the nominative in 2.30,21 and 2.16,6 (the expected spelling would have been **ʾum*). This also holds true for *bny* [*binū/bunī/banī*] “my son (nominative)” in 2.14,11,16 (for the expected **bn*) and *mnty* [*manātī/manētī*] “my conjuration” (1.100,9) where one would expect **mnt* (cf. 1.100,4,15,20 etc.); *mrhy mlk tdlln* “the spears [**mur(a)hū*] (*mrhy* instead of the expected **mrh*) were suppressed” (1.103+1.145,7,46; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:93); *tqsm ymy bʾlhn* “the days [*yômū/yamū*] (*ymy* for the expected spelling **ym*) of their (f.pl.) master will be shortened” (1.103+1.145,33-34); *ʾady tdʾ* “may my lady [*ʾadat(t)ē*] (*ʾady* for **ʾadt*) know” (2.33,19; cf. Pardee 1984:219 and 228 n. 49); the combination *ʾily ʾugrt* “the gods of Ugarit” (2.16,4-5) is the subject of its clause so the *yod* is not expected. The *yod* is a vowel marker indicating probably a mistake in case ending (cf. *infra*, p. 84). It is also possible that by the time that this letter was written, it might reflect that the breakdown in the case system had already started.

From the poetic texts the following may be noted:

ʾahdy d ymlk “(it is) I alone who will rule” (1.4 VII,49-50; unless the numeric pronoun had an adverbial vocalic suffix that required the full form, *-ya*); *mʾmsy* [*muʾammisī*] “the one who carries me” (1.17 II,20). The latter form is from a context in parallel with *spʾu* [*sāpīʾu*] “the one who eats” (line 21) which is also in the nominative (the parallel text in 1.17 I,27 also has *mšʾu* [*mušōšīʾu*] “the one who brings forth”, a nominative participle of the Š stem); *ʾmn nʾkʾl hʾtʾny* “with Nikkal is my wedding” (1.24,32), where *hʾtʾny* is the subject and therefore should be written **hʾtn* (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:26). In the passage *ʾatty ʾil ylt* “the two women of El gave birth” (1.23,60) the *yod* on the word *ʾatty* is otiose, and it stands for a vowel, that is **attatē*, except that here there is a mistake in the case end-

ing where the nominative would be in order (cf. *infra*, p. 84).

The *yod* also served as a vowel marker in verb forms, such as *qyy* [qiriyi?] “meet!(?) (f.s.)” (1.3 IV,8). The *yod* could be either a scribal error or a vowel marker (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:27). In the spelling *tmgyy* [tamgyyā] “(two thousand horses) arrive” (2.33,31) the *yod* may be otiose (perhaps it is dittography; cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1974c:457, n. 2; *contra* TO II [p. 337, n. 38] which takes the *yod* as 1st person pronoun):

In the forms *’ahym* “brothers” (1.6 VI,10,14), *’mny* “eighty” (4.171,4) and *šym* “heavens” (1.19 IV,24,30) the *yod* may not be a vowel marker but rather a root consonant (cf. Sivan 1982b:209-218). In the form *’ahyh* “his brothers” (1.12 II,50), the *yod* may be either a vowel marker or a root consonant (see Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:27 and cf. *infra*, p. 43). In the particle *mhy* “what”, what is it?” (2.14,9) the *yod* might be a vowel marker but the form could also be a combination of the interrogative particle *mh* [mah] “what” with the independent pronoun *hy* [hiya] “she” (Loewenstamm 1980:59 and *KTU*², p.166, n. 2).

With the spellings *šlyt*, an epithet of Lôtānu meaning “powerful(?)” (1.5 I,3) and *phyrh* “his assembly” (1.14 I,25), which is usually written without the *yod* (e.g. 1.15 III,15), the *yod* in both forms may be a vowel marker (cf. Kutscher 1968:374), but it might also be consonantal from the pattern *qutayl* (cf. Loewenstamm 1969a:111-114). If that suggestion is correct, then these would be the only cases in Ugaritic where the diphthong *ay* did not contract (for the possibility that the pattern of those words was *qutayyil*, cf. Ginsberg 1946:34; less probable is the idea that *šlyt* is a Shaphel formation from the root *LWT/LYT*; cf. *Ug* 7, p. 93 n. 73; Dietrich and Loretz 1980b:406; Margalit 1980:90; also less probable to view these forms as in *qatyal* pattern as suggested by van Selms [1967:289-295]). It would also appear that *yod* serves as a vowel marker in the forms *r’išyt* [ra’šitu] “beginning”, “first (fruit)(?)” (1.119,25; cf. *Ug* 7, p. 35 n. 8 and TO II, p. 209 and n. 201) and *’lyt* [’alūtā] “you (m.s.) went up” (1.176,6; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:351; for the possibility that this form is 3rd feminine singular see *infra*, p. 162).

The *aleph*-Signs

It is not known why the scribes at Ugarit chose to express vowels with the *aleph*. It would seem that the *’a* was originally vowelless

and that only later signs were added for 'i and 'u. The original purpose may have been for writing foreign words and only later did their use enter into the writing of Ugaritic words (cf. Gordon 1965:18 and Cassuto 1947:466-477 and 1951:123-127).

It is agreed that the *aleph* expressed its own vowel and not the main vowel in the word as Cassuto had supposed (*loc. cit.*). The vowel with the *aleph* could be short, long, or the result of the contraction of a diphthong or triphthong as seen in the following examples:

'u — 'udn [ʾudnu] "ear" (1.103+1.145,37); 'um [ʾummu] "mother" (1.14 I,9); mrʾum [murʾūma] "officers" (4.68,69); rpʾum [rāpiʾūma] "Rephaim" (1.21 II,3,11); 'u [ʾô/ʾû] (< 'aw) "or" (1.40,22).

'a — 'ad [ʾadu] "father" (1.23,32); 'alp [ʾalpu] "ox" (1.4 V,45); 'arbʿ [ʾarbaʿu] "four" (1.41,51); 'ard [ʾaridu] "I go down" (1.5 VI,25); ksʾa [kissīʾa/kussīʾa] "chair" (1.100,12); 'ar [ʾāru] "light" (1.4 I,16); mʾat [mīʾātu] "hundreds" (4.171,1); 'aklm [ʾākilūma] "the eaters" (1.12 I,26); gʾan [gaʾānu] (< gaʾwānu/gaʾyānu) "pride" (1.17 VI,44).

'i — sʾid [saʾida] "he served food" (1.3 I,3); lʾikt [laʾiktī] "I sent" (2.14,7); ksʾi [kissīʾi/kussīʾi] "chair" (1.16 VI,23); 'il [ʾīlu] "god" (1.4 I,12); mrʾim [marʾīma] "fatlings" (4.128,1); rpʾim [rāpiʾīma] "Rephaim" (1.21 II,9); 'in [ʾēna/ʾīna] (< 'ayna) "not" (1.50,8).

The main problem with the *aleph*-signs is how to interpret those that fall at the end of a syllable and thus should not have a vowel after them. None of the attempts to suggest an explanation have been able to explain all the examples (cf. the latest summary with bibliography by Verreet 1983a:223-258).

Vowelless aleph Represented by 'i

It would seem that the sign 'i represented *aleph* plus *i*-vowel but also *aleph* plus Ø. By way of example, note:

bʾiʾr [biʾru] "well" (1.13,25); lʾim [luʾmuʾ] "nation" (1.6 I,6); sʾin [suʾnuʾ] "hem(?)" (1.6 II,10; cf. Akkadian *sūnu* and Syriac ܣܘܢܘܐ); sʾinm [šaʾnūmaʾ] "presents" (1.164,2); rʾiš [raʾšū] "head" (1.23.36; the word is always written this way and it may have been pronounced *nʾšū*; the possibility of a *qal* formation is supported by the syllabically written place name from Ugarit, URU^ura-a-ša-sa-ir [Raʾšasāʿir] "Stormy headland(?)" [PRU VI 10,8]; the meaning

of *r'uš* [2.63,9] is not clear in its context, so it is difficult to know if this is another example of “head”; one can hardly agree with Tropper [1990c:365] that this is an example of $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ shift in this word); *y'ihd* [*ya'hudu*] “he will take, seize” (1.103+1.145,7); *y'isp* [*ya'supu*] “he gathers” (1.12 II,24;1.107,41,42,43); *m'it* [*m'itu*] “hundred” (4.163,14); *gm'it* [*gami'ti*] “are you (f.s.) thirsty?” (1.4 IV,34); *m'id* [*ma'da*] “much, very” (1.14 I,23; cf. the plural form written syllabically *ma-a-du-ma* [*ma'(a)dūma*] [*Ug* 5 137 II,36]; see Rainey 1970a:182, *contra* Blau and Greenfield [1970:17] who interpret the form as a singular with an adverbial suffix).

Vowelless aleph Represented by 'a

There are very few examples of 'a for a vowelless *aleph*. Blau and Loewenstamm (1970:23; also Blau 1985:294) argued that 'a expressed vowelless *aleph* when it was preceded by an *a*-vowel. In fact, most of their examples can be understood differently, that is, the 'a may simply express the vowel of the *aleph* (Tropper [1990c:366] argued that in these spellings, the 'a represents \bar{a} , but that explanation is hardly credible). The following are some examples:

y'asp (1.107,36) and *t'asp* (1.175,3) — It is possible that these forms are not [*ya'supu*] “he gathers” and [*ta'supu*] “you (m.s.) gather” (in these cases the usual spellings are *y'isp* [1.107,42] and *t'isp* [1.19 II,17]) but [*ya'assipu*/*yu'assipu*] and [*ta'assipu*/*tu'assipu*] in the D stem (cf. the D stem in Biblical Hebrew תָּאַסַּפּ [Judg. 19:15]).

y'arš (1.14 I,42) — The reading may not have been [*ya'rišu*] (for which the spelling required is *y'irš*, cf. 2.81,26) but rather D stem [*ya'arrišu*/*yu'arrišu*] “he requests”, (it is less likely that the form is in the N Stem, see Tropper 1991a:356-358).

y'ahd “he seizes” (4.44,28) — The reading may be [*ya'hudu*] or in the D stem [*ya'ahhidu*/*yu'ahhidu*] (it is less likely that the form is in the N stem, see Verreest 1983a:237).

y^la'bd “he loses” (1.11,3) — The reading may be [*ya'budu*] or [*ya'abbidu*/*yu'abbidu*] in the D stem.

w l y'amr “and he does not (/indeed) look(s) at” (1.172,22) — The form can be interpreted either [*wa lā* or *lū/la ya'muru*] or [*wa lā* or *lū/la ya'ammiru*/*yu'ammiru*] (see Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:345).

The certain examples of 'a for vowelless *aleph* are limited in number. Here are two examples: One is the adjectival form from a

place name *m'ahdym* [*ma'hadyūma*] “people from Ma'hadu (4.263,5) beside the customary spelling with 'i, thus *m'ihd*¹ (4.172,6) and *m'ihdym* (4.611,1). Syllabic spellings confirm that the prefix vowel is *a* and not *i* (^{URU}*ma-a-ha-di* [*PRU* III, p. 195 A,6] and ^{URU}*ma-ha-di-ya* [*PRU* VI 79,10]). The other example is the word *m'ad* [*ma'da*] “many, much, very” (1.14 II,35). It is attested once with this spelling beside the very frequent *m'id* (1.14 I,23 and elsewhere; note its use also as a noun, e.g. *m'idy* “my abundance” [2.46,11]). Here must be added the reading *m'ad*(/), the proposed correction for *m'ab* (2.16,11), which also functions as an adverb (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:22).

Vowelless aleph Represented by 'u

The 'u-sign also almost never represents vowelless *aleph*. Most of the cases with 'u may be interpreted differently. *aleph* plus *u*-vowel according to Tropper (1990c:364,367 and 369 n. 42) in many instances reflect *aleph* plus *ō*-vowel resulting from *ā* > *ō*. His explanation must be rejected, since that shift did not take place in Ugaritic at all (cf. Smith 1994:268, n. 93 and also the discussion *infra*, pp. 47-48). The following are some examples:

From the root 'HD “to grasp, seize, hold” there are several examples: the form *y'uḥdm* “he grasps, holds” (1.4 IV,16) may be reconstructed [*ya'hudu-ma*], but also [*ya'uḥudu-ma*] (< *ya'hudu-ma*; for such an assimilation, cf. *infra*, p. 45); *qrt l'uḥd* (1.127,30) may be for [*qarītu tu'had*] “the city was taken” but it could also be [*qarīta ta'hudū*] “they took the city”; *l'uḥd* “(Athtart) holds, seizes” (1.2 I,40) may be [*ta'hudu*] or [*ta'uḥudu*] (< *ta'hudu*); *y'uḥd* “he holds, seizes” (1.103+1.145,17) may be [*ya'hudu*] or [*ya'uḥudu*] (< *ya'hudu*). Examples from other roots: *y'uhb* “he loves” (1.5 V,18) may be [*yi'habu/ya'hubu*] (see Verreet 1983a:237) or [*ya'uhubu*] (< *ya'habu*); *l'us*¹ “you/she gather(s)” (1.1 IV,11; cf. *TO* I, p. 308, n. 4) may be [*ta'supu*] or [*ta'usupu*] (< *ta'supu*); *l'uṣl* “you (m.s.) gather(?), essemble(?)” (1.106,25; cf. *TO* II, p. 187, n. 141) may be [*ta'sulu*] or [*ta'uṣulu*] (< *ta'sulu*); *y'ukl* “he will eat/eats” (4.244,16) may be [*ya'kulu*] or [*ya'ukulu*] (< *ya'kulu*); *t'u¹bd* “(the sun) is perishing” (2.39,21) can be [*ta'budu*] or [*ta'ubudu*] (< *ta'budu*); *m'ud* “much” (1.5 III,22,23; cf. Marcus 1974:405 and *infra*, p. 208) may be [*ma'da*] or [*mu'da*] or even [*mu'uda?*].

In summary, it would seem that the *aleph*-signs were used to express the following values:

$\text{'}u = \text{'}u, \text{'}\bar{u}, \text{'}\hat{o}$ (rarely $\text{'}\emptyset$).

$\text{'}a = \text{'}a, \text{'}\bar{a}, \text{'}\hat{a}$ (rarely $\text{'}\emptyset$).

$\text{'}i = \text{'}i, \text{'}\bar{i}, \text{'}\hat{e}, \text{'}\hat{i}$, and often for $\text{'}\emptyset$ (cf. Huehnergard 1987:268).

For words with final *aleph*, one must distinguish between nominal forms and verbal forms. With nouns (whether absolute [unbound] or construct [bound]) that have *aleph* as their final consonant, the *aleph* reflects its own vowel, i.e. the case vowel (for the case system, cf. *infra*, p. 82). With verbs the final $\text{'}u$ and $\text{'}a$ reflect the vowel of the *aleph* (i.e. *yqtlu* and *yqtla* modal forms, plurals in $-\bar{u}$, 3rd m.s. *qila*, etc.; cf. discussions *infra*, pp. 110 and 101) and $\text{'}i$ reflects vowelless *aleph* (i.e. the *yqtl∅* forms of verbs with final *aleph*), viz. preterite forms $y\text{'}i$ [*yaʃiʔ*] "it went forth" (1.14 II,34) and $t\text{'}i$ [*tispaʔ*] "she ate" (1.96,3); jussive $t\text{'}i$ [*taʃiʔ*] "may it (f.s.) go out" (1.18 IV,24).

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

CONSONANTS

General Remarks

The pronunciation of the consonants in Ugaritic is determined by comparison with other Semitic languages (the pronunciation of classical Arabic, Hebrew and its various traditions, and Syriac in its eastern tradition). For several consonants there is no consistency among the Semitic languages and in such cases it is impossible to reach any clear decision regarding the cognate Ugaritic consonants.

Furthermore, as shall be evident below, Ugaritic shows an inordinate variety of consonantal shifts, interchanges, assimilations, dissimilations, as well as other irregularities. This irregularity or perhaps fluidity in the Ugaritic consonantal inventory contributes to the obscurity of many Ugaritic texts. This inconsistency reflects a number of aspects of the Ugaritic language and scribal culture. First of all, some of the variety reflects the diachronic changes in Ugaritic; these diachronic changes are especially evident in comparing the more archaizing poetic and ritual texts with the prose corpus. The Ugaritic consonantal inventory also reflects some of the cosmopolitan culture of the city reflecting influences of several languages which were used by scribes in ancient Ugaritic including Akkadian, Hittite, Hurrian and Egyptian. Indeed, the scribal culture itself was multinational and some of the irregularities in the consonantal inventory can be accounted for by the different scribal schools at Ugarit.

Consonantal Shifts

d* > *d — The Proto-Semitic consonant *d̄* is generally shifted to *d* in Ugaritic. Thus, for example: *d^lq^ln* [*daqanu*] (< *daqanu*) “beard” (1.5 VI,19); *dbḥ* [*dabḥu*] (< *dabḥu*) “sacrifice” (1.4 III,19); *d* [*dū/dā/dī*] (< *dū/dā/dī*) “which”, “of” (1.4 III,31 and elsewhere; cf. Biblical Hebrew ך [Exod. 15:13; Isa. 42:24], Aramaic ܕ [Ezra 4:11] and Phoenician 𐤃 [*KAI* 1,1; 4,1]; see also Dahood 1965:7 and the bib-

liography cited there); *mǵd* [*maǵdū*] (< *maǵdayu?*) “food, rations(?)” (1.14 II,31; perhaps the form is from the root *ǴDW*, cf. Renfroe 1992:60-61).

In several words this shift did not take place and etymological *ǵ* was preserved. These words often contain a guttural or *r*, e.g. in forms of the root ‘*DR* “to help”, *yʿǵr^lk* [*yaʿdurukā*] “he will help you (m.s.)” (1.18 I,14) and ‘*drt* [*idirtu*] “help” (1.140,8); *dr^rh* [*dīrāʿuhū*] “his arm” (1.5 VI,20; 1.6 I,4); *dmr* [*damīru?*] “trooper” (1.3 II,14); *yǵmr* [*yadammīru/yudammīru*] “he sings” (1.108,3); *pǵh* [*paduhū*] “his (fine) gold” (1.2 I,19,35; for discussion cf. Smith 1994:293-294); *dnb* [*danabu*] “tail” (1.114,20).

In the texts 1.12 and 1.24 the *ǵ* is written in words where the shift had already taken place, e.g.: *ʾahǵ* [*ʾahada*] “he grasped” (1.12 II,32; usually written *ʾahd* in Ugaritic); the relative pronoun *ǵ* (1.24,45; usually written *d* in Ugaritic). Those two texts may represent an archaic spelling and thus reflect an earlier stage in the development of Ugaritic (these texts also contain other consonantal shifts not typical of normative Ugaritic, cf. discussion below). Therefore, it is doubtful if those particular words were actually pronounced with [ǵ] (cf. Ullendorf 1962:350 and Blau 1968b:524 n. 8). It is also probable that those two texts were written by a foreign scribe, perhaps a Hurrian.

It would appear that the shift *ǵ* > *d* took place in Ugaritic after the invention of the Ugaritic alphabet (in contrast to the shift *ǵ* > *š* [cf. below] which has taken place prior to the use of that alphabet, since *ǵ* is not represented at all in Ugaritic writing). Once the shift *ǵ* > *d* occurred, the sign for *ǵ* was left devoid of meaning. Therefore, the Ugaritian scribes began to use it for representation of a foreign sound (particularly in Hurrian words and in foreign personal names). There are those who claim that the *ǵ*-sign was pronounced *ž* (cf. Garr 1986:47 n. 21), but there is no firm basis for this.

Sometimes the *ǵ*-sign represents a voiced allophone of a phoneme of which the unvoiced reflex is generally written by the *t*-sign (there are some instances when the *š*-sign was used; cf. discussion below).

In a few cases the *ǵ*-sign stands for another Proto-Semitic phoneme. Thus, e.g. the spelling of *yǵmr* “he sings” (1.108,3; from the root *DMR*) is strange, since in Arabic and in Aramaic the root is *žMR*. It may be conjectured that the original root was *DMR*. In Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician it shifted to *žMR* and afterwards

it was borrowed from them to Aramaic and Arabic (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:334-336). On the other hand, the root ζMR might have been the original, while the Ugaritic $ydmr$ might be a combination of the root \underline{DMR} "strength" with ζMR "to sing" (cf. Blau and Greenfield 1970:12; Blau 1977b:82-83). Another explanation may be that the form $ydmr$ is a scribal error and it is the result of attraction from the word \underline{dmr} "strength" which appears twice elsewhere in the same text (cf. lines 21 and 24).

The term 'addy [Addādyu] "Ashdodite" (4.635,16 and elsewhere) is always written with \underline{d} . The Egyptian spelling of this place name is šdd , indicating that the Egyptian s (š) stood for Semitic \underline{t} (cf. Cross and Freedman 1964:48-49). If this explanation is correct, then the Ugaritic spelling may represent an assimilation of the voiceless \underline{t} to the next voiced d , that is, the phoneme \underline{t} became \underline{d} (cf. Blau 1977b:79 and Huehnergard 1987:225 n. 73). On the other hand, it may be that the Ugaritic scribe really heard \underline{t} in that geographical name; since in his own language that phoneme was already pronounced š (or less likely š), he avoided the \underline{t} -sign and chose the \underline{d} -sign which represented the closest phoneme in his repertoire.

The \underline{d} -sign stands for š in the word kdd "a conquest(?)" (1.5 I,17; 1.133,8; *contra* Margalit [1980:100-101] and Renfroe [1992:100-101] who treat the word as a combination of the preposition k - plus the noun \underline{dd} with the meaning "like a teat"; for the possibility of viewing this form as a verb cf. *infra*, p. 108) alongside the spelling tkšd (1.5 I,16). The \underline{d} seems to stand for an original Proto-Semitic š ; as the result of assimilation of unvoiced š to the following voiced d (cf. in this regard, Blau 1977b:77; Garr 1986:47; Huehnergard 1987:279 n. 53). At the same time, we also may have here a scribal error, since the signs \underline{d} and š are somewhat similar in shape (cf. *TO* I, p. 242, n. 7).

d — The d -sign represents the original d and also Proto-Semitic \underline{d} which had shifted to d . The root DR^c "to sow" is problematic, since we would expect the first radical to be z instead of d (cf. the cognates in Arabic and Aramaic). It may be that in the Semitic languages the roots DR^c and ζR^c were both in use (cf. Gordon 1965:27) or else the Ugaritic DR^c is a contamination of \underline{DRW} "to scatter" and ζR^c "to sow" (cf. Dahood 1965:7; Blau 1977b:85 and Loewenstamm 1980:161). On the other hand, it is possible that Phoenician ζR^c (< \underline{DR}^c) was borrowed into Aramaic and passed

from there to Arabic. The various explanations of this phenomenon still do not carry conviction.

d > s — The phoneme *d* had always shifted to *s* in Ugaritic, e.g. *ʾarš* [ʾaršu] (< ʾardu) “land, ground” (1.3 III,16) and *sʾin* [sʾnu] (< daʾnu) “small cattle” (1.6 I,22).

On occasion one may find *z* instead of *s*, e.g. from the root *YŠ* (< *YD*) “to go out” — *zʾi* [zʾī] “go out! (f.s.)” (1.12 I,14,19); from the root *ŠHQ* (< *DHQ*) “to laugh” — *yšhq* [yīšhaqu] “he laughs” (1.4 IV,28), but also *yzhq* [yīzhaq] “he laughed” (1.12 I,12). The change to *z* may have come about after the shift *d* > *s* took place (cf. Greenfield 1969:95; Garr 1986:48). However, it is also possible that the *z*-sign simply represents *s* in that particular text, namely 1.12 (cf. Blau 1972:71). For the form *mḥšt* [maḥaštū] (< maḥaštū < maḥadītū) “I destroyed” (1.3 III,38,41,43,45) see *infra*, p. 28.

z > ḡ — The Proto-Semitic consonant *z* is normally preserved in Ugaritic (as in Arabic). In other Semitic languages it shifts to *s* (Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian) or *t* (Aramaic).

Examples of Ugaritic words with *z*: *ʾz* [ʾzbyhʾ] [zabyuhū] “his gazelle” (1.15 IV,18); *zl* [zillū] “shadow” (1.14 III,55); *ʾzm* [ʾazmu] “bone” (1.19 III,11); *ʾzm* [ʾazūmu/ʾazīmu/ʾazīmu] “mighty, strong” (1.2 IV,5; 1.3 I,12); *qz* [qēzu/qīzu] “summer” (1.20 I,5); *ḥzr* [ḥaziru] “courtyard” (1.4 IV,51).

The Proto-Semitic consonant *ḡ* is also found in Ugaritic, in words such as: *ḡlm* [ḡalmu/ḡlāmu?] “boy” (1.15 II,20); *ṣḡr* [ṣaḡīru] “young” (1.22 I,4); *ṛḡbt* [raḡibīṭ] “(are you) hungry (f.s.)?” (1.4 IV,33). Ugaritic is the only Northwest Semitic language in which the consonant *ḡ* has been preserved. (Contrary to the opinion that the *ḡ*-sign was only another symbol for the consonant *ʿ* as was claimed by Ružička 1954:221-233; Rössler 1961:158-172; cf. also Emerton 1982:31-50). In addition, the *ḡ*-sign also served in the spelling of foreign words (cf. Segert 1989:287-300).

Nevertheless, the phoneme *z* sometimes shifts to *ḡ*. The nature of this shift is not clear (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1967:300-315; for an explanation of interpreting the sign *ḡ* as polyphonic, representing the *z* also, cf. Ginsberg 1946:48). The shift *z* > *ḡ* finds expression in the following words: *ḡr* [ḡūru] “mountain” (1.4 VIII,5; 1.5 V,13); *ḡmʾit* [ḡamiʾīṭ] “(are you) thirsty (f.s.)?” (1.4 IV,34; cf. the form *mzmʾa* [muzammaʾa] “shrunk(?)” [1.15 I,2], which apparently seems to have

preserved the original consonant z [cf. Blau 1977b:75]; but the meaning might be “thirst”); forms from the root NGR “to guard” (1.23,73; 2.47,2); from the root MGR “to arrive” (1.4 III,24; 1.12 I,36); and from the root YQG “to be awake, to wake up” or “to attune (the ear)” (only in 1.16 VI,30,42).

These examples of the shift $z > g$ may reflect dialectal mixture. On the other hand, the particular forms may be explained by other means. The form $w\ tgg$ can be interpreted as the Gt imperative of the root YQG ($< YQZ$), but the root might also be TQG “to incline (the ear)” in parallel to the Gt of the root SM “to heed” (cf. Oberman 1946:244 n. 25 and Blau 1977b:71 n. 13). The word gr “mountain” has been compared to Biblical Hebrew צור and to Aramaic טור while the Biblical Hebrew term does not mean “mountain” (even in the parallelism of Num. 23:9 כִּי־מֵרָאשׁ צָרִים אֶרְאֶנִּי וּמִגְבְּעוֹת אֲשׂוּרָנִי “From the top of the cliffs I see him, from the hills I behold him”, the meaning of צָרִים can be “elevated cliffs”). The root GM might represent a mixture of ZM and GM (cf. Blau 1977b:72). Therefore, one may say that the shift $z > g$ is quite restricted and somewhat doubtful.

$z > t$ — The word h_zr “courtyard” is documented in Ugaritic (1.4 V,1 and elsewhere), but it is also found twice in the spelling htr (1.100,68; 1.114,18). The word m_zll “shelter” (1.4 I,12,17) is written once m_tll (1.117,6; cf. *Ug* 7, p. 67).

It is possible that in these two instances there was a shift of $z > t$ known from Aramaic. These spellings point to the fact that in spoken late Ugaritic the transition from z to t was already completed (see Loewenstamm 1980:370). It could be that in Ugaritic they pronounced the words h_zr and m_zll with t although they wrote them with the z -sign, i.e. the spelling with z -sign could be an archaism (cf. Blau 1968b:524 and 1970b:43; Freilich and Pardee 1984:25-36).

z/t Interchanges — There are a few words in which z is written in place of an original t , e.g. l_zpn (1.24,44) beside the normal $ltpn$ “compassionate” (1.6 III,4 and elsewhere); z_hm (1.24,21) beside thm “pure ones” (1.4 V,19,34).

These variants may indicate a different dialect from the normative speech of Ugarit or they might be the result of foreign influence (perhaps Hurrian; cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1975b:103-108). Otherwise, the sign z might just represent t as a

result of hyper correction, since, as we have seen above, in at least one dialect the z was shifted to t (in the form ht). Since the scribe was familiar with that shift, he made hyper corrections and the t was written with z (cf. Blau 1978b:43; for the possibility that we deal here with a shift and not with an interchange see Albright 1950a:387).

$\check{s} > t$? — A possible example of this shift may appear in Ugaritic $htbn$ [$hitbānu/hutbānu$] “account” (4.158,2; 4.337,1). There are indications that the root $H\check{S}B$ is Proto-Semitic, at least as indicated by Aramaic $H\check{S}B$ (not $*HTB$) and Arabic $H\check{S}B$. The Biblical Hebrew root $H\check{S}B$ could, of course, derive from either HTB or $H\check{S}B$. On the other hand, the Egyptian verb $H\check{S}B$ “to reckon up” suggests that there was an Afro-Asiatic root that passed to the Semitic languages as a *Kulturwort*. Thus the Ugaritic root could reflect a cognate to the Egyptian root, while the other Semitic languages may have combined HTB “to reckon” with $H\check{S}B$ “to think” (cf. Rainey 1966:260-261; 1970b:535; 1971a:159; Blau and Greenfield 1970:13; Blau 1977b:74).

$\acute{s} > \check{s}$ — The phonemes \acute{s} and \check{s} are both written with one sign which was evidently pronounced as \acute{s} . Thus one finds $\acute{s}m'al$ [$\acute{s}im'ālu$] (< $\acute{s}im'ālu$) “left” (1.2 I,40; 1.23,64); $\acute{s}d$ [$\acute{s}adū$] (< $\acute{s}adayu$) “field” (1.3 III,17; 1.4 VIII,25); \acute{s} [$\acute{s}ū$] (< $\acute{s}ayu?$) “sheep” (1.40,17; 1.43,6); $b\acute{s}r$ [$ba\acute{s}aru$] (< $ba\acute{s}aru$) “flesh” (1.4 II,5; 1.15 IV,25). Among verbs there are $N\acute{S}$ (< $N\acute{S}$) “to lift up, carry” (1.6 I,14; 1.19 II,56); $\acute{S}N$ (< $\acute{S}N$) “to hate” (1.4 III,17; VII,36); $\acute{S}MH$ (< $\acute{S}MH$) “to be happy” (1.4 VI,35; 1.10 III,37); $B\acute{S}R$ (< $B\acute{S}R$) “to bring good news” (1.19 II,37).

$w > y$ — As in the other Northwest Semitic languages, so also in Ugaritic, the *waw* at the beginning of a word shifted to *yod* (cf. Moscati 1969:46 and 164). For a noun, note yrl [$yarhu$] (< $warhu$) “month” (1.105,15 and elsewhere). In verbs with 1st *waw*: YBL (< WBL) “to bring, transport” (1.4 V,17 and elsewhere); YTB (< WTB) “to sit” (1.5 VI,12 and elsewhere); $Y\acute{S}N$ (< $W\acute{S}N$) “to sleep” (1.14 I,31); YRD (< WRD) “to descend” (1.14 II,26 and elsewhere). For examples of such a shift in verbs with Third *waw*/*yod* verbs cf. *infra*, p. 161.

This shift did not take place in the conjunction *w-* [*wa-*] just as in all Northwest Semitic languages (cf. Moscati 1969:121). Two verbs

in which the shift did not occur are *WTP* “to spit” (1.4 VI,13) and *WSR* “to chasten, instruct” (1.16 VI,26). Note also the preservation of the *waw* in the Third *waw/yod* verb forms *ʾaškw* [ʾašhuwa] “let me repose” (1.14 III,45) and *ʾatwt* [ʾatawat] “she arrived” (1.4 IV,32).

The same shift takes place in the verb *YLD* (< *WLD*) “to bear”, but there are instances where the root seems to be *WLD* (e.g. 1.14 III,48; VI,33). However, the particular forms in question may actually begin with the *w*-conjunction, that is *wld* < **w yld* (with syncope of the *yod*, i.e. [wālādu < wa-yalādu]; cf. Ginsberg 1946:40 and Tsumura 1979:779-782).

Interchanges

ḥ/h — In a small number of texts both these consonants are represented by the *ḥ*-sign which might be an indication of an interchange of *ḥ/h* or it could less probably indicate a shift of *h* > *ḥ* (cf. Speiser 1964:42-47). Note, for example, *yph* “witness” (4.31,9) beside the regular orthography in the other texts, *yph* (4.258,5 and elsewhere); also *qmḥ* “flour” (5.22,17) beside the normal spelling *qmḥ* (1.71,25); or *ḥln* “window” (5.22,27) instead of *ḥln* (1.4 VII,17); *mpḥ* “key” (5.22,12) instead of the expected form **mpḥ*; *ʾahnnn* [ʾahāninnannū/ʾahanninannū] “I shall favor him” (2.15,9) beside the form in the same text *ḥnny* [ḥāninnī/ḥanninī] “favor (m.s.) me!” (2.15,3; the *yod* seems to be *mater lectionis*; cf. Liverani 1964:175; de Moor 1965:360; Krahmalkov 1969:264; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1974a:471).

š/t/ṣ — In the combination *b* *ØØ* ‘*Ør Ømn*’ “with sixteen (jars of) oil” (4.31,2) the circle (written here with *Ø*) stands here for Proto-Semitic *t*, *ś* and *ṣ*, i.e. normal Proto-Ugaritic would have been: *bt* ‘*śr śmn*. Since *ś* and *ś* were identical in Ugaritic (most likely pronounced as *š*), it is also possible that in the dialect of the scribe who wrote this particular text *t*, *ś*, and *ś* were all pronounced the same, either as *š* or as *ś* (cf. Ullendorf 1962:348-351). For that reason, the scribe evidently used the *Ø* to represent all three phonemes, which were identical to his ear. His dialect might thus have been the same as that for which the “Phoenician” alphabet was devised, since there, also, there is only one sign (called *šīn/šīn* today) used for all three phonemes.

l/r — Note *qr* [qāru/qōru?] “voice, sound” (1.14 III,16) beside the normal *ql* [qālu/qōlu] (1.14 III,17). The first example might be a

scribal error, but it could also be a real interchange of *r* and *l*.

g/q — Note *l'igt* [*la'ig(a)tu*] “bellowing” (1.14 III,16) beside *l'igt* (1.14 V,8).

t/t — This interchange is found in personal names only, e.g. *tlmyn* [*talmīyānu*] (2.11,3; 2.12,4) beside *tlmyn* (4.277,7); *yplṭ* [*yaplutū*] (4.214 IV,4) alongside *ypltn* [*yaplutānu*] (4.277,4).

g/h — This interchange is attested in personal names, such as *'bdyrġ* [*'abdūyargū/'abdiyargū*] (4.277,2) instead of the expected **'bdyrġ*; *ġym* [*ġīyyārānu?*] (4.277,3) instead of *hym* (4.75 III,11; IV,11); *šgr* (4.277,13) beside *shr* (4.609,7). All of the instances are from the same text. It would appear that this interchange is due to Hurrian influence (cf. Gordon 1965:33 and Gröndahl 1967:21).

Assimilations

b (*Before Unvoiced Consonant*) > **p** — This change of *b* to *p* is due to a partial assimilation of *b* (with vowel after it or without it) to the following unvoiced phoneme (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:50-53; Greenstein 1976:51 and most recently Garr 1986:45-57). This phenomenon is known from other Semitic languages (cf. Moscati 1964:25-26; Sarfatti 1992:43-44). In Ugaritic, note: *nbkm* [*nab(a)kūma*] “springs, water sources” (1.105,10; 4.141 III,13) and *mbk* [*mabbaku*] (< *manbaku*) “water source” (1.4 IV,21; cf. נְהָרוֹת מְבָכִי “sources of rivers” [Job 28:11] and the suggested emendation by Albright [1955:8] in Prov. 8:24 מְבָכִי (!)־מְעִינֹת בְּאֵין חִלְקֹתֵי הַבְּאֵרִים הַמְּחֹמְרוֹת חִלְקֹתֵי “When there were no depths I was brought forth, when there were no springs of water sources[!]”, substituting מְבָכִי for נִכְבְּרִי “abounding”[?] on the basis of comparison with Ugaritic). Then there is *npk* [*napku*] “water source” (1.14 V,1). The root *BKY* “to weep” appears in many inflected forms (1.16 I,55 and elsewhere), but one time it is written with *p* instead of *b*, viz. *w tḫy* [*wa-tapkiyu*] “and you (m.s.) weep” (1.107,11; in line 8 the word is written with *b*). Note *hbt* [*hubtu*] “yeoman, type of soldier” (2.17,1; 3.3,4) beside *hpt* (1.14 II,37). Normally *lbš* [*libšu/lubšu?*] “clothing” (4.146,1) and plural (or dual) *lbšm* (4.146,6) beside an instance of *lpš* [*lipšu/lupšu*] (1.5 VI,16).

p (*Before Voiced Consonant*) > **b** — This change of *p* to *b* is due to a partial assimilation of *p* (with vowel after it or without it) to

the following voiced phoneme (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:50-53; Greenstein 1976:51 and most recently Garr 1986:45-57). Note the following examples: the root *P^cL* "to do, to make, to work" (1.13,21) beside *yb^cl* [*yib^calu*] "he will make" (1.17 VI,24; cf. Grabbe 1979:307-324) and *b^clm* [*bā^cilūma*] "workers" (4.360,2,5,7,11) and *yrh* 'ib^clt "(a name of a month)" (1.119,1) instead of the expected **yrh* p^clt (cf. ררר פעלת in Phoenician [*KAI* 38 B,2]).

mš > pš — The frequent Ugaritic form *špš* [*šapšū*] "sun" (1.78,3 and elsewhere) can be explained as a shift of *šamšū* to *šapšū* i.e. a partial assimilation of a bilabial nasal consonant has become a voiceless stop due to the *š* which follows (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:52).

bm > mm ? — *ybmt* [*yabam(a)tu*] "progenitress (of heroes)" (1.4 II,15; 1.17 VI,19) beside *ymmt* (1.3 III,12). This change in this word may be due to the partial assimilation of *b* to the following *m*, although there is a vowel between the two consonants (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:59).

bm > bb — Note *b mqr* [*bi-maqârî*] "at the water source" (1.14 V,2) beside *b bqr* [*bi-baqârî*] (1.14 III,9). This assimilation takes place although there is a vowel between the two consonants. It may have come about due to the influence of the preposition *b*.

dq > tq — This assimilation is attested in the personal name *štqšlm* (2.19,4,10,14) beside *šdqšlm* (4.165,11). It seems that *d* became *t* through partial assimilation to the following emphatic *q* (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:51; Gordon 1965:477; Gröndahl 1967:23,44-45,185 and Loewenstamm 1980:370).

št > št — This assimilation is found only in the verbal form *mḥšt* [*maḥaštū*] "I destroyed" (1.3 III,38,41,43,45). It seems that the original form was **mḥšt* [**maḥaštū*] which became *mḥšt* [*maḥaštū*] through partial assimilation of the emphatic *š* to the following *t*, a phonetic change otherwise unattested in West Semitic languages (cf. Held 1959:169-176; Loewenstamm 1980:465-466).

št > tt — This assimilation is known from the Š stem. (It seems that it also took place in the Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and in South Arabian Inscriptions; cf. Albright 1948:19 and Beeston 1962:40). The

š-morpheme of that stem assimilates to a *t* in either first and second place in a verbal root, although there is a vowel between the two consonants. Clear examples are from the root *YTB* "to sit, dwell" and from *TWB* "to return": *yttb* [*yataṭṭibu/yutaṭṭibu*] (< *yašaṭṭibu/yušaṭṭibu*) "he will return" (1.41,45); *w ttb* [*wa-taṭṭib*] (< *wa-šaṭṭib*) "and send (m.s.!)'" (1.14 III,32); *ytt^fbn¹* [*yaṭōṭṭibannū/yuṭōṭṭibannū*] (< *yašawṭṭiban-hū/yušaṭṭibanhū*) "he seated him" (1.6 VI,33); *tttb* [*tataṭṭib/tutaṭṭib*] (< *tašaṭṭib/tušaṭṭib*) "may she send back" (2.12,14); *ttb* [*taṭṭib*] (< *šaṭṭib*) "send back! (f.s.)" (2.11,17; 2.13,13).

The form *tttkm* [*tataṭṭkirūna/tutaṭṭkirūna?*] (< *tašaṭṭkirūna/tušaṭṭkirūna*) (1.15 I,3) seems to be from the root *TKR*(?), but the meaning is uncertain (cf. *TO* I, p. 536, n. b).

A similar assimilation occurred in the ordinal number *tdt* [*tādītu/tadītu?*] (< *šādītu/šadītu?*) "sixth" (1.41,45; in Arabic the *t* assimilated to the *š* [*šādīšu*] while both of the *š*'s appear as *s*, viz. *sādīsu*). The same assimilation appears in the cardinal number *tt* [*tittu*] (< *šidtu*) "six" (4.244,19 and elsewhere). It may be that a similar shift took place in the cardinal number *ilt* [*talātu*] "three" (4.616,1 and elsewhere). There is a reasonable basis for the assumption that the original root was **SLT* (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:56,68 and Blau 1972:80). Since in Ugaritic the *š* has shifted to *š*, it would seem that that language reflects here the process [*talātu*] (< **šalātu?* < **šalātu?*) (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:59-60).

Assimilation of d to the Following t or t — Such as *tt* [*tittu*] (< *tīdtu* < *šidtu*) "six" (4.244,19 and elsewhere; note that the radical *d* is preserved in the ordinal number *tdt*, cf. above); *'aht* [*'ah(h)attu*] (< *'ah[h]attu*) "one (f.)" (4.410,6 and elsewhere); in the verbal dual form *y^fl^t* [*yalattā?*] (< *yaladatā*) "they gave birth (f.du.)" (1.23,53; cf. the Biblical Hebrew form *וַיִּלְדּוּ* "to give birth" [1 Sam. 4:19] for *וַיִּלְדּוּ* [Gen. 4:2]; it seems that assimilation took place in the Ugaritic form although there was a vowel after the *d*); *l yrt* [*lū/la-yarattā*] (< *lū/la-yaradtā*) "may you (m.s.) go down" (1.5 I,6); *'aht* [*'ahattā*] (< *'ahadtā*) "you (m.s.) took, grasped" (1.16 VI,51; following Rainey 1973:55, contra Segert [1984:143] who interpreted the form as "sister"); *mšmt* [*mašmattu*] (< *mašmadtu?*) "bond, treaty" (6.27,1; following Dahood 1965:64; Dietrich and Loretz 1966:206-245, contra Knapp [1975:101] who interpreted the form from the root *ŠMM* "to contract").

Assimilation of l in Forms from LQH “to take” — This assimilation is known both from verbal and nominal forms (a phenomenon familiar from Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew). Note the following examples: *’iqh* [’iqqahu] (< ’ilqahu) “I will take” (1.14 IV, 41); *yqh* [yiqqahu] (< yilqahu) “he will take” (1.23,35); and also in the noun *mḡhm* [maqqahāma/i] (< malqahāma/i) “tongs” (4.127,4; cf. the syllabic documentation *ma-qa-ḥa me-e* [maqqahā mē] “water tongs” [PRU VI 157,14]). As in Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician (cf. 𐤍𐤒𐤕 in KAI 122,2), the *l* did not assimilate in the N stem, e.g. *nlqht* [nalqaha] “it was taken” (4.659,1).

Assimilation of n — As in the other Northwest Semitic languages (in Eblaite and Amorite this assimilation does not always occur) and in Akkadian, the medial *nun* not followed by a vowel assimilated to the following consonant, e.g. *’at* [’attā] (< ’antā) “you (m.s.)” (1.13,11 and elsewhere; cf. the syllabic documentation, *at-ta* [Ug 5 130 II,4’]); *’ap* [’appu] (< ’anpu) “nose” (1.71,6,8; cf. the syllabic attestation *ap-pu* [Ug 5 137 II,19’]); *bt* [bittu] (< bintu) “daughter” (4.659,7 and elsewhere; cf. the syllabic attestation *bi-it-ti* [RŠ 1957.1,18], *bi-it-ta* [RŠ 1957.1,6,10]; see Rainey 1973:57, *contra* Fisher [1971b:11] who interprets it as part of feminine personal name); *ypt* [yapattu?] (< yapantu?) “a cow” (1.10 III,3; cf. TO I, p. 286); *gt* [gittu] (< gintu) “wine-press” (3.5,7); *mbk* [mabbaku] (< manbaku) “water source” (1.4 IV,21); *tš^ou* [tišša’u] (< tinša’u) “she lifts up, she raises” (1.6 I,14; II,11); *yš^lq^l* [yiššaqu] (< yinšaqu) “he kisses” (1.23,49); *tgrk* [taḡḡurūkkī] (< tanḡurūkkī) “may they protect you (f.s.)” (2.11,8; for the suggestion that this form derives from the root ḠWR, cf. Loewenstamm 1972:67-70); *ytšⁱ* [yittaša’/yittašī] (< yintaša’/yintašī) “he raised himself” (1.40,24); *ytt* [yatattī] (< yatanū) “I gave” (1.100,75); *š^lm^lt* [šūmattu] (< šūmantu) “fat” (1.19 III,33); *m^l’^ldb[m]* [muttadibūma?] (< muntadibūma?) “volunteers(?), donors(?)” (4.775,1; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:364); UDU.MEŠ\ma-aq-qa-du [maqqadu] (< manqadu) “grazing right” (PRU III, p. 146,12); ma-qa-bu-ma^{MEŠ} [maqqabūma] (< manqabūma) “hammers” (PRU VI 142,5); *at-ta* [’attā] (< ’attā) “now” (PRU III, p. 19,11). The form *’ady* “my lady” (2.12,2) might represent either [’adattiya] (< ’adantiya < ’adāntiya) or the feminine of *’adu* “father, lord”, cf. *infra*.

There are some instances when the assimilation did not take place. The following are some examples: *mḡntm* [maggintumā/magantumā] “(have) the two of you entreated?” (1.4 III,30); *ynt* [yantantā] “you

(m.s.) gave" (1.6 VI,14); *šnt* [šētintā/šōtintā] (< šaytintā/šawtintā) "you (m.s.) caused to give" (2.36,13; cf. *TO* II, p. 402, n. 174). The *n*-morpheme of the N stem does not assimilate in the form *ynphy* [yin-pahiyu] "(the moon) is seen" (1.163,5; it is less likely to interpret "they are visible" following Dietrich and Loretz 1990a:99). In fact, we would have expected **yphy* [yīppahiyu] (cf. Verreet 1984:310-312 and 1988:21). Besides the normal spelling 'adty "my lady" (cf. *supra*), there is attestation for 'adnty (2.83,5). This latter form may simply be [ʔadantiya] (< 'adāntiya), but there is also the possibility that there was a feminine suffix *-atu* protecting the *nun*, that is 'adānatiya (cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:361; cf. also *infra*, p. 62).

Assimilation of b ? — The words *kbb* [kabkabu] "star" (1.4 IV,17; 1.163,7) and *kbbm* [kabkabūma] "stars" (1.3 III,25; 1.164,15) are attested once in the form *kbbm* (1.10 I,4). This might be a case of assimilation, i.e. [kakkabūma] (< kabkabūma; cf. a similar phenomenon with *kkr* [kakkaru] [< karkaru] "talent" [4.158,14]). But the other form may actually represent the shift of *b* > *w* (cf. Arabic *kawkabu* and Biblical Hebrew כֹּכַב [< *kawkab*] [Num. 24:17]) which in Ugaritic would create a diphthong that would contract, i.e. [kōkabūma] (< *kawkabūma*) (< *kabkabūma*).

Dissimilations

There would appear that dissimilation of consonants can be found in the following cases:

The form *spsg* "glaze" (1.17 VI,36) is also documented *s^fb^lsg* (4.205,14). One may add here the word *šph* [šaphu?] "family, heir" (1.14 I,24) which is also documented once as *^fs^lb^h* (1.14 VI,25). This kind of dissimilation is also documented in personal names, e.g. *ḫtb^l* (4.102,13; 4.425,12) along with *ḫt* (4.123,22; cf. Gröndahl 1967:22). In these instances there may be a case of dissimilation, that is, the consonant *p* differentiated from the following voiceless consonant (*s*, *h* or *t*) and became voiced.

Dissimilation is apparently attested in *ḫmd* [laḫmadu] (< maḫmadu) "desirable thing" (1.4 V,39), beside *mḫmd* [maḫmadu] (1.4 V,32). It is hard to explain the first form as a scribal error because the signs for *mem* and *lamed* are so dissimilar (cf. Albright 1950a:387; Fronzaroli 1955:67).

In the phrase *w bt b^l 'ugr^f t^l* "in the house of the Baal of Ugarit"

(1.119,3) it may be that in the first word there is a dissimilation from **b bt* (cf. *Ug* 7, p. 31).

The word *p'n* [*pa'nu?*] "foot" (2.11,5 and elsewhere) can be compared to Biblical Hebrew פֶּנֶן . If this is true, then Ugaritic *p'n* reflects dissimilation of the two labials, i.e. the *m* dissimilated in nasality to a *n*, namely *pa'mu* > *pa'nu* (cf. Franzorali 1955:67 and Smith 1994:174, n. 109).

The Consonants ' and h

Elision of aleph

The component *'id* [*'idu*] "time(s)" (possibly derived from the noun *yadu* "hand") is appended to numerals, e.g. *tn'id* [*tīnā-'id(a)*] "two times" (2.64,14) and likewise *šb'id* [*šab'a-'id(a)*] "seven times" (2.12,9) beside the attestations in which the *aleph* is missing *šb'd* [*šab'a-d(a)*] "seven times" (2.64,14; 2.68,6) and also *tt'd* [*tītta-d(a)*] "six times" (7.130+4.669,6). Sometimes the two forms (with *aleph* and without it) appear together, thus *šb'd w šb'id* [*šab'a-d(a) wa-šab'a-'id(a)*] "seven times and seven times" (2.12,8) and also *tn'id šb'd* [*tīnā-'id(a) šab'a-d(a)*] "two times seven times" (2.64,14). In all these instances it cannot be discerned whether there was compensatory gemination as the result of assimilation of the *aleph* or vowel lengthening due to the *aleph*'s elision. Further examples are: *'al 'ahdhm* [*'al 'āhūdhum(ū)?*] (< *'al 'a'ḥudhum[ū]*) "I will verily take them" (1.3 V,22, translated after *TO I*, p. 175, nn. *o*, *p*, *q* and 435 n. *a*; for the possibility that it is a G stem *qtl* form or a participle cf. Verreet 1983a:228); *ytmr* [*yit(t)amiru/yit(t)amaru* or *yītamiru/yītamaru*] (< *yī'tamiru/yī'tamaru*) "he views" (1.3 I,22) beside the form with the *aleph*, *y'itmr* [*yī'tamīru/yī'tamaru*] "he views" (1.2 I,32; concerning alternate possibilities for the translation of this form, cf. Verreet 1988:64 with discussion). For elision of the prosthetic *aleph* in the Gt stem imperative, cf. *w tqg* [*wa-t(t)aqiḡ/wa-t(t)aqāḡ*] (< *wa-'iytaqiḡ/wa-'iwtaqāḡ[?]*) "and attune (the) ear!" (1.16 VI,30,42; cf. most recently Tsumura 1991:431; for another view that the root is *TQĠ* in the G stem, cf. Oberman 1946:244 n. 25 and Blau 1977b:71). Perhaps one may also find such an elision in *w tkms* [*wa-t(t)akammisa/wa-t(t)akammasa* or *wātakammisa/wāt(t)akammasa*] (< *wa-'it[a]kammisa/wa-'it[a]kammasa?*) "and he stretched" (1.12 II,54; cf. *infra*, p. 138).

Elision of the consonant *aleph* is also present in the following *nisbe* form: *mḥdy* [*māḥadīyu*] (< *ma'ḥadīyu*) "one from Ma'ḥadu" (4.635,17)

beside instances when the *aleph* is preserved, e.g. the plural *nisbe* form *m'ihdym* [*ma'hadyūma*] "people from Ma'hadu" (4.383,1; 4.611,1; cf. the syllabic documentation ^{URU}*ma-a-ha-di* [*ma'hadi/māhadi*] (*PRU* III, p. 195 A,6) and the noun *ma-ā-ha-^ldu* "town, quay" (*Ug* 5 137 II,21'; *contra* Huehnergard [1987:279 n. 54] who reads *ma-ah-ha-[du]*, i.e. *ma'hadu* > *mahhadu*).

It would appear that the consonant *aleph* sometimes elides at the beginning of a word, e.g. *w'ank 'ny* (< **a'ny*) "and I will answer" (1.2 I,28; cf. Tsumura 1991:428 with discussion and bibliography; Smith 1994:267, n. 88); *'ikm [ēka-ma]* "how" (1.16 I,20), beside the orthography without *aleph* in line 17 (cf. Tsumura 1991:432 with other views and interpretations).

Prosthetic *aleph*

A prosthetic *aleph* can be seen in the following forms: *'išt^cm* [*ištami^c/ištama^c*] "give heed!" (1.16 VI,42); *yrl^c 'ib^clt* "(month name)" (1.119,1) along with the Phoenician month name ירח פעלח without prosthetic *aleph* (*KAI* 37B,2; 43,8; 112,4; cf. Xella 1981:27-28; for the possibility that this component is identical to the *'i* in the personal name יזבל "Jezebel" [2 Kgs 16:31] in the Bible and בעלזובל in Phoenician cf. Benz 1972:289 and Herdner 1978:31). A prosthetic *aleph* is probably to be seen in *'udm^ct* [*udmū^cātu?*] "tears" (1.14 I,28; perhaps the form should be compared to *'dm^ct* [1.19 II,33] without prosthetic *aleph*, but its reading is not certain), *'azmr* [*azmāru*] "branch(es)" (1.41,51; cf. de Moor 1969:177; Levine and de Tarragon 1993:113); *'i^ctml* [*itmālu?*] "yesterday" (1.119,19; cf. Xella 1981:32) and *'irby* [*irbiyu^c/irbiyu*] "locust" (1.14, II,50).

Elision of *h*

The third person suffix pronoun is written *-h* and sometimes *-nh*, but sometimes the latter form appears without the *hé*, probably indicating gemination of the *nun* (cf. Good 1981:119-121; cf. also the discussion herein under personal pronouns, *infra*, p. 53).

The consonant *h* might also be elided in the form *b btw* [*bi-bētūw*] (< *bi-bētūhū*) "in his house" (3.9,4; cf. Freedman 1979:192; cf. Biblical Hebrew פיו "his mouth" [2 Kgs 4:34] alongside פיהו [Prov. 16:23], אביו "his father" [Gen. 2:24] alongside אביו [Judg. 14:19]). The orthography *b btw* may be taken as a scribal error (cf. Rainey 1973:61; 1987:401; perhaps the *waw* has to be seen as dittography of the *waw* in the following line [cf. *KTU*², p. 203, n. 1]). However,

one has to note that, since the orthography of this tablet seems to indicate an unpracticed hand, it may reflect a different school or more likely a non-Ugaritic scribe.

The consonant *h* drops from the root *HLM* “to strike, to smite” in the forms *’alm* [ʾālumu] (< ʾahlumu) “I will strike, I will smite” (1.82,8; cf. *TO* II, p. 66, n. 182); *ylm* [yālumu?] (< yahlumu) “he strikes, he smites” (1.2 IV,16,24) and with suffix pronoun *y.lmn* [yālumnan(n)ū] (< yahluman[n]ū) “he strikes/smities him” (1.114,8). However, it is also possible that two roots were in use in Ugaritic, namely *HLM* and *YLM* and both served in suppletion (cf. *HLK* and *YLK* in Ugaritic and in Biblical Hebrew; cf. Ginsberg 1936:76).

It would appear that the consonant *h* elides from the root *HDY* “to lacerate, to cut” (cf. Renfroe 1992:45-48) in the form *ydy* [yādīyu] (< yahdīyu?) “he lacerates” (1.5 VI,18; cf. Tropper and Verreet 1988:344; Tropper 1990a:376-377; or perhaps the root is *YDY*) alongside the normal form *yhdy* [yahdīyu] in the same text (1.5 VI,19).

On occasion the consonant *h* elides after the conjunction *w-*, e.g. *w hm* [wa-him(m)a] “and if” (2.3,8,18; 2.30,16,18) but *w m* [?] (< wa-him[m]a) “and if” (3.9,6; it is not necessary to assume that it is *aleph* elided as suggested by Tsumura 1991:432; *KTU*², p. 203 reads wrongly *km*); *w hn* [wa-hinnī?] “and behold” (1.23,46) but *w n* [?] (< wa-hinnī) “and behold” (1.4 IV,50; cf. Garr 1986:52 n. 50); *p n* [?] (< p hn?) “and behold” (1.114,12; cf. Rainey 1974:186; but the word could be a verbal form of the root *PNY* “to turn”, cf. Loewenstamm 1980:376).

Dropping of the consonantal *h* in the pronoun interrogative impersonal *mh* [mah] “what?” is apparently found in the combination *m’at* [mā’attā/mā’attā] (< mah ʾattā) literally “what are you?” (1.14 I,38; cf. Ginsberg 1946:35), but here in the meaning “what is it to you?”

Expanding Words by Addition of *h*

The consonant *h* serves to expand short words (a phenomenon known from Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic and Phoenician; cf. Smith 1994:235, n. 29). Note the following Ugaritic examples: *’amht* [ʾamahātu] “handmaidens” (1.4 III,21,22; cf. Biblical Hebrew מַחֲמֵט [Gen. 31:33]); alongside the regular plural *’ilm* [ʾilūma] “gods” (1.4 V,1 and elsewhere) there is the expanded form *’ilhm* [ʾilahūma] “deities” (1.39,3,5,9; 1.41,12) and in the feminine *’ilht* [ʾilahātu] “goddesses” (1.4 VI,48,50; the base for these plurals may be *’ilāhu* and not *’ilu*); and also *bhtm* [bahatūma] “houses” (1.4 VI,27; 2.31,48) with the vari-

ant *bwtm* [*bawatūma*] (1.105,9; *contra* Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín [1975a:560] who take the *waw* here as a vowel indicator) along with the unexpanded form *btm* [*bētūma*] (< *baytūma*) “houses” (1.48,4; cf. *TO* II, p. 167); *’umht* [*’ummahātu*] “mothers” (1.15 I,6) is the plural of *’um* [*’ummu*] “mother” (1.14 I,9 and elsewhere); *ḏrt* [?] (1.14 III,47) “dream, vision” alongside the expanded variant *ḏhrt* [?] (1.14 I,36); *qrht* [*qarāhātu/qarahātu*] or [*qarḥātu/qarīhātu*] “towns, citadels” (4.95,1; 4.235,1; the base for this form may be bi-consonantal, cf. Biblical Hebrew קִרְמוֹצָב [Isa. 15:1] and קר “town” in the Meshah^c Inscription, line 11 (cf. Huehnergard 1987:286 n. 86).

***h/’* Interchanges**

The normal orthography of the conditional particle is *hm* [*him(m)a?*] “if” (2.3,8,18; 2.30,16,18), but there is also an attestation for *’im* [*’im(m)a?*] (1.6 V,21; 2.15,8). Perhaps this is not an interchange of *h/’* but rather a loss of the consonantal *h*, while the vowel is preserved so that the *aleph* is simply prosthetic (cf. Dahood 1965:35; Greenstein 1973:161; Althann 1977:525-526).

TABLE OF CONSONANTS

Proto-Sem.	Ug.	Clas. Arab.	Akk.	Heb.	Mid. Aram.	Egyptian transcriptions			
						Prd I	Prd II	Prd III	Prd IV
ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ, ʰ	ʾ	ʾ	ī	ī	ī-(⁶)	ī
b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
g	g	g	g	g	g	k, q	g, k	q	g
d	d	d	d	d	d	d	t	d	t
<u>d</u>	d*, <u>d</u>	<u>d</u>	z*	z*	d*		ʔ?		
h	h	h	ʰ, ʰ*	h	h	h	h	h	h
w	w	w	w, ʰ, ʰ*	w	w	w	w	w	
z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	
<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	ʰ, ʰ*, <u>h</u> *	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>
<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u> *	<u>h</u> *	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>h</u>
t	t	t	t	t	t	d, t	d	d, t	
z	z, g*	z	z*	z*	t*	z	z		
y	y	y	y, ʰ*	y	y	y	y	y	y
k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	
l	l	l	l	l	l	r*	r*, nr*	r*	r*
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
s	s	s	s	s	s	s, š	š		š
ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʰ, ʰ*	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ
g	g	g	ʰ, ʰ*, <u>h</u> *	ʿ	ʿ	q*, g*	g*	g*	q
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p, f	p, f	p, f
š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š
<u>d</u>	š*	<u>d</u>	š*	š*	ʿ	š	š	š	š
q	q	q	q	q	q	q, g	q, g	q, g	q, g
r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
š	š	š	š*	š*	š*	š	š*	š	š
š	š*	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š
<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>t</u>	š*	š*	t*	š	š	š	š
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t

Table of consonants including transcriptions in Egyptian of Northwest Semitic words. * = deviations from Proto-Semitic.

VOWELS

General Remarks

Understanding the vowel system is perhaps the most difficult problem in the study of Ugaritic. Apart from the three *aleph*-signs, the Ugaritic alphabet does not indicate vowels. On the basis of the three *aleph*-signs it is assumed that the Proto-Semitic vowel system did not undergo change in Ugaritic (apart from the contractions to be discussed below). It would appear that Ugaritic had three short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) with three long vowels (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*). There were apparently also an *ô* and an *ê*. Vowel length in Ugaritic is posited on the basis of comparison with other Semitic languages and also according to our knowledge of certain vowel contractions. For example, in the word *ʾar* the theme vowel must be long, i.e. *ʾāru* "light" because of Biblical Hebrew אֵר (*< ʾāru*), etc. Further assistance in determining vowels may be derived from the Akkadian syllabic texts written by Ugaritian scribes. In those texts there are embedded Ugaritic words (approximately 300 words) written in syllabic orthography which makes them useful for understanding the vowels of Ugaritic.

Diphthongs

The diphthongs *ay*, *aw*, *iy*, *uw* all contracted without exception. The orthographies of words originally containing such diphthongs do not have a written *yod* or *waw*.

ay > *ê* — Although the resultant vowel is written *ê* in the ensuing discussion, there is also the possibility that it might have been *î* as in Akkadian. Nevertheless, note that the name of the second letter of the alphabet is written *be* for *bê[ti]* (5.14,2). The following are some examples: *bt* [*bêtu*] (*< baytu*) "house" (1.4 IV,50,62) and *btm* [*bêtūma*] (*baytūma*) "houses" (1.48,4, alongside the regular form *bhmt* [*bahatūma*] [1.4 VI,27]; cf. *TO* II, p. 167); *qz* [*qêzu*] (*< qayzu*) "summer" (1.20 I,5; cf. the example from a Byblos Amarna letter *qê-e-sî* [*qêšî*] [*EA* 131,15]); *zt* [*zêtu*] (*< zaytu*) "olive" (1.5 II,5); *yn* [*yênu*] (*< yaynu*) "wine" (1.4 III,43); *ʾik* [*ʾéka*] (*< ʾayka*) "how" (1.6 VI,24,26); *št* [*šêtu*] (*< šaytu*) "thorn bush" (1.175,5; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297); *hmt* [*hêmatu*] (*< haymatu*) "tent" (1.14 III,55); *mrt* [*mêratu?*] (*< mayratu?*) "new wine" (2.34,32; cf. *TO* II, p. 345, n. 32); *mntm* [*mêtanātāma/i*] (*< maytanātāma/i*) "two gifts" (1.109,7; cf. *Ug* 5,

p. 593; this form might also be [*môtanātāma/i*] [< *mawtanātāma/i*]; *ntn* [*nētana*] (< *naytana*) “(wine) was given” (4.219,1; it seems to be a N stem form; cf. p. 152; it might also be [*nôtana*] [< *nawtana*]) and possibly *bnt* [*banētū*] (< *banaytū*) “I built” (1.4 VI,36; it can also reflect [*banītū*] [< *baniytū*], cf. Biblical Hebrew בָּנִיתִי [1 Kgs 8:27] and the Amarna form $\text{ba}^1\text{-}^1\text{ni}^1\text{-}^1\text{ti}^1$ [*EA* 292,29]).

These contractions are also expressed in the syllabic transcriptions of Ugaritic words, e.g. *hē-qu* [*hēqu*] (< *hayqu*) “bosom” (*Ug* 5 137 I,9’); *mì-te* [*mi’tē*] (< *mi’tay*) “two hundred (of)” (*PRU* III, p. 169,14).

ay > â ? — This contraction is probably known from the particle *’an* [*’āna?*] (< *’ayna*) “where” (1.6 IV,22; cf. Biblical Hebrew אָן [1 Sam. 10:14] and אָן [Gen. 37:30] alongside אָנָה [Gen. 29:4]). However, the form *’an* might be the 1st c.s. independent pronoun (cf. Gordon 1965:361, no. 237, and also *TO* I, p. 264, n. *n*).

aw > ô — Throughout this work the resulting vowel is transcribed as *ô*, but the possibility remains that it might have been *û* as in Akkadian. The following are examples: *mt* [*môtu*] (< *mawtu*) “death” (1.6 II,9); *tk* [*tôku*] (< *tawku*) “midst” (1.4 III,13; 1.12 I,21); *’u* [*’ô*] (< *’aw*) “or” (1.16 I,22); *msdt* [*môsadātu*] (< *mawsadātu*) “foundations, fundamentals” (1.4 I,40); *mā* [*môda’u?*] (< *mawda’u?*) “why” (1.107,10; cf. Biblical Hebrew מָדָע [Gen. 26:27 and elsewhere] with assimilation of the *waw* or the *yod*; cf. *TO* II, p. 98, and n. 301); *mtb* [*môtabu*] (< *mawtabu*) “seat” (1.4 I,14,16), a contraction attested also in syllabic spelling, *mu-ša-bu* [*môtabu*] “seat” (*Ug* 5 137 III,32’); *mznh* [*môzanuhū?*] (< *mawzanuhū?*) “its weight” (2.81,25; 4.341,1); A.ŠA.MEŠ *mu-ba-li* [*môbali*] (< *mawbali*) “yield, load” (*PRU* III, p. 148,8); *’ušn* [*’ôšānu?*] (< *’awšānu?*) “gift” (1.14 III,31; the root is probably *’WŠ*, cf. Renfroe 1992:16); *’nn* [*’ônānu?*] (< *’awnānu?*) “servant” (1.4 IV,59; the root seems to be *’WN*, cf. Renfroe 1992:22); *yšš’a* [*yašōšī’a/yušōšī’a*] (< *yašawšī’a/yušawšī’a*) “he will bring forth” (2.15,5; *contra KTU*², p.166 which reads *šš’a*); *mšš’u* [*mušōšī’u*] (< *mušawšī’u*) “the one who brings forth” (1.17 I,27,45); *l tššy* [*lā tašōšīyu/tušōšīyu*] (< *lā tašawšīyu/tušawšīyu*) “do not (m.s.) suppress (your lips)!” (1.82,5; it is unlikely to interpret the form from the root *’NŠY* “to forget”, cf. de Moor and Spronk 1984:239; *TO* II, p. 64). The word *ym* “day” is found many times in Ugaritic (1.14 III,10 and elsewhere). The most likely reading is [*yômu*] (< *yawmu*), but [*yamu*] has been suggested. The syllabic documentation is not particularly helpful,

since the attested orthography is *PI-mu* (*Ug* 5 137 IVa,17; 138,2), and the *PI*-sign can be read *ya*, *yi*, or *yu* (on this topic see Kutscher 1970:18-19 and Rainey 1972:186). Still, if the scribe had intended to express [*yamu*], it is most likely that he would have written *ia-mu*, not *PI-mu*. That he did write *PI-mu* strongly suggests that he did not intend to reflect an *a*-vowel, i.e. he most likely intended the reading *yu-mu* for [*yômu*]. A dubious form is *šnt* [*šanôttî?*] (< *šanawtî?*) “I am fast” or “I do quit” (1.3 IV,33). Its root is probably *šNW* (cf. *TO* I, p. 171 and Smith 1995:792-793).

iy > **î** — *hmt* [*hāmîtu*] (< *hāmiytu*) “city wall” (1.14 II,22; IV,4; cf. the syllabic attestation *\ha-mî-ti* [*PRU* III, p. 137,4]); *qrt* [*qarîtu*] (< *qariytu*) “town, citadel” (1.23,3; cf. the syllabic documentation *qa-ri-tu*₄ [*Ug* 5 130 III,18]); *g't* [*ga'îtu*] (< *ga'iytu?*) “neighing” (1.14 III,18); *tnt* [*tanîta*] (< *taniyta*) “(the) second time” (1.175,16; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297); *štt* [*šatîttî*] (< *šatiyttî*) “I have drunk” (1.4 III,14; the verbal form is *qatil* of the G stem, cf. *infra*, p. 162); *'abn* [*'abnî*] (< *'abniy*) “I will repair” (1.18 IV,40; though the form may actually be D stem, i.e. *'abannî* [< *'abanniy*]); *y'îp* [*ya'pî*] (< *ya'piy*) “let him bake” (1.14 II,30); *yr* [*yîrîl*] (< *yiryayu*) “he shoots” (1.23,38).

This contraction also seems to be reflected in syllabic attestation: *šî-tu* [*šîtu*] (< *šiytu*) “to put, place” (*Ug* 5 130 III,10); *šî-i-ru* [*šîru*] (< *šiyru*) “song” or “to sing” (*Ug* 5 137 III,7).

uw > **û** — The examples of this contraction are dubious: *kst* [*kisûtu?*] (< *kisuwtu?*) “garment” (1.19 I,36; or perhaps [*kisîtu*] [< *kisiy-tu*]); and also *ytn* [*yûtan?*] (< *yuwotan*) “may it be given” (1.3 V,3; cf. an alternate explanation on p. 127).

ya > **î** ? — This contraction is probably reflected in syllabic corroboration: *i-šá'a* [*îša'a*] (< *yaša'a?*) “it went out” (*PRU* VI 101,4; cf. Rainey 1973:45-47, *contra* Huehnergard 1987:133); *i-bi-la* [*îbila*] (< *yabila?*) “he brought” (*PRU* VI 134,3,5,7; 145,2; for the possibility that the *î*-vowel is a result of an Akkadian influence cf. Kühne 1973:188-189).

yi/ya/yu and **wi/wa/wu** — The diphthongs discussed in this section are found in word medial or word final position. They are treated in two different ways in Ugaritic: they are contracted (perhaps contracted to the vowel of the diphthong) or else they are

uncontracted. It would appear that there is no consistency in these contractions. One may even find words which behave in both ways (cf. Sivan 1982b:209-218).

The following are examples of contraction in word medial position: *mqr* [maqâru] (< maqwaru/maqyaru) “(water) source” (1.14 V,2); *mqmh* [maqâmuhû] (< maqwamuhû/maqyamuhû) “his place” (1.14 II,1; III,23); *mşd* [maşâdu] (< maşwadu/masyadu) “provisions” (1.14 II,26); *mşdh* [maşâdah] (< maşwadah/masyadah) “to the fort” (1.112,19; cf. *Ug* 7, pp. 25-26); *mşq*^l [maşûq(a)tu] (< maşwuq[a]tu/masyuq[a]tu) “stress” (1.103+1.145,19; cf. Herdner 1978:60 and Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:122; this can also be considered as [maşâq[a]tu] [< maşwag[a]tu/masyaq[a]tu]).

On the other hand, the diphthong is preserved in *mrym* [maryamu] “height” (1.4 IV,19; 1.5 I,11) alongside the contracted form *brmt* [bi-marâmâti] (< bi-maryamâti) “in the heights” (1.169,7; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:348; Caquot 1984:170; *TO* II, p. 57, n. 137). A similar phenomenon is known from Biblical Hebrew. Beside מְרִיב “contention” (Jer. 15:10) one finds מְרִיבִים “contentions” (Prov. 18:18 and elsewhere in Proverbs) and מְרִיבִים (Prov. 18:19; Qeri מְרִיבִים; and elsewhere, e.g. Prov. 21:9,19); beside מְעוֹן “shelter” (1 Sam. 2:29, from ‘*WM*) there is מְעוֹן “spring” (Lev. 11:36, from the root ‘*YN*).

Examples of contraction in word final position: *pr* [pîrû/parû] (< pîryu/paryu) “fruit” (1.5 II,5; 1.85,14); *’ah* [’ahû?] (< ’ahwu?) “meadow” (1.10 II,9,12; cf. Rainey 1971a:169); *hr* [hîrû/harû?] (< hîryu/haryu?) “pregnancy, impregnation” (1.23,51,56); *şp* [şîpû/şapû] (< şîpyu/şapyu) “viewing, seeing” (1.14 III,45; the form might be an infinitive, i.e. [şapâ < şapâyû]); *’un* [’unû?] (< ’unyu?) “mourning” (1.5 VI,15); *şbm* [şîbû-ma/şabû-ma] (< şîbyu-ma/şabyu-ma) “captivity” (1.83,8; cf. *CDUL* [forhcoming], *contra* others who interpret the form from the root *ŞBM* “to muzzle”, cf. Barr 1973:17-39; Loewenstamm 1980:466 and *TO* II, p. 29, n. 46).

By contrast, there are instances when the diphthong is preserved: *’z¹by* [zabyu] “gazelle” (1.15 IV,18); *zrw* [zurwu?] “balm(?)” (4.402,11; cf. the syllabic transcription from El-Amarna letters *şu-ur-wu* [*EA* 48,8]); *thw* [tuhwu] “wasteland” (1.5 I,15; cf. *TO* I, p. 241, n. *m*); *’arw* [arwu?] “lion” (6.62,2; cf. Xella 1981:295-296) and the syllabic attestation from Ugarit *\’si-il-yu* [silyu] “imprecation, curse” (*Ug* 5 130 III,16; cf. Hillers 1976:18; Blau and Loewenstamm 1971:7-10).

Words in which the diphthong is sometimes contracted and some-

times preserved: ${}^1g^1d$ [gadú] (< *gadyu*) “kid” (1.23,14; cf. *TO* I, p. 371, n. *p*) along with the plural *gdm* [gadúma] (< *gad[a]yūma*) “kids” (1.3 II,2; 1.17 VI,21; cf. *TO* I, p. 157, n. *d*) beside *gdy* [gadyu] “kid” (4.150,3); likewise *bk* [bikū/bakū] (< *bikyu/bakyu*) “weeping” (1.6 I,9) or with the diphthong *bky* [bikyu/bakyu] (1.16 II,41). Still, the spellings with *yod* may not necessarily reflect the consonantal nature of the *yod*, they may be historical spellings. The argument that the contraction took place with *qil* forms and not with *qatl* is refuted by those examples (*contra* Huehnergard 1987:288 n. 93).

Diphthongs in which the *yod* or the *waw* is geminated are found in Ugarit and they do not contract. Thus, 1aylm [ʿayyalūma] “bucks” (1.6 I,24); 1wr [ʿawwiru/ʿiwwiru] “blind (m.s.)” (1.14 II,46; IV,24); ${}^1w^1r^1t$ [ʿawwir(a)tu/ʿiwwir(a)tu] “blind (f.s.)” (1.19 IV,5); and perhaps ${}^1sw^1d^1$ [šawwād(a)tu] “hunter (f.s.)” (1.92,2; cf. *TO* II, p. 32, n. 52).

Triphthongs

The triphthongs behaved in two ways in Ugaritic, sometimes they are preserved (as evidenced by the orthography with *yod* and *waw*) and there are other instances when they are contracted. The syllabic attestations indicate that the final vowel of the contracted triphthong prevailed in most cases (see exceptions *infra*) and formed compound vowels. This can be seen in the following examples: $\backslash\check{s}a-du-ú$ [šadū] (< *šadayu*) “field” (*Ug* 5 137 II,35); *ma-aš-nu-ú* [matnū] (< *matnayu/matniyu*) “response, a repeated saying” (*Ug* 5 137 II,41); *hu-wu-ú* [huwwū] (< *huwwayu*) “to give life” (*Ug* 5 137 II,17); *ma-aš-na* [matnā] (< *matnaya*) “secondly” (*PRU* III, p. 109,4).

Apparently there was no systematic rule in the behavior of the triphthongs. Neither was there any influence on the part of the first vowel of the triphthong on the resultant behavior (cf. Sivan 1982b:209-218). The ensuing examples represent cases in which the triphthongs are preserved, others where they are contracted and also some which alternate between contraction and preservation.

Preserved Triphthongs

1apy [ʿāpiyu] “baker” (4.362,4,5); *bny* [bāniyu] “builder, creator” (1.6 III,5,11 and elsewhere); *hy* [hiya] “she” (1.19 IV,39); *hw* [huwa] “he” (2.61,6; cf. the syllabic spelling *ú-wa* [*Ug* 5 137 II,28]); *my* [miya] “who” (1.16 V,14); ${}^1yq^1n^1y$ [yaqniyu] “he creates” (1.19 IV,58); *tgly* [tagliyu] “she reaches” (1.16 VI,4); 1atwt [ʿatawat] “she came” (1.4

IV,32); *mǵyt* [*maǵayai*] “she arrived” (1.4 II,23; III,24); *ʿlyt* [*ʿalayai*] “she went up” (1.176,6; for the possibility to interpret it as 2nd m.s., cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:351).

Triphthongs with long vowel: *b/kyt* [*bākiyātu*] “weepers, mourning women (f.pl.)” (1.19 IV,9-10); *tštyñ* [*tšštayūna*] “they drink” (1.22 I,22,24); *ššqy* [*šššqiyē*] “give to drink! (f.s.)” (1.17 V,19); *ʿšty*¹ [*šštayū*] “drink! (m.pl.)” (1.23,6).

Reduced Triphthongs

šd [*šadū*] (< *šadayu*) “field” (1.6 II,34; cf. the syllabic corroboration *ša-du-ū* [*Ug* 5 137 II,35]); *š* [*šū*] (< *šayu/šiyu*) “sheep” (1.39,2; 1.43,6); *ʿl* [*ʿalū?*] (< *ʿaliyu/ʿalayu*) “leaf(?)” (1.85,21); *dw* [*dawū*] (< *dawiyu*) “sick, ill” (1.16 II,20,23); *mks* [*maksayu/maksiyu*] “covering, garment” (1.4 II,5); *mt* [*matū*] (< *mantiyu*) “staff” (1.23,37,40); *qš* [*qašū*] (< *qašayu/qašiyu?*) “edge” (1.6 II,11; some derive this form from the root *QSŠ* “to cut”, cf. Gordon 1965: 479, no. 2259); *ʿl* [*ʿalā*] (< *ʿalaya*) “he has attacked” (2.30,17) and with suffix pronoun *ʿnhm* [*ʿanāhum(ū)*] (< *ʿanayahum[ū]*) “he answered them” (1.23,73; *contra* *KTU*², p. 69 which separates it into two forms, i.e. *ʿn hm*); *yd* [*yadā/yaddā*] (< *yadaya/yaddiya*) “he tossed(?)” (1.17 I,3,4; cf. *TO* I, p. 419); *nʿn* [*naʿnā*] (< *naʿnaya*) “it was answered” (1.24,31; cf. Gordon 1967:100 and n. 53; Herrmann 1968:18; Rainey 1970b:535, *contra* *KTU*², p. 70 which reads *wn ʿn*, viz. two forms); *ʿlt* [*ʿalāl*] (< *ʿalayai*) “she went up” (1.82,9,10); *ʿihd* [*ʿihdū*] (< *ʿihdayu?*) “I am happy” (2.33,21) and *ʿihd* [*ʿihdā?*] (< *ʿihdaya?*) “I am happy” (2.15,10; it is a *yqtlā* form according to the previous verb *yššʿa* [*yašššʿa/yašššʿa*] in line 5; cf. also Verreet 1983a:229 and 1988:218-219); *ʿiph*¹ [*ʿiphū*] (< *ʿiphayu*) “I will see” (1.10 II,32; cf. Verreet 1988:136); *yḏu* [*yidū*] (*yidʿayu*) “he soars” (1.103+1.145,42); *yḗ* [*yirū*] (< *yirayu*) “he shoots” (1.23,38); *tdʿu* [*tidʿū*] (*tidʿayu*) “she soars” (1.16 VI,6); *tgl* [*taglū*] (< *tagliyu*) “she turns” (1.3 V,7); *tzǵ* [*tazǵū*] (< *tazǵuwu/tazǵuyū?*) “she moans” (1.15 I,5; cf. Ginsberg 1946:22,33; Verreet 1988:58 n. 53); *wld* [*wālādu*] (< *wa-yalādu*) “and she gave birth” (1.14 III,48; infinitive absolute of the G stem; cf. Dahood 1965: 25; Tsumura 1979:779-782 and also Verreet 1988:174); *wtn* [*wātīnu*] (< *wa-yatīnu*) “and (Baal) gives” (1.4 V,8).

Contractions of triphthongs with long vowel: *tšštūna* [*tšštūna*] (< *tšštayūna*) “they drink” (1.114,3); *tšit* [*tšitū*] (< *tšitayū*) “they came” (1.20 II,10; cf. Dijkstra and de Moor 1975:114-115; Verreet 1988:135-136 and n. 30, *contra* *TO* I, p. 478 which interprets the form as 2nd m.s.); *dʿi* [*daʿī*] (< *daʿayē*) “take wing!, soar! (f.s.)” (1.16

V,48); 'at [ʔatī] (< 'atawī/'atayī) "come! (f.s.)" (1.1 III,16); qnm [qanūma] (< qanayūma/qaniyūma) "reeds" (4.158,12); ypm [yapūma] (< yapiyūma?) "beautiful (m.pl.)" (1.41,54; cf. Levine and de Tarragon 1993: 114, *contra* KTU², p. 79 which reads *špm*).

In one instance it would appear that the final vowel did not prevail, but rather the initial vowel of the triphthong. This may be perceived from the combination *ʔa šmm* "the heavens became strong" (1.3 V,18; 1.4 VIII,22-23; 1.6 II,25). As for *ʔa* [ʔā] (< *ʔāyū*), it is most likely an absolute infinitive of the G stem used as a finite verb (cf. *infra*, p. 167) and not 3rd m.s. as proposed by Rainey (1969:109) followed by Huehnergard (1987:292 n. 117). Thus, the following can also be explained the same: *w 'n rbt 'aṛt ym* "and the Lady Ashera of the Sea answered (*wa-'anā*) (< *wa-'anāyū*)" (1.6 I,53) and perhaps also *mḡ hw* "he arrived [*maḡā*] (< *maḡāyū*)" (1.23,75).

There are some words that preserve the triphthong in some instances but contract it in others: *šmm* [šamūma] "heavens" (1.5 I,4; 1.23,38) beside *šmym* [šamayūma] (1.19 IV,24,30); *'aḥm* [ʔaḥ(h)ūma] "brothers" (1.22 I,5) beside *'aḥym* [ʔaḥ(h)iyūma] (1.6 VI,10,14; it seems that the *yod* is a root radical here and not a vowel sign; cf. Biblical Hebrew עֲרֵבָהּ "your sisters" [Ezek. 16:52], אֶרְבָּהּ "brotherhood" [Zech. 11:14]); *my* [mayū] "water" (1.19 II,6) alongside *mh* [mūhā] (< *mayuhā*) "her waters (fluids)" (1.3 IV,42); *ty* [tayū?] "donation(?)" (2.13,14; cf. Biblical Hebrew תְּשִׁי [Isa. 18:7]) beside *th* [tūhā] (< *tayuhā*) "her donation(?)" (2.33,29); *bd* [bādī] (< *biyadi*) "in/from the hand of . . ." (4.144,2; cf. the syllabic form from the Amarna letters *ba-di-ú* [bādihū] "from his hand" [EA 245,35]) beside *byd* [biyadi] (1.4 VIII,23; 1.6 II,25). One may add here the verb *tšym* [tštayūna] "they drink" (1.22 I,22,24) alongside *tštāna* [tštāna] (< *tštayūna*) "they drink" (1.114,3).

Assimilations

Assimilation of Vowels to a Labial Consonant

This is found in *'um* [ʔummu] (< 'immu) "mother" (1.6 VI,11; 1.82,9 and elsewhere). This phenomenon is also known from proper names in the syllabic texts found at Ugarit (cf. Sivan 1984a:19).

Assimilation of Vowels to a Strong Thematic Vowel

Such cases can only be demonstrated when the first consonant is *aleph*. In most cases the thematic vowel is long, but there is reason to think that it also occurred in cases where the thematic vowel

was short (*contra* Huehnergard 1987:270). Note the following examples:

'*ulp* [ʔullūpu] (< ʔallūpu) “chief” (1.40,3,20,29; cf. the syllabically written personal name *ul-lu-pi* [ʔUllūpi] [PRU III, p. 194,11]); '*ibr* [ʔibbīru] (< ʔabbīru) “stallion, noble warrior” (1.4 VII,56; cf. the syllabic personal name *i-bi-ra-na* [ʔIbbīrāna] [PRU VI, 45,3,15]); '*uhy* [ʔuhūya] (< ʔahūya) “my brother (nom.)” (2.41,20); '*ihy* [ʔihūya] (< ʔahūya) “my brother (gen.)” (2.41,18; 2.44,2); '*uhh* [ʔuhūhū] (< ʔahūhū) “his brother (nom.)” (4.80,10); '*ihh* [ʔihūhū] (< ʔahūhū) “his brother (gen.)” (4.123,23); '*iy* [ʔiyū?] (< ʔayū? cf. Biblical Hebrew יָהָה [Zech. 1:5]) “where” (1.6 IV,4,5,15,16); '*irby* [ʔirbūyu/ʔirbiyu] (< ʔarbūyu/ʔarbiyu; cf. Biblical Hebrew אֲרָבָה [Jer. 46:23]) “locust” (1.14 II,50; IV,29); '*iršt* [ʔirištu] (< ʔarištu) “request” (4.626,1; cf. the attestation without the shift, ʔaršt [2.45,24] and the Biblical Hebrew אֲרָשָׁה [Ps 21,3]); '*iqn'u* [ʔiqnūʔu/ʔiqnūʔu] (< ʔaqnūʔu/ʔaqnūʔu or ʔuqnūʔu/ʔuqnūʔu) “lapis lazuli” (3.1,23; cf. Akkadian *uqnū*; cf. Marcus 1968:51 and Blau 1979a:60; because of the vocalic assimilation Huehnergard [1987:270] posits a long thematic vowel for this word, but this is not necessary); '*urbt* [ʔurub(b)atu] (< ʔarub[b]atu) “window, transom” (1.4 V,61,64; the gemination in the biblical cognate אֲרָבָה [Hos. 13:3] seems to be secondary; for the possibility that the biblical form was originally *qutul*, cf. Sperber 1938:209); '*udm't* [ʔudmuʔātu] “tears” (1.6 I,10; the *aleph* in this form may be prosthetic); '*itn* [ʔitīnu] (< ʔatīnu) “I give” (2.15,4; cf. Verreet 1983a:229 n. 65); '*irš* [ʔirriš?] (< ʔarriš?) “ask!, request! (m.s.)” (1.17 VI,26; this could have been a G stem imperative rather than a D stem imperative; cf. *infra*, p. 120 and also Sivan 1990a:313-315); '*ištn* [ʔišītn(n)ā/ʔišītan(n)ā] (< ʔašītn[n]ā/ʔašītan[n]ā) “I will put (it)” (2.79,3; cf. Verreet 1988:89, *contra* Bordreuil and Caquot [1979:306] who interpreted it as Š stem of the root *YTN*); '*ad* [ʔadaʔu] (< ʔidaʔu?) “I know” (2.34,30; cf. Sivan 1990a:313-315; Pardee [1984:227] and *TO* II, p. 345, n. 28 read ʔagḏ; *KTU*² reads ʔaxḏ) alongside the regular form ʔidʔ [ʔidaʔu] (1.6 III,8); '*amr* [ʔammaru?] (< ʔimmaru?) “lamb” (1.20 I,10; cf. *TO* I, p. 196, n. *r* and p. 478, n. *e*) beside the regular form ʔimr [ʔimmaru?] (1.6 II,8,22 and elsewhere); '*ibkly* [ʔibkiyu] (< ʔabkiyu) “I will weep” (1.161,13) alongside the regular form ʔabky [ʔabkiyu] (1.19 III,5,20,34; it is possible that both forms represent different original patterns, i.e. *yaqtīl* and *yiqtal*). One may add here the word ʔuzr [ʔuzūru?] (< ʔazūru?) “girded” (1.17 I,2,7). It can be taken as a passive form of the G stem (cf. Sanmartín 1977:369-370; Dietrich and Loretz 1978:65-66).

A problematic form is *'ub'a* "I may enter" (1.100,72). It is written with the *n*-sign instead of the *'a*-sign (the two signs are sometimes confused because of the similarity in their graphic form). It is possible that the same vowel assimilation discussed above was at work here, that is [*'ubū'a*] (< *'abū'a*), but that explanation is a doubtful solution (cf. Verreet 1984:307-308).

This assimilation was not operative in Ugaritic as a general rule. This can be seen from the following instances: *'adr* [*'ad(d)uru/'ad(d)ūru*] "mighty" (1.17 VI,20,21,22; cf. the syllabic writing *a-du-rú* [*Ug* 5 137 II,34]); it is not necessary to assume that in this case the thematic vowel was short as assumed by Blau [1985:293] and Huehnergard [1987:270]); *'a's¹r* [*'asīru/'asīru*] "prisoner" (1.2 I,37; cf. the syllabic attestation ^{LU}*a-si-ri* [*PRU* III, p. 8,24]); in *yqtl* forms of the middle weak verbs in the G stem, e.g. *'amt* [*'amūtu*] "I will die" (1.12 I,23); in forms such as *'ahm* [*'ah(h)āma*] "brothers (obliq.);" (1.22 I,5); *'ahh* [*'ah(h)āhū*] "his brothers (nom.);" (1.12 II,48) beside *'ihh* [*'ih(h)āhū*] "his brothers (nom.);" (1.24,35); *'ahh* [*'ah(h)āhū*] "his brothers (obliq.);" 1.4 VI,44); *'ahh* [*'ahūhū*] "his brother (gen.);" (5.9 I,10); *'ay* [*'ayyī?*] "which, any" (1.23,6); *'almg* [*'almug(g)u?*] "(a type of tree)" (4.91,8; cf. Fronzaroli 1955:61); *'al'iy*n [*'al'iyānu*] "strong, mighty" (1.4 III,23 and elsewhere); *'amš* [*'ammīšu?*] "brave" (2.33,5; cf. *TO* II, p. 328, n. 7).

It is possible that the assimilation took place in the vicinity of a syllable closing *aleph*, so that certain anomalous verbal forms may be explained thus: *y'uḥdm* [*ya'uḥudu-ma*] (< *ya'ḥudu-ma*) "he grasps, holds" (1.4 IV,16); *y'uḥd* [*ya'uḥudu*] (< *ya'ḥudu*) "he grasps" (1.103+ 1.145,17); *y'ukl* [*ya'ukulu*] (< *ya'kulu*) "he will eat/eats" (4.244,16); *y'uhb* [*ya'uhubu*] (< *ya'hubu*) "he loves" (1.5 V,18; the form may be considered as a *yiqtal* form of the G stem; cf. concerning the spellings, *infra*, p. 116). The view that these spellings represent the prefix vowel of the respective verbal forms is not at all likely (cf. Huehnergard [1987:279] who suggests *yuhhubu* < *yahhubu* < *ya'hubu* and similarly for the other forms in this group).

Examples from words without an *aleph* can be discerned only in syllabic script and usually there is a guttural consonant in the root. The singular form of *ṭhm* "pure ones" (1.4 V 19,34) is documented thus: *ṭu-ū-ru* [*ṭuhūru*] (< *ṭahūru*) (*Ug* 5 130 III,19'; cf. Blau and Greenfield 1970:16). So the alphabetic form can be read [*ṭuhūrūma*]. It is possible that in the words *ṭhm* "deep" (1.23,30) and *ṭhmt* "depths" (1.92,5) the assimilation had taken place, i.e. [*tahāmu/tahāmātu*]

(< *tihāmu/tihāmātu*) as can be deduced from, the syllabic form *ta-a-ma-tu*₄ [*tahāmatu*] (*Ug* 5 137 III,34').

Other syllabic examples without alphabetic counterparts are: ^{LÜ}.MEŠ *bi-ḫi-ru* [*bihīrū*] (< *bahīrū?*) "selected ones, elite troops" (*PRU* VI 17:B II,5'); and so too, forms without a guttural consonant in the root: ^{A.ŠA} \š*i-ib-bi-ri* [*šibbīrī*] (< *šabbīrī?*) "collective (fields)" (*PRU* III, p. 79,6; cf. Heltzer 1977:47-55); *ḫe-en-ni-šu* [*ḫinnīšu?*] (< *ḫannīšu?*) "piglet" (*Ug* 5 137 II, 26'; cf. Huehnergard 1987:269); *mī-ḫi-^Lsu¹-ma* [*mihīšūma*] (< *maḫīšūma*) "(kind of implements)" (*PRU* VI 142,4).

Anaptyxis

Anaptyxis can be deduced in the syllabic texts only.

Anaptyxis in Masculine Nouns

With a vowel identical to the cardinal one *i-zi-ir* [*idīr*] (< *'idr*) "help" (*Ug* 5 130 III,7'; it is less likely to read *i-zi-ir-[tu]*₄, cf. Huehnergard 1987:53-54); with a vowel other than the cardinal one ^{A.ŠA.ḪIA} \m*ī-tá-ar* [*mītar*] (< *mītr*) "(fields irrigated by) rain" (*PRU* III, p. 47,12; cf. Sivan 1984a:58,248, *contra* Kühne 1975:257-258 and Huehnergard [1987:119] who read *mī-dá-ar-ū*).

Anaptyxis in Feminine Nouns

Through the addition of *-tu* morpheme and the anaptyxis of the second radical of the root of a monosyllabic element, thus: ^{TÜG}š*ā-ḫar-tu/šā-ḫir-tu* [*šā'artu/šā'irtu*] (< *šā'rtu*) "wool" (*PRU* VI 128,5; cf. Sivan 1984a:58-59). One may add here the place name ^{URU}ia-*ar-ti* [*ya'arti*] (< *ya'rti*) (*PRU* VI 70,18). It also can be that these forms are in feminine disyllabic patterns.

Elision of Unstressed Vowels

This phenomenon can be traced in the syllabic texts only. The following are examples: \t*i-tar-^Lhu¹* [*tī(t)arḫu?*] (< *tiytaraḫu/tiytariḫu*) "she will hurry" (*Ug* 5 3 v, 10'; it is a Gt form, cf. Huehnergard 1987:109-110); ^{LÜ}ha-*ma-ru-ú* [*gamaruhū*] "his tiro" (*PRU* VI 79,11) and ^Lha-*ma-ru-^Lma¹* [*gamarūma*] "tiros" (*PRU* III, p. 196,1) alongside ^{LÜ}ha-*am-ru-<šu>-nu* [*gamrušunu*] "their tiro" (*PRU* VI 79,9) and ^{LÜ}.MEŠha-*am-ru-ma^{MEŠ}* [*gamarūma*] "tiros" (*PRU* VI, p. 150 n. 3). One may find elision of vowels in personal and geographical names (cf. Sivan 1984a:34-36), e.g. ḫa-*ga-ba-na* [*Hagabāna*] (*PRU* III, p. 166,6) but ḫa-

ag-ba-na [*Hagbāna*] (*PRU* III, p. 86,5; *PRU* VI 45,29); ^{URU}*ú-ga-ri-it* [*Ugarīti*] (*Ug* 5 22,3) alongside ^{URU}*u-ga-ar-ti-ya* [*Ugarītiya*] (*PRU* VI 79,15).

Remarks on the ā > ō shift

This shift, known from Biblical Hebrew and from the Canaanite reflected in the El Amarna letters, did not take place at all in Ugaritic. Proof of our assertion can be adduced both from alphabetic examples with *aleph* and from syllabic spellings of Ugaritic words.

Alphabetic Examples

ks'at [*kissī'ātu/kussī'ātu*] "chairs" (1.3 II,21,36; 1.4 VI,52); *'ar* [*'āru*] "light" (1.24,38); *g'an* [*ga'ānu*] (< *ga'wānu/ga'yānu*) "pride" (1.17 VI,44); *m'at* [*m'ātu*] "hundreds" (4.14,3,14); *šm'al* [*šim'ālu*] "left" (1.2 I,40; 1.23,64; 1.92,9; 1.172,12).

Syllabic Examples

The 1st c.s. independent pronoun *a-na-ku* [*'anākū*] "I" (*Ug* 5 130 III,12'; cf. the form used in the Jerusalem Amarna letters, *a-nu-ki* [*'anōkī*] [*EA* 187,66,69]); *ḥa-mi-ti* [*ḥāmīti*] "(city) wall" (*PRU* III, p. 137,4; cf. the form from a Beirut Amarna letter, *ḥu-mi-tu* [*ḥōmītu*] [*EA* 141,44]); ^{LÜ}*sà-ki-ni* [*sākinī*] "commissioner, administrator" (*PRU* VI 7 B,2; cf. the example from a Byblos Amarna letter *sú-ki-na* [*sōkina*] [*EA* 362,69]); and also the forms *a-da-nu* [*'adānu*] "father, lord" (*Ug* 5 130 II,9'); ¹*ḥa¹-ra-¹šú¹* [*ḥarātu*] "to plough" (*Ug* 5 137 III,18'); *ia-ší-ru-ma* [*yāširūma*] "potters" (*PRU* III, p. 195 B I,12); even the negative particle, *l* "no", is attested syllabically, ¹*la¹-a* [*lā*] (*Ug* 5 130,7',12').

Some scholars (e.g. Gordon, Segert, Tropper and others) think that there are cases in which the *ā > ō* shift took place.

The first instance is defined on the basis of personal names having the suffix [-*ūnu*]. It must be remembered that personal names recorded on the documents found at Ugarit are not necessarily Ugaritic; they can also be Canaanite (or from some other linguistic background). At the same time, the names in question may be truly Ugaritic but have a real [-*ūnu*] suffix which has no connection with the [-*ānu/-ōnu*] suffix (cf. Sivan 1984a:27-28). Here is one example among many, viz. the personal name *a-du-nu* (*PRU* VI

139,2); it may be Canaanite and not Ugaritian, in which case it would really reflect $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, i.e. [$\bar{a}d\bar{o}nu$]. But if it must be assumed that this is a Ugaritian name, then it could be formed by $\bar{a}du$ "father" plus the nominal suffix [- $\bar{u}nu$] that serves alongside the suffixes [- $\bar{a}nu$] and [- $\bar{i}nu$]. If that be so, then such forms have no connection with the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ shift (*contra* Segert 1984:35).

The second example is the word $\bar{l}ut$ "lambs" (1.80,3) beside $\bar{l}at$ (1.6 II,29). According to Segert (*loc. cit.*), Gordon (1965:31 n. 2) and most recently Tropper (1990c:365) the form $\bar{l}ut$ reflects the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ shift. But its context does not require the plural, it can most likely be the singular and should be read [$\bar{l}u'tu?$] (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:22 n. 19; also Blau 1985:293). It may very well be that the words $\bar{l}ut$ and $\bar{l}at$ are both feminine forms with different suffixes - $\bar{l}ut$ had the suffix $-tu$ (i.e. $\bar{l}u'tu?$) while $\bar{l}at$ had the suffix $-atu$ (i.e. $\bar{l}u'atu$); for the feminine singular suffix, cf. *infra*, pp. 75-76.

The third example is found in the abecedary text found in Ugarit. The Ugaritic letter *qof* is transcribed in Akkadian *QU*-sign (5.14,13) which may apparently reflect the $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ shift, i.e. $q\bar{a}pu > q\bar{o}pu$ (cf. Cross and Lambdin 1960:25 n. 24; Dahood 1965:8). It may be assumed that the names of the letters found in this text are not Ugaritic but rather Canaanite (cf. Rainey 1971a:158).

CHAPTER THREE

PRONOUNS

INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

In Ugaritic there are several types of independent pronouns — personal pronouns in the nominative (as subject or predicate of the sentence), personal pronouns in the accusative and dependent (genitive) cases (only third person in its various forms), and especially dual personal pronouns (the dual is used extensively in Ugaritic).

Nominative Personal Pronouns

- 1st c.s. ʿan [ʿanā] “I” alongside ʿank [ʿanākū] = syllabic attestation *a-na-ku* (*Ug* 5 130 III,12’).
2nd m.s. ʿat [ʿattā] (< ʿantā) “you” = syllabic *at-ta* (*Ug* 5 130 II,4’).
2nd f.s. ʿat [ʿattī] (< ʿantī) “you”.
3rd m.s. *hw* [*huwā*] “he” = syllabic *ú-wa* (*Ug* 5 137 II,28’).
3rd f.s. *hy* [*hiya*] “she”.

1st c.pl. Unattested.
2nd m.pl. ʿatm [ʿattum(ū)] (< ʿantum[ū]) “you”.
2nd f.pl. Unattested.
3rd m.pl. *hm* [*hum(ū)*] “they”.
3rd f.pl. *hn* [*hin(n)ā*] “they”.

3rd c.du. *hm* [*humā*] “(the two of) them” (thus also: *b hm* [*bi-humā*] “by the two of them [f.]” [1.114,11; Loewenstamm 1980:376]).

NOTES

1. There are two forms for the 1st c.s. (cf. Biblical Hebrew אֲנִי and אֲנִיךָ) of which most other Semitic languages have only one.

From the standpoint of usage there is no difference in Ugaritic between 'an and 'ank. As for distribution, it would appear that 'an is more typical of literary texts while 'ank is characteristic of all kinds of texts. In some texts both pronouns are used together, especially literary passages (cf. e.g. 1.4 IV,59,60; 1.6 II,15,22; 1.17 VI,32,38; *et al.*). It is worthy of note that 'ank is attested once with a suffixed -n, viz. 'ankn [*anākūna?*] (2.42,6). This may be the energetic *nun* typical of verb forms (cf. *infra* concerning the pronominal suffixes for 3rd m.s. and 3rd f.s.).

2. Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether *hm* and *hn* are independent pronouns or suffixes. For example in a sentence such as:

tt ktm hmšt w nšp ksp hn which could mean either "two garments, five (shekels) and a *nšp* of their silver" or "two garments, five (shekels) and a *nšp* of silver are they" (4.132,6-7; cf. Loewenstamm 1980:75).

Oblique

In these positions there are independent third person pronouns (masculine, feminine, plural, dual).

3rd m.s. — *hwt* [*huwāti*] "him", "his, of him" (cf. Akkadian *šū'āti*), for example:

kbd hwt [*kabbidā huwāti*] "honor him (both of you)!" (1.3 VI,20); *d'iy hwt* [*dā'iyu huwāti*] "his pinion" (1.19 III,23); *nmgñ hwt* [*nam-gunu huwāti*] "both of us will beseech him" (1.4 III,36).

3rd f.s. — *hyt* [*hiyāti*] "her", "hers, of her" (cf. Akkadian *šī'āti*), such as:

kbd hyt [*kabbidā hiyāti*] "honor her (both of you)!" (1.3 III,10); *d'iy hyt* [*dā'iyu hiyāti*] "her pinion" (1.19 III,31-32); *dr' hwt hyt yḥsl* "he will destroy the strength(?) of its land [*huwawati hiyāti*]" (1.103+1.145,55; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:154).

3rd m.pl. — *hmt* [*humūti?*] "them", "theirs, of them", e.g.:

d'iy h^fm^ft [*dā'iyu humūti*] "their pinions" (1.19 III,13); *hmt w 'anyt.hm* [*humūti? wa-'an(a)yātihum(ū)*] "them and their boats" (2.42,24); *kl dbrm hm^ft* [*kulla dabarīma humūti*] "all of their things" (2.32,8).

3rd f.pl. — No documentation.

3rd c.du. — *hmt* [*humāhi*] “the two of them (m./f.)”, e.g.:

kbd hmt [*kabbidī humāhi*] “honor (2nd f.s.) the two of them (m./f.)”
(1.17 V,20).

This pronoun apparently means also “of the two of them (m./f.)”, although this meaning is not documented.

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The pronominal suffixes are attached to nouns, prepositions and verbal forms.

Singular

- 1st c.s. The pronominal suffixes affixed to verbal forms are different from those applied to nouns and prepositions:
 Ø [-ī] “my” (on nouns in the nominative case);
 -y [-ya] “my” (on nouns in the accusative or the genitive case);
 -n [-nī] “me” (generally used on verbal forms).
- 2nd m.s. -k [-kā] “your”, “you”.
- 2nd f.s. -k [-kī] “your”, “you”.
- 3rd m.s. -h [-hū] “his”, “him”.
- 3rd f.s. -h [-hā] “hers”, “her”.

Plural

- 1st c.pl. No attestations to examples on nouns in the nominative.
 -n [-nā/-nū?] “our” (on nouns in accusative or genitive).
 -n [-nā/-nū?] “us” (suffix to verbal forms).
- 2nd m.pl. -km [-kum(ū)?] “yours”, “you”.
- 2nd f.pl. -kn [-kin(n)ā?] “yours”, “you”.

3rd m.pl. -*hm* [-*hum(ū)?*] “theirs”, “them”.

3rd f.pl. -*hn* [-*hin(n)ā?*] “theirs”, “them”.

Dual

1st c.du. -*ny* [-*nŷyā/-nāyā*] “our”, “us”.

2nd c.du. -*km* [-*kum(ā)*] “yours”, “you”.

3rd c.du. -*hm* [-*hum(ā)*] “theirs”, “them”.

NOTES

1. When the pronominal suffixes are attached to a noun in the genitive, the case ending is preserved (concerning the cases, cf. *infra*, pp. 82-84).

2. The suffixes for the accusative and those for the genitive are distinguished from one another only in 1st c.s. The morpheme *-n* of the accusative almost certainly originates in the energetic *nun* which strengthens verbal forms, e.g. *yqr.ʿun* [*yiqraʿunī*] “he calls me” (1.5 II,22). The same pronominal *-n* is carried over to the various prepositions, such as *ʿmn* [*immanī*] “with me” (2.38,6). This was apparently by analogy with the accusative 1st c.s. suffixes.

The distinction between the 1st c.s. suffix on a nominative and on an accusative or genitive is expressed orthographically. The following are examples:

w tnḫ b ʿirty nḫš [*wa-tanuḫ bi-ʿirtiya nḫšī*] “and may my soul rest in my breast” (1.6 III,19); *ʿatn bty lh* [*ʿatinu bētiya lehū*] “I will give my house to him” (2.31,66); *l ksʿiy* [*le-kusšīʿiya/kissīʿiya*] “to/from my throne” (2.31,15).

There are instances when the 1st c.s. suffix is expressed orthographically by *yod* even when its governing noun is in the nominative (it holds true in the Amarna letters too; cf. Rainey 1996 I:71-72). The *yod* in such cases might be a vowel marker (concerning *matres lectionis* cf. *supra*, pp. 13-15). For example:

ʿumy idʿ ky ʿrbt l pn špš [*ummī tidaʿ kī ʿarabitū le-panī šapšī*] “may my mother [*ummī*] know that I have entered into the presence of the Sun” (2.16,6-7).

3. The normal suffix for 3rd m.s. is *-h*; e.g. *bnth* [binātuhū/banā-tuhū/bunātuhū] “his daughters” (4.360,3). In the syllabic texts it is expressed by the sign *Ú*, thus [L]Ú \bar{h} a-ma-ru-ú [gamaruhū] “his tiro” (PRU VI 79,11) and LÚ \bar{h} a-^Lam^L-^Lru^L-ú [gamruhū] (PRU VI 79,13; cf. the Amarna forms *ba-di-ú* [bādihū] “from his hand” [EA 245,35], *ma-ah-sú-ú* [maḥsūhū] “they had smitten him” [EA 245,14] and *ah-ru-un-ú* [ahṛōnhū] “afterwards” [EA 245,10]; cf. Virolleaud 1957:203 and Rainey 1996 I:76). In one place there is *-w* instead of *-h*, thus *b btw* [bi-bētūw?] “in his house” (3.9,4). This may be a rare case of elision of the *h* or it may be just a case of scribal error (cf. *supra*, p. 33). However, since the orthography of this tablet seems to indicate an unpracticed hand, it may reflect a different school or more likely a non-Ugaritic scribe.

Sometimes, a *nun* precedes the 3rd person suffix (for masculine or feminine), i.e. *-nh*. This is also probably the energetic *nun* carried over from verbal forms. Sometimes the *h* is assimilated, so that the orthography of the suffix is *-n* or *-nn*. The vocalization of those suffixes is impossible to determine with certainty, so the vocalizations in the following examples are conjectural (there is no basis for the suggestion of Good [1981:119-120] that the suffix *-nn* indicates gemination).

Examples of 3rd m.s. suffixes include ^aq^lbrnh [ʔaqburan(n)ahū] “I will bury him” (1.19 III,5); ^{tš}lynh [tašaʔliyan(n)ahū/tušaʔliyan(n)ahū] “she takes him up” (1.6 I,15); *tbkynh* [tabkiyan(n)ahū] “she weeps for him” (1.6 I,16; the form might also be from the D stem); *tbqʔnn* [tibqaʔan(n)annū?] (< *tibqaʔan(n)anhū?*) “she splits him open” (1.6 II,32; the form could also be D stem); *tšrpnn* [tašrupan(n)annū?] (< *tašrupan(n)anhū?*) “she burns him” (1.6 II,33); *tīhnn* [tiḥhanannū?] (< *tīḥhananhū?*) “she grinds him” (1.6 II,34).

Examples of 3rd f.s. suffixes include ^ʕm¹nh [ʕimman(n)ahā] “with her” (1.5 V,20); *ybnh* [yabilan(n)ahā] “he brings her” (1.100,67); *ytnnn* [yatīnan(n)an(n)annā?] (< *yatinan[n]an[n]anhā?*) “he gives her” (5.9 I,9).

4. While the suffixes for 2nd and 3rd persons plural are distinguished in form from one another, in the dual the masculine and the feminine suffixes are identical in orthography. The following are examples: ^ʕh¹m [gūhumā/guhumā] “their (du.) voice” (1.14 VI,39); *špḥm* [špātuhumā/šp(a)tuhumā?] “their (du.) lips” (1.23,50,55).

5. Sometimes the suffix is separated from its governing word by the word divider, e.g. *yqr.ʔun* [yiqraʔunā] “he calles me” (1.5 II,22; here it is separated together with the root radical *aleph*); *y^ʕmsn.nn*

[*ya'ammisan(n)an(n)annū/yu'ammisan(n)an(n)annū*] “he conveys him” (1.114,18); *b'l ymšh.hm* [*ba'lu yimšahuhumā*] “Baal will anoint them (= the two horns)” (1.10 II,23); and also in the prose sentence *lm l ytn.hm mlk* [*le-mā lā yatīnuhumā malku*] “why doesn't the king give them (= the 2000 horses)?” (2.33,25-26). One may deduce from this last example that the dual suffix [-*hm*] replaces the dual independent pronoun (*contra* Loewenstamm 1980:77 n. 104), since it is well known that the word divider sometimes separates the components within a construction (cf. *supra*, p. 11f.).

6. The suffix pronoun for the 1st c.du. is [-*ny*]. It is impossible to know the nature of the *nun* in this suffix. The same suffix is affixed to nouns, to prepositions and also to verbal forms. Note the following examples: *b'lny* [*ba'lunīyā/ba'lunīyā*] “our (du.) lord” (2.70,1,8); *'adtny* [*'adat(ḥ)unīyā/'adat(ḥ)unīyā*] “our (du.) lady” (2.11,1,5,15); *'mny* [*'immanīyā/'immanīyā*] “with/to the two of us” (2.16,14); *qhny* [*qahanīyā/qahanīyā*] “take (m.s.) both of us!” (1.82,8).

DETERMINATIVE PRONOUNS

(Concerning these pronouns, cf. Loewenstamm 1959:72-81).

- m.s. *d* [*dū/dā/dī*] “which”, “of which” (cf. the syllabic attestation *du-ú* [*Ug 5 137 II,29*] with Arabic *dū*, Biblical Hebrew ך/ך and Aramaic ܕ).
- f.s. *dt* [*dātu/a/i*] “which”, “of which”.
- m.pl. *dt* [*dātu/i?*] (cf. Akkadian *šūt*).
- f.pl. *dt* [*dātu/i?*].

NOTES

1. It is impossible to determine whether these pronouns inflected for case endings. Comparison with Arabic permits the assumption (without confirmation from the Ugaritic data) that the case vowel (cf. *infra*, p. 82) of these pronouns, when they were serving as the

appositional possessive, was identical with that of the nouns of which they were in apposition. And when the pronouns served as relatives, they took the same case ending as the governing noun.

The following are examples of both these functions:

ykr 'r d qdm [*yakurru 'ira dā qadmi/qidmī*] “he goes around(?) the city of the east (accusative)” (1.100,62; cf. Pardee 1988:215 and n.88); *w y'n lṭpn 'il d p'i'dl* [*wa-ya'nī laṭṭpānu 'ilu dū pa'idl*] “and the Compassionate, God of Mercy, answered” (1.4, IV, 58); *spr nṭš d 'rb bt mlk* [*sipru nṭšī dū 'araba bēta malkī*] “document of the personnel (soul[s]) that have entered the king's house” (4.338,1-2); *'irštk d ḥsrt* [*'irīštukā dū ḥsirtā*] “your (m.s.) request that you were lacking” (2.41,16-17); likewise in the sentence *bd rb ḥršm d šš'a ḥwyh* [*bādī rabbi ḥarrāšīma dī šōš'a ḥwyh(?)*] “. . . in the charge of the chief of the craftsmen who has produced his *ḥwy*” (4.145,9-10).

2. It would appear that the use of the pronoun [*dū/dā/dī*] (whether as a possessive or a relative) was not constant as seen in the following sentences:

'abn brq d l tš šmm rgm l tš nšm [*'abnū baraqi dū lā tida'ū šamūma rgmu lā tida'ū našūma*] “hail stones which the heavens have not known, a word (which) the people have not known” (1.3 III,26-27); [*š*] *r pldm dt šrt* [*aš(a)r(u) paladūma/paladūma dūtu/i ša'arti/ša'irtū*] “ten bolts(?) of wool” (4.270,8). In line 12 of this latter text there is a similar clause without the relative pronoun: *'šr pld šrt* [*aš(a)r(u) paladu/i ša'arti/ša'irtū*] “ten bolt(s) (of) wool” (4.270,12).

3. The masculine pronoun [*dū/dā/dī*] sometimes serves as feminine singular, masculine plural and feminine plural instead of the customary *dt*. The following are examples of all these pronouns:

d [*dū/dā/dī*]

Masculine Singular:

w y'n lṭpn 'il d p'i'dl “and the Compassionate, the God of (*dū*) Mercy, answered” (1.4, IV, 58); *m'i'dl'm yn ḥsp d nkly b db'h¹* “two hundred (jars) of wine of pouring(?) which (*dī*) has been expended at the feast” (4.213,24); *mrzḥ d qny šmmn* “the *marzihu* which (*dū*) Shamumānu established” (3.9,1-3).

Feminine Singular:

ḥry . . . ḏ^l k n'm 'nt n'mh . . . d b ḥlmy 'il y^ln^l “Ḥurāya . . . whose (*dū*) charm is like the charm of Anat . . . whom (*dū*) El bestowed in my dream” (1.14 III,39-46).

Masculine Plural:

ṭṭm ḥzr w 'št 'šr ḥrš d tb'ln b 'ugrt “twelve *ḥzr*-personnel and eleven craftsmen who (*dū/ṛ*) are working in Ugarit” (4.141 III,7-8); *ṭṭt 'ad^lr^lm d b grn* “beneath the mighty ones that (*dṭ*) are in the threshing floor” (1.17 V,6-7).

Sometimes the pronouns *d* and *dṭ* are used together, e.g.:

ṭṭm ḥzr w 'št 'šr ḥrš d tb'ln b 'ugrt ṭṭm ḥzr dṭ tb'ln b gt ḥrtm “twelve *ḥzr*-personnel and eleven craftsmen who (*dū/ṛ*) are working in Ugarit; twelve *ḥzr*-personnel who (*dātu/ṛ*) are working in Gath-Ḥārīṭīma” (4.141 III,7-11).

Feminine Plural:

ksp 'anyt d 'rb b 'anyt l mlk gbl “ship-money which (*dū*) has been given as boat-guarantee to the king of Byblos” (4.338,11-12; cf. Pardee 1975:364); *ṭṭt mrkbt mlk d l špy* “three chariots of the king that (*dū/ṛ*) were not plated” (4.167,5-6).

dt [*dātu/a/i* (f.s.) or *dūtu/i* (c.pl.)]

Feminine Singular:

'anykn dṭ Pikt mšrm “the ship that (*dātu*) you sent to Egypt” (2.38,10-11; the component *kn* is not clearly understood); *tqḥ mlk 'lmk drkt dṭ drdrk* “take your eternal kingdom, your everlasting dominion (*dātu*)” (1.2 IV,10).

Sometimes the form *dṭ* stands in apposition to a masculine singular antecedent, e.g.:

šd 'ubdy 'ilštm' dṭ bd skn “indentured(?) field of Ilištam'ū which (*dātu*) is in the charge of the commissioner” (4.110,1-2; it is possible, however, that the word *šd* is plural construct); *dbḥ dṭ n'at* “a feast/sacrifice of (*dātu*) n'at” (1.127,3-4; following Loewenstamm 1980:69 n. 73a; still, *dṭ* here might be plural); *kbd dṭ ypt* “the liver of (*dātu*) Ypt” (1.143,1; one may determine from this combination that the word *kbd* is feminine in Ugaritic; cf. Ditriech and Loretz 1990b:6).

Masculine Plural:

bnšm dt 'i' alpm lhm "men who (*dūtu*) have oxen" (lit.: "to whom there are oxen")" (4.422,1); *r'ym dt bd 'iytlm* "the shepherds (*dūtu*) in the charge of Iyatalmu" (4.374,1); *'glm dt šnt* "calves of (*dūtu*) (one) year" (1.22 I,13); *št gbnm dt ksp dt yrq nqbnm* "he placed harness of (*dūti*) silver, of (*dūti*) trappings (of) gold" (1.4 IV,10-11); *hty bnt dt ksp hkly 'dt'm hys 'dbt* "I have built my houses of (*dūti*) silver, my palace of (*dūti-ma*) gold I have made" (1.4 VI,36-38); *w mnm š'alm dt tknn* "and whoever the investigators who (*dūtu*) will be (in charge)" (3.3,5-6; cf. Pardee 1975:354).

Feminine Plural:

tmm mrkbt dt 'rb bt mlk "eight chariots that (*dūtu/i*) entered the king's house" (4.145,1-2).

There are instances when the pronouns *d* and *dt* introduce nominalized clauses, i.e. they are functioning as determinative pronouns (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:69 n. 73a and *infra*, p. 215), e.g.:

'bdk 'an w d 'bnk "your slave I am, and forever" (lit.: "your slave am I, (a slave) of (*dū*) your world [= of all that you have])" (1.5 II,12,19-20; cf. *infra*, p. 215); and also *'ans dt zrh* "collapsed are (the muscles?) of (*dūtu*) her back" (1.3 III,35; cf. *TO* I, p. 167, n. e).

DEICTIC PRONOUNS

The near and distant deictic pronouns are not attested at all in poetry and they are not sufficiently documented in prose texts.

Near Demonstrative

hnd [*hānādū*] "this (m. and f.), these" — This pronoun is doubtless composed of the deictic elements *hn* and *d* (cf. Loewenstamm 1959:78; Cunchillos 1983:156-165). The pronoun always comes after its antecedent whether it is singular or plural, masculine or feminine. Note the following examples:

nqmd mlk 'ugrt ktb spr hnd [*Niqmaddu malku 'ugarīti kataba sipra hānādū*] "Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit wrote this document" (2.19,8-9); *l ym hnd 'iwr^lk'l pdy 'agdñ* [*le-yōmi hānādū 'Iwrikallu padaya 'Agdena*] "from this day Iwrikallu ransomed Agdenu" (3.5,1); *mkr*

hnd [mākīru hānādū] “this seller” (2.42,25); *’alp̄m ššw̄m hnd* [’alp̄ma/i ššw̄uma/ššw̄ma hānādū] “these two thousand horses” (2.33,32); *m’akty hnd y’ak* ‘my “may he send to me this (hānādū) embassy of mine” (2.33,35-36).

Another form of the near demonstrative is *hndt* [hānādātu?]. This may be a feminine form of *hnd* (cf. *TO II*, p. 353, n. 16). There are two attestations for *hndt*: once in a broken text where its function is not clear (2.45,7), and once it serves as an independent demonstrative (in the meaning “this”, and “that”), viz.:

’anykn dt Pikt mšrm hndt b šr “the ship of yours which you sent to Egypt, this (hānādātu?) is at Tyre” (2.38,10-12; cf. *TO II*, p. 352, n. 9 and the bibliography cited there; it is possible that this particle represents two different particles, i.e. *hn* and *dt* with the meaning “behold, [it is at Tyre]”).

Distant Demonstrative

Two forms *hnk* [hānākā?] and *hnkt* [hānākātu?], appear in very unclear contexts. The former may be “that (m.)” and the latter may be “that (f.)” (cf. Loewenstamm 1959:78; 1980:65-66; Cunchillos 1983:156-165; cf. also Hartmann and Hoftijzer [1971:529-535] who relate these pronouns to punic). The first context is:

w mlk b’ly lm škn hnk l ’bdh “and the king, my master, why did he place that (hānākā?) among his slave(s)?” (2.33,23-24).

The second example is in a very uncertain passage:

w bny hnkt yškn ’anyt ym “and my son, may that (hānākātu?) equip (or: provide) a ship of sea” (2.46,12-14; cf. Loewenstamm 1980:65 n. 51).

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

As in other Semitic languages, the interrogative pronouns inflect for personal and impersonal rather than masculine or feminine.

Personal

my [māyu/a/i] “who” — The *yod* in this pronoun is consonantal (cf. in the Amarna letters: *mi-ia* [EA 362,65,68]; *mi-ia-mi* [EA 85,63], both from Byblos; cf. Ginsberg 1936:149 and Loewenstamm 1980:56-57). Note the following examples:

my ʿbʿ ʿilmʿ “who among the gods?” (1.16 V,14); *my* ʿim bn dgn *my* hmlt ʿatr bʿl “who is the nation of the son of Dagan? who is the congregation of the (holy) place of Baal?” (1.5 VI,23-24; for the possibility that *my* here means “what”, cf. Loewenstamm 1959:74).

Note also *mn(m)* [*mannu(ma)*?] in the same usage:

mn ʿib ypʿ l bʿl “who is the enemy (that) has appeared against Baal?” (1.3 III,37; for the possibility that this is impersonal, cf. Loewenstamm 1959:74) and *mnm* ʿib ypʿ l bʿl “who is the enemy (that) has appeared against Baal?” (1.3 IV,4); *mn* bnš d l.ʿiʿktʿl “who is the person that you have sent?” (2.45,25).

Impersonal

mh [*mah*?] “what” (1.4 II,39; 1.17 VI,35,36) — Blau (1968a:267) showed that the *hé* was pronounced, *contra* Kutscher (1967:33) who saw it as a vowel marker. Note *mhy* [*ma(h) h̄ya*] “what is she?” (2.14,9) where the first *hé* has been lost due to haplography (*KTU*² p. 166 suggests to read *mh* <*h*>). The pronoun under discussion is apparently found in the sentence:

mʿat krt k ybky “what is it to you (lit.: what are you) Keret that he cries?” (1.14 I,38-39).

Note also the usage of *mn(m)* [*m̄nu(ma)*?] in the same meaning:

mn yrḥ k m[r̄s] *mn* k dw kʿrʿl[t̄] “(since) which month is he verily sick, (since) which (month) is Keret verily ill?” (1.16 II,19-20); *ʿm* ʿadny *mnm* šlm “with our (du.) lady, what is (her) welfare?” (2.11,16) and *ʿm* ʿady *mnm* šlm “with my lady, what is (her) welfare?” (2.12,12-13; 2.68,14-16; *contra* Pardee [1984:214] who translates *mnm* as “whatever”); *w mnm* šlm *ʿm* ʿumy “and what is the welfare with my mother?” (2.16,16-17).

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Personal

mnkm [*mannukum(u)/m̄nukum(u)*?], “anyone, someone” — This appears to be a personal *mn* + deictic *k* + adverbial *-m* (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:62). The following are examples:

mnk mʿnʿkm l yqḥ “let no one whatever take (it)” (3.2,12-13); *mnkm* l yqḥ “let no one take (it)” (2.19,12).

Note also *mnm* [*mannuma?*] in this function:

mnm š'alm dt tknn "whoever the investigators who will be (in charge)" (3.3,5).

Impersonal

mhkm [*mahkāma/i?*], "anything, something" — This must be the interrogative *mh* + deictic *k* + adverbial *-m*. Note the following example:

w 'ap mhkm b lbk 'al tšt "and do not take anything to your heart" (2.30,22-24).

This pronoun is also documented without *-m* ending:

w 'ahy mhk b lbh 'al yšt "and may my brother not take anything to his heart" (2.38,26-27; cf. *EN-ni mi-im-am-ma i-na ŠĀ-bi-ka la ta-šak-kán* "may our lord not take anything to your heart" [*EA* 170:7-8]; cf. Aartun 1978:18; Loewenstamm 1980:61 and *TO* II, p. 357).

Another form, *mnm* [*mānuma?*] occurs in other epistles:

w mnm rgm d tšm' tnt w št b spr 'my "and whatever word that you have heard there, then put (it) in a letter to me" (2.10,16-19); *mnm 'urštk d ḥsr* "whatever your request that you were lacking" (2.41,16-17).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NOUN

The noun (the substantive and the adjective) inflects for masculine and feminine, and for singular, dual and plural. There are no specific markers of the masculine singular, but for many feminine substantives and all feminine adjectives, there are specific suffixes (cf. below for details). Nouns inflect for case by the addition of vowel suffixes (*infra*, p. 82) the singular is triptotic, the dual and the plural are diptotic as are possibly some other proper nouns. The dual was employed not only on natural pairs but also for other nouns.

Unlike some other Semitic languages, in Ugaritic there was no marker for definiteness such as a definite article. Nouns may be emphasized by the addition of the enclitic *mem* or the locative *-h* (cf. below pp. 178 and 193f.).

NOMINAL FORMS

General Remarks

Since the orthography of Ugaritic does not indicate vowels, it is extremely difficult to establish the basic formations of nominal forms. There are, of course, some vocalized Ugaritic words imbedded in the Akkadian texts found at Ugarit, but they are limited in number. Therefore, one must compare most of the alphabetically attested forms in Ugaritic with cognate words in the other Semitic languages (mainly Biblical Hebrew, Akkadian and Classical Arabic). However, it has long been recognized that particular words do not always take the same basic form in the respective languages. For example, the syllabic texts reveal that Tiberian Hebrew מַעֲשֵׂר (*< ma'siru*) "tithe" (Gen. 14:20) was *ma'saru* in Ugaritic; Biblical Hebrew תְּאֵדָה (*< taqidu*) "almond" (Jer. 1:11) was *tuqdu* in Ugaritic; Biblical Hebrew יְרֵקָה (*< qaryatu*) "city, citadel" (Deut. 2:36) was *qari-tu* (*< qariytu*) in Ugaritic; and Biblical Hebrew תֹּרְנוּ (*< turnu*) "mast" (Ezek. 27:5) was *tarnu* in Ugaritic, etc. Furthermore, it is difficult, often impossible, to determine whether the vowels were long or

short. Therefore, one must hold considerable reservations about these suggested forms.

Single Consonantal Forms

š [šú] (< šayu?) “sheep” (1.109,8); p [pū] (< piyu?) “mouth” (1.45,3); g [gū] “voice” (1.4 IV,30 and elsewhere).

Bi-consonantal Forms

qal — ’ab [’abu] “father” (1.4 IV,24); ’ad [’adu] “father”, “lord” (1.23,32); ’aḥ [’aḥu] “brother” (3.4,4); dm [damu] “blood” (1.4 IV,38); yd [yadu] “hand” (1.14 III,13); **feminine** — špt [šap(a)tu] “lip” (1.23,49); šnt [šanatu] “year” (4.182,1); ’amt [’am(a)tu] “handmaiden” (1.14 II,3); ’aḥt [’aḥātu] “sister” (4.147,13); ’adt [’adatu] “lady” (2.11,1; but possibly ’adattu [< ’adāntu?]; cf. the example with a preserved nun, ’adnty “my lady” [2.83,5], and cf. *infra*, p. 30); **dual** — ydm [yadāma/i] “hands” (1.2 IV,14).

qil — bn [binu] “son” (3.4,6; *qal* or *qul* patterns are also possible, cf. Fox 1996:140); ’il [’ilu] “god” (1.4 I,12); **feminine** — gt [gittu] (< gintu) “wine-press” (4.243,12,14); bt [bittu] (< bintu) “daughter” (3.4,7; cf. the syllabic attestation *bi-it-ti* [RŠ 1957.1,18] and *bi-it-ta* [RŠ 1957.1,6,10]); p’it [p’itu] “corner”, “brow, temple” (1.13,15; 1.17 II,9); m’it [m’itu] “one hundred” (1.49,10; 3.4,13); šnt [šanatu] “sleep” (1.14 I,33); š’at [š’atu] “going out”, “sunrise” (1.3 II,8).

qul — šm [šumu?] (< šimu) “name” (1.2 IV,11); mt [mutu] “man” (1.17 I,35).

qāl — ks [kāsu] “cup” (1.4 III,16); ’ar [’āru] “light” (1.4 I,16); A.ŠĀ.MEŠ_{9a-a-i} [sā’i] “basin field” (*PRU* III, p. 136,6). Also in this form are the G stem participles of verbs with second radical *waw* or *yod* (cf. examples *infra*, p. 158).

qīl — **masculine plural** — \šī-šū-ma [šīšūma] “salt fields” (*PRU* III, p. 124,12; its origin may be *qīl*, i.e. *šīšūma).

Tri-consonantal Forms

qatl, qitl, qutl — Ugaritic evidently formed the plurals of these basic forms by the addition of an *a*-vowel between the second and third radicals, i.e. *qatal*, *qital* and *qutal* respectively, and by the addition of the standard plural suffixes for masculine [-*ūma*/-*īma*] and feminine [-*ātu*/-*āti*]. The same development is known from Biblical Hebrew (cf. Ginsberg 1967:62).

The alphabetic repertoire of Ugaritic examples shows that this process was not carried through uniformly. There are instances where the plural of these forms was built by addition of the plural suffix to the original base form, *qatl*, *qitl* or *qutl*. The following are some examples from alphabetic texts: The plural of *r'iš* [*ra'sū*] "head" (1.82,7) is either *r'ašm* [*ra'ašūma*] "heads" (1.3 III,42) or *r'ašt* [*ra'ašātu*] "heads" (1.2 I,27,29), but there are also examples of plural *r'išt* [*ra'sātu*] "heads" (1.2 I,23; cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:22 and Verreet 1983a:254). The singular *rbt* [*ribbatu*] "myriads" (1.4 V,3; 7.47,5) has as its plural *rbbt* [*ribabātu*] "myriads" (1.4 I,28,43).

This phenomenon is not present in the following examples: *b'irf'y'm* [*Bi'rāṭyūma*] "Beirutians" (3.4,15; the form may be Canaanite in which case it should be interpreted *Bi'rōṭyūma*); forms with identical second and third radicals: *rbm* [*rabbūma*] "many (m.pl.)" (1.3 III,39); *ḥzm* [*hizzūma*] "arrows" (4.141 III,19; *qatl* and *qutl* are also possible); *pnt* [*pinnātu?*] "corners(?)", "vertebrae(?)" (1.2 IV,17,26); forms with second radical *nun*: *'zm* [*'izzūma*] (< *'inzūma*) "goats" (1.80,4); *ḥṭm* [*ḥittūma*] (< *ḥintūma*) "wheat (collective)" (4.269,25,32); forms with second radical *waw* and *yod*: *ṭm* [*ṭōrūma*] (< *ṭawrūma*) "oxen" (1.4 VI,41; 1.12 I,31; cf. Biblical Hebrew עֲוֹרֹת [Hos. 12:12]); *'nt* [*'ēnātu*] (< *'aynātu*) "springs" (1.3 IV,36; cf. Biblical Hebrew מְנַחֵם [2 Chron. 32:3]); *zṭm* [*zēṭūma*] (< *zayṭūma*) "olives" (4.284,8; 4.429,2,3,4,5; cf. Biblical Hebrew זַיִתִּים [Ps 128:4]); *bṭm* [*bētūma*] (< *bayṭūma*) "houses" (1.48,4; 1.94,24; these are the only occurrences of this form in Ugaritic, the regular one is *bḥtm* [*bahatūma*] [1.4 VI,27 and elsewhere]; cf. *TO* II, p. 167). In all the above examples, the basic form of the singular served as the base for the plural.

Examples of the same process are found in the syllabic texts: *nap-ku* [*napku*] "water source, spring" (*Ug* 5 137 III,8) beside the plural *\na-pa-ki-ma* [*napakīma*] (*PRU* III, p. 47,16; still there is another plural form on the singular pattern: *na-ḳp-ki-ma* [*napkīma*] [*PRU* VI 56 v, 9]); *GIŠmà-ás-wa-tu* [*maswatu/masyatu*] "cypress log" (*PRU* VI 114,7)

beside the plural GIŠ.MEŠ *ma-sa-wa/ya-tu-¹ma¹* [*masawātu/masayātu*] “cypress logs” (*PRU* VI 113,5). A type of garment called *ma-az-ru* [*mazru*] (*PRU* VI 123,2; the orthography seems to preclude a derivation from the root ²ZR unless one may conjecture *ma²zaru* > *mâzaru* > *mazru*) was in the plural TUG.MEŠ *ma-za-¹ru¹-ma¹*MEŠ [*mazarūma*] (*PRU* VI 126,4). The form A.ŠA.MEŠ *ha-ba-li-ma* [*habalīma*] “fields of ropes(?)” (*PRU* III, p. 46,8) may represent a plural form of the singular *hbl* (1.11,6) attested as *qatl* in the Semitic languages (cf. Fox 1996:144).

In the syllabic texts from Ugarit the singular form also served as the stem for the plural, thus *ša-al-šu-ma* [*talūma*] “implements (for agriculture)” (*Ug* 5 84,11); GIŠ *šu-uq-du-ma* [*tuqdūma*] “almonds” (*PRU* VI 159,4; cf. Sivan 1992:235-238) and perhaps A.ŠA.MEŠ *ha-ar-ša-ti* [*haršāti*] “grooved fields(?)” (*PRU* III, p. 95,11,20; cf. Kühne 1974:165-166).

There are times when one cannot discern if the plural is built on the *qatl* pattern or on the *qatal* pattern. Thus the word *m²id* [*ma²da*] “much, very” or [*ma²du*] “abundance” is attested in syllabic transcription as plural *ma-a-du-ma* “much”, “abundance(?)” (*Ug* 5 137 II,36²). It may reflect *ma²dūma* or *ma²adūma*. The same holds with the word *b¹l* [*ba¹lu*] “owner” that its plural *ba-a-lu-ma* “owner” (*Ug* 5 130 III,14²; 137 II,30²,33²) may reflect *ba¹lūma* or *ba¹alūma*.

qatl — *ahl* [*ahlu*] “tent” (1.15 III,18; cf. Arabic *ahl*, but Biblical Hebrew אָהֳלִים [Exod. 28:43]); *yrh* [*yarhu*] “new month” (1.41,1; cf. Akkadian *warhu*); *arz* [*arzu*] “cedar” (1.4 VII,41; cf. the syllabic transcription *ar-zu* [*PRU* VI 114,3]); *alp* [*alpu*] “ox” (1.4 V,45); *mlk* [*malku*] “king” (1.41,50; cf. the syllabic spelling *ma-al-ku* [*Ug* 5 130 III,13²; 137 II,32²]); *arš* [*aršu*] “land, ground” (1.6 II,19; cf. the syllabic attestation *ar-šu* [*Ug* 5 137 III,14²]); *r²iš* [*ra²šu*] “head” (1.114,30); *bd* [*abdu*] “slave” (2.11,4; cf. the syllabic transcription *ab-du* [*Ug* 5 137 III,4]); *spl* [*saplu*] “vessel, caldron” (4.123,17; cf. the syllabic attestation *sà-ap-lu* [*PRU* VI 168,8]); *šps* [*šapšu*] “sun” (1.6 I,9; cf. the syllabic transcription *ša-ap-šu* [*Ug* 5 138,3²]); GIŠ *ta-ar-ni* [*tarni*] “mast” (*PRU* VI 19,4²; cf. *PRU* VI, p. 21 n. 2 and *AHw*, p. 1331a); **feminine** — *mlkt* [*malaktu/malkatu*] “queen” (2.12,1); *š²rt* [*ša²artu/ša²irtu*] “wool” (4.144,6; cf. the syllabic spelling TUG *ša-²har/ħirtu* [*PRU* VI 128,5]); **masculine plural** — *r²ašm* [*ra²ašūma*] “heads” (1.3 III,42); *mlkm* [*mal(a)kūma*] “kings” (1.22 I,17); *krmm* [*kar(a)mūma*] “vineyards” (2.61,10); **feminine plural** — *r²išt* [*ra²šātu*] “heads” (1.2 I,23). **Roots with second nun** — *ap* [*appu*] (< *anpu*) “nose”

(1.71,6,11; cf. the syllabic form *ap-pu* [Ug 5 137 II,19]); **feminine** — *'att* [ʾattatu] (< ʾantatu) “woman” (1.14 I,14). **Roots with second waw or yod** — *tr* [tôru] (< tawru) “ox” (1.4 III,31); *mt* [môtu] (< mawtu) “death” (1.5 I,7); *tk* [tôku] (< tawku) “midst” (1.4 III,13); *zt* [zêtu] (< zaytu) “olive” (1.5 II,5); *yn* [yênu] (< yaynu) “wine” (1.6 I,10); *bt* [bêtu] (< baytu) “house” (1.4 IV,50); *'r* [ʾêru] (< ʾayru) “young ass” (1.4 IV,9); **masculine plural** — *trm* [tôrûma] (< tawrûma) “oxen” (1.4 VI,41; 1.12 I,31; cf. Biblical Hebrew עֲרֵבָי [Hos. 12:12]); *ztm* [zêtûma] (< zaytûma) “olives” (4.284,8; 4.429,2,3,4,5; cf. Biblical Hebrew עֲזֵיבָי [Ps 128:4]); *btm* [bêtûma] (< baytûma) “houses” (1.48,4; 1.94,24; these are the only occurrences of this form in Ugaritic, the regular one is *bhtm* [bahatûma] [1.4 VI,27 and elsewhere]; cf. *TO* II, p. 167); **feminine plural** — *'nt* [ʾênâtu] (< ʾaynâtu) “springs” (1.3 IV,36). **Roots with third waw or yod** — *gdy* [gadyu] “kid” (1.79,4); *zby* [zabyu] “gazelle” (1.15 IV,7,18); *'ah* [ʾahû] (< ʾahwu?) “meadow” (1.10 II,9,12; cf. Biblical Hebrew מֵדֵבָה [Job 8:11]); **masculine plural** — *gdm* [gadûma] “kids” (1.3 II,2; 1.17 VI,21; cf. *TO* I, p. 157, n. d). **Roots with identical second and third radicals** — *ym* [yammu] “sea” (1.4 I,14); *'m* [ʾammu] “people” (1.17 I,27; II,17); *rb* [rabbu] “chief”, “great”, “large” (3.1,13; 4.609,5); *yd* [yaddu] “affection, love” (1.4 IV,38); syllabic spelling: *sar-rû* [sarru] “false” (Ug 5 137 II,37); **feminine** — *'amt* [ʾam(a)tu] “cubit” (1.14 II,10); *rbt* [rabbatu] “great”, “large”, “lady” (1.4 I,13; 1.14 III,5); syllabic attestation: *\ma-ad-da-tû* [maddatu] “measurement” (Ug 5 5,9); **masculine plural** — *rbm* [rabbûma] “many” (1.6 V,2); syllabic spelling: DUG_{ka-du-ma}^{MES} [kaddûma] “jars” (*PRU* VI 147,4,6).

qatal > qatl (cf. Sivan 1984a:73) — This process can be discerned in syllabic attestations only, e.g. ^{LÚ}ha-ma-ru-ú [gamaruhû] “his tiro” (*PRU* VI 79,11) and ^{LÚ}ha¹-ma-ru-ma [gamarûma] “tiros” (*PRU* III, p. 196,1) alongside the forms ^{LÚ}ha-am-ru-<šû>-nu [gamrušunu] “their tiro” (*PRU* VI 79,9) and ^{LÚ.MES}ha-am-ru-ma^{MES} [gamrûma] “tiros” (*PRU* VI, p. 150 n. 3).

qitl — *spr* [sipru] “letter”, “document” (2.19,9,13; cf. Biblical Hebrew סֵפֶר [Deut. 17:18]); *š'ir* [š'iru] “flesh” (1.96,3); *qđš* [qidšû] “holy place” (1.17 I,26,44; cf. the syllabic documentation *qi-^{LÚ}id¹-^{LÚ}šû¹* [Ug 5 137 III,29] and Biblical Hebrew שְׂרָפָה [Exod. 3:5; a *qitl* form]); *'ikl* [ʾiklu] “food”, “eating” (1.22 I,24; cf. Biblical Hebrew אֲכָל [Gen. 41:35, a *qitl* form], Arabic ʾaklu, likewise Akkadian [a

qatl form]); syllabic forms: *ti-ib-nu* [*tibnu*] “straw” (*Ug* 5 130 III,17); *ni-iḥ-rù* [*nigru*] “to guard” (*Ug* 5 137 I,11); *iš-du₄* [*išdu*] “foundation” (*Ug* 5 131,8); **feminine** — *glt* [*iglatu/igiltu*] “young heifer” (1.5 V,18); **masculine plural** — *qlm* [*iq(a)lūma*] “shekels” (1.14 I,29); *glm* [*ig(a)lūma*] “bullocks” (1.4 VI,42). **Roots with second nun** — *z* [*izzu*] (< *inzu*) “goat” (1.127,31); **feminine** — *ḥ¹tt* [*hiṭṭatu*] (< *hiṇṭatu*) “wheat” (1.16 III,9); **masculine plural** — *z_m* [*izzūma*] “goats” (1.80,4); *ḥtm* [*hiṭṭūma*] “wheat (collective)” (4.269,25,32). **Roots with second yod** — *dn* [*dīnu*] (< *diynu*) “legal case” (1.17 V,8); and perhaps also *r* [*īru*] (< *īyru*) “town” (1.4 VII,9; 1.62,5). **Roots with third waw or yod** — *bky* [*bikyu?*] “weeping” (1.16 II,41; a *qatl* form is also possible); *pr* [*pīrū?*] (< *pīryu?*) “fruit” (1.5 II,5; a *qatl* pattern is also possible); syllabic form: *\ši-il-yu* [*šilyu*] “curse, imprecation” (*Ug* 5 130 III,16'; cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1971:7-10; Hillers 1976:18). **Roots with identical second and third radicals** — *ḥz* [*hizzu*] “arrow” (1.14 III,12, *qatl* and *qutl* are also possible); *lb* [*libbu*] “heart” (1.6 II,6,7); *š* [*išsu*] “wood”, “tree” (1.101,4; cf. the syllabic transcription *iš-šū* [*Ug* 5 130 III,8']; in Biblical Hebrew *רץ* [Jer. 11:19] [a *qil* form] but Aramaic *רש* [a *qāl* form]; cf. Fox 1996:139); *pi-rù* [*pīrū?*] “flight”, “separation” (*Ug* 5 137 II 44'; cf. Huehnergard 1987:92); **feminine** — *rbt* [*ribbatu*] “myriad” (1.4 V,3); **masculine plural** — *ḥzm* [*hizzūma*] “arrows” (4.141 III,19); *šm* [*iššūma*] “trees” (1.23,66); **feminine plural** — *pnt* [*pinnātu?*] “corners(?)”, “vertebrae(?)” (1.2 IV,17,26); *rbt* [*ribabātu*] “myriads” (1.4 I,28,43).

qutl — *'udn* [*'udnu*] “ear” (1.13,23; 1.18 IV,23); syllabic forms: *GIŠ.MEŠ* *ūr-nu* [*urnu*] “laurel” (*PRU* VI 114,1); *LÚ* *mur-u* [*mur'u*] “commander, officer” (*PRU* III, p. 194,22); **feminine** — *'utpt* [*utpatu*] “quiver” (4.53,15; cf. Akkadian *KUŠ* *iš-pa-tu* [*PRU* VI 162,5] and Biblical Hebrew *קשת* [Isa. 22:6]); **masculine plural** — Syllabic forms: *GIŠ* *šū-ūq-du-ma* [*šūqdūma*] “almonds” (*PRU* VI 159,4'); *LÚ.MEŠ* *mur-ū-ma* [*mur'ūma*] “commanders, officers” (*PRU* VI 116,5).

Roots with second waw — *gr* [*gūru*] (< *gūwru*) “mountain” (1.6 II,16); **feminine** — *nrt* [*nūratu*] (< *nuwratu*) “light, luminary” (1.6 II,24) may belong to this category. **Roots with identical second and third radicals** — *'um* [*'ummu*] (< *'immu*) “mother” (2.11,1); *mḥ* [*muhḥu*] “marrow”, “upper head” (1.16 I,27); *tp* [*tuppu*] “drum” (1.113,1,5); **feminine** — *'umt* [*'ummatu*] (< *'immatu*) “nation” (1.14 I,6).

qatal — *knp* [kanapu] “wing” (1.10 II,10,11); *ḥdt* [ḥadatu] “new” (4.205,19); *ʾadm* [adamu] “man(kind)” (1.3 II,8); syllabic forms: *da-ka-rū* [dakarū] “male” (*Ug* 5 137 III,5); *la-ba-nu* [labanu] “white” (*Ug* 5 138,4⁷); A.ŠA.MEŠ *na-ḥa-li* [nahali] “(fields of) inheritance” (*PRU* III, p. 108,7); LÚ *ḥa-ma-ru-ú* [ḡamaruhū] “his tiro” (*PRU* VI 79,11); **masculine plural** — *lbnm* [labanūma] “white” (4.182,4); syllabic form: *ḥa¹-ma-ru-¹ma¹* [ḡamarūma] “tiros” (*PRU* III, p. 196,1). **Roots with third waw or yod** — Syllabic form: *\ša-du-ú* [šadū] (< *šadayu*) “field” (*Ug* 5 137 II,35⁷); **masculine plural** — *šmm* [šamūma] (< *šamayūma*) “skies” (1.13,26; cf. the syllabic spelling *ša-mu-ma* [*Ug* 5 137 III,13⁷]).

qatil — *yrlḥ* [yariḥu] “moon” (1.92,16); **feminine** — *mlʾit* [malī²-tu] “full” (2.2,7); syllabic form: *qa-diš-ti* [qadišti] “devotee” (*Ug* 5 7,14); **masculine plural** — *yʾlm* [yaʾilūma] “wild goats” (1.6 I,26); *ḥbrm* [ḥabirūma] “friends” (1.169,10; cf. *TO* II, p. 56, n. 135); syllabic form: TUG *pa-¹li¹-du-ma* [palidūma] “(type of garment)” (*PRU* VI 127,4; it also can be interpreted as a *qatīl* form). **Roots with third yod** — *dw* [dawū] (< *dawiyu*) “ill” (1.16 II,20); **feminine** — *qrt* [qarītu] (*qariytu*) “town, citadel” (1.46,12; cf. the syllabic attestation *qa-ri-tu₄* [*Ug* 5 130 III,18⁷]).

qatul — *qtn* [qaṭunu?] “small” (4.98,9; cf. Biblical Hebrew קטן [1 Sam. 2:19] and perhaps the personal name *qà-ṭū-na* [*PRU* III, p. 136,4], see Gröndahl 1967:72 and Sivan 1984a:262).

qutul — *ḥdr* [ḥuduru?] “room” (1.14 I,26; cf. the syllabic transcription *ḥu¹-du-rū* [*Ug* 5 137 II,11⁷]); syllabic form: *bu-nu-šu* [bunušū?] “man” (*Ug* 5 137 II,31⁷); **feminine** — *ʾurbi* [ʾurub(b)atu] “window, transom” (1.4 V,61; cf. the Latin transcription of Biblical Hebrew tradition which confirms the basic form *qutul*, i.e. *orobba*; cf. Sperber 1938:209); **masculine plural** — *ḥdrm* [ḥudurūma?] “rooms” (4.195,3); *bnšm* [bunušūma] “men” (4.243,8).

qutil/qutīl ? — Syllabic forms: *ḥu-zi-rū* [ḥuziru/ḥuzīru] “pig” (*Ug* 5 137 II,25⁷, cf. Sivan 1984a:91; *contra* Fox [1996:89,168 n.63] who interprets the form as *qutayl*); perhaps *ku-ri-ku* [kuriku/kurīku?] “(agricultural implement)” (*PRU* VI 157,12; *contra* Boyd [1975:113] who takes the form as *qutayl*); **feminine plural** — Syllabic form: *ku-ri-ka-at* [kurikāt/kurīkāt] “(agricultural implements)” (*PRU* VI 157,3).

qital — Syllabic form: *šī-a-ru* [šīharu?] “crescent-shaped sickle” (PRU VI 168,6).

qatāl — *tl̄t* [talātu] “three” (4.158,7); *ʿšlm*¹ [šalāmu] “peace” (1.23,7; *qutl* is also possible); *thm* [tahāmu?] (< *tihāmu*) “depth”, “primordial sea” (1.23,30); *ʿadn* [ʿadānu] “father”, “master” (1.24,33; for the possibility of seeing it as *ʿadu* with the nominal suffix *-ānu* see *infra*); **feminine** — *tl̄t* [talāt(a)tu] “three” (4.158,5); *ʿatnt* [ʿatānātu] “she-ass” (1.4 IV,7,12); syllabic form: *ta-a-ma-tu*₄ [tahāmatu] (< *tihāmatu*) “the deep, the primordial sea” (*Ug* 5 137 III,34²); also in this form are many G stem infinitives (cf. examples *infra*, p. 123); **dual** — *thmtm* [tahāmātama/i] “the two deeps” (1.4 IV,22); **masculine plural** — *tl̄tm* [talālūma] “thirty” (1.41,19).

qatīl — *mṛʿu* [marīʿu] “fatling” (1.4 V,45); *ʿaʿsʿr* [ʿasīru] “prisoner” (1.2 I,37; *qatīl* is possible also); the passive participle of the G stem can take this pattern and *qatīl* respectively. Cf. also the syllabic attestation *ḥa-ri-mu* [ḥarīmu] “divided” (*Ug* 5 137 II,39²,40²,42²; *qatīl* is also possible), which can also be an active participle (cf. *infra*, p. 122); **feminine** — *mṛʿat* [marīʿatu] “fat (f.s.)” (4.247,20); **masculine plural** — *mṛʿim* [marīʿīma] “fatlings” (4.128,2).

qatūl — *ʿzm* [ʿazūmu] “mighty” (1.2 IV,5; this can also be from *qatūl*); note also a G passive participle, *ʿuk* [laʿūku] “sent”, “an envoy” (2.17,4).

qital — *ḥmr* [ḥimāru] “donkey” (4.380,5); *ʿipd* [ʿipādu] “vest” in the word *ʿipdk* (1.5 I,5; one can interpret it as a verbal form; cf. de Moor 1979:642; Dittrich and Loretz 1980b:407; Margalit 1980:93-94; Verreet 1988:182); *bdl* [bidālu?] “merchant” (4.85,6; it can be a *qital* form); *ʿinš* [ʿināšū] “man” (1.171,5); **masculine plural** — *ḥmʿr*¹*m* [ḥimārūma] “donkeys” (4.380,20); syllabic form: LÚ.MEŠ.DAM.GAR.MEŠ *bi-da-lu-ma* [bidālūma] “merchants” (PRU III, p. 199, II,12; it can be a *qital* form) and [LÚ].MEŠ *bi-da-lu-na* [bidālūna] “merchants” (PRU III, p. 204,14; for the *n*-morpheme cf. *infra*, p. 77).

qitīl — **masculine plural** — Syllabic forms: [LÚ].MEŠ *bi-ḥi-ru* [biḥīrū] (< *bahīrū*?) “elite troops” (PRU VI 71 B II,5²); *mī-ḥi-ʿsu*¹-

ṛma^{IMES} [mih̄iṣūma] (< maḥiṣūma) “(kind of implements)” (PRU VI 142,4).

qutāl — ḥrṣ [ḥurāṣu] “gold” (1.43,10; cf. the syllabic spelling ḥu-ṛa^Lṣu^L [Ug 5 137 II,4’]).

qutūl ? — Syllabic forms: tu-ú-ru [tuhūru] “pure” (Ug 5 130 III,19’); É-tu₄\qú-bu-ri [bētu qubūri?] “burial” (PRU III, p. 51,8); **masculine plural** — ṭhrm [tuhūrūma] “pure” (1.4 V,19).

qitūl ? — y^Lb^L [yibūlu?] “produce” (2.34,29; cf. TO II, p. 345, n. 26 and Biblical Hebrew יביל [Judg. 6:4]).

qātal — ‘lm [‘ālamu] “world”, “eternity” (1.2 IV,10; 2.42,7); **dual** — ‘aḥnm [‘āpanāma/i] “two wheels” (4.88,3,4,5); **feminine plural** — ‘aḥnt [‘āpanātu] “wheels” (4.145,3); ‘lmt [‘ālamātu] “eterniti(es)” (3.5,15).

qātil — This is the standard form for tri-literal active participles of the G stem. A number of examples from all kinds of verbs will be presented here: ṣp’u [ṣāpi’u] “eater” (1.20 II,10; for another interpretation cf. p. 124); mḥ^Lṣ^L [māḥiṣu] “smiter” (1.19 IV,39); r^Ly^L [rā’iyu] “sheep herder” (1.21 II,6); syllabic form: ka₄-bi-ṣu^L [kābisu] “laundrerer” (PRU VI 136,8); **feminine** — qr’it [qāri’tu] “(she) calls” (1.100,2); qnyt [qāniyātu] “creatress” (1.4 I,4); and the noun ḥmt [ḥāmītu] (< ḥāmīytu) “(city) wall” (1.14 IV,22; cf. the syllabic attestation \ḥa-mi-ti [PRU III, p. 137,4]); **masculine plural** — ‘aklm [‘ākilūma] “eaters” (1.12 I,26); gzzm [gāzizūma] “shearers” (4.213,30); yṣrm [yāṣirūma] “potters” (4.99,11; cf. the syllabic corroboration ia-ṣi-ru-ma [PRU III, p. 195 B, I,12]); **feminine plural** — ṣ’ibt [ṣā’ibātu] “(water) drawers” (1.12 II,59); b/kyt [bākiyātu] “weepers, mourning women” (1.19 IV,9-10); and the noun ḥmyt [ḥāmīyātu] “(city) walls” (1.40,36).

qattal — ‘ayl [‘ayyahū] “buck” (4.617,14, a personal name; cf. the syllabic attestation a-ia-lī [PRU III, p. 89,4]); **feminine** — ‘aylt [‘ayyal(a)tū] “fawn” (1.92,11); **masculine plural** — ‘aylm [‘ayyalūma] “bucks” (1.6 I,24).

qattil — ‘wr [‘awwiru?] “blind (m.s.)” (1.14 II,46; though this form may have been qittil); ‘imr [‘immiru] “sheep” (1.6 II,8; this form

may have been *qittal*); **feminine** — w^1r^1t [$'awwir(a)tu$] “blind (f.s.)” (1.19 IV,5; though the form may have been *qittil*).

quttal — $hwot$ [$huwwatu$] “country” (2.47,13; cf. the syllabic writing $^1hu^1-wa-tu_4$ [Ug 5 137 II,10’]); syllabic forms: $tu-un-na-nu$ [$tun-nanu$] “serpent” (Ug 5 137 I,8’); $pu-la-tu$ [$pullatu$] “to save” (Ug 5 137 II,20’); an infinitive form of D stem). **Roots with third waw or yod** — Syllabic form: $hu-wu-ú$ [$huwwú$] (< $huwwayu$) “to give life” (Ug 5 137 II,17’); an infinitive form of D stem).

qattāl — $hrš$ [$harrāšū$] “craftsman” (4.141 III,7; this could also be $hārišū$); tnn [$tannānu$] “archer” (1.14 II, 38; cf. the syllabic attestation $L\dot{U}ša-na-ni$ [PRU III p. 194,5,6]); syllabic forms: $L\dot{U}la-^1ba^1-nu$ [$labbānu$] “brick maker” (PRU III, p. 199 III,55); $L\dot{U}ga_5-la-b[u]$ [$gal-lābu$] “barber” (PRU VI 136,10); $A.S\dot{A}.MEŠ$ $al-la-an$ [$ʔallān$] “oak fields” (PRU III, p. 131,4; *contra* Fox [1996:142] who takes it as *qatl* plus the suffix $-ān$); **masculine plural** — $šalm$ [$šāʔālūma$] “investigators” (3.3,5); $hršm$ [$harrāšūma$] “craftsmen” (4.155,1); $kšpm$ [$kaššāpūma$] “wizards” (1.169,9); $tnnm$ [$tannānūma$] “archers” (4.173,1; cf. the syllabic documentation $L\dot{U}ša-na-nu-ma$ [PRU VI 93,6]).

qittāl — knr [$kinnāru$] “lute” (1.108,4; cf. the divine name in syllabic attestation $^{dGIŠ}ki-na-rù$ [Ug 5 18,31]).

qattil — $ʔams$ [$ʔammāšu$] “brave (m.s.)” (2.33,5; cf. *TO* II, p. 328, n. 7).

qittil — $ʔibr$ [$ʔibbīru$] (< $ʔabbīru$) “cavalier” (1.10 III,20; cf. the personal name in syllabic attestation $i-bi-ra-na$ [PRU VI 45,3,15]).

qattūl — $ʔadr$ [$ʔad(d)ūru$] “mighty” (2.38,14; cf. the syllabic corroboration $a-du-rù$ [Ug 5 137 II,34’]; the form can be interpreted as $qat[ʔ]ul$, i.e. $ʔad[d]uru$); syllabic form: $^1ba^1-aḫ-hu-rù$ [$baḫḫūru$] “young fellow” (Ug 5 137 II,24’); **feminine singular** — $ʔadri$ [$ʔad(d)ūr(a)tu$] “upper-class (woman)” (4.102,4; the form can be interpreted as $ʔad[d]ur[a]tu$).

qattūl — $ʔulp$ [$ʔullūpu$] (< $ʔallūpu$) “chief” (1.40,20; cf. the personal name in syllabic writing $ul-lu-pi$ [PRU III, p. 194,11]).

qitall — *plk* [*pilakku*] “spindle” (1.4 II,3; cf. the syllabic spelling *pí-lak-ku* [*Ug* 5 137 II,22]).

qutull — *ʾunt* [*ʾunuttu*] “estate tax, feudal obligation” (3.4,19; cf. the syllabic attestation *ú-un-uš-ša* [*PRU* III, p. 53,20]; perhaps it is a Hurrian loanword); **feminine** — Syllabic form: *ku-bu-da-ti* [*kubud(a)ti?*] “honorary gift” (*PRU* III, p. 99,8).

Prefixed Forms

Prefixed *mem*

maqtal — *mPak* [*maPaku*] “messenger” (1.13,25); *mʿr b¹* [*maʿrabu*] “sunset” (1.87,21); *mʿsd* [*maʿsadu*] “hoe” (4.625,3; cf. the syllabic writing *ma-ša-du* [*PRU* VI 157,15]); syllabic form: *ma-am-ša-ar* [*mamsar*] “dagger”, “knife” (*PRU* VI 141,2); **feminine** — *mrkbt* [*markabtu*] “chariot” (1.14 III,24; cf. the syllabic spelling *mar-kab-ti₇* [*PRU* III, p. 96,28]); *młhmt* [*malham(a)tu*] “battle” (1.3 IV,8); *mrḥqt* [*marḥaq(a)tu*] “distance” (2.12,10); *mšmʿt* [*mašmaʿ(a)tu*] “discipline” (2.72,14) **dual** — *mšbṯm* [*mašbaṯāma/i*] “tongs” (1.4 I,24); syllabic form: *ma-aš-la-ḥa-ma* [*mašlahāma/mašlahāma*] “two (bolts?) of *m*-cloth” (*PRU* VI 123,3); **masculine plural** — *mḥllm* [*maḥlatūma?*] “(a cultic functionary)” (1.119,23; cf. Xella 1981:32-33; the form can be a participle of D or L stem); *mPakm* [*maPakūma*] “messengers” (1.14 III,33); syllabic forms: *ma-ša-du-ma^{MEŠ}* [*maʿsadūma*] “hoes” (*PRU* VI 142,3); TUG.MEŠ.GIŠ.MÁ *ma-aš-ḥa-tu-ma* [*maḥṯatūma?*] “(a type of garment)” (*PRU* VI 126,1). **Roots with first nun and the root LQH** — Syllabic forms: *ma-qáb-bu* [*maqqabu*] (< *manqabu*) “hammer” (*PRU* VI 168,9); *\ma-aq-qa-du* [*maqqadu*] (< *manqadu*) “tax levied on pasturing” (*PRU* III, p. 146,12); **feminine singular** — *mṯth* [*matṯātah*] (< *mantayatah?*) “on the bed” (1.14 I,30, from the root *NṬY*); **dual** — Syllabic form: *ma-qa-ḥa* [*maqqaḥā*] (< *malqaḥā*) “pair of tongs (of)” (*PRU* VI 157,13); **masculine plural** — Syllabic form: *ma-qa-bu-ma* [*maqqabūma*] (< *manqabūma*) “hammers” (*PRU* VI 142,5). **Roots with first waw or yod** — *mṯb* [*mōṯabu*] (< *mawṯabu*) “seat” (1.4 I,13; cf. the syllabic attestation *mu-ša-bu* [*Ug* 5 137 III,32]); *mdʿ* [*mōdaʿu*] (< *mawdaʿu*) or [*mēdaʿu*] (< *maydaʿu*) “acquaintance” (4.609,4); *md/d* [*mōdadu*] (< *mawdadu*) or [*mēdadu*] (< *maydadu*) “beloved, friend” (1.4 VIII,23-24; the form may be *maqṯūl*); *mrṯ* [*mēratu*] (*mayratu*) “new wine” (2.34,32; cf. *TO* II, p. 345, n. 32); **feminine** — ¹*m¹ddt* [*mōdadatu*] (< *mawdadatu*) or [*mēdadatu*] (< *maydadatu*) “beloved, friend” (1.14 II,50;

the form may be *maqūl*[*a*]tu); **feminine plural** — *mībt* [mōtabātu] “seats” (1.41,51). **Roots with second waw or yod** — *mrym* [maryamu] “height” (1.4 V,23); *mqr* [maqāru] (< maqyaru/maqwaru) “(water) source” (1.14 V,2); *mšd* [mašādu] (< mašwadu/mašyadu) “provisions, food” (1.14 II,26); *m^qm¹* [maqāmu] (< maqwamu/maqyamu) “place” (1.14 II,1); **feminine** — *mknt* [makānātu] (< makwanatu/makyanatu) “place” (1.14 I,11); **feminine plural** — *mrmt* [marāmātu] (< maryamātu) “heights” (1.169,7; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:348; Caquot 1984:170; *TO* II, p. 57, n. 137). **Roots with third waw or yod** — *mšt* [maštū] (< maštayu?) “banquet” (1.108,9); *mdw* [madwū] (< madwayu?) “sickness” (1.16 VI,35); **feminine singular** — *mštt* [maštētu?] (maštaytu?) “beverage” (4.230,8); *mtth* [maṭṭātah] (< mantayatah?) “on the bed” (1.14 I,30, from the root *NTY*).

maqtil — *mdbh* [mabihu?] “altar” (1.41,41); *mrzḥ* [marzihu] “funerary/cultic association” (4.642,4,5,6; cf. *TO* II, p. 76, n. 237; cf. also the syllabic writing ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ma-ar-zi-ḥi* [*Syria* 28, p. 173, line 3] and Biblical Hebrew מִזְבֵּחַ [Jer. 16:5]); **masculine plural** — *m/rqdm* [marqīdūma?] “musical instruments(?)” (1.108,4-5; though this form may be *maqtal* or a participle of D stem; cf. Pardee 1988:80,91 and *TO* II, p. 115, n. 352); **feminine plural** — *mdbht* [mabihātu?] “altars” (1.41,24). **Roots with identical second and third radicals** — Syllabic forms: *\ma-ah-zi-zi* [maʿzizi?] “(a type of field)” (*PRU* III, p. 148,17; cf. Boyd 1975:72-73); ^{LÚ}*ma-ši-lu* [mašillu] “cymbalist” (*PRU* VI 93,25; cf. Rainey 1973:45); **dual** — *mštm* [mašiltāma/i] “cymbals” (1.108,4; from the root *ŠLL*; cf. Biblical Hebrew מִשְׁלֵטָיִם [Neh. 12:27]).

maqṭul — **Roots with second waw or yod** — *mšq^t* [mašūqatu?] (< mašwuq[a]tu/mašyuq[a]tu?) “stress” (1.103+1.145,19; cf. Herdner 1978:60; Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:122; the form may be considered as *maqṭal*, i.e. mašāq[a]tu).

maqṭūl — *m^ṯḥd¹* [maʿḥūdu] “plated” (4.172,6); *mlbš* [malbūšu] “clothing” (4.182,3); **feminine** — *mtrḥt* [matrūḥ(a)tu] “(purchased) bride” (1.24,10; the form could be a D stem passive participle). **Roots with first nun** — **dual** — *mḫm* [maḫḫāma/i] (< maḫḫāma/i) “bellows” (1.4 I,23).

Prefixed *taw*

trbš [tarbašu] "corral" (1.14 II,3; cf. the syllabic corroboration *É-tu*₄ \ta-ar-bá-ši [PRU III, p. 91,17]); *tgm̄r* [tagm̄Vru] "total" (1.91,35); *tšlm̄* [tašlūmu] "payment" (1.111,23; cf. TO II,196, n. 164); *tšr̄* [ta'šūru?] "boxwood tree(?)" (4.158,4); *tdrq* [tadrīqu/tadrūqu?] "walking" (1.4 II,15); **feminine** — *t'glt* [ta'gVl(a)tu] "stuttering" (1.93,2; cf. TO II, p. 38, n. 82); **masculine plural** — *t'šrm̄* [ta'šūrūma] "boxwood trees(?)" (4.91,7); *tlmdm̄* [talmūdūma?] "apprentices" (4.384,8). **Roots with second *waw* or *yod* — feminine** — *tmtt* [tamūtatu] (< *tamwutatu*?) "mortality" (2.38,16,22; it is less likely to take this form as derived from *mt* [mutu] "man" as suggested in TO II, p. 354 and n. 17). **Roots with third *waw* or *yod* — *tp*** [tōpī/tēpī] (< *tawēpiy/taypiy*) "the beauty of (her brother)" (1.96,2; cf. TO II, p. 43, n. 92); **feminine** — *t'l'iyt* [ta'iyatu?] "victory(?)" (1.10 III,31; for another interpretation cf. Pope and Tigay 1971:123); syllabic form: *ta-ap-di*₁₂-ti [tapdīti] (< *tapdiyti*) "exchange", "redemption (price)" (PRU III, p. 95,14; p. 129,9).

Prefixed *aleph*

'*arb*' [arba'au] "four" (4.48,7); '*irby*' [irbīyu/'irbiyu] (< 'arbīyu/'arbiyu) "locust" (1.14 II,50); '*iqn̄'i*' [iqn̄'i/'iqn̄'i] (< 'aqn̄'i/'aqn̄'i or 'uqn̄'i/'uqn̄'i) "lapis lazuli" (1.14 III,43); **masculine plural** — '*iqn̄'im*' [iqn̄'ima/'iqn̄'ima] "lapis lazuli" (1.4 V,19); **feminine plural** — '*udm̄'t*' [udm̄'ātu?] "tears" (1.6 I,10; the *aleph* in this form may be prosthetic); '*ušt't*' [ušt'ātu] "fingers" (1.2 IV,14).

*Suffixed Forms***Suffix *nun***

'*adn*' [adānu] "father", "master" (1.24,33; cf. the syllabic spelling *a-da-nu* [Ug 5 130 II,9]); for the possibility of seeing it as a *qatāl* form see above); 'r'*gbn*' [raḡ(g)abānu?] "starvation" (1.103+1.145,5); *zbln* [zab(b)alānu?] "infirmity" (1.14 I,17); *dbhn* [dab(b)ahānu?] "sacrifice" (1.40,32); *g'an* [ga'ānu] (< *ga'wānu/ga'yānu*) "pride" (1.17 VI,44); syllabic forms: A.ŠA.MEŠ *ia-ar-qa-ni* [yarqāni] "green fields" (PRU III, p. 148,9); A.ŠA *ad-ma-ni* [admāni] "red soil" (PRU III, p. 123,8,12); [LÚ].MEŠ *ú-ru-ba-nu* [urubānu] "guarantee", "guarantor" (PRU III, p. 37,7) **masculine plural** — '*rbnm̄*' [urubānūma] "guarantee", "guarantors" (3.3,1,7); syllabic form: A.ŠA.ĪLA *dī-īp-ra-ni-ma* [dīprānūma]

“(fields of) junipers” (*PRU* III, p. 64,4); the *nun* [-ānu] is suffixed to many place and personal names (cf. Sivan 1984a:97-99).

Suffix *yod*

There may be more than one suffix with consonantal *yod*. One such suffix [-(*a*)y?] is attached to many feminine personal names and is usually assumed to be hypocoristic (cf. Gröndahl 1967:26 and Smith 1994:38-39). Another [-īyu/-āyu/-ūyu] is used as a *nisbe*, that is, it is attached to national, ethnic and geographical names to express relationship (cf. Richardson 1978:298-315; Sivan 1984a:99-101), e.g. *kn'ny* [*Kīna'nīyu*] “canaanite” (4.96,7); *ḥty* [*Ḥattīyu*] “Hittite” (1.40,37); *'ugrty* [*Ugar(ī)īyu*] “Ugaritian” (4.33,8,9; cf. the syllabic attestation URU *u-ga-ar-ti-ya* [*PRU* VI 79,15]).

Reduplicated Forms

The following are examples of nouns built on the reduplication of a syllable, a method known in various Semitic languages:

qdqd [*qadqadu/qudqudu*] “top of head” (1.4 VII,4); *'r.'r* [*ar'aru*] “juniper” (1.100,64); *'p'p* [*ap'apu*] “eyelid” (1.14 VI,30); *kkkb* [*kakbabu*] “star” (1.4 IV,17) beside the plural *kkbm* [*kakkabūma*] (< *kakbabūma*) or [*kōkabūma*] (< *kawkabūma*) “stars” (1.10 I,4); *kkk* [*kakkaru*] (< *karkaru*) “talent (weight)”, loaf” (4.91,9; cf. the syllabic writing *ka₄-ka₄-ra* [*PRU* III, p. 153,20,22]); **feminine singular** — Syllabic form: *ḥur-ḥu-ra-ti* [*ḥurḥurati*] “(a plant)” (*PRU* VI 8,9); **masculine plural** — Perhaps *ssnm* [*sassanūma?*] (< *sansanūma?*) “tamarisks(?)” (1.100,66; cf. Biblical Hebrew עֲנַבִּים [Cant. 7:9] which is עֲנַבִּי in the Babylonian tradition of Biblical Hebrew).

FEMININE NOUNS

General Remarks

As in the other Semitic languages, Ugaritic also has some feminine nouns with no special suffix, e.g. *'um* [*'ummu*] “mother” (1.23,33); *'arš* [*'aršu*] “land, earth” (1.6 I,65); *yd* [*yadu*] “hand” (1.14 II,22); *'uz* [*'ūzu?*] “goose” (4.247,20; this clause, *'uz mr'at mlḥt* “a good (or: salted?) fat goose”, demonstrates the gender with the feminine markers of the adjectives).

Generally the feminine forms are characterized by the suffix *-tu* or *[-atu]*. It is possible to distinguish between these two suffixal options by use of noun forms with *aleph* as the third radical. The presence of *'a* indicated the suffix *[-atu]*, while the presence of *'i* pointed to a *[-tu]* suffix. Forms with third *nun*, *dalet*, or *yod* also helped to discern which feminine suffix was being employed, since they were preserved before *[-atu]* but assimilated or contracted (whenever *yod* was involved) before *[-tu]*. Likewise, the assumption that a final root radical was geminated also argued for the use of *[-atu]*. The following are examples of the two suffixes:

The Feminine Suffix *[-tu]*

qr'it [*qārī'tu*] "she cries" (1.100,2; a participle of the G stem); *m'it* [*mī'tu*] "one hundred" (1.49,10; 1.50,9; the plural is *m'at* for which see below); *ml'it* [*mali'tu*] "full" (2.2,7); *bt* [*bittu*] (< *bintu*) "daughter" (3.4,11; 4.659,7); *gt* [*gittu*] (< *gintu*) "wine/oil press" (3.5,7); *aht* [*ah(h)attu*] (< *'ah[h]adtu*) "one (f.)" (1.48,13); *qrt* [*qarītu*] (< *qariytu*) "town, citadel" (1.4 VIII,11; cf. the syllabic attestation *qa-ri-tu*₄ [*Ug 5 130 III,18'*]) beside *qryt* [*qar(ī)yatu*] (1.14 II,28; the preservation of the *yod* proves that the suffix must have been *[-atu]*); *hmt* [*hāmītu*] (< *hāmiytu*) "(city) wall" (1.14 III,4; cf. the syllabic attestation *\ha-mi-ti* [*PRU III*, p. 137,4]) beside the plural *hmyt* [*hāmiyātu*] "(city) walls" (1.40,36); *kst* [*kisātu*] (< *kisuwtu*) or [*kisītu*] (< *kisiytu*) "garment" (4.206,5); *g't* [*ga'ītu*] (< *ga'iytu?*) "neighing" (1.14 III,18).

Sometimes the nature of the feminine suffix employed on a particular noun is established by comparison with a syllabic attestation, e.g. on *mrkbt* "chariot" (2.31,31; 4.98,6) the suffix was *[-tu]* according to *mar-kab-ti*₇ [*markabti*] (*PRU III*, p. 96,28; cf. Biblical Hebrew מַרְכָּבָה [Gen. 41:43] resulting from the same suffix); likewise on *š'rt* "wool" (4.270,5,8) the suffix is *[-tu]* according to the syllabic documentation ^{TUG}*šā-har-tu/šā-hir-tu* [*šā'artu/šā'irtu*] (*PRU VI* 128,5).

The Feminine Suffix *[-atu]*

hm'at [*hīm'atu/ham'atu*] "butter" (1.23,14); *š'at* [*šī'atu*] "going out, sunrise" (1.3 II,8); *mr'at* [*marī'atu*] "fat" (4.247,20); *l'at* [*lu'atu?*] "sheep" (1.6 II,29); *qryt* [*qāniyatu*] "creatress" (1.4 I,22); *qryt* [*qar(ī)yatu*] "town, citadel" (1.14 II,28); *tnth* [*tīnatuhū/tēnatuhū*] "his urine" (1.114,21); *'almnt* [*almanatu*] "widow" (1.16 VI,33,46; cf. Akkadian *almattu* and

Phoenician אלתמה which indicate a [-tu] suffix, while Biblical Hebrew אלתמה [Gen. 38:11] reflects original [-atu]); *šnt* [šānatu] “year” (2.2,7; cf. Biblical Hebrew שנה [Gen. 6:3] which reflects -atu with Aramaic אנה and שנה in Moabite and the Samaria Ostraca which have [-tu]); *mknt* [makānatu] “place” (1.14 I,11); *l tmntk* [le-tamūnatikā] “for your (m.s.) image” (1.169,6); *nt* [‘anātā] “now” (1.19 III,55,56; cf. the syllabic form *at-ta* [‘attā] “now” [PRU III, p. 19,11] which indicates a [-tu] suffix); *’atnt* [‘atānatu] “she-ass” (1.4 IV,7,12); *’m¹ddt* [mēdūdatu/mōdūdatu] or [mēdadatu/mōdadatu] “beloved, friend” (1.14 II,50); *prt* [parratu] “cow” (1.5 V,18); *rbt* [rabbatu] “great, lady” (1.4 II,28); *’amt* [‘ammatu] “cubit” (1.12 I,16); *dqt* [daqqatu] “(a small cattle for sacrifice)” (1.39,3,4; 1.41,13,28); *’h¹tt* [hittatu] (< *hīntatu*) “wheat” (1.16 III,9); *’umt* [‘ummatu] “nation” (1.6 IV,19).

Sometimes the nature of this feminine suffix employed on a particular noun is established by comparison with a syllabic attestation, e.g. A.ŠĀ.MEŠ *hu-wa-’tī* [huwwatī] “land” (RŠ 8.145,5) and *’hu¹-wa-tu* [huwwatu] (Ug 5 137 II,10); *\ma-ad-da-tū* [maddatu] “measurement” (Ug 5 5,9); *ku-bu-da-ti* [kubud(d)atī] “honoring gift” (PRU III, p. 99,8); *ra-ba-ti* [rabbati] “great” (Ug 5 7,4).

PLURAL NOUN FORMS

Masculine Plural

The plural marker for the unbound noun in nominative case is [-ūma] and for the accusative and dependent (genitive) case it is [-īma]. These suffixes are demonstrated by words with *aleph* as the third radical and confirmed by Ugaritic words in syllabic transcription. The following are examples of both suffixes:

[-ūma] — *mr’um* [mur’ūma] “commanders, officers” (4.68,69); *rp’um* [rāpī’ūma] “Rephaim” (1.21 II,3,11); syllabic forms: LŪ.MEŠ.DAM.GĀR.MEŠ *bi-da-lu-ma* [bidālūma/bidalūma] “merchants” (PRU III, p. 199 II,12); *ia-šī-ru-ma* [yāširūma] “potters” (PRU III, p. 195 B I,12); *ma-ša-du-ma*^{MEŠ} [ma’šadūma] “hoes” (PRU VI 142,3); *ba-a-lu-ma* [ba’(a)lūma] “owner” (Ug 5 130 III,14; 137 II,30’,33’); *ma-qa-bu-ma* [maqqaḇūma] “hammers” (PRU VI 142,5; 157,4); LŪ.MEŠ *ha-am-ru-ma* [ḡamrūma] “tiros” (PRU VI, p. 150 n. 3); *ša-mu-ma* [šāmūma] (< *šamayūma*) “the heavens” (Ug 5 137 III,13’; cf. Biblical Hebrew אַמְּשׁ which seems

to reflect the dual suffix; the Amarna gloss *ša-mi-ma* [EA 264,16] represents m.pl. in genitive).

[-*īma*] — *rp'im* [*rāpi'īma*] “Rephaim” (1.21 II,9); *l šb'im* [*le-sabī'īma/šaba'īma*] “to the troops”, “to the soldiers” (1.3 II,22); *'iqn'im* [*'iqnū'īma/'iqni'īma*] “lapis lazuli” (1.4 V,19); syllabic documentations: *\na-āp-ki-ma* [*naḫkīma*] “springs, water sources” (PRU III, p. 49,5; PRU VI 56,v.5') and its variant *na-pá-ki-mi* [*naḫakīmi*] (PRU III, p. 79,8; it may reflect a scribal error, cf. Huehnergard 1987:299); *zī-qá-ni-ma* [*zīqanūma?*] “(type of fort)” (Ug 5 96,1); A.ŠA.MEŠ *ša-ri-ma* [*šarīma*] “(type of fields)” (PRU III, p. 148,7); A.ŠA.H.IA *\di-ip-ra-ni-ma* [*dīprānūma*] “(fields of) junipers” (PRU III, p. 64,4); A.ŠA.MEŠ *ḫa-ba-li-ma* [*ḫabatūma*] “fields of ropes(?)” (PRU III, p. 46,8).

Besides the regular suffixes, there is also attestation for [-*ūna*]. Thus in the words *kšmm* [?] “spelt” (4.345,2) alongside *kšmn* [?] “spelt” (4.269,4,20,30; cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1973:90-91) and [LÚ].MEŠ *bi-da-lu-na* [*bidātūna/bidalūna*] “merchants” (PRU III, p. 204,14) in addition to the form discussed above with the conventional suffix. This might be a stray example of a non-Ugaritic dialectal variation that does not reflect the norm. Such plural markers with *nun* are typical of Aramaic, Moabite and Arabic (cf. Diem 1975:239-258, especially 255-256; Blau 1979b:143; Garr 1985:89-91). It is also known on West Semitic words attested in Egyptian transcription, e.g. *na-‘á-ri-na* “elite warriors (literally “youths”)” (cf. Helck 1971:563 no. 136) and also the geographical name *na-ḫa-ri-na* (cf. Erman and Grapow 1957 II:287; cf. most recently Sivan and Cochavi-Rainey 1992:43-44 and Hoch 1994:446). On the other hand, it is possible that the Ugaritic scribe simply made a mistake, confusing the masculine plural here with the imperfect plural ending of the verb which is [-*ūna*].

When the plural suffixes are found on bound forms, they lose the [-*ma*] element, the respective suffixes are thus [-*ū*] and [-*ī*]. Attestations to these suffixes can be traced in alphabetic examples of words with final *aleph* and in syllabic forms. Of course they can only be identified by their contexts, e.g. *šn'u hd* [*šāni'ū haddi*] “(those who) hate Hadad” (1.4 VII,36); *mr'u skn* [*mur'ū sākinū*] “officers of the commissioner” (4.68,63); *rp'u b'l* [*rāpi'ū ba'li*] “Baal's Rephaim” (1.22 I,8); *bd mr'i skn* [*bādi mur'ī sākinū*] “from/in the hands of the officers of the commissioner” (4.92,2-3); *mr'i 'ilm* [*mar'ī 'ilma*] “fatlings of the gods” (1.22 I,13); *b tk rp'i* ^F*ar*¹[s] [*bi-tōki rāpi'ī 'aršī*]

“in the midst of the earth’s Rephaim” (1.15 III,14); syllabic documentation: LÜ.MES₃ *mar-ia-an-ni* [LUGAL] [*maryannī šarri*] “chariot drivers of [the king]” (PRU III, p. 140,6).

It is also possible to surmise that other forms without final *aleph* were bound forms of the plural, e.g. *nsk ksp* [*nāsikū kaspi*] “those who melt silver” (4.68,74); *bdl ’ar dt ’inn mhr lhm* “merchants [*bidātu/bidalū*] of Aru who do not have a soldier” (4.214,4-5).

Feminine Plural

The standard suffix is [-*ātu*] for the nominative case and [-*āti*] for the accusative and the dependent (genitive) cases. There are not many attested examples of syllabic spellings for the feminine plural suffix, note: *ku-ri-ka-at* [*kurikāt/kurikāt?*] “(agricultural implements)” (PRU VI 157,3); GĪŠ.MES₃ *ma-sa-wa/ya-tu-¹ma¹* [*masawātu/masayātu*] “cypress logs” (PRU VI 113,5; the enclitic *mem* [-*ma*] is not part of the word); A.ŠA.MES₃ *ha-ar-ša-ti* [*harsāti*] “grooved fields(?)” (PRU III, p. 95,11,20; cf. Kühne 1974:165-166).

The alphabetic documentation is more plentiful. Often it is possible to discern the plural ending from the context, but frequently there are plural forms that differ from attested singulars. The following are some examples: *m’at* [*mi’ātu*] “hundreds” (4.91,2,4) beside *m’it* [*mi’tu*] “hundred” (1.50,9); *ks’at* [*kussī’ātu/kissī’ātu*] “chairs” (1.4 VI,52) beside the singular *ks’u* [*kussī’u/kissī’u*] “chair” (1.4 V,46); *k^fbd’lhm* [*kabidātihum(ū)*] “their livers (acc.)” (1.19 III,10) alongside the singular *kbd* [*kabidu*] “liver” (1.143,1); likewise *tlhnt* [*tuḥhānātu/talḥānātu*] “tables” (1.4 IV,36) with a singular *tlhn* [*tuḥhānu/talḥānu*] (1.4 I,38); *qmt* [*qar(a)nātu*] “horns” (1.17 VI,22) with the dual *qmm* [*qarnāma/i*] “(pair of) horns” (1.12 I,30); *gmt* [*gur(a)nātu*] “threshing floors” (1.20 II,6) beside the singular *gm* [*gumu*] (1.19 I,30); *bnt* [*binātu/banātu/bunātu*] “daughters” (1.82,18; 2.2,9) with the singular *bt* [*bittu*] (3.4,11; 4.659,7); *ktnt* [*kut(t)unātu?*] “cloaks” (4.771,2) beside the singular *ktn* [*kut(t)unu?*] (3.1,27; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:362).

In one instance the suffix [-*ātu*] is added to a word ending in the feminine singular suffix (unless it reflects dittography; cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1977:345), thus *’ahy^hth* [*’ahātātuhā*] “her sisters” (1.24,36; instead of **’ahy^hth*; cf. the same phenomenon in Biblical Hebrew עִשָּׂו “language” [Gen. 11:1] but יְהוֹרָשׁוּ “his lips” [Cant. 5:13]).

On occasion there are words that have either the masculine plural morpheme or the feminine plural morpheme, thus *d[b]hm* [*dab(a)hūma*]

“sacrifices” (1.40,32) alongside ¹*d¹b^ht* [*dab(a)hātu*] (1.142,1; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:12); *r¹ašm* [*ra¹ašūma*] “heads” (1.5 I,3) beside *r¹aštkm* [*ra¹ašātikum(ū)*] “your (m.pl.) heads (acc.)” (1.2 I,27) and *r¹išthm* [*ra¹šātihum(ū)*] “their (m.pl.) heads (acc.)” (1.2 I,23); *ymm* [*yômūma/yamūma*] “days” (5.9 I,4) beside *ymt* [*yômātu/yamātu*] (1.108,26; cf. Gordon 1965:555; Blau and Greenfield 1970:13; *TO II*, p. 118, *contra Ug* 5, p. 557). Another form is *lšnt* [*lašānātu*] “tongues” (1.84,9; cf. Biblical Hebrew לְשׁוֹן [Zech. 8:23] and Akkadian *lišānātu*) alongside *lšnm* [*lašānūma*] (1.83,5; cf. *TO II*, p. 29, n. 43).

There are no differences in the bound form with this feminine plural suffix.

DUAL NOUN FORMS

The dual is used widely in Ugaritic, in the pronouns, in nominal declension and in verbal conjugation (cf. Gorton 1965:53-54 and Fontinoy 1969:87-88).

The Alphabetic Dual Marker -m

This morpheme resembles outwardly the masculine plural morpheme; therefore, it is hard to determine which is involved. Thus for example the form *kdm* “jars” (4.149,8) could be dual [*kaddāma/i*] or plural [*kaddūma*].

With feminine nouns the dual can be distinguished from the plural, since the dual morpheme is added to the feminine morpheme, i.e. *mrkbtm* “two chariots” (4.145,6) has to be dual. Likewise *qštm* is “two bows” (4.63 I,2,26,27); *šntm* “two years” (2.39,16); *m¹itm* “two hundred” (2.77,4); *qrtn* “two towns” (1.3 II,20); *rbtn* “twenty thousand” (1.4 I,30).

The dual masculine forms can often be distinguished by the context, e.g. *kdm* “two jars” (4.41,8,9); *kkrm* “two talents” (4.91,6); *ymm* “two days” (1.6 II,26); *’alpm* “two thousand” (2.33,24,32,38); *hṭbm* “two hewers of wood” (4.609,20).

Sometimes it is possible to determine duality by comparison with other Semitic languages (especially Biblical Hebrew). Thus, e.g. *mšltm* “cymbals” (1.3 I,19) is in Biblical Hebrew מְשַׁלְתַּיִם (Neh. 12:27); *mznm* “scales” (4.385,5) is in Biblical Hebrew מְזַנֵּי (Isa. 40:15). Also nat-

ural pairs among parts of the body can be determined, such as *ydm* “hands” (1.2 IV,14,16) is in Biblical Hebrew יָדַיִם (Jos. 8:20); *mtnm* “loins” (1.12 II,38) is in Biblical Hebrew קִרְחָיִם (Deut. 33:11); *grnm* “horns” (1.12 I,30) is in Biblical Hebrew קַרְנָיִם (Hab. 3:4); *p'nm* “feet” (1.4 V,21; the Biblical Hebrew parallel is רַגְלָיִם [Lev. 11:42]).

Forms with the *-m* suffix can be considered dual if their plural is formed with *-t* [-*ātu*]. For example *tlhnm* “two tables” (1.3 II,30) beside plural *tlhnt* (1.3 II,36); *'nm* “eyes” (1.2 IV,22,25) beside plural *'nt* “springs” (1.3 IV,36).

In many instances the number *tt/tn* “two” precedes a dual form, e.g. *tt mrkbtm* “two chariots” (4.145,6); *tt 'a'ltm* “two wives” (4.102,7,11); *tn 'alpm* “two thousand” (4.295,13); *tn dbh̄m* “two sacrifices” (1.4 III,17); *t¹n šm* “two sheep” (1.105,13).

In the syllabic texts one can discern that the numeral “2” can precede forms of the masculine or feminine plural: 2 *ka₄-ka₄-¹ru¹-¹ma¹* [š̄ina kakkarūma] “two talents” (PRU III, p. 51,23); 2 TUG.MEŠ *mu-ru-ú-ma^{MEŠ}* [š̄ina mur'ūma] “two *m*-garments” (PRU VI 126,3); 2 *ma-qa-bu-ma^{MEŠ}* [š̄ina maqqabūma] “two hammers” (PRU VI 142,5; 157,4; cf. the alphabetic *tn mqb̄m* [4.625,5]); 2 *qà-da-ru-ma^{MEŠ}* [š̄ina qadarūma] “two bowls(?)” (PRU VI 158,12); *t² ku-ri-ka-¹at¹* [š̄itta kurikāt/kurikāt] “two (agricultural tools)” (PRU VI 157,3); 2 URUDU *ha-ar-mi-ša-tu* [š̄itta harmiātū] “two sickles” (PRU VI 141,3).

There is a possible example of this phenomenon in an alphabetic text. The undefined word *kw* (2.47,17) has the plural *kw̄t* which also appears with the numeral “two” in the following: *tt kw̄t yn* “two *k*-vessels of wine” (4.691,6; the *waw* is hardly to be taken as a vowel letter, *contra* Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1975a:560).

Morphology of the Dual Forms

Masculine dual forms were created by affixing the dual morpheme. On the other hand, the feminine dual forms were created by one of two methods: the dual morpheme may be affixed to the singular feminine form or to the plural feminine form (cf. Biblical Hebrew שְׁתַּיִם [Gen. 11:10] and שְׁתַּיִם [Exod. 6:30] alongside לְחַיִּים [Ezek. 27:5] and חַיִּים [Jer. 52:7]). The following are examples:

Forms Built on the Singular — *m'itm* “two hundred” (2.77,4; 4.247,28), the singular is *m'it* [m¹itū] “hundred” (1.49,10), while the plural is *m'at* [m¹atū] “hundreds” (4.91,2,4); *rbtm* “two myriad” (1.4 I,30), the singular is *rbt* [ribbatū] “myriad” (7.47,5), while the plural is *rbbt* [rib-

abātu “myriads” (1.4 I,28); *ttm* “12 (= 6x2)” (4.141 III,7,9), the plural is *ttm* “sixty” (1.4 VII,9); *tttm* “6 (= 3x2)” (4.360,6,7), the plural is *ttm* “thirty” (4.182,12).

Forms Built on the Plural — *thmtm* “the two deeps” (1.4 IV,22), the singular is *thm* [*tahāmu?*] (1.23,30) and the plural is *thmt* [*tahāmātu?*] (1.92,5); *dnbtm* “two tails” (1.83,7), the singular is *dnb* [*danabu*] (1.114,20), while the plural must have been **dnbt* [*danabātu*] though it is undocumented (cf. Biblical Hebrew נָבִי [Judg. 15:4] alongside הַנְּבִי [Judg. 15:4]).

Morphology of the Dual Suffix

The vocalization of the dual morpheme cannot be determined from the alphabetic texts, but from the syllabic attestation only. The nominative form of the dual suffix is [-*āma/-āmī*], thus on the words *ma-aš-la-ḥa-ma* [*mašlahāma/mašlahāma*] “two (bolts?) of *m*-cloth” (*PRU* VI 123,3); 2 *ḥi-nu-ta-mi* “two *ḥ*’s” (*PRU* VI 163 v, 5’; although the noun is not defined, it undoubtedly has the dual suffix).

Examples of dual forms in the oblique cases (accusative and dependent/genitive) are not found. However, on the basis of comparative Semitics, it may be assumed that the oblique morpheme was [-*ēma/-ēmī*] (< -*ayma/-aymī*). Documentation for this oblique suffix is found outside of Ugarit, such as *ma-ga-re-ma* [*magarēma*] (< *magarayma*) “two wheels” (Taanach Letters, No. 8,2), and the geographic name in the Amarna letters ^{KUR}*na-aḥ-re-mi* [*nahrēmi*] (< *nahraymī*) “the land of Nahrēmi (= the two rivers)” (*EA* 194:23).

When the dual form is in construct (bound form) the *-m* [-*ma/-mī*] is elided while the vowel, either *ā* (nominative) or *ē* (genitive/accusative) is preserved. In the syllabic texts one finds *ma-qa-ḥa IZIMEŠ* [*maqqaḥā iṣāti*] “a pair of tongs for fire” (*PRU* VI 157,13; cf. the form from Amarna letter *ḥe-na-ia* [*ḥēnāya*] “my [two] eyes [nom.]” [*EA* 144,18]; see Rainey 1975a:13 and 1996: I,92,136) and *ma-qa-ḥa me-e* [*maqqaḥā mē*] “pair of tongs for water” (*PRU* VI 157,14); *i-na 2 mī-te KŪ.BABBAR kās-pu* [*ina šina mī’tē kaspū*] “for 200 (shekels) of silver” (*PRU* III, p. 169,14).

In the alphabetic texts the construct dual forms can only be discerned by context, e.g. ¹*kp* ¹*mz*¹*nm* [*kappē mōz(a)nēma/i*] “pans of the scales” (1.24,35); *l p’n b’ly* [*le-pa’nē ba’liya*] “at the feet of my lord” (2.64,13); in construct with a clause, ¹*y*¹ ²*att* ²*itrḥ* [*yā ’attatā ’itrah(u)*] “O, two wives (whom) I have betrothed” (1.23,64).

There is no clear evidence for preservation of the *-m* on a bound form, but there is the enigmatic example: *w lqh̄ tqlm ksp* “and he took (two?) shekels (of) silver” (2.70,18-19). It is highly probable that the form *tqlm* is either plural or dual and *ksp* is in apposition to it, i.e. [*tīqlēma/i kaspa*]. But the *-m* might be the enclitic particle *mem* that is sometimes added to a noun in construct state (cf. *infra*, p. 193) and thus it should be reconstructed [*tīqlē-ma kaspi*].

THE CASE SYSTEM

The case system common to the Semitic languages is functional in Ugaritic. Nouns, including substantives, adjectives (and participles) all inflect for case endings, in the singular, dual and plural.

Singular

The singular inflects with vowel suffixes for three cases: nominative [-*u*], accusative [-*a*], and dependent (genitive) [-*i*]. The following are some examples:

t'db ks'u “a chair (nom.) was set” (1.4 V,46); *št . . . mr'a* “they placed . . . a fatling (acc.)” (1.4 V,45; or “he placed . . . a fatling”); *qš [m]^ri* “a slice of the fatted calf (gen.)” (1.4 VI,57-58).

The construct forms also bore the case endings (as in Arabic but unlike Akkadian, cf. Huehnergard 1981:209-218 and Sivan 1988:113-120, *contra* Zevit [1983:225-232] who is of the idea that such forms did not bear cases), e.g.:

ks'u t̄bth [*kussī'u/kissī'u t̄ib(a)t̄ihū*] “the throne of his dwelling” (1.4 VIII,13-14); *l yhp̄k ks^ra¹ mlkk* [*lū-yahpuku kussī'a/kissī'a mulkikā*] “verily he will overturn the throne of your (m.s.) kingship” (1.6 VI,28).

From these examples one may deduce that the suffixes were also preserved on forms without final *aleph*, e.g.:

spr n̄p̄š d 'rb bt mlk “document of the personnel (soul[s]) [*sipru nap̄šī*] that have entered the king's house [*bēta malkī*]” (4.338,1-2).

Illustrations can be brought from the syllabic texts:

ka₄-ka₄-ra h̄urāšī [*kakkara h̄urāšī*] “a talent (acc.) of gold” (*PRU* III,

p. 153,20,22); *tap-di*₁₂-*tu*₄ *eqlāti* [*tapdātu eqlāti*] “redemption price (nom.) for the fields” (*PRU* III, p. 139,19); *É-tu*₄/*ta-ar-bá-si* [*bētu tarbaši*] “stable building (nom.)” (*PRU* III, p. 92,17).

Masculine Plural

The nominative suffix is [-*ūma*] and in the oblique cases it is [-*īma*]. The construct forms drop their final [-*ma*] (cf. the alphabetic examples above p. 77). One may add a construct form in which clauses stand in the genitive role (this phenomenon is alive in Akkadian [cf. Ungnad 1992:123] and is also found in Biblical Hebrew [cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990:138-139 and 338]; for details cf. *infra*, p. 77). Thus *y bn 'as'ld* “O, sons (whom) I have begotten” (1.23,65; cf. Albright 1941:47).

Feminine Plural

The nominative suffix is [-*ātu*] and in the oblique cases it is [-*ātū*]. There is no change in the construct forms; the reserved endings conform to the function of the word in its clause (cf. examples *supra*, p. 77).

Dual

The nominative suffix is [-*āma*/-*āmī*] and in the oblique cases it is [-*ēma*/-*ēmī*]. The construct forms drop their final [-*ma*/-*mī*]; the reserved endings conform to the function of the word in its clause (cf. examples above, p. 81). One may add here the sentence *'y' att 'itrh* “O, two wives (nom.) (whom) I have betrothed” (1.23,64), where *'att* is a construct form and the verb *'itrh* is the genitive.

Case Inflection on Proper Nouns

According to the syllabic evidence many personal names (if they are really Ugaritic in origin) inflect diptotically. The nominative suffix is [-*u*] and the oblique suffix is [-*a*]. This pertains especially to forms with the [-*ānu*/-*ūnu*/-*īnu*] suffixes (cf. Liverani 1963:131-160; Sivan 1984a:115-116; Huehnergard 1987:299). On the other hand, there are many personal names that inflect triptotically (cf. Sivan 1984a:114-118). Thus, a combination such as *hmyt 'ugrt* “the walls

of Ugarit" (1.40,36) could be either [hāmīyātu 'ugarīta] or [hāmīyātu 'ugarīti]; also 'atr b'l "the place of Baal" (1.5 VI,24-25) could be [ʾatru ba'la] or [ʾatru ba'li].

Words with no Case Inflection

From the syllabic evidence it would appear that the case system was almost completely in effect in Ugaritic. Nevertheless, one can find some words without case inflection and some scribes did not always use the inflection correctly (cf. *infra*). Is this a case of Hurrian interference or is it an indication that the case system was beginning to go out of use? Note the following examples: *i-zi-ir* ['idir] "help" (*Ug* 5 130 III,7); *ku-ri-ka-at* [kurikāt/kurīkāt?] "(agricultural implements)" (*PRU* VI 157,3) beside the singular *ku-ri-ku* [kuriku/kurīku] (*PRU* VI 157,12); A.ŠĀ.MEŠ *al-la-an* [ʾallān] "fields of oak" (*PRU* III, p. 131,4); 2 URUDU *ma-am-ša-ar bu-li* [mamšar būli] "two cattle knives" (*PRU* VI 141,2; here the construct form lacks a case ending, perhaps in accordance with Akkadian practice).

Words with Wrong Cases

A number of forms have erroneous case endings (the same phenomenon can be discerned in the Amarna letters, cf. Rainey 1996 I:170). The following are some examples:

ina \ *šī-sū-ma* [ina šīšūma] "in the canebrakes(?)" (*PRU* III, p. 125, v, 4'), which should be *ina* *šīšūma (cf. Sivan 1984a:114-123); 'ily 'ugrt tgrk [ʾilī 'ugarīta/'ugarīti taḡḡurūkī] "may the gods of Ugarit protect you (f.s.)" (2.16,4-5). Since "the gods of Ugarit" are the subject of that clause, the construct form should have been *ilū (nominative plural construct). The final *yod* on the construct form is a *mater lectionis* for -ī, the suffix for construct oblique case, an error in case (cf. Blau 1985: 292). Rainey (1987:401) saw this as a scribal error. Compare the correct orthography 'il mšrm [ʾilū mišrēma/i] "the gods of Egypt" (2.23,22).

Another scribal error in case marking is 'atty 'il ylt [ʾattatē 'ili yalat-tā] "the two wives of El gave birth" (1.23,60). The *yod* is a *mater lectionis* for the oblique dual construct suffix. We would have expected the nominative, viz. *attatā (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:26).

One may add the sentence *mrhy mlk tdlln* "the spears of the king will be subjugated" (1.103+1.145,7). It seems that *mrhy* is the sub-

ject of the sentence and therefore the *yod* reflects an error in case (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:94). The same holds in the sentence *tqsm ymy b'lhv* "the days of their (f.pl.) lord will be short" (1.103+1.145,33-34; for the possibility that the form is Dp, cf. *infra*, p. 137). The *yod* is a *mater lectionis* for the oblique construct and we would have expected the nominative (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:99,130).

CHAPTER FIVE

NUMERALS AND NUMERIC TERMS

GENERAL REMARKS

In Ugaritic one finds both cardinal and ordinal numbers. The numerals may be written either by vocables or by numeric symbols. A vertical wedge I expresses "one" and the ¶ has the value of "ten". The tens precede the units, for example ¶I = 11. The use of numeric symbols is more frequent in the non-poetic, administrative texts (cf. 4.36; 4.38; 4.68; 4.99; 4.100), but even in these latter texts, the numbers are often written out as words.

CARDINAL NUMBERS

Before discussing the morphology of the numerals, it should be noted that we have no way of determining whether the forms had case endings (as in Arabic) or whether they lacked them as in Akkadian. From the limited evidence at our disposal, it would appear that a numeral may stand in construct with the noun being numbered, but it is also possible that the noun stood in apposition to the numeral. It would seem that the numerals were increasingly thought to be in apposition as may be discerned from numerals that are associated with nouns having *aleph* as the final consonant (cf. Blau 1972:78-79). The following are some examples:

Numerals in Construct

m'it 'iqn'i [*m'it(u) 'iqn'i/'iqn'i*] "one hundred (shekels of) lapis lazuli" (3.1,30,32); *'arb' 'alpm 'iqn'i* [*'arba'(u) 'al(a)pūma/'al(a)pūma 'iqn'i/'iqn'i*] "four thousand (shekels of) lapis lazuli" (4.203,5). Another example is from the syllabic texts, *i-na 2 mī-te KŪ.BAB-BAR kās-pu* [*ina šina mī'tē kaspu*] "for two hundred (shekels) of silver" (PRU III, p. 169,14). The form *mī'tē* is genitive after the numeral *šina* "two".

Numerals in Apposition

iltm 'iqn'u [*talātūma 'iqn'u/'iqn'u*] "thirty (shekels of) lapis lazuli"

(4.182,12); $^1h^1mšm \text{ } ^2iqn^2u$ [$ham(i)šūma \text{ } ^2iqn^2u/\text{ } ^2iqn^2u$] “fifty (shekels of lapis lazuli)” (4.182,16); $m^2itm \text{ } ^2iqn^2u$ [$m^2tāma/i \text{ } ^2iqn^2u/\text{ } ^2iqn^2u$] “two hundred (shekels of lapis lazuli)” (4.247,28); $šr \text{ } m^2um$ [$aš(a)r(u) \text{ } mur^2ūma$] “ten officers” (4.137,7; 4.163,3; 4.173,6); [hm]š [m]’at $^2iqn^2u$ [$ham(i)š(u) \text{ } m^2ātu/i \text{ } ^2iqn^2u/\text{ } ^2iqn^2u$] “five hundred (shekels of lapis lazuli)” (3.1,23).

Further evidence of the appositional syntagma may be found in the syllabic attestations. Here are a few of them:

2 $ka_4-ka_4-^1ru^1-^1ma^1$ [$šina \text{ } kakkarūma$] “two talents” (PRU III, p. 51,23; if the numeral was in construct with its noun, we would have expected $*kakkarūma$); 2 TUG.MEŠ $mu-ru-ú-ma^{MEŠ}$ [$šina \text{ } muru^2ūma$] “two m-garments” (PRU VI 126,3); 2 $ma-qa-bu-ma$ [$šina \text{ } maqqabūma$] “two hammers” (PRU VI 157,4); 2 $qā-da-ru-ma^{MEŠ}$ [$šina \text{ } qadarūma$] “two bowls(?)” (PRU VI 158,12); 2 URUDU $ha-ar-mi-ša-tu$ [$šitta \text{ } harmiātū$] “two sickles” (PRU VI 141,3); 2 $hi-nu-ta-mi$ [$šina \text{ } ?$] “two h^2 ’s” (PRU VI 163 v. 5’; though the word is not identified, it is obviously in the nominative dual; the oblique case would have ended in [- $ēma/i$]).

The Cardinals 1-10

- (1) 1ahd [$ah(h)ad(u)$] (cf. the syllabic attestation [a]- $^1h^1a-du$ (Ug 5 138,1’, following Borger 1969:172) — It serves with masculine nouns. In 1.161,27 the scribe uses ‘šty [?] “one” as a cardinal number. ‘št is always used in the number 11 (cf. Xella 1981:287 and Cazelles 1979:259, *contra* TO II, p. 109, n. 337 and Rin and Rin [1996:846] who treat ‘šty as an ordinal number).
 2aht [$ah(h)att(u)$] (< $^2ah[h]adt[u]$) — It serves with feminine nouns.

- (2) tn [$tīnā$] — It goes with both masculine and feminine nouns in the nominative. With masculine or feminine nouns in the oblique cases the form was [$tīnē$] (< $tīnay$).
 tt [$tittā$] (< $tintā$) — It is found with feminine nouns in the nominative; [$tittē$] (< $tintay$) with feminine nouns in the oblique cases.

Each of the cardinal numbers for 3 through 10 have two forms. Those with final $-t$ are used only with masculine nouns while those without the $-t$ are found with both masculine and feminine nouns.

Masculine/Feminine**Masculine only**

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3) <i>l̄l̄t</i> [<i>l̄al̄āṭ(u)</i>] | <i>l̄l̄t</i> [<i>l̄al̄āṭ(a)t(u)</i>] |
| (4) <i>'arb'</i> [<i>'arba'(u)</i>] | <i>'arb't</i> [<i>'arba'(a)t(u)</i>] |
| (5) <i>ḥmš</i> [<i>ḥam(i)š(u)</i>] | <i>ḥmšt</i> [<i>ḥam(i)š(a)t(u)</i>] |
| (6) <i>tt</i> [<i>titt(u)</i>] (< <i>tiddt(u)</i>) | <i>ttt</i> [<i>tittat(u)</i>] (< <i>tiddat(u)</i>) |
| (7) <i>šb'</i> [<i>šab'(u)</i>] | <i>šb't</i> [<i>šab'at(u) / šaba't(u)</i>] |
| (8) <i>tmn</i> [<i>tamānū/i</i>] | <i>tmnt</i> [<i>tamānīt(u)</i>] |
| (9) <i>tš'</i> [<i>tīš'(u)</i>] | <i>tš't</i> [<i>tīš'at(u) / tīš't(u)</i>] |
| (10) <i>'šr</i> [<i>'aš(a)r(u)</i>] | <i>'šrt</i> [<i>'aš(a)r(a)t(u)</i>] |

NOTES

1. The number 2 can be expressed by a noun in the dual without use of a numeral (for examples, cf. *infra*, pp. 79-82). The numeral 2 can also be used and in such cases it is not necessary that the noun will be in the dual (cf. *supra*, in the discussion on the dual).

Pairs of nouns can be expressed by different words: *tnt* [*tinētu*] (< *tinaytu*), *'aḥdm* [*'aḥ(h)adāma/i*] (cf. Biblical Hebrew עֶבְרִית [Ezek. 37,17]) and *šmdm* [*šamdāma/i*]. The following are examples:

ḥmš tnt 'alpm "five pairs (= ten) of oxen" (4.402,5; cf. Vroilleaud 1965:127); *tt tnt d 'alp* "two pairs (= four) of oxen" (4.203,13); *ḥmš tnt d m'it* "five pairs (= ten) of hundred" (4.203,10); *trm 'aḥdm* "a pair of tr's" (4.167,3); *'arb' šmdm 'apnt* "four pairs (= eight) of wheels" (4.169,7).

2. The enumerated noun usually follows its numeral, but sometimes it can precede it. For example: *p'amt šb'* [*p'a'(a)mātu šab'(u)*] "seven times" (1.23,20; 1.41,52) beside the regular construction *šb' p'amt* (1.43,7,26). Likewise when the number is in the tens, *p'amt tltm* [*p'a'(a)mātu talātūma*] "thirty times" (1.109,30) beside the normal arrangement [*t*] *ltm p'amt* (1.173,15).

3. The number 6 can be expressed by the dual of the number 3, that is *šlšm* [*šalāš(a)tāma/i*] “6 (= 3x2)” (4.360,6,7); likewise with the number 12: *šlšm* [*šlšatāma/i*] “12 (= 6x2)” (4.141 III,7,9).

4. The number 8 can be expressed by the combination *ʿarbaʿ*[*b*]*ʿ* *ʿarbaʿ* [*ʿarbaʿ(u) ʿarbaʿ(u)*] (1.41,51).

5. There are cases in which the numeral comes without its noun, it happens when the missing noun is understood from the context. Note the following examples:

šbʿ šnt ʿsrk bʿl tnn rkb ʿrpt “seven years may Baal fail, eight (years), the Rider of the Clouds” (1.19 I,42-44); *tn dbhm šnʿa bʿl šlš rkb ʿrpt* “Baal hates two sacrifices, three (sacrifices), the Rider of the Clouds” (1.4 III,17-18); *ʿarbaʿt* “four (shekels)” (4.98,20).

6. The noun which follows the numerals 3-10 usually takes its plural form (the same holds in Biblical Hebrew, cf. Cowley 1910:433). Note the following examples:

šlš mʿat [*šalāš(u) mʿātu/i*] “three hundred” (1.14 II,36); *ʿarbaʿ ʿsm* [*ʿarbaʿ(u) ʿiṣṣūma/ʿiṣṣūma*] “four trees” (2.26,9); *šlš sswm* [*šalāš(u) ššwūma/ššwūma*] “three horses” (1.14 III,24).

On the other hand, one finds instances in which the noun is in the singular, such as:

tnn ḥzr [*tamānū/i ḥzr*] “eight ḥzr-personnel” (4.141 III,4); *šbʿ kbd* [*šabʿ(u) kabidu/i*] “seven heavy (shekels)” (4.123,22).

Sometimes one cannot determine whether the form is singular or plural, for example:

ʿarbaʿ ʿatt [*ʿarbaʿ(u) ʿattātu/ʿattāti*] or [*ʿarbaʿ(u) ʿattatu/i*] “four women” (4.349,2).

The Cardinals for 11-19

1. These numbers are expressed by combining the units with the numeral forms for “ten”, *ʿšr* [*ʿaš(a)ru*] or *ʿšrh* [*ʿiṣrēh?*] (< *ʿiṣrayh?*; some have thought that the *hé* was a *mater lectionis* [cf. Kutscher 1967:33], while others have assumed that it was consonantal [cf. Blau 1968a:267-268]). Sometimes an alternate form, *ʿšrt* [*ʿaš(a)r(a)t(u)*] is employed.

2. The numeral combinations with *ʿšr* serve to designate nouns in both masculine and feminine, while those with *ʿšrh* or *ʿšrt* are used only with masculine nouns. The following are examples:

šlš ʿšr mkrm [*šalāš(u) ʿaš(a)r(u) mākirūma/mākirīma*] “thirteen merchants” (4.163,7); *šlš ʿšr bnš* [*šalāš(u) ʿaš(a)r(u) bunušu/i*] “thirteen men” (4.618,2); *ʿarbaʿt ʿšrt bʿl* [*ʿarbaʿ(a)t(u) ʿaš(a)r(a)t(u) bāʿilu/i*] “fourteen

workers" (1.105,17); *'arb't 'šrt hrš* [*'arba'(a)t(u) 'aš(a)r(a)t(u) hurāsu/i*] "fourteen (shekels of) gold" (4.341,16); *tt 'šrh yn* [*tūt(u) 'išrēh yēnu/i*] "sixteen (jars of) wine" (4.284,5); *tmnt 'šrt ksp* [*tamānū(u) 'aš(a)r(a)t(u) kaspu/i*] "eighteen (shekels of) silver" (4.337,15); *tmn 'šrh mrynm* [*tamānū/i 'išrēh maryannūma/maryannāma*] "eighteen charioteers" (4.173,2).

3. The number 11 is either *'št 'šr* [*'ašū(?) 'aš(a)r(u)/i*] (4.141 III,7; 4.358,7) or *'št 'šrh* [*'aštū(?) 'išrēh*] (4.290,4; 4.609,52).

4. The unit numeral generally precedes that of the tens, e.g.:

tn 'šrh [*tīnā 'išrēh*] "twelve" (4.363,3); *hms 'šrh* [*ham(i)š(u) 'išrēh*] "fifteen" (4.344,2); *tmn 'šrh* [*tamānū/i 'išrēh*] "eighteen" (4.173,2); etc.

5. On occasion, *'šr* or *'šrt* precedes the unit numeral. This may be on analogy with the numerals from twenty one and up. Likewise, it is possible that there was some influence from the orthography of the ciphers used to express the numerals in which the symbol for "ten" is followed by the symbols for units. In this kind of numbers no *w*-conjunction was used. The following are examples:

'šr tn [*'aš(a)r(u) tīnā*] "twelve" (4.244,21); *'šr 'arb'* [*'aš(a)r(u) 'arba'(u)*] "fourteen" (4.244,18); *'šrt hms* [*'aš(a)r(a)t(u) ham(i)š(u)*] "fifteen" (4.158,9-10; 4.226,8); *'šrt tt* [*'aš(a)r(a)t(u) tūt(u)*] "sixteen" (4.226,7).

The Cardinals for the Tens

1. The form for "twenty" is *'šrm* (4.22,5 and elsewhere) which may be dual, i.e. [*'ašrāma/i*] (in Akkadian "twenty" is the dual *ešrā*), but it may be plural, i.e. [*'aš(a)rūma*] (cf. Biblical Hebrew עשרים).

2. The numerals 20-90 are built on the form of the units 3-9 with the addition of the masculine plural marker, for example: *tlm* [*talātūma*] "thirty" (4.243,22 and elsewhere); *'arb'm* [*'arba'ūma*] "forty" (4.257,4 and elsewhere); etc. "eighty" is always written *tmnym* (4.213,20 and elsewhere). The *yod* is an original radical and not a *mater lectionis*, thus the form was [*tamāniyūma*].

3. The units are joined to the tens without a conjunction (in contrast to Biblical Hebrew, cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990:282-283). Note the following examples:

'šrm 'ahd [*'aš(a)rūma* or *'ašrāma/i 'ah(h)ad(u)*] "twenty-one" (4.137,10); *'šrm hms* [*'aš(a)rūma* or *'ašrāma/i ham(i)š(u)*] "twenty-five" (4.92,4-5); *tlm tt* [*talātūma tūt(u)*] "thirty-six" (4.392,4); *hmsm ill* [*ham(i)šūma talāt(u)*] "fifty-three" (1.148,20); *hmsm tmn* [*ham(i)šūma tamānū/i*] "fifty-eight" (4.141 II,24).

4. In rare instances the connection between the tens and the units is realized by use of the *w*-conjunction. For example:

l̥tm w šb' [*talātūma wa-šab'(u)*] "thirty-seven" (4.658,48).

5. Sometimes the units are joined to the tens by means of the *l-* [*le-*] preposition (cf. Pardee [1976:302] and Loewenstamm [1980:313-314] who consider this *l-* as "lamed of belonging"). In such cases, the units precede the tens. A few attestations are:

h̥mš l' šrm [*ham(i)š(u) le-'aš(a)rīma* or *'ašrēma/i*] "twenty-five" (4.213,9);
tmn l' arb'm [*tamānū/i le-'arba'ūma*] "forty-eight" (4.144,5); *šb' l' šrm*
 [*šab'(u) le-'aš(a)rīma* or *'ašrēma/i*] "twenty-seven" (4.775,9); *tt l' ttm*
 [*titt(u) le-tittīma*] "sixty-six" (1.4 VII,9).

The Cardinals for the Hundreds

1. The word for "hundred" is *m'it* [*mī'tu*] (4.203,10 and elsewhere; probably the combination *'šrt 'šr* [4.158,7-8] means "hundred" [lit.: "ten of tens"]). The dual is *m'itm* [*mī'tāma/i*] "two hundred" (2.77,4; cf. the construct form in syllabic documentation, 2 *mī-te* [*šīna mī'tē*] "two hundred of" [PRU III, p. 169,14]). The plural is *m'at* [*mī'ātu*] "hundreds", e.g.:

l̥t m'at [*talāt(u) mī'ātu/i*] "three hundred" (1.148,20); *'arb' m'at*
 [*'arba'(u) mī'ātu/i*] "four hundred" (4.296,6), and others.

2. The juncture between the tens and the hundreds is made without the conjunction, e.g.:

m'it 'arb'm [*mī'tu 'arba'ūma*] "one hundred forty" (4.213,25); *l̥t m'at*
l̥tm [*talāt(u) mī'ātu/i talātūma*] "three hundred thirty" (4.171,1); *h̥mš*
m'at 'arb'm [*ham(i)š(u) mī'ātu/i 'arba'ūma*] "five hundred forty"
 (4.338,10).

Sometimes the numeral for tens precedes the numeral for hundreds, e.g.:

h̥mšm m'itm [*ham(i)šūma mī'tāma/i*] "two hundred fifty" (4.143,2; *contra KTU*², p. 268 which reads *h̥mšm <l> m'itm*).

3. Sometimes the tens are joined to the hundreds by the preposition *l-* [*le-*]. In such cases the tens precede the hundreds, e.g.:

h̥mšm l' m'it [*ham(i)šūma le-mī'ti*] "one hundred fifty" (4.163,14); *šb'm*
l' m'itm [*šab(a)ūma le-mī'tēma/i*] "two hundred seventy" (4.243,45);
tmnym l' m'it [*tamāniyūma le-mī'ti*] "one hundred eighty" (4.243,15).

4. The hundreds are joined to the tens and the units without a conjunction:

m'it 'šrm tm [*mī'tu 'aš(a)rīma* or *'ašrāma/i tmā*] "one hundred twenty-two" (4.345,3).

There are instances when the hundreds and the tens are joined while the units are appended asyndetically, thus, e.g.:

'arb'm l m'it tn [arba'ūma le-mi'ti tīnā] "one hundred and forty-two" (4.179,16-17); hmsm l m'it 'arb' [ham(i)šūma le-mi'ti 'arba'(u)] "one hundred and fifty-four" (4.143,4-5).

The Cardinals for the Thousands

1. The term for "thousand" is 'alp [alpu] (4.43,6 and elsewhere) and its dual is 'alpm [alpāma/i] "two thousand" (2.33,24 and elsewhere). The plural orthography is 'alpm [al(a)pūma] "thousands" (1.4 I,28 and elsewhere).

2. The term for "ten thousand" is rbtm [ribbatu] "a myriad" (1.24,20) with a dual rbtm [ribbatāma/i] "two myriad (= twenty thousand)" (1.4 I,30) and the plural is rbbt [ribabātu] "myriads" (1.4 I,28).

The Multiplicative

The multiplicative is expressed by addition of the suffix -'id [-'ida?] (< yada?) or the shorter form -d [-da?]. This suffix is added to the numeral to express "times" (cf. Renfroe 1992:11-13). Note the following examples:

tn'id [tīnā-'ida] "twice" (2.64,14; it seems that the form tnm means "twice", thus, hlmn tnm q'dq'd "strike him twice" [1.18 IV,22,33]; tnm lšqy msk hwet "twice she drinks that mixture" [1.19 IV,62]); ill'id [ilāta-'ida] "three times" (1.19 II,30); šb'id [šab'a-'ida] "seven times" (2.12,9).

The short and the long forms are often used in tandem:

tn'id šb'd [tīnā-'ida šab'a-da] "two times, seven times" (2.64,14); with enclitic mem, šb'dm [šab'a-da-mā] "seven times" (1.23,15; it has been suggested that this is a dual, "twice seven times", cf. Gordon 1965:492).

ORDINAL NUMBERS

Various basic forms are used to express the ordinals in the different Semitic languages. In Hebrew the customary form is q^otīlī, in Aramaic it is q^otīlāy, in Arabic it is qātīl, in Akkadian it is qatul, while Ethiopic uses qātel and qatūl. Therefore, it is impossible to suggest a common Semitic form that might have served in Ugaritic. In the following dis-

cussion the forms will be given without attempting a vocalized reconstruction.

There are both masculine and feminine forms for the ordinals in Ugaritic, the latter carrying the *-t* suffix.

The masculine ordinals are as follows: The words *pr^c* in *ym pr^c* (4.279,1) and *'ahd* in *ym 'ahd* (1.115,14) apparently mean "first" (cf. *infra*); *tn* "second"; *tl^t* "third"; *rb^c* "fourth"; *hms^c* "fifth"; *td^t* "sixth"; *sb^c* "seventh"; *tmn* "eighth"; *is^c* "ninth"; *'sr* "tenth".

NOTES

1. The word *pr^c* may be related to Mishnaic Hebrew expression לְמַפְרֵט (*Berachot* 2:3; *Nidda* 7:2). However, it could mean "fruit" as can be deduced from the expression *pr^c qz* "summer fruit" (1.19 I,18; cf. Loewenstamm 1980:199).

The expression *ym 'ahd* may be compared with Biblical Hebrew יוֹם יוֹמָא "day one" (Gen. 1:5; cf. *Ug* 5, p. 586 and *TO II*, p. 202). It has been suggested that the expression's meaning is "every day, each day" (de Moor 1970:317 and Blau and Greenfield 1970:14-15; for discussion cf. *TO II*, p. 202, n. 180).

2. Generally, a noun in the singular at the head of a string of ordinal numerals also has the meaning "first" (cf. Rin and Rin 1996:845-847). For example:

ylk ym w tn tl^t rb^c ym "they went (the first) day and the second, the third and the fourth day" (1.14 IV,44-45).

ym w tn tl^t rb^c ym hms^c td^t ym "(the first) day and the second, the third, the fourth day, the fifth, the sixth day" (1.14 III,10-11).

hn l'y'm w tn l'ikl 'ist b bhtm "behold (the first) day and the second the fire eats into the house(s)" (1.4 VI,24-25).

It seems that the ancients did not seem it necessary to indicate the first item by means of an ordinal numeral, because its place in first position was obvious in itself, while the second item got an ordinal number in order to distinguish it from its predecessor (a similar phenomenon may be present in Biblical Hebrew, cf. Exod. 28:17-18, where the meaning of לְרוֹ is "first row" as it is translated in the Targum of Onkelos, סדרא קדמאה).

3. The ordinals for "fourth" and "sixth" are different from their cardinal counterparts: *'arb^c* "four", beside *rb^c* "fourth"; *tl^t* "six" beside *td^t* "sixth" (see examples below).

4. The ordinals above "ten" are identical to the cardinals.
5. The ordinals precede their nouns; in this respect Ugaritic resembles Akkadian. The following are some examples:
rb' ym "fourth day" (1.14 III,11); *b tltm ym* "in the thirtieth day" (1.163,7); *tlt rb' ym* "the third (and) the fourth day" (1.4 VI,26); *b šb' ymm* "on the seventh day" (1.17 I,15) and *tdt yrhm* "the sixth month" (1.14 II,31). In these latter examples, the *-m* is not the plural marker but rather the enclitic *mem* (cf. concerning this, p. 192f.).
6. When a preposition governs an expression with an ordinal, it can be attached to the ordinal or to the noun; e.g.:
b šb' ymm "on the seventh day" (1.17 I,15; cf. Blau 1972:77) beside *šb' b1[?]* *b y'm'm* "on the seventh day" (1.17 V,3-4).
7. There are cases in which the ordinal comes without its noun, it happens when the missing noun is understood from the context. Thus for example:
b rb' "in the fourth (day)" (1.14 IV,46; 4.279,4; cf. Xella 1981:45);
b hms' "in the fifth (day)" (1.41,38); *b tdt* "in the sixth (day)" (1.41,45; cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartin 1975b:144-146).
8. One cannot establish the syntactic relationship between the ordinal and its noun. It may be apposition (as in Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew) or it might be construct.

FRACTIONS

The attestation of fractions in Ugaritic is quite limited. From what we have, it appears that two types of fractions were in use — forms with prefixed *m-* and others without it.

Those with the prefix are known in both masculine and feminine, e.g. *mrb'* "fourth" (4.751,9,10); *mtltt* "third", *mrb't* "fourth", *mhmšt* "fifth", *mttdt* "sixth", *mšb't* "seventh" (1.14 I,16-20; for the possibility to see these forms as "times three", "times four", etc., or "third time", "fourth time", etc., cf. Margalit 1976:138-139 and de Moor 1979:643-644).

Morphologically, those forms could be the D stem passive participle (cf. *infra*, p. 138), that is [*mutalla(a)tu*], etc. (cf. Segert 1984:54). If these forms really do signify fractions, then they could be in the *maqtal* form as may be deduced from the syllabic attestation of "tithe", "tenth", (not documented in alphabetic texts), viz. *ma-ša-ra* [*mašara*] "tithe" (*PRU* III,

p. 93,7) and with Akkadian suffix *ma-a'-ša-ri-ša* [*ma'šariša*] "its tithe" (*PRU* III, p. 146,11); cf. Biblical Hebrew תַּעֲשֶׂה "tithe" (Num. 18:26) in the *maqtil* form, and Arabic *mīšāru* in the form *miqtāl*.

A fraction without the prefix *m-* is attested one time in the following phrase:

qqlm w rb't "two shekels and a fourth (of a shekel)" (4.707,12).

If that interpretation is correct, then it means that in Ugaritic the forms *rb't*, *mrb't*, *mrb'* expressed the fraction, "fourth".

CHAPTER SIX

THE VERB

THE TENSES

General Remarks

The use of tenses and not aspects is quite striking in the prose texts. That is, the *qtl* forms (the suffix conjugation) expressed the past, while the *yqtl* forms (the prefix conjugation) expressed the present-future. For example, *pdy* [*padaya*] “he ransomed” (3.4,2) followed in the same text by *tūbn* [*tataṭūbūna/tutaṭūbūna*] “they will return” (3.4,17); *ʿrb* [*ʿarabū*] “they entered” (3.3,2) and further on *tknn* [*takūnūna*] “they will be” (3.3,6) and there are other examples of this type.

Blau (1977a:23-27) and most recently Rainey (1987:397-399 and 1988b:37-38) have shown that Ugaritic poetry also operates according to tenses and not aspects.

The Functions of qtl

Preterite — The *qtl* forms serve to express the past in both prose and poetry.

The following are examples from poetry:

[*b*] *ḥph rgm l yṣʿa* “from his mouth a word verily went (/had not gone) forth [*yaṣaʿa*]” (1.2 IV,6).

nḥš ḥsrt bn nšm nḥš hmlt ʿarṣ mgt l nʿmy ʿarṣ dbr “a soul I removed [*ḥasirtū/ḥassirtū*] from among mankind, a soul from the masses of the earth; I arrived [*magētū*] at the goodness of the land of Dbr” (1.6 II,17-20).

št ḥptr l ʿišt “she put [*šātai*] *ḥptr* on the fire” (1.4 II,8).

<*b*> *hty bnt dt ksp hkly ʿdtʿm ḥrṣ ʿdbt* “my house(s) I built [*banētū/banūtū*] of silver, my palace of gold have I made [*ʿadabtū*]” (1.4 VI,36-38; for the possibility of taking these forms as 2nd m.s. cf. *TO* I, p. 213, n. *i*).

qštn ʿahd b ydh “his bow he grasped [*aḥada*] in his hand” (1.10 II,6).

npl bʿl “Baal fell [*napala*]” (1.12 II,53).

The following are examples from prose:

'iwr^lk^ll pdy 'agdn "Iwircallu ransomed [*padaya*] Agdenu" (3.4,2-3).

'anykn dt Pikt mšrm "your ship which you sent [*la'iktā*] to Egypt" (2.38,10-11).

l p'n b'ly ... qtl "at the feet of my lord ... I have fallen [*qiltū*]" (2.64,13-16).

lht spr d Pikt 'm tryl "the tablets of the document which I sent [*la'iktū*] to Taryelli" (2.14,6-8).

Present Tense — The *qtl* forms can express the present, usually with intransitive verbs, but also with transitive.

The following are some examples from poetry:

With intransitive verbs:

rbt 'ilm l hkmt "you are great [*rabbatā*], El, verily you are wise [*hakamtā/hakimtā*]" (1.4 V,3).

yd't k rhmt "I know that you are merciful [*rahamtā/rahimtā*]" (1.16 I,33).

yd't^lk^l bt k 'anšt "I know you daughter, that you are meek [*anaštā/anštā*]" (1.18 I,16; cf. Smith 1995:792).

w l šb't "she is not satisfied [*šabi'at*]" (1.3 II,19).

'atm bštm w 'an šnt "you (m.pl.) are slow [*buštum(ū)*] and I am fast [*šanōtū?*]" (1.3 IV,33; cf. Ginsberg 1969:137; Smith 1994:44 and n. 44 and 1995:792).

rġb rġbt ... hm ġm'u ġm'it "are you verily hungry [*raġibū*] or are you verily thirsty [*ġami'tū*]?" (1.4 IV,33-34).

With transitive verbs:

yd't k rhmt "I know [*yada'tū*] that you are merciful" (1.16 I,33).

yd't^lk^l bt k 'anšt "I know you [*yada'tūkt*] daughter, that you are meek" (1.18 I,16; cf. Smith 1995:792).

ytt nḥšm mhrk "I give [*yatattū*] snakes (to be) your bride-price" (1.100,75; following Astour 1968:27 and Pardee 1978b:84-85).

tn dbhm šn'a b'l tlġ rkb 'rpt "two sacrifices Baal hates [*šan'a*], three the Rider of the Clouds" (1.4 III,17-18).

The following are examples from prose:

With intransitive verbs:

w pn mlk nr bn "and the face of the king shines [*nārū*] upon us" (2.13,17-18).

With transitive verbs:

hn 'ibm ššq ly "behold, the enemies are afflicting [*šašqū*] me" (2.33,27).

Optative Usage — The *qtl* forms also can express wishes and requests. Note the following examples:

ḥwt ʾaht “may you live [*ḥawwīṭā*], my sister!” (1.10 II,20).

ʾm ʾlm ḥyt “may you (m.s.) live [*ḥayētā/ḥayītā*] forever!” (1.4 IV,42).

l yrt b nps bn ʾilm mt “may you go down [*lū/la yarattā*] into the throat of the son of the gods, Môt” (1.5 I,6-7; since the *qtl* can express a wish by itself, the particle *l* may be only for emphasis, cf. *infra*, p. 191f.).

Future Tense — In prose result clauses, *qtl* forms preceded by the *w*-conjunction express the future (cf. Parker 1967:§3.22). The following are examples:

w hm ḥt ʾl w ʾikt ʾmk “and if the Hittite has attacked, then I will send [*wa-laʾiktū*] (a letter) to you ...” (2.30,17-18).

[*w*] [*u*][*n*]_i ʾinn ʾh¹m ʾd *ttbn ksp ʾiwrl w ʾb l ʾunḥm* “and they do not have a feudal obligation until they return the money of Iwirkallu, then they return [*wa-tābū*] to their feudal obligation” (3.4,16-19).

The Functions of yqtl

Recently Rainey (1990:407-420 and 1996 II:221-264) has shown that in the Northwest Semitic languages (including Ugaritic; cf. Verreet 1988) the prefix forms (*yqtl*) expressed tenses rather than aspects. In his view there were two modes, indicative and injunctive. In the indicative, the *yqtl*Ø (without suffixes) expressed the preterite (past), while the *yqtlu* forms (with final short vowels) expressed the imperfect (the present-future and continued action in the past) (cf. Hamori 1973:319-324). In the injunctive, the *yqtl*Ø expressed the jussive and *yqtla* expressed the volitive. To both modes, there was an energetic, *yaqtulun(n)a* for the indicative and *yaqtulan(n)a* for the injunctive. The system as suggested by Rainey is as follows (the second form in each category is 3rd m.pl.):

Indicative

Preterite *yaqtul, taqtulū*
 Imperfect *yaqtulu, taqtulūna*
 Energetic *yaqtulun(n)a*

Injunctive

Jussive *yaqtul, taqtulū*
 Volitive *yaqtula, taqtulū*
 Energetic *yaqtulan(n)a*

It would seem that these same two modes, indicative and injunctive, were also present in Ugaritic, but unlike Biblical Hebrew and the Akkadian texts from Canaan in the Amarna archives, the Ugaritic script, which generally lacks vowels, makes it impossible to distinguish the various forms. Therefore, in order to identify the modal and tense forms, one must utilize the contexts and the diagnostic forms from certain roots, e.g. the absence or presence of the third radical in third *waw/yod* verbs, and the vowels accompanying final *aleph*'s. Likewise, the plural forms of the *yqtl* singulars had final *nun* (based, e.g. on the 3rd m.pl. *taqtulīna*). The 2nd f.s. of the *yqtl* pattern also had a final *-n* (i.e. *taqtulīna*). The plurals and 2nd f.s. of the preterite, the jussive and the volitive (*yqtl* and *yqtlā*) did not have the final *-n* (thus, *taqtulī* for the jussive and *taqtulī* for the volitive). The presence or absence of the *nun* on such forms would also be diagnostic; the presence of potential energetic forms complicates the problem. The ensuing discussion will treat each of these conjugation patterns.

THE INDICATIVE MODE

Preterite — The past tense is expressed by the short forms, that is *yqtl* without vocalic suffixes having plurals and 2nd f.s. forms without final *nun* (cf. Biblical Hebrew עָשָׂה "he established" [Deut. 32,8] along with עֹשֶׂה "he establishes" [Jos. 6:26]). It is easier to identify such preterite forms in Ugaritic poetry (rather than prose), since they often appear in contexts where the carrying out of the action was the direct result of previous imperatives. Though a few such preterite forms do occur in prose, they are usually replaced by *qtl* in its past tense function. The following are some examples:

ʿy^ʾip^ʾ lhm d lms^ʾ "he baked [ya^ʾpī] bread for the fifth (month)" (1.14 IV,11).

mgy^ʾ hrn l bth w ystql l hzrh "Horon arrived at his house and entered [wa-yištaqil/wa-yištaqal] his courtyard" (1.100,67-68).

b ns^ʾi^ʾ 'nh^ʾ 'w^ʾ 'yp^ʾ <h> 'n^ʾ yhd hrgb 'ab^ʾ 'n^ʾ s^ʾ r^ʾ m "upon lifting his eyes, then he saw him [wa-yiṣṣah(n)ū], he sighted [yahdī] Hargab, the father of the eagles" (1.19 III,14-15).

tgy^ʾ 'ilm r'isthm "the gods lowered [taḡliyū] their heads" (1.2 I,23).

yš^ʾ h^ʾ m 'k^ʾ trt w yššq bnt^ʾ 'h^ʾ ll "he fed [yašalhim/yušalhim] the Kotharot, he gave drink [yašašqī/yušašqī] to the daughters of Hilālu" (1.17 II,30-31).

‘d šb’t šnt ybk l ’aqht “until the seventh year they wept [yabkū] (< yabkiyū) for Aqhat” (1.19 IV,14-16).

tš’u ’ilm r’āšthm l zr brkthm “the gods lifted [tšš’a’ū] their heads from off their knees” (1.2 I,29).

[k]bkbm tm tpl k ’lb’nt “the stars fell [tappulū] there like bricks” (1.13,13).

w ymǵ ml’akk ‘m d’i’n “your messenger reached [yamǵī] Ditanu” (1.124,10-11; this example is from a ritual text).

Imprecfect— This mode expresses both present-future and past continuous.

Present-Future— Forms that express present-future are those with the vocalic suffix (*yqtlū*) on the singulars and 1st c.pl. and with the final -n [-ūna] on the plurals and on the 2nd f.s. [-īna]. They are used in these tense functions in both prose and poetry.

The following are examples from poetry:

šmm šmn tmtr’ⁿ “the heavens rain down [tamšurūna] oil” (1.6 III,12).

ilmmn ’ilm w t’š’l’ⁿ tštn y<n> ‘d šb’ trt ’d’l’ škr’ “the gods eat [tilhamūna] and drink [tištūna], they drink wine to satiety, new wine to drunkenness” (1.114,2-4).

‘n’ⁱ w ’ttrt tš’^{dn} “Anat and Athtart prepare victuals [tašūdāni]” (1.114,22-23).

ym’^u lbh b šmht “her heart is filled [yimla’^u] with happiness” (1.3 II,25-26).

tbky pǵt b’^m lb tdm’^{bm} kbd’^l “Puǵatu weeps [tabkiyu] in (her) heart, sheds tears [tidma’^u] in (her) liver” (1.19 I,34-35).

w b’ⁿ mlk w bt mlk t’ln ’p’a’^{mt} šb’ “and the sons of the king and the daughter of the king go up [ta’lūna] seven times” (1.112,6-8; this example is from a ritual text).

The following are examples from prose:

‘d ttbn ksp ’iwrkl w tb l ’untim “(they do not have a feudal obligation) until they return [tata’^{ib}ūna/ tuta’^{ib}ūna] Iwirkallu’s money, then they will return to their feudal obligation” (3.4,16-19).

’ank ’ašš’^{uk} “I will bring you (m.s.) out [’ašš’^{ukā}]” (2.3,17).

w mmm š’alm dt tknn ’l ’rbnm “and whoever the investigators who will be [takūnūna] in charge of the guaranties” (3.3,5-7).

In Ugaritic the present-future is employed in literary narrative passages where there is a sequence of actions. The following is a typical example:

'idk l ttn pnm 'm 'il mbk nhrm qrb 'apq thmtm tgly dd 'il w tb'u qřš mlk 'ab šnm l p'n 'il thbr w tql tšthwy tkbdnh "then she verily directs [*tatinu*] her face towards El (at) the sources of the two rivers, amidst the sources of the two deeps; she turns [*tagliyu*] to the dwelling of El and she enters [*tabū'u*] the abode of the king, the Father of Years; at the feet of El she bows down [*tah-buru*] and falls [*taqīlu*], she prostrates herself [*tīštahwīyu*], she honors [*takabbidan(n)ahū*/*tukabbidan(n)ahū*] him" (1.4 IV,20-26).

Thus it can be seen that *yqtl*Ø expressed the past while *yqtlu* expressed the present-future. On the other hand, there are a few contexts in which *yqtl*Ø appears to express the present-future. These are short forms of verbs 3rd *waw/yod*, but they are actually original *yqtlu* forms in which the final triphthongs have contracted causing the disappearance of the final radical (cf. Sivan 1984b:279-293). Here are some examples:

tgly dd 'il w tb'u qřš mlk 'ab šnm "she turns to the dwelling of El and she comes to the abode of the king, the Father of Years" (1.6 I,34-36).

The form *tb'u* proves that the parallel verb, *tgly* is also present-future, i.e. [*tagliyu*]. However, there is also a parallel passage where the 3rd *waw/yod* verb lacks the final radical, viz.:

tgl d^l d^l 'i^l l^l 'w^l tb'u [qr]š m[lk 'a^l b^l [šnm] "she turns to the dwelling of El and she comes to the [abo]de of the k[in]g, the Father [of Years]" (1.3 V,7-8).

As a parallel to *tb'u* one would expect **tgly* [*tagliyu*], but here the final triphthong has contracted, apparently representing [*taglū*] (< *tagliyu*).

An additional instance of this phenomenon is found in the following clause:

yks m'izrtm ġr b 'abn ydy psltm b y^l r^l yhdy lhm w 'dq^l n "(his body) he covers with a mourning garment, groaning, with a stone he slashed the ..., with a razor he cuts the cheeks and beard" (1.5 VI,16-19).

The forms *ydy* (root uncertain) and *yhdy* have final *yod* and suggest that the preceding *yks* ought to have been **yksy*, since it seems to express present-future [*yakassū/yukassū*] (< *yakassiyu/yukassiyu*).

One may find the same phenomenon in the following verbal sequence:

ygly ... yd'u ... yš'u ... ysp'u "he will destroy ... he will take wings ... he will go out ... he will eat" (1.103+1.145,40-51).

The verbs represent present-future as can be discerned from their final *u*-vowel. Therefore it seems that the form *yɗ'u* expresses *yid'û* (< *yid'ayu*).

Past Continuous — One of Moran's most valuable contributions was the delineation of the past continuous function of the *yqtlu* conjugation pattern in the Amarna letters from Byblos (Moran 1950a:43-47). The same function is known in Biblical Hebrew:

בְּיָמִים הָהֵם אִין מֶלֶךְ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ הָיָשָׁר בְּעֵינָיו יַעֲשֶׂה "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes" (Judg. 21:25).

Because of the limitations of the Ugaritic orthography, it is hard to discern the imperfect forms in this usage (cf. Verreet 1988:45-49). Therefore, the examples brought here are doubtful at best:

tlkn ym w tn "they went [*talikūna*] one day and then a second" (1.14 IV,31-32; the verb may mean "they go").

šb' šnt tmt tmn nqpt 'd 'i'lm n'mm tlkn šd tšdn p'at mabr "seven complete years, eight cycles, the goodly gods were still going (/went) [*ti(š)alūkūna/ti(š)alakūna*] in the field and they were still hunting (/hunted) [*tašūdūna*] on the corners of the desert" (1.23,66-68; the imperfect forms may expressed narrative present; cf. *TO* I, p. 378).

Energic — Forms of the energic serve to strengthen the imperfect in the Amarna tablets from Canaan (cf. Rainey 1990:407-420 and 1996 II:234-244). In Biblical Hebrew such forms have been preserved only with the attachment of accusative 3rd m.s. and 3rd f.s. (and occasionally 2nd m.s.) pronominal suffixes (cf. bibliography and discussion by Rainey, *ibid.*). But it is exceedingly difficult to identify such forms in Ugaritic. We do not possess clear cut forms with final *aleph* that could reveal the existence of such energic forms. The examples that we do have are quite obscure:

yr'a'un 'al'iyn b'l "Mighty Baal fears him" (1.5 II,6).

The double writing of the *aleph* in the verbal form makes interpretation difficult. The orthography may represent a form such as [*yîra'unnū*] (< *yîyra'un(n)hū*). If this reconstruction is correct, then the form represents the imperfect *yqtlu* plus the energic. (cf. Rainey 1987:398). But one may interpret the form as an absolute infinitive functioning as a finite verb plus 3rd m.s. suffix, i.e. [*yara'unnū*] (cf.

Gordon 1965:18 and also Verreet 1988:27, nn. 8-9 with bibliography).

šnt tP'u'an "sleep overcame him [*tīP'uwannū*] (1.14 I,33).

There also might be a spelling error in the verbal form, since the cuneiform signs for 'a and *nun* are almost similar (*KTU*² [p. 36, n. 3] is mistaken in reading *tP'un* and in commenting that here the *nun* is lengthened and looks like 'a plus *taw*). In such a case, one might restore another *nun* in place of the 'a so as to read **tP'unn*, that is [*tīP'un(n)annū*] (< *tīP'ûn(n)annū* < *tīP'ayun(n)anhū*?). If that restoration be correct, then we have another example of the energetic of the indicative mode.

The next example would be indicative energetic in an interrogative clause, if Ugaritic goes with Amarna Canaanite:

'*ap 'ab 'ik mtm tmtn* "also, my father, how can you most certainly die [*mātu-ma/mūtu-ma tamūtun(n)a*]?" (1.16 I,3-4; in Classical Arabic the [-*an(n)a*] energetic forms serve with questions [cf. Zewi 1987:72-73] where the indicative energetic of Amarna Canaanite is not present).

On occasion there are instances where energetic forms are discerned according to their contexts. Note the following example:

'*bk'm tmdl'n 'r bkm tšmd p'hl b'km' tš'u 'abh* "while weeping she saddles a young ass, while weeping she harnesses a donkey, while weeping she lifts up her father" (1.19 II,8-9).

The forms *tš'u* [*tīšš'a'u*] and *tšmd* [*tašmudu*] represent indicative and therefore they indicate that *tmdl'n* should be interpreted as energetic, namely *tamdulun(n)a*.

THE INJUNCTIVE MODE

Jussive — The jussive is expressed by the short forms, *yqlØ*. Such forms can be identified in Ugaritic by the context, since in poetry there are examples of commands which the hearer is expected to fulfill. Those commands are expressed in second person by the imperative and the jussive and in third person by the jussive. Forms with final *aleph* or final *waw/yod* are sometimes helpful. The following are examples:

tš'i km r' n'pšh "may his soul go forth [*taš'i*] like the wind" (1.18 IV,24-25).

'*al tkl bn 'qr' 'nk* "do not exhaust [*takallī/tukallī*], my son, the well spring of your eyes" (1.16 I,26-27).

y'ip l'hm d hms "let him bake [ya'pī] bread of (/for) a fifth" (1.14 II,30).

'akl' m'kl'y' [l'um]ty "let me destroy ['akallā] the destroyer of my nation" (1.19 IV,34-35).

ysh' atrt w bnh "may Ashera and her sons shout [yašhū]" (1.3 V,36-37).

tšmh' ht' atrt w bnh "now may Ashera and her sons rejoice [tšmahū]" (1.6 I,39-40).

w'al ts'u' "and do not go forth (m.pl.) [tas'u]" (1.164,19).

[l p'n i'l] 'al' tpl' 'al' tšhw' p'hr [m'd] "[at the feet of El], do not fall (du.) [tappulā], do not do obeisance [tšhawiyā] to the council of [the assembly]" (1.2 I,14-15).

Volitive — The form of the volitive is *yqtlā*. These forms are found in Ugaritic especially in cohortative contexts (cf. in the Amarna letters [Moran 1960:1-19] and in Biblical Hebrew [Cowley 1910:130]). The forms may be discerned with verbs having final *aleph* (one can hardly find such forms in regular verbs; *contra* Verreet 1988:131-151 and Tropper 1991b:341-352). Note the following examples:

'i'qr'a' ilm n'[mm] "let me invoke ['iqra'a] the goodly gods" (1.23,1; the same form is found in 1.21 II,2; it also occurs with a 2nd m.pl. pronominal suffix 'iqra'akm ['iqra'akum(ū)] "let me invoke you" [1.21 II,10]).

th'fa l gbk w trs' l tmtk "you (m.s.) sin [th'fa'a] against your body(?) and act wickedly [wa-tirš'a'a] against your image" (1.169,5-6; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:347 and Verreet 1988:203 n. 3 and the bibliography cited there);

yqr'a mt b nšh " (may) Môt cry out [yqra'a] in his soul" (1.4 VII,47-48).

The subject of this clause might be a messenger of Baal (cf. Verreet 1988:156), but it is most likely Môt himself (cf. Verreet *loc. cit.*).

ymgy' akkm w ymz'a' qqm "he reaches [yamgy'a] the 'eaters', he comes [ymz'a'a] to the 'devourers" (1.12 I,36-37).

In Biblical Hebrew there are only a few forms of *yqtlā* from third *waw/yod* verbs: יִמְנָן "I will moan" [Ps 77:4] and יִפְשֵׁן "I may probe" [Ps 119:117]).

Forms of *yqtlā* also serve in purpose clauses, e.g.:

't'n 'ahd' b' ah'k' 'isp'a' "give one of your brothers, so that I

may devour [*'ispa'a*] (him)" (1.6 V,19-20).

Perhaps the following clause also belongs here:

ptḥ bt w 'ub'a(!) "open the house, so that I may enter [*'ubū'a*]" (1.100,72).

The form *'ubn* probably has an error of *nun* for *'a*. If this correction is in order, then the original form was probably intended for [*'ubū'a*] (< *'abū'a?*) (cf. Verreet 1988:164).

Energic — These forms have final suffix *-n* and are documented numerous times in Ugaritic. Sometimes it would appear that the difference between forms with *n*-suffix and forms without it became effaced. This is prominent in passages with two lines (bi-cola), in which one had a form with *n*-suffix while the other has a form without it. The differences may be due to metric requirements (cf. Segert 1983a:298 and Greenstein 1988:12-13). The following are some examples:

b hyk 'abn nšmḥ b l mtk nḡln "in your life, our father, let us be happy, in your immortality let us rejoice [*nagīlan(n)a*]" (1.16 I,14-15).

l ktp 'nt k tšth ... tštnn b ḥrt 'ilm 'arš "onto the shoulders of Anat she verily places him ... she places him [*tašītan(n)anū*] in the grave of the deities of the earth" (1.6 I,14-15,17).

dn'il bth ym.gym yšql dn'il l hklh "Daniel arrives [*yamgīyan(n)a*] at his house, Daniel enters his palace" (1.19 IV,8-9).

'i'qr'a 'ilm n'[mm] "let me invoke the goodly gods" (1.23,1) alongside *'iqr'an' 'ilm n'mm* (1.23,23) with the same meaning.

It would appear that the morpheme for the Ugaritic injunctive energetic was [**-an(n)a*]. It is hard to know whether there was a final vowel, neither can it be demonstrated whether there was gemination of the *nun* (it may be that in Biblical Hebrew the energetic morpheme became the particle **אָן**, viz. **אָן אֶתְּרַחֵם** "may I be allowed to pass through" [Deut. 3:25]). It seems that the gemination of the *nun* is for the sake of euphony [cf. Cowley 1910:72]. If this conjecture is correct, then the Northwest Semitic energetic morpheme was not geminated [cf. Blau 1977a:29-30]).

The initial vowel of the energetic morpheme was *a* as can be deduced from forms like *'iqr'an'* [*'iqra'an(n)a*] "let me invoke" (1.23,23) and *yš'an* [*yasī'an(n)a*] "let him go forth" (1.165,3). These examples show that the volitive *yqlla* is the form that took the energetic ending. Since most of the examples in Ugaritic are not from

verbs with third *aleph*, one cannot know if they are the energetic of the injunctive or of the indicative. In the following examples, we will transcribe with the vowel of the injunctive, but some of them may well have been indicative:

ʔaʔbn ʔank w ʔanḥn “let me sit [ʔaʔiban(n)a] and let me rest [ʔanūḥan(n)a]” (1.17 II,12-13).

tn ks yn w ʔištñ “give a cup of wine so that I may drink it [ʔištñ(n)ā/ʔištñ(n)ū] (the cup [f.s.] or the wine [m.s.]” (5.9 I,15-16).

Energic forms also appear with pronominal suffixes and it is difficult to determine whether they are energetic forms of the indicative mode or of the injunctive (cf. Rainey 1996 II:264 and the bibliography cited), e.g.:

l pʕn ʔiʔl thbr w tqł tšthwey w tkbdñh “at the feet of El she bows, she falls down, she does obeisance, and she honors him [tukabbidan(n)ahū/takabbidan(n)ahū]” (1.6 I,36-38).

hm bt lbnʔtʔ ʔyʔmsñh “if he will erect it as a house of bricks [yʔammisan(n)ahū/yaʔammisan(n)ahū]” (1.4 V,11; sometimes the 3rd m.s. suffix pronoun is expressed by an additional -n, cf. p. 53).

VIOLATIONS OF THE INDICATIVE/INJUNCTIVE SYSTEM

From the examples that will be brought below, it appears that the functions of the *yqtlu* and the *yqtlu* were often confused. Since the number of forms is limited, there is no justification for drawing far reaching conclusions. The following are examples:

šmm šmn tmṭrn nḥlm tlk nbtm “the heavens rain down oil, the brooks run with honey” (1.6 III,6-7,12-13; cf. Ginsberg 1936:63).

The form *tlk* [talikū] stands in place of **tlkn* [talikāna] (in parallelism with *tmṭrn* [tamṭurāna]). Of course the -n on *tmṭrn* could be an optional energetic marker though that explanation is somewhat forced.

tlḥm rpʔum tštyñ tʔtʔ ʔbʕ ym ḥmš tdt ym tlḥmn rpʔum tštyñ “the Rephaim eat, they drink, the third, the fourth day, the fifth, the sixth day, the Rephaim eat, they drink” (1.22 I,21-24).

Since *tlḥmn* [tilḥamūna] and *tštyñ* [tištayūna] are imperfect forms, i.e. *yqtlu*, they indicate that *tlḥm* [tilḥamū] should have been the same (i.e. with a final -n). It does not seem realistic to assume a scribal error here (cf. Rainey 1974:184 and Verreet 1988:38).

bhth tbnñ ... trmm hklh “they will build his house(s), they will raise up his palace” (1.4 VI,16-18; for other possible interpretations cf. *infra*, p. 128).

In this parallelism the two verbal forms are evidently both 3rd m.pl. The first is a long form [*tabnūna*] (< *tabniyūna*) and it is doubtful that the final *-n* is merely energetic (as suggested by Verreet 1988:63). The second form is short [*tarāmimū/turāmimū*].

^lq^ltn^lsn w tldn ^lld^l [ʔi] ^llm^l n^lmm “they (du.) bow down in childbirth and give birth, they give birth to the goodly gods” (1.23,58).

The forms ^lq^ltn^lsn [*tiqtanašāni/tiqtanašāni*] and *tldn* [*talidāni*] are dual forms of the *yaqtlu* conjugation in contrast to ^lld^l [*talidā*] which belongs to *yqtlØ*, i.e. we would have expected that the latter would be **tldn* also.

[y] ^lhr^lkn w yšhmm “they burn(?) and they are scorched(?)” (1.175,7; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297).

The form [y] ^lhr^lkn [*yaḥrukūna?*] belongs to *yqtlu* beside *yšhmm* [*yašahmimū/yašahmimū*] which belongs to *yqtlØ*.

The following example is from a broken tablet but the verbal forms are clear enough:

[... rḫ] ^lu^lm ^ldbḥn^l/ [...]ym ^ll^lhmn/[...]rm tštn/[...] ^ltd^lbḥ^l ^lamr “[...] the Rephaim sacrifice [...] day(?), they eat [...], they drink [...], they sacrifice a lamb” (1.20 I,1,6-7,10; concerning the word ^lamr cf. *TO* I, p. 478, n. e and *supra*, p. 44).

The forms ^ldbḥn^l [*tīdḥūna*], ^ll^lhmn [*tīlḥamūna*] and *tštn* [*tīšṭayūna*] are from the *yaqtlu* pattern beside ^ltd^lbḥ [*tīdḥū*] which is of the *yqtlØ* pattern (where we would have expected **tḏbḥn*). The attempt to see ^ltd^lbḥ as a preterite following forms of the present-future is forced (cf. e.g. Verreet 1988:76-77).

ALTERNATION OF *QTL/YQTL* AND *YQTL/QTL* SEQUENCES

Alternation of *qtl/yqtl* and *yqtl/qtl* of identical verbs is typical pattern in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry. Held (1962:282) was of the opinion that *yqtl* is in these cases a preterite and should be translated by the past tense. However, it would appear that there are instances where *yqtl* forms reflect present-future (cf. Blau 1971a: 234-240 and Smith 1994:49-51 and 1995:797, especially n. 45). Note the following examples:

knḫ nšrm b^ll yḫbr b^ll ṭbr d^liy hmt “the wings of the eagles may Baal break [*yaḫburu*], Baal broke [*ṭabara*] the pinions of them” (1.19 III,8-9).

štt ... b ilhny qlt 'b' ks 'ištynh "I drank [*šatūū*] ... from my table, scorn from a cup do I drink it [*'išṭayan(n)ahā*]" (1.4 III,14-16).

brky tkšd r'umm 'n kqd 'aylt "the buffaloes longed for [*takšudū*] the water pool(?), the hinds longed for [*kadadū*] the spring" (1.5 I,16-17; for another interpretation cf. *supra*, p. 22).

bht[h b']l y'db hd 'db ... hklh "his house(s) Baal prepare [*y'a'dubu*], Haddu prepared [*'adaba*] ... his palace" (1.4 VI,38-40).

y'd' mḥst 'a'q' [h] 't' ḡzr tmḥs 'alpm 'i'b' "the hand (that) smote [*mahašat*] the hero Aqhat will smite [*timḥašū*] thousands of foes" (1.19 IV,58-59).

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

As in all the Semitic languages, also in Ugaritic there are conjugation patterns with suffixes as the person markers (henceforth *qtl*), and conjugation patterns with prefixes as the person markers (henceforth *yqtl*). There are also imperatives, active and passive participles, and infinitives.

The Verbal Stems

Also, as in other Semitic languages, there are several stem forms in the verbal system, each with its characteristic semantic field. The stems will be identified by the symbols usually accepted in Semitic studies.

- G The basic stem (*Grundstamm*) corresponding to the *Qal* in Biblical Hebrew.
- Gt The G stem with a *t*-morpheme infixed after the first radical, generally reflexive in meaning; it appears in Moabite, Phoenician and Aramaic; it survives in Biblical Hebrew in the two place names אֶשְׁתָּוֶל (Jos. 15:33; 19:41) and אֶשְׁתָּמֶט (Jos. 21:14) and possibly אֶלְתָּקָא (Jos. 21:23), אֶלְתָּקָה (Jos. 19:44). One may perhaps add the forms וַיִּתְּקְרוּ (Judg. 20:15) and הִתְּקְרוּ "they were mustered" (Judg. 20:15); cf. Cowley 1910:151.
- Gp The passive of the G stem as in Arabic and the Amarna letters from Canaan (cf. Biblical Hebrew שָׁדַד "it was destroyed" [Isa. 15:1]).

- N A reflexive-passive stem with an *n*-morpheme (prefixed to the first radical) as in Akkadian *Naprusu* and in Biblical Hebrew *Niph'al*.
- D Characterized by gemination of the second radical; it is factitive, causative, intensive; corresponds, e.g. to Biblical Hebrew *Pi'el*.
- Dp Passive of D stem.
- tD Reflexive of D with affixed *t*-morpheme; corresponds to Biblical Hebrew *Hithpa'el*.
- L Corresponds to the D stem, but is evidently characterized by lengthening of the vowel after the first radical and the reduplication of the last radical; it is employed only with hollow roots; it corresponds to Biblical Hebrew *Pelal*.
- Lp Passive of L.
- R Corresponds to the D stem, but is applied to bi-radical roots; the two radicals are reduplicated and produce quadrilateral stems.
- Š Causative stem characterized by the morpheme *š-* placed before the first radical; it corresponds to the Š stem of Akkadian and functions like the H causative (*Hiph'il*) of Biblical Hebrew.
- Šp Passive of Š.
- Št A rarely documented stem; perhaps in Ugaritic only with one verb, *yšthwy/lšthwy* (root *HWY).

The evidence for the Gp, Dp and Šp is based mainly on context.

The Ugaritic verbal system as documented is deficient in that, that there are not complete attestations for all of the stems for all of the possible formations. The consonantal orthography without vowels also makes interpretation difficult. For example, the consonantal orthography of most verbs in the G or the D stems is identical. Therefore, it is often hard to decide whether a given form is G or D. Also, when it seems to be G stem, it is not always easy to determine what its vocalization may be. So that one must treat the reconstructions proposed below with great reservation.

Person Markers

THE SUFFIX (*QT*) MORPHEMES

The personal suffix morphemes are as follows:

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual
1 st c.	-t [-tū̄]	*-n [-nā̄, -nū̄]	-ny [-nā̄yā̄? / nū̄yā̄?]
2 nd m.	-t [-tā̄]	-tm [-tum(ū̄)?]	
2 nd m.& f.			-tm [-tumā̄]
2 nd f.	-t [-tā̄]	-tn [-tinā̄ / tinna?]	
3 rd m.	∅ [-a]	∅ [-ū̄]	∅ [-ā̄]
3 rd f.	-t [-at]	∅ [-ā̄?]	-t [-tā̄]

NOTES

1. With the exception of the 1st c.pl. all the suffixes are encountered in the Ugaritic texts.

2. The consonantal morpheme for 1st c.s. is -t [-tū̄] (cf. -t̄ in Biblical Hebrew and Amarna letters from Canaan). Blau (1979a:61; 1979b:146-148; 1985:293) noted the connection between the vowel of this morpheme and the final vowel of the 1st c.s. independent pronoun. The suffix [-t̄] (< -tū̄) developed in languages where the final vowel of the 1st c.s. independent pronoun shifted from -ū̄ to -ī̄ (carried over from the 1st c.s. possessive suffix), i.e. [ʾanōkī̄] (< ʾanōkū̄ < ʾanākū̄) as in Biblical Hebrew and the Amarna letters from Canaan. Therefore, since the 1st c.s. independent pronoun in Ugaritic is [ʾanākū̄] (as confirmed by the syllabic attestation of *a-na-ku* [Ug 5 130 III,12ʹ]), Blau conjectures that the vowel of the Ugaritic 1st c.s. verbal suffix did not shift to -ī̄ and must have remained [-tū̄].

3. Concerning the final [-a] of the 3rd m.s., one may see it on forms of verbs with final *aleph*, e.g. *yšʾa* [yʾašaʾa] "he (/it) went worth" (1.2 IV,6; 4.341,21); *šnʾa* [ʾašniʾa] "he hates" (1.4 III,17); *mʾa* [mal-iʾa] "it was full" (1.4 I,38). It is probably attested also in syllabic documentation, viz. *i-šá-a* [iʾšaʾa] (< *yāšaʾa*) "it went out" (PRU VI 101,4ʹ; cf. Rainey 1973:45-47, *contra* Huehnergard 1987:133); *ša-ma-ta* [ʾašmata] "it was transferred" (PRU III, p. 51,16; cf. Boyd 1975:205-206; this form is also attested without final -a, cf. Huehnergard 1987:171).

4. As for the 3rd f.s. suffix, it can be seen in *yš'at* [*yaša'at*] "it went forth" (1.18 IV,36) and *qr'at* [*qara'at*] "she called" (1.116,2); cf. the syllabic attestation from the Amarna tablets *a-ba-da-at* [*'abadaš*] "it perished" (*EA* 288,52).

5. For the 3rd m.pl. suffix [*ū*] one may note *nš'u* [*naša'ū/naši'ū*] "they lifted up, raised" (1.16 III,12) and *qr'^fu¹* [*qara'ū*] "they have invoked" (1.161,8). Cf. the syllabic documentation *ša-ma-tū* [*samatū*] "they transferred property" (*PRU* III, p. 90,13) and the Amarna forms [*la*]-*qa-hu* [*laqahū*] "they took" (*EA* 287,36) and the N stem form *na-az-a-qi* [*naž'aqū*] "they hastened" (*EA* 366,25).

6. Due to the defective Ugaritic orthography and the absence of a form with final *aleph*, one cannot tell if the 3rd f.pl. suffix was different or identical with that of 3rd m.pl. Perhaps Ugaritic preserved the ancient suffix [-*ā*] as in Akkadian and as in a few Biblical Hebrew examples:

גְּלָדְרָה הַקְּרָיִוֹת וְהַמְצָדוֹת נִחְפְּשָׁה "the towns have been captured and the forts have been taken" (Jer. 48:41).

יָדֵינוּ לֹא שָׁפְכָה [שָׁפְכוּ] "our hands did not shed" (Deut. 21:7).

THE PREFIX (*YQTL*) MORPHEMES

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual
1 st c.	' - - - (<i>u</i>)	<i>n</i> - - - (<i>u</i>)	
2 nd m.	<i>t</i> - - - (<i>u</i>)	<i>t</i> - - - <i>ū</i> (<i>na</i>)	
2 nd m.& f.			<i>t</i> - - - <i>ā</i> (<i>nī</i>)
2 nd f.	<i>t</i> - - - <i>ī</i> (<i>na</i>)	<i>t</i> - - - <i>nā</i>	
3 rd m.	<i>y</i> - - - (<i>u</i>)	<i>y/t</i> - - - <i>ū</i> (<i>na</i>)	
3 rd m.& f.			<i>y/t</i> - - - <i>ā</i> (<i>nī</i>)
3 rd f.		<i>t</i> - - - (<i>ū</i>)	<i>t</i> - - - <i>ū</i> (<i>na</i>)

NOTES

1. On the short forms (*yqtlØ*; preterite and jussive) the short *u*-

vowel is absent. Likewise, the long suffixes [-īna] and [-ūna] are shortened to [-ī] and [-ū] respectively. In the dual the [-āni] is shortened to [-ā]. Those distinguishing components are placed in parentheses in the table above.

2. The prefix for 3rd c.du. is *y-* or *t-* and the same is true for the 3rd c.pl. The overwhelming majority of 3rd c.pl. forms have the *t-* prefix (cf. the Amarna letters from Canaan, see Izre'el 1987:79-90 and Rainey 1996: II,43-45). Some argue that the plural morpheme is always *t-* and that the instances of *y-* can be explained in another way (cf. Dobrusin 1981:5-14; Izre'el *loc. cit.*). We will see below that there is no basis for this view and that the Ugaritic morpheme can be either *y-* or *t-*.

3. The prefix for 3rd f.pl. is always *t-* (as in Hebrew) unlike Arabic where the prefix is *y-*. Since 3rd f.pl. forms with third radical *aleph* are not documented in Ugaritic, it is difficult to vocalize the forms at our disposal. We hereby reconstructed them as *taqtulūna* although *taqtulnā* is also possible (cf. Arabic *yaqtulna* and Hebrew *tiqtolnā*).

4. The forms with final *-n* may not be imperfect only; they can also be energetic or they can be a 1st c.pl. suffix pronoun. Therefore, it is often difficult to decide between these three alternatives.

THE IMPERATIVE MORPHEMES

The person markers for the imperative are the same for all verb stems; they are found in final position on all forms.

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual
2 nd m.	[-∅]	[-ā]	
2 nd m.& f.			[-ā]
2 nd f.		[-ī]	[-ā?]

NOTES

There is no certain attestation to the 2nd f.pl. The form *šm^c* (1.24,11) "hear! (2nd f.pl.);" may be either an imperative or an absolute infinitive functioning as a finite verb (see below).

The Strong Verbs

In the following discussion, forms from weak roots may be employed when they have something to contribute to the subject. Furthermore, verbs with gutturals are also included, since Ugaritic distinguishes no special features for them.

THE G STEM

qtl

In the Semitic languages three basic forms are employed, *qatala*, *qatila*, *qatula*. The absence of vowels in Ugaritic orthography makes it difficult to discern the vocalic patterns used here. Forms with *aleph* as the second radical will give some indication. The examples are all from *qatila*, e.g. *ʿik* [*la'ika*] "he sent" (2.46,9); *s'id* [*sa'ida*] "he served food" (1.3 I,3); *ʿs'il* [*ša'ila*] "he asked" (2.63,12).

In the consonantal texts no form was discovered from the *qatala* or the *qatula* pattern, but forms in the *qatala* pattern are documented in the syllabic texts, e.g. *ša-ma-ʿta*¹ [*samata*] "the property was transferred" (*PRU* III, p. 51,16); *ta-ba-'a* [*taba'a*] "he went away, departed" (*PRU* VI 77,1; cf. Rainey 1973:40); *ša-ma-tū* [*samatū*] "they transferred property" (*PRU* III, p. 90,13). Further reconstructions are dependent on comparison with other Semitic languages, e.g. *škb* [*šakaba*] "he laid down" (1.5 V,19; cf. Biblical Hebrew כָּשַׁב [Gen. 26:10]); *mrš* [*maruša*] "he fell sick" (1.16 I,56,59; cf. the Akkadian G stative *maruṣ*), etc. However, since the Semitic languages are not uniform in their choice of basic forms for *qtl*, the reconstructions given below may be far from certain and therefore remain hypothetical. Here are some samples:

SINGULAR

1st c.s. — *ʿikt* [*la'iktū*] "I sent" (2.14,7); *šm't* [*šami'tū*] "I heard" (2.10,7; cf. Biblical Hebrew 3rd m.pl. שָׁמְעוּ [Judg. 2:17], and 3rd m.s. שָׁמַע [Jer. 36:13], and in the *EA* texts, 1st c.s. *ša-mi-ti*₇ [*šami'ti*] [*EA* 362:5]); *dbt* [*adabtū*] "I have arranged" (1.4 VI,38); *rgmt* [*ragamtū*] "I spoke" (1.2 IV,7); *ʿrbt* [*arabtū*] "I entered" (2.16,7); *šb't* [*šabi'tū*] "I have been satisfied" (1.17 II,20).

2nd m.s. — *ʿikt* [*la'iktā*] "you have sent" (2.39,18); *hšrt* [*hasirtā*] "you were lacking" (2.41,17; the form may be D stem); *šb't* [*šabi'tā*] "you have been satisfied" (1.17 II,6); *l yrt* [*lū/la yarattā*] (< *lū/la yaradtā*)

“may you go down” (1.5 I,6); *ʾaḥt* [ʾaḥattā] (< ʾaḥadtā) “you seized, you held” (1.16 VI,51; following Rainey 1973:55 and *contra* Segert [1984:143] who sees a numeral here); *rgmt* [ragamtā] “you said” (2.45,23); *rḥmt* [raḥamtā/raḥimtā] “you are merciful” (1.16 I,33).

2nd f.s. — *rgbt* [raḡibtī] “are you verily hungry?” (1.4 IV,33; cf. Biblical Hebrew pausal 3rd m.pl. רָעִבּוּ [Ps 34:11]); *ḡmʾit* [ḡamīʾtī] “are you verily thirsty?” (1.4 IV,34); *ʾikt* [laʾiktī] “you sent” (2.82,3; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:360); *ʾanšt* [ʾanaštī/ʾaništī] “you are meek” (1.18 I,16; cf. Smith 1995:792).

3rd m.s. — *škb* [šakaba] “he laid down” (1.5 V,19); *sgr* [sagara] “he closed (his house)” (1.14 II,43); *ʾaḥd* [ʾaḥada] “he grasped” (1.10 II,6); *sʾid* [saʾida] “he served food” (1.3 I,3); *šmḥ* [šamiḥa] “he was happy” (1.6 III,14); *šnʾa* [šaniʾa] “he hates” (1.4 III,17); *lqh* [laqaḥa] “he took” (4.338,15); *mlk* [malaka] “he reigned” (2.47,12); *qrʾa* [qaraʾa] “he has invoked” (1.161,4,5,6,7; *contra* Caquot [TO II, p. 106, n. 322] who interprets it as Gp stem; this form may be interpreted as an imperative with the volitive -a; cf. *infra*, p. 120).

3rd f.s. — *ʾikt* [laʾikat] “she sent” (2.34,5; 2.36,5,14); *rgmt* [ragamat] “she spoke” (2.14,9); *qrʾat* [qaraʾat] “she called” (1.116,2); *ʾrbi* [ʾarabat] “(the sun) went down” (1.78,2); *ḥlqʾt* [ḥalaqat] “it perished” (2.61,13) and perhaps *mʾla* [maliʾat] “it was full” (1.10 II,9).

PLURAL

2nd m.pl. — *qrʾitm* [qaraʾtum(ū)] “you have invoked” (1.161,2; cf. Levine and de Tarragon 1984:650 and 652; *contra* Caquot [TO II, p. 106, n. 319] who interprets the form as Gp stem); *qbʾitm* [qabaʾtum(ū)] “you called” (1.161,2; cf. TO II, p. 106, n. 320).

3rd m.pl. — *lqh* [laqaḥū] “they took” (4.630,7); *ʾrb* [ʾarabū] “they entered” (3.3,2); *ḥlq* [ḥalaqū] “(the vineyards) perished” (2.61,11); *qrʾu* [qaraʾū] “they have invoked” (1.161,8). From First *waw/yod* verbs: *yṯb* [yatabū] “they were sitting” (1.2 I,21; the form could be G stem *yqtl*, cf. *infra*, p. 148).

3rd f.pl. — *ʾrb* [ʾarabāʾ?] “they entered” (1.17 II,26; 1.19 IV,9; 4.145,2); *tb* [tabaʾāʾ?] “they departed” (1.17 II,39).

DUAL

2nd c.du. — *mgntm* [*magantumā*] “have you entreated?” (1.4 III,30; the form may be D stem). For other dual forms in other persons, cf. the discussion of First *waw/yod* and Third *waw/yod* verbs, *infra*, pp. 147 and 163).

3rd c.du. — *tbʿ* [*tabaʿā*] “(Anat and Baal) departed” (1.4 IV,19) and also “(Gpn and Ugr) departed” (1.5 I,9); *hlk* [*halakā*] “(the two) went forth” (1.14 II,41; cf. Ginsberg 1946:16 and *TO* I, p. 518).

yqtl

The Semitic languages distinguished three basic vocalizations for G stem *yqtl* — *yaqtul(u)*, *yaqtīl(u)* and *yaqтал(u)*. *Yaqtall* forms typical of Akkadian and Ethiopic are not attested in Ugaritic and in other Northwest Semitic languages (cf. Fenton 1970:31-41 and Marcus 1970b:75-104).

As in Biblical Hebrew (cf. Barth 1894:4-6) and the Canaanite in the Amarna tablets (cf. Rainey 1978:8*-13* and 1996 II:62-75), Ugaritic *yaqтал(u)* shifted to *yiqtal(u)* (cf. Ginsberg 1939:319-322). In fact Barth believed that *yiqtal(u)* was actually the original pattern and that *yaqтал(u)* in Arabic was a later development by analogy with *yaqtul(u)* and *yaqtīl(u)* (cf. Bloch 1967:22-29). In view of Akkadian and Amorite evidence, the *yaqтал(u)* pattern must be recognized as very ancient. This ancient process may be the result of vocalic polarity (i.e. dissimilation; cf. Qimron and Sivan 1995:17 and nn. 50,51).

The dissimilation of [*yiqtal(u)*] (< *yaqтал[u]*) occurred with verbs in which the *qtl* had the form *qatila* (or perhaps *qatula*). For example, *Pik* [*laʿika*] “he sent” (2.46,9) alongside *ʿiPak* [*ʿiPaku*] “I will send” (2.30,20); *ʿiʿil* [*ʿaʿila*] “he asked” (2.63,12) beside *ʿiʿal* [*ʿiʿalu*] “I will ask” (2.32,4). Likewise, this process took place with verbs having a guttural consonant in the second or third position, e.g. *ʿibqʿ* [*ʿibqaʿu*] “I will cleave” (1.19 III,3); *ʿilhm* [*ʿilhamu*] “I eat” (1.16 VI,18); *ysʿal* [*ysʿalu*] “he asks” (1.124,3); *tmtʿ* [*timtaʿu*] “she tears (her clothing)” (1.4 II,6; cf. Ginsberg 1969:132); *yspʿu* [*vispaʿu*] “he will eat” (1.103+1.145,51); *yblʿ* [*yiblaʿu*] “he swallows (his tears)” (1.161,16).

It is possible that many verbs shifted to the *yiqtal(u)* pattern although their original form was one of the others, e.g. *ysʿul* [*yasʿulu*] “he asks” (5.11,2); *tʿik* [*taʿiku*] “you are sending” (2.26,4) and *tʿikn*

[*tal'ikīna*] “you (f.s.) send” (2.72,10; for the possibility that these latter forms are D stem, cf. *infra*, p. 135 and *TO* II, p. 317, n. 3). These verbs normally take the *yaqtal(u)* pattern (cf. Segert 1983b:219-221; note also the Biblical Hebrew עָשָׂה “it acted unfaithfully” [Lev.5,15] and אֲנִי אֲרִיב “I am indignant” [Num. 23,8] where one would expect the *yaqtalu* pattern).

This pattern of correspondences between the thematic vowel with the second radical and the prefix vowel (thematic *u* and *i* taking prefix vowel *a*; thematic *a* taking prefix *i*) is helpful in reconstructing the vocalized forms of the G stem prefix conjugation.

Here are examples of verbal forms from the three G stem patterns (sometimes forms have been used from patterns other than the strong verbs):

yaqtul(u) — *'amlk* [*'amluku*] “I will reign” (1.6 I,62); *'aqbrnh* [*'aqburan(n)ahū*] “I will bury him” (1.19 III,5,34); *'arg¹mk* [*'argumukā*] “I will tell you” (1.3 IV,13); *'al 'aḥdhm* [*'al 'āḥudhum(ū)?*] (< *'al 'āḥudhum(ū)?*) “I will surely take them” (1.3 V,22; 1.18 I,9; it is possible that the form is participle, cf. Verreet 1983a:228); *'alm* [*'ālumū*] (< *'ahlumū*) “I strike” (1.82,8, from the root *HLM*; cf. *TO* II, p. 66, n. 182; concerning the absence of the *hé* cf. *supra*, p. 34); *'ask* [*'assuku*] (< *'ansuku*, from the root *NSK*) “I will pour” (1.3 IV,24,29); *'amt* [*'amūtu*, from the root *MWT*] “I will die” (1.17 VI,38); *'anḥ¹n¹* [*'anūḥan(n)a*, from the root *NWH*] “I will rest” (1.6 III,18).

yaqtil(u) — *'abky* [*'abkiyu*, from the root *BKY*] “I will weep” (1.19 III,5,20,34; it is possible that the form is D stem); *'aqny* [*'aqniyu*, from the root *QNY*] “I will create” (1.14 II,4); *'amgy* [*'amgiyu*, from the root *MGY*] “I arrive” (1.21 II,7; this may also be D stem); *'atb* [*'atibu*, from the root *YTB*] “I will sit” (1.16 VI,38,53); *'ard* [*'aridu*, from the root *YRD*] “I will go down” (1.5 VI,25); *'ašr* [*'aširu*, from the root *ŠYR*] “I will sing” (1.24,38,40); *'ašik* [*'ašitukš*, from the root *ŠYT*] “I will place you (f.s.)” (1.18 IV,17). One may add here the syllabic documentation [*i*]a-ab-ši-ru [*yabširu*] “he will cut down” (*Ug* 5 153,1).

The *yaqtil(u)* pattern can also express a causative nuance and some of the verbs that appear to have that form might also be D stem since it, too, can have causative meaning (among others). For example: *bl nmlk* [*bal namlik*] “shall we not enthrone (Yd'-Ylḥn)?” (1.6 I,48; which could be D stem, *bal namallik/numallik*) and *blt nmlk* “shall

we will not enthrone (Athtar the Terrible)?” (1.6 I,54); *'am'id* [*'am'idu*] “I will multiply” (1.14 II,5; this is most likely D stem, i.e. [*'ama'idu*]); *tšmk* [*tašlimükü*] “may they see to your (f.s.) welfare” (2.16,6; this is also most likely D stem, i.e. [*tašallimükü*/*tušallimükü*]).

yigtal(u) — *'i'ak* [*'i'aku*] “I will send” (2.30,20); *'iš'al* [*'iš'alu*] “I will ask” (2.32,4); *'iṣp'i* [*'iṣpa'*] “let me eat” (1.5 I,5; a jussive form); *'iṣp'a'* [*'iṣpa'a'*] “may I eat” (1.6 V,20; a volitive form); *'i'šlh* [*'i'šlahu*] “I will send” (1.24,21); *'ilhm* [*'ilhamu*] “I eat” (1.16 VI,18); *'iṣm* [*'iṣramu*] “may I dine” (1.16 VI,18); *yr'aš* [*yr'ašū*] “(the horse) suffers from head sickness” (1.85,18; cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:32-35); *ykr'* [*yikra'u*] “he kneels” (1.10 II,18); *ym'l'u* [*yimla'u*] “(her heart) is full” (1.3 II,25); *yib'* [*yibba'u*] “he departs” (1.16, VI,39); *yṣp'u* [*yispa'u*] “he will eat” (1.103+1.145,51); *tqr'u* [*tigra'u*] “she calls” (1.100,8,14; 1.107,9,15); *tš'ad* [*tis'adu*] “she serves food” (1.17 V,30); *'iqh* [*'iqqahu*, from the root *LQH*] “I will take” (1.14 IV,41); *'ibgyh* [*'ibgayuhā*, from the root *BGY*] “I will seek her out” (1.3 III,29); *'ištynh* [*'ištayan(n)ahā* from the root *ŠTY*] “I will drink it” (1.4 III,16); *'išt'n* [*'ištannū*/*'ištannā*] “I may drink it (m.s. or f.s.)” (5.9 I,16); *'iḥd* [*'iḥdā*] (< *'iḥdaya*?) “I am happy” (2.15,10; cf. Verreet 1983a:229-230 and 1988:218-219; *TO* II, p. 332, n. 22); *'iphn* [*'iphana(n)a*] (< *'iphayan(n)a*, from the root *PHY*) “I (will) see” (2.31,39) and *'iph'* [*'iphū*] (< *'iphayu*) “I (will) see” (1.10 II,32; concerning the root *PHY* cf. *infra*, p. 168).

The following are examples of G stem verb forms from the various persons. Due to the limitations of the orthography, many of the vocalizations are not conclusive.

SINGULAR

1st c.s. — Cf. the many examples cited above.

2nd m.s. — *tr^lgm^l* [*targumu*] “you shall say” (2.3,18); *trp'a* [*tirpa'a*] “may you heal” (1.114,28); *tht'a* [*tihṭa'a*] “you sin” (1.169,5; cf. Caquot 1984:167; Verreet 1988:204 and *TO* II, p. 56, n. 132); *trš'* [*tirša'a*] “you sin” (1.169,6; a *yqila* form after *tht'a*; this is the only occurrence of the root *RŠ* in Ugaritic; cf. Caquot and Borderuill 1980:348; Caquot 1984:167-168 and *TO* II, p. 56, n. 133).

2nd f.s. — *ttbrn* [taṭburīna] “you will break” (2.72,16). Short forms: *ʿal tidhl(!)* [ʿal tidḥatī] “do not be afraid!” (2.30,21; *contra* Pardee [1984:221] who reads *ʿal twḥln* “may she not be discourage”); *tmḥṣ* [timḥaṣī] “may you smite” (1.19 IV,39); *ʿal fʿsrʿgn* [ʿal tašrugīnī] “do not deceive me, (O Virgin)!” (1.17 VI,34).

3rd m.s. — *ymʿu* [yimlaʿu] “(her heart) is full” (1.3 II,25); *yshq* [yishaqu] “he laughs” (1.17 II,10); *yḫʿr* [yḫʿaru] “he pronounces (their names)” (1.12 I,28); *yḫʿtḥ* [yḫʿtaḥu] “he will open” (1.4 VII,25); *yḫm* [yilḥamu] “he will eat (everything)” (1.115,10; cf. Rainey 1974:194; for the possibility of interpreting the form as 3rd m.pl. cf. Verreet 1988:117 and n. 42); *yšʿmʿḥ* [yishmaḥu] “he will rejoice” (1.10 III,37); *ykrʿ* [yikraʿu] “he kneels” (1.10 II,18); *ymrʿu* [yimraʿu] “he will command” (1.4 VII,50); *ytrḥ* [yitraḥu] “he will pay the bride-price” (1.24,33); *yšgd* [yisḡadu] “he advances” (1.174,1; cf. Bordreuil and Caqout 1980:346); *yšlm* [yišlam] “may it be well” (2.16,4); *yqrʿa* [yiqraʿa] “may he call” (1.4 VII,47). With suffix pronouns: *yqr.ʿun* [yiqraʿunī] “he calls me” (1.5 II,22); *y.lmn* [yālumannū?] (< *yahlumanhū*, from the root *HLM*; concerning the absence of the *hé*, cf. *supra*, p. 34) “he strikes him” (1.114,8); *yḥmdnh* [yahmudan(n)ahū] “(Baal) desires him” (1.92,29).

3rd f.s. — *ttbḥ* [tiṭbaḥu] “she slaughters” (1.6 I,18); *tsʿad* [tisʿadu] “she serves food” (1.17 V,30); *tqrʿu* [tiqraʿu] “she calls” (1.107,9,15); *ttbʿ* [tiṭbaʿu] “she departs” (1.16 VI,2); *tspʿi* [tispaʿ] “she ate” (1.96,3); *tmzʿ* [timzaʿu] “she rends (the garment of Daniel)” (1.19 I,36; cf. Ginsberg 1969:153); *ttkl* [taṭkulu] “she bereaves” (1.100,61; cf. Astour 1968:22); *tšpkm* [tašpuku-ma] “she spills” (1.17 VI,15); *tmdlḥ* [tamdulun(n)a] “she harnesses” (1.19 II,8). With suffix pronouns: *tšrpnn* [tašrupan(n)annū] (< *tašrupan(n)anhū*) “she burns him” (1.6 II,33); *tqbrnh* [taqburan(n)ahū] “she buries him” (1.6 I,17).

PLURAL

1st c.pl. — *ndbh* [nidbaḥu] “we will sacrifice” (1.40,41); *nḫtʿu* [niḫtaʿu] “we are being destroyed(?)” (2.10,8,10; for the possibility of interpreting the form as in N stem cf. Gordon 1949:117 and *infra*, p. 131); *nḫʿmʿ* [niḫamu/nilḥama] “we eat” (1.23,72); *nšmḥ* [nišmaḥ] “let us be happy” (1.16 I,14); *nḫʿn* [niḫʿanu] “we will thrust” (1.10 II,24; cf. Ginsberg 1969:142).

2nd f.pl. — *tht'in* [tḥta'nā] “you are sinning” (1.40,22,23; for the interpretation “you make purification” cf. *TO* II, p. 147).

3rd m.pl. — *tlhmn* [tilhamūna] “they are eating” (1.114,2); *t'ikln* [ta'kulūna] “they are eating” (1.12 I,10); *tmtr'n¹* [tamṭurūna] “(the heavens) rain down” (1.6 III,12); *tb'ln* [tib'alūna] “they are working” (4.141 III,6,8,10); *tqsm* [tiqṣarūna?] “they will be short(?)” (1.103+1.145,33; cf. Verreet 1988:214); *t¹špñ* [tašnupūna?] “they offer a *šnpt*-offer” (1.50,6; this form is probably denominative, cf. Verreet 1988:59). Short forms: *tlhm* [tilhamū] “they eat” (1.22 I,21); *tšmh* [tišmahū] “may they rejoice” (1.6 I,39); *ydm'* [yidma'ū] “they shed tears” (1.19 IV,12,16; cf. Verreet 1988:69); *t¹z¹p¹n* [taẓpunū?] “they hid themselves(?)” (1.13,15; perhaps the root *ẓPN* is related to Biblical Hebrew *šPN*; cf. Verreet 1988:73; *TO* II, p. 25 interprets the form as 2nd m.s.).

3rd f.pl. — *thšpn* [taḥsupūna] “they pour (water)” (1.3 II,38; IV,42); *t'iqn* [ta'tuqūna] “they will pass” (2.36,17; cf. *TO* II, p. 408, n. 189). A short form: *t'ihd* [ta'hudū] “they took” (1.19 I,9).

DUAL

1st c.du. — *nmgn* [namgunu] “we two would entreat” (1.4 III,33; this could be a D stem form).

2nd c.du. — *tht'an* [tḥta'āni] “both of you (= the messengers) crushed (/defeated)” (1.4 VIII,20; cf. Margalit 1980:84); *t'dbn* [ta'dubāni] “both of you prepare” (1.114,13); *tmgnn* [tamgunāni] “both of you should entreat” (1.4 III,25; the form may be D stem). A short form: *'al tqr̄b* [*al tiqr̄bā*] “the two of you must not draw near!” (1.4 VIII,15-16).

3rd c.du. — Short forms: *ttb'* [titba'ā] “the two (messengers) departed” (1.14 VI,35); *tlhk* [tilhakā] “(the two tongs) lick (the heavens)” (1.83,5; the form may be D stem); *trp'a* [tirpa'ā] “may (Anat and Athtart) heal (El)” (1.114,28; cf. Rainey 1974:187 and Loewenstamm 1980:380, *contra* Verreet [1980:224] who interprets the form as 2nd m.s.).

Imperative

The thematic vowel of the imperative was evidently identical to the thematic vowel in the *yqt(u)* forms. Therefore, one must assume that in Ugaritic, as in the other Semitic languages, there were three basic forms in use in which the vowel of the first radical was identical to the thematic vowel (cf., e.g. the syllabic example from Amarna Canaanite, *nu-pu-ul-mi* [*nupul-mi*] "fall down!" [EA 252,25]). Thus, the forms of the imperative in Ugaritic must have been *qatal*, *qutul* and *qitil*. It is naturally difficult to discern the vowels of imperative forms. According to verbs with first *aleph*, it would appear that the imperative forms included a vowel with the first radical (rather than *sheva* as in Biblical Hebrew). So, for example, 'at [*'atī*] (< 'atawī/'atayī) "come! (f.s.)" (1.6 II,12; cf. Blau 1977a:30-31, *contra* Ullendorf [1978:22*] who saw this form as an independent 2nd f.s. pronoun); 'i'rs [*'irīs*] "request!" (1.17 VI,27; cf. Blau 1977a:30-31 and 1985:293; for the possibility that this might be a D stem imperative, cf. *infra*, p. 136). The following are some examples of imperative forms:

SINGULAR

2nd m.s. — *rgm* [*rugum*] "say!" (2.4,2); *hlm* [*hulum*] "smite!" (1.2 IV,21) and *hlmn* [*huluman(n)a*] "smite!" (1.18 IV,22); *pth* [*patah*] "open!" (1.23,70); *lak* [*la'ak*] "send!" (2.10,10); *rkb* [*rakab*] "mount!" (1.14 II,21); *h'rg* [*hurug*] "kill!" (1.13,5; cf. *TO* II, p. 22, n. 8); *špl* [*šapał*] "lower yourself!" (1.161,22); *qr'a* [*qara'a*] "call out!" (1.161,4,5,6,7,8; this is evidently an imperative with the volitive *-a* but orthographically it could also be a *qtl* form, cf. *supra*, p. 114). With suffix pronouns: *qr'¹an* [*qara'an(n)ā*] "call me!" (1.5 I,23; this form may be energetic without a suffix pronoun, i.e. [*qara'an(n)a*]).

2nd f.s. — *lhm* [*laḥamū*] "eat!" (1.4 IV,35); *s'ad* [*sa'adī*] "serve food!" (1.17 V,20); *tbh* [*tabaḥū*] "slaughter!" (1.16 VI,17).

PLURAL

2nd m.pl. — *lh'm¹* [*laḥamū*] "eat!" (1.23,6, following Ginsberg 1936:79); *db* [*'adabū*] "prepare!" (1.23,54; for the possibility that this might be a noun cf. *TO* I, p. 376, n. *k*).

2nd f.pl. — The only example of an imperative in 2nd f.pl. is in the

following phrase: *šm' ʿi^llht k^ltr^l[t]* “hear, O goddesses, Kotharot!” (1.24,11) where we would have expected **šm'n*. The form could possibly be an absolute infinitive (i.e. [*šamā'u*]) serving as an infinitive (cf. discussion further on), but it is also possible that the form of the 2nd f.pl. imperative did not have a *-n* suffix (unlike Hebrew and Arabic); it may have been like Akkadian and Aramaic, thus, *šama'ā* (cf. Gordon 1965:77).

DUAL

2nd c.du. — *hbr* [*huburā*] “(both of you) bow down!” (1.4 VIII,28; concerning the root *HBR* in Ugaritic and in Biblical Hebrew, cf. Blau 1957:183-184; for the Arabic identical verb cf. Renfroe 1992:42-45); *rgm* [*rugumā*] “(both of you) speak!” (1.3 III,11); *tb'* [*taba'ā*] “(both of you) depart!” (1.5 II,8).

Active Participle

Singular

Masculine — *'ahd ydy* [*'āhidu yadiya*] “(he who) holds my hand” (1.17 II,19); *š'ib* [*šā'ibu*] “(the one who) draws (water)” (4.609,15). With suffix pronouns: *n'is' k^l* [*nā'isukā*] “(he who) reviles you (m.s.)” (1.17 II,3); *n'isy* [*nā'isyā*] “(he who) reviles me” (1.17 II,18); *sp'u* [*sāpi'u*] “(the one who) eats” (1.17 II,21; 1.20 II,10; cf. further on for the absolute infinitive); *ngr* [*nāgīru*] “guard” (1.23,68,69,73; cf. the syllabic attestation ^{LU}*na-ḥi-ru* [*PRU* VI 136,9]).

Feminine — *qr'it* [*qār'itu*] “(she) is calling” (1.100,2; cf. Verreet 1983a:241; for the possibility of interpreting it as a *qtl* form cf. Levine and de Tarragon 1984:652); *qnyt* [*qāniyatū*] “(the one who) creates, creatress” (1.4 I,22; III,26,30; from the root *QNY*); *rhpt* [*rāḥip(a)tu*] “she hovers(?)” (1.108,8; cf. Rainey 1974:188; *contra* Pardee [1988:105] who interprets it as a *qtl* form of G or D stem).

Plural

Masculine — *mḥšm* [*māḥiṣūma*] “smiters” (4.99,15; 4.124,1); *mkrm* [*mākirūma*] “sellers, merchants” (4.126,9); *nqdm* [*nāqidūma*] “herdsmen” (4.126,5); *'aklm* [*'ākilūma*] “eaters” (1.12 I,26); *yšrm* [*yāširūma*, from the root *YŠR*] “potters” (4.99:11; 4.126,28; it is confirmed by the syllabic form *ia-šī-ru-ma* [*PRU* III, p. 195 B I,12]); *nskm* [*nāsikūma*, from the root *NSK*] “pourers” (4.43,4; 4.337,3; the form could also be a noun in the *qattāl* form).

Feminine — *šibt* [šā'ibātu] “drawers (of water)” (1.12 II,59); *b/kyt* [bākiyātu] “weepers, mourning women” (1.19 IV,9-10; from the root *BKY*).

Passive Participle

There are very few forms that can be considered as passive participles. The form of these participles can be *qatīl* (as in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic [in Aramaic it has become *q^otīl*]), or it can be *qatil* (like the verbal adjective in Akkadian), or it can be *qatūl* (as in Biblical Hebrew and in the Canaanite of the Amarna tablets; cf. *ḥa-mu-du* [hamūdu] “desirable” [EA 138:126]).

In the syllabic texts from Ugarit one finds *ḥa-ri-mu* “divided” (*Ug* 5 137 II,39',40',42'; from the root *HRM*). If this is really a passive participle, then the reconstructed form would be either [ḥarīmu] or [harimu]. But it could be an active participle, i.e. [ḥārimu]. Also the form ^{LÜ}*a-si-ri* [ʾasīri/ʾasiri] “prisoner” (*PRU* III, p. 8,24) may be either *qatīl* or *qatil*.

It would seem that *qatūl* also served as a passive participle in Ugaritic. Thus may be adduced from the alphabetic form *ʾuk* [la'ūku] “sent”, “an envoy” (2.17,4; cf. Gordon 1965:426; Segert 1983b:220 n. 16; Ullendorf 1978:*22b). The following are passive participles:

Masculine singular — *ʾuk* [la'ūku] “sent”, “an envoy” (2.17,4; *contra TO* II, p. 306, n. 7 which interprets it as a *qutul* form); ^{ʾk}*ly* [kalūyu/kaliyu/kaliyu] “used up” (1.16 III,13; from the root *KLY*); *špy* [šapūyu/šapūyu/šapūyu] “plated, overlaid” (2.79,10; from the root *ŠPY*; the form could be 3rd m.s. or m.pl. of *qtl*, viz. [šupaya] “it was plated” or [šapayū] “they plated”); *'uzr* [ʾuzūru?] (< ʾazūru?) “girded” (1.17 I,2,7 and *passim.*; cf. Sanmartín 1977:369-370 and Dietrich and Loretz 1978:65-66); *brr* [barūru/barūru/bariru] “(the king) is purified” (1.41,7; cf. *TO* II, p. 154, n. 45). With suffix pronoun: *šbyn* [šabūyunū/šā, šabūyunū/šā or šabiyunū/šā] “our prisoner(?)” (1.2 IV,30; from the root *ŠBY*).

Feminine singular — *lšt* [lašūš(a)tu/lašūš(a)tu/lašūš(a)tu] “burnished” (1.2 I,32); perhaps also ^{ʾb}*ʾl*^{ʾk}*tm* [barūk(a)tu-ma/barūk(a)tu-ma/barik(a)tu-ma] “blessed” (1.19 IV,32; cf. Gordon 1965:78 and Ginsberg 1969:155).

Feminine plural — *bnwt* [banūwātu] (< banūyātu?) “creatures, created things” (1.6 III,5,11; from the root *BNY*; the *waw* may have developed here as a glide); *špyt* [šapūyātu/šapūyātu/šapūyātu] “plated, overlaid” (4.167,2; from the root *ŠPY*).

There were apparently some passive participles built on the *maqṭūl* pattern (as in Arabic), for example *mʿiḥd*¹ [*maʿhūdu*] “plated” (4.172,6); *md/d* [*mōdūdu/mēdūdu*] (< *mawdūdu/maydūdu*) “beloved, friend” (1.4 VIII,23-24; the form could also be *maqṭal*; cf. Biblical Hebrew מְדֻדָּר [Num. 11:26,27]). Feminine singular: *mdt* [*mōdūdatu/mēdūdatu*] “beloved, friend” (1.14 II,50; IV,28); *mtrḥt* [*matrūḥ(a)tu*] “(purchased) bride” (1,14 I,13; 1.24,10; the form could be a D stem passive participle); *mhrṭt* [*mahrūḥ(a)tu*] “ploughed (land)” (1.6 IV,3,14).

Infinitive

Ugaritic has both an absolute and a construct infinitive. These are identical in their form and vocalization. They are expressed by the *qatālu* or the *qitlu* form (*qitlu* is used in Biblical Hebrew קִטְלוּ “to resist him” [Zach. 3:1], בְּבָרֵךְ-וּ “while dealing deceitfully with her” [Exod. 21:8]; it is also used in Arabic as *maṣdar*, cf. Blau and Greenfield 1970:17). The following are examples:

w yqrḥ b šal krt “and he drew near while asking [*bi-šaʿālū*] Keret” (1.14 I,37-38); *ʿakm ʿiʿak* [*laʿaku-ma ʿiʿaku*] “I will surely send” (2.30,19-20); and likewise in the syllabic documentations: ¹*ha¹-ra-šu* [*harāšu*] “to plough” (*Ug* 5 137 III,18’); *ba-ta-qu* [*batāqu*] “cut off” (*Ug* 5 137 II,38’; *contra* Huehnergard [1987:88] who reads *ba-tā-lu*); *pi-it-ʿrū¹* [*piṭru*] “to divide” (*Ug* 5 137 III,2); *ni-iḥ-rū* [*niḡru*] “to guard” (*Ug* 5 137 I,11’).

The following are the functions of the absolute and the construct infinitive. It is clear that in functions documented here, the infinitives of other verbal stems can also serve.

The Absolute Infinitive

The absolute infinitive emphasizes a finite verb and precedes it, e.g.: *ḡmʿu ḡmʿit* [*ḡamāʿu ḡamiʿtū*] “are you verily thirsty?” (1.4 IV,34); *rḡb rḡbt* [*raḡābu raḡībū*] “are you verily hungry?” (1.4 IV,33); *mzl ymzl* [*mazālu yamzulu*] “verily does he suffer(?)” (1.14 IV,25; cf. Ginsberg 1946:34); *škr tškr* [*šakāru taškuru*] “verily she will hire(?)” (1.14 IV,22-23); ¹*ad¹m ʿidm* [*adāmu tʿdam?*] “she did indeed rouge (herself)” (1.19 IV,42; cf. Pardee 1975:376, nn. 69,70); forms with the addition of enclitic *mem*: *ʿakm ʿiʿak* [*laʿaku-ma ʿiʿaku*] “I will surely send” (2.30,19-20); *ḥmdm yḥmdm* [*ḥamādu-ma yaḥmudu-ma*] “verily he will covet” (1.12 I,38); *yḏ¹m l yḏ¹t* [*yadāʿu-ma lā yadaʿtū*] “verily you (m.s.) knew not” (2.39,14). Forms from middle weak verbs: *bʿu ibʿu* [*būʿu/bāʿu tabūʿu*] “verily she comes” (1.16 VI,3); *šr yšr šr* [*šāru/širu yaširu*

šira] “verily he will sing a song” (1.106,15-16); with the addition of enclitic *mem*: *mtm ’amt* [*mātu-ma/mūtu-ma ’amūtu*] “verily I will die” (1.17 VI,38).

There seems to be a lone example in Ugaritic literature in which the absolute infinitive follows its finite verb: *ysp’i sp’u* [*yspa’ sapā’u*] “verily he ate” (1.20 II,10). Actually, the form *sp’u* may be the participle [*sāpi’u*] and the meaning of the clause is “the eater ate”.

The absolute infinitive can serve as a finite verb (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:366, *contra* Marcus 1969:55-61 and 1970b:64-74). The same function is found in the Amarna letters from Canaan (cf. Rainey 1996 II:383-390), in Phoenician (cf. Huesman 1956:271-284) and in Biblical Hebrew (אָנִי וְשִׁבַּחְתִּי “and I praised” [Eccl. 4,2]; וְנִשְׁלְחוּ עִפְטָרִים “and epistles were sent” [Esth. 3,13]; וְהִפְרֹךְ הָיָה “and it was reversed” [Esth. 9,1]). Typical of these constructions is the lack of agreement between the subject (person, gender, number) and the verb form that precedes it, since the infinitive is a non-finite form. The infinitive in these constructions always precedes its subject.

The following examples are taken mainly from the strong verbs with some from weak verbs as the occasion demands:

šmḥ bilt ‘*nt* [*šamāḥu batūl(a)tu ’anatu*] “the Virgin Anat rejoiced” (1.4 V,20); *š¹mḥ rbt* ‘*a*¹*l* [*rt*] ‘*y*¹*m* [*šamāḥu rabbatu ’atir(a)tu yammū*] “the Lady Ashera of the Sea rejoiced” (1.4 II,28-29); *šhq bilt* ‘*nt* [*šahāqu batūl(a)tu ’anatu*] “the Virgin Anat laughed” (1.4 V,25); *w pth* ‘*h*¹*w* [*patāḥu huwa*] “and he opened” (1.23,70; it also can be taken as *qtl* 3rd m.s.); *ḥ¹u hw* [*ḥatā’u huwa*] “he is crushed(?)” (1.6 II,23; *KTU*², p. 26 reads <*n*>*ḥ¹u hw*; if this is the case then the form may be considered as absolute infinitive or participle of N stem); *tb* ‘*ank* [*tabā’u ’anākū*] “I departed” (2.17,6); *‘a*¹*rk yd* ‘*il* [*‘arāku yadu ’ili*] “the ‘hand’ of El grew long” (1.23,34); *‘bdnn* ‘*ank* <*k*> ‘*imr b* *py* [*‘adābun(n)annū ’anākū ka-’immari/’immiri bi-pīya*] “I made him as a lamb in my mouth” (1.6 II,22; for examples of absolute infinitives with energetic suffixes cf. Verreert 1988:95); *‘m*¹*gy hy* [*maḡāyu hiya*] “she arrived” (2.31,45); *mḡ¹y¹* ‘*a*¹*t* ‘*i*¹*lm* [*maḡāyu ’idatu ’itma*] “the council of the gods arrived” (1.15 II,11; from the root *MĠY*); *‘a* *šmm* [*‘a-ā šamūma*] (< *la’āyu*) “the heavens became strong” (1.6 II,25; from the root *L’Y*); *‘n rbt* ‘*atrt ym* [*‘anā rabbatu ’atir(a)tu yammū*] “the Lady Ashera of the Sea answered [*‘anā*] (< *‘anāyu*)” (1.6 I,53; from the root *‘NY*).

It happens that in the same sentence a scribe used forms from one root, once in a finite form and once as an infinitive, e.g.:

t¹r ks’at l mhr *‘r* *t¹hnt l* *šb’im* “she prepares [*t¹aru*] chairs for

the soldiers, prepares [*ta'aru*] tables for the soldiers" (1.3 II,20-22; for a different translation cf. Cassuto 1965:64).

The infinitive may have served for the imperative in Ugaritic, but we do not have clear cut examples. A doubtful one is:

šm' ʿi'lt k'lr' [l] "hear, O goddesses, Kotharot!" (1.24,11).

Since comparison with other Semitic languages indicates that the imperative should have been **šm'n*, it is possible here that *šm'* is a command expressed by the infinitive (i.e. *šamā'u*). At the same time, there is the possibility that *šm'* is a 2nd f.pl. imperative without the *n*-suffix (cf. Akkadian and Aramaic; furthermore cf. p. 121).

The Construct Infinitive

The construct infinitive appears as a bound form with its subject or its object, and in these instances, the noun stands in the dependent case (genitive).

The construct infinitive may serve as the gerund, e.g.:

hlk ktr k y'n [halāka/hilka kōtari kī-ya'īnu] "the going of Kothar he verily sees" (1.17 V,10-11).

hlk b'l 'atrt k t'n [halāka/hilka ba'li 'atir(a)tu kī-ta'īnu] "the going of Baal Ashera verily sees" (1.4 II,13-14).

The construct infinitive can express a circumstantial adverbial complement dependent on the preposition *b-* [*bi-*]. Thus, e.g.:

b nš'i 'nh w tḫn [bi-naš'a'i/nīš'i 'ēnehā wa-tiḫan(n)a] "upon lifting her eyes, then she saw" (1.4 II,12).

w yqrb b š'al krt [wa-yiqrab bi-š'a'ālī karta] "and he drew near while asking Keret" (1.14 I,37-38).

b d'm' n'mn ḡlm [bi-damā'i/bi-dim'i na'māni ḡalmi/ḡulamī] "while the goodly lad wept" (1.14 II,8).

b 'd'm'h [bi-damā'ihū/bi-dim'ihū] "during his weeping" (1.14 I,32).

yrlḫ b 'l[yh] [yarḫu bi-'alāyihū/bi-'ilyihū] "during the (moon's) ascendant" (1.163,12; from the root 'LY).

b yš'ih[m] [bi-yaš'ihum(ū)/bi-yiš'ihum(ū)] "with their going out" (3.8,9; from the root YŠ').

With enclitic *mem*:

bkm tšmd pḫl [bakā-ma/bikā-ma tašmudu paḫla/puḫāla] "while weeping she saddles a young ass" (1.19 II,9), this time without the preposition.

The construct infinitive can express goal or purpose, usually dependent on the preposition *l-* [*le-*]. Note the following examples:

nḫšh l lḫm tḫtḫ [naḫšahū le-laḫāmi/le-liḫmi tiḫtaḫu] "she opens his

throat (appetite) to eat” (1.16 VI,11).

ʿap ʾilm l <[h]m] *yīb* [ʾappa ʾilūma le-laḥāmi/le-liḥmi yaṭabū] “now the gods were sitting to eat” (1.2 I,20-21).

l lhm l šty štkm [le-laḥāmi/le-liḥmi le-šatāyi/le-šītyi šaḥtukum(ū)/šīhtukum(ū)] “to eat and to drink have I called you” (1.15 IV,27; V,10; VI,4).

ʾaʿhʾh šib yšʾat [ʾaḥātuhū šība yašaʾat] “his sister has gone to draw water” (1.16 I,51), this time without the preposition.

THE Gp STEM

The Ugaritic orthography does not permit the unequivocal identification of forms from the Gp stem, the passive of G stem (cf. Marcus 1970a:102-111). Since there is not documentations of any 1st c.s. forms, the prefix vowel remains unattested in the Ugaritic consonantal texts. Furthermore, most of the alleged forms of Gp could also be interpreted as 3rd m.pl. with indefinite subject (cf. Verreet 1985:324-329). They could likewise be considered as forms of the N stem. In the following examples, the vocalizations are in conformance with the evidence from Biblical Hebrew, Arabic and the Amarna letters from Canaan (cf. Joüon and Muraoka 1991:166-168 and Rainey 1996 II:75-76):

l yrgm l ʾalʾynʾ bʾl (1.4 V,12) “may it be said [yurgamu or yirragimu (N stem)] to Mighty Baal” or (less likely) “may they say [yargumū] to Mighty Baal”.

ksp yʾdb (1.50,11) “silver will be prepared [yuʾdabu or yiʾadibu (N stem)]”, but it might be “they will prepare [yaʾdubū] silver” (cf. Verreet 1988:112).

ʾdb ksʾu (1.4 V,46) “a chair was prepared [tuʾdab or tiʾadib (N stem)]”.

w l ll tʾrʾ[k] ksʾu (1.106,27-28) “a chair was arranged [tuʾrak or tiʾarik (N stem)] for Ll”. (These latter two examples show that *ksʾu* “chair” is the subject of the respective verbs; it is feminine as in Akkadian and in Phoenician).

yʾpḥʾ hln b bhtm (1.4 VII,17) “a window will be opened [yuptaḥu or yippatiḥu (N stem)] in the house(s)” or (less likely) “they will open [yiptaḥū] a window in the house(s)”.

k tʾakn ḡlmm (1.4 V,42-43) “when the two lads are sent [tuʾakāni]” (cf. Rainey 1996 II:75-76, but this could also be passive D stem) or “when they send [tiʾakūna] the two lads” (cf. Verreet 1988:226).

hm qrt t'uhd (1.127,30) "if the city was taken [*tu'had*]" or "if they took [*ta'hadū*] the city" (cf. Verreet 1988:234 and Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:34 n. 199).

hṛdn yhpḥ l mlk (1.103+1.145,52) "our *hṛd* will (then) become [*yuhpaku* or *yihhapiku* (N stem)] king" or "they will make [*yah-pukū*] our *hṛd* king" (cf. further *Ug* 7, p. 57; it seems less likely to interpret the *-n* as an emphatic element or as *n-apodiseos* and not a pronominal suffix, cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990a:106 and n. 15).

w hm 'al'p' l tš'n mšrm tmkm (3.8,13-16) "and if the thousand (men) do not travel, they will be sold [*tumkarūna* or *timmakirūna* (N stem)] to Egypt".

'l'šnpn (1.50,6) "they are sacrificed [*tušnapūna* or *tššanipūna* (N stem)] (cf. *TO* II, p. 171; the form can also be interpreted with an active meaning, viz. [*tašnapūna*] "they sacrifice").

Examples from weak roots:

First *yod* Verbs:

l ytn bt l b't'l k 'ilm (1.3 V,3) "let a house be given [*yūtan*] to Baal like the gods" or "may they give [*yatinū*] a house to Baal like the gods" (from the root *YTM*).

mlbš ytn lhm (4.168,7-8) "clothing has been given [*yūtan*] to them" or "they gave [*yatanū/yatinū*] clothing to them".

'ap qšth 'l' 't'n ly (1.19 I,16-17) "also his bow was not given [*lā tūtan*] to me" or "they did not give [*lā tatinū*] his bow to me".

k yld bn ly km 'ahy (1.17 II,14-15) "for a son is born [*yūladu*] to me like my brothers" (from the root *YLD*).

rgm l 'il ybl (1.23,52,59) "word was brought [*yūbal*] to El" or "they brought [*yabalū/yabilū*] word to El" (from the root *YBL*).

yšq b 'aph (1.85,6) "(and the remedy) should be poured [*yuššaqu/yūšaqu*] into his nose" (cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:18) or "they should pour [*yāšiqū*] (the remedy) into his nose" (from the root *YŠQ*).

First *nun* Verbs:

špsg ysk [l] 'r'š (1.17 VI,36-37) "glaze was poured [*yussak*] (< *yunsak*) on the head" or "they poured [*yassukū*] glaze on the head" (from the root *MSK* or from *YSK* or *SWK*).

Third *yod/waw* Verbs:

ybn bt l b'l km 'ilm (1.4 IV,62-V,1) "let a house be built [*yubnē*] (< *yubnay*) for Baal like the gods" or "let them build [*yabnū*]

(< *yabniyū*) a house for Baal like the gods”, and the verb could also be N stem (i.e. [*yibbanī*] [< *yinbaniy*]).

bhth tbn (1.4 VI,16) “his house(s) will be built [*tubnūna*] (< *tubnayūna*)” or “they will build [*tabnūna*] (< *tabniyūna*) his house(s)”, (the form could have been N stem, i.e. [*tibbanūna*] [< *tinbaniyāna*]).

lḥt mrkbt mlk d l špy (4.167,5-6) “three chariots of the king that were not overlaid [*šupayā/šupiyā?*]” (cf. Gordon 1965:88) or “three chariots of the king that they have not overlaid [*šapayū*]” (from the root *ŠPY*; the form could also be 3rd m.pl. from the D stem [*šappiyū*]).

Thus also with regard to the sentence:

špy b hrš nʿmm (2.79,10) “... it was overlaid [*šapaya*] with choice gold” or “...they overlaid [*šapayū/šappiyū*] with choice gold” (cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:307; for another interpretation cf. *supra*, p. 122).

THE Gt STEM

This stem generally is reflexive of the G stem. It is characterized by the addition of a *t*-infix after the first radical. It survives in Biblical Hebrew in the two place names אֶשְׁתָּאוּל (Jos. 15:33; 19:41) and אֶשְׁתָּחֶט (Jos. 21:14) and possibly אֶלְתָּקָא (Jos. 21:23) and אֶלְתָּקָה (Jos. 19:44). One may perhaps add the forms הִתְפַּקְרוּ (Judg. 20:15) and הִתְפַּקְרוּ “they were mustered” (Judg. 20:15); cf. Cowley 1910:151. On the other hand, Gt is known in Aramaic, Arabic and there are a few traces in Phoenician (תַּחְתַּסַּר and תַּחְתַּפַּךְ [*KAI* 1,2]) and in Moabite (e.g. מֶשְׁחָא [Meshaʿ inscription, line 19]).

In Ugaritic the object of a Gt verb usually precedes it, but there are a few instances when the object follows the verb. Thus, e.g.:

mḥmšt yʿitsp ršp “the fifth, Resheph gathered up (to himself)” (1.14 I,18-19).

ytmr bʿl bnth “Baal beholds his daughters” (1.3 I,22-23).

qtl

Hoftijzer (1971a:361-364) followed by Tropper (1990b:373) saw that in Ugaritic there are two attested forms of Gt *qtl* from the root *ŠR* “to remain”, viz.:

ʿišlʿir “It remained [*ʿištaʿira*] (in the fields)” (1.18 IV,15).

ʿarb ʿšrh šmn d lqht ḫlḡdy w kd ʿišlʿir ʿm qrt “fourteen (jars) of oil which ḫlḡdy has taken and (one) jar remained [*ʿištaʿira*] for the

city" (4.290,1-3; for the view that *'išl'ir* was the name of a type of wine, cf. Loewenstamm 1980:81-82; for the view that it is a kind of food, cf. de Moor 1965:361 or a kind of commodity, cf. Pardee 1976:250).

If Hofstijzer's proposal is correct, then the Gt *qtl* has a prosthetic *aleph* and a thematic *i*-vowel (cf. Sivan 1990b:311-313).

yqtl

The prefix vowel is *i* (cf. examples below). The thematic vowel is hard to determine. The only verb in which we have documentation for the thematic vowel is *ŠL* "to ask", and the attested forms are *tšp'il* and *yšp'al*. These examples show both *i* and *a*. The inventory of other Semitic languages is not uniform. In some languages the thematic vowel of Gt *yqtl* is *i* (as in Aramaic) and there are others where it is *a* (as in Arabic). Seemingly, the Ugaritic evidence points to both *i* and *a*.

The form that supports thematic *i* is *tšp'il* [*tšta'ihu*] "you will investigate, take an interest" (2.17,15; cf. Rainey 1987:395). The context is badly broken and the whole tablet is in bad shape. The editors of *KTU* separated the components of the word, *tšt 'il* "you will place, O El" (a suggestion that does not help the understanding of the text; in the second edition [1995] the editors read *tšp'il*, namely one word). Therefore, this is not a firm context on which to base the thematic vowel.

The form that supports an *a*-vowel is *yšp'al* [*yišta'ahu*] "he will inquire" (2.42,23; 2.70,12; 2.71,10). In all three instances the context is solid and the meaning is perfectly clear. Some recognized the true thematic vowel (Blau 1979a:61-62; and cf. Amarna *yi-iš-ta-al* [EA 280,25]). There is no cause to take these forms as Dt (i.e. tD with metathesis) as Huehnergard (1985:402) suggested, or to see them as a passive Gt as proposed Rainey (1971a:167; 1987:395) following the Arabic; nor can it be taken as an *a*-vowel that developed from original *i*-vowel under the influence of the *aleph* (cf. Herdner 1978:77).

After all that has been said above, it would seem that the evidence is not sufficient to make a definitive judgment about the Gt *yqtl* thematic vowel. Therefore, in all the proposed reconstructions given below, both possibilities will be given (cf. further Sivan 1990b:311-312 and Tropper 1990b:371-373). The following are examples from *yqtl*:

Singular

1st c.s. — ^ʔihtrš [ʔih̄tarašu/ʔih̄tarišu] “I will perform sorcery” (1.16 V,26); ^ʔi^lm¹thš [ʔim̄taḥašu/ʔim̄taḥišu] “I will smite” (1.3 III,46); ^ʔištql [ʔišt̄aqala/ʔišt̄aqila] “I may enter” (1.100,72; the root is ŠQL and not QYL in the Št stem; cf. Greenfield 1979:327; Loewenstamm 1984: 357-358; Tsumura 1974:412 n. 54; *contra* Segert 1984:199 and Pardee 1988:59).

2nd m.s. — tmt^lḥš^l [tim̄taḥašu/tim̄taḥišu] “you will smite” (1.6 VI,24-25).

3rd m.s. — y^ʔitmr [y^ʔitam̄aru/y^ʔitam̄iru] “he views (a burnished sword)” (1.2 I,32; for the suggestion that this form is 3rd m.pl., cf. Watson 1981:191) and ytmr [yitam̄aru/yitam̄iru or yittamaru/yittam̄iru] (< y^ʔitam̄aru/y^ʔitam̄iru) “he views (his daughters)” (1.3 I,22; cf. Rainey 1996 II:93); yrthš [yirt̄aḥašu/yirt̄aḥišu] “he washes himself” (1.14 III,52); y^ʔūt-sp [y^ʔit̄asap/y^ʔit̄asip] “(the pestilence) gathered in” (1.14 I,18); y^ʔittm [y^ʔit̄at̄amu/y^ʔit̄at̄imū] “he is guilty” (4.398,5); ^ʔy^ʔi¹tbd [y^ʔit̄abadu/y^ʔit̄abidu] “he will be lost” (1.14 I,24); yštql [yišt̄aqalu/yišt̄aqilu] “he enters” (1.100,68; 1.114,17); yštkn [yišt̄akanu/yišt̄akinu] “he will establish (a land of sovereignty)” (1.4 VII,44; the form might be from the root KWN, in that case the form has to be interpreted as a Št stem, but it is less likely, cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1974:47-53).

3rd f.s. — tmthš [tim̄taḥašu/tim̄taḥišu] “she fights” (1.3 II,5-6); thtšb [th̄it̄aḥabu/th̄it̄aḥibu] “she struggles” (1.3 II,6); tštql [tišt̄aqalu/tišt̄aqilu] “she enters” (1.3 II,18); tpt^lr^{1c} [tipt̄ara^u/tipt̄ari^u] “she washes herself” (1.13,19; cf. *TO* II, p. 25 and n. 26; *contra* *KTU*² which reads *tkr^c*) and with the energetic suffix: tmthšn [tim̄taḥašan(n)a/tim̄taḥišan(n)a] “she fights” (1.3 II,23).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — ^ʔi^ʔittmn [ti^ʔit̄at̄amūna/ti^ʔit̄at̄imūna] “they will be guilty” (4.398,2,3; cf. Sanmartín 1978:351).

Dual

3rd c.du. — ^ʔt¹q¹tm¹šn [tiqt̄anaḥāni/tiq̄taniḥāni] “(the two of them) bow down in childbirth” (1.23,58; cf. *TO* I, p. 376, n. h).

Imperative

The imperative has a prosthetic [ʔi-] as can be demonstrated from the form ^ʔištm^c [ʔišt̄ama^c/ʔišt̄ami^c] “give heed!” (1.16 VI,29,42). Another

form is *w tqg* [*wa-t(t)aqag/wa-t(t)aqig*] (< *wa-²iwtaqag/wa-²iwtaqig* or *wa-²iytaqag/wa-²iytaqig*) “and attune (the ear)!” (1.16 VI,30,42; for another explanation that sees this form as being G stem from the root *TQG*, cf. Oberman 1946:244 n. 25 and Blau 1977b:71). In another context, the scribe chose to use the jussive instead of the imperative, thus: *t¹rt¹hš* [*tirtahaš/tirtahiš*] “wash yourself!” (1.14 II,9).

THE N STEM

The forms from this stem are few and difficult to interpret. The characteristic feature of the stem is the [*n-*] morpheme which is preserved in the *qtl* conjugation and on the participle; it assimilates to the first radical in the *yqtl* conjugation.

qtl

These forms begin with the [*na-*] morpheme as can be seen in the syllabic attestation of the 3rd m.pl. *na-ap-ta-ru* [*naptarū*] “they exchanged” (*PRU* III, p. 89,5; cf. Huehnergard 1987:167). The same morpheme is preserved in Biblical Hebrew (נָתַן [*< nawlada*] [Eccl. 4:14], נָסַב [*< nasbaba*] [Jos. 18:14], etc.) and the Amarna letters from Canaan as seen in the forms *na-az-a-qi* [*naz^caqū*] “they hastened” (*EA* 366,25), *na-aq-ša-ap-ti* [*naqsapū*] “I am upset” (*EA* 93,4-5) and *na-aq-ša-pu* [*naqsapū*] “they were angry” (*EA* 82,51; cf. Rainey 1996 II:376-377). The following are examples from Ugarit in the alphabetic script and in the syllabic documentation:

Singular

3rd m.s. — *nšlh* [*našlaha*] “he was sent” (2.34,14); *nškḥ* [*naškaha*] “it was found” (2.38,15; cf. Pardee 1976:289 and n. 634); *nplṭ* [*naplata*] “he was saved” (2.82,4; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:359; Pardee 1984:222); *nkly* [*naklaya*] “It was used up” (4.213,24; from the root *KLY*).

3rd f.s. — *nlqht* [*nalqahat*] “it was taken” (4.659,1).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *nhṭu* [*naḥta^u*] “they have been crushed” (2.10,10; cf. Gordon 1949:117; it could also be 1st c.pl. of G stem, cf. p. 118); syllabic attestation: *na-ap-ta-ru* [*naptarū*] “they exchanged” (*PRU* III, p. 89,5; cf. Huehnergard 1987:167).

yqt

Singular

1st c.s. *'ilḥmn* [*'illahīman(n)a*] (< *'inlahīman[n]a*) “let me make war” (2.82,20; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:360; the root *LḤM* in this same meaning appears in *mlḥmt* [*malḥam(a)tu*] “war” [1.3 III,15; IV,8,28]).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *tmkrn* [*timmakirūna*] (< *tinmakirūna*) “they will be sold” (3.8,16; the form could also be Gp stem).

3rd f.pl. — *tnkn* [*tinnatikūna*] “(the tears) are poured out” (1.14 I,28; from the root *NTK*).

Dual

3rd c.du. — *ymšḥn* [*yimmaṣiḥāni*] (< *yinmaṣiḥāni*) “they tread on each other” (1.6 VI,20); *thgrn* [*tihḡagirāni*] (< *tinhagirāni*) “both of them are girded” (1.23,17).

Imperative

There are no attestations for the imperative; however, the jussive is used, thus:

ʿlʿrḥṣ w ʿadm rḥṣ [*y*]^ʿ*dk*¹ *'amt* “wash yourself and reddens [*tī*’*adīm*] (< *tin*’*adīm*) yourself, wash your hands up to the forearm!” (1.14 II,9-10).

Participle

Singular

Masculine — *nkbd* [*nakbadu*] “honored” (1.39,2; for another reading, cf. Herdner 1963:118 and also *KTU*², p. 74); *npzl* [*napzalu?*] “ ? ” (1.169,15; the root *PZL* is unknown elsewhere, perhaps it should be compared with Biblical Hebrew *PŠL* “to split”; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:348 and *TO* II, p. 59, n. 154).

Infinitive

The syllabic attestations show that the infinitive forms are *naqtahu*. Thus, *na-ap-tá-ṛa* [*napṭara*] “exchange, to exchange” (*PRU* III, p. 80,14-15; cf. Huehnergard 1987:167); with Akkadian pronoun: *na-ba-dī-ʿšū¹-ʿnu¹* [*na*’*badišumu*] “their flight” (*PRU* III, p. 37,7).

THE D STEM

This stem expresses factitive, causative, and intensive (cf. Blau 1970a:228-233). This was certainly the situation in Ugaritic.

qtl

From the syllabic attestations it has been established that the vowels of this pattern are *a* after the first radical and thematic *i* after the middle radical, i.e. *qattila*. Note the form *šal-li-ma* [šallima] "he paid" (*Ug* 5 96,1,16,18,21,23) and *ša-li-ma* [šallima] (*Ug* 5 96,3,5,8). This information can shed light on the problem of the vocalization of the D stem suffix conjugation in the Northwest Semitic languages (cf. Blau 1971b:152-158; Izre'el 1976:60-64; Huehnergard 1992:216-218; Rainey 1996 II:310-311). Since the vocalization of the D stem is the same as that of the H or Š stems, it is possible to determine the vocalization for Ugaritic Š stem suffix conjugation forms (cf. *infra*, p. 138, and Huehnergard 1987:182). The following are examples of the D stem *qtl*:

Singular

1st c.s. — *ḥsrt* [ḥassirtū] "I took away" (1.6 II,17; for this root in G stem, cf. *supra*, p. 113).

3rd m.s. — *l šlm* [lā šallima] "he did not pay" (4.755,1); *l 'abd* [lā 'abbida] "he did not caused to be destroyed" (1.2 IV,3; cf. *TO* I, p. 134, n. *e*; for another explanation cf. Ginsberg 1936:75-76).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *šlm* [šallimū] "they paid" (4.342,5).

Dual

2nd c.du. — *mgntm* [maggintumā] "have the two of you entreated?" (1.4 III,30; the form could also be G stem).

yqtl

It is difficult to identify D stem forms because their consonantal structure is identical to the G and N stems. The vowel of the 1st c.s. prefix is *a*. There is no documentation for the prefix vowel of the other persons; it could be *a* as in the 1st c.s. or it could be *u* as in other Semitic languages and in the D participle at Ugarit (cf. below).

The *a* in 1st c.s. shows that Ugaritic behaved like Biblical Hebrew in the D stem as seen by the *ḥataph-pataḥ* in Biblical Hebrew forms (e.g. חָטַף־פָּתַח). In this regard Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew differ from Akkadian or Arabic where the 1st c.s. prefix vowel is *u*.

The Amarna letters from Canaan might suggest a third possibility, viz. an *i*-vowel; note e.g. *la-a ti-ka-pi-lu* [*lā tikappilū*] “they do not curl up” (EA 252,18; following von Soden 1967b:42; cf. Steiner 1980:513-518). In fact, it is more likely that the verbal form in question is G stem here in the pattern of the Akkadian present-future (cf. Rainey 1989-90:68-69). The prefix *i*-vowel of D stem verbs in the Amarna texts from Canaan is evidently analogy to the G stem where the analogous extension of the *i*-prefix vowel (from 3rd m.s.) was at work (cf. Rainey 1996 II:135-136).

The vowel in 1st c.s. is not decisive for fixing the vowel of the other persons. In addition, many forms that one might take for D stem could also be G. For example, *’abqt* “I will request” (1.6 IV,20) is interpreted in accordance with the comparison to Biblical Hebrew אֲבַקֵּךְ [2 Sam. 4:11] as D stem [*’abbaqitu*]. As a G stem form, it might be something like [*’abqitu*].

Sometimes the texts themselves help us to distinguish the stem, e.g. *’išlh* [*’išlahu*] “I will send” (1.14 V,21; 1.24,21) is G stem, while *’ašlhk* [*’ašallihukā*] “I will dispatch you (m.s.)” (1.17 VI,28) can be taken as D stem. The following are examples of probably D stem from the various persons.

Singular

1st c.s. — *’am’id* [*’ama’idu*] “I will multiply” (1.14 II,5; the form could be *i*-theme G stem); *’abqt* [*’abbaqitu*] “I will request” (1.6 IV,20); *’angh* [*’anaggiḥu*] “I will gore” (1.172,8); *’ar^fh^lp* [*’arahḥipu*] “I will hover” (1.18 IV,21; it can also be interpreted as G stem). With suffix pronouns: *’agrškm* [*’agarrišukum(ū)*] “I will expell you (m.pl.)” (3.9,6-7); *’ab^lšrkm* [*’abašširukum(ū)*] “I bring you (m.pl.) tidings” (1.19 II,37; cf. TO I p. 448, n. k); *’abk^fm^l* [*’abakkirannā*] (< *’abakkiranhā*) “I will give her birthright” (1.15 III,16); *’almdk* [*’alammidukā*] “I will instruct you (m.s.)” (1.18 I,29); *’am.lkn* [*’amallikannū*] (< *’amallikanhū*) “I will enthrone him” (1.6 I,46; possibly a G stem).

2nd m.s. — *’l^fik* [*tala’iku/tula’iku*] “you are sending” (2.26,4; cf. TO II, p. 317, n. 3; for the possibility of seeing here a G stem, cf. Segert 1983b:221, and our remarks *supra*, p. 115).

2nd f.s. — *ʔarsʔnʔ* [*taʔarrišna/tuʔarrišna*] “you are requesting” (1.3 V,28; here it is virtually impossible to take the form as G stem because the *ʔa* almost never acts as vowelless *aleph*, cf. *supra*, p. 17); *tʔikn* [*talaʔikna/tulaʔikna*] “you will dispatch” (2.72,10; cf. Verreet 1988:53; it could perhaps be G stem [cf. Segert 1983b:221] or N stem [cf. Tropper 1991a:356-358], also cf. *supra*, p. 115-6). Short forms: *ʔdʔbr* [*tadabbir̄/tudabbir̄*] “you manage(d)” (2.72,18); *ʔal ʔapq* [*ʔal taʔappiq̄r̄/tuʔappiq̄r̄*] “do not restrain(?)” (1.169,12; cf. Caquot and Bordreuil 1980:349).

3rd m.s. — *ymʔu* [*yamalliʔu/yumalliʔu*] “he will fill” (1.16 V,28); *yʔarš* [*yaʔarrišu/yuʔarrišu*] “he will request” (1.14 I,42); *yħmš* [*yaħammišu/yuħammišu*] “he will quintuple” (1.16 V,17); *yšbʕ* [*yašabbiʕu/yušabbiʕu*] “he will multiply seven times” (1.16 V,20); *ybqt* [*yabaqqitu/yubaqqitu*] “he will seek out” (2.42,26); *ybr* [*yabaʕiru/yubaʕiru*] “he will destroy, exterminate” (1.103+1.145,58); *ydmr* [*yadammiru/yudammiru*] “he will sing” (1.108,3); *ykbd* [*yakabbidu/yukabbidu*] “the king is honoring” (1.171,4); *ybrkn* [*yabarrikan(n)a/yubarrikan(n)a*] “he blesses” (1.77,2); *yqlšn* [*yaqallišan(n)a/yuqallišan(n)a*] “he cries defiance(?)” (1.4 III,12; cf. Ginsberg 1969:132); *yʔaʔsʔp* [*yaʔassipu/yuʔassipu*] “he assembles” (1.107,36; cf. the G stem orthographies, *yʔisphm* [*yaʔsupuhum(ū)*] “he collects them” [1.12 II,24] and *ʔispk* [*taʔsupukā*] “[the hand of Aqhat] collects you (m.s.)” [1.19 II,17], and cf. *supra*, p. 17).¹ With suffix pronouns: *ypltk* [*yapallitukā/yupallitukā*] “he will deliver you (m.s.)” (1.18 I,13); *yħšln* [*yaħassilan(n)annā/yuħassilan(n)annā*] “he will devastate it (= the land)” (1.103+1.145,38).

3rd f.s. — *tkbd* [*takabbidu/tukabbidu*] “she honors” (1.17 V,30). With suffix pronouns: *tkbdnh* [*takabbidan(n)ahū/tukabbidan(n)ahū*] “she honors him” (1.6 I,38).

Plural

1st c.pl. — *nmʔu* [*namalliʔu/numalliʔu*] “we will fill” (1.119,31,32); *nmlk* [*namalliku/numalliku*] “we will enthrone” (1.6 I,48,54; this could be G stem, causative with *i*-theme).

3rd m.pl. — *trħpn* [*tarahħipūna/turahħipūna*] “they hover” (1.18 IV,20, 31; it can also be interpreted as G stem); *tbqrn* [*tabaqqirūna/tubaqqirūna*] “they attend to(?)” (1.78,5). A short form: *ibrk* [*tabarrikū/tubarrikū*] “may (the gods) bless” (1.15 III,17).

Dual

2nd c.du. — *tmgn* [*tamaggināni/tumaggināni*] “are (the two of) you entreating?” (1.4 III,28; this could also be G stem).

3rd c.du. — *tmgn* [*tamaggināni/tumaggināni*] “both of them should entreat” (1.4 III,25; this could also be G stem). With suffix pronoun: *y^cmsn.nn* [*ya^cammisan(n)an(n)annū/ya^cammisan(n)an(n)annū*] “(Tkmm and Šnm) carry him (= El)” (1.114,18; it seems that El is not the subject of this verb; cf. *TO* II, p. 76 and n. 239). A short form: *trp^a* [*tarappi^a/turappi^a*] “may (Anat and Athtart) heal (El)” (1.114,28; cf. Rainey 1974:186; this form could also be G stem).

Imperative

Singular

2nd m.s. — *bqt* [*baqqū*] “seek (him)!” (2.39,34); ¹*i¹rš* [*irriš*] (< ¹*arriš*) “request!” (1.17 VI,27; in accordance with the *yqt* forms of this verb it is more likely that they and the imperatives are D stem and not G stem; concerning the assimilation of the first vowel in the imperative, cf. *supra*, p. 120 and also Sivan 1990a:313-315).

2nd f.s. — *‘ms m^c* [*‘ammisī ma^c*] “load up!” (1.6 I,12); *kbd* [*kabbidī*] “honor!” (1.17 V,20).

Dual

2nd c.du. — *kbd* [*kabbidā*] “(both of you) honor!” (1.3 III,10).

Participle

Akkadian and Arabic indicate that the principle morpheme for the D participle is a prefix [*mu-*]. It would appear that the same held true for the Northwest Semitic languages as indicated by the personal name attested in syllabic script, viz. *mu-na-ḫi-mu* [*munahḫimu*] “Menahem” (*PRU* VI 40,31), cf. *mnhm* (4.232,45 and many other passages). That the name is attested at Ugarit is not conclusive proof that it is Ugaritic, but the many alphabetic attestations strongly suggest that it is. That particular root, *NHM* “to console”, is not native to Akkadian. It is highly likely, therefore, that the D participle in Ugaritic was *muqattilu*.

Singular

Masculine — *mlḫš* [*mulahḫišū*] “a conjurer” (1.100,42,53); *m^aḫr* [*mu^aḫḫiru*] “one who comes late” (1.166,8; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot

1979:303, *contra* Cazelles [1979:264], who took the vocable for the preposition *m(n)* plus *ʾaḥr*). With suffix pronoun: *mʿmsh* [*muʿammisuhā*] “he carries her” (1.17 I,30); *mʿmsy* [*muʿammisī*] “he carries me” (1.17 II,20; for the *yod* as a *mater lectionis*, cf. *supra*, p. 14).

Plural

Masculine — *m/rqdm* [*muraqqidūma*] “dancers” (1.108,4-5; cf. Pardee 1975:344 and Loewenstamm 1980:325 and n. 13a; for its interpretation as a noun, cf *supra*, p. 72).

Feminine — *mmʾat* [*mumalliʾātu*] “the ones who fill” (1.14 III,10; V,2).

Infinitive

The infinitive is documented in the syllabic texts, *pu-la-tu* [*pullātu*] “to deliver, to rescue” (*Ug* 5 137 II,20). The thematic vowel is probably not long, since the parallel hybrid forms in the Amarna texts from Canaan do not reflect the shift of *ā* to *ō*. Note, for example, *ú-ša-ar* [*uššar*] “to send, dispatch” (*EA* 117,44,50; cf. Rainey 1970a:181; Sivan and Cochavi-Rainey 1992:57-58, *contra* Blau and Greenfield 1970:17). The Amarna texts also have another D infinitive form, *ḥal-lī-iq* [*ḥalliḳ*] “to destroy, to cause loss” (*EA* 250:7; cf. Rainey 1996 II:379). An apparent alphabetically D infinitive is also documented: *brkn ybrk* [*burraku-ma yabarriku/yubarriku*] “he verily will bless” (1.15 II,18).

THE Dp STEM(?)

The form *tʾakn* (1.4 V,42) is usually taken as Gp or as a 3rd m.pl. G form (cf. *supra*, p. 126). On the other hand, it is more likely that this is an example of the Dp, i.e. [*talaʾakāni/tulaʾakāni*] “(the two lads) are sent”. It would appear that the Dp thematic vowel is in accordance with Arabic and with the attestation from Kâmed el-Lôz *tu-wa-aš-ša-ru-na* [*tuwaššarūna*] “they may be sent” (*KL* 72:600,11-12; cf. Rainey 1996 II:12).

It would appear that a Dp form is attested in the following sentence:

tqsrn ymy bʾlhn “the days of their (f.pl.) lord will be short(?) [*taqasssarūna/tuqasssarūna*]” (1.103+1.145,33; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:99,130; for the possibility that the form is G stem, cf. *supra*, p. 119).

More problematic is the form *mzmʾa* (1.15 I,2). This may be a

passive participle of the D stem, i.e. [*muzamma'a*] “shriveled up” (cf. Blau 1977b:75 followed by Verreet 1983a:248), but it might also be a noun meaning “thirst”.

THE tD STEM (?)

qtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *w tkms* [*wa-t(t)akammisa/wa-t(t)akammasa* or *wâtakammisa/wâtakammasa*] (< *wa-'it[a]kammisa/wa-'it[a]kammasa?*) “and he stretched” (1.12 II,54). There is no way to know if the *w*-conjunction obviated an original prosthetic *aleph*, that is [**'it(a)kammasa/*'it(a)kammisa*] or whether the form did not have such a morpheme.

Imperative

Singular

2nd m.s. — *tbšr* [*tabaššar/tabāššir*] “receive good news!” (1.4 V,26). This form could also be a *yqtl* form of Dp jussive [*tabaššar/tubaššar*] (cf. *TO* I, p. 209, n. *d* and Verreet 1988:190, n. 10).

THE Š STEM

The causative stem in Ugaritic has a *š*-prefixed and infix ed morpheme as its marker, as in Akkadian and unlike Aramaic (which has *ha-* or *'a-*), Biblical Hebrew (which has *ha-* or *hi-*), Canaanite (which has *hi*, e.g. *hi-iḥ-bi-e* [*EA* 256,7]), or Phoenician (which has *y-*). Dahood (1957:62-73 and 1965:24-25) sought to prove that there were also Aphel forms in Ugaritic, but Merrill (1974:40-49) has convincingly refuted all his arguments.

qtl

Since the vocalization of the D stem was identical to that of the causative stem in the Semitic languages, one may conjecture that the vowels in the Š stem in Ugaritic were thematic *i* with *a* as the vowel of the stem marker, i.e. *šaqtīla* (cf. discussion of the D stem morphology, *supra*, p. 133).

Singular

3rd m.s. — *šrhq* [*šarhiqa*] “he drove off” (1.3 IV,40). With suffix pronoun: *šlbšn* [*šalbišan(n)š*] “(Baal) has dressed him” (1.5 V,23; cf. *TO* I, p. 249; Rin and Rin 1996:299, *contra* Verreet [1988:97] who interprets it as an infinitive with pronominal suffix).

3rd f.s. — *šlyt* [šá'lyat] "she raised up" (6.13,1; from the root 'LY).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *šqrb* [šaqribū] "they offered a sacrifice" (1.40,26).

yqt

The form is evidently *yašaqtilu/yušaqtilu*. The vowel of the 1st c.s. prefix is *a*, as seen in the examples given below. As with the D stem, the 1st c.s. vowel may not represent the vocalization of the other persons; the latter might be either *a* as with 1st c.s. or it could be *u* as in Arabic and Akkadian. The thematic vowel is *i* as demonstrated by the Š stem example from the root ŠL "to ask", namely *yššil* [*yašašilu/yušašilu*] "he causes to ask" (2.18,5). Note the following examples:

Singular

1st c.s. — 'ašrb' [ʾašarbi'u] "I will make fourthfold" (1.17 V,3; cf. Rabin 1963:111 and Gibson 1978:107, *contra* Gordon [1965:482] who translates "to bring"); 'ašhlk [ʾašahlīku] "I will lead" (1.3 V,24; for the root *HLK* cf. p. 146). With suffix pronoun: 'ašsprk [ʾašspirukā] "I will cause you (m.s.) to count" (1.17 VI,28).

2nd m.s. — With suffix pronouns: *w ʾal tš'iyrh^fm¹* [*wa-ʾal taša'hirhum(ū)/tuša'hirhum(ū)*] "do not cause them (m.pl.) to delay" (2.79,4; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:306).

3rd m.s. — *yššil* [*yašašilu/yušašilu*] "he causes to ask" (2.18,5); *yšlhm* [*yašalhimu/yušalhimu*] "he causes to eat" (1.17 II,32).

3rd f.s. — *tšlhm* [*tašalhimu/tušalhimu*] "she causes to eat" (1.17 V,29); *tš'rb* [*taša'ribu/tuša'ribu*] "she causes to enter" (1.15 IV,17); *tššhq* [*tašašhiqu/tušašhiqu*] "she causes to laugh" (2.25,5).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *tššlmn* [*tašašlimūna/tušašlimūna*] "they render (service or taxes)" (4.95,1; cf. Gordon 1965:491a; according to *KTU*² the form is an error for **tšlmn*). One may add here the form *tūtkrn* [*tataṭkirūna/tuṭatkirūna*] " ? " (1.15 I,3, from the root *TKR*(?); cf. *TO* I, p. 536, n. b). A short form: *l yšb'l* [*lā-yašab'ilū/yušab'ilū*] "they did

not cause to make" (2.70,27; cf. Herdner 1978:78; Verreet 1988:170, n. 93). With suffix pronouns: *tšḥṭʾa.nn* [*tašahṭʾan(n)annū/tušahṭʾan(n)annū*] "they aroused(?) him" (1.19 III,45; the *aleph* may be a *mater lectionis* and the root is *HWT*; cf. Caquot 1956:39; Gordon 1965:401; Verreet 1988:28).

Imperative

2nd m.s. — *šʾqrbʾ* [*šaqrib*] "present!" (1.16 I,44); *šskn mʿ* [*šaskin maʿ*] "give heed (to)!" (1.4 I,20; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:78-79).

2nd f.s. — *šlhm* [*šalḥimā*] "give to eat!" (1.17 V,19).

Participle

There is no direct documentation for the prefix vowel, but it may be assumed that it is like the D stem. The other vowels are conjectural, based on analogy with other Semitic languages.

Singular

Masculine — *mšmṭr* [*mušamṭiru*] "the god who rains" (1.174,9; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:346).

Plural

Feminine — *mššpʾdʾt* [*mušaspidātu*] "mourners" (1.19 IV,10).

Infinitive

šbʿr [*šubʿaru?*] "to illuminate", "to gleam" (1.4 IV,16; perhaps *šbʿr* is a noun meaning "torch"); *šmṭr* [*šumtaru?*] "cutting(?)" (1.41,2; cf. Levine and de Tarragon 1993:93-94).

The First NUN Verbs and the Root LQH

THE G STEM

qtl

Singular

2nd m.s. — *npʾlʾt* [*napalā*] "you fell" (1.107,10).

3rd m.s. — *npl* [*napalā*] "he has fallen" (1.12 II,53). With suffix pronoun: *ngšnn* [*nagašan(n)an(n)ū*] "he approached him" (1.114,19; cf. *TO* II, p. 76).

3rd f.s. — *lqht* [*laqaḥat*] “she took” (4.290,2); *nšʔat* [*našʔat/našaʔat*] “she lifted up” (1.92,27).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *nšʔu* [*našʔū/našaʔū*] “they lifted up, raised” (1.16 III,12); *ndr* [*nadarū*] “they devoted” (2.13,14; 2.30,13).

yql

The first radical *nun* verbs and the *lamed* of the root *LQH* assimilate to the following consonant whenever they are vowelless. Therefore, in cases when one of them appears in the consonantal orthography, it must be assumed that a vowel separates them from the next consonant, so the form should be either D stem or N stem. The assimilation of the *lamed* in *LQH* is also typical of Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician. Examples of the various forms follow:

Singular

1st c.s. — *ʔiqḥ* [*ʔiqqaḥu*] (< *ʔilqaḥu*) “I will take” (1.14 IV,41); *ʔask* [*ʔassuku*] (< *ʔansuku*) “I pour out” (1.3 IV,24,29).

3rd m.s. — *ypl* [*yappulu*] (< *yānpulu*) “he falls” (1.2 IV,5); *yšʔq*¹ [*yiššaḥu*] (< *yinšaḥu*) “he kisses” (1.23,49); *ytk* [*yattuku*] (< *yantuku*) “he pours forth (tears)” (1.19 II,33); *yšʔu* [*yiššaʔu*] (< *yinšaʔu*) “he lifts” (1.10 II,13,14 and elsewhere); *yqḥ* [*yiqqaḥu*] (< *yilqaḥu*) “he will take” (1.23,35). A short form: *ʔal yḥʔ* [*ʔal yippaʔ*] (< *ʔal yinpaʔ*) “let it not flourish” (1.19 III,54).

3rd f.s. — *tšʔu* [*tiššaʔu*] (< *tinšaʔu*) “she carries”, “she raises” (1.6 I,14; II,11); *tḡš* [*taḡḡušu*] (< *tāḡušu*) “she trembles” (1.3 III,34; 1.4 II,19); *l tbt* [*lū/la tabbutu/tabbitu*] (< *tanbutu/tanbitu*) “verily she looks” (1.4 III,21); *tʔqḥ*¹ [*tīqqaḥu*] (< *tilqaḥu*) “she takes” (1.19 IV,55).

Plural

2nd m.pl. — *tšʔun* [*tiššaʔūna*] (< *tinšaʔūna*) “you raise” (1.119,27; cf. *TO* II, p. 210).

3rd m.pl. — *tḡrn* [*taḡḡurūna*] (< *tāḡurūna*) “they protect” (2.23,22); *l tšʔn* [*lā/la/lū tissaʔūna*] (< *tinšaʔūna*) “they will not (or: they will verily) travel” (3.8,12,14; cf. Verreet 1988:216); *tqḥn* [*tīqqaḥūna*] (< *tilqaḥūna*) “they will buy” (4.395,2,4). Short forms: *yšʔ* [*yiššaʔū*]

(< *yinsa'ū*) “they paid(?)” (3.9,17; cf. Friedman 1979:204); $\text{ʿy}^1\text{s}^2\text{u}$ [*yišša'ū*] (< *yinsa'ū*) “they carry” (1.14 II,46; the form can be Gp stem, i.e. [*yušša'u*] “he is carried”, cf. Ginsberg 1946:16); *tpl* [*tappulū*] (< *tanpulū*) “(the stars) fell” (1.13,13; *TO* II, p. 24 interprets the form as jussive). With suffix pronoun: *tgrk* [*taggurūkī*] (< *tanḡurūkī*) “may (the gods) protect you (f.s.)” (2.11,8; cf. Rainey 1971b:11-15; for the suggestion to derive this form from the root *ĠWR*, cf. Loewenstamm 1972:67-70).

Dual

2nd c.du. — A short form: $\text{ʿ}^1\text{a}^1\text{l}$ *tpl* [*ʿal tappulā*] (< *ʿal tanpulā*) “don't fall down!” (1.2 I,15).

3rd c.du. — $\text{ʿ}^1\text{t}^2\text{s}^2\text{a}^1$ [*n*] [*tīšša'āni*] (< *tīnša'āni*) “the two of them raise (their voice)” (1.14 VI,2). Short forms: *tš²a* [*tīšša'ā*] (< *tīnša'ā*) “the two of them raised (their voice)” (1.5 II,16); $\text{ʿ}^1\text{t}^1\text{pl}$ [*tappulā*] (< *tanpulā*) “(the two messengers of Yammu) fell” (1.2 I,31).

Imperative

In the attested imperative forms, the first radical *nun* and the *lamed* of *LQH* are absent. Perhaps that is accidental. In the Northwest Semitic languages there are some forms in which the *nun* is present. For example in Biblical Hebrew, נָדַד “drive! (m.s.)” (2 Kgs 4:24), נִשָּׂא “lift up! (m.s.)” (Ps 10:12); נָצַר “keep! (m.s.)” (Ps 34:14) and in the Amarna letters from Canaan, *nu-pu-ul-mi* [*nupul-mi*] “fall! (m.s.)” (*EA* 252,25). In Biblical Hebrew there are four instances where the *lamed* of *LQH* is present, thus קַח “take! (m.s.)” (Exod. 29:1; Ezek. 37:16; Prov. 20:16) and קַחְךָ “take! (f.s.)” (1 Kgs 17:11). The following are examples from Ugaritic:

Singular

2nd m.s. — *qh* [*qah*] “take!” (1.4 II,32); *s²a* [*ša'a*] “lift!” (1.4 VIII,5; 1.14 II,22). With suffix pronoun: *qhny* [*qaḥanāyā/qaḥanāyā*] “take (both of us)!” (1.82,8; cf. *TO* II, p. 66).

2nd f.s. — *sk* [*sukā*] “pour!” (1.3 III,16; the root may be *SWK*); *qh_n* [*qaḥm(n)a?*] “take!” (1.19 IV,53).

Plural

2nd m.pl. — *s²u* [*ša'ū*] “lift up!” (1.2 I,27; 1.23,54,65).

Participle

Singular

Masculine — *ngr* [*nāgīru*] “guard” (1.23,68,69,73) and in syllabic script *na-ḥi-ru* [*nāgīru*] “guard” (*PRU* VI 136,9); *nṣb* [*nāṣibu*] “the one who erects (a stele)” (1.17 I,26). With suffix pronoun: *nʾiṣh* [*nāʾiṣuhū*] “(he who) reviles him” (1.17 I,29).

Plural

Masculine — *nskṃ* [*nāsikūma*] “pourers” (4.43,4; 4.337,3; this could be a noun on the *qattāl* pattern).

Infinitive

Construct — *b nṣʾi ʾnh w tḫn* “upon lifting [*bi-naṣaʾi/bi-niṣʾi*] her eyes, then she saw” (1.4 II,12).

THE Gp STEM

yqtl

3rd m.s. — *spsg ysk* [*ʾr*]¹ʾiṣ “glaze was poured [*yussak*] on the head” (1.17 VI,36-37; this form might also be 3rd m.pl., i.e. “they poured [*yassukū*] glaze on the head” cf. *supra*, p. 127).

THE Gt STEM

In this stem, the first radical assimilates to the infix -t-. The *qtl* conjugation pattern is not documented for this class of verbs.

yqtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ytṣʾu* [*yittaṣiʾu/yittaṣaʾu*] (< *yintaṣiʾu/yintaṣaʾu*) “he lifts himself up” (1.17 V,6; 1.19 I,21). A short form: *yṣʾi* [*yittaṣiʾ/yittaṣaʾ*] (< *yintaṣiʾ/yintaṣaʾ*) “indeed he lifts himself up” (1.40,16,25,33).

3rd f.s. — *ttḫ^fl* [*tittapilu/tittapalu*] (< *tintapilu/tintapalu*) “(one-seventh) fell (by sword)” (1.14 I,21; cf. Verreet 1985:324-329).

Participle

Plural

Masculine — *m^fi¹db[m]* [*muttadibūma?*] (< *muntadibūma?*) “volunteers(?), donors(?)” (4.775,1; cf. Bordreuil and Caqout 1980:364).

THE N STEM

qtl

Singular

3rd f.s. — *nlqht* [*nalqaḥat*] “it was taken” (4.659,1).*yqtl*

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ynpʿ* [*yinnapiʿu*] “(Daniel) appears(?)” (1.19 II,16; the form might be D stem; perhaps the *nun* is a mistake and the form should be *ypʿ* [*yippaʿu*], cf. *KTU*², p. 57) and also “(Baal) is flourish [*yinnapiʿu*]” (1.5 IV,8; cf. Gordon 1965:446; the text is badly preserved).

Plural

3rd f.pl. — *tnḡšn* [*tinnagišūna*] “they are shaken(?)” (1.2 IV,17,26); *tnkn* [*tinnatikūna*] “(the tears) are poured out” (1.14 I,28).

Dual

3rd c.du. — *ynḡhn* [*yinnagiḥāni*] “the two of them gore one another” (1.6 VI,17; the form can be taken as D stem); *tnšʿan* [*tinnašīʿāni*] “the two (spears of the king) will be lifted up” (1.103+1.145,47; *contra* Dietrich and Loretz [1990b:143] who take the form as plural).

THE D STEM

qtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ntk* [*nattika*] “he bit” (1.100,4; the form can be considered either N stem or G stem).*yqtl*In these forms the *nun* is preserved rather than assimilated as in the G stem; thus, there must have been a vowel after it.

Singular

1st c.s. — ʾ^ʾ*a*¹*nšq* [*ʾanaššiqu*] “I will kiss” (1.2 IV,4).3rd m.s. — *ynšq* [*yanaššiqu/yunaššiqu*] “he kisses” (1.19 II,15); *ynsk* [*yanassiku/yunassiku*] “he pours out (metal)” (1.82,1); *ynḥt* [*yanahḥitu/yunahḥitu*] “he lowers” (1.2 IV,11,18; the form might be G stem, in such case the *nun* did not assimilate to the following guttural); *ynšl*

[*yanaššilu/yunaššilu*] “(the king) will get gifts” (1.90,22; cf. *TO* II, p. 173, n. 103). With suffix pronoun: *yn^crmh* [*yana^ciran(n)ahā^h/yuna^ciran(n)ahā^h*] “he will shake her” (1.100,65; the form might be G stem, in such case the *nun* did not assimilate to the following guttural; cf. Verreet 1988:93).

3rd f.s. — *tnšq* [*tanaššiqu/tunaššiqu*] “(Anath) kisses” (1.22 I,4). With suffix pronouns: *tngh* [*tanaggituhū/tunaggituhū*] “she seeks him” (1.6 II,6; the root is *NGT* and it cannot be associated with the Biblical Hebrew root שׁק; cf. Ginsberg 1936:61 and Smith 1994:124 n. 14).

Dual

3rd c.du. — *yn^tkn* [*yanattikāni/yunattikāni*] “the two of them bite one another” (1.6 VI,19; the form can be interpreted as N stem).

THE Š STEM

The only documented form from this stem is 3rd m.s. in the sentence:

hn ksp d šs^cn “here is the silver which he brought to me [*šassi^canī*] (< *šansi^canī*)” (2.81,24; from the root *NS^c*).

THE Šp STEM

Participle

Plural

Feminine — *mšdpt* [*mušaddapātu?*] (< *mušandapātu?*) “those who are released(?)” (1.14 III,14; from the root *NDP*, cf. *TO* I, p. 522, n. *p* with bibliography).

The First WAW/YOD Verbs and the Root HLK

GENERAL REMARKS

In Ugaritic as in the other Northwest Semitic languages, the first *waw* verbs behave as first *yod* when the *waw* comes in first position (cf. Ginsberg 1967:62). In Ugaritic there are two instances of first *waw* verbs where the *waw* is preserved: the root *WPT* “to spit” (cf. Renfroe 1992:157) and the root *WSR* “to instruct”. Although in the majority of instances, the root *WLD* appears as *YLD*, there is a small number of cases where it appears that the original *waw* is preserved. However, these might be *w*-conjunctions followed by a

verbal form in which the *yod* has been elided (cf. Ginsberg 1946:40 and Tsumura 1979:779-782).

The root *HLK* behaves in Ugaritic, as in Biblical Hebrew, partly as a strong verb and partly like the verbs first *waw/yod*. It is possible that in both languages, there were two roots interacting here (*HLK* and *YLK*). On the other hand, the original root may have been bi-radical (*LiK*) augmented by the initial *hé*, just as the first *waw/yod* verbs may be bi-radical verbs augmented by original *waw*.

It is noteworthy that the verb "to give" with the root *NTN* appears in Ugaritic as in Phoenician as *YTN*. Again, the original may have been bi-radical (*TiN*) augmented by the first *nun*. However, the Phoenician and Ugaritic suffix forms with initial *yod* may simply be back formations from the *yqtl* in which the initial *nun* does not appear.

THE G STEM

qtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *yblt* [*yabalitū/yabilitū*] "I have brought" (1.4 V,27; 2.17,1); *ytt* [*yatattū*] (< *yatantū*) "I give" (1.100,75). With suffix pronoun: *yḏ'lk'* [*yada'tūlk'*] "I know you (f.s.)" (1.18 I,16; cf. Smith 1995:792)

2nd m.s. — *ytnt* [*yatantā*] "you have given" (1.6 VI,14; concerning the non-assimilated *nun*, cf. *supra*, p. 30); *l yrt* [*lū/la-yarattā*] (< *lū/la-yaradtā*) "may you go down" (1.5 I,6).

3rd m.s. — *yṣ'a* [*yaṣa'a*] "it went forth" (1.2 IV,6; 4.166,1; cf. the syllabic documentation *i-ṣá-a* [*iṣa'a*] [< *yaṣa'a*] "it went out" [*PRU* VI 101,4'; cf. Huehnergard 1987:133); *yṣ'* [*yapa'a*] "he has appeared" (1.3 III,37); *i-bi-la* [*iḫila?*] (*yabila?*) "he brought" (*PRU* VI 134,3,5,7; 145,2; cf. Huehnergard 1987:133).

3rd f.s. — *hlkt* [*halakat*] "she went" (1.96,1); *yṣ'at* [*yaṣa'at*] "she went forth" (1.18 IV,36).

Plural

2nd f.pl. — *yṣ'itn* [*yari'tinā/yari'tinna*] "you feared" (2.31,45).

3rd m.pl. — *ybl* [*yabalū/yabilū*] "they brought" (4.272,7); *yḫb* [*yatābū*] "they sat down" (4.86,29).

Dual

3rd f.du. — $y^{\text{f}}l^{\text{t}}$ [*yalattā?*] (< *yaladatā*) “the two of them gave birth” (1.23,53; it seems that assimilation took place although there was a vowel after the *d*; cf. *supra*, p. 29).

yqtl

In Ugaritic as in other Semitic languages (with the exception of Akkadian; cf. Moscati 1964:164), the first radical is missing from the prefix conjugation pattern. It would appear that the basic form for verbs in this class was *yqtl*.

Singular

1st c.s. — 'ard [*'aridu*] “I go down” (1.5 VI,25); 'atn [*'atinu*] “I will give” (1.14 IV,43) beside 'itm [*'itinu*] (< *'atinu*) “I will give” (2.15,4; further remarks on that form, cf. *supra*, p. 44); 'arjm [*'arjtu-ma*] “I would inherit” (1.2 I,35); likewise $\text{'atb}^{\text{b}}\text{n}$ [*'atiban(n)a*] “I will sit down” (1.17 II,12; note the presumed Ugaritic form in an Akkadian text from Ugarit, *la-a a-ši-ib*, which might be for [*lā 'atib*] “I am not seated (= located)” [*Ug* 5 81,26; cf. Huehnergard 1987:135]; but that form may simply be a misused Akkadian stative); 'abl [*'abilu*] “I will bring” (1.82,33); $\text{'al}^{\text{b}}\text{lk}^{\text{b}}$ [*'aliku*] “I will go” (1.19 IV,32); 'id^{b} [*'ida'u/'idi'u?*] “I know” (1.6 III,8) along with 'ad^{b} [*'ada'u?*] (< *'ida'u*) (2.34,30; cf. Verreet 1984:309 and 1988:191; Sivan 1990a:313-315; Pardee [1984:227] followed by *TO* II, p. 345, n. 28 reads 'agd^{b} ; *KTU*² reads 'axd^{b}).

3rd m.s. — Since these forms begin with *yod*, it is not easy to distinguish them from the *qtl* form. Note for example:

w yrd krt l' l' ggt “and Keret came down from the roofs” (1.14 II,26-27).

The orthography *yrd* could be a suffix form, viz. [*yarada*], or it may be a prefix form, i.e. [*yarid(u)*]. Therefore, the interpretations and vocalizations given below are conjectural:

ytn [*yatinu*] “he gives” (1.16 I,13); $yš'u$ [*yāš'u*] “it goes (/will go) forth” (1.103+1.145,45); $yšn$ [*yāšanū*] (< *yiyšanū*) “he falls asleep” (1.14 I,31); yzn [*yazinu*] “he weighs” (2.81,22; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:358); $y\text{tq}$ [*yatiqū*] “he binds, ties” (1.100,17; cf. Astour 1968:18 and Cunchillos 1990:123); $y\text{r}^{\text{b}}\text{u}^{\text{b}}$ [*yīra'u*] (< *yīra'u?*) “he fears” (1.6 VI,30); $yš'an$ [*yāš'an(n)a*] “let him go forth” (1.165,3). Short form: $yš'i$ [*yāš'i*] “it went forth” (1.14 II,32,34). With suffix pronouns:

[y]^flⁿⁿ [yatinannū] (< yatinanhū) “he gives him” (3.2,8); yr^aun [yīra’unnū] (< yīra’uhū) “he fears him” (1.5 II,6; following Rainey 1987:399; this could also be an infinitive functioning as a finite verb, i.e. [yarā’unnū], cf. Gordon 1965:12; Herdner 1952:170 and finally Verreet 1988:27); yblnh [yabilan(n)ahā] “he fetches her” (1.100,67).

3rd f.s. — *tlđ* [talidu] “she will give birth” (1.15 III,7,8,9,10; 1.24,5); *trđ* [taridu] “(the Luminary of the Gods) goes down” (1.6 I,8); *tlk* [taliku] “she goes” (1.92,3); *ttn* [tatinu] “she gives” (1.6 I,32; IV,7); *tlđn* [talidan(n)a] “she gives birth” (1.5 V,22). Perhaps one may add here the form *tr* [tīrū?] (< tīrayu?) “she speeds (in flight)” (1.10 II,11, from the root *YRY*; cf. Ginsberg 1969:142; Gordon 1965:415; *contra TO I*, p. 283, n. *m* which interprets the form as infinitive of the root *TWR*). A short form: *tšⁱ* [tasi[?]] “may it go forth” (1.18 IV,24). With suffix pronoun: *tsrk* [tasirukā] “it instructs you” (1.4 V,4; cf. the use of the D stem of this root below; in Biblical Hebrew that verb generally appears in the D stem though it is also attested in the G stem, יְיָ יִסְרֹאֵל “he who disciplines the nations” [Ps 94:10], וְאֶסְרֹאֵם “and I will discipline them” [Hos. 10:10], cf. Ginsberg 1946:48).

Plural

1st c.pl. — *nrd* [naridu] “we will go down” (1.6 I,7); *nbln* [nabilan(n)a] “we will bring” (1.3 V,34).

2nd m.pl. — A short form: *’al tš^fu¹* [*’al tasi^fū*] “don’t go forth!” (1.164,19; for the interpretation “they indeed went forth” cf. *TO II*, p. 231, n. 255).

3rd m.pl. — *tlkn* [talikūna] “they go” (1.14 IV,31; 1.20 II,5); *yš²unn* [yaš²ūnan(n)a] “they go forth” (2.31,36; *KTU²*, p. 174 incorrectly reads *yš²u*; cf. [tš²]un [tasi²ūna] “they go forth” [1.83,3]); *yrdn* [yaridūna] “they go down” (1.112,18). A short form: *tš²u* [tasi²ū] “they went out” (1.169,2).

The following could be either *qtl* or *yqtl*:

yšq šmn šlm b š^c “they poured whole oil into the chalice” (1.3 II,31-32), where *yšq* could be suffix conjugation [yašaqū] or prefix conjugation [yašiqū].

’a¹p ’ilm l <|>^fh¹[m] ytb (1.2 I,20-21) “now the gods were sitting to eat”, where *ytb* could be suffix [yatabū] or prefix [yatibū].

Dual

2nd c.du. — A short form: *'al ttn pnm* [*'al tatinā panīma*] “(the two of you) do not turn your faces!” (1.4 VIII,1).

3rd c.du. — *'l'ldn* [*talidāni*] “the two of them give birth” (1.23,52). Short forms: *'tld'* [*talidā*] “the two of them give birth” (1.23,58); *ytn* [*yatinā*] “(the two messengers) gave” (1.14 VI,37; this form could be *qtl* and the *yod* could be the first radical).

Imperative

In the few documented forms of the imperative, the first radical (*yod* or the *hé* of *HLK*) is missing.

Singular

2nd m.s. — *rd* [*rid*] “go down!” (1.4 VIII,7; 1.5 V,14); *tn* [*tin*] “give!” (1.14 III,39; 5.9 I,15); *lk* [*lik*] “go!” (1.16 VI,27; 1.82,10; 1.169,10); *ṣ'q'* [*ṣaq/ṣuq*] “pour!” (1.14 II,18); *d'* [*da'*] “know!” (2.61,13); *bl* [*bil*] “bring (the word)!” (1.100,2; cf. Blau and Greenfield 1970:14).

2nd f.s. — *z'i* [*zi'i*] “go forth!” (1.12 I,14,19).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *tb* [*tibū*] “sit!” (1.16 V,24; this could be imperative from the root *TWB* “to return”, cf. *infra*, p. 157).

Active Participle

Plural

Masculine — *yṣm* [*yāṣirūma*] “potters” (4.99,11; in syllabic script *ia-ṣi-nu-ma* [*PRU* III, p. 195 B I,12]); *ynqm* [*yāniqūma*] “those who nurse, suck” (1.23,24,61); *yrdm 'arṣ* [*yāridū-ma 'arṣi*] “those who descend to the earth” (1.114,22; a construct form with enclitic *mem*, for such construct forms cf. *infra*, p. 193).

Passive Participle

Singular

Masculine — *md/d* [*môdūdu/mêdūdu*] (< *mawdūdu/maydūdu*) “beloved, friend” (1.4 VIII,23-24; the form could also be a noun of the *maq-tal* pattern; cf. the Biblical Hebrew personal name מִדְּדָ [Num. 11:26]).

Feminine — *mdt* [*môdūdatu/mêdūdatu*] (< *mawdūdatu/maydūdatu*) “beloved, friend” (1.14 IV,28) and with suffix pronoun: ¹*m¹ddth* [*môdūdatuhū/mêdūdatuhū*] “his beloved, friend” (1.14 II,50).

Infinitive

In Ugaritic there seem to be two infinitive formations, one that preserves all three radicals and another in which the first radical is missing and which bears the feminine *t*-suffix (cf. Biblical Hebrew לָךְ “to go” [2 Sam. 19:25], יָדַע “to know” [Jos. 4:24], שָׁבַח “to sit” [Deut. 1:6], יָרַד “to do down” [Deut. 28:52]). The following are examples:

hlk kbk¹bm [*halāku/hilku kabkabīma*] “the course of the stars” (1.19 II,3,7; IV,38); *š¹at š¹p¹š* [*š¹atu šapšī*] “the going forth of the sun” (1.3 II,8); *š¹at n¹pšh* [*š¹atu napšihā*] “the outpouring of her soul” (1.16 I,35). With suffix pronouns: *b yš¹ih[m]* [*bi-yašā¹ihum(ū)/bi-yiš¹ihum(ū)*] “on their going forth” (3.8,9); *tbth* [*tib(a)tuhū*] “his dwelling (/sitting)” (1.14 I,23).

From the root *WLD/YLD* there is an infinitival form that begins with *waw*, e.g.:

w tqrb w¹ld¹ bn¹ l¹h “she drew near to bearing him a son” (1.15 III,20).

wld šph l krt “an heir to Keret is born” (1.14 III,48; VI,33).

It is likely that the *waw* is actually the conjunction and that the initial *yod* has been contracted from a triphthong, i.e. [*wālādu*] (< *walādu*) (cf. Ginsberg 1946:40; Tsumura 1979:779-782 and also *TO* I, p. 526, n. *l* with more bibliography).

THE Gp STEM

Cf. some examples in the section of Gp in the strong verbs, *supra*, p. 126f.

THR Gt STEM

There are no Gt *qtl* attestations for verbs in this class.

yqtl

There is no way to know if the first radical (*waw*, *yod* or *hé* of the root *HLK*) assimilates to the infixed *taw* as it does in Akkadian. At any rate, the first radical does not appear in the orthography. If the assimilation does not take place, then perhaps there was compensatory lengthening of the prefix vowel. However, this is all spec-

ulative. In the reconstructions that follow, the conjectural assimilated radical is in parenthesis.

Singular

1st c.s. — ^ʾ*itlk* [^ʾ*i(t)talaku*/^ʾ*i(t)taliku*] “I go (around)” (1.6 II,15); ^ʾ*itrl* [^ʾ*i(t)taratu*/^ʾ*i(t)taritu*] “I will inherit” (1.3 III,47).

3rd m.s. — *y^fl^llk* [*yⁱ(t)talaku*/*yⁱ(t)taliku*] “he goes (around)” (1.12 I,34).

3rd f.s. — *itlk* [*ti(t)talaku*/*ti(t)taliku*] “she goes (around)” (1.5 VI,26). It would appear that the root *YRH* “to hurry” is attested in syllabic documentation, viz. *\ti-tar-l[u]* [*ti(t)arhu?*] (< *tiytarahu*/*tiytarihu?*) “she will hurry(?)” (*Ug* 5 3 rev.,10’; for the possibility of viewing it as from the root ^ʾ*RH* cf. Huehnergard 1987:109-110).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *itlkn* [*ti(t)talakūna*/*ti(t)talikūna*] “they were going (/went)” (1.23,67).

Dual

3rd c.du. — A short form: *twth* [*tiwtahā*/*tiwtihā?*] (< *tiwtahayā*/*tiwtahiyā?*) “both of them dispatched” (1.3 III,20; IV,12; the existence of the first radical *waw* is problematic; cf. Gordon 1965:393; Pardee 1975:346; Segert 1984:185; Verreet 1988:82; for the possibility that the root is *WHY* or *YHY* cf. Renfroe 1992:156).

Imperative

The only documented Gt imperative in this class is from the root *TQĠ* “to wake up, to be awake”, in the sentence ^ʾ*istm* *wtaġ* “give heed and attune (the ear)” (1.16 VI,30,42). If the form in question is really an imperative of Gt stem, then the prosthetic *aleph* has been elided (from the form ^ʾ*itqġ* [^ʾ*i(t)taqaġ*/^ʾ*i(t)taqiġ*]) after the conjunction *waw* (cf. Ginsberg 1946:48; *TO* I, p. 571, n. x). The root of this form might be *TQĠ* “to incline (the ear)”; in such a case the form would be G imperative, i.e. [*taqaġ?*] (cf. Oberman 1946:244 n. 25 and Blau 1977b:71).

THE N STEM

qtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ntn* [*nētana/nôtana*] (< *naytana/nawtana*) “(wine that) was given” (4.219,1).

THE D STEM

The only forms that seem to belong to the D stem are from the roots *WPT* “to spit” and *WSR* “to instruct, to discipline”. Because the *waw* is preserved, it seems more likely that they are D stem forms (cf. Ginsberg 1946:48).

qtl

3rd m.s. — *wptm* [*wappita-ma*] “he spit” (1.4 VI,13).

yqtl

3rd m.s. — With suffix pronouns: *ywptn* [*yawappitunī/yuwappitunī*] “he spits on me” (1.4 III,13; cf. *TO* I, p. 200; the *nun* may simply be energetic and not a 1st c.s. pronominal suffix, i.e. [*yawappiān(n)a/yuwappiān(n)a*]); *ywsmn* [*yawassiran(n)annū/yuwassiran(n)annū*] “he instructed him” (1.16 VI,26; if not for the *waw* this form could have been G stem; cf. Verreet 1988:86). The preservation of the *waw* would seem to be more likely if the prefix vowel was *u*.

THE Š STEM

The initial radical (*waw/yod*) contracts in all forms of this stem. On the other hand, the verb *HLK* does not behave in the same manner as the first *waw* and first *yod* verbs (unlike the situation in Biblical Hebrew); instead *HLK* conjugates like a strong verb. This is seen in the lone example, *ʾašlk* [*ʾašhliku*] “I will cause to go” (1.18 I,11).

qtl

Singular

2nd m.s. — *šnt* [*šētintā/šōintā*] (< *šayintā/šawintā*) “you caused to give” (2.36,13; cf. *TO* II, p. 402, n. 174).

3rd m.s. — *šrd* [*šōrida*] (< *šawrida*) “he brought down”, “he entreated (by sacrifices)” 1.14 IV,6); *ššʾa* [*šōšiʾa*] (< *šawšiʾa*) “he has produced” (4.145,10).

3rd f.s. — [š]ʔʔ¹at [šōšʔat] (< šawšʔat) “she caused to go out” (1.19 II,38).

yqt

Singular

1st c.s. — ʔašʔʔ¹d [ʔašōʔlīdu] (< ʔašawlīdu) “I will beget” (1.23,65); ʔaššʔ^u [ʔašōšʔiʔu] (< ʔašawšʔiʔu) “I will cause to go out” (2.34,31,33). With suffix pronoun: ʔaššʔʔ¹ukʔ¹ [ʔašōšʔiʔukā] (< ʔašawšʔiʔukā) “I will bring you (m.s.) out” (2.3,17).

2nd m.s. — l tššy [lā tašōššiyu/tušōššiyu] (< lā tašawššiyu/tušawššiyu) “do not suppress (your lips)!” (1.82,5; it seems that the root is WŠY; less probable to interpret the form from the root MŠY “to forget” as suggested by de Moor and Spronk 1984:239; *TO* II, p. 64).

3rd m.s. — yššʔa [yašōšʔiʔa/yušōšʔiʔa] “he will bring forth” (2.15,5; *contra KTU*² which reads ššʔa and puts the *yod* at the end of the previous word). A short form: yššʔi [yašōšʔiʔ/yušōšʔiʔ] (< yašawšʔiʔ/yušawšʔiʔ) “he causes to go out” (1.15 V,24).

Imperative

Singular

2nd m.s. — šrd [šōrid] (< šawrid) “bring down!”, “entreat (by offerings)!” (1.14 II,24).

Participle

Singular

Masculine — mššʔ^u [mušōšʔiʔu] (< mušawšʔiʔu) “the one who brings forth” (1.17 I,27,45).

Plural

Feminine — ʔmʔšnʔqtʔ¹ [mušēniqātuʔ] (< mušayniqātuʔ) “they who suckle” (1.15 II,28; the subject in the sentence can be Anat, and in that case the verb should be interpreted as feminine singular).

Infinitive

ššʔ^u [šūšaʔuʔ] (< šuwašaʔuʔ) “to cause to go out” (2.34,31; the vocalization is based on that of the infinitive of the D stem, cf. *supra*, p. 137).

THE Šp STEM (?)

Note the following:

bʿlʾ ʿyʾlʿbnʾ [l ksʾi] mʿkʿh (1.6 VI,33-34).

The meaning may be: "Baal is seated [*yatōtaban(n)a/yutōtaban(n)a*] [on the throne] of his kingdom", in which case the verb would be Šp and the *nun* would be enclitic. On the other hand, the meaning could also be: "they seat [*yatōtabūna/yutōtibūna*] Baal [on the throne] of his kingdom".

ʿdb ksʾu w yttb (1.4 V,46-47)

This sentence may be rendered: "a chair was arranged and (Kothar and Ḥasis) was seated [*wa-yatōtab/wa-yutōtab*] (to the right of Baal)" (cf. Gordon 1965:416b and *TO* I, p. 210). But it could also mean: "a chair was arranged and they seated [*wa-yatōtibū/wa-yutōtibū*] (Kothar and Ḥassis to the right of Baal)" (cf. Verreet 1988:68; concerning the form *ʿdb*, cf. *supra*, p. 126).

The Second WAW/YOD Verbs

GENERAL REMARKS

The vocalization of forms in this class are somewhat speculative due to the scarcity of forms with *ʾaleph*. It may be assumed that the forms were not very different from those in the other Northwest Semitic languages. Therefore, it is almost certain that in the *yqt* forms the thematic vowel was long when there was a vocalic suffix, e.g. in the imperfect [*yamūtu*] and the volitive [*yamūta*] but in the jussive [*yamut*].

Some of the roots in this class adopt the pattern of the L stem which is a variation of the D stem. In such cases, a third radical is added which is identical with the final radical (cf. Biblical Hebrew *RWM* and *RMM*).

THE G STEM

qtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *nḥt* [*naḥtū/nuḥtū?*] "I rested" (2.11,14; cf. Biblical Hebrew pausal form נְחַתְּ [Job 3:26] and the syllabic attestation *nu-uh-ti* [*nuḥtū*] (*EA* 147:56) from Canaan; the latter reflects the same use of the original thematic vowel in a closed syllable as in Arabic); *qtl*

[*qiltū*] “I have fallen” (2.12,11; the root is *QYL*, not *QLL*, cf. *AHw*, p. 918b and von Soden 1967a:295-296). With suffix pronoun: *ṣḥtkm* [*ṣaḥtūkum(ū)/ṣiḥtūkum(ū)*] “I have called you” (1.15 IV,27; V,10; VI,4; the form can be a *qatila* conjugation).

2nd m.s. — *št* [*šattā*] “you placed” (2.10,18); *mtt* [*mittā*] “you are dead” (1.5 V,17; cf. Gordon 1949:42; *TO* I, p. 248; Aartun 1978:93; Rin and Rin 1996:294; the reduplicated *taw* can be explained as dittography or scribal error, *contra* Verreet [1988:193] who suggests that the form should be transcribed *mitVtā*, i.e. there exists a vowel between the *taw*'s).

3rd m.s. — *qm* [*qāma*] “he stood (/was standing)” (1.2 I,21); *št* [*šata*] “he placed” (1.4 IV,10); *mt* [*māta?*] “(Mighty Baal) has died” (1.6 I,41); *šd* [*sāda*] “he prepared provisions” (1.114,1); *l bn* [*lā bāna/bīna*] “he did not understand” (1.107,6).

3rd f.s. — *mtt* [*mūtat?*] “(the ship) has died” (2.38,13; *contra* *KTU*², p. 178 which reads <*t*>*mtt*); *b'at* [*bā'at*] “she has come” (1.19 IV,51); *št* [*šataf*] “she placed” (2.36,7).

Plural

2nd m.pl. — *bštm* [*buštum(ū)*] “you are delay” (1.3 IV,33; cf. Smith 1995:792).

3rd m.pl. — *št* [*šātū*] “they placed” (1.4 V,45; the form can be 3rd m.s.); *b.'u* [*bā'ū*] “they have come” (4.395,1); *kn* [*kānū*] “they were” (4.624,1); *nr* [*nārū*] “they shine” (2.13,18; one could take the form with an optative usage, “may they shine”, cf. Verreet 1988:119).

Dual

1st c.du. — *qḥny* [*qīlVnāyā/qilVnīyā*] “the two of us have fallen” (2.11,7; 2.70,10).

yqtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *'amt* [*'amūtu*] “I will die” (1.17 VI,38); *'aḥš* [*'aḥūšu*] “I am in a hurry” (2.34,11; cf. Pardee 1984:227); *l 'aḥš* [*lā 'aḥūšu*] “I will not feel” (1.82,2); *'ašr* [*'ašru*] “I will sing” (1.24,1,38); *'anḥn* [*'anū-ḥan(n)a*] “I will rest” (1.17 II,13); *'ištn* [*'ištu/an(n)a*] (< *'aštu/an[n)a*)

“I will put it” (2.79,3; cf. Verreet 1988:89; *contra* Bordreuil and Caquot [1979:306] who interpreted the form as Š stem of *YTN*; for this vowel harmony cf. *supra*, p. 44); *’igr* [’igāru] “I will stay” (2.34,12, from the root *GWR*; cf. Pardee 1984:228; for the several interpretations of this verb cf. *TO* II, p. 343, n. 17); *’ub’a*(!) [’ubū’a?] “I may enter” (1.100,72). The actual orthography of that form is *’ubn* and it may be a scribal error, since the signs for *’a* and *nun* are somewhat similar. If that be true, then the reconstruction proposed here may reflect a vowel assimilation, [’ubū’a] (< *’abū’a*; cf. Caquot 1984:176; Verreet 1984:307-308; less likely to interpret the form as a noun meaning “entrance” as suggested by Fisher 1971a:356). Furthermore, the basic vocalization shows that this verb could not be *yiqtal* as in Akkadian.

2nd m.s. — *ttb* [taṭūbu] “you will return” (1.4 VI,2,15); *tmtn* [tamūtan(n)a] “you will die” (1.16 I,4,18). Short forms: *’al tb’i* [’al tabu’?] “do not come!” (1.169,18); *’al tṣr* [’al taṣur] “do not besiege!” (1.14 III,29).

2nd f.s. — *tṣdn* [taṣūdīna] “you are hunting, you prepare provisions” (1.17 VI,40; the *nun* could be energetic). A short form: *’al tšt* [’al tašū] “do not put!” (2.30,23-24).

3rd m.s.— *yṭb* [yaṭūbu] “he returns” (1.6 VI,12); *w l yṭb* [wa-lā yaṭūbu] “and he will not return” (1.5 I,9); *ygl* [yaḡūlu] “he will rejoice” (1.82,1); *ybt* [yibātu] “he is ashamed” (1.2 IV,31; cf. Ginsberg 1936:75 and 1969:131; the root might be *BTT*, cf. Verreet 1988:94); *yštn* [yašūtan(n)a] “he places” (1.4 IV,14); *ydn* [yadūnu/yadīnu] “he judges” (1.17 V,7). A short form: *yln* [yalun] “he slept” (1.17 I,15). With suffix pronoun: *y’ark* [y’ārūkī] “(the moon) will illuminate you (f.s.)” (1.24,39; in the *yiqtal(u)* pattern; note that the cognate Biblical Hebrew וַיִּתְּנָה לָהּ אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַיָּרֵחַ לְאֵרָאֵתָהּ [1 Sam. 14:27] is intransitive, cf. *TO* I, p. 395, n. a).

3rd f.s. — *tb’u* [tabū’u?] “she comes” (1.16 VI,3,4); *tqm* [taqūmu] “she arises” (1.82,39); *tšt* [tašūtu] “she places” (1.19 IV,45); *t’n* [ta’īnu] “she sees” (1.10 II,27); *’tb’a* [tabū’a?] “she comes” (1.5 VI,1; that could be a dual, i.e. [tabū’ā], cf. Verreet 1988:71); *tql* [taqīlu] “she falls, bows” (1.4 IV,25). With suffix pronoun: *tštnn* [tašūtan(n)annū] “she places him” (1.6 I,17; 1.19 II,10).

Plural

1st c.pl. — *ngln* [*nagīlan(n)a*] “let us rejoice” (1.16 I,15).

3rd m.pl. — *tb'un* [*tabū'ūna?*] “they come” (1.15 IV,21); *tqln* [*taqīlūna*] “they will fall, bow” (1.103+1.145,1; 1.109,4); *tšdn* [*tašūdūna*] “they were hunting (/hunted)” (1.23,68); *yṭb'n*¹ [*yaṭūbūna*] “they return” (1.23,56); *t'pn* [*ta'ūpūna*] “they fly” (1.19 III,44); *tknn* [*takīnūna*] “they will establish (an investigation)” (3.3,6,9; cf. Rainey 1971a:160, *contra* Verreet [1988:134] who interpreted it as a short form in L stem); *yṭš'n* [*yalūšūna*] “they wallow” (1.114,20; it seems that *Tknn*, *Šnm* and *Hby* are the subject of this verb; cf. *TO* II, p. 77 and n. 241). Short forms: *yṣh* [*yaṣṣhū*] “may they shout” (1.3 V,36); *tš't*¹ [*tašṣū*] “they put” (1.4 VI,22; the form could also be Gp 3rd f.s. meaning “[fire] was put [into the house(s)]”); *tkn* [*takūnū*] “they were” (1.14 I,15).

3rd f.pl. — *tgwln* [*tagwulūna*] “(when your teeth) speak” (1.82,4; the root is conjugated as a strong one; for the possibility that the form is D stem cf. de Moor and Sprong 1984:239).

Dual

3rd c.du. — *tšhn* [*tašḥāni*] “the two of them shout” (1.23,46); *tš'dn*¹ [*tašūdāni*] “the two of them prepare victuals”, or “the two of them hunt” (1.114,23). A short form: *tṣh* [*tašḥā*] “the two of them shout” (1.5 II,17).

Imperative

Singular

2nd m.s. — *ql* [*qil*] “fall!” (1.4 VIII,27); *bn* [*bin*] “understand!” (1.4 V,60); *št* [*šil*] “put!” (1.3 IV,41; this could be a *qtl* form i.e. [*šāta*]); *bṭ* [*baṭ*] “be ashamed!” (1.2 IV,28,29; if the root is *BṬṬ*, then the form could be [*buṭ*], cf. *TO* I, p. 139). With suffix pronoun: *štn* [*štanū*] (< *štanhū*) “send him (to me)!” (2.39,35; cf. Dijkstra 1976:438; Verreet 1988:123; Pardee 1981:152).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *tb* [*tūbū*] “return!” (1.16 V,24; this could be an imperative from the root *YṬB*, cf. *supra*, p. 149).

Dual

2nd c.du. — *ql* [*qālā*] “(both of you) fall down!” (1.3 III,10; 1.4 VIII,27).

Participle

Singular

Masculine — *'ar* [*'āru*] “(the moon) illuminates” (1.24,38); *ql* [*qēlu/qālu*] “(Môt) falls” (1.6 VI,21); *rš* [*rāšū*] “he who is impoverished” (1.14 I,10,22; but it can be from the root *RŠŠ*, cf. *infra*, p. 173); *'ib* [*'ēbu/'ību*] “hostile one, enemy” (1.2 IV,8,9; 1.10 II,24; cf. syllabic attestations: *e-bu* [*Ug* 5 130 III,15'] beside Canaanite *i-bi* [*'ībī*] “my enemy” [*EA* 252,28]).

Plural

Masculine — Accusative construct *qm* *'aḥk* [*qāmī 'aḥkā*] “the enemies of your (m.s.) brother” (1.10 II,25).

Infinitive

The syllabic attestations reveal that the infinitive for verbs with second *yod* were formed on the *qīlu* pattern, e.g. *šī-i-ru* [*šīru*] (< *šīyru*) “to sing” (*Ug* 5 130 III,7'; but perhaps this form is simply the noun, “song” and not an infinitive); *šī-tu* [*šītu*] (< *šīytu*) “to put, place” (*Ug* 5 130 III,10'). The infinitive of verbs with second *waw* may have been on the pattern *qālu* or *qūlu* (cf. Cowley 1910:198). For example, *b'u tb'u* [*bū'u/bā'u tabū'u?*] “verily you come” (1.16 VI,3); *b'p* [*bi-'ūpi/bi-'āpi*] “by flying” (1.10 II,23); with enclitic *mem*, *mtm* *tmtn* [*mūtu-ma/mātu-ma tamūtan(n)a*] “verily will you die” (1.16 I,3-4, 17-18; cf. Verreet 1988:88).

THE Gp STEM (?)

yqt

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ydk* [*yudāku*] “it should be pulverized” (1.85,3; the root might be *DKK*, cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:13-14).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *td^kkn* [*tudākūna*] “they should be pulverized” (1.72,39; the root might be *DKK*, cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:43).

THE Gt STEM

yqtI

3rd m.s. — *l yttn* [*lā yittānu/yittānu*] (< *yittayinu/yittayanu*) “(if a horse does not) urinate” (1.71,9; from the root *TYN*; cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:24; Wheeler 1970-71:21-22, n. 5).

THE L STEM

It would seem that the verbs in this class did not conjugate in the D stem because the second radical would have to be geminated. Instead, the L stem is preferred, that is with reduplicated final radical and a presumably long vowel after the first radical (hence “L[ong]” stem). There are not many attested examples.

yqtI

Singular

2nd m.s. — A short form: *’al ttbb* [*’al taṭābib/tuṭābib*] “do not return!” (transitive) (1.169,19; and cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:349).

3rd m.s. — With suffix pronouns: *yrmh* [*yarāmimuhū/yurāmimuhū*] “he will raise up (the building)” (1.9,9; perhaps the *hé* can be taken as the beginning of the following damaged word).

3rd f.s. — *t’pp* [*ta’āpīpu/tu’āpīpu*] “she propitiates(?) (him)” (1.4 II,10; the root might be *’PP*). With suffix pronoun: *t’rrk* [*ta’ārirukī/tu’ārirukī*] “does (my love) arouse you (f.s.)?” (1.4 IV,39).

Plural

3rd f.s. — *trmmn* [*tarāmimūna/turāmimūna*] “they raise up (the buildings)” (1.4 V,54; this could be from the Lp stem, i.e. [*tarāmamūna/turāmamūna*] “(the buildings) will be built”; cf. Held 1965:273 and *TO* I, p. 210). A short form: *trmm* [*tarāmimū/turāmimū*] “they will raise up (his palace)” (1.4 VI,17).

Imperative

2nd m.s. — *rm* [*rāmim*] “raise up! (/build!)” (1.4 V,52).

THE Š STEM

qtl

Singular

2nd m.s. — *šqlt* [šaqiltā] “you felled” (1.16 VI,44; cf. von Soden 1967a:295).

3rd m.s. — *šql* [šaqīla] “he felled” (1.4 VI,41; 1.22 I,12; in those contexts *šql* is in parallel with *tbḥ* [tabaḥa] “he slaughtered”, cf. Loewenstamm 1984:357-358); *šyq* [šašīqa] “(the enemy) harassed” (2.33,27; the form could be 3rd m.pl., i.e. [šašīqū] “[the enemies] harassed”). In the clause *tb rgm* (1.106,23) it is likely that a *l* has dropped, i.e. it should be **ttb* [tatāba] as corrected by *KTU*², p. 122, n. 2; and the meaning should be “he replied” (lit.: “he returned a word”). Another suggestion is to take *tb* as Gp, i.e. [tība] (cf. *Ug* 7, p. 30).

yqtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *ʾaškn* [ʾašakīnu] “I will prepare” (1.16 V,27; 2.26,5; the root could be ŠKN rather than KWN; concerning those two roots in Ugaritic, cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1974:47-53 and *TO* I, p. 566, n. *f*).

2nd m.s. — *tškn* [tašakīnan(n)a/tušakīnan(n)a] “you will establish” (2.47,3,5; this could be from the root ŠKN in the D stem, i.e. [tašakkinan(n)a/tušakkinan(n)a]).

3rd m.s. — *yttb* [yataḥibu/yutaḥibu] “he brings back”, “he causes to return” (1.41,45).

3rd f.s. — *ttb* [tataḥibu/tutaḥibu] “she brings back”, “she causes to return” (2.16,19); *tštr* [tašatīru/tušatīru] “she brings back” (1.22 I,11; from the root TWR, cf. Ginsberg 1936:433). With suffix pronoun: *tšyqⁿ1[h]* [tašašīqan(n)ahū/tušašīqan(n)ahū] “she harasses him” (1.6 II,10).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *ttbn* [tataḥībuna/tutaḥībuna] (< *tašaḥībuna/tušaḥībuna*) “they will return” (1.41,54; 3.4,17).

Imperative

2nd m.s. — *ttb* [*tatīb*] (< *šatīb*) “cause to return!” (2.34,9).

2nd f.s. — *ttb* [*tatībī*] (< *šatībī*) “send back (a message)!” (2.11,17).

Infinitive

ttb 'ank [*tutābu* 'anāku] “I caused to return” (2.38,23). In this case the infinitive serves as finite verb (cf. *TO* II, p. 356, n. 26 and *supra*, p. 124).

THE Šp STEM

yqt

Singular

3rd f.s. — *ttb* [*tutatābu?*] “she was caused to return” (1.114,27; cf. *TO* II, p. 77, n. 243).

The Third WAW/YOD Verbs

GENERAL REMARKS

Most of the Third *waw* verbs had shifted to Third *yod* (as in Biblical Hebrew and the other Northwest Semitic languages; cf. Moscati 1969:166). Two roots kept *waw* as the third radical, Š*W* “to repose”, in the form 'aš*w* [*ašluwa?*] “let me repose” (1.14 III,45) and the root 'T*W* “to come”, in the form 'at*w*t [*atawa?*] “she came” (1.4 IV,32) (the other forms from these two roots behave as Third *yod* verbs; cf. below). Another, somewhat doubtful root is Š*NW* “to hasten” in the form š*w*t [*šanawa?*] “she hastened(?)” (1.96,1; cf. Virolleaud 1961:182, but perhaps the root is *NWY*, “to be lovely” in the Š stem; cf. *TO* II, p. 42, n. 91).

Triphthongs and diphthongs are characteristic of forms from verbs in this class. The diphthongs *ay*, *aw* and *uw*, *iy* always contract. It would appear that there was no consistent behavior for the triphthongs, i.e. some of them contract while others do not (cf. Sivan 1984b:279-293 and *supra*, p. 41f.).

The elision or the preservation of the *yod* or the *waw* in the orthography is not an effective key for the interpretation of forms in this verb class, since the verb stem is often obscure. This is true as in the verb classes discussed above.

THE G STEM

qtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *bnt* [*banētū/banītū*] (< *banaytū/baniytū*) “I built” (1.4 VI,36; cf. the syllabic form from Amarna letters ¹*ba*¹-¹*ni*¹-¹*ti*¹ [*banītū*] [*EA* 292,29] and Biblical Hebrew ¹*bn*¹ [2 Chron. 6:2]); *mgt* [*maḡētū/maḡītū*] (< *maḡaytū/maḡiytū*) “I arrived” (1.6 II,19); *št* [*šatītū*] (< *šatiytū*) “I drank” (1.4 III,14; 2.34,32; the form was certainly *qatil* as demonstrated by the *yiqtal(u)* pattern in the prefix conjugation, cf. below); *tnt* [*tanētū/tanītū*] (< *tanaytū/taniytū*) “I recounted” (1.2 IV,8; it is more likely that this form is D stem, cf. below); *šnt* [*šanōtū?*] (< *šanawtū?*) “I am fast”, “I do quit” (1.3 IV,33; cf. *TO* I, p. 171; Smith 1994:44 and n. 44 and 1995:792-793).

3rd m.s. — *ʿly* [*ʿalaya*] “he went up” (1.4 I,23), beside *ʿl* [*ʿalā*] (< *ʿalaya*) “he has attacked” (2.30,17,19); *ʿdy* [*ʿadaya*] “he ransomed” (3.4,2); *qny* [*qanaya*] “he acquired” (3.9,2); *mgy* [*maḡaya*] “he arrived” (1.100,67). With suffix pronoun: *ʿnhm* [*ʿanāhum(ū)*] (< *ʿanayahum(ū)*) “he answered them” (1.23,73; *KTU*², p. 69 separates the form into two, i.e. *ʿn hm*, this separation does not make any sense.)

3rd f.s. — *ʿatwt* [*ʿatawat*] “she came” (1.4 IV,32); *ʿryt* [*ʿarayat*] “(your ship) came back(?)” (2.38,25; cf. *TO* II, p. 357 and n. 29 for other interpretations); *mgyt* [*maḡayat*] “she arrived” (1.4 IV,31); *ʿlyt* [*ʿalayat*] “she went up” (1.176,6; the form can be interpreted as 2nd m.s., cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:351) beside *ʿlt* [*ʿalāt*] (< *ʿalayat*) “she went up” (1.82,9; cf. Biblical Hebrew ¹*ʿat*¹ “she did” (Lev. 25:21), ¹*hayāt* [*hayāt*] “it was” (Siloam Inscription, line 3; cf. Blau 1983:158-159); *šnwot* [*šanawat?*] “she hastened(?)” (1.96,1; cf. Virolleaud 1961:182, but perhaps the root is *NWY* “to be lovely” in the Š stem, cf. *TO* II, p. 42, n. 91).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *mgy* [*maḡayū*] “(the Rephaim) arrived” (1.20 II,6) beside *mḡ ʿilm* [*maḡū ʿilūma*] (< *maḡayū*) “the gods arrived” (1.82,42; this form may very well be an absolute infinitive serving as a finite verb, cf. below); *šty* [*šatiyū*] “they drank” (1.4 VI,55); *špy* [*šapayū*] “they overlaid” (4.167,6; cf. Verreet 1985:329; it is quite possible that the form is D stem or even Gp for which cf. *supra*, p. 128).

Dual

1st c.du. — *mǵny* [*maǵênǎyā/maǵênǎyā*] (< *maǵaynǎyā/maǵaynǎyā*) “the two of us have come” (1.5 VI,5,8).

2nd c.du. — *ǵztm* [*ǵazêlumā*] (< *ǵazaylumā*) “have the two of you entreated?” (1.4 III,31).

yqtl

The final radical is preserved when there is a vowel after it. When it is not followed by a vowel (preterite or jussive), it contracts because it is the second member of a diphthong, so it is not represented in the orthography. On the other hand, a triphthong does sometimes contract and its final vowel then dominates as a long vowel (cf. *supra*, p. 42, for discussion).

Note that there is no possibility to know whether the forms brought here are indeed G stem. There is good reason to believe that some of the forms with prefix vowel *a* are actually D stem. The same would apply to forms of these verbs in the other persons as given below.

There follow examples of the various forms (the proposed reconstructions are not always certain):

Singular

1st c.s. — *ʾašlw* [*ʾašluwaʾ*] “let me repose” (1.14 III,45; for this reconstruction, cf. Ginsberg 1946:40); *ʾamǵy* [*ʾamǵiyu*] “I arrive” (1.21 II,7); *ʾiphn* [*ʾiphan(n)a*] “I see” (2.31,39); *ʾiph¹* [*ʾiphūʾ*] (< *ʾiphayu*) “I will see” (1.10 II,32; the root is *PHY* and not *PWH*, cf. below); *ʾihd* [*ʾihdā*] (< *ʾihdayu*) “I am happy” (2.33,21; cf. Verreet 1983a:230, n. 72) and *ʾihd* [*ʾihdā*] (< *ʾihdaya*) “I am happy” (2.15,10; the form is *yqtl* as can be deduced from *yšʾa* [*yašōʾiʾa/yušōʾiʾa*] in line 5; cf. also Verreet 1983a:229); *ʾibk¹y* [*ʾibkiyu*] (< *ʾabkiyu*) or [*ʾibkayu*] “I will weep” (1.161,13; cf. *supra*, p. 44). A short form: *ʾabn* [*ʾabnī*] (< *ʾabniy*) “I will repair” (1.18 IV,40; but most likely it is D stem [*ʾabanni*] [< *ʾabanniy*]). With suffix pronouns: *ʾibǵyh* [*ʾibǵayuhā*] “I will seek her” (1.3 III,29); *ʾatnyk* [*ʾatniyukē*] “I will recount to you (f.s.)” (1.3 III,22; this is most likely factitive D stem); *ʾištn* [*ʾištannū/ʾištannā*] “I may drink it (m. or f.)” (5.9 I,16); *ʾištynh* [*ʾištayan(n)ahā*] “I drink it” (1.4 III,16).

2nd m.s. — *tmǵy* [*tamǵiyu*] “you will arrive” (1.14 III,4); *tpky* [*tapkiyu*]

“you cry” (1.107,11; for *b > p* cf. *supra*, p. 27). A short form: *ʿal* *tgʾl* [*ʿal taǵlī*] (< *ʿal taǵliyy*) “do not bow (your head)!” (1.3 I,1).

2nd f.s. — *tšqyn* [*tašqiyīn(n)a*] “you serve drink” (1.19 IV,53; this might also be imperfect [*tašqiyīna*]).

3rd m.s. — *ymǵy* [*yamǵiyu*] “he arrives” (1.14 IV,47); *ymǵyn* [*yamǵīyan(n)a*] “he arrives” (1.17 II,24); *yʿny* [*yaʿniyu*] “he answers” (1.107,12); *ytny* [*yatniyu*] “he tells” (1.4 VII,30; most likely factitive D stem); *ybkly* [*yabkiyu*] “he weeps” (1.107,8); *yʿl* [*yaʿlū*] (< *yaʿliyu*) “he goes up” (1.17 I,14; this form is in a chain of imperfects so it cannot be a jussive or preterite, *contra* Verreet 1988:75-76); *yɗu* [*yidʿū*] (< *yidʿayu*) “he will take wing” (1.103+1.145,42); *yhd* [*yaḥdū*] (< *yaḥdiyu*) “he sees” (1.19 III,15); *yr* [*yīrū*] (< *yīrayu*) “he shoots” (1.23,38). Short forms: *ymǵ* [*yamǵī*] (< *yamǵiy*) “he arrived” (1.15 V,18); *yšt* [*yīštē*] (< *yīštay*) “he drank” (1.175,13); *yʿl* [*yaʿlī*] (< *yaʿliyy*) “he went up” (1.6 I,57); *yph* [*yīphē*] (< *yīphay*) “he saw” (1.19 II,14); *ybg* [*yībgē*] (< *yībgay*) “he desired” (1.172,20); *yh* [*yaḥī*] (< *yaḥiyī?*) “may he live!” (1.17 I,36; 2.7,9; 6.30,1); *yphn* [*yīphan(n)a*] (< *yīphayan(n)a*) “he sees” (1.17 V,9). With suffix pronoun: *yʿdynh* [*yaʿdiyan(n)ahā*] “he moves her” (1.100,66).

3rd f.s. — *tqry* [*taqriyu*] “she encounters” (1.3 II,4); *tgly* [*tagliyu*] “she reaches” (1.16 VI,4); *tšqy* [*tašqiyu*] “she serves drinks” (1.19 IV,62); *tḥdy* [*tahdiyu*] “she sees” (1.3 II,24); *tbky* [*tabkiyu*] “she cries” (1.16 I,55; this could also be D stem meaning “she mourns”); *tɗu* [*tīdʿū*] (< *tīdʿayu*) “she takes wing” (1.16 VI,6,7); *tɗu* [*tīpʿū*] (< *tīpʿayu*) “she overcomes” or “she becomes weak” (1.100,68; contrary to the view of Verreet [1988:44], who sees here an original [*taɗuwu*]); *tzǵ* [*tazǵū*] (< *tazǵuwu?*) “she moans” (1.15 I,5); *tr* [*tīrū?*] (< *tīrayu?*) “she speeds (in flight)” (1.10 II,11; cf. Ginsberg 1969:142; Gordon 1965:415; *contra* TO I, p. 283, n. *m* which interprets the form as absolute infinitive of the root *TWR*); *tʿhrʿn* [*tahrān(n)a?*] (< *tahriyan(n)a*) “she conceives” (1.5 V,22). Short forms: *tšt* [*tīštē*] (< *tīštay*) “she drank” (1.96,4); *tʿl* [*taʿlī*] (< *taʿliyy*) “she ascended” (1.10 III,29; 1.13,20); *tmǵ* [*tamǵī*] (*tamǵiy*) “she arrived” (1.5 VI,28); *tph* [*tīphē*] (< *tīphay*) “she saw” (1.3 III,32; there is no need to view the form as subjunctive as Verreet [1988:236] does). With suffix pronouns: *tbkyk* [*tabkiyukā*] “she bewails you (m.s.)” (1.16 I,6; II,44; the form is most likely D stem); *tbkynh* [*tabkiyan(n)ahā*] “she bewails him” (1.6 I,16; the form is

most likely D stem); *tʿuʿan* “(sleep) overcame him” (1.14 I,33; the scribe may have intended to write **tʿunn* [*tʿun(n)annūʿ?*], cf. *supra*, p. 13); *tʿpn* [*tʿpnan(n)ū*] (< *tʿpniyanhū*) “he turns towards him” (1.96,5).

Plural

1st c.pl. — Short forms: *nšt* [*ništē*] (< *ništay*) “let us drink” (1.23,72; the form could be [*ništā*] [< *ništaya?*], cf. Verreet 1988:167); *nʿl* [*naʿlā*] (< *naʿliy*) “let us go up” (1.119,33).

3rd m.pl. — *tšty* [*tštayūna*] “they drink” (1.22 I,23) beside *tʿšʿnʿ* [*tššūna*] (< *tššayūna*) “they drink” (1.114,3); *tʿnyn* [*taʿniyūna*] “they answer” (1.23,12); *tʿln* [*taʿlūna*] (< *taʿliyūna*) “they ascend” (1.20 II,4; 1.112,7). Short forms: *tʿity* [*tʿtayū*] “they came” (1.15 III,17,18); *tʿly* [*tagliyū*] “they bowed (their heads)” (1.2 I,23); *tʿit* [*taʿtū*] (< *taʿtiyū*) “they came” (1.20 II,10; cf. Dijkstra and de Moor 1975:214-215; Verreet 1988:135-136 and n. 30, *contra TO I*, p. 478 which interprets the form as 2nd m.s.); *tʿl* [*taʿlū*] (< *taʿliyū*) “they will go up” (2.33,37; cf. *TO II*, p. 340, n. 46).

Dual

1st c.du. — Short forms: [*n*]^r*ǧz*^l [*naǧzūʿ?*] (< *naǧziyuʿ?*) “the two of us entreat” (1.4 III,35). The form *mǧz* (1.4 I,22) indicates that this verb could be D stem, but this latter form could be simply a noun.

2nd c.du. — *tǧzyn* [*tagziyāni*] “(how) the two of you entreat (the Creatress of the Gods)?” (1.4 III,29).

3rd c.du. — *tmǧyn* [*tamǧiyāni*] “the two of them arrive” (1.2 I,30) and *l tmǧyn* [*lā tamǧiyāni*] “(his feet do not) reach (the footstool)” (1.6 I,59). Short forms: *ymǧy* [*yamǧiyā*] “(Anat and Athtart) arrive” (1.114,9); *tmǧyy* [*tamǧiyā(y)*] “(two thousand horses) arrive” (2.33,31; concerning the otiose *yod*, cf. *supra*, p. 15).

Imperative

Singular

2nd m.s. — *ʿl* [*ʿilā*] (< *ʿliy*) “go up!” (1.14 II,20,21); *hđ* [*hđā*] (< *hđiy*) “watch!” (2.77,8); *mǧ* [*mǧā*] (< *mǧiy*) “come!” (1.3 VI,11); *bʿnʿ* [*binā*] (< *biniy*) “build!” (1.2 III,7; 1.4 V,18,33); *ng* [*nǧā*] (< *nǧiy*) “flee!” (1.14 III,27); *ph mʿ* [*pahē maʿ*] (< *pahay*) “see!” (1.15 III,28; for the root *PHY*, cf. below); *w šʿmʿ* [*wa-šatē-ma*] (< *wa-šatay-ma*) “and drink!” (1.5 I,25).

There are, nevertheless, forms with imperative force that have the final *yod*. These could be interpreted as absolute infinitives functioning as imperatives, e.g. *tny* "recount!" (1.16 VI,28; a command given to Yašibu). The possible forms would then be G stem [*tanāyu*] or D stem [*tunnayu*]. But if these can be taken as real imperatives, then they may be lengthened forms with the volitive suffix *a* of the G stem, i.e. [*tinīya*] or (most likely) of the D stem, i.e. [*tanniya*].

2nd f.s. — There are both, forms that preserve the final *yod* and those that do not. The following are examples: *qyy* [*qirȳ(y)?*] "meet!" (1.3 IV,8; for the otiose *yod* cf. *supra*, p. 15); *št* [*šatī*] (< *šatayī*) "drink!" (1.4 IV,36) and also with enclitic *mem*, *šty* [*šatayī-ma*] "drink!" (1.4 IV,35); *ʿlī* [*laʿī*] (< *laʿayī*) "conquer!, overcome!" (1.16 VI,2); *dʿi* [*daʿī*] (< *daʿayī*) "take wing!, soar!" (1.16 V,48; in 1.108,8 *dʿi* should not be taken as imperative as Rainey [1974:187-188] suggests or as absolute infinitive [cf. *TO* II, p. 116, n. 356], but rather we probably should delete *dʿi* as dittography before the next form *dʿit*; cf. Loewenstamm 1980:327, n. 16a); *ʿat* [*atī*] (< *ʿatawī/ʿatayī*) "come!" (1.1 III,16; IV,17) and also with enclitic *mem*, *ʿatm* [*atī-ma*] (< *ʿatawī-ma/ʿatayī-ma*) (1.3 III,28).

Plural

2nd m.s. — *ʿšty* [*šatayū*] "drink!" (1.23,6); *dʿu* [*daʿū*] (< *daʿayū*) "take wing!" (1.19 III,14).

Dual

2nd c.du. — *tny* [*tinīyā*] "(the two of you) recount!" (1.3 III,12; 1.5 II,9; but this verb is most likely D stem).

Active Participle

Singular

Masculine — *bny* [*bāniyu*] "builder, creator" (1.4 III,32).

Feminine — *qnyt* [*qāniyatū*] "creatress" (1.4 I,22) and the nominal form $\sqrt{\text{hā-mi-ti}}$ [*hāmīti*] (< *hāmiyti*) "wall" (*PRU* III, p. 137,4); *dʿit* [*dāʿitū*] (< *dāʿiytu*) "she flies" (1.108,8; cf. Rainey 1974:187-188; Loewenstamm 1980:327, n. 16a and *TO* II, p. 116, n. 356).

Plural

Masculine. — *rʿym* [*rāʿiyūma*] "shepherds" (4.243,45). With suffix pro-

nouns: *šsk* [šāsūkā] (< šāsīyūkā) “your (m.s.) despoilers” (1.13,6; cf. *TO* II, p. 23, n. 10 for other interpretations).

Feminine — *b/kyt* [bākiyātu] “weepers, mourning women” (1.19 IV,9-10).

Passive Participle

Singular

Masculine — ¹*k¹ly* [kalīyū/kalīyū/kalīyū] “used up, finished” (1.16 III,13,14); *špy* [šapīyū/šapīyū/šapīyū] “plated” (2.79,10; the form could be 3rd m.pl. [šapayū] and it could thus be D stem). With suffix pronoun: *šbyn* [šabīyūnū/ā, šabīyūnū/ā or šabiyūnū/ā] “our prisoner” (1.2 IV,30).

Plural

Feminine — *bnwt* [banūwātu] (< banīyātu?) “created things” (1.6 III,5,11; here the *waw* may have developed as a glide); *špyt* [šapīyātu/šapīyātu] “overlaid, coated” (4.167,2).

Infinitive

¹*m¹gy hy* [maḡāyu hiya] “she arrived” (2.31,45); ¹*bm¹ bkyh* [bi-ma bakāy-ihū or bi-ma bikyihū] “as he weeps” (1.14 I,31); *l šty* [le-šatāyi/šityi] “in order to drink” (1.15 IV,27). With contraction of the triphthong: *ʿa šmm* [laʿā šamūma] (< laʿāyū šamūma) “the heavens became strong” (1.6 II,25; concerning this type of contraction, cf. *supra*, p. 43); *w ʿn rbt ʿatrt ym* “and Ashera of the Sea answered [wa-ʿanā] (< wa-ʿanāyū)” (1.6 I,53); *b bk krt* “when Keret weeps [bi-bakā/bikī] (< bi-bakāyi/bikyū) “ (1.14 II,7).

Frequently it is hard to determine whether the form in question is an infinitive or a *qtl* finite verb in 3rd m.s. or 3rd m.pl. For example:

*w ʿn ʿalp*i*[yn] b^cl* “and Mighty Baal answered” (1.4 VI,7), *ʿn* could be 3rd m.s. [ʿanā] (< ʿanaya) or absolute infinitive [ʿanā] (< ʿanāyū). *w k mḡ ʿilm* “and when the gods arrive(d)” (1.82,42), *mḡ* could be 3rd m.pl. [maḡū] (< maḡayū) but is more likely an absolute infinitive, e.g. [maḡā] (< maḡāyū).

Likewise with the following forms: *mḡ hw* [maḡā huwa] (< maḡaya) or [maḡā huwa] (< maḡāyū) “he arrived” (1.23,75); *šl hw* [šalā huwa] (< šalawa) or (< šalāwu) “he relaxed” (2.61,6).

THE Gp STEM

Forms of this verb class in the Gp stem have been discussed along with the strong verbs, *supra*, p. 127-128.

THE Gt STEM

yqtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *'ištbm* [*'ištabî-ma/'ištabê-mā*] (< *'ištabiy-ma/'ištabay-ma*) “I captured” (1.3 III,40; certainly the root is *ŠBY*, cf. Greenstein 1982:204-216 and *CDUL* [forthcoming]; *contra* Gordon [1965:487], Barr [1973:17-39], Loewenstamm [1980:466], Renfroe [1992:144-145], Rin and Rin [1996:139] and *TO* II, p. 29, n. 46 who interpret the form as Gt stem of the root *ŠBM* “to muzzle” [found in Arabic]).

THE N STEM

qtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *nkby* [*naklaya*] “finished, used up” (4.279,1); *n'n* [*na'nā*] (< *na'naya*) “it was answered” (1.24,31; cf. Gordon 1967:100 and n. 53; Herrmann 1968:18; Rainey 1970b:535).

yqtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — the lone form is in the following sentence:

ilt 'id ynphy yrh b yrh 'ahrm “three times the moon is seen in the month of Ahram” (1.163,5, for the possibility of taking the form *ynphy* as 3rd m.pl. “they are visible”, cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990a:99).

ynphy [*ynpahiyu*] is N stem in which the stem morpheme *n* did not assimilate (cf. *supra*, p. 31; and also Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:352-353). The root *PHY* in Ugaritic was first discerned by Rainey (1971a:172; cf. also Verreet 1984:310-312).

THE D STEM

qtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *klt* [*kallitū*] (< *kalliyitū*) “I destroyed” (1.3 III,46).

2nd f.s. — *hwt* [*hawwîṭ*] (< *hawwiṭ*) “may you live (my sister)” (1.10 II,20).

yql

Singular

1st c.s. — Beside long forms as *ʾahwy* [*ʾahawwiyu*] “I will grant life” (1.17 VI,32) and *ʾakly* [*ʾakalliyu*] “I will destroy” (1.6 V,25), there are also short forms: *ʾahw* [*ʾahawwî*] (< *ʾahawwiy*) “I will grant life” (1.82,19); *l ʾahw* [*lā ʾahawwî*] (< *lā ʾahawwiy*) “I did not give life” (1.19 I,16; for the use of D stem *HWY* alongside G stem *HYT*, cf. Marcus 1972:76-82); *ʾakl* [*ʾakallî*] (< *ʾakalliy*) “let me destroy” (1.19 IV,34).

2nd m.s. — *tkly* [*takalliyu/tukalliyu*] “you will destroy” (1.5 I,2).

2nd f.s. — Short forms: *tkl* [*takallî/tukallî*] (< *takalliyî/tukalliyî*) “may you destroy” (1.19 IV,40) and perhaps *t^hl[w]* [*tahawwiyî/tuhawwiyî*] “may you grant life” (1.18 IV,13).

3rd m.s. — *ykly* [*yakalliyu/yukalliyu*] “he (will) destroy(s)” (1.2 IV,27; 1.103+1.145,40); *yşly* [*yaşalliyu/yuşalliyu*] “he prays” (1.19 I,39); *yks* [*yakassû/yukassû*] (< *yakassiyu/yukassiyu*) “he covers (himself)” (1.5 VI,16; *contra* Verreet [1988:241] who sees this as a short form). With suffix pronoun: *k ypt.hm* [*kî-yapattihumā/yupattihumā*] (< *yapattiyhumā/yupattiyhumā*) “he surley seduced the two of them” (1.23,39).

3rd f.s. — *tply* [*tapalliyu/tupalliyu*] “she adorns” (1.101,5; the form can be interpreted as G stem; cf. Rainey 1974:189 and *TO* II, p. 48, n. 105).

Plural

3rd f.pl. — A short form: *l tkly* [*lā takalliyū/tukalliyū*] “they verily (/did not/may they) eat” (1.6 II,36).

Participle

Singular

Masculine — *m^lk^ll^y* [*mukalliyu*] “he who destroys, destroyer” (1.19 IV,40).

Infinitive

The alphabetic documentation does not support an interpretation of the D stem infinitive but there is evidence in the syllabic texts. From the root *HWY* there is *hu-wu-ú* [*huwwú*] (< *huwwayu*) “to grant life” (*Ug* 5 137 II,17’). Of course, one could transcribe *hu-wa-ú*, but then it is hard to explain why there is no orthographic representation of the *yod*.

THE Dp STEM

yqt

Singular

3rd m.s. — The form *ykl* is found in the following passage:

yn d ykl bd [...] “wine that has been used up in the possession of [...]” (1.91,1).

The verbal form can very well be Dp [*yakallé/yukallé*] (< *yakallay/yukallay*).

THE Š STEM

qtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *š^cly* [*ša^cliya*] “he set up” (6.14,1).

3rd f.s. — *š^clyt* [*ša^cliyat*] “she set up” (6.13.1).

yqt

Singular

2nd m.s. — *l tšy* [*lā tašōšiyu/tušōšiyu*] (< *lā tašawšiyu/tušawšiyu*) “do not suppress (your lips)” (1.82,5; it seems that the root is *WŠY*; less probable to interpret the form from the root *NŠY* “to forget”, cf. de Moor and Spronk 1984:239 and *TO* II, p. 64). A short form: *’al tšl* [*’al taša^cli/tuša^cli*] (< *’al taša^cliy/tuša^ciy*) “do not cause to go up!” (1.14 III,12).

3rd m.s. — *’yš^cly* [*yaša^cliyu/yuša^cliyu*] “he causes to go up” (1.19 IV,23). A short form: *yššq* [*yašašqī/yušašqī*] (< *yašašqiy/yušašqiy*) “he served drinks” (1.17 II,33,35,38).

3rd f.s. — *tššqy* [*tašašqiyu/tušašqiyu*] “she serves drinks” (1.17 V,29). With suffix pronoun: *tš^clynh* [*taša^cliyan(n)ahū/tuša^cliyan(n)ahū*] “she brings him up” (1.6 I,15).

Imperative

2nd f.s. — *ššqy* [ššašqiyz] “serve drinks!” (1.17 V,19).

THE ŠT STEM

This stem is known from other Semitic languages (Biblical Aramaic, in Akkadian and in Arabic). The examples from Ugaritic are:

2nd c.du. — *tšthwy* [tištahwiya] “do obeisance” (1.3 III,10; 1.4 VIII,28).

3rd c.du. — *l tšthwy* [lā tištahwiyu] “both of them do not obeisance” (1.2 I,31).

The root of these verbal forms is debated. If one assumes that it is *HWY*, then the forms must represent Št stem. On the other hand, if the root was *ŠHW/ŠHY*, then they are Gt stem (cf. Emerton 1977:41-56; Fenton 1980: 273; Blau 1985:294). The Ugaritic forms are strongly in favor of *HWY* as the root. The Biblical Hebrew cognate forms also support *HWY* as the root.

The Verbs with Reduplicated Second Radical

THE G STEM

qtl

Singular

2nd m.s. — *rbt* [rabbatā] “you are great” (1.4 V,3).

3rd m.s. — *sb* [sabba] “it turned (to)” (1.4 VI,34); *hl* [halla] “he profaned” (1.119,24; the form can be a participle of G stem, cf. *TO* II, p. 209); *hr* [harra] “(the horse) discharged (a putrid liquid)” (1.85,5,7; the form might be a participle, cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:18). As a strong verb: *ndd* [nadada] “he wandered, departed” (1.23,63).

3rd f.s. — As a strong verb: *nttt* [natata] “she trembled(?)” “she jumped(?)” (1.82,9; cf. *TO* II, p. 66, n. 184).

yqt

Singular

1st c.s. — *'apr* [*'apurru*] “I shall break (an agreement)” (1.15 III,30; cf. Ginsberg 1946:42 and *TO* I, p. 542, n. *u*). With suffix pronoun: *'amrk* [*'amurrukā*] “I bless you (m.s.)” (2.33,13; from the root *MRR* in parallel with *BRK*; the forms from this root with the meaning “to bless” do not behave like strong verbs. On the other hand, it has been suggested that the root might not be *MRR*, cf. Pardee 1978a:249-288, note especially p. 257 n. 52).

2nd m.s. — A short form: *'al t'd'm* [*'al tadum?*] “do not observe silence (for me)” (1.16 I,25-26; from the root *DMM* “to mourn, to observe silence”). With suffix pronoun: *tmrn* [*tamurran(n)annū*] “you bless him” (1.17 I,24).

3rd m.s. — *ygz* [*yaguzzū*] “he will shear” (1.80,5; from the root *GZZ*); *ymr* [*yamurru*] “he blesses” (1.17 I,35); *ysb* [*yasabbu*] “he turns around” (1.19 II,19); *ykr* [*yakurru*] “he goes around(?)” (1.100,62; from the root *KRR*, cf. Pardee 1988:203 and 215); *yqt* [*yaquttu*] “he drags, draws” (1.2 IV,27; from the root *QTT*, cf. Ginsberg 1936:76 and Gordon 1965:481); *ydd* [*yaddudu*] (< *yandudu*) “he goes away” (1.10 II,17). As strong verbs: *y'll* [*ya'llulu*] “(the dew) comes down” (1.19 I,41; this could have another vocalization or even a different stem). Short forms: *'y'sdd* [*ya'sdud*] “may he lay waste (the land)” (1.103+1.145,37); *y'zz* [*yi'zaz*] “may he be strong” (1.103+1.145,57).

3rd f.s. — *td* [*taddu*] (< *tandudu*) “(fire) wanders (through the houses)” (1.4 VI,32). As strong verbs: *thrr* [*tahruru*] “(the bird) burns(?)” or “(the bird) is burned(?)” (1.23,44; the form could also be D stem or L stem); *t'gl* [*ta'glulu*] “she wades” (1.3 II,27; this could be either D or L stem); *t'ml* [*tamlulu*] “she rubs” (1.101,6; this could be either D or L; cf. Pardee 1988:144 and n. 127; cf. also *TO* II, p. 48, n. 108); *t'gdd* [*ta'gdudu*] “she exults” (1.3 II,25).

Plural

2nd m.pl. — Short forms: *'tp'r* [*tapurrū*] “may you fly” (1.19 III,14; for the possibility that the root is *NPR* cf. Loewenstamm 1980:35; it is less likely to interpret the form as a noun as suggested by Herdner 1963:89, line 120).

2nd f.pl. — *tqttn* [*taqtuṭnā*] “you transgress” (1.40,23,40).

3rd m.pl. — A short form: *tm^rr^l* [*tamurrū*] “(the heavens) blessed” (1.13,26); *td^rd^r* [*taddudū*] (< *tandudū*) “they wander, leave” (1.20 II,2);

Dual

3rd c.du. — *ttt* [*tattutā*] (< *tantuṭā*) “(the feet) trembled” (1.3 III,33; cf. *TO* I, p. 166, n. b).

Imperative

Singular

2nd m.s. — *dm* [*dum?*] “be silent!” (1.14 III,10; cf. Ginsberg 1946:16 and *TO* I, p. 521, *contra* Gordon [1965:385] who interprets this word as a presentation particle); *mr* [*mar/mur?*] “remove, oust!” 1.2 IV,19; from the root *MRR*; for this meaning cf. Sivan 1984a:249).

Active Participle

Singular

Masculine — *rb* [*rabbu*] “great”, “master” (3.1,26); ‘z [*‘azzu*] “strong” (1.6 VI,20; 2.10,13); *rš* [*raššu*] “he who is attenuated” (1.14 I,10,22; but it can be from the root *RWŠ*, cf. *infra*, p. 158). As a strong verb: *mšš* [*māšišu*] “one who suckles” (1.15 II,27).

Feminine — *rbt* [*rabbatu*] “great” (1.14 III,30; 1.100,63).

Plural

Masculine — As a strong verb: *gzzm* [*gāzizūma*] “shearers” (4.213,30).

Passive Participle

Singular

Masculine — *brr* [*baṛūru/baṛīru/barīru*] “(the king is) purified” (1.41,7; cf. *TO* II, p. 154, n., 45).

Infinitive

b hnth [*bi-hinnatihū*] “while he beseeched” (1.17 I,16; cf. Biblical Hebrew מִתְפַּלֵּל [Ps 77:10]).

THE Gp STEM

yqt

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ydt* [*yudattu?*] “he will be crushed(?)” (1.18 I,19; from the root *DTT*, cf. Ginsberg 1969:152 and *TO* I, p. 436 and n. *f*).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *td^hk¹n* [*tudakkāna*] “they should be pulverized” (1.72,39; the root might be *DWK*, cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:43).

THE N STEM

qtl

3rd m.s. — *nsb* [*nasabba*] (< *nasbaba?*) “(it) was turned, turned into” (1.4 VI,35).

THE D AND L STEMS

Some of the forms discussed here might also be G stem. It is not certain whether a particular form is D stem, with gemination (lengthening) of the second radical, or L stem, with lengthening of the vowel after the first radical.

yqt

Singular

1st c.s. — *'arnn* [*'arāninu/'aranninu*] “I will exalt” (1.82,6; cf. van Zijl 1975:73 and 83). With suffix pronoun: *'ah^hnnn* [*'ahāninannū* or *'ahanninannū*] “I shall favor him” (2.15,9; concerning *HNN* for *HNN* cf. *supra*, p. 26).

3rd m.s.— *yšnn* [*yašāninu/yušāninu* or *yašanninu/yušanninu*] “he grinds his teeth” (1.16 I,13); *yħrrm* [*yahāriru-ma/yuhāriru-ma* or *yaharriru-ma/yuharriru-ma*] “he burns(?)” “he desires(?)” (1.12 I,39; cf. Gordon 1965: 392 and 1967:92; *TO* I, p. 343 and n. *u*). With suffix pronoun: *yħssk* [*yaḥāsisukā/yuḥāsisukā* or *yaḥassisukā/yuḥassisukā*] “it excites you (m.s.)” (1.4 IV,39); *ykl^hnh* [*yakālilan(n)ahū/yukālilan(n)ahū* or *yakallilan(n)ahū/yukallilan(n)ahū*] “let him complete it” (1.4 V,10).

3rd f.s. — *t'pp* [*ta'āpīpu/tu'āpīpu* or *ta'appīpu/tu'appīpu*] “she propitiates(?) (him)” (1.4 II,10; the root might be *'WP*); *th^s's¹* [*tahāsisu/*

tuḥāsīsu or *taḥāsīsu/tuḥāsīsu* ["(Ashera) remembers" (1.15 III,25).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — With suffix pronoun: *t'zzk* [*ta'āzizūkā/tu'āzizūkā* or *ta'azzizūkā/tu'azzizūkā*] "may (the gods) make you (m.s.) strong" (5.9 I,4).

Participle

Plural

Masculine — *mḥllm* [*muḥālilūma/muḥallilūma*] "those who profane" (1.119,23; cf. *TO* II, p. 209).

Imperative

Singular

2nd m.s. — With suffix pronoun: *ḥnny* [*ḥāninī/ḥanninī*] "favor me!" (2.15,3; the *yod* is *mater lectionis*; cf. Liverani 1964:175; de Moor 1965:360; Krahmalkov 1969:264; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1974a:471).

THE Lp OR Dp STEMS

yqt

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ymnn* [*yamānanu/yumānanu* or *yamannanu/yumannanu*] "it is lowered" (1.23,37; this could be active G stem meaning "he relaxes"); *ymsš* [*yamāsasu/yumāsasu* or *yamassasu/yumassasu*] "it should be liquified" (1.85,3; this might be active 3rd m.pl. "they melted", cf. Verreet 1988:112-113); *yd>d<ll* [*yadālalū/yudālalū* or *yadallalū/yudallalū*] "(the king) will be subjugated" (1.103+1.145,46; the reduplicative *dalet* is dittography, *contra* Dietrich and Loretz [1990b:142] who interpret it as respresenting gemination).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *tdlln* [*tadālalūna/tudālalūna* or *tadallalūna/tudallalūna*] "(the spears of the king) will be subjugated" (1.103+1.145,7; *contra* Dietrich and Loretz [1990b:94] who interpret the form as active).

Participle

Singular

Masculine — *mmnm* [*mumānanu-ma/mumannanu-ma*] "(the staff of your 'penis') is relaxed" (1.23,40,44,47).

THE tL OR tD STEM

yqtl

3rd m.s. — Only one possible form is attested, in a difficult context, viz. *yf'dd* [*yata'ādīdu/yuta'ādīdu* or *yata'addīdu/yuta'addīdu*] “he is encouraged(?)”, “he is admonished(?)” (1.4 III,11). The broken context in which this form occurs makes it impossible to deduce a plausible interpretation (cf. Renfroe 1992:87 and Smith 1994:282 and n. 104)

THE Š STEM

qtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ššb* [*šasibba*] (< *šasiba*?) “it turns (transitive)” (4.167,8).

yqtl

Plural

3rd m.pl. — Short form: *yššmm* [*yaššmīmū/yuššmīmū*] “they are scorched(?)” (1.175,7; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297).

The form *škltt* (1.16 II,28) may belong to this category, but its person is impossible to determine due to the context.

Quadrilateral Verbs

There are very few verbs in this class. They may be developed from roots with reduplicated final radical or they may be onomatopoeic. The most likely stem formation is that of the R which emulates the D stem (since the D stem gemination of the second radical creates a quadrilateral stem form).

qtl

3rd f.s. — *hḥmt* [*hamḥimat*?] “she became sexually aroused” (1.17 I,41; 1.23,51; the original root may be *HMM* or *YHM*); *šḥrt* [*sahḥirat*?] “(the sun) scorches/scorched” (1.6 II,24).

yqtl

Singular

3rd m.s. — *ykrkr* [*yakarkiru/yukarkiru*] “he twiddles (his fingers)” (1.4

IV,29; cf. Avishur 1976:260-261) or “he intertwines (his fingers) = folds his hands” (cf. Ginsberg 1936:29); *yqtqt* [*yaqatqitu/yuqatqitu*] “he swishes (his tail)” (1.114,5; cf. Pardee 1988:42-43 and *TO* II, p. 74, n. 227); *yprsh* [*yaparsihu/yuparsihu*] “he bows, collapses(?)” (1.2 IV,22, 25; cf. *TO* I, p. 138, n. *y*).

Plural

2nd m.pl. — A short form: *tgrgr* [*tagargirū/tugargirū*] “you dwell” (1.23, 66; cf. Ginsberg 1936:85; *TO* I, p. 378 interprets the form as 3rd m.pl.).

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES AND ADVERBS

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

Adverbial accusative—It seems that as in other Semitic languages so in Ugaritic nouns in adverbial function can stand in the accusative case (cf. Ungnad 1922:14 and Moscati 1969:120). Note the following examples:

ttlk w tšd kl ġr ... kl gbʿ “she goes around and she hunts in every mountain [*kulla ġurr*] ... in every hill [*kulla gabʿi*]” (1.5 VI,26-27); *ʿrb bt mlk* “he entered the king’s house [*bêta malki*]” (4.338,2); *bt ʿk¹rt tbʿun* “to the house [*bêta*] of Keret they come” (1.15 IV,21); *rhš [y]ʿd¹k ʿamt* “wash (m.s.) your arms to the forearm [*ʿammata*]” (1.14 II,10; cf. 1.14 III, 53, where *ʿamt* has the directive *-h*); *w b¹l tb¹ mrym špn* “and Baal departed for the height of Šapānu [*maryāma Šapāni*]” (1.4 IV,19); *w trḥš ʾl šmm šmn ʿarš* “and she may wash with dew of heaven [*talla šamāma*], (with) oil of earth [*šamna ʿarši*]” (1.3 IV,42-43); *d ʿi¹lm nʿmm ttln šd* “until the goodly gods were going (/went) in the field [*šadā*] (< *šadaya*)” (1.23,67-68); *š^u ʿdb¹ tk mdr qdš* “raise an offering in the midst [*tōka*] of the holy steppe land” (1.23,65); *w tr ʿarš* “and she returned to the earth [*arša*]” (1.4 V,24).

This accusative adverbial may be added to a noun in construct state followed by enclitic *mem* (cf. *infra*). Note the following example:

rkb ʿik¹mm ħmt “he mounted the shoulder of the wall [*takma-ma/tikma-ma ħāmūti*]” (1.14 IV,3-4).

Suffix ʿid [ʿida?] (< *yada?*)—Attached to numerals to express distributive, or multiplicative, e.g.:

tnʿid [*tinaʿida*] “twice” (2.64,14) and *šb^oid* [*šabʿaʿida*] “seven times” (2.12,9) (cf. *supra*, p. 92 and Dahood 1965:11; for its use in Arabic cf. Renfroe 1992:11-12).

Directive (Locative) -h—The fact that this morpheme is represented in the orthography may indicate that it was really pronounced (thus also in Biblical Hebrew, cf. Blau 1968a:267). The directive morpheme

may not have had a vowel of its own, but was added to nouns with accusative/adverbial *-a* (cf. Blau 1974:22). The following are some examples:

ʿlmh [ʿālamah] “forever” (1.19 IV,6); *šmmh* [šamūmah] “heavenward” (1.23,38) alongside *b šmm* [bi-šamīma] “heavenward” in the same context (1.23,38) where the scribe preferred to use prepositional *b-* instead of directive *-h*; *qrth* [qarītah] “to the city” (1.14 III,13); *ʿamth* [ammatah] “up to the forearm” (1.14 III,53; cf. 1.14 II,10 where the adverbial *-h* is absent); *mīth* [maṭṭātah] (< *manṭayatah?*) “on the bed” (1.14 I,30); *ʿarsh* [aršah] “earthward” (1.14 I,29); *mswnh* [?] “to the camp” (1.14 III,21); *mšdh* [mašādah] “to the fortress” (1.112,19; cf. also *Ug* 7, pp. 25-26 with bibliography).

The directive *-h* is also appended to geographical names and personal names, e.g.:

mʿahdh [Maʿhadah] “to Maʿhadu” (4.149,5); *tn šm ḥmnh* “two lambs for Ḥamānu [Ḥamānah]” (1.112,3; cf. Herdner 1978:23 and Xella 1981:45-46).

Adverbial *-m* [-am(a/i)]—This suffix is attached to nouns to create adverbs (cf. Biblical Hebrew מְרַמֵּם [Gen. 31:42], מְרַמֵּם [Exod. 21:2] and El-Amarna letters *ḥa-ia-ma* “alive” [EA 245,6], *le-lá-ma* “evening” [EA 195,12-13], *ri-qa-mi* “empty[-handed]” [EA 137,21]). It is also possible that the orthography conceals [-um(a/i)] in the locative as in Akkadian (cf. Singer 1943:54-62). The following are examples:

gm [gām(a/i)/gam(a/i)] “aloud” (1.4 II,29; 1.6 I,10,43); *špšm* [šap-šam(a/i)] “at sunrise” (1.14 III,14); *bkm* [bikām(a/i)/bakām(a/i)] (< *bikyam*[a/i]/*bkyam*[a/i]) “while weeping” (1.10 III,29); *mītm* [maṭ-ṭām(a/i)] (< *manīṭyam*[a/i]) “with a staff” (1.3 II,15); *šlmm* [šalā-mam(a/i)/sulmam(a/i)] “in peace” (1.14 III,26; *contra* Gordon [1965:490] who interprets “peace offerings”); *mṛḥqm* [marḥaqā-tam(a/i) or *marḥaq(a)tam(a/i)/marḥaq(a)tum(a/i)*] “from afar”, “from a distance” (2.64,15) and the singular *mṛḥqm* [marḥaqam(a/i)] “from afar”, “from a distance” (1.127,32; 2.33,3; some see the prefix *m-* here as evidence for the preposition *m(n)* in Ugaritic, cf. *infra*, p. 197); *ʿil yštk ʿm* “El will put you in town [ʿīram(a/i)]” (1.169,13; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:349).

Sometimes this adverbial *-m* is appended to a preposition, e.g. *w ʿlm* [wa-ʿalēm(a/i)] “and above all” (1.164,10).

LOCATIVE ADVERBS

tm [*tamma?*] “there”—(1.14 IV,36; 2.31,54). There are also other variants:

tm̄t [*tamm̄at(a)?*] “there” (2.10,18; perhaps Biblical Hebrew תָּמָּו “there” [Gen. 43:30] derives from *tm̄t*, while תָּמָּו “to there” [Deut. 32:52] is from *tm* plus locative *-h*; cf. Blau 1985:296); **tm̄n** [*tamm̄an?*] “there” (2.41,21); **tm̄ny** [*tamm̄aniya?*] “there” (2.34,7; 2.38,7; 2.46,7).

hlm [*halumma?*] “here, hither”:

bʿat b hlm “she has entered here” (1.19 IV,52; cf. Biblical Hebrew בָּאָהָּ [Gen 17:13]; *KTU*², p. 61 and Pardee [1975:341] read *bʿat b <ʿa>hlm* “she has come to the tents”, this reading is also possible).

hlny [*halliniya?*] “here, hither”—(2.1,3; 2.13,9; 2.30,8,12; 2.77,8; 2.79,2). The reconstruction is based on the syllabic documentation *al-li-ni-ya* (*Ug* 5 138,5; cf. Huehnergard 1987:68). The form *hlny* may also be a presentation particle (cf. *hln*, *infra*, p. 186).

hunny [*hanniniya?*] “here”—(2.11,10; 2.38,6). In both these contexts *hunny* stands in contrast to *tm̄ny* “there” (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:451-454).

TEMPORAL ADVERBS

ʿnt [*ʿanata?*] “now”—(1.19 III,55; 1.19 IV,6; cf. Biblical Aramaic ܢܘܢܐ, ܢܘܦ and ܢܘ and ܢܘܦܘܦ in Biblical Hebrew). It would appear that this vocable is documented syllabically with assimilation of the *nun*, thus *at-ta* [*ʿattā*] (< *ʿantā?*) “now” (*PRU* III, p. 19,11; cf. *PRU* III, p. 19 n. 2 and Sivan 1984a:131).

ʿtn [?] “now”—(2.16,13). This could be the adverb *ʿnt* with metathesis (cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1974b:34), or it may be that the *nun* is a suffix appended to *ʿt* (cf. *tm̄n* above which seems to be *tm* plus suffix *-n*). If the latter possibility is correct, then the reconstruction may have been [*ʿattan*] (< *ʿantan?*).

ht [*hitta?*] (< *hintā?*) “now”—There is no cognate to this vocable in the other Semitic languages. Its interpretation is revealed by its parallelism with *ʿnt* “now” (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:500). The following are examples:

tšmḥ ht 'ayrt w bnh 'ilt w šbrt 'aryh “now, let Ashera and her sons rejoice, the goddess and the band of her kinsmen” (1.6 I,39); *l ht w 'lmh* “from now and forevermore” (1.19 IV,5-6).

In one context it might be taken as a presentation particle:

ht 'ibk b'lm ht 'ibk tmḥš “behold your enemies, O Baal, behold your enemies will you smite” (1.2 IV,8-9; cf. Biblical Hebrew כִּי־הִנֵּה אֵיבֶיךָ | כִּי־הִנֵּה אֵיבֶיךָ יִאֲבְדוּ [Ps 92,10]; cf. also Greenstein 1977:82-83; and further Aartun 1974:67; *contra* Loewenstamm [1980:500] who interprets the form *ht* here as temporal adverb).

'apnk [*appūnaka?*] “thereupon, then”—(For the *-k* as a deictic element, cf. Loewenstamm 1980:62, and Aartun 1974:105). Examples:

'apnk lḥpn 'il d p'i d' l yr' d l ks'i “thereupon the Compassionate, God of Mercy, went down from the throne” (1.5 VI,11); *'apnk dn'il ... gm l 'atth* “then Daniel ... shouted aloud to his wife” (1.17 V,13).

'idk [*iddāka?*] “then, thereupon”—(Cf. Loewenstamm 1980:62), e.g.:

'idk l ttn pnm 'm 'il “then she verily sets face toward El” (1.4 IV,20; 1.6 IV,7); *'i' dk l ytn pnm' m' tk 'ḥ šmk* “then he verily sets face toward the marsh of fish(?)” (1.10 II,8)

There may be one instance of a shortened form without the deictic *-k*, i.e.:

'id ydbḥ mlk “then will the king sacrifice” (1.115,1; one may interpret “when the king sacrifices”, cf. Aartun 1978:44; on the other hand, the particle *'id* may mean “twice, two times”).

'ahr [*ahra/'ahrē*] (< *'ahra/'ahray*) “afterwards, after”:

'ahr mgy 'al'yn b'l “afterwards, Mighty Baal arrived” (1.4 III,23); *'ahr mgy ktr w ḥss št 'alp qdmh* “afterwards, Kothar and Ḥasis arrived, he set an ox in front of him” (1.4 V,44-45; the verbal form *št* can be interpreted as 3rd m.s.); *'a' hr špšm* “after the sunrise” (1.14 IV,32,46).

MULTIPLICATIVE ADVERBIALS

tnt [*tanīta*] (< *taniyta*) “for the second time”, “secondly”—(1.175,16; the context is not clear enough, cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297).

matnā (< *matnaya?*) “secondly”—This adverbial is attested in the syl-

labic texts only, i. e. *ma-aš-na* (*PRU* III, p. 109,4; cf. *CAD* M/I, p. 381b and *AHw*, p. 628b).

MANNER ADVERBIALS

'ahdh [*ʔah(h)adah?*] “together”:

w k l yhr'u w l yttn ššw [ms]¹ s¹ št qlql w št 'rgz [yad]k 'ahdh “Or if a horse does not defecate or urinate, the sap of a *št*-measure of the *qlql*-plant and a *št*-measure of the *'rgz*-plant should be pulverized together” (1.85,9-10).

It seems that this adverb is built of the number *'ahd* [*ʔah(h)adu*] “one” and the adverbial *-h* (cf. Akkadian *išteniš* and Biblical Hebrew *יחד* [Gen. 13:6], see Cohen and Sivan 1983:21-22).

INTERROGATIVE ADVERBIALS

'ik [*ʔéka*] (< *'ayka*) and with the enclitic *mem* [*ʔéka-ma*] (1.16 I,20) “how”, e.g.:

'ik tmgnn rbt 'atrt ym “how are you entreating the Lady Ashera of the Sea?” (1.4 III,28-29);

Sometimes it has the meaning “why” as in:

'ik mgy gpn w 'ugr “why have Gupānu and Ugaru come?” (1.3 III,36).

Another variant is *'iky* [*ʔékya?*] (2.14,6). There is no satisfactory explanation of the final *yod*. It may be a secondary form of *'ik* with a deictic suffix (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:87). It might also be *'ik* combined with the 3rd f.s. independent pronoun *hy* (cf. Hoftijzer 1971b:360).

'iy [*ʔiyi?*] (< *'ayyi?*) “where”:

'iy 'al'yn b'l 'iy zbl b'l 'ars “where is Mighty Baal? where is the Prince, Lord of Earth?” (1.6 IV,4,5,15,16; cf. Biblical Hebrew *יכן* “where” [2 Kgs 2:14] and El-Amarna *a-ia-mi* “where” [*EA* 131,43]).

This particle is also written *'i* [*ʔé?*] (< *'ay?* cf. Biblical Hebrew *יכן* “where” [Gen. 4:9]), thus *yš'u gh [w yš'h] 'i 'ap b'[l] 'i hd* “he lifts up his voice [and cries out]: ‘where then is Baa[!], where is Hadadu?’” (1.5 IV,5-7).

'an [*ʔána?*] (< *'ayna*) “where”—(Cf. Hebrew *יכן* [1 Sam. 10:14] and *יכן*

[Gen. 37:30] alongside 𐤀𐤁𐤁 [Gen. 29:4]). This particle is known only from one passage in all of Ugaritic literature, viz.:

'an l 'an y špš 'an l 'an 'il "where O sun-goddess? where O El?" (1.6 IV,22; this might be the 1st c.s. independent pronoun; cf. Gordon 1965:361, no. 237, and also *TO I*, p. 264, n. n).

lm [*le-mā?*/*lam(m)a?*] "why, for what"—The following are two examples:

lm tb bn 'yn w lqh tqlm ksp bd 'amtk "why did Bn 'yn return and take shekels of silver from your maiden?" (2.70,16-19; *lm 'ank ksp w yrq hys* "what (use have) I for silver and green(ish-yellow) gold?" (1.14 III,33).

For *lm* with the meaning "to, from" (cf. below).

md' [*mōdū'(a)/mēdū'(a)?*] (< *mawdū'[a]/maydū'[a)?*) or perhaps [*maddū'a?*] "why"—(Cf. Biblical Hebrew מַדּוּעַ [Gen. 26:27 and elsewhere]). This particle is known from only one passage in all Ugaritic literature, viz.:

md' np' l't "why did you (m.s.) fall down?" (1.107,10; cf. *TO II*, p. 98 and n. 301).

NEGATIVE PARTICLES

l [*lā*] "not"—(Cf. the syllabic documentation ¹*la*¹-*a* [*Ug 5 130,7'*]). This particle negates verbs in the indicative and it is widely documented. Two examples will suffice:

'abn brq d l tδ' šmm rgm l tδ' nšm "hail stones which the heavens have not known, a word (which) the people have not known" (1.3 III,26-27); *w k l yhr'u w l yltm ššw* "or if a horse does not defecate or urinate ..." (1.85,9).

On occasion this particle negates adjectives, e.g.:

hms' 'sr yn tb w tš'm kdm kbd yn d l tb "15 (jars) of good wine and 90 jars, heavy of wine that is not good" (4.213,1-2).

The orthography *lamed* may represent other particles in different contexts, e.g. a wish, or a vocative or reinforcement. Therefore, frequently it is hard to distinguish between the various meanings (cf. below).

'al [*al*] "don't"—This particle negates the jussive, e.g.:

'al tšt [*'al tašūt*] "don't put! (f.s.)" (2.30,24-25); *'al tδh(!)* [*'al tidhāt*] "do not fear! (f.s.)" (2.30,21); *'al thb!* [*'al tahbu!*] "don't abase (m.s.)"

(the family)!" (2.47,16); *'al yšt* [*al yašū*] "may he not place" (2.38,27); *'al t'rgm*¹ [*al targum*] "don't tell!" (1.16 I,31); *'a'l t'pl* [*al tappulā*] "(the two of you) don't fall!" (1.2 I,15); *'al yšm*¹ *k*¹ [*al yišma'kā*] "may he not heed you (m.s.)" (1.6 VI,26); *'al tš*¹ *u*¹ [*al taš'ū*] "don't go forth (pl.)!" (1.164,19); *'al yb'm* [*al yib'armū*] "let him not turn me down" (2.41,22; cf. Gordon 1965:375 and Verreet 1988:87).

This particle may negate also the volitive, e.g.:

[*a*]¹ *l*¹ *t dy* [*al tad(dy)ya*] "don't cast (m.s.)!" (1.119,27; if the verbal form was indicative, it should have been negated by the particle *l*; cf. Pardee 1979:689 and Verreet 1988:128; it seems less likely that here *'al* has a positive meaning, cf. Miller 1975:610 and *TO* II, p. 231, n. 255).

'al also serves in rhetorical sentences in which case it has a positive nuance (for this usage, cf. Ginsberg 1948:140; for the possibility of a similar nuance in Biblical Hebrew, cf. Dahood 1963:293-294). Note the following examples:

'idk 'al tm pnm "then, she verily did direct her face" (1.3 VI,12-13; 1.4 VIII,1,10-11); *'al tš*¹ *l*¹ "she verily came" (1.3 I,1); *dll 'al 'il'ak l bn 'ilm mt* "a gift have I verily sent to the son of El, Môt" (1.4 VII,45-46).

Naturally, it is often difficult to discern whether the meaning is negative or positive.

bl [*bal*] "no, without"—This vocable serves to negate nominal clauses, e.g.:

bl t'pl bl rbb "no dew, no rain" (or: "there is no dew, there is no rain") (1.19 I,44); *w 'atnk bl mt* "and I will make you immortal (deathless)" (1.17 VI,27); *bl 'il bn lh* "there is no son to him" (= "he has no son", "he is without a son") (1.17 I,20; cf. the Biblical Hebrew phrase אֵין שֵׁרָיִם בְּפִיהֶם "there is no spirit in their mouth" [Ps 135:17]); *'u mlk 'u bl mlk* "shall he be either king or not king?" (1.4 VII,43; cf. Held 1969:71-79 and Smith 1994:256); *hpt d bl spr* "yeomen without number" (1.14 II,37); *b h'yk 'abn nšmḥ bl mtk nḡbn* "by your life, our father, let us be happy, (by) your immortality let us rejoice" (1.16 I,14-15); *tšp'i š'irh l bl h'rb išt dmh l bl ks* "she truly ate his flesh without a knife, she truly drank his blood without a cup" (1.96,3-5).

bl also serves in rhetorical sentences in which it has positive significance. For example:

bl ʾašt ʾurbt b bʿhʿ[tm] “shall I not put a window in the house(s)?” (1.4 V,61); *bl nmlk ydʿ yʿhʿn* “shall we not enthrone Ydʿ-Ylḥn?” (1.6 I,48).

This particle has a variation with the suffix *-t* [*balā/bilāʿ?*], thus in the following sentence:

blt nmlk ttr ʿrʿ “shall we not enthrone Athtar the Terrible?” (1.6 I,54).

QUANTITATIVE MʿID

The word *mʿid* [*maʿda*] “many, much, very” is mostly used adverbially (cf. Marcus 1974:406; for its use as a noun cf. *infra*, p. 208). It can come either before the verb (or the adjective) or after it. Note the following examples:

pn špš nr by mʿid “the face of the Sun shines upon me very much” (2.16,9-10); *mʿid tmḥšn* “she smites fiercely” (1.3 II,23); *mʿid rʿmʿ [krʿ]* “[Keret] is very exalted” (1.15 III,13); *w yd ʾilm ... ʿz mʿid* “and the love of the gods ... is very strong” (2.10,11-13).

This adverb is attested in syllabic documentation in plural, i.e. *ma-a-du-ma* [*maʿ(a)adūma*] “much” (*Ug* 5 137 II,36ʿ; cf. Sivan 1984a:241; perhaps it reflects a noun in plural meaning “abundance”).

PRESENTATION PARTICLES

These particles are constructed from compound deictic elements (cf. Aartun 1974:32-35). It is difficult to reconstruct their forms.

hl [*halūʿ/halāʿ?*] “behold”, “is it not?”—(Cf. Brown 1987:202-207 [especially p. 203 n. 4]; Rainey 1988a:214-219 and most recently Sivan and Schniedewind 1993:209-226). For example:

hl gʿmtʿ tʿlʿd bʿnʿ “behold, the maiden is bearing a son” (1.24,7).

It also occurs with the enclitic *mem*:

hlm ʾil yphnh “behold, El verily sees her” (1.4 IV,27; perhaps *hlm* should be considered a subordinating particle, cf. *infra*, p. 189).

hn [*hinnūʿ?*] “behold, here”—(Cf. Biblical Hebrew הנה [Gen. 34:21 and elsewhere]). The following are examples:

hn ym w tn tʿikl ʾišʿ b bḥtm “behold, a day and a second the fire eats

into the house" (1.4 VI,24); *w hn 'atm tšhn* "and behold, the two wives shout" (1.23,46); *hn ksp d šs'n* "here is the silver which he brought to me" (2.81,24).

This particle is also documented with elision of the consonantal *h* (cf. *supra*, p. 34) as in the following example:

wn 'in bt l b'l "and behold, there is no house for Baal" (1.4 IV,50).

hkk [*halāka?* / *halūka?*] "behold"—In the sentences:

hkk l 'alpm hdd "behold, *hdd*-troops by the thousands" (1.14 II,39; cf. Loewenstamm 1980:62; *hkk* could also be interpreted as a verbal form, i.e. [*halakū*] "they marched", cf. Ginsberg 1946:17); *hkk qšt y^f b^lln* "behold, he fetches an arc" (1.17 V,12).

hln [*halān?* / *halūn?*] "behold"—in the sentence:

w hln 'nt tmthš b 'mq "and behold, Anat fights in the valley" (1.3 II,5); *w hln 'nt l bth tmgyn tštql 'ilt l hklh* "and behold, Anat reaches her house, the goddess enters her palace" (1.3 II,17-18; it is less likely to interpret this particle "as soon as", cf. Gordon 1949:18).

kn [*kin(na)?*] "behold"—In the sentence:

kn npl b^fl "behold, Baal has fallen" (1.12 II,53; cf. Biblical Hebrew קַן with the same meaning in Neh. 2:16).

mk [?] "behold":

mk špšm ^fb^l šb^c w tmgy l 'udm "behold, at sunrise on the seventh (day) you will arrive at Udumu" (1.14 III,3-4); *mk b šb^c s^fnt^l* "behold, in seven years ..." (1.15 III,22).

The origin of this particle is obscure. It has been suggested that it is Egyptian, but it could just as well be comprised of Semitic deictic elements (cf. Aartun 1974:72). It could also be from the root *MWK*, in which case it could be the active participle [*māku*] of the G stem in the meaning "low" (cf. Ginsberg 1936:42; Loewenstamm 1980:528 and Margalit 1980:80).

VOCATIVE PARTICLES

l [*la?* / *lū?*] "O"—Examples:

šm^c m^c l krt "listen please, O Keret!" (1.16 VI,41); *mh l'aršn l bilt 'nt* "what are you requesting, O Virgin Anat?" (1.6 II,13-14); *^fs^lm^c l*

^ʾ*alʾiyn bʿl bn l rkb ʿrpt* “listen, O Mighty Baal, understand, O Rider of the Clouds!” (1.4 V,59-60); *šmʿ mʿ l bn ʾilm mt* “listen please O son of El, Môt!” (1.6 VI,23-24).

For other functions of a particle *l-* cf. *supra* the negative particles and also *infra*.

y [*yā*] “O” (cf. Singer 1948:98-108; this vocative particle is used in Imperial Aramaic [Ahiqar, lines 127 and 129] and in Arabic)—For example:

y špš “O Sun-goddess!” (1.6 IV,1,12,22); *y ʾad ʾad* “O father, father!” (1.23,43); *y ʿkʿrʿl* “O Keret!” (1.15 II,21); *y bn* “O (my) son!” (1.16 VI,55); *y ngr* “O guard!” (1.23,69).

With enclitic *mem* connected to the noun that follows the *y* (cf. Singer 1948:102-103):

ʾal ʿšrʾgn y biltm “do not deceive me, O Virgin!” (1.17 VI,34); *y bʿlʾm* “O Baal!” (1.119,28); *y ymm* “O Yammu!” (1.2 I,36).

EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES (POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE)

ʾiṯ [*ʾiṯē*] (< *ʾiṯay*) “there is”—(Cf. Biblical Hebrew *וַיְהִי*, see Blau 1972:61). This particle serves in nominal clauses such as: *rgm ʾiṯ by* “I have a word” (1.3 III,20-21); *w hm ʾiṯ zbl bʿ[ʿl ʾarš]* “and if the Prince, Lord of the Earth, exists” (1.6 III,3); *ʾiṯ yn* “there is wine” (1.23,74).

ʾin [*ʾēna*] (< *ʾayna*) “there is not”—This particle negates nominal clauses, e.g.:

w ʾunt ʾin bh “and no feudal obligation is attached to him” (3.5,20-21); *w ʾin ʿyr* “and there is no bird” (1.50,8); *ʾin bt l bʿl* “Baal has no house” (1.3 V,38); *ʾin šmt ʾin ʿzm* “there is no fat, there is no bone” (1.19 III,11,25).

With the suffix *-n* (typical of administrative texts) in the clauses:

ky ʾakl b hwtk ʾinn “because there is no food in your house” (2.39,19-20; the *-n* may be the 3rd m.s. suffix, i.e. [*ʾēnanū*] “it is not”; cf. *infra*, p. 217); *mḏrglm d ʾinn msgm lhm* “*m.-s* that have no weapons(?)” (4.53,1-2).

CONJUNCTIONS

w [wa-] “and”—This is the most widely used conjunction in Ugaritic.

p [pa-] “and”—(Cf. Arabic *fa*). This conjunction coordinates especially clauses, such as:

p d 'in b bty ttn “but what is not in my house, you shall give” (1.14 III,38).

This conjunction rarely joins nouns, e.g.:

p btlṭ 'n¹[ṭ] w p n'mt Ṛa¹ḥt Ṛb¹[ṭ] “and the Virgin Anat, and the fearest of Baal’s sisters” (1.10 III,9-10).

'ap [’appa?] “also”:

'ap mṭn rgmm 'argmk “also something else I will tell you” (1.4, I,19-20); *'ap 'nt tllk w ṭsd kl ḡr* “also Anat goes around and she hunts in every mountain” (1.5 VI,25-26).

'u [’ō] (< ’aw) “or”—This is the adversative conjunction; it is usually written adjacent to the following word, e.g.:

bn 'il krt šph ḥpn w qdš 'u 'ilm tmtn šph ḥpn l yḥ “Keret is El’s son, scion of the Compassionate and Qudšu or do gods die nor the Compassionate’s scion live” (1.16 I,20-23).

Sometimes it appears twice in the same sequence, e.g.:

'u mlk 'u bl mlk “shall he be either king or not king?” (1.4 VII,43; cf. Held 1969:71-79 and Smith 1994:256); *'u ymn 'u šm'al* “both right and left” (lit.: “either right or left”) (1.23,63-64).

SUBORDINATING PARTICLES

'id [’ida?] “when, after”—This particle has this meaning in only four contexts, all from the corpus of *RIH*:

'id yph mlk ršp “when the king saw Resheph ...” (1.90,1-2 and 1.168,1; cf. *TO* II, p. 172 and n. 100); *'id yph mlk 'nt* “when the king saw Anat” (1.168,8); *'id Ḳikt 'ky nḥṭ 'bdmlk* “after you sent (the message) to Akko, Abdimilku was saved” (2.82,3-5; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:360).

d [dū/dā/dī] “that”, “which”—(Cf. Aramaic 𐤃 and Biblical Hebrew ִך [Isa. 43,21; Ps 9:16] and ִך [Isa. 25:9; Ps 74:2]):

'argmn nqmd mlk 'ugrt d ybl l špš mlk rb b'lh “the tribute of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, which he brings to the Sun, the great king, his master” (3.1,24-26); *w y'n ltpn 'il d p'i'd'l* “and the Compassionate, God of Mercy, answered” (1.4 IV,58, and elsewhere).

For details concerning this particle cf. *supra*, p. 55f.

hlm [*halumma?*] “when, as soon as”:

hlm 'il k yphnh yprq lšb w yšhq “as soon as (/when) El verily sees her, he parts his jaws and laughs” (1.4 IV,27; perhaps *hlm* should be considered a presentation particle, cf. *supra*, p. 185).

hm [*him(ma)*] “if, or”:

hm hry bty 'iqh “if I take Ḥurāya to my house ...” (1.14 IV,40-41); *lhm hm šty* “eat (f.s.) or drink” (1.4 IV,35); *rgb rght ... hm gm'u gm'it* “are you verily hungry (f.s.) ... or are you verily thirsty?” (1.4 IV,33-34).

Sometimes this particle is written *'im* [*'im(ma)*], thus:

'im 'a'hd' b 'a'hk' “if one of my brothers ...” (1.6 V,21-22); *'im mlkytn yrgm* “if Malkiyatanu says” (2.15,8).

This same use is typical of Biblical Hebrew, cf. the following:

אִם-אֲנִי יָם-אוֹרֵן כִּי-חֹשֶׁם עָלַי מִשְׁמֶר “am I a sea or a whale, that you set a watch over me?” (Job 7:12; cf. Held 1969:71-79 and Avishur 1973:421-464).

k [*kā*] (< *kīy/kay?*) “since, because, if, when, which”—The meaning of this particle depends on its various contexts. The following are examples:

w lht 'alpm hrtm k rgmt ly “and the tablets of the ploughing oxen which [*kā*] you said to me (about)” (2.45,22-23); *k tmhš ltn btn brh* “since/when [*kā*] you smote Lôtānu, the evil serpent ...” (1.5 I,1); *w 'id' k hy 'al'yn 'b'l* “so I will know that [*kā*] Mighty Baal lives!” (1.6 III,8); *w tnh b 'urty nps k hy 'al'i'yn b'l k 'ū zb'l' b'l 'ars* “and may my soul rest in my breast because [*kā*] Mighty Baal lives, because [*kā*] the Prince, the Lord of the Earth exists” (1.6 III,19-21); *w k 'ahd 'akl ššw* “and if [*kā*] the horse has taken food ...” (1.85,15).

Sometimes this particle is written fully, i.e. *ky*, namely in prose texts (cf. *supra*, p. 13), e.g.:

rgm ky l'ikt bt mlk “the message that [*kā*] the king's daughter sent (to me)” (2.36,14).

For additional uses of this particle, cf. below.

‘*d* [*ad(ê)*] “until”:

‘*d tšb’ tmiš* “she smites until [*ad(ê)*] she is satisfied (or: “until she is sated”) (1.3 II,29); ‘*d tšb’ bk tšt k yn ’udm’t* “until [*ad(ê)*] she is sated with weeping, she drinks tears like wine” (1.6 I,9).

For ‘*d* as a preposition, cf. below.

EMPHATIC PARTICLES

‘*i* [*i?]* “verily, surely” (cf. Arabic *‘i[y]*), e.g.:

‘*i ’itt ’atrt šrm w ’ilt šdynm* “(as) surely (as) Ashera of the Two Tyres exists, the Goddess of the Šidonians” (1.14 IV,38-39); ‘*ap ’ab ’i k mtm tmtn* “shall you then, O father, verily die like (mortal) men?” (1.16 I,3-4; cf. Biblical Hebrew *וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתֶּם אֱלֹהֵינוּ* “you (pl.) will verily die like [mortal] men” [Ps 82:7]. This comparison proves that semantically Ugaritic ‘*i* parallels Biblical Hebrew *וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתֶּם* “surely, truly, verily”; cf. *CDUL* [forthcoming]).

k [*kî-?*] (< *kij/kay?*) “verily, certainly”—This particle precedes the verb and strengthens its force. This same use is attested in Biblical Hebrew, e.g.:

וַעֲקַת סֹדֹם וְעַמּוּרָה כִּי־רָבָה וְחַטָּאתָם כִּי כְבֵדָה מְאֹד “the outcry of Sodom and Gomorah is verily great and their sin is certainly very heavy” (Gen. 18:20).

אֲדַעֲדֶיךָ אֱלֹהִים יִפְדֶּה וּפְשִׁי מִיַּד־שָׂאוּל כִּי יִקְחֵנִי “but God will redeem me from the hand of Saul, he will verily take me” (Ps 49:16; cf. Gordis 1943:176-178; Muilengerg 1961:135-160 and Muraoka 1984:158-164).

In Ugaritic the particle *k-* attracts the verbal form from its regular place before the direct object to a position at the end of the clause. The following are examples of the use of this particle:

Examples with transitive verbs:

l ktp ’nt k tšth “onto the shoulders of Anat she verily places him [*kî-taštuhū*]” (1.6 I,14-15); *gm [...] b’l k yšh* “loudly [...] Baal verily calls out [*kî-yašūhu*]” (1.4 VII,52-53); *hlk b’l ’atrt k t’n* “the going of Baal Ashera verily sees [*kî-ta’īnu*]” (1.4 II,13-14); *hlk ktr k y’n* “the going of Kothar he verily sees [*kî-ya’īnu*]” (1.17 V,10-11); *hlm ’il k yphnh* “As soon as (/when), El verily sees her [*kî-yīphan(n)ahā*]” (1.4 IV,27); in prosaic text: *lht ’akl ky l’ikt ’m šps’ b’lk* “tablets of food

have you verily sent [*kī-la'iktā*] to the Sun your lord" (2.39,17-19; in this instance the particle [*kī*] is written fully, cf. *supra*, p. 13).

Examples with stative verbs:

mn yrḥ k m[rš] mn k dw k'r[š] [l] "(since) which month is he verily sick [*kī-marūšā*], (since) which (month) is Keret verily ill [*kī-dawūl*]?" (1.16 II,19-20); in prosaic text: *mlbš tmm k ytn* "clothing of the diners has been verily worn out [*kī-yaṭana*]" (4.168,5-6; cf. Rainey 1975b:89).

In rare instances the verb does not always change its position with this particle *k*-, e.g.:

k y'n l'lpn 'i'l' 'd' 'p'i'[d] "verily answered [*kī ya'nī*] the Compassionate, God of Mercy" (1.16 IV,9).

l [*la-?*] (following Ge'ez and Arabic) or [*lū-?*] (following Akkadian) "truly, verily". A similar usage may be present in Biblical Hebrew, e.g.: אִם-תִּהְיֶה לְטוֹב לְהָעָם הַזֶּה "if you will be truly good to this people" (2 Chron. 10:7; cf. Megía 1963:179-190; Driver 1973:107-114; Whitley 1975:202-204; Sivan and Schniedewind 1993:209-226).

In Ugaritic the particle *l* also expresses a wish (cf. Huehnergard 1983:583-584). It is usually attached to verbs. Note the following examples:

'idk l tm pnm "then she verily sets her face" (1.6 IV,7); *'i'l'[dk] [pnm] l ym tk gr ll* "then he verily turn sets his face) towards mount LI" (1.2 I,19-20); *l yhp k ks'a' mlkk* "verily he will overturn the throne of your kingship" (1.6 VI,28; this may also be an expression of a wish); *w l l'ikl w l tš[š]* "and may you verily eat and may you verily drink" (1.88,3; cf. Verreet 1988:116; Gordon [1965:357a] interprets this *lamed* as the negative particle); *l ydbḥ mlk* "the king verily sacrifices" (1.119,13; cf. Herdner 1978:34 and Xella 1981:31); *ym l mt* "Yammu is surely dead" (1.2 IV,32-33; cf. Smith 1995:791); *l yrt b nps bn 'ilm mt* "may you go down into the throat of the son of the gods, Môt" (1.5 I,6-7); *tsp'i š'irh l bl ḥrb tšt dmh l bl ks* "she truly ate his flesh without a knife, she truly drank his blood without a cup" (1.96,3-5).

In rare instances the particle *l* is attached to a noun or adjective, e.g.:

'ugr l rḥq "Ugaru is verily far away" (1.3 IV,34); *l b'l n'p'l l 'ars* "verily Baal has fallen to earth" (1.5 VI,8-9).

It is often difficult to distinguish between the optative-precative *l* and the asseverative *l*-, e.g.:

l tbrkn l tr 'il 'aby "may you bless him to Bull, El, my father" or

“will you verily bless him to Bull, El, my father” (1.17 I,23); *l tbrk* [*kr̄*] “you will verily bless [Keret]” or “may you bless [Keret]” (1.15 II,14-15; the negative is also possible, i.e. “you do not bless [Keret]”); *š'irh l t'ikl 's'fmm¹* “may the birds eat his flesh” or “the birds verily eat his flesh” (1.6 II,35-36; the negative is also possible, “the birds do not eat his flesh”, cf. Gordon 1949:45).

In addition to the functions described above, it must be kept in mind that there is the negative particle written *l-*. Therefore, it is frequently difficult to establish the correct function of a particular *l-* in various clauses, e.g.:

l tdn dn 'almnt tpt̄ tpt̄ qsr nps̄ “you do not judge (or: “you verily judge”) the case of the widow, do not (or: “verily”) adjudicate the trial of the oppressed” (1.16 VI,45-47; the negative nuance seems preferable here); *p'nh l tmgȳn hdm* “his feet do not (or: “verily”) reach the footstool” (1.6 I,59-60; the positive nuance seems preferable here); *l rgmt lk* “have I not (or: “I have verily”) told you” (1.2 IV,7-8; 1.4 VII,23; this sentence can be interpreted as a rhetorical question or as a positive affirmation); *b ph rgm l ys'a* “from my mouth a word had not gone forth (or: “verily went forth”)” (1.2 IV,6; 1.19 II,26); *l ts'n* “they will not (or: they will verily) travel” (3.8,14; cf. Verreet 1988:216).

Sometimes the grammatical form precludes a negative interpretation of the *l*-particle, e.g.:

l ts'i [*lū/la taš'?*] “you (/it) must certainly go forth” (2.8,2).

The *'i* is not capable of being taken as the negative particle, since the negative *l* [*lā*] would require an imperfect form, **ts'u* [*taš'u*] but the form is jussive here. The same holds true for this sentence:

l' l 'a^fš'š'i [*lū/la 'ašš'?*] “let me verily bring (them)” (1.2 IV,2); *'rb šps̄ l ym^fḡ^l krt* “upon the entering in (= going down) of the sun, Keret verily arrived” (1.15 V,18-19).

If the *l-* had been the negative particle, then the verb form would have had to be imperfect **ymgȳ* or perhaps suffix form **mgȳ* or perhaps it is a short form functioning as past tense, i.e. [*yamḡi*] (< *yamḡiy*).

m [-*ma* or -*mā?*]²—This apparently enclitic particle may be attached to any part of speech (cf. Rainey 1996 III:227-234).

With the infinitive for emphasizing the verbal action:

'an mtm 'amt “I will verily [*mātu-ma/mātu-ma*] die” (1.17 VI,38); *b' l ḥmdm yḥmdm* “Baal verily [*ḥamādu-ma*] desires” (1.12 I,38).

With finite verbal forms:

'ib t'rbm b bhth “enemies entered (*ta'rubū-ma*) his palace” (1.24,18-

19); *lyš yšqm l rbbt* “gold he pours out [*yāšiqu-ma*] in myriads” (1.4 I,28-29); *tg'm ttrt* “Attart rebukes [*tig'aru-ma*]” (1.2 IV,28); *l'irkm yd 'l' k ym* “El's 'hand' becomes long [*t'raku-ma*] as the sea” (1.23,33); *tšpkm* “she spills [*tašpuku-ma*]” (1.17 VI,15).

With nouns:

'al t'š'ign y biltm “do not deceive me, O Virgin [*yā-batūl(a)tu-ma*]” (1.17 VI,34); *y ymm* “O Yammu [*yā-yammu-ma*]” (1.2 I,36); *y b'l'm* “O Baal [*yā-ba'lu-ma*]” (1.119,28).

With the prepositions *l-*, *b-*, and *k-*, the *m-* morpheme stands between the preposition and the word dependent on it. Comparison with Biblical Hebrew indicates that the vowel of the enclitic particle is long in these cases, i.e. [*lemā*], [*bimā*] and [*kamā/kimā*] (cf. Biblical Hebrew *לְמוֹ*, *בְמוֹ* and *כְמוֹ*). On the other hand, it is just possible that this was a short vowel that was lengthened in Hebrew to *ā* and afterwards shifted to *ō* (cf. below for examples in the section on prepositions).

The enclitic *mem* is found on a word in construct (this is also known in Biblical Hebrew: *אֱלֹהִים וְצְבָאוֹת* “the God of Hosts” [Ps 59:6 intended for *אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת*], *סִגְיִם כֶּסֶף* “dross of silver” [Ezek. 22:18, instead of *כֶּסֶף סִגְיִם*], *לְאֹדִירִים עַם*, “the mighty one of the people” [Judg. 5:13, for *לְאֹדִירִים עַם*], and finally *מִחֹץ מְרִיבִים קָמְיוֹ* “smite the loins of his attackers” [Deut. 33:11, for *מִחֹץ מְרִיבִים קָמְיוֹ*]; a similar use is found in the Amarna letters: *šū-sū-mi abīya* [*šōsūmi 'abīya*] “the plunderers of my father” [EA 252,30] and *ú-bi-lī-mi ḥarrānāt šarri* “the guides of the king's caravans” [EA 287,55] [cf. Rainey 1996 III:236]; for enclitic *mem* in the Semitic languages, especially in Biblical Hebrew cf. Humel 1957:85-107; Robertson 1972:79-110; Cohen 1990:30-36 and most recently Emerton 1966:321-338, especially pp. 337-338). The following are examples of construct constructions with enclitic *mem* on the first member:

l ḥt'n'm b'l [*la/lū ḥatnu-ma ba'li*] “he is verily the son-in-law of Baal” (1.24,25-26); *k'lrpm ym* [*karpānū-ma yēnu*] “goblets of wine” (1.4 III,43); *bnm 'umy* [*binu-ma/binū-ma 'ummiya*] “son(s) of my mother” (1.6 VI,11,15); *k'r't bnm 'il* [*Keret binu-ma 'il*] “Keret is the son of El” (1.16, I,10); *tkmn hmt* [*takna-ma/tikma-ma ḥāmīti*] “the shoulder of the wall” (1.14 II,22; IV,4); *'ilm 'arš* [*'ilū-ma 'arš*] “the gods of the earth” (1.5 V,6; 1.6 I,18); *lb'im thw* [*lab(ḥ)ī-ma tuhw*] “lions of (/in) the wasteland” (1.133,3; cf. Pardee 1988:157); *'alpm 'i'b* [*al(a)pī-ma 'ibi*] “thousands of foes” (1.19 IV,59).

This phenomenon may also be present when an adjective is in construct with a noun, e.g.:

bht ṭhrm 'iqn'im [*bahatū ṭḥūrī-ma 'iqn'ima*] “houses of pure lapis

lazuli" (1.4 V,19; cf. Ginsberg 1936:32; less probable to interpret *thrm* as an adjective preceding the noun and not construct at all, for discussion cf. *infra*, p. 207).

m^c [*ma*^c?]—The origin of this particle is obscure. It is not widely attested, but in every case it follows an imperative. Its usage seems to parallel that of the particle **נ** in Hebrew after imperatives. Note the following examples:

ph m^c [*pahē ma*^c] "look (m.s.!)!" (1.15 III,28); *m^fs^l m*^c [*ammisī ma*^c] "load (f.s.!)!" (1.6 I,12); *šm*^c *m*^c [*šama^c ma*^c] "listen (m.s.!)!" (1.4 VI,4; 1.6 VI,23); *šskn m*^c [*šaskin ma*^c] "give heed (to) (m.s.!)!" (1.4 I,20).

PREPOSITIONS

General Remarks

Some prepositions in the Semitic Languages were originally ancient nouns functioning as adverbs (in adverbial accusative; cf. Brockelmann 1908-13 I:494ff and Moscati 1969:121), while others derive not from nouns but from deictic particles, e.g. *k*- "like, as". In other cases the derivation is obscure, e.g. *b*- "in, with, by", and *l*- "to, towards".

As in the other Semitic languages, in Ugaritic the prepositions function as bound forms followed by either pronominal suffixes or nouns in the dependent (genitive) case, e.g. *l ksⁱ* [*le-kussīⁱ/le-kissiⁱ*] "from the throne" (1.5 VI,12), *et al.* Prepositions take the entire range of personal pronominal suffixes. Thus for example: *bh* [*bi-hū*] "with him", *bhm* [*bi-hum(ū)*] "with them", *by* [*alēya*] "on me", *mh* [*immahū*] "to him, with him", *’atrh* [*’atrahū*] "after him, behind him", *et al.* Likewise, the prepositions can take the enclitic *mem*, apparently for emphasis.

Some of the prepositions have several meanings and the context must be invoked to properly interpret the prepositions (cf. Rainey 1965:1-7; for an extensive study of the prepositions in Ugaritic cf. Pardee 1975:329-378; 1976:215-324 and 1979:685-692). The prepositions will be presented here with examples of their principle meanings.

Mono-Consonantal Prepositions

b- [*bi-*] "with, in, from, to"—(Cf. the syllabic attestation *bi-i* [*Ug* 5 130 III,6’]; the syllabic *i*-sign is a phonetic compliment to show that the vowel is *i* and not *e*; cf. Sivan 1986:309, *contra* Blau and Greenfield [1970:17] who assume that the vowel in question is long). The following are some examples:

b ḥrb ṭbqʿnm “with a sword she cleaves him” (1.6 II,31-32); *ʿagʿr^ltn bʿat b ḏdk* “our lady employer has come to your (m.s.) dwelling” (1.19 IV,51); *ʿard b ʿars* “I will descend into the earth” (1.5 VI,25).

In prose texts, it may be written *by* (2.38,13,25).

The preposition *b-* may be separated from its dependent noun by the enclitic *mem* [-*māʿ?*] (cf. Biblical Hebrew בְּמוֹ [*< bimā*] [Isa. 43:2]; cf. Robertson 1972:109-110), e.g.:

ṭbky ḡt b^lm^l lb ṭdm^c bm^l kbd^l “Puḡatu weeps within (her) heart, she sheds tears within (her) liver” (1.19 I,34-35); *b^lm nšq w hr* “with kissing and (there is) pregnancy” (1.23,51); *bm ymn mḥš* “within the right (hand) a (type of tool)” (1.2 I,39).

Especially striking is the use of *b-* in the meaning “from”, e.g.:

tn ʿahd b b^lnk^l ʿam.lkn “give (f.s.) one of your sons (so that) I may enthrone him” (1.6 I,45-46); *b^l ks ʿištynh* “from a cup I drink it” (1.4 III,16); *lhm b lh^lm^l* “eat (f.s.) from the bread (/food)” (1.23,6; the same combination is attested in Biblical Hebrew, thus: וּבַלְאֵלֶיָּהֶם בְּמַנְעֵמֵיהֶם “and let me not eat from their dainties” [Ps 141:4] and לָכוּ לֶחֶמוֹ בְּלֶחֶמִי “come, eat from my bread” [Prov. 9:5]); *w b bt mlk mlbš ytn lhm* “and from the king’s house clothing has been given to them” (4.168,6-8); *b ph rgm l ysʿa* “from his mouth the word had not gone forth (or: “verily went forth”)” (1.19 II,26); *kl yllm bh* “he will eat everything from it” (1.115,10; cf. Rainey 1974:191, *contra* Gordon [1965:553] who interprets *kl* as “all”); *w pdy.h[m] ʿiwrlk^l m^lit ksp b ʿyd^l b ʿirym* “and Ewirkallu ransomed them with one hundred (shekels) of silver from the hands of the Beirutians” (3.4,12-15); *w ʿyqh^l b^lhm ʿa^lqht* “and he took Aqhat from them” (1.19 III,39-40).

Similar usage is attested in Biblical Hebrew. Note the following examples:

וְהַנּוֹתֵר בְּבָשָׂר וּבְלֶחֶם “and the remainder from the flesh and from the bread” (Lev. 8:32); וְהַנּוֹתֵר בְּשֶׁמֶן “and the remainder from the oil” (Lev. 14:18); וְאַסְרוּךְ בָּהֶם וְלֹא תֵצֵא בְּתוֹכָם “and they will bind you with them so that you cannot go forth from among them” (Ezek. 3:25); וְעַל־כֵּן הָאֲרֶז וְהָאֲבֵל הָאֶרֶץ וְאִמְלֵל כָּל־יֹשֵׁב בָּהּ בְּחַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם “therefore the land mourns and all who dwell in it will languish from the beasts of the field and the fowl of the heavens” (Hos. 4:3); לָכוּ לֶחֶמוֹ בְּלֶחֶמִי וּשְׂרוּ בַיַּיִן מִסִּכְתִּי “come, eat from my bread and drink from the wine that I have mixed” (Prov. 9:5).

l- [*le-*] “to, on, from”—(Cf. the syllabic attestation *le-e* [Ug 5 130 III,5'] and see the discussion concerning *b-* [*bi-*] above).

The use of *l* in the meaning “to” is ubiquitous in the Ugaritic texts as in the other Semitic languages. Sometimes the *l* also bears the enclitic *mem* [*mā?*] which separates it from its dependent noun (for Biblical Hebrew לָמָּה [Job 29:21], cf. Robertson 1972:109-110; this form must be distinguished from *lm* “why”, “for what” discussed above). Example:

yb'r l tn 'a'tth lm nkr 'm'ddth “he leads(?) his wife to another, to a stranger his beloved” (1.14 II,48-50).

l may have the meaning “on” as can be discerned from the following examples:

ybt l kht 'a'l'iy n b'l “he sat on the throne of Mighty Baal” (1.6 I,58);

ybt l ks'i mlk “he sat on the throne of the kingdom” (1.16 VI,23-24).

Noteworthy is the use of *l* in the meaning “from”, e.g.:

l ht w 'lmh “from now and for evermore” (1.19 IV,5-6; cf. the formula in Biblical Hebrew poetry מִעַתָּה וְעַד-עוֹלָם “from now and forever” [Isa. 9:6; 59:21 *et al.*], Imperial Aramaic מִיּוֹמָא דְנָן וְלְעוֹלָם [cf. Yardeni 1995:28] and Babylonian Aramaic מִיּוֹמָא דְנָן וְלְעוֹלָם [*Gittin* 85,2 *et al.*]; for the formula and its components in Ugaritic cf. Loewenstamm 1963:313-316); *l ym hnd* “from this day” (3.4,1; it is an opening formula of legal documents corresponding to the Akkadian *istū ūmi annīm*); *ltpn 'il d p'i'd' yrd l ks'i* “the Compassionate, God of Mercy, went down from the throne” (1.5 VI,11-12); *w yrd krt 'l' ggt* “and Keret came down from the roofs” (1.14 II,26-27); *l ymm l yrhm l yrhm l šnt* “from days to months, from months to years” (1.19 IV,13-14); *w mlk yns'l l 'y* “and the king will get gifts from T'y” (1.90,20-21).

Similar usage is known from Biblical Hebrew. Note the following examples:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן אֶל-אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה לְמַלְחָמָה “and Eleazar the priest, said unto the men of war who come from the war” (Num. 31:21; cf. verse 14: הַבָּאִים מִצִּבְעָה הַמִּלְחָמָה “who come from the army of the war”); וַיָּבֵא שְׁלֹמֹה לְבָמָה אֲשֶׁר-בְּגִבְעוֹן יְרוּשָׁלַם מִלִּפְנֵי אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד “and Solomon came from the high place which is in Gibeon to Jerusalem from before the tent of meeting” (2 Chron. 1:13); כָּל-כֵּלִים לְזָהָב וְלְכֶסֶף ... הַעֲלָה שֶׁשְׁבַצָּר “all the vessels of gold and of silver ... Sheshbazzar brought up” (Ezra 1:11); וְכָל-דָּם לֹא תֹאכְלוּ בְּכָל מוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם לְעוֹרֵי וְלַבְהֶמָה “and all the blood you will not eat in all your settlements from the fowl and from the animals” (Lev. 7:26).

The absence of the preposition *m(n)* “from” (known from Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic) in Ugaritic is a striking feature as is the fact that

b- and *l-* serve to express “from” (cf. Zevit 1975:103-112 and Pardee 1976:288,322). On the other hand, there are some scholars who insist that *m(n)* is attested in Ugaritic (cf. the summary by Deitrich and Loretz 1980a:183-187). It would appear that none of the evidence adduced carries conviction. The following are the presumed examples:

1. *mrḥqtm*, “from afar” (2.64,15) and *mrḥqm* “from afar”, “from a distance” (1.127,31)—Since these forms correspond in letters to the standard Akkadian *ištu rūqiš* “from afar” (cf. Biblical Hebrew קִרְבֵּי [Exod. 2:4; 20:18]), it is tempting to analyze them as prepositional *m(n)* plus *rḥq(t)m* (cf. Pardee 1976:315, n. 5 and Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:37). But it is more likely here that the initial *mem* is the prefix of a *maqṭal* noun in a masculine or feminine (singular or plural), while the final *mem* is probably an adverbial suffix, i.e. [plural *marḥaqātam(a/i)/marḥaqātuma/i* or singular *marḥaq(a)tam(a/i)/marḥaq(a)tum(a/i)*] (cf. Blau 1978a:296-297; 1985:294).

2. *w ʾum išmḥ mʾab* (2.16,10-11)—According to the orthography it could mean: “and (the) mother will rejoice more than (the) father”. But there may be a scribal error here, namely *mʾab* may be corrected to *mʾad(!)* (cf. Deitrich and Loretz 1980a:186 n. 35; Blau 1978a:296-297; Verreet 1988:87, *contra* Pardee 1976:270,287; 1984: 220 who interprets *mʾab* as a personal name, i.e. Maʾābu).

3. *mʾaḥr* (1.166,7)—Some try to see here a combination of the preposition *m(n)* and the preposition *ʾaḥr* “after” (cf. Cazelles 1979:264). The context mitigates against such an interpretation, so it is better to see here a D stem participle, i.e. [*muʾaḥḥiru*] “one who comes late” (cf. *supra*, p. 136).

Inasmuch as all the supposed instances of the alleged *m(n)* in Ugaritic are few and of questionable interpretation, there is no justification for assuming that it is found in Ugaritic. Only if some unequivocal context should be found will there be a firm basis for positing a *m(n)* preposition in that language.

k- [*ki-/ka-?*] “as, like”:

ʾkʾ ʾkʾlb [*ki/ka-kalbi*] “like a dog” (1.16 I,2); *k ʾinr* [*ki-/ka-?*] “like a cur” (1.16 I,2).

This *k-* can also take the enclitic *mem* [-*mā*] to form a separate preposition [*kimā/kamā?*] (cf. Biblical Hebrew כִּמְּ [Isa. 26:17]). The following are some examples:

km ʾilm “like the gods” (1.4 V,1); *km dʾiy* “like a bird” (1.18 IV,18);
km šps “like the sun” (2.19,2); *km ʾkʾ[ʾ]bʾ yqtqt* “(the moon god)

swishes (his tail) like a dog" (1.114,5). With enclitic *mem(?)*: *knm* [*kimāma/kamāma*] "like" (1.164,7,8; 1.168,3,10; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:298).

Bi-Consonantal and longer Prepositions

These prepositions will be listed alphabetically.

'ahr [*'ahra/'ahrē*] (< *'ahra/'ahray*) "after, afterwards":

'ahr špšm "after the sunrise" (1.14 IV,32,46); *'ahr mgy 'al'yn b'l* "afterwards, Mighty Baal arrived" (1.4 III,23); *'ahr mgy ktr w ḥss št 'alp qdmh* "afterwards, Kothar and Ḥasis arrived, he set an ox in front of him" (1.4 V,44-45; the verbal form *št* can be interpreted as 3rd m.s.).

'atr [*'atra?*] "after" (cf. Aramaic ܐܘܪܐ):

'atr btlt 'nt "after the Virgin Anat" (1.4 IV,18); *'atr tn tn hlk 'atr tlt klhm* "after two by two, they marched, after three, all of them" (1.14 II,41-42; unless *'atr* is a verb here meaning "they marched"); *'atr b'l 'ard b 'ary* "after Baal I will go down into the earth" (1.5 VI,24-25).

bd [*bādi/bādē?*] (< *bi-yadi/bi-yaday*) "In the hand(s), from the hand(s)" — (Cf. the syllabic attestation from the Amarna letters *ba-di-ū* [*bādihū*] "from his hand" (*EA* 245,35; cf. Rainey 1965:4). Examples:

bnš mlk d bd prt "men of the king who are in the charge of Prt" (4.144,1-2); *w ytn 'ilm bdh^lm¹* "and he gave the gods into their hands" (2.4,21); *bd ḥss mšbḥm* "in the hands of Ḥasis are tongs" (1.4 I,24); *w lqh tqlm ksp bd 'amtk* "and he took two shekels of silver from the hand(s) of your handmaid" (2.70,18-19); *bnš bnšm l yqḥnm bd b'ln* "no one will take it from the hand(s) of Ba'lānu" (3.5,16-18).

bn [*bēna*] (< *bayna*) "between":

bn 'nm "between the eyes" (1.2 IV,22); *bn nšm* "between the vultures" (1.18 IV,21); *hlm ktp zbl ym bn ydm [tḫ]t nhr* "he smote the shoulder of the Prince of the Sea, between the arms, the Judge River" (1.2 IV,14-15); *bnny* [*bēnanḫyā/bēnanāyā*] "between the two of us" (2.33,34; *contra TO II*, p. 339; cf. *ibid.* n. 42 for other interpretations).

b'd [*ba'du/ba'da?*] "behind":

b'dh bhḥm "behind it, the houses" (1.100,70); *w pḫ^lh¹w prš b'dhm*

“and he broke through an opening behind them” (1.23,70); *b'dn ksl tibr* “behind her you will break the back” (1.3 III,33).

yd [*yada?*] “with” (cf. Virolleaud 1965:105):

yrhm yd tn bnh “Yrhm with his two sons” (4.360,4); *yd npsh* “with his clothes” (4.107,1,2,3); *tmn mrkbt dt 'rb bt mlk yd 'apnth yd hzhn* “eight chariots that entered the house of the king with their wheels, with their (f.pl.) arrows” (4.145,1-4).

kbd [*kabida*] “midst”:

kl gr l kbd 'arš kl gb' l kbd šdm “every mountain to the midst of the earth, every hill to the midst of the fields” (1.6 II,17).

lpn [*le-panū?*] “before (temporal)”, “in front of”—Cf. Biblical Hebrew לְפָנַי and Phoenician 𐤋𐤍𐤏:

lpnk “before you” (1.16 VI,48); *hnyy lpn mlk* “favor me before the king” (2.15,3); *'umy tš ky 'rbt lpn špš* “my mother, may you know that I have entered into the presence of the Sun” (2.16,6-7).

'd [*'ad(ê)?*] (< *'ad[ay]*) “until, up to”:

tšm y<n> 'd šb' trt I'd I škr “(the gods) drink wine until satiety, new wine until drunkenness” (1.114,3-4); *'d 'lm* “forever” (2.19,5,15); *yrthš w y'adm yrthš ydh 'amth 'ušb'th 'd tkm* “he washes and reddens himself, he washes his hands up to the forearm, his fingers up to the shoulder” (1.14 III,52-54).

'l [*'al(ê)?*] (< *'al[ay]*) “upon, over”:

hm t'pn 'l qbr b'ny “... if they fly over the grave of my son” (1.19 III,44); *'l bt 'abh nšm t'r' t'lpn* “over the house of his father the vultures hover” (1.19 I,32); *'arb' šm 'l 'ar w tlt 'l 'ubr'y* “four trees (logs) on (the account of) Aru and three on (the account of) Ubar'ayu” (2.26,9-12).

It may be that *'l* means “in the presence of” in the following passage:

yšb glm 'l 'abh y'rb “the lad Yašibu entered in the presence of his father” (1.16 VI,39-40).

'm [*'imma?*] “with, towards, to” (cf. Rainey 1965:2), e.g.:

'mny [*'immanāyā/'immanāyā*] “with the two of us” (2.11,10); *'mn* [*'immanā?*] “with me” (2.38,6); *'mn* [*'immanā/ā*] “with us” (2.77,17);

'*m* 'ady *mm šlm* "with my lady, what is the news?" (2.12,12-13); '*m* 'lm *hyt* "may you (m.s.) live forever" (1.3 V,31); *lk* '*m* *krt* "go towards Keret!" (1.14 III,20); *w* *ʔl* 'm¹ 'il 'abh "and she went up towards El her father" (1.13,20); *ybn* *hlk* '*m* *mlk* 'amr "Yabnīnu went to the king of Amurru" (2.72,25-26); '*my* *tttb* *rgm* "to me may she send back word" (2.16,19-20); 'ašsprk '*m* *b'l* šnt '*m* *bn* 'il *tspr* *yrhym* "I will cause you to count years with Baal, with the sons of El you will count months" (1.17 VI,28-29; it has been suggested that '*m* means "for, in behalf of"; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1988:113, but this seems unnecessary).

Sometime this preposition gets enclitic *mem*, e.g.:

'*idk* *pnm* *l ytn* '*mm* *pbl* 'm¹k¹ "then they turned to Pbl the king" (1.14 VI,36-38).

qdm [*qudāma?*] "before, in front of"—(Cf. Aramaic 𐤒𐤓𐤊 and Arabic *qudām*):

št 'alp *qdmh* "he put an ox in front of him" (1.3 IV,41); 'n *b'l* *qdm* *ydh* "Baal's eye seeks out for his hand" (lit.: "Baal's eye is in front of his hand") (1.4 VII,40).

qrb [*qirbu/qirba*] "midst":

'yph¹ *hln* *b* *bhtm* 'u¹rb¹t *b* *qrb* 'h¹klm "he opens a window in the house(s), a transom in the midst of the palace" (1.4 VII,17-19); *bl* 'ašt 'urbt *b* b¹h¹[tm] *hln* *b* *qrb* *hklm* "shall I not put a transom in the house(s), a window in the midst of the palace?" (1.4 V,61-62).

tht [*tahtu/tahta?*] or [*tahtē*] (< *tahtay?*) "under, beneath"—(Cf. the syllabic attestation in an Amarna letter, *ta-aḥ-ta-mu* "beneath them" [EA 252:26]):

thth [*tahtahā?*] "beneath her" (1.3 II,9); *tht* *ks*²*i* *zbl* *ym* "under the throne of the Prince of the Sea" (1.2 IV,7); *km* 'k¹[l]¹b¹ *yqigt* *tht* *ilhnt* "like a dog he swishes (his tail) beneath the tables" (1.114,5-6).

tk [*tōku/tōka*] (< *tawku/tawka*) "within, inside, midst":

'y¹qm *w* *ywphn* *b* *tk* 'ph¹r *bn* 'ilm "he stands and he spits in the midst of the assembly of the sons of the gods" (1.4 III,13-14); *b* *tk* *mdbr* 'il.š²y "within the steppe land of Ilša'ya" (1.12 I,21); š²u 'db¹ *tk* *mdbr* *qdš* "raise an offering in the midst of the steppe land of Qidshu" (1.23,65).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SEVERAL SYNTACTICAL POINTS

INTRODUCTION

It is well-known that morphology and syntax are often connected. Accordingly, there are several matters pertaining to syntax which have already been discussed in the chapters on morphology, and will, therefore, not be repeated here. So, for instance, we discussed at previous occasions the syntactical behavior of case endings (p. 82f.), of nominative and oblique personal independent pronouns (p. 49f.), of the pronominal suffix of the first person (p. 52), of the determinative pronouns (p. 54f.), of the verb tenses (including the interchange of *yqtl/qtl* and *qtl/yqtl*) (p. 96f.), of the absolute infinitive (p. 123f.) and of the various particles (p. 178f.) and prepositions (p. 194f.).

It is often very difficult to fully understand the context of many sentences in Ugaritic. Many Ugaritic texts are poorly preserved, and even when the text is not damaged and the words can be clearly read, the meaning of the sentences often remains obscure. Furthermore, many texts are in fact only lists of personal names, villages, or professions, at the most accompanied by numbers but lacking any further context. Their laconic style, syntax and formulation make precise exegesis often impossible.

Finally, in a discussion on syntax it is necessary to distinguish between poetry and prose texts. Since most of the readable texts at our disposal are poetry, any study of Ugaritic syntax will basically be a description of the syntax of such texts, and will not necessarily be representative for the syntax of the prosaic texts.

NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

General Remarks

A nominal clause, by definition, is either verbless or it may contain a copulative verb which connects the subject to the predicate and determines the tense of the nominal clause. There are two distinct types of

copulative verbs, namely, stative copulas and dynamic copulas as illustrated by the following examples:

Stative copulas

w **ykn** bnh b bt šřš b qrb hklh “And may there be a son in the house, a scion in the midst of his palace” (lit.: “And may his son be in the house, a scion in the midst of his palace”) (1.17 I,25-26).

rgm **’it** ly “I have a word” (1.3 III,20-21).

’in bt l b’l km ’ilm “Baal had not a house like the gods” (lit.: “No house had Baal like the gods”) (1.3 V,38; 1.4 IV,50-51).

ʾ**in**¹ b’l b bhth ʾil¹ hd b qrb hklh “Baal is not in his house(s), the god Haddu (is not) in the midst of his palace” (1.10 II,4-5).

Dynamic copulas

The roots *SBB* “to turn” and *HPK* “to turn (/change) into, become” are used as dynamic copulas in the following examples:

sb ksp l ʾq¹m hys **nsb** l lbnt “The silver turned into blocks, the gold was turned into bricks” (1.4 VI,34-35).

hṛdn **yhpk** l mlk “Our hṛd will (then) become king” (1.103+ 1.145,52; *contra* Dietrich and Loretz [1990a:96] who translate “The king’s guard will turn away”).

Syntactically nominal sentences may be divided into four categories depending on the kind of predicate used in the sentence: (1) Adjectival complementation, (2) Nominal complementation, (3) Prepositional complementation, (4) Existential clauses.

Adjectival Complementation

The predicative adjective in a verbless clause makes an assertion regarding the subject of the clause. It fully agrees in number and gender with its subject. The following sentences contain predicate adjectives:

šp¹thm mtqt¹m “Their lips are sweet” (1.23,50).

mt ʾz b’l ʾz “Môt is strong, Baal is strong” (1.6 VI,20).

Nominal Complementation

Nominal clauses of this kind are essentially, i.e. subject = predicate, whereby the subject is the topic and the predicate is the comment which identifies the subject. The word order in such clauses is normally

subject-predicate, and any deviation from this sequence is for reasons of emphasis or for some specific pragmatic reason. The following sentences are examples of nominal complementations:

np^fšm^l npš lb'im thw "My soul is the soul of lions of (/in) the wasteland" (1.133,2-4; cf. Pardee 1988:157).

'a[t]tm 'att 'il 'att 'il w 'lmh "The two El's wives are the wives of El, wives of El and his forever" (1.23,42).

'bdk 'an "Your (m.s.) slave I am" (1.5 II,12; cf. the Amarna letters *İR LUGAL a-na-ku* [EA 289,51]).

kp^{tr} ks'u tbth "Kaph^{tr} is the throne of his dwelling" (1.3 VI,14-15).

hkpt 'ars nhlth "Hkpt is the land of his inheritance" (1.3 VI,15-16).

šbyn tpt nhr "Our captor is Judge River" (1.2 IV,30).

'm^f [l] b^l 'il m^zl^f l^l bn^h "The abode of El is the shelter of his son" (1.4 I,13).

m^{tb} rbt 'art ym m^{tb} klt kny^t "The abode of Lady Ashera of the Sea is the abode of the perfect brides" (1.4 I,13-15).

spr 'ilmk "The scribe is Ilmilku" (1.6 VI,54).

'udm ynt 'il w 'ušn 'ab 'adm "Udum is a gift of El, and a present of the Father of Man(kind)" (1.14 III,31-32).

In identifying equations the roots *SBB* "to turn" and *HPK* "to turn (/change) into, become" function as dynamic copulas as is illustrated by the following examples:

sb ksp l r^f q^l m h^rš nsb l lbnt "The silver turned into blocks, the gold was turned into bricks" (1.4 VI,34-35).

The root *SBB* occurs in the G stem (*sb*) and in the N stem (*nsb*), and in both cases it serves as copula.

h^rdn yhp^k l mlk "Our *h^rdn* will (then) become king" (1.103+1.145,52; *contra* Dietrich and Loretz [1990a:96] who translate "The king's guard will turn away").

There exists specific kind of identifying equation, namely when the subject is not fully identified with the predicate but only with regard to one particular feature. In these sentences "equative *Kaph*" introduces the predicate. Note the following examples:

km tsm 'trt ts^fmh^l "Her beauty is like the beauty of Athtart" (lit.: "Like the beauty of Athtart is her beauty") (1.14 III,42).

'amrr k kbkb l pnm "Amraru is like a star in front" (1.4 IV,17).

k n'm 'nt n'mh "Her charm is like the charm of Anat" (lit.: "Like the charm of Anat is her charm") (1.14 III,41).

Prepositional Complementation

COMMITTIVE CLAUSES

The predicate in these clauses is preceded by the preposition *ʿm* “with, together with”, and as such expresses the notion of accompaniment (partnership and companionship), as may be seen in the following examples:

ʿmn n^fk^ll htny “With Nikkalu is my wedding” (1.24,32).

ʿmk šb^t ʿt ḡm^k “With you your seven lads” (1.5 V,8-9).

ʿmk p^ar^ly b^tl^l ʿar “With you is Pidrāya, the girl of light” (1.5 V,10).

LOCATIVE CLAUSES

ʿn b^tl qdm ydh “Baal’s eye seeks out for his hand” (lit.: “Baal’s eye is in front of his hand”) (1.4 VII,40).

ʿi^ln b^tl b bhth ʿi^l hd b qrb hklh “Baal is not in his house(s), the god Haddu (is not) in the midst of his palace” (1.10 II,4-5).

w ʿin d ʿlnh “And there is none that is above him” (1.4 IV,44; in this sentence the nucleus “something/someone” is omitted).

ʿakl b hwtk ʿinn “There is no food in your land(s)” (2.39,19-20; for the possibility that we have here a *casus pendens* see below).

w ykn bnh b bt šrš b qrb hklh “And may there be a son in the house, a scion in the midst of his palace” (lit.: “And may be his son in the house, a scion in the midst of his palace”) (1.17 I,25-26).

[rḡ]^fbⁿ ykn b hwt “Hunger will be in (your) land(s)” (1.103+1.145,3).

POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

The predicate in these clauses is preceded by the preposition *l-*, and as such expresses the notion of possession, ownership, belonging to. It always follows its subject. Several examples of possessive clauses may be cited:

d šb^c [a]hm lh t^rmt bn ʿum “He who had seven brothers, eight sons from (one) mother” (1.14 I,8-9).

rgm ʿi^l by “I have a word” (1.3 III,20-21).

l^fa^lr ʿu^fm^l tkn lh “He had flesh of kinship” (1.14 I,15).

ʿin bt l b^tl km ʿilm “Baal had not a house like the gods” (lit.: “No house had Baal like the gods”) (1.3 V,38; 1.4 IV,50-51).

ʿank ʿin bt [U]^fy^l [km] ʿilm^l “As for me, I have no house like the gods” (1.2 III,19; this sentence is a *casus pendens*, see below).

mm 'it l 'bdk "What does your servant have?" (2.70,29).

[u]n'it 'inn l'h'm "They do not have feudal obligation" (3.4,16; this sentence should be interpreted as *casus pendens*, see below).

mđrglm d 'inn msgm lhm "m.-s that have no weapons(?)" (4.53,1-2).

w l tt mrkbtm 'inn 'utpt "And the two chariots have no quiver" (4.145,6-7).

'it 'alpm lhm "They have oxen" (4.422,1).

There are some instances in which the noun *b'l* is used instead of the preposition *l-*, namely:

hby b'l grmw w dnb "Hby has horns and a tail" (1.114,19-20).

'admny b'l bt "Admny has a house" (lit.: "Admny is the owner of a house) (4.15,2; see there more examples).

POSSESSIVE-LOCATIVE CLAUSES

The deep structure of possessive/locative clauses seems to be the same as both possessive clauses and locative clauses, and therefore, it is difficult to differentiate between them. These clauses are formulated in two different ways: "X is in Y" or "X has Y" (there is a preposition before the predicate) and "There is X to Y" or "There is X in Y". These patterns are so close that they are indistinguishable and cause ambiguity. At first sight it seems that these clauses are locative in meaning, but their deep structure shows that they also have a possessive meaning. Note the following examples:

hn b py s^fp^rrhm b špty mnthn "Behold, in my mouth is their (f.pl.) number (= the number of them), on my lips is their (f.pl.) counting" (1.24,45-47).

bdh ht tkl bdh ht 'ulmn "In his hand(s) is the scepter(?) of childlessness, in his hand(s) is the scepter(?) of widowness" (1.23,8-9).

bhm qrm kn trm "Upon them are horns like bulls (= they have horns like bulls)" (1.12 I,30-31).

bd hss mšbthm "In the hand(s) of Hasis are the tongs" (1.4 I,24).

w 'in lšn bh "And (if) there is no tongue in it ..." (1.103+1.145,31).

w 'in 'udn šm'al b[h] "And (if) it has no left ear ..." (1.103+1.145,37).

spr mlk hnd b yd štqšlm 'd 'lm "This document of the king is in the hand(s) of Štqšlm forever" (2.19,13-15).

Existential Clauses

Existential and non-existential clauses include the adverbs of existence 'it "there is" and 'in "there is not". Both words always precede their

subjects. The following are examples of existential and non-existential clauses:

- '*it šmt* ... *ʔiʔl[ʔ]* 'z^m "There is fat ... there is bone" (1.19 III,4-5).
 '*it zbl bʔl ʔars* "The Prince, the Lord of the Earth, exists" (1.6 III,3; IV,5).
 '*it yn* "There is wine" (1.23,74).
 '*in šmt ʔin ʔzm* "There is no fat, there is no bone" (1.19 III,11).
 '*in b ʔilm ʔnyh* "There is none among the gods who answers him" (1.16 V,19,22).

Occasionally the word *bl* is used instead of *ʔin* as predicate in non-existential clauses, such as:

- bl ʔʔl bl rbb bl ʔsrʔl thmtm* "There is no dew, there is no rain, there is no welling-up of the two deeps" (1.19 I,44-45).

One can treat this sentence as having three subjects without predicates indicating non-existence, i.e. "no dew, no rain, no welling-up of the two deeps" (cf. Segert 1984:111).

In one instance the root *KWN* "to be" serves as predicate and it follows the subject, thus:

- '*drt tk[n]* "There will be help" (1.140,8).

WORD ORDER OF NOMINAL PHRASES

General Remarks

Attributes are found in both nominal clauses and verbal clauses. As in the other Semitic languages an attribute in Ugaritic precedes its nucleus excluding the various intensifiers and quantifiers. The following are examples:

The attribute is an adjective in:

- gšm ʔadr* "a strong rain" (2.38,14).
šnt mlʔit "one year" (2.2,7).
ytm̄t dlt "a poor orphan(m.f.)" (1.82,22).
bʔlt šmm mmm "the lady of the huge heavens" (1.108,7).

The attribute is a demonstrative pronoun in:

- l ym hnd* "from this day" (3.4,1).

The attribute is *nomen regens* in:

- hlk kbbkm* "the course of the stars" (1.19 II,7).

bnš bnšm l yqḥnn "Every single man (= no one; lit.: man of men) will not take it" (3.5,16-17).

mnk m^ln^lkm l yqḥ "Nobody (lit.: Anybody of anybodies) will take ..." (3.2,12-13).

The attribute is a dependent pronoun in:

'att šdqh "his legitimate wife" (1.14 I,12).

The attribute is a prepositional phrase in:

tn ksp tql d 'mnk "Give silver, the shekel which is with you" (3.9,15-16).

The attribute precedes its nucleus, especially when it is quantifier, namely numeral (cf. *supra*, p. 87f.) or the word *kl* "all, every" in phrases like:

kl ḡr ... kl gb^c "every mountain ... every hill" (1.5 VI,26-27; 1.6 II,16).

kl dbrm "all things (= everything)" (2.32,8).

'k^ll nḫš "everybody" (lit.: "every soul") (2.38,20).

[k]lklh "its everything, all that pertains thereto" (3.5,10; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1984:351-52).

However, there are some problematic cases where the attribute precedes its nucleus without any obvious reason as is illustrated below:

Adjectival Attribute

qh ksp w yrq ḥrṣ "Take silver and green(ish-yellow) gold" (1.14 III,22).

The phrase *yrq ḥrṣ* seems to correspond to a construction of an adjective followed by a noun (cf. Biblical Hebrew *בִּירְקָק קָרִיץ* [Ps.68:14]; cf. Blau 1972:76). If so, the Ugaritic construction is different from the Akkadian *ḥurāṣu arqu*. One has to take note that the word *yrq* is also attested in Ugaritic as a regular substantive denoting "gold" (1.4 IV 6,11).

'i^lšlh ḫrm 'i^lqn'im "I will send pure lapis lazuli" (lit.: "I will send pure of lapis lazuli") (1.24,21-22).

w bn bht ksp w ḥrṣ bht ṫrm 'iqn'im "And build a house of silver and gold, a house of pure lapis lazuli" (1.4 V,33-35).

In both sentences the word *ḫrm/ṫrm* is most probably an adjective, meaning "pure", which stands in the construct state and is followed by the genitive *'iqn'im* "lapis lazuli" (cf. Blau 1972:77). The construct chain

is interrupted by the insertion of enclitic *mem* of *zhrm/ṭhrm* between the *nomen regens* and the *nomen rectum* (cf. *supra*, p. 193).

'*ib* 'iqn'i "pure lapis lazuli" (lit.: "pure of lapis lazuli") (1.14 III,43; VI,29).

According to Ginsberg (1969:144), this phrase is a construct state of two substantives, i.e. "the pureness of lapis lazuli". However, it seems better to consider '*ib* as an adjective in construct relation to a substantive, being semantically identical with an adjectival attribute following its substantival head. In other words, **ibbu* 'iqn'i/'iqn'i is semantically identical with 'iqn'u/'iqn'u '*ibbu*, both meaning "pure lapis lazuli" (cf. Blau 1972:76-77).

n'mn 'mq *nšm* "O good one, strongest of men" (1.17 VI,45).

The word '*mq* "strong" is most likely an adjective in construct relation with *nšm* "men". However, it is also possible that the phrase '*mq nšm* is a superlative construction which would then explain why the adjective precedes its nucleus.

Adverbial Attribute

The quantifier *m'id/m'ad/m'ud* "very, much, many" may as well precede its nucleus (noun or adjective) and sometimes follows it. (On the use *m'id/m'ad/m'ud* as an adverb cf. *supra*, p. 185). Whenever *m'id/m'ad/m'ud* precedes a noun, it can be analyzed as a substantive in the construct state (cf. Marcus 1974:405-407; for *m'id* as a noun cf. *m'idy* [ma'diya] "my abundance" [2.46,11] and Biblical Hebrew וְכָל-קִרְבְּךָ וְכָל-מְאֹדְךָ "and with all your might" [Deut. 6:5]). The following are examples of the use of *m'id/m'ad/m'ud*:

m'id/m'ad/m'ud Preceding its Nucleus:

m'id r¹m¹ [krt] "Be very exalted, Keret" (1.15 III,13).

'm¹ud š'in "abundance of flocks" (= "many flocks/much cattle") (1.5 III,23).

m>'u<'id dm "much blood" (1.5 III,24-25).

m'id ksp "much silver" (lit.: "a lot of silver") (1.4 V,15,38).

'm špš kll *m'idm* šlm "With his majesty, the Sun, everything is very fine" (2.39,3-4).

This formula seems to be Akkadian as can be discerned from the following example:

it-ti ^dŠamsi (UTU-š) *gab-bu dan-¹niš¹ šu-ul-mu* (Ug 5 33,3'-4'; cf. Rainey 1975c:25). The word is *m'idm* almost certainly plural; cf. *ma-a-du-ma* "much", "abundance (?)" [Ug 5 137 II,36'].

m'id/m'ad/m'ud Following its Nucleus:

šb'uk 'ul m'ad "Your army is very strong" (1.14 II,35; cf. Ginsberg 1946:37, *contra* Marcus [1974:405] who interprets it as "many").

w yd 'ilm ... 'z m'id "And the love of the gods is very strong" (2.10,11-13).

šgr m'u'd^l "many offsprings(?)" (1.5 III,17; the context is not sufficiently clear).

CONSTRUCT STATE IN UGARITIC

We have already mentioned that the noun in Ugaritic retains its case ending even when used in the construct state (cf. *supra*, p. 82f.). Occasionally enclitic *mem* stands between the *nomen regens* and the *nomen rectum* (cf. *supra*, p. 193). The following are the types of the *nomen rectum* and the *nomen regens*:

Construct State of Noun + Noun:

qš mr'i "ribs of fat beef" (1.3 I,8).

Construct State of Preposition + Noun:

tht ks'i zbl ym "under the throne of the Prince of the Sea" (1.2 IV,7).

Construct State of Adjective + Noun:

see examples above.

Construct State of Numeral + Noun:

m'it 'iqn'i "one hundred (shekels of) lapis lazuli" (3.1,30,32).

'arb' 'alpm 'iqn'i "four thousand (shekels of) lapis lazuli" (4.203,5).

Sometimes the numeral is appositional to its noun; see examples *supra*, p. 86f.

Construct State of Noun + Sentence:

y bn 'aš^ll'd "O sons (whom) I have begotten" (1.23,65).

y 'att 'itrh "O two wives (whom) I have betrothed" (1.23,64).

The nouns *bn* and *'att* in these examples do not end in *mem*, which proves that they are in construct state (cf. *supra*, p. 83).

VERBAL SENTENCES

Word Order

WORD ORDER OF VERBAL SENTENCES IN PROSE

Plain prose is represented by only a few samples. Most of the prosaic texts are formulaic and are in fact imitations of Akkadian legal epistolary. From the Ugaritic texts at our disposal, it seems that the subject, verb, object and adverb may occur in any order. One may discern that this flexibility of word order is often exploited in order to emphasize a certain part of the sentence. Nevertheless, it is still true that in most instances the subject precedes its verb. The following are examples showing the various structures of verbal sentences:

Subject-Verb-Object:

nqmd mlk 'ugrt ktb spr hnd "Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, has written this document" (2.19,8-9).

Adverb-Subject-Object-Verb:

l ym hnd 'iwr^f k'l pdy 'agdn "From this day, Iwirkallu has redeemed Agdenu" (3.4,1-2).

Object-Subject-Verb-Object:

'iršt 'aršt l 'ahy "I asked a request for my brother" (lit.: "A request I asked for my brother") (5.9 1,7-8).

Subject-Object-Verb:

'šr ksdm yd lmdhm lqh "Ten *k*'s took the hands of their apprentice" (lit.: "Ten *k*'s the hands of their apprentice took") (4.125,8).

Verb-Subject-Adverb:

k ṯrb 'ttrt šd bt mlk k ṯrbn ršpm bt mlk "When Athtart of the Field enters the house of the king, when the Reshaphim enter the house of the king" (lit.: "When enters Athtart of the Field the house of the king, when enter the Reshaphim the house of the king") (1.91,10-11).

In the case of chiasmus (a feature characteristic of poetry), one may find changes in word order, thus:

l yblt hbtm//^{ap} ksphm l yblt "I did (not) bring the *h*'s//also their silver I did (not) bring" (2.17,1-3).

WORD ORDER OF VERBAL SENTENCES IN POETRY

The word order of verbal sentences in poetry is flexible, but specific poetic structures, such as parallelism or chiasmus, often determine the

place of each constituent in the sentence. However, it should be kept in mind that such structures do not reflect spoken language, and tell us nothing about the word order in verbal sentence in Ugaritic as it was spoken by its people. Parallelism of two or more cola is often encountered in poetry. From the point of view of syntax, one should consider the parallelism as one unit even if each colon consists of a separate sentence. It occasionally happens that a specific element which was mentioned in the first colon is not repeated in the second or third one. The following sentences illustrate the flexible word order in poetic verbal sentences:

Subject-Verb-Object:

tqh mlk 'lmk "You will take your eternal kingdom" (1.2 IV,10).

ydn dn 'almnt "He judges the case of the widow" (1.17 V,7-8).

ʿiʿšlh zhrm ʿiʿqn'im "I will send pure lapis lazuli" (1.24,21-22).

Verb-Subject-Object:

w tšsʿiʿ ʿatrt ndrḥ "And remembers Ashera his vow(s)" (1.15 III,25).

Verb-Subject-Object-Adverb:

l ytn bt l bʿlʿl k 'ilm "A house is (not) given to Baal like the gods"

(lit.: "Is [not] given a house to Baal like the gods") (1.3 V,3).

Verb-Subject-Adverb:

tšql 'ilt l hklh "The goddess enters her house" (lit.: "Enters the goddess her house") (1.3 II,18).

Subject-Adverb-Verb:

dn'il bth ym.gyn "Daniel reaches his house" (lit.: "Daniel his house reaches") (1.19 IV,8).

šrsʿkʿl b 'arš 'al yp' "Let not your scion flourish in the land" (lit.: "Your scion in the land let not flourish") (1.19 III,53-54).

Subject-Object-Verb:

ktr šmdm ynḥt "Kothar brings down two clubs" (lit.: "Kothar two clubs brings down") (1.2 IV,11).

'il 'attm k ypt.hm "El, he surely seduced the two women" (lit.: "El, the two women he surely seduced them") (1.23,39).

Object-Verb-Subject:

ʿmʿpakm yʿak ym "Yammu sends the messengers" (lit.: "The Messengers sends Yammu") (1.2 I,11).

šm'alh ʿuḥd ʿttr "Athtart holds his left hand" (lit.: "His left hand holds Athtart") (1.2 I,40).

Object-Subject-Verb:

bšrtk yblt "Your news I bring" (1.4 V,27).

hkk b'l 'atrt k t'n "The going of Baal Ashera verily sees" (1.4 II,13-14).

Adverb-Subject-Verb:

'l bt 'abh nšrm t'r'h'pn' "Over her father's house vultures hover" (1.19 I,32).

Object-Adverb-Subject-Verb:

p'nh l hdm yšpt "His feet he sets on the footstool" (lit.: "His feet on the footstool he sets" (1.4 IV,29).

There are times when the word order in the second colon may be different from that in the first colon due to chiasmus. Note the following examples:

yšq kšp l 'alpm / hrs yšqm l rbbt "He pours silver by thousands (of shekels) / gold he casts by myriads" (1.4 I,26-28).

šmm š'm'n tmtrn / nšlm ilk nbtm "The heavens rain down oil / the brooks run with honey" (1.6 III,6-7).

Sometimes the poet changes the word order (of the two cola) as a result of using a single word or construction common to both cola. This word (or construction) ends the first colon and simultaneously also begins the second colon, i.e. the so-called "Pivot" word or construction. Note the following examples:

Subject as "Pivot":

y'n ḡlmm y'nyn "The lads answered" (lit.: "Answered the lads, the lads answered") (1.3 IV,5).

The word *ḡlmm* "lads" is the subject and functions as pivot between two verbs in one colon.

ilhm rp'um tštn ... ilhmn rp'um tštn "The shades eat and drink ... the shades eat and drink" (lit.: "Eat the shades, the shades drink ... eat the shades, the shades drink") (1.22 I,21-24).

The word *rp'um* "shades" is twice a pivot word separating verbs that usually occur in a coordinated sequence.

Verb as "Pivot":

[b] pš rgm l ys'a b špth hwth "From his mouth the word verily went (/had not gone) forth, from his lips his utterance" (lit.: "From his mouth the word verily went (/had not gone) forth, verily went (/had not gone) forth from his lips his utterance") (1.2 IV,6).

The verb *l ys'a* "it verily went (/had not gone) forth" functions as a predicate of both cola. It ends the first colon, but simultaneously begins the second one.

nššh l lhm tpth brlth l trm "His appetite she opens to eat, his desire

to dine" (lit.: "His appetite to eat she opens, she opens his desire to dine") (1.16 VI,11-12).

The verb *ṭpṭh* "she opens" serves as predicate of both cola.

¹a¹p ṽilm l <ṭ>[h¹[m] **yṭb** bn qdš l ṭrm "Now the gods were sitting to eat, the holy ones for to dine" (lit.: "Now the gods to eat were sitting, were sitting the holy ones for to dine") (1.2 I,20-21).

The form *yṭb* "they were sitting" functions as the predicate of both cola.

Subject and Verb as "Pivot":

hlk ṽaḥth **b¹l yⁿ** tdrq ybnt ṽabh "Baal sees the going of his sister, the course of his father's daughter" (lit.: "The going of his sister Baal sees, Baal sees the course of his father's daughter") (1.3 IV,39-40).

The combination *b¹l yⁿ* "Baal sees" is pivot of both cola, inserted between the respective objects of the two cola.

There are instances when the scribe repeats the pivotal component. In most such cases, the text expressed in the first colon is incomplete and the second colon completes the idea (cf. Biblical Hebrew וְזָמְרוּ לַיהוָה וְזָמְרוּ לַיהוָה וְזָמְרוּ לַיהוָה "Make music to the Lord with the lyre, with the lyre and melodies voice" [Ps 98:5]; cf. Sivan and Yona 1994:443-447). Almost all of these cases are part of special so-called three line "strair-case parallelism" or climactic parallelism structure. Note, for example, the following cases:

w yš'u ṽnh ṽal'eyn b¹l w yš'u ṽnh **w yⁿ w yⁿ** btlt ṽnt n'mt ṽb¹n ṽaḥt b¹l "And lifts up his eyes, Mighty Baal, and he lifts his eyes and sees, and he sees the Virgin Anat, fairest among Baal's sisters" (1.10 II,13-16).

w tš'u ṽnh **w tⁿ w tⁿ** ṽarḥ w t^r b lkt "She lifts her eyes and sees, she sees a cow and proceeds in walking" (1.10 II,27-28).

tbrk ṽi¹lm **tⁱty tⁱty** ṽi¹lm ṽl ṽahlhm dr ṽil ṽms¹k¹n¹thm "The gods blessed (him and) came, came the gods to their tents, El's entourage to their habitations" (1.15 III,17-19).

klat ṽl¹q¹tn¹sn w **tlđn ṽld¹** [ṽi]lm n'mm ṽagzrym bn ym "They both bow down in childbirth and give birth, they give birth to the goodly gods, the islanders(?), sons of the Sea" (1.23,58).

yḥbr špṭhm yš¹q¹ hn špṭhm **mtqt^m mtqt^m** k brmn[m] "He bends, he kisses their lips, behold, their lips are sweet, sweet as grapes" (1.23,49-50).

Sometimes there is a repetition of the pivotal constituent even when each colon has a complete idea; thus for example:

knp nšrm b'l yšbr b'l tbr d'iy hmt "The wings of the eagles may Baal break, Baal broke their pinions" (1.19 III,8-9).

This case is an example of *yqtl/qtl* parallelism (cf. *supra*, p. 107)

Connection between Objects and the Verb

Ugaritic has four ways of connecting transitive verbs to their objects:

1. By means of the accusative case ending:

mdl 'r šmd p̄hl št gpnm dt ksp "He saddled an ass [*'êra*], hitched a young ass [*paḥla/puḥāla?*], put on harness [*gapanīma?*] of silver" (1.4 IV,9-10).

y'db ks'a w ytb "He prepares a chair [*kussī'a/kissi'a*] and sits" (1.100,7).

2. By means of prepositions:

'ahdy d ymlk 'l 'ilm "I alone will rule over the gods" (1.4 VII,49-50).

w mlk yš'at b hn "May the king inquire about them(f.)" (2.42,23).

3. By means of dependent pronouns:

'b¹ ks 'išyḥ "From the cup I will drink it" (1.4 III,16).

tn 'ahd b b¹nk¹ 'amlkn "Give one of your sons, so that I may make him king" (1.6 I,45-46).

4. By means of independent pronouns (cf. *supra*, p. 50), namely the third person independent pronoun masculine singular, feminine singular, plural and dual:

w kbd hwat "And honor (both of you) him!" (1.3 VI,20).

nmgn hwat "Both of us will beseech him" (1.4 III,36).

kbd hyt "(Both of you) honor her!" (1.3 III,10)

kbd hmt "Honor (f.s.) the two of them (m./f.)" (1.17 V,20).

Causative Ditransitive Verbs

Transitive verbs have usually one single object, but in the specific case of ditransitive verbs, such as *ŠLM* "to pay", *LK* "to send", *ŠLH* "to send" and *YTN* "to give" the verb governs two objects.

There are also instances in which ditransitive verbs are often the result of causation. The deep structure of sentences with ditransitive verbs shows that these sentences are basically identifying equations in which a causative component was added to a dynamic copula. This process creates a new ditransitive verb; i.e. *X* causes (*Y* becomes *Z*) = > *X* makes *Y* to be *Z*. Often "equative *Kaph*" is used. Note the following are examples:

'aštk *km nšr b ḥ^fb^l/šy* "I make you like an eagle in my sheath" (1.18 IV,17).

tštn *k nšr b ḥbšḥ ḥ^fk^lm d'i b t^rth* "She makes him like an eagle in her sheath, like a bird in her scabbard" (1.18 IV,28).

'w^fr^tyštk *b^fl* "May Baal make you (f.) blind" (1.19 IV,5).

'dbnn *'ank <k>'imr b py* "I make him like a lamb in my mouth" (1.6 II,22).

ytt *nḥšm mhrk* "I make (lit.: I give) snakes (to be) your bride-price" (1.100,75).

w 'atnk bl mt "And I will make you immortal (= deathless)" (1.17 VI,27).

ELLIPSIS

The ellipsis of constituents, whereby one or more components from the first colon is not repeated in the second one, is typical of poetry in general (cf. Ps 114 in Biblical poetry), and is also common type of ellipsis in Ugaritic poetry, as for instance in:

tn dbḥm šn'a b^fl tlt rkb 'rpt "Two sacrifices Baal hates, three the Rider of the Clouds" (1.4 III,17-18; the word *dbḥm* is omitted in the second colon).

A rather rare kind of ellipsis, namely, ellipsis of the predicate, seems to occur in the sentence:

'bdk 'an w d 'lmk "Your slave I am, (a slave) of your world (= of all that you have)" (1.5 II,12).

One may translate "Your slave I am, and forever" (cf. Gordon 1949:38; Ginsberg 1969:138; Gibson 1978:69), although the expression *'lmk* may literally mean here "all that you have". It is clear however that the predicate *'bdk* "your slave" which occurs in the first colon has been omitted in the second one.

It is also possible for the subject of the sentence to be elided, as a result of which the sentence becomes nominalized, as for instance in:

'anš dt zrh "Collapsed are (the muscles?) of her back" (1.3 III,35; cf. *TO I*, p. 167, n. e).

Finally, ellipsis may be the result of pragmatic considerations of the scribe or of lexical contexts. An example of this specific kind of ellipsis may be found in:

lm 'ank kšp w yrq [ḥrs] (1.14 VI,17-18).

Although the predicate is elided, the meaning of the sentence is

clear, namely “What (use have) I for silver and green(ish-yellow) gold?”. Furthermore, the words *lm* ’*ank* stand for both cola, namely *lm* ’*ank ksp* / (*lm* ’*ank*) *yrq* [*hrs*].

INTERROGATIVES

Questions are usually formulated by means of interrogative adverbs and pronouns (see *supra* for discussion, p. 182). However, in “yes/no questions” Ugaritic does not use an interrogative element, unlike Hebrew where the interrogative $\text{-}\bar{\eta}$ is used to introduce such questions. The fact that a question is at stake is decided on the basis of mere contextual arguments, as may be illustrated by the following double rhetorical questions:

mlk $\bar{\eta}$ ’*r* ’*abh* *y*’*ars* $\bar{\eta}$ ’*h*’*m* *d*’*rk*’[*t*] $\bar{\eta}$ ’*k*’ $\bar{\eta}$ ’*ab*’*l* ’*a*’*dm*’ “Is it the kingship of Bull his father he desires, or authority like the Father of Man(kind)?” (1.14 I,41-43).

p ’*bd* ’*an* ’*nn* ’*atrt* ... *hm* ’*amt* ’*atrt* *tlbn* *lbt* “Am I a slave that I should attend Ashera ... or is Ashera a handmaid that she should make bricks?” (1.4 IV,59-62).

The same use occurs in Biblical Hebrew, e.g.:

הֲנֵלֶךְ אֶל־רָמוֹת גִּלְעָד לְמִלְחָמָה אִם־נִחְדָּל “Shall we go against Ramoth Gilead to battle, or shall we forbear?” (1 Kgs 22:15).

הֲתִמְלֹךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ עָלֵינוּ אִם־תִּשְׁלוּ אִתָּנוּ “Shall you rule over us, or shall you have domination over us?” (Gen. 37:38; cf. Held 1969:71-79 and Avishur 1973:421-464).

In the Ugaritic sentences the word *hm* “or” is used, but the word ’*u* “or” may be used in the same way as *hm*, thus:

’*u* *mlk* ’*u* *bl* *mlk* “Shall he be either king or not king?” (1.4 VII,43; cf. Held 1969:71-79 and Smith 1994:256).

ASYNDETIC COORDINATION

Even though Ugaritic uses coordinative particles (cf. *supra*, p. 188), there are many cases in which the coordination is asyndetic.

Asyndetic Coordination of Parts of the Sentence:

lmd ’*atn* *prln* *rb* *khn*’*m* *rb* *n*’*qd*’*m* “The disciple(?) is *Atn*-*prln*, chief

of the priests (and) chief of the herdsmen" (1.6 VI,55-56).

[l l]ʿ[hm]¹ l šty šhktm "To eat (and) to drink have I called you" (1.15 IV,27; V,10; VI,4).

Asyndetic Coordination of Simple or Subordinated Sentences:

mt ʿz bʿl ʿz "Môt is strong (and) Baal is strong" (1.6 VI,20).

kptr ksʿu ʾbth hkpt ʿarš nhlth "Kaphtor is the throne of his dwelling (and) Hkpt is the land of his inheritance" (1.3 VI 14-16).

šmʿ l rbt ʿaʿr¹[t] ʿy¹m tn ʿahd b bʿnk¹ ʿam.lkn "Hear, O Lady Ashera of the Sea, give one of your sons (so that/and) I may make him a king" (1.6 I,44-46).

ʿl¹n ʿʿahd¹ b ʿaʿk¹ ʿisp¹a¹ "Give one of your brothers, (so that/and) I may devour (him)" (1.6 V,19-21).

k ʿrb ʿttrt šd bt mlk k ʿrbn ršpm bt mlk "When Athtart of the Field enters the house of the king (and) when the r's enter the house of the king" (1.91,10-11).

EXTRAPOSITIONAL SENTENCES (CASUS PENDENS)

Occasionally, the topic of a sentence is put at the beginning and a retrospective pronoun within the sentence replaces the extrapositional element. The following are examples of the various extrapositional placements:

Subject as Extrapositional Element:

ʿakl b hwtk ʿinn "There is no food in your land" (lit.: "Food, it is not in your land") (2.39,19-20; ʿakl is extrapositional and ʿinn includes its anaphoric pronoun; yet the -n can be considered as a suffix typical especially of administrative texts, cf. *supra*, p. 187).

Predicate as Extrapositional Element:

ʿank ʿin bt [ly] [km] ʿilm¹ "As for me, I have no house like the gods" (1.2 III,19).

ttqt ʿmh bqʿt "Ttqt, with her is Bqʿt" (1.24,48; cf. Hermann 1968:24).

Object as Extrapositional Element:

šgrthn ʿabk¹m¹ "Their youngest, I will give her birthright" (1.15 III,16).

qlt ¹*b*¹ *ks* ²*ištynh* “Scorn, from a cup I drink it” (1.4 III,15-16).
hrb *b bšr išin* “A knife, she puts it into the meat” (1.15 IV,25).
³*il* ²**attm** *k ypt.hm* “El, he surely seduced the two women” (lit.:
 “El, the two women he surely seduced them”) (1.23,39).

SUBORDINATED CLAUSES

It is clear that there is no strictly positional subjunctive mode in Ugaritic, unlike, for instance, Akkadian (*contra* Verreet 1988:8-10). Indeed, subordinated clauses, regardless of the fact which subordinating particle introduces the clause, frequently have the indicative form *yqtlū*, and do not necessarily have the so-called subjunctive form *yqtlā*. The verbal forms in the following examples of subordinated clauses are no doubt indicative *yqtlū*-forms:

²*arb* ¹*hršm dt* **tb¹ln** *b pḥn* “Four craftsmen who are working [*tib¹alūna*] in Pḥn” (4.141 III,5-6).

w mnm š²alm dt **tknn** “And whoever the investigators who will be [*takūnūna*] in charge (of the guaranties)” (3.3,5-6; *contra* Verreet [1988:133] who interprets *tknn* as *yqtlū*).

qrht d **tššlmn** “Cities that render [*tašašlimūna/tašašlimūna*] (service or taxes)” (4.95,1; cf. Verreet 1988:146).

³*šb* *dt* **tqhn** *ššlmt* “Seven (men) who take [*tiqqahūna*] Ššlmt” (4.395,4-5).

k t¹rb t²rt šd bt mlk k **t¹rbn** *ršpm bt mlk* “When Athtart of the Field enters the house of the king, when the r’s enter [*ta¹rubūna*] the house of the king” (1.91,10-11).

¹*d* **ttbn** *ksp i²wrkl* “Until they return [*tata¹ribūna/tuta¹ribūna*] Iwirkallu’s money” (3.4,17-18).

Subject Clauses

w i²n d ¹*lnh* “and there is none who is above him” (1.4 IV,44).

In this clause the nucleus (“someone/something”) which ought to express the subject has elided.

Predicate Clauses

²*aḥdy d ymlk* ¹*l i²lm* “It is I alone who will rule over the gods” (1.4 VII,49-50).

In this sentence the topic *'ahdy* is at the beginning, and the sentence is most probably a cleft sentence.

Attributive Clauses

The attributive clause may be asyndetic, or may be introduced by the subordinating particles *d* or *k-/ky*. Note the following examples:

SYNDETIC ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES

tn ly mlt hry n'mt šph bkkr 'd' k n'm 'nt n'mh "Give me lady Ḥurāya, the fair, your first begotten, whose fairness is like Anat's fairness" (1.14 III,39-41).

'abn brq d l tš šmm rgn l tš nšm w l tbn hmlt 'arš "Hail stones which the heavens have not known, a word (which) the people have not known" (1.3 III,26-27; here we have also an asyndetic attributive clause).

'argmn nqmd mlk 'ugrt d ybl l špš mlk rb b'lh "The tribute of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, which he brings to the Sun, the great king, his master" (3.1,24-26).

'šm yn hšp l ql d tš mš¹r¹(?)m "Twenty (jars) of *hšp*-wine belonging to Ql, who left Egypt(?)" (4.213,27).

w šb' 'šr šmn d l yš'a bt mlk "And 17 (jars) of oil which did not go to the house of the king" (4.341,20-21).

'aškw b šp 'nh d b hlmny 'il yf¹n¹ b drty 'ab 'adm "Let me repose in seeing her eyes, whom in my dream El bestowed, in my vision, the Father of Man(kind)" (1.14 III,45-47; in this case the nucleus can be either "Ḥurāya's eyes" or "Ḥurāya").

'abyn 'at¹ [d]¹n¹il mt rp'i 'anh g'zr 'm¹ hrmmy d 'in bn lh km 'ahh w šrš km 'aryh "You are poor, Daniel, man of Rāpi'u, the sigh of the hero, man of Harnamīya, who has no son like his brothers nor a scion like his kinsmen" (1.17 I,17-19; the nucleus of the attributive clause is expanded).

bt [m]¹l¹k 'itdb d šb' [a]hm lh tmnt bn 'um "The house of the king, who had seven brothers, eight sons of mother, is destroyed" (lit.: "The house of the king is destroyed, who had seven brothers, eight sons of mother") (1.14 I,7-9; the attributive clause is not attached to its noun).

w lht 'alpm hrtm k rgmt ly "And tablets of ploughing oxen which you told me (about)" (2.45,22-23).

lht bt mlk 'amr 'ky¹ 'd¹br 'umy lpn qrt "Tablets of the king's daugh-

ter of Amr, that you, my mother, will discuss before the city (council)” (2.72,17-19).

lht šlm k l'ik'v' umy “The letters of greetings that my mother sent” (2.34,5-6).

ASYNETIC ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES

The attributive clause functions as a *nomen rectum* in those cases where it is preceded by a noun in the construct state (such structure is well known in Akkadian [cf. Ungnad 1992:123] and in Biblical Hebrew [cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990:138-139 and 338]). When the noun preceding the asyndetic attributive clause is plural or dual but does not have its plural or dual marker, it is clear that the relation between this noun and the following clause is one of *nomen regens* asyndetically followed by a *nomen rectum*. Clear examples of such a structure are attested in the following sentences:

y bn 'as'ld “O sons (whom) I have begotten” (1.23,65).

'y' 'att 'itrh “O two wives (whom) I have betrothed” (1.23,64).

k 'irby 't'škn šd “Like the locusts (that) dwell on the steppe” (1.14 II,50-51; one can also interpret *'irby* as singular collective; cf. Verreet 1988:136).

The situation is less clear in a sentence like:

il šmm tskh [r]'b' nskh kbkbm “Dew (that) the heavens pour(ed) down, spray (that) the stars pour(ed) down” (1.3 II,40-41).

In this case and in similar cases the plural marker is actually *šmm* “heavens”, so that we cannot say that the attributive clause depends on a noun in the construct state. (It seems less likely to interpret *šmm* as a construct noun followed by enclitic *mem*, namely, *šamī-ma*).

As a matter of fact, it is not always clear whether or not the noun preceding the asyndetic attributive clause stands in the construct state. This is especially the case when the noun is masculine singular or feminine (singular and plural), as in:

y'd' mlhst 'a'q'[h]'t' g'zr tmhš 'alpm 'v'b' “The hand (that) smote the hero Aqhat will smite thousands of foes” (1.19 IV,58-59).

'rpt tmtr b qz tl yill l g'nbm “Clouds (that) rain on the summer fruit, dew (that) distills upon the grapes” (1.19 I,40-42).

'at'v' [tq]'h' y 'k'v'v' 'att tq'h' 'b' v'k' [g]'lmi' tš'rb h'zr'k' “The wife (whom) you take, O Keret, the wife (whom) you take to your house, the maiden (whom) you cause to enter your court ...” (1.15 II,21-23).

'abn brq d l td' šmm rgm l td' nšm w l tbn hmlt 'ars "Hail stones which the heavens have not known, a word (which) the people have not known, nor sensed by the masses on earth" (1.3 III,26-27).

Conditional Clauses

Most conditional clauses occur at the head of the sentence and are usually introduced by the particles *hm* (or *'im*) "if" or *k-* "if" (the particle *l-* is not used for such clauses as it is in Biblical Hebrew and in one instance in the Amarna letters; cf. Rainey 1996:III,190). However, it happens that the particles are omitted. In such cases we can identify the clause as having a conditional nuance on the basis of the context only (especially in omens where one finds series of conditional sentences). The following are some examples:

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES WITH PARTICLES

hm hry bty 'iqh 'as'rb ġlmt hzry tnh kšpm 'atn tlt hšm "If Hurāya to my house I take, bring the lass into my court, her double I'll give in silver (and) her triple in gold" (1.14 IV 40-43).

hm qrt l'uhd hm mt y'l bnš bt bn bnš yqh 'z w yhdy mrhqm "If the city is (/has been) taken, (or) if Môt should attack a man, the house of the son(s) of man(kind) will (/should) take a goat and will (/should) look to the future (lit.: afar)" (1.127, 30-32; cf. Rainey 1973:51).

w hm ht 'l w l'ikt 'mk w hm l 'l w l'akm 'il'ak "And if the Hittite has attacked, (then) I will send (a letter) to you; and (even) if he does not attack, I will surely send (it)" (2.30, 16-20).

hm yrh b 'l[yh] w phm n'mn yh's'r lh "If the moon is at (its) rising and redness (is visible), (then) he (/it) will lack agreeableness" (1.163,12-13).

[h]m tlt 'id ynphy yrh b yrh 'ahm []lt mzm ylk "If the moon will be seen three times in the month Aḥm, (then) ... Mzrn will go" (1.163,5-6; *contra* Dietrich and Loretz 1990a:99).

hm ymt w 'ilhmn 'ank "If he should die, I will go on fighting on my own" (2.82,18-21).

'im milkytn yrgm "If Milkuyatanu says, (then) ..." (2.15,8).

k yg'r ššw št 'qrbn ydk w yms' "If a horse roars, a št-measure of the scorpion-like plant should be pulverized and liquefied" (1.85,2-3).

w k l yht'u w l yttn ššw [ms]'s' št qlql w št 'rgz [yd]k 'ahdh "Or if a horse does not defecate or urinate, the sap of a št-measure of the

qlql-plant and a *št*-measure of the ‘*rgz*-plant should be pulverized together” (1.85,9-10).

k *ild* ¹*a*¹[*tt*] ‘*drt tk[n]* “If a woman gives birth ..., (then) there will be help ...” (1.140,7-8).

There are rare instances where the conditional clause does not occur at the head of the sentence. Note the following examples:

hm *l* ‘*atn bty lh* “..., if I do not give my house to him” (2.31,65).

kn̄p nšrm b^cl yṭbr b^cl y¹₂br d^ciy hmt hm t^cpn ‘l qbr b^cny¹ “The wings of the eagles may Baal break, may Baal break their pinions, if they fly over the grave of my son” (1.19 III,42-44).

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES WITHOUT PARTICLES

ttw w tn w l ttw w ‘al ttw tn ks yn w ‘ištn “(If) you give, (then) give; and (if) you do not give, (then) don’t give; give a cup of wine so that I may drink it (= I’ll accept whatever you give, be it little or much)” (5.9 I,12-16).

w ‘in lšn bh “And (if) there is no tongue in it (= the foetus), (then) ...” (1.103+1.145,31).

w ‘in k^c y¹d¹h ... yḥlq bhm¹t¹ [‘ib]¹h¹ “And (if) its forearm is not (there) ..., (then) (the king) will destroy the animals of his enemy(?)” (1.103+1.145,15; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990a:95).

w ‘in yd [šm^ca¹l bh ḥwt ‘ib ṭḥlq “And (if) there is no left hand on it (= the foetus), (then) the land of the enemy will perish” (1.103+1.145,59).

w ‘in ‘udn šm^cal [b¹h] [mlkn¹ yšdd ḥwt ‘i¹bh¹ w yḥslm “And (if) it (= the foetus) has no left ear, (then) our king will lay waste the land of his enemy and devastate it” (1.103+1.145,37-38).

Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses usually stand at the beginning of the sentence rather than at its end. Their typical subordinating particles are *k*-/*ky*, ‘*d*, ‘*id* and *hlm*. There are instances in which the temporal clause is reduced. The following are examples:

k *tmḥš ltn brḥ bṭn tkly bṭn ‘qltn* “When you smote Lôtānu, the evil serpent, (and) you destroyed the crooked serpent ...” (1.5 I,1).

ky *Pik bny ḥt ‘akl ‘my m^cidy* “When (/After) my son sent me letters (/a requisition) for food, my abundance ...” (2.46,9-11).

^a*qht km yṭb l ḥḥ[m] bn dn^cil l ṭrm* “As Aqhat sat down to eat, the son

of Daniel to dine ..." (1.18 IV,29; the subordinating particle ends in enclitic *mem*).

'd *tšb' tmthš b bt* "She smites in the house until she is satisfied" (or: "Until she is sated, battling in the house") (1.3 II,29).

'd *ʔiʔlm n'mm tllkn šd tšdn p'at mdr* "Until the goodly gods were going (/went) in the field, (yea) they were hunting (/hunted) on the corners of the desert" (1.23,67-68).

'd *tšb' bk* "... until she is sated with weeping ..." (1.6 I,9).

'id *ʔikt 'ky nplṭ 'bdmlk* "After you sent (the message) to Akko, Abdimilku was saved" (2.82,3-5; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 360).

'id *yph mlk ršp* "When the king saw Reseph ..." (1.90,1-2; 1.168,1; cf. *TO* II, p. 172 and n. 100).

hlm *'il k yphnh yprq lšb w yšhq* "As soon as (/when) El verily sees her, he parts his jaws and laughs" (1.4 IV,27).

The following examples are reduced temporal clauses, although some of them can also be interpreted as circumstantial clauses:

w yqr b šal krt "And he approached while asking Keret" (1.14 I, 37-38).

ʔbk¹m¹ *tmḏlm 'r bkm tšmd pḥl bʔkm¹ tš'u 'abh* "While weeping she saddles a young ass, while weeping, she harnesses a donkey, while weeping, she lifts up her father" (1.19 II,8-10).

b nš'i 'nh w yphn "Upon lifting his eyes, he sees" (1.17 V,9).

ʔbm¹ *bkyh w yšn ʔb¹ ʔd'm'h nhmmt* "As he weeps, he falls asleep, as he sheds tears, slumber" (1.14 I,31-32).

bkm yṭb b'l l bhth "While weeping, Baal returns to his house(s)" (1.4 VII,42).

Object Clauses

The subordinating particle of object clauses is usually *k-/ky*. It is not used when the object clause is originally a question. The following are examples of the various object clauses:

w tš' ʔiʔm¹ k mtt "And El may know that you are dead" (1.5 V,16-17).

w ʔid¹ k hy ʔaʔiyn ʔb'l¹ k ʔiṭ zbl b'l ʔarš "So I know that Mighty Baal is alive, existent is the Prince, the Lord of the Earth" (1.6 III,8).

... *ʔahd hrm ʔiṭ šmt hm ʔi[ṭ] ʔzm* "... (and) I looked if there is fat, (or) if there is bone" (1.19 III,4-5).

There are instances in which the nucleus of the object clause is elided, so that the clause is reduced, as for instance:

d b ḥlmy 'il yf'n¹ b dṛty 'ab 'adm “(The woman) whom in my dream El bestowed, in my vision, the Father of Man(kind)” (1.14 III,46-47).

p d 'i'n b bty ttn “(That) which is not in my house should you give” (1.14 VI,22-23).

Causal Clauses

The subordinating particle of causal clauses is *k-*, as is clear from the following examples:

'atb¹n 'ank w 'anḥn w 'tn¹ḥ b 'irty npš k yld bn ly km 'aḥy w šrs k¹m¹ 'aryy “I shall sit and rest, and my soul shall repose in my breast, for a son is born to me like my brothers, a scion like my kinsmen” (1.17 II,12-15).

išmḥ ht 'atrt w bnh 'ilt w šbrt 'aryh k mt 'af'yn b'l k ḥlq zbl b'l 'arš “Let Ashera and her sons rejoice, the goddess and the band of her kinsmen, for dead is Mighty Baal, for perished is the Prince, the Lord of the Earth” (1.6 I,39-43; these are two causal clauses coordinat-ed asyndetically).

ymPu lbh b šmḥt ... k brkm tḡll b dm dmr “Her heart is filled with joy ... for knees she plunges in the blood of soldiery” (1.3 II,25-28).

bḫ l rkb 'rpt k šbyn 'zb¹[l ym k] šbyn ṭp[t] nhr “Shame, O Rider of the Clouds, for the Prince of the Sea is our captor, for Judge River is our captor” (1.2 IV,29-30).

Final Clauses

Apparently, Ugaritic did not have any special subordinating particle to introduce a final clause. The verbs in final clauses are in the *yqta* mode as can be discerned from verbs with final aleph (whereas in Arabic *yqtlū* mode is used, cf. Wright 1933 II:19-20).

There are cases where *waw* consecutive is used the final clause, thus: *pḥt bt w 'ub'a hkl w 'išṭql* “Open a house so that I may come, a palace so that I may enter” (1.100,72).

ḫḥ 'imr w 'ilḥm mḡt w 'iṛm “Slaughter a lamb so that I may eat, a lambkin so that I may dine” (1.16 VI,17-18).

On the other hand, there are instances where *waw* consecutive is not used before final clauses, thus:

't¹n 'aḥd¹ b 'aḥ¹k¹ 'iṣp¹a¹ “Give one of your brothers (so that) I may devour (him)” (1.6 V,19-20).

š'ink 'itm r' yšš'a 'idn ly "I will give your prize(?), (so that) my friend will bring forth ... to me" (2.15,4-6).

When the final clause consists of a verb in the infinitive, the clause is a reduced one. The following are examples:

npšh l lhm tptb brlth l trm "His appetite she opens (in order) to eat, (she opens) his desire (in order) to dine" (1.16 VI,11-12).

'ank 'ahš mgy "I hurry (in order) to arrive" (2.34,10-11; cf. Pardee 1984:227 and *TO* II, p. 343).

Circumstantial Clauses

y^r r¹ b l bth ybky "He enters his chamber (while) he weeps" (1.14 I,26-27; it seems that *yqtlu* forms are not used in such clauses in other Northwest Semitic languages; for the use of *yqtlu* forms in circumstantial clauses cf. Arabic in Wright 1933 II:20).

[*mlk*] *y^t brr* "The kink sat purified" (1.41,7; cf. *TO* II, p. 154, n. 45).

ʔa¹ l¹ k¹ ʔb¹ r¹ ktm¹ "I will go blessed" (1.19 IV,32; cf. Gordon 1965:78 and Ginsberg 1969:155).

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APPENDIX

TEXT SELECTIONS

Text 1 (KTU² 2.11)

- (1) *l 'umy . 'adtny*
- (2) *rgm*
- (3) *thm . tlmyn*
- (4) *w . 'ahtmlk 'bdk*
- (5) *l . p'n . 'adtny*
- (6) *mrhqttn*
- (7) *qlny . 'ilm*
- (8) *tgrk*
- (9) *tšlmk*
- (10) *hnny . 'mny*
- (11) *klk . m'id*
- (12) *šlm*
- (13) *w . 'ap . 'ank*
- (14) *nht . tmny*
- (15) *'m . 'adtny*
- (16) *mnm . šlm*
- (17) *rgm . tlb*
- (18) *l . 'bdk*

NOTES

- Line 1. *'um* [*ummu*] “mother”; *'adt* [*adat(t)u*] “lady”; *-ny* [*-nšyā/-nšyā?*], 1st c.du. suffix pronoun.
- Line 2. *RGM* “to say, speak” (G).
- Line 3. *thm* [*taḥummu?*] “word, announcement”; *tlmyn* [*Talmīyānu*] PN.
- Line 4. *'ahtmlk* [*Aḥātu/i-malku*] PN (cf. the syllabic attestation *a-ḥa-tu₄-LUGAL* [*PRU* III, p. 53,11] and *a-ḥa-ti-LUGAL* [*PRU* III, p. 53,8]); *'bd* [*abdu*] “slave, servant”.
- Line 5. *p'n* [*pa'nu?*] “foot”.
- Line 6. *mrhqttn* [*marḥaqātam(a/i)/marḥaqātum(a/i)*] or [*marḥaq(a)tam(a/i)/marḥaq(a)tum(a/i)*] “from afar”.
- Line 7. *QYL* “to fall, kneel, bow down” (G); *'il* [*'ilu*] “god”.

- Line 8. *NGR* “to guard, keep” (G).
 Line 9. *ŠLM* “to grant well being” (D?).
 Line 10. *hnny* [*hanninīya?*] “here”; *‘m* [*‘imma?*] “with, to”.
 Line 11. *kl* [*katīlu*] “entirely”; *m’id* [*ma’(a)da*] “much, very”.
 Line 12. *šlm* [*šalāmu/šulmu*] “well being”.
 Line 13. *‘ap* [*‘appa?*] “even, also”; *‘ank* [*‘anākū*] “I”.
 Line 14. *NWH* “to rest” (G); *tnny* [*tammanīya*] “there”.
 Line 16. *mnm* [*mīnumā*] “what”.
 Line 17. *rgm* [*rigmu?*] “word, announcement”; *TWB* “to return” (G),
 “to return (transitive), send back” (Š).

Text 2 (KTU² 2.12)

- (1) *l . mlkt*
- (2) *‘ady*
- (3) *rgm*
- (4) *thm . tlmyn*
- (5) *‘bdk*
- (6) *l . p’n*
- (7) *‘ady*
- (8) *šb’d*
- (9) *w . šb’^oid*
- (10) *mṛḥqtm*
- (11) *qlt*
- (12) *‘m . ‘ady*
- (13) *mnm . šlm*
- (14) *rgm . tttb*
- (15) *l . ‘bdh*

NOTES

- Line 1. *mlkt* [*malkatu/malaktu*] “queen”.
 Line 8-9. *‘id* [*‘id(a)*] “time, times” (affixed to numerals, e.g. *šb’d/šb’^oid* “seven times”).

Text 3 (KTU² 2.30)

- (1) *l mlkt . ʾu¹[m]ʾy¹*
- (2) *ʾr¹gn thm*
- (3) *mlk . bn¹k¹*
- (4) *l . p’n . ʾu¹mʾy¹*

- (5) ʿqlʿt . ʿlʿy ʿuʿ[m]y
 (6) ʿslm . ʿil[m]
 (7) ʿgʿrʿk . ʿš[ʿ]ʿmʿk
 (8) ʿhʿlʿny . ʿmny [. ʿš]tm
 (9) w . tmʿnʿ . ʿmʿ . [ʿu]my
 (10) mm [.] ʿšʿl[m]
 (11) w . rgm . [ttb.] ʿlʿy
 (12) hlny . ʿmn
 (13) mlk . b . ʿty ndr
 (14) ʿitt . w . ht
 (15) ʿsny . ʿudrh
 (16) w . hm . ʿht .
 (17) ʿl . w . ʿPikt
 (18) ʿmk . w . hm
 (19) l . ʿl . w . ʿPakm
 (20) ʿiʿPak . w . ʿat
 (21) ʿuʿlmy . ʿal . tdlh(!)
 (22) w . ʿap . mhkm .
 (23) b . lbk . ʿal .
 (24) ʿšt

NOTES

Line 3. *bn* [*bunu/binu/banu*] “son”.

Line 5. *ly*—obscure component.

Line 12. *hlny* [*hallin̄ya?*] “here, hither”.

Lines 13-15. These lines are obscure; perhaps *ty* [*tayyu*] (< *taʿyu?*) means “offering(?)”; *ʿitt* [?] “fire/food offerings”; *NDR* “to vow”.

Line 16. *hm* [*him(ma)*] “if”; *ht* [*Hattē*] “Hittite”.

Line 17. *ʿLY* “to go up, ascend” (G); *ʿl* [*ʿalā*] (< *ʿalaya*) “he has attacked” (G); *ʿLK* “to send” (G).

Line 19. *l* [*lā*] “no”.

Line 20. *ʿat* [*ʿattē*] “you (f.)”.

Line 21. *ʿumy* [*ʿummā*] “my mother” (the *yod* is a vowel marker); *ʿal* [*ʿal*] “don’t”; *DHL* “to fear” (G), cf. Aramaic ܕܗܠ.

Line 22. *mhkm* [*mahkīma/ī(?)*] “anything”.

Line 23. *lb* [*libbu*] “heart”.

Line 24. *ʿYT* “to put, place” (G).

Text 4 (KTU² 2.16)

- (1) *thm . tlm*[y]^rn¹
- (2) *l tryl . 'umy*
- (3) *rgm*
- (4) *yšlm . lk . 'ily*
- (5) *'ugrt . tgrk .*
- (6) *tšlmk . 'umy*
- (7) *td* . ky . 'rbt*
- (8) *l pn . špš*
- (9) *w pn . špš . nr*
- (10) *by . m'id . w 'um*
- (11) *tšmh . m'ad(/b)*
- (12) *w 'al . tdhln*
- (13) *'tn . hrd . 'ank*
- (14) *'mny . šlm*
- (15) *kll*
- (16) *w mnm .*
- (17) *šlm . 'm*
- (18) *'umy*
- (19) *'my . tttb*
- (20) *rgm*

NOTES

- Line 2. *tryl* [*taryllu*] PN (f.), apparently Hurrian; cf. the syllabic attestation *šar-el-li* (*Ug* 5 159,9,12).
- Lines 4-5. *ŠLM* “to be well” (G); *lk* [*lekī*] “to you (f.)”; the meaning of the combination *yšlm lk* is “may it be well with you”; *'ily 'ugrt* [*'itī 'Ugaritī*] “the gods of Ugarit” (the *yod* is a vowel marker). This noun phrase is the subject of its clause, so the orthography with *yod* is a scribal error.
- Line 6. *'umy* [*'ummā*] “my mother” (the *yod* is a vowel marker).
- Line 7. *YD* “to know” (G); *ky* [*kī*] “thus, since, that” (the *yod* is a vowel marker); *'RB* “to enter” (G).
- Line 8. *pn* [*le-panū?*] “before, to the presence of”; *špš* [*šapšu*] “the sun”.
- Line 9. *pnm* [*panūma*] “faces” (nominative construct *pn* [*panū*] “faces of”), pl. used for singular “face”; *NWR* “to radiate light, shine” (G).

- Line 10. *by* [*biya*] “with me”.
- Line 11. *ŠMH* “to be happy” (G); *m’ad* [*ma’(a)da*] “much, very much” (the orthography *m’ab* is rendered by some “more than a father”, assuming the presence of a preposition *m(n)* “from”, cf. discussion *upra*, p. 196f.).
- Line 12. *DHL* “to fear” (G).
- Line 13. *’tn* [*’attan?*] (< *’antan*) “now”; *hryd* [*hāridu/harrādu?*] “to be alert(?)”, “guardian”, the form can be a noun, an adjective or a verbal form, perhaps the infinitive, perhaps with the meaning “alert”.

Text 5 (*KTU*² 3.4)

- (1) *l . ym hnd*
- (2) *’iwr^fk^ll . pdy*
- (3) *’agdn . bn . nwgⁿ*
- (4) *w ynhm . ’aḥh*
- (5) *w . b^cln ’aḥh*
- (6) *w . ḥttⁿ bn^h*
- (7) *w . btšy . bth*
- (8) *w . ’ištrmy*
- (9) *bt . ’bdm^lk ’aḥ^ft^l[h]*
- (10) *w . snt*
- (11) *bt . ’ugrt*
- (12) *w . pdy . h[m]*
- (13) *’iwr^{kl} . ’m^l’it*
- (14) *ksp . b yd*
- (15) *b[’]irtym*
- (16) [*w . ’u*]^f*n^l ’inn*
- (17) *ḥ^lm ’d tttbn*
- (18) *ksp . ’iwr^{kl}*
- (19) *w^{tb} . l ’un^lhm*

NOTES

- Line 1. *l ym hnd* [*le-yōmi hānādū*] “from this day”.
- Line 2. *’iwr^{kl}* [*Iwr^lkallu*] PN; *PDY* “to ransom, redeem” (G).
- Line 3. *’agdn* [*Agdenu*] PN; *nwgⁿ* [?] PN.
- Line 4. *ynhm* [*Yanḥamu*] PN from *NHM* “to console” (G); *’aḥ* [*’aḥu*] “brother”.

- Line 5. *b'ln* [*ba'lanu*] PN.
 Line 6. *httn* [?] PN.
 Line 7. *btšy* [?] PN (f.); *bt* [*bittu*] “daughter”.
 Line 8. *'ištrmy* [*'Ištarummīya*] PN (f.) “the goddess Ištar is my mother(?)”.
 Line 9. *'dbmlk* [*'Abdimalku*] PN; *'att* [*'attatu*] “woman, wife”.
 Line 10. *snt* [?] PN.
 Line 11. *'ugrt* [*'Ugarītu*] “Ugarit”.
 Line 13. *m'it* [*mītu*] “hundred”.
 Line 14. *ksp* [*kaspu*] “silver”; *byd* [*biyadi*] “from the hand of”.
 Line 15. *b'irțym* [*Bi'rōṭyūma*] “Beirutians”.
 Line 16. *'unt* [*'unuttu*] “feudal obligation”; *'in* [*'ēna*] “there is not” (here with energetic *nun*, or perhaps the *nun* is an anaphoric pronoun).
 Line 17. *lhm* [*lehum(ū)*] “to them, for them”; *'d* [*'ad(ē)*] “until”.

Text 6 (KTU² 1.4 I,12-28)

- (12) *'m*¹[*ḫ*]¹*b*¹ . *'il* . *mzll*¹
 (13) *bnh* . *mṭb* . *rbt*
 (14) *'atrt* . *ym* . *mṭb*
 (15) *klt* . *knyt*
 (16) *mṭb* . *pdry* . *b<t>* *'ar*
 (17) *mzll* . *ṭly* . *bt rb*
 (18) *mṭb* . *'arsy* . *bt* . *y' bdr*
 (19) *'ap* . *mṭn* . *rgmm*
 (20) *'argmk* . *šskn m'*
 (21) *mgn* . *rbt* . *'atrt ym*
 (22) *mǧz* . *qnyt* . *'ilm*
 (23) *hyn* . *'ly* . *l mṭḫm*
 (24) *bd* . *ḫss* . *mšbṭm*
 (25) *yšq* . *ksp* . *yšl*
 (26) *ḫ* . *ḫrṣ* . *yšq* . *ksp*
 (27) *l 'alpm* . *ḫrṣ* . *yšq*
 (28) *m* . *l rbbt*

NOTES

- Line 12. *mṭb* [*mōtabu*] “abode”; *mzll* [*mazlalu?*] “shelter”.
 Line 13. *rbt* [*rabbatu*] “lady”.

- Line 14. *'atrt ym* [*'Atir(a)tu yammī*] DN “Ashera of the Sea”, perhaps “she who treads on the sea”.
- Line 15. *kl̄t knyt* [*kallātu kaniyātu*] “the lovely brides”, perhaps the ensuing list of young goddesses.
- Line 16. *pdry* [*Pidrāya*], DN (one of the daughters of Baal); *bt 'ar* [*bittu 'ārī*] “daughter of the light”.
- Line 17. *ṭly* [*Tallāya*] DN, one of the daughters of Baal built on *ṭl* [*tallu*] “dew”; *bt rb* [*bittu rabbi*] “daughter of the light rain” (a daughter that aided Baal in furnishing rain).
- Line 18. *'arsy* [*Aršāya*] DN, one of the daughters of Baal, from *'ars* [*aršu*] “earth”; *bt y' bdr* [*bittu (?)*] “daughter of (?)”, *y' bdr* is apparently a proper noun.
- Line 19. *m̄n* [*matnū*] “response, a repeated saying”, cf. the syllabic attestation *ma-aš-nu-ú* [*matnū*] (*Ug* 5 137 II,41’).
- Line 20. *SKN* “to pay attention” (Š); *m'* [*ma'*] “please(?)”, particle that accompanies the imperative (cf. *supra*, p. 194).
- Line 21. *MGN* “to entreat” (G or D).
- Line 22. *m̄gz* [*mağzū?*] “honor”; the form could also be the D participle from *ĜZY* “to honor, to entreat”; it could also be due to a scribal error, *mem* instead of *taw* because of the *mem* in the form *mgn* in line 21; *QNY* “to create, acquire” (G); the phrase *qnyt 'ilm* [*qāniyatu 'ilma*] “Creatress of the gods” is an epithet of Ashera.
- Line 23. *hyn* [?], an epithet of the craftsman god, *ktr w ḥss*; *mḫym* [*mappūhā-ma/i*] “bellows”.
- Line 24. *bd* [*bādi/bādē*] “in the hand(s) of”; *ḥss* [*ḥasīsu/ḥāsīsu*] “wise, intelligent”, name of the craftsman god; the full name is usually *ktr w ḥss* [*Kōtaru wa-Ḥasīsu/Ḥāsīsu*]; *mšbtm* [*mašbatāma/i*] “tongs”.
- Line 25. *YŠQ* “to pour” (G); *ŠLḤ* “to send” (G), here the meaning seems to be “to melt” (perhaps a metathesis of *ḤŠL*).
- Line 26. *ḫrṣ* [*ḫurāšu*] “gold”.
- Line 27. *'alp* [*alpu*] “thousand”, pl. *'alpm* [*al(a)pūma*]; *m* [*-ma*] is an enclitic particle.
- Line 28. *rbt* [*ribbatu*] “myriad”, pl. *rbbt* [*ribabātu*].

Text 7 (KTU² 1.4 III,13-35)

(13) *'y¹qm . w ywptn . b tk*

(14) *'pḫ¹r . bn . 'ilm . štt*

- (15) $\phi[g]$ Γ^1 . b \underline{tlhny} . $q\dot{lt}$
 (16) $\Gamma^1 b^1$ ks . $\text{'i}\check{s}y\dot{nh}$
 (17) $\Gamma^1 b^1 m$. \underline{tn} . $db\dot{h}m$. $\check{S}n^a$. $b^c l$. \underline{ilt}
 (18) rkb . 'rpt . $db\dot{h}$
 (19) $b\dot{tt}$. w $db\dot{h}$ > . w $db\dot{h}$ <
 (20) $\Gamma^1 d^1 nt$. w $db\dot{h}$. $tdmm$
 (21) 'amht . k bh . $b\dot{tt}$. l $tb\dot{t}$
 (22) w bh . $tdmmt$. 'amht
 (23) $\text{'a}\check{r}$. $m\acute{g}y$. $\text{'a}^1 iyn$. $b^c l$
 (24) $m\acute{g}yt$. $b\dot{ilt}$. 'nt
 (25) $tmgnn$. $r\dot{bt}$ [.] $\Gamma^1 a^1 trt$ ym
 (26) $t\acute{g}zyn$. $qny\dot{t}$ 'ilm
 (27) w $\acute{e}n$. $r\dot{bt}$. $\text{'a}trt$ ym
 (28) 'ik . $tmgnn$. $r\dot{bt}$
 (29) $\text{'a}trt$. ym . $t\acute{g}zyn$
 (30) $qny\dot{t}$. 'ilm . $mgn\dot{t}m$
 (31) \underline{tr} . 'il . d $p^c id$. hm . $\acute{g}z\dot{t}m$
 (32) bny . $bnwt$ w $\acute{e}n$
 (33) $\Gamma^1 b^1 tlt$. 'nt . $nmgn$
 (34) $\Gamma^1 k^1 m$. $r\dot{bt}$. $\text{'a}trt$. ym
 (35) $[n]\Gamma^1 \acute{g}z^1$. $qny\dot{t}$. 'ilm

NOTES

- Line 13. *QWM* “to rise, to stand” (G); *WPT* “to spit” (D); *b tk* [*bi-tōki*] “in the midst of”.
- Line 14. *phr* [*puhru*] “assembly, council”; *ŠTY* “to drink” (G).
- Line 15. *tlhn* [*tuḥānu/talḥānu*] “table”; *qlt* [*qalātu?*] “shame(?)”.
- Line 16. *ks* [*kāsu*] “cup”.
- Line 17. *bm* [*binā*] “in the very . . .”, “behold(?)” (*KTU*² reads $\Gamma^1 d^1 m$); *tn* [*tinā*] “second, two”; *dbḥ* [*dabḥu*] “sacrifice”; *ŠN* “to hate” (G); *b^cl* [*ba^clu*] “Baal”; *ilt* [*talātu*] “three”.
- Line 18. *rkb* *rpt* [*rākibu urpātu*] “Rider of the Clouds”, an epithet of Baal, cf. Biblical Hebrew רִכָּב בְּעַרְבוֹת (Ps. 68:5).
- Line 19. *btt* [*buḥ(a)tu/bāḥ(a)tu*] “shame, shamefulness”.
- Line 20. *dnt* [*dinātu?*] “fornication, shame(?)”; *tdmm* [*tadmimu/tadmamu/tadmumu*] “intrigue(?)”.
- Line 21. 'amt ['am(a)tu] “handmaiden”, pl. 'amht ['amahātu]; *l* [*lū/lā*] “verily, surely”; *NBT* “to behold” (G), perhaps passive, “to be seen” (Gp).

- Line 23. 'ahr [ʾahra/ʾahrē] “afterwards”; MGY “to arrive” (G or D);
ʾalʾiyn bʿl [ʾalʾiyanu Baʿlu] “Mighty Baal”.
- Line 24. bilt [batūk(a)tu] “virgin”, epithet of Anat; 'nt [ʾAnatu] DN.
- Line 26. GZY “to honor, to entreat” (G or D).
- Line 27. 'NY “to answer” (G).
- Line 28. 'ik [ʾēka] “how” or “how is it?”
- Line 31. tr [tōru] “bull, ox, steer”, epithet of El; d [dū] “of”; pʾid
[paʾidu?] “merciful”, “he who is merciful”, epithet of El; hm
[him(ma)] “if, or”.
- Line 32. bny bnwt [bāniyu banūwāti] “Creator of Creatures”, an epithet
of El.
- Line 34. km [kamā/kimā] “like”.

Text 8 (KTU² 1.4 IV,5-62)

- (5) šmd . p̄hl . ʾs̄¹[t . ḡpnm . dt̄]
 (6) ksp . dt . yr¹q¹ [. nq̄bnm]
 (7) 'db . ḡpn . 'atn¹t¹[y]
 (8) yšm^c . qd<š> . w 'amr[r̄]
 (9) mdl . 'r . šmd . p̄hl
 (10) št . ḡpnm . dt . ksp
 (11) dt . yrq . nq̄bnm
 (12) 'db . ḡpn . 'atnth
 (13) yhbq . qdš . w 'amrr
 (14) yštn . 'atrt . l bmt . 'r
 (15) l ysmsmt . bmt . p̄hl
 (16) qdš . y'uhdm . šb'r
 (17) 'amrr . k kbkb . l p̄nm
 (18) 'atr . bilt . 'nt
 (19) w b'l . tb^c . mrym . špn
 (20) 'idk . l ttn . p̄nm
 (21) 'm . 'il . mbk . nhrm
 (22) qrb . 'apq . thmtm
 (23) tgly . dd . 'il . w tb'u
 (24) qrs . mlk . 'ab . šnm
 (25) l p'n . 'il . thbr . w tq̄l
 (26) tšthwy . w tkbdh
 (27) hlm . 'il . k yphnh
 (28) yprq . lšb . w yšhq
 (29) p'nh . l hdm . yipd . ʾw¹ ʾy¹krkr

- (30) 'u**š**b' th . y**š**' u . gh . w y'^f s'¹ [h]
 (31) 'ik . m**g**yt . rbt . 'a**l**' r'¹ [t . y] m
 (32) 'ik . 'atwt . q**ny**t . 'i [lm]
 (33) r**g**b . r**g**bt . w 't**g**' [r]
 (34) hm . **g**m' u . **g**m' il . w 'c' s'¹ [t]
 (35) l**h**m . hm . š**ty**m . 'h'¹ [m]
 (36) b il**h**nt . l**h**m št
 (37) b k**r**pnm . yn . b k<s> . h'^f r'^s¹
 (38) dm . 'sm . hm . yd . 'il 'mlk'¹
 (39) y**h**ssk . 'abht . tr . t'^f rr'¹ k
 (40) w t'n . rbt . 'a**tr**t ym
 (41) t**h**mk . 'il . h**k**m . h**k**mt
 (42) 'm 'lm . h**yt** . h**z**t
 (43) t**h**mk . mlkn . 'a**l**' i'y [n .] 'b'¹ l
 (44) t**p**tn . w 'in . d 'lnh
 (45) k**l**ny'n . 'q'¹ [š] 'h'¹ . 'nb'¹ [ln]
 (46) k**l**ny'^f n'¹ [.] 'nb'¹ l . ksh
 (47) [an]y [.] 'l' 'y**š**h'¹ . 't'¹ r 'il . 'abh
 (48) [a]'¹ l' . mlk . d ykn**h** . y**š**h
 (49) 'a**l**' rt . w b**nh** . 'ilt . w š**br**t
 (50) 'a'¹ r**yh** . wn . 'in . bt . l b'^f l'¹
 (51) 'k'¹ m . 'ilm . w h**z**r . k bn . 'a**tr**t
 (52) m**ib** 'il . m**z**ll . b**nh**
 (53) 'm**ib**' [.] rbt . 'a**tr**t . ym
 (54) m'^f t**b**' . klt [.] k**ny**t
 (55) m**ib** . p**dry** . bt . 'ar
 (56) m**z**ll . t**ly** . bt rb
 (57) m**ib** . 'ars<y> . bt y'^c bdr
 (58) w y'n l**tp**n 'il d p'ⁱ d'¹
 (59) 'p'¹ 'bd . 'an . 'nn . 'a**tr**t
 (60) 'p'¹ 'bd . 'ank . 'a'^f t'¹ d . 'u'^f l'¹ t'¹
 (61) hm . 'amt . 'a**l**' r'¹ t . t**l**b'^f n'¹
 (62) l**bn**t . y**bn** . bt . l b'¹ l

NOTES

- Line 5. *SMD* “to harness (G?)”; *p^hl* [*pahlu/puhālu*] “young ass”; *g^pnm* [*ga^p(a)nūma?* or *ga^p(a)nāma/i?*] “harness(?)”; *dt* [*dūtu*] “of, belonging to”.
- Line 6. *yrq* [*yarqu/yarūq(q)u?*] “yellow (gold)”; *nq^bnm* [*naqbānūma* or

- naqbā-nām/i(?)* “reins, straps(?)”, others interpret “mines”.
- Line 7. *'DB* “to prepare” (G); *'atnt* [*'atānatu/'atānātu*] “she ass(es)”.
- Line 8. *ŠM'* “to hear (G); *qdš w 'amrr* [*Qudšu wa-'Amrru?*] names of two(?) divine servants of Ashera (perhaps double name of one personage).
- Line 9. *MDL* “to harness, to strap up” (G or D); *'r* [*'ēru*] “(young) ass”.
- Line 10. *HBQ* “to hug, embrace” (D).
- Line 14. *bmt* [*bam(a)tu*] “back, rib cage”.
- Line 15. *ysmsmt* [*yasamsantu(?)*] “beauty” (feminine adjective).
- Line 16. *'HD* “to grasp, to take” (G); *B'R* “to lead, to enlighten” (Š), perhaps *šb'r* is a noun meaning “torch”.
- Line 17. *kbkb* [*kabkabu*] “star”; *l pnm* [*le-panīma*] “forward, in front”.
- Line 18. *'atr* [*'atra*] “from behind”.
- Line 19. *TB'* “to leave, depart” (G); *mrym* [*maryāmu*] “height(s)”; *špn* [*šapānu*] “north”.
- Line 20. *'idk* [*'iddaka*] “then”; *YTN pnm* “to turn the face”, “to turn towards” (G).
- Line 21. *'m* [*'imma*] “to, towards” (preposition); *mbk* [*mabbaku*] “source of a stream”; *nhr* [*nah(a)ru*] “river”.
- Line 22. *qrb* [*qirbu/qirba*] “within, in the midst of”; *'apq* [*'apīqu*] “stream”; *thmtm* [*tahāmātām/i*] “the two deeps” (the proposed reconstruction is based on the syllabic attestation: *ta-a-ma-tu₄* [*tahāmatu*] “deep, primordial sea” [*Ug* 5 137 III,34]).
- Line 23. *GLY* “to leave”, or “to approach to within sight” (G or D?); *dd* [*dadu*] “abode(?)”, “tent(?)”, “mountain(?)”; *BW'* (or: *BĀ'?*) “to come”.
- Line 24. *qrš* [*qaršu(?)*] “abode(?)”; *mlk* [*malku*] “king”; *'ab* [*'abu*] “father”; *šnm* [*šanūma*] “years” (singular: *šnt* [*šanatu*]); others take *šnm* as a proper noun.
- Line 25. *HBR* “to bow down” (G).
- Line 26. *H'WY* “to do obeisance” (Št); some see this as *ŠHY* (Gt) (cf. *supra*, p. 171); *KBD* “to honor” (D).
- Line 27. *hlm* [*halumma?*] “when”; *k* [*kā*] “thus, verily”; *PHY* “to see” (G).
- Line 28. *PRQ* “to open(?)” (G or D); *lšb* [*lišbu*] “opening between the lips(?)”; *ŠHQ* “to laugh” (G).
- Line 29. *hmd* [*hidāmu*] “footstool”; *TPD* “to put, place” (G) (cf. Biblical Hebrew root פתש); *KRKR* “to entwine (the fingers)” or “to twiddle (the fingers)”.
- Line 30. *'ušt't* [*'uštū'ātu(?)*] “fingers”; *MŠ'* “to raise, lift up” (G); *g* [*gū*]

- “voice”; *ṢWH/ṢYH* “to call, to shout” (G).
- Line 31. *MĠY* “to reach, arrive” (G or D).
- Line 32. *ʾTW* “to come” (G).
- Line 33. *RĠB* “to hunger, be hungry” (G).
- Line 34. *ĠMP* “to thirst, be thirsty” (G).
- Line 35. *LĦM* “to eat” (G).
- Line 37. *kṛpn* [*karpānu*] “bowl”.
- Line 38. *dm ʿsm* [*damu ʿiṣṣīma*] “the blood of trees” (parallel to *yn* [*yēnu*] “wine”); cf. Biblical Hebrew עֵנַב־רֵם (Gen. 49:11) also parallel to יָיִן “wine”; *yd* [*yaddu*] “affection, love” (from the root *YDD*).
- Line 39. *ḤSS* “to excite, to incite” (D or L); *ʾahbt* [*ʾahabu/ʾahbatu*] “love”; *ʾWR* “to arouse” (L).
- Line 41. *ḤKM* “to be wise” (G); or adjective *ḥkm* “wise”; *ʿm* [*ʿimma*] “to, towards”.
- Line 42. *ʿlm* [*ʿalamu*] “world, eternity”; *ḤYY* “to live” (G), “to give life” (D); *ḥzt* [*ḥizzatu(?)*] “good fortune”.
- Line 44. *ḥḫt* [*ḥḫiḫu*] “judge, ruler”; *ʿlnh* [*ʿalēn(n)ahū/ʿalan(n)ahū*] “on him”.
- Lines 45-46. Obscure lines
- Line 47. *ʾany* [?] “moan(?)” or perhaps “loudly”.
- Line 48. *KWN* “to be” (G), “to establish” (L).
- Line 49. *ʾilt* [*ʾil(a)tu*] “goddess”; *ṣbrt* [*ṣibbir(a)tu*] “group, band”.
- Line 50. *ʾary* [?] “associate, relative, kinsman”; *wn* [?] “and behold(?)”, cf. *w hn* [*wa-hinnī*]; *bt* [*bētu*] “house”.
- Line 51. *ḥzr* [*ḥaziru*] “court(yard)”.
- Line 58. *ḥḫn* [*ḥḫiḫānu(?)*] “compassionate, gracious”, epithet of El.
- Line 59. *ʿbd* [*ʿabdu*] “slave, servant”; *ʾan* [*ʾanā*] “I”; *ʿnn* [*ʿōnānu*] “servant”, or “follower(?)”.
- Line 60. *ʾahd* *ʾult* obscure; *ʾahd* is probably from the verb *ʾHD* “to grasp, hold” (G) and *ʾult* [?] may be “an implement for building”.
- Line 61. *ʾamt* [*ʾam(a)tu*] “handmaiden”; *LBN* “to make bricks” (G or D).
- Line 62. *bnt* [*labinātu*] “bricks”; *BNY* “to build” (here Gp or N).

Text 9 (*KTU*² 1.4 V,1-65)

- (1) *km . ʾilm . w ḥzr . k bn . ʾaḥrt*
- (2) *w ʿn . rbt . ʾaḥrt ym*
- (3) *rbt . ʾilm . l ḥkmt*

- (4) šbt . dqnk . l tsrk
 (5) rĥn > n < t(?) . d' i' . l 'irtk
 (6) wn 'ap . 'dn . m'rt
 (7) b'l . y' dn . 'dn . tkt . b glt
 (8) w tn . qlh . b 'rpt
 (9) šrh . l 'arš . brqm
 (10) bt . 'arzm . ykllnh
 (11) hm . bt . lbn^f i' . 'y¹ c' msnh
 (12) l yrgm . l 'a^f i' y¹ b' l
 (13) šh . ĥrn . b bh^t (!) k
 (14) 'dbt . b qrb . hklk
 (15) tblk . ġrm . m' id . ksp .
 (16) gb' m . mĥmd . ĥrš
 (17) yblk . 'udr . 'ilqsm
 (18) w bn . bht . ksp . w ĥrš
 (19) bht . ĥrm . 'iqn' im
 (20) šmĥ . btlt . 'nt . tš' s
 (21) p' nm . w tr . 'arš
 (22) 'idk . l ttn . pnm
 (23) 'm . b' l . mrym . špn
 (24) b 'alp . šd . rbt . kmn
 (25) šhq . btlt . 'nt . tš' u
 (26) gh . w tšh . tbšr b' l
 (27) bšrtk . yblt . y^f tn¹
 (28) bt . lk . km . 'ahk . w ĥzr
 (29) km . 'aryk . šh . ĥrn
 (30) b bh^t . 'dbt . b qrb
 (31) hklk . tblk . ġrm
 (32) m' id . ksp . gb' m . mĥmd
 (33) ĥrš . w bn . bht . ksp
 (34) w ĥrš . bht . ĥrm
 (35) 'iqn' im . šmĥ . 'a^f i' yn
 (36) b' l . šh . ĥrn . b bh^t
 (37) 'dbt . b qrb hklh
 (38) yblnn . ġrm . m' id . ksp
 (39) gb' m . ĥmd . ĥrš
 (40) yblnn . 'udr . 'ilqsm
 (41) y < l > ' ak . l ktr . w ĥss
 (42) w t^b l mspr .. k i^f akn
 (43) ġlmm

- (44) 'a_hr . m_gy k_{tr} . w h_{ss}
 (45) š_t . 'a_lp . q_dm_h . m_r'_a
 (46) w tk . p_{nh} . t' d_b . k_s'_u
 (47) w y_{ttb} . l y_{mn} . 'a_l'_{iy_n}
 (48) b' l . 'd . l_{hm} . s'_f t_y¹ [. 'i_{lm}]
 (49) [w]¹ y¹ n . 'a¹ l¹ ['iy_n . b' l]
 (50) [hl] l¹ b¹ c . 'k¹ [t_r w h_{ss}]
 (51) 'h_s¹ . b_{htm} . [t]¹ b¹ [nn]
 (52) h_s¹ . r_{mm} . h_k [lm]
 (53) h_s¹ . b_{htm} . t_b¹ n¹ [n]
 (54) h_s¹ . t_r m_{mn} . h¹ k¹ [lm]
 (55) b tk . s_rr_t . s_pn
 (56) 'a_lp . š_d . 'a_hd b_t
 (57) r_bt . k_{mn} . h_{kl}
 (58) 'w¹ y¹ n . k_{tr} . w h_{ss}
 (59) 's¹ m¹ c . l 'a_l'_{iy_n} . b' l
 (60) b_n . l r_{kb} . 'r_pt
 (61) b_l . 'a_{št} . 'u_rb_t . b b¹ h¹ [tm]
 (62) h_{ln} . b q_{rb} . h_{klm}
 (63) w y¹ n . 'a_l'_{iy_n} b¹ l¹
 (64) 'a_l . i_{št} . 'u_rb_t . b [b_{htm}]
 (65) [hl]¹ n¹ . b q¹ r¹ b . h_k [lm]

NOTES

- Line 1. *km* [kamā/kimā] “as, like”.
 Line 3. *RBB* “to be much, many” (G); *l* [lū/la] “may it be, verily”.
 Line 4. *šbt* [šib(a)tu] “old age”; *dqn* [daqanu] “beard”; *WSR* “to instruct, enjoin, exhort, admonish” (G or D).
 Line 5. *r_{hn}>n<t* [?]—obscure word; *'irt* ['ir(a)tu] “breast, chest” (cf. Akkadian *irtu* and Biblical Hebrew יִרְתָּ with metathesis).
 Line 6. *wn* [?] (< *w hn*) “and behold”; *dn* ['iddānu as in Aramaic or 'adannu as in Akkadian] “time, era, period”, perhaps here “season”; *m_r* [ma_{taru}/mi_{taru}(?)] “rain”.
 Line 7. '*DN* “to set a time” (G or D); *tkt* [?] obscure; *gl_t* [gal_{tu}?] “snow(?)” with metathesis (cf. Arabic *talj* and Biblical Hebrew תִּלְוֹ).
 Line 8. *YTN* “to give” (G) and here *wtn* [wātīnu] (< *wa-yatīnu*) “(Baal) gives”; *ql* [qālu/qōlu] “voice”; *'rpt* ['urpātu] “clouds”.
 Line 9. *ŠRH* “to glow(?)” “to flash(?)” (G or D), cf. Biblical Hebrew

וַיִּזְרַח אֵת כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת־עַל־כַּנְפוֹת הַרְרָיִם; "He flashed it under the whole heaven, and his lightning unto the ends of the earth" (Job 37:3); *'arṣ* [*'arṣu*] "earth, land"; *brq* [*bar(a)qu*] "lightening".

- Line 10. *'arz* [*'arzu*] "cedar" (pl. *'arzm* [*'ar(a)zūma*]); *KLL* "to complete" (D or L).
- Line 11. *'MS* "to load", "to erect (a house)" (D).
- Line 13. *ḥrn* [?] "planks (of wood)(?)"; others interpret: "caravans" (cf. Akkadian *ḥarrānu*).
- Line 14. *'dbr* [?] obscure in parallel to the equally obscure *ḥrn* (some interpret: "weeds, plants" and compare Biblical Hebrew עֵשֶׂב plant); *hkl* [*hēkalu*] "palace".
- Line 15. *YBL* "to bring, deliver" (G); *ḡr* [*ḡūru*] "mountain".
- Line 16. *gb'* [*gab'u*] "hill" (pl. *gb'm* [*gab(a)ūma*]; *mḥmd* [*maḥmadu*] "desirable thing".
- Line 17. *'udr* [?] "quarry(?)"; some compare Akkadian *udru* "camel"; *'ilqsm* [?] "precious stones".
- Line 18. *BNY* "to build (G); *bn* [*banā*] (< *banāyu*), absolute infinitive as predicate; *bht* [*bahātī*] "houses of" (construct of plural *bhṭm*).
- Line 19. *ṭhr* [*tuhūru*] "pure" (pl. *ṭhrm* [*tuhūrūma*]); some take this form as plural construct with enclitic *mem* (cf. *supra*, p. 193); *'iqn'u* [*'iqnū'u*/*'iqnū'u*] "lapis lazuli".
- Line 20. *D'S* "to stamp (with the foot)(?)" (G?), cf. Aramaic דָּעַד.
- Line 21. *p'nm* [*pa'nāma/i*] "feet" (du.); *TWR* "to travel around" (G), some interpret "to return" in the light of Akkadian *tāru*. The form here is an absolute infinitive, [*tāru*].
- Line 24. *'alp* [*'alpu*] "thousand"; *šd* [*šadū*] "field"; *rbt* [*ribbatu*] "myriad"; *kmn* [*kumānu*] measure of area, perhaps also of distance.
- Line 26. *BŠR* "to bring good tidings" (tD "to be informed of good tidings"); *tbšr* [*tabaššir*/*tabaššar*] "receive good news!" (2nd m.s. imperative).
- Line 27. *bšrt* [*bašūr(a)tu?*/*buššurtu?*] "good tidings"; *ytn* [*yūtanu?*] 3rd m.s. "it will be given" (Gp) or 3rd m.pl. [*yatinū*] "they will give" (G).
- Line 39. *ḥmd* variant of *mḥmd* [*maḥmadu*] "delightful thing", perhaps the form is a scribal error and should be corrected to *m!ḥmd*.
- Line 41. *LK* "to send" (G).
- Line 42. *TWB* "to return" (G); *mspr* [*masparu*] "number, measure" or [*musapparu*] "narrative, thing recounted"; *t!akn* [*tu!akānū*] 3rd m.du. "(the two lads) are being sent" (Gp) or 3rd m.pl.

- [*ti'akūna*] “they are sending (the two lads)”.
- Line 43. *glnm* [*galmāma/i* or *gulamāma/i*] “the two lads”.
- Line 45. *'alp* [*alpu*] “ox, steer”; *qdm* [*qudāma*] “before”; *mr'a* [*mar'a*] “fatted ox, fatling” (acc.); *'DB* “to prepare” (G) and here *ʿdb* [*tu'dab*] “(Gp)” or [*ti'adib*] (N); *ks'u* [*kuss'u/kissi'u*] “chair” (s.f.).
- Line 46. *YTB* “to sit” (G), “to seat” (Š), here [*yatōtab/yutōtab*] “he was seated” (Šp) or less likely [*yatōtibū/yutōtibū*] “they seated (him)” (Š); *ymn* [*yamīnu*] “right (hand)”.
- Line 51. *hš* [*hīs?*] “hurry, hasten!”
- Line 52. *RWM* “to raise up, erect (a house)” (L).
- Line 55. *šrt* [?] “the heights(?)”.
- Line 59. *l* [*lū/la*] “O!” (vocative particle).
- Line 60. *BYN* “to understand” (G).
- Line 61. *bl* [*bal*] “not” or “verily”; *'urbt* [*'urub(b)atu*] “window, transom”.
- Line 62. *hln* [*hallānu?*] “window”.
- Line 64. *'al* [*'al*] “don't” or “verily”.

Text 10 (KTU² 1.5 I,1-16)

- (1) *k tmhš . ltn . bīn . brh*
- (2) *tkly . bīn . 'qltn*
- (3) *šlyt . d . šb't . r'ašm*
- (4) *tikh . ttrp . š'm¹m . krs*
- (5) *'ipdk . 'ank . 'isp'i . 'uṭm*
- (6) *drqm . 'amtm . l yrt*
- (7) *b nṣš . bn 'ilm . mt . b mh*
- (8) *mrt . ydd . 'il . gẓr*
- (9) *tb' . w l . ytb . 'ilm . 'idk*
- (10) *l ytn . pnm . 'm . b'l*
- (11) *mrym . špn . w y'n*
- (12) *gpn . w 'ugr . thm . bn 'i¹m¹*
- (13) *mt . hwt . ydd . bn 'il*
- (14) *ḡẓr¹ . ḡp¹ ḡnp¹ . š . nṣš . lb¹i¹m¹*
- (15) *thw . hm . brlt . 'anhr*
- (16) *b ym*

NOTES

- Line 1. *k* [*kī*] “if” or “if also”; *MHŠ* “to smite” (G); *ltn* [*Lōtānu?*] “sea dragon” (a monster, one of Baal’s enemies; cf. Biblical Hebrew לַיָּתוֹן [Isa. 27:1; Ps. 75:15]); *bṭn* [*batnu?*] “snake” (Akkadian *bašmu*, Biblical Hebrew בָּתָן [Ps 58:5]); *brḥ* [*barīhu*] “fleeing”, cf. לָרֹחַץ בְּרַח [Isa. 27:1] and Cassuto 1972:75).
- Line 2. *KLY* “to destroy” (D); *ḡltn* [*‘aqal(l)atānu?*] “writhing”.
- Line 3. *šlyt* [?] “powerful(?)”, but others derive from *LWT* “to hide” (Š); *šb’t* [*šab’atu*] “seven”; *r’iš* [*ra’šū*] “head”, pl. *r’ašm* [*ra’ašūma*].
- Line 4-6. Obscure lines; some suggestions: *TKH* “to ignite(?)” (G); *trp* “teraphim(?)”, plural construct, or from *RPY* “to be weak” (tD); *šmm* [*šamūma*] “heavens”; *KRS* “to bind(?)” (by metathesis from *RKS*); *’ipd* [*’ipādu*] “vestment”; *SP* “to eat” (G); *’uṭm* [*’uṭūma*] “bites(?)”, “demons(?)”, cf. מַשְׁחֵם [Isa. 19:3]; *MWT* “to die” (G), and here *’amtm* [*’amūtu-ma*] “I will die”; *YRD* “to descend” (G) and here *l yrt* [*lū/la yarattā*] (< *lū/la yaradtā*) “may you go down”.
- Line 7. *nḫš* [*naphšū*] “soul”; *mt* [*mōtu*] “Mōt” (deity name of the god of death); *mhmrt* [*mahmūrātu?*] “caverns” (cf. מַחְמֵרֵי הַיָּם [Ps. 140,11]).
- Line 8. *ydd* [*yadūdu/yadīdu*] “friend, beloved”; *ḡzr* [*ḡazīru?*] “warrior, soldier”.
- Line 9. *TB* “to depart” (G), thus 3rd m.du. *tb’* [*taba’ā*] “Gupānu and Ugaru departed” (though the subject might be one with a double name); *’ilm* [*’ilu-ma*] “god” (with enclitic *mem*); *TWB* “to return” (G).
- Line 12. *ḡpn w’ugr* proper names of the divine messenger(s).
- Line 13. *hwt* [*hawātu?*] “word”.
- Line 14. *lb’u* [*lab(ā)’u?*] “lion”.
- Line 15. *thw* [*tuhwū*] “wasteland”, “chaos” (according to Biblical Hebrew [Gen. 1:2 and elsewhere]), “desert” (according to Arabic); *brlt* [?] “spirit”; *’anḫr* [?] “sea horse” (cf. *nāḫiru* in Akkadian).

Text 11 (KTU² 1.5 II,1-21)

- (1) [] ¹hm
- (2) [špt . l ’a]rṣ . špt . l šmm

- (3) [yšt .]^rlšn . l kkbm . y^rrb
 (4) ^rb^ll . b kbdh . b ph . yrd
 (5) k hrr . zt . ybl . 'ars . w pr
 (6) 'sm . yr'a'un . 'al'iy . b^l
 (7) t^r . nn . rkb . 'rpt
 (8) tb^c . rgm . l bn . 'ilm . mt
 (9) tny . l ydd . 'il g^rr
 (10) thm . 'al'iy . b^l . hwet . 'al'iy
 (11) qrdm . bh^t . l bn . 'ilm mt
 (12) 'bdk . 'an . w d 'lmk
 (13) tb^c . w l . ytb . 'ilm 'idk
 (14) ^rl ^rytⁿ . ^rpⁿ<m> . 'm . bn . 'ilm . mt
 (15) tk . qrth . hm^ry . mk . ks'u
 (16) tbt<h> . h^h . 'ars . nhlth . t^sa
 (17) ghm . w tsh . thm . 'al'iy
 (18) >bn< . b^l . hwet . 'al'iy . qrdm
 (19) bh^t . bn . 'ilm . mt . 'bdk . 'an
 (20) w d 'lmk . šm^h . bn 'ilm . mt
 (21) [tn .]^rg^h . w 'a^h . 'ik . y^hhn
 (22) [b^l .] . yqr . 'un [.] hd

NOTES

- Line 2. špt [šip(a)tu] “lip”; šmm [šamūma] “heavens”.
 Line 3. lšn [lašānu] “tongue”; ^rRB “to enter” (G).
 Line 4. kbd [kabidu] “liver”, kbdh [kabiduhā] “inside her”; p [pū] “mouth”.
 Line 5. hrr [?] “cake, wafer(?)” or perhaps “scorched”; zt [zētu] “olive”; ybl [yibūlu(?)] “produce”; pr [parū/pirū(?)] “fruit”.
 Line 6. YR^r “to fear”, thus yr'a'un [yīra'unnū] “(Baal) fears him” (for other possibilities for interpreting this form, cf. *supra*, p. 13); 'al'iy [al'yānu?], an epithet of Baal, apparently means “mighty” (from LY “to overcome”). Sometimes in a short form, 'al'iy (e.g. in lines 10,18).
 Line 7. T^rT^r “to fear” (G) (as in Azatiwada, col. 2, line 4), the Citadel Inscription from Amman (line 6) and Biblical Hebrew ^rפָּחַדְתִּי (Isa. 41,10).
 Line 9. TNY “to tell, recount” (G or D).
 Line 11. qrdm [qarrādu-ma] “hero”; BH^tT “to entreat” (G or D).
 Line 12. 'an [anā] “I”.

- Line 15. *qrt* [*qarītu*] “city”; *hmy* [?] place name of Môt’s abode.
 Line 16. *mk* [?] “behold” (presentation particle). Some compare it with Egyptian *mk*; others derive it from *MWK* “to fall”.
 Line 17. *ṭbt* [*ṭib(a)tu*] “seat”; *ḥḥ* [?] ?; *nḥlt* [*naḥlatu/naḥaltu*] “inheritance”.
 Line 21. *KTU*² reads *yḥn*.
 Line 22. *QR* “to cry, call out” (G); the form has a suffix pronoun [*yiqra’ūnī*] “they call to me”.

Text 12 (*KTU*² 1.5 VI,5-31)

- (5) ṛ¹m¹ḡny
 (6) l n¹my . ṛars . ṛ¹d¹br
 (7) l ysmt . šd . šḥlmmt
 (8) mḡny . l b¹l . n¹p¹l . l ṛa
 (9) rṣ . mt . ṛa¹ṛyn . b¹l
 (10) ḥlq . zbl . b¹l . ṛars
 (11) ṛapnk . ḥṭn . ṛil
 (12) d p¹i¹d¹ . y¹r¹d . l ks¹i . yṭb
 (13) l hd¹m¹ . w l . hdm . yṭb
 (14) l ṛars . ṛys¹q . ṛmr
 (15) ṛun . l ṛ¹i¹šh . ṛpr . pḥṭt
 (16) l . qdq¹d¹h . ḥpš . yks
 (17) m¹izrtm . ḡr . b ṛabn
 (18) ydy . psltm . b y¹r¹
 (19) yhdy . ḥṭm . w d¹q¹n
 (20) yḥṭt . qn . d¹r¹h¹ [.] yḥrt
 (21) k gn . ṛap lb . k ṛmq . yḥṭt
 (22) bmt . yš¹u . gh [.] w yṣh
 (23) b¹l . mt . my . ṛim . bn
 (24) dgn . my . hmlt . ṛatr
 (25) b¹l . ṛard . b ṛars . ṛap
 (26) ṛnt . ṭtlk . w ṭsd . kl . ḡr
 (27) ṛ¹ ṛ¹k¹bd . ṛars . kl . gb¹
 (28) l ṛ¹kb¹d . šdm . tmḡ . l n¹r¹m¹[y]
 (29) [ṛars .] dbr . ysmt . šd
 (30) [šḥl]mmt . ṫ¹m¹[ḡ .] l b¹l . n¹p¹[ḏ]
 (31) [l ṛa]ṛs¹ [. ḥpš] . tks . m¹i¹z¹[rtm]

NOTES

- Line 5. *MĠY* “to arrive” (G), a dual, *mġny* “the two of us arrived”.
- Line 6. *n'm* [*nu'mu*] “pleasantness”; *dbr* [?] place name.
- Line 7. *ysmt* [?] “beauty”; *šħlmmt* [?] place name.
- Line 8. *l b'l* [*lū/la ba'lū*] “verily Baal”.
- Line 9. *MWT* “to die” (G).
- Line 10. *HLQ* “to perish” (G); *zbl* [*zibālu?*] “prince” (epithet of Baal).
- Line 11. *'apnk* [*'appūnaka?*] “then”; *ltpn* [*laṭṭpānu?*] “compassionate” (epithet of Baal).
- Line 12. *p'id* [*pa'īdu*] “merciful”.
- Line 14. *'mr* [?] “ash, dirt (?)”.
- Line 15. *'un* [*'unū*] “mourning” (from *'NY*); *'pr* [*'aparū*] “dirt”; *pltt* [?] “to groving”, “sprinkling”; cf. Biblical Hebrew עָפַר הַרְפִּקֵשׁ [הַרְפִּקֵשׁ] “grovel in the dirt” (Micah 1:10).
- Line 16. *qdqd* [*qadqadu/qudqudu*] “head, top of head”; *lps* [*lipšu/lupšu*] “clothing”; *KSY* “to cover” (D).
- Line 17. *m'izrtm* [*ma'zarātāma/i* or *ma'zar(a)tāma/i*] “double mourning garment”; *ġr* [*ġāru/ġuru?*] “skin”(?)”; *'abn* [*'abnu*] “stone”.
- Line 18. *YDY* (?) “to cut, scratch(?)”. The clause *ġr b 'abn ydy* apparently means “he lacerates (/scratches) the skin with a stone” (other proposals have been made); *psltm* [?] “sideburns, locks (of hair)”; *y'r* [?] “razor(?)”.
- Line 19. *HDY* “to cut(?)” (G); *lhm* [*lahāma/i* or *lihāma/i*] “cheeks”; *dqn* [*daqanu*] “beard”.
- Line 20. *TLT* “to pluck” (G or D), or “to plow (in three rows)”; *qn* [*qanū*] “reed” (here for “the upper arm”; cf. also Biblical Hebrew אֶרְעֵי בִקְנֵה הַשָּׂבָר [Job 31,22]); *dr* [*dīrā'u*] “arm”; *HRT* “to plow” (G).
- Line 21. *gn* [*gannu/ginnu*] “garden”; *'ap lb* [*'appa-libbi*] “chest(?)”; *'mq* [*'amqu/'imqu*] “valley”.
- Line 23. *my* [*mūya*] “who”; *'im* [*lu'mu?*] “nation”; *bn dgn* [*binu/bunu/banu Daganū*] “son of Daganu” (epithet of Baal).
- Line 24. *hmlt* [*hamūl(a)tū*] “people, masses”; *'atr* [*'atra?*] “after”, or “place”, or else “footsteps”.
- Line 26. *YLK/HLK* “to go” (G) and *Gt* “to go around”; *šWD/šYD* “to hunt” (G); *kl* [*kullu*] “all” (adverbial [*kulla*] “in all”); *ġr* [*ġūru*] “mountain”.
- Line 27. *gb'* [*gab'u*] “hill”.

Text 13 (KTU² 1.6 I,1-65)

- (1) l b^cl
- (2) ḡr . b 'ab<n> . td . ᵀpslᵀtᵀm¹ [. b y^cr]
- (3) thdy . lhm . w dqn . t[ᵀ]l[ᵀ]
- (4) qn . ḏr^ch . thrt . km . ḡ^cn¹
- (5) 'ap lb . k 'mq . tlt . bmt
- (6) b^cl . mt . my . ᵀim . bn dgn
- (7) my . hmlt . 'atr . b^cl . nrd
- (8) b 'arṣ . 'mh . trd . nrt
- (9) 'ilm . špš . 'd . tšb^c . bk
- (10) tšt . k yn . 'udm^ct . gm
- (11) tš¹h¹ . l nrt . 'ilm . špš
- (12) 'm¹s¹ . m^c . by . 'al^ciyⁿ . b^cl
- (13) tšm^c . nrt . 'ilm . špš
- (14) tš^cu . 'al^ciyⁿ . b^cl . l ktp
- (15) 'nt . k tšth . tš^clynh
- (16) b šrrt . šp>'<n . tbkynh
- (17) w tqbrnh . tštn . b ḡrt
- (18) 'ilm . 'arṣ . tḡḡ . šb^cm
- (19) r'umm . k gmn . 'al^ciyⁿ
- (20) ᵀb¹l . tḡḡ . šb^cm . 'alpm
- (21) [k] ᵀḡ¹mn . 'al^ciyⁿ . b^cl
- (22) [tḡ]ᵀb¹ḡ . šb^cm . ṣ^cin
- (23) [k ḡ]ᵀm¹n . 'al^ciyⁿ . b^cl
- (24) [tḡ]ᵀbḡ¹ . šb^cm . 'aylm
- (25) [k gmn . 'al]ᵀ^ciy¹n . b^cl
- (26) [tḡḡ . ṣ]ᵀb¹c^m . y^clm
- (27) [k gmn .] 'al^ciy . b^cl
- (28) [tḡḡ . šb^cm .] ḡmrm
- (29) [k gm]ᵀn¹ . 'al^ci¹yn [.] b^cl
- (30) [b ṣ]ᵀp¹ḡḡ . tšt bm . ['nt]
- (31) [kd . ḡ]zrh . ybm . l 'ilm
- (32) ᵀid]ᵀk¹ . l ttⁿ [.] ᵀp¹nm . 'm
- (33) ᵀi]ᵀl . mbk n¹h¹rm . qrb
- (34) ᵀa¹pq . thmtm . tḡly . ḏd
- (35) 'il . w . tb^cu . qrš .
- (36) mlk . 'ab . šnm . l p^cn
- (37) ᵀi¹l . thbr . w tqł
- (38) tšthwy . w tkbdnh

- (39) *tš'u . gh . w tšh . tšmḫ ht*
 (40) *ʾatrt . w . bnh . ʾilt . w šb*
 (41) *rt . ʾaryh . k mt . ʾalʿiyn*
 (42) *bʿl . k ḫlq . zbl . bʿl*
 (43) *ʾarš . gm . yšh ʾil*
 (44) *ʿlʿl rbt . ʾaʿlʿrʿl t ym . šmʿ*
 (45) *l rbt . ʾaʿlʿtrʿl [ʿl] ʿyʿl m . tn*
 (46) *ʾahd . b . bʿnkʿl . ʾam . lkn*
 (47) *w ʿn . rbt . ʾatrt ym*
 (48) *bl . nmlk . ydʿ . yʿl ḫʿn*
 (49) *w yʿn . lṭpn . ʾil ʿdʿl ʿpʿiʿl*
 (50) *d . dq . ʾanm . l yrʿzʿl*
 (51) *ʿm . bʿl . l yʿdb . mrḫ*
 (52) *ʿm . bn . dgn . k tmsm*
 (53) *w ʿn . rbt . ʾatrt ym*
 (54) *bli . nmlk . ʿttr . ʿrz*
 (55) *ymlk . ʿttr . ʿrz*
 (56) *ʾapnk . ʿttr . ʿrz*
 (57) *yʿl . b šrrt . špn*
 (58) *yṭb . l khṭ . ʿaʿlʿiyn*
 (59) *bʿl . pʿnh . l tmgy*
 (60) *hdm [.] rʿišh . l ymgy*
 (61) *ʾapsh . w yʿn . ʿttr . ʿrz*
 (62) *l ʾamlk . b šrrt . špn*
 (63) *yrd . ʿttr . ʿrz . yrd*
 (64) *l khṭ . ʾalʿiyn . bʿl*
 (65) *w ymlk . b ʾarš . ʾil . klh*

NOTES

- Line 1. *l bʿl* [*le-baʿli/a*] “(the series) about Baal, pertaining to Baal”.
 Line 8. *nrt* [*nūr(a)tu*] “luminary” (the Sun-goddess is called here *nrt ʿilm* [*nūr(a)tu ʿilma*] “luminary of the gods”).
 Line 9. *špš* [*šapšū*] “the Sun-goddess; ‘d [*ʿad(ē)?*] “until, as far as” (preposition); *šBʿ* “to be satiated, satisfied” (G); *bk* [*bikū/bakū*] “weeping”.
 Line 10. *šTY* “to drink” (G); *yn* [*yēnu*] “wine”; *ʾudmʿt* [*ʾudmuʿātu?*] “tears”; *gm* [*gāma*] “loudly”; *mʿ* [*māʿ*] particle accompanying imperatives like Hebrew *נָּ*.
 Line 14. *ktp* [*kat(i)pu*] “shoulder”.

- Line 15. *k* [*kā*] “verily, surely”; ‘*LY* “to ascend” (G), “to raise, elevate” (Š).
- Line 16. *BKY* “to weep” (G), perhaps D stem here.
- Line 17. *QBR* “to bury” (G); *hrt* [*hirūtu*] “grave, cemetery” (cf. the syllabic attestation *É* \ *hi-ri-ti* [*PRU* III, p. 52,17]).
- Line 18. *ṬBH* “to slaughter” (G); *šb^cm* [*šab(a)ūma*] “seventy”.
- Line 19. *r^cumm* [?] “buffaloes”; *gmn* [?] “funerary offering” (perhaps to revive the dead). Perhaps related to Biblical Hebrew *גמול* “compensation” (Isa. 59:18).
- Line 20. *’alp* [*’alpu*] “ox, steer”, pl. *’alpm* [*’al(a)pūma*].
- Line 22. *š^cin* [*ša^cnu*] “small cattle”.
- Line 24. *’ayl* [*’ayyalu*] “deer, buck”, pl. *’aylm* [*’ayyalūma*].
- Line 26. *y^cl* [*ya^cilu*] “wild goat”, pl. *y^clm* [*ya^cilūma*].
- Line 28. *hmr* [*himāru*] “ass”, pl. *h^cmm* [*himārūma*] (*KTU*² reads [*y*]h^cmm “roe bucks”).
- Lines 30-31. Obscure lines.
- Line 39. *ht* [*hitta?*] (< *hinta?*) “now”.
- Line 42. *b^cl* [*ba^clu*] “lord”, “Baal”.
- Line 44. *l[ū/la]* “O” (vocative particle).
- Line 45. *YIN* “to give” (G).
- Line 46. *’ahd* [*ah(h)adu*] “one”; *b* [*bi-*] “from”; *MLK* “to reign” (G) or “to cause to reign” (D or G).
- Line 48. *y^c y^hln* [?] personal divine name(?) (perhaps “who knows and is wise”).
- Line 50. *dq* [*daqqu?*] literally “thin”, and here “weak”; *’anm* [*’anūma?*] “strengths”; others interpret “now” like Akkadian *anūma* (*TO* I, p. 256) but this suggestion is hardly convincing; *RWZ* “to run” (G).
- Line 51. ‘*DB* “to arrange, to use” (G); *mrh* [*murhu*] “spear” (also in Late Egyptian *mrh*, cf. Sivan and Cochavy Rainey 1992: 27; cf. also Biblical Hebrew *רֹמַח* [Num. 25:7] apparently with metathesis).
- Line 52. *tmsm* [?] — obscure word.
- Line 54. *blt* [*balūz/bilū*] “not”, “no”, or “verily”; *’tr* [*’Attaru*] DN, male counterpart of Ištar/Astart, written *עשור* in Moabite (Mesha^c Inscription, line 17) and in Phoenician (cf. Bentz 1972:385-386); *’rz* [*’arrīzu*] “terrible”.
- Line 58. *khū* [*kahtū*] “throne” (cf. the syllabic attestation in *EA* 120:18, *ka-ah-šū*).
- Line 60. *’aps* [*’apsu*] “extremity” (cf. Biblical Hebrew *אֶפְסוֹתָיִם* [Deut. 33:17]).

Text 14 (KTU² 1.6 II,6-37)

- (6) *tngth . k l^lb¹ . l¹ar¹[l]*
 (7) *l¹glh . k . lb . l¹a[t]*
 (8) *l¹imrh . km . lb . l¹n¹[t]*
 (9) *atr . b^l . l¹ihd . m¹t¹*
 (10) *b s¹in . lps¹ . ts¹sq¹n¹[h]*
 (11) *b qš . a¹ll . t¹u . gh . w¹t¹[š]*
 (12) *h . a¹t . mt . tn . a¹ky*
 (13) *w¹n . l¹b¹n . a¹ilm . mt . mh*
 (14) *l¹aršn . l¹bilt . nt*
 (15) *a¹n . a¹ilk . w¹asd . kl*
 (16) *gr . l¹kbd . arš . kl . gb¹*
 (17) *l¹kbd . šdm . nps¹ . h¹s¹rt*
 (18) *bn . nšm . nps¹ . hmlt .*
 (19) *arš . mgt . l¹n¹my . arš*
 (20) *dbr . ysmt . šd . šhlmmt*
 (21) *ngš . ank . a¹l¹yn . b^l*
 (22) *dbnn ank . <k> imr . b¹py*
 (23) *k l¹i . b¹tbrn q<n>y . h¹t¹u hw*
 (24) *nrt . il¹m¹ . šps¹ . šhrt*
 (25) *l¹a . šnm . b¹yd . bn a¹ilm . mt*
 (26) *ym . ymm . y¹tqn . l¹ymm*
 (27) *l¹yr¹h¹m . rhm . nt . tngth*
 (28) *k lb . arh . l¹glh . k lb*
 (29) *l¹at . l¹imrh . km . lb*
 (30) *nt . atr . b^l . l¹ihd*
 (31) *bn . a¹ilm . mt . b¹hrb*
 (32) *tbq¹nn . b¹h¹ur . tdry*
 (33) *nn . b¹išt . tšrpn*
 (34) *b¹rh¹m . tth¹nn . b¹šd*
 (35) *tdr¹ . nn . š¹irh . l¹l¹ikl*
 (36) *š¹rm¹ . mnth . l¹tkly*
 (37) *npr[m] . š¹ir . l¹š¹ir . yšh*

NOTES

Line 6. *NGT* “to seek” or “to draw near” (D); *lb* [*libbu*] “heart” *arh* [*arhu*] “cow”.

Line 7. *gl* [*iglu*] “calf”; *t¹at* [*ta¹tu*] “ewe”.

- Line 8. 'imr [*'immiru/'immaru*] "lamb".
- Line 9. 'atr [*'atra?*] "after", "towards".
- Line 10. s'in [*su'nu?*] "hem, (of "shoe"?)"; *ŠWQ* "to seize, to press" (Š).
- Line 11. qš [*qasū*] "edge", "extremity", but others interpret as derived from *QŠŠ* "to cut off"; 'all [?] a type or garment.
- Line 13. mh [*mah*] "what".
- Line 14. 'RŠ "to seek, request" (G or D).
- Line 17. *HSR* "to be lacking" (G); "to remove, carry off" (D).
- Line 18. nšm [*našūma*] "people".
- Line 21. *NGŠ* "to gnaw", "to subdue" (cf. the Biblical Hebrew root נגש), but others interpret "to approach, to meet" (Gordon 1965:441) or "to bite, to eat" (Ginsberg 1936:150); 'ank [*'anākū*] "I".
- Line 23. l'u [*lal(i)'u?*] "lamb"; tbrn [*tubrānu/tabrānu*] "opening, tear"; qn [*qanū*] "reed", "tube (of the throat)"; *HT* "to disappear" (G), and here the form is an absolute infinitive in predicative function; some interpret "to conquer" and take the form as Gp participle, "he is conquered"; hw [*huwa*] "he".
- Line 24. *ŠHRR* "to burn, to blaze" (D?) or "to turn white" (D?).
- Line 25. *L'Y* "to become weak", or "to overcome" (G) and here the form *l'a* [*la'ā*] (< *la'āyu*) is absolute infinitive as predicate.
- Line 26. ym [*yōmu*] "day", pl. ymm [*yōmūma*]; *TQ* "to pass", to pass by" (G).
- Line 27. yrh [*yar(i)hu*] "month", and the expression *l ymm l yrhm* "from days to months"; rhm [*rahmu*] "girl, lass" (cf. רחם רחמים לראש נבר one or two girls for each man" [Judg. 5:30]), the combination *rhm 'nt* [*rahmu 'Anatu*] parallels *bilt 'nt* [*batūl(a)tu 'Anatu*] "the Virgin Anat".
- Line 31. hrb [*harbu*] "sword".
- Line 32. *BQ* "to cleave" (D or perhaps G); htr [?] "winnowing fork", and cf. *HSR* "to sift" in Mishnaic Hebrew (cf. Jastrow 1971: 511b); *DRY* "to scatter, strew" (G).
- Line 33. 'išt [*'iš(š)ātu*] "fire"; *ŠRP* "to burn" (G).
- Line 34. rhm [*rihāma/i*] "grind stones"; *THN* "to grind" (G); *DR* "to sow" (G).
- Line 35. š'ir [*šā'ru/šī'ru*] "remains, remnants", though some prefer the meaning "flesh", that word is written *š'ir* or *š'ar*; *KL* "to eat" (G).
- Line 36. 'sr [*'iššūru*] "bird"; mnt [*manētu/manātu*] (< *manaytu/manayatu*) "form, shape" as in Akkadian.
- Line 37. npr [*nappāru?*] a type of fowl(?).

Text 15 (KTU² 1.6 III,1-24)

- (1) *k* ¹*hlq*¹ . ¹*zb*¹[*l* . *b*¹*l* . ¹*ars*]
 (2) *w hm* . *hy* . ¹*a*[¹*P**iy**n* . *b*¹*l*]
 (3) *w hm* . ¹*it* . *zbl* . *b*¹[*l* . ¹*ars*]
 (4) *b hlm* . *ltpn* . ¹*il* . *d p*¹*id*
 (5) *b drt* . *bny* . *bnwt*
 (6) *šmm* . ¹*m*¹*n* . *tmtrn*
 (7) *nḥlm* . *tlk* . *nbtm*
 (8) *w* ¹*id*¹ . *k hy* . ¹*a*[¹*P**iy**n* . ¹*b*¹*l*]
 (9) *k* ¹*it* . *zbl* . *b*¹*l* . ¹*ars*
 (10) *b hlm* . *ltpn* ¹*il* *d p*¹*id*
 (11) *b drt* . *bny* . *bnwt*
 (12) *šmm* . *šmn* . *tmtrn*
 (13) *nḥlm* . *tlk* . *nbtm*
 (14) *šmh* . *ltpn* . ¹*il* . *d p*¹*id*
 (15) *p*¹*nh* . *l hdm* . *y*¹*tpd*¹
 (16) *w yprq* . *lšb* . ¹*w*¹ *yšhq*
 (17) *y*¹*š*¹*u* . *gh* . *w yšh*
 (18) ¹*atbn* . ¹*ank* . *w* ¹*anḥ*¹*n*¹
 (19) *w tnḥ* . *b* ¹*irty* . *nṣš*
 (20) *k h*¹*y*¹ . ¹*al*¹ ¹*iy*¹*n* . *b*¹*l*
 (21) *k* ¹*it* . *zb*¹*l*¹ . *b*¹*l* . ¹*ars*
 (22) *gm* . ¹*yš*¹*h* . ¹*il* . *l bilt*
 (23) ¹*nt* . *šm*¹ . *l bilt* . ¹*n*¹*t*¹
 (24) *rg*¹*m*¹ . *l nrt* . ¹*il*<*m*> . *špš*

NOTES

Line 2. *hy* [*hayyu*] “alive”.

Line 3. ¹*it* [¹*itē*] “is” (existential particle).

Line 4. *hlm* [*hilmu/hulmu/hilāmu*] “dream”.

Line 5. *drt* [?] “vision”.

Line 6. *šmn* [*šamnu*] “oil”; *MTR* “to rain” (G or D).

Line 7. *nḥl* [*naḥlu*] “stream(bed)”, pl. *nḥlm* [*naḥ(a)lūma*]; *HLK/YLK* “to go” (G); *nbtm* [*nubtu-ma?*] “honey” (probably *t/b/p* interchange; cf. Biblical Hebrew נָבֵז).

Line 8. *YD* “to know” (G).

Line 18. *YTB* “to sit” (G).

Text 16 (KTU² 1.6 IV,1-17)

- (1) *pl . 'nt . šdm . y špš*
- (2) *pl . 'nt . šdm [.] 'i'l . yštk*
- (3) *'b¹l . 'nt . mḥrtt*
- (4) *'i'y . 'al'iyn . b'l*
- (5) *'iy . z¹b¹l . b'l . 'arš*
- (6) *tth^c . btlt . 'nt*
- (7) *'idk . l ttn . pnm*
- (8) *'m . nrt . 'ilm . špš*
- (9) *tš'u . gh . w tšh*
- (10) *tḥm . tr . 'il . 'abk*
- (11) *hwet . tḥpn . ḥtk¹k¹*
- (12) *pl . 'nt . šdm . y špš*
- (13) *pl . 'nt . šdm . 'il [.] 'yštk¹*
- (14) *b'l . 'nt . mḥr¹tth¹*
- (15) *'iy . 'al'iyn . b'l*
- (16) *'iy . zbl . b'l . 'arš*
- (17) *w t'n . nrt . 'ilm . 'špš¹*

NOTES

Line 1. Difficult line: *p l* [*pa lā*] “and not” or [*pa lū/pa la*] “verily, thus”, and others interpret in accordance to Arabic [*pallu*] “bright, shining” (Ginsberg); *'nt* [*'ēnātu?*] “springs(?)”; *y* [*yā*] “O!” (vocative particle).

Line 3. *mḥrtt* [*maḥrūt(a)tu*] “plowed (land)(?)”; in line 14 the same word may be misspelled.

Line 4. *'iy* [*'iyyī*] “where”.

Line 11. *ḥtk* [*ḥatūku/hatūku/hatiku*] “offspring”.

Text 17 (KTU² 1.6 V,1-20)

- (1) *y²iḥd . b'l . bn . 'atrt*
- (2) *rbm . ymḥš . b ktp*
- (3) *'d¹kym . ymḥš . b smd*
- (4) *š¹h¹r 'mt¹ . ym¹šh¹ . l 'arš*
- (5) *'p¹ 'y¹['l .]'b¹l . l ks'i . mlkh*
- (6) *[bn . dgn] . l kḥt . drk¹l¹h*
- (7) *'l¹ [y]'mm¹ . l 'y¹r¹h¹m . l yrḥm*

- (8) *l* ṣn¹t . ṣm¹[k] . ṣb¹ šb^c
 (9) šnt . ṣwrk¹ . ṣb¹n . ṣil¹m . mt
 (10) ṣm . ṣal¹iyⁿ . b^cl . yš^u
 (11) gh . ṣw¹ yšh . ṣlk . ṣb^cl¹m
 (12) pht . qlt . ṣlk . pht
 (13) dry . b ḥrb . ṣlk
 (14) pht . ṣšrp¹ . ṣb¹ ṣi¹t
 (15) ṣlk . [pht . tḥ]n . br¹ḥ¹
 (16) m . ṣ[lk] . ṣpht¹ [. dr]¹y¹ . ṣb¹ ṣk¹brt
 (17) ṣl¹k¹ . pht . ṣḡl¹y . []
 (18) b šdm . ṣlk¹ [.] . ṣpht¹
 (19) dr^c . b ym . ṣt¹n . ṣaḥ¹
 (20) b . ṣaḥ¹k¹ . ṣi¹sp¹a¹ . w ytb

NOTES

Line 1. *rb* [*rabbu*] “great, large”, pl. *rḅm* [*rabbūma*].

Line 3. *dkym* [*dākīyu-ma*] “oppressor(?)”, others divide the form into two words, “rage of the sea” (*TO* I, p. 265, n. c with bibliography; cf. also 𐤃𐤌𐤎 [Ps. 93:3]); *šmd* [*šamdu/šimdu*] “rod, club”.

Line 4. *šhr mt* — obscure words; some take them to mean “heat of the day” (*TO* I, p. 265), while others take *šhr* as a verbal form meaning “to fall” (Gordon). The editors of *KTU*² read one word here, namely *šgm*; *MŠH* “to kick”, “to tread down(?)”.

Line 5. *mlk* [*mulku*] “reign, rule”.

Line 6. *drkt* [*darak(a)tu/daraktu/darkatu?*] “rule”.

Line 9. ṣwrk¹, obscure word.

Line 16. *kbrt* [*kabar(a)tu?*] “sieve”.

Line 17. *ḠLY* “to bow” (G).

Line 20. *SP* “to eat” (G).

Text 18 (*KTU*² 1.2 IV,5-31)

- (5) []h/ptm . l ṣarš . ypl . ṣulny . w l . ṣpr . ṣzm¹n¹y
 (6) [b] ph . rgm . l yš¹a . b šp¹th . ḥwth . w ttn . gh . yḡr
 (7) tḥt . ks¹i . zbl . ym . w ṣn . ktr . w ḥss . l rgmt
 (8) lk . l zbl . b¹l . tnt . l rkb . ṣrpt . ht . ṣibk
 (9) b^clm . ht . ṣibk . tmḥš . ht . tšmt šrtk
 (10) tqḥ . mlk . ṣlmk . drkt . dt . drdrk

- (11) *ktr smdm . ynht . w ypr . smthm . smk 'at*
 (12) *ygrš . ygrš . grš ym grš ym . l ks'ih*
 (13) *'n¹hr l kh¹ . drkth . trtqš . bd b'l . km . nš*
 (14) *r . b 'usb'th . hlm . ktp . zbl . ym . bn ydm*
 (15) *[tp]t nhr . yrtqš . smd . bd b'l . km . nšr*
 (16) *'b¹ 'u¹šb'th . ylm . ktp . zbl ym . bn . ydm . tpt*
 (17) *'n¹hr . 'z . ym . l ymk . l tngšn [.] pnth . l ydlp*
 (18) *tmnh . ktr . smdm . ynht . w ypr . smthm*
 (19) *smk . 'at . 'aymr . 'aymr . mr . ym . mr . y^fm¹*
 (20) *l ks'ih . nhr . l kh¹ . drkth . trtqš*
 (21) *bd b'l . km . nšr b 'usb'th . hlm . qdq*
 (22) *d . zbl ym . bn . 'nm . tpt . nhr . ypršh ym*
 (23) *'w¹ yql . l 'arš . w yrtqš . smd . bd b'l*
 (24) *'km¹ [.] 'n¹šr . b 'usb'th . ylm . qdq . zbl*
 (25) *'ym¹ . bn 'nm . tpt . nhr . ypršh . ym . yql*
 (26) *l 'arš . tngšn . pnth . w ydlp . tm^fn¹h*
 (27) *yqt b'l . w yšt . ym . ykly . tpt . nhr*
 (28) *b . šm . tg^crm . 'ttrt . bt l 'al'iyⁿ . 'b¹[^c]*
 (29) *bt . l rkb . 'rpt . k šbyn . z^fb¹[l . ym . k]*
 (30) *šbyn . tpt . nhr . w yš'a . b []*
 (31) *ybt . nn . 'al'iyⁿ . b'l . w []*

NOTES

- Line 5. *NPL* “to fall” (G); *'ulny* [?] “strong, mighty(?)”; *'pr* [*'aparū*] “dirt, dust”; *'zmny* [?] “huge, mighty(?)”.
- Line 6. *YŠ* “to go out” (G): *l yš'a* [*lā yaša'a*] “he did not go out”, or [*lū/a yaša'a*] “he verily went out”; *ygr* [?] — obscure word, possibly from *GWR* “to descend”, or a noun [*yaḡru*] “confusion” (in comparison with Arabic).
- Line 7. *tht* [*tahtu/tahta?*] “beneath”; *zbl* [*zibūlu?*] “prince, noble”; *'NY* “to answer, reply” (G), the form *'n* may be [*'anā*] (< *'anāyu*), absolute infinitive as predicate or it could be 3rd m.s.; *l rgmt* [*lū/la ragamū*] “verily I said”, or [*lā ragamū*] “did I not say?”
- Line 8. *TNY* “to say, recount” (G or more likely D); *ht* [*hiitta?*] “behold” (presentation particle); *'ib* [*'zbu/'ebu*] “enemy”.
- Line 9. *b'lm* [*ba'lu-ma*] “Baal (plus enclitic mem)”; *ŠMT* “to destroy” (G or D); *šrt* [*šarratu/šarrūtu*] “oppressor(s)” (collective).
- Line 10. *LQH* “to take” (G); *mlk* [*mulku*] “rule, reign”; *drkt* [*darak(a)tu/daraktu/darkatu?*] “rule, authority”; *dt* [*dātu*] “of”, or “which”; *dr* [*dāru*] “generation”.

- Line 11. *šmd* [šamdu/šimdu] “rod, club”, here in the dual, *šmdm* [šamdāma/i or šimdāma/i]; *NHT* “to lower, bring down” (D or perhaps G); *PR* “to cry aloud” (G); *šm* [šumu] “name”.
- Line 12. *GRŠ* “to expell, drive out” (D); also from this root, the personal name *ygrš* [yagarrišu/yugarrišu] “Expeller”, and the imperative verbal form *grš* [gariš] “expell!”; *l* [le] “from”.
- Line 13. *kh̄t* [kaḫṭu] “throne, chair”; *RQS* “to swoop, fly” (Gt); *bd* [bādū] “in the hand”; *nšr* [našru/nišru] “vulture, eagle”.
- Line 14. *HLM* “to smite” (G), in the prefix conjugation, the first radical, *hé*, elides, i.e. *yhm* [yālumu:] (< *yahlumu*) “he smites” (cf. lines 16, 24). The conjugated root may be *YLM* (cf. *HLK* beside *YLK*); *ktp* [kat(i)pu] “shoulder”; *bn* [bēna] “between”; *yad* [yadu] “hand, arm”, here in the dual *ydm* [yadāma/i].
- Line 17. ‘z [‘azzu] “strong”; *MWK* “to be low(?)”; *NGS* “to shake” (G), “to be shaken” (N); *pnt* [pinnātu] “corners(?), vertebrae(?)”; *DLP* “to weaken, to agitate” (G?).
- Line 18. *tmn* [tamūnu:] “frame, form(?)”.
- Line 19. ‘aymr [?] PN; *MRR* “to remove” (G).
- Line 22. ‘n [‘ēnu] “eye”, dual here: ‘nm [‘ēnāma/i]; *PRSH* “to collapse, to cave in” (D).
- Line 27. *QIT* “to draw, drag” (G).
- Line 28. *G^cR* “to rebuke” (G), here with enclitic *mem*; ‘ttrt [‘Attartu] “Ashtart, Ashtoreth” female deity; *BWT* “to be ashamed” (G); the root is most likely bi-consonantal, *BĀT*.
- Line 29. *šby* [šabīyu/šabīyu/šabūyu] “captive”.

Text 19 (KTU² 1.14 I,1-43)

- (1) ‘l ‘kr¹t []
 (2-5)
 (6) [] d nhr . ‘umt
 (7) [krt .] ‘rw^ct . bt
 (8) [m] ‘l¹k . ‘itdb d šb^c
 (9) [‘a] ḫm . lh tmnt . bn ‘um
 (10) ‘k¹rt . ḫtkn . rš
 (11) krt . grdš . mknt
 (12) ‘att . šdqh . l ypq
 (13) mtrḫt . yšrh
 (14) ‘att . trḫ . w tb^ct
 (15) f¹ ‘a¹r ‘u¹m¹ . tkn lh

- (16) *mltt* . *ktm* . *tmt*
 (17) *mrb^ct* . *zblnm*
 (18) *mḥmšt* . *y^citsp*
 (19) *rs^fp* [.] *mtdt* . *ḡlm*
 (20) *ʿy^lm* . *ʿms^ab^cthn* . *b šlh*
 (21) *tt^fl^l* . *y^cn* . *ḥtkh*
 (22) *krt* . *ʿy^cn^l* . *ḥtkh rš*
 (23) *m^cid* . *grdš* . *tbth*
 (24) *w b* *ʿkl^lhn* . *špḥ* . *y^fʿ^ltb^d*
 (25) *w b* . *ḥyryh* . *yrt*
 (26) *y^cr^lb* . *b ḥdrh* . *ybk^y*
 (27) *b tn* . *r(?)gmm* . *w ydm^c*
 (28) *tntkn* . *ʿudm^cth*
 (29) *ʿk^lm* . *tqlm* . *ʿaršh*
 (30) *ʿk^l* *mḥmšt* . *mṯth*
 (31) *ʿbm^l* . *bkyh* . *w yšn*
 (32) *ʿb^ld^lm^ch* . *nhmmt*
 (33) *šnt* . *t^lu^can*
 (34) *w yškb* . *nhmmt*
 (35) *w ʿy^lqms* . *w b ḥlmh*
 (36) *ʿil* . *yrd* . *b ḏhrth*
 (37) *ʿ^lab^l* . *ʿa^fd^lm* . *w yqrb*
 (38) *b šal* . *krt* . *m^cat*
 (39) *krt* . *k ybk^y*
 (40) *ydm^c* . *n^cmn* . *ḡlm*
 (41) *ʿil* . *mlk* [.] *ʿt^lr* *ʿabh*
 (42) *y^carš* . *ʿh^lm* . *dr^fk^l[t]*
 (43) *ʿk^l* *ʿ^lab^l* . *ʿa^fdm^l*

NOTES

- Line 1. *l* [*le-*] “pertaining to, concerning”, and cf. *l b^cl* “pertaining to Baal” (1.6 I,1); *krt* [?] (PN of the hero of this epic, usually normalized as Keret).
 Line 6. *ʿumt* [*ummatu*] “people, nation”.
 Line 7. *ʿwt* [?], obscure form.
 Line 8. *ʿBD* “to be lost, here Gt *ʿitbd* “lost”; *šb^c* [*šab^cu*] “seven”.
 Line 9. *tmnt* [*tamānītu*] “eight”.
 Line 10. *ḥtkn* [*ḥatūkānu/ḥatīkānu/ḥatikānu?*] “heir, offspring” (cf. *ḥtk* in line 21); *RŠŠ* “to be attenuated, weakened” or *RWŠ* “to be impoverished” (G).

- Line 11. *grđš* [?] “ruined?” (on the basis of comparison with Syriac) or this form may be a noun, viz. “As for Keret, (his) place is a ruin”; *mknt* [*makânatu*] “place”.
- Line 12. *šdq* [*šidqu*] “righteousness, honesty”; *PWQ* “to find, to produce” (G) or *NPQ* “to go forth, to leave”.
- Line 13. *mīrht* [*matrūh(a)tu*/*mutarrh(a)tu*] “woman for whom the bride-price has been paid”; *yšr* [*yušru*] “honesty”.
- Line 14. *TRH* “to take a wife after the bride price is paid” (G).
- Line 15. *l'ar* [*l'a'aru?*] “flesh” (literally), apparently here in pl. construct in the meaning “offspring”, for another spelling, cf. *l'irk* (1.18, I,25); *KWN* “to be” (G).
- Line 16. *mllt* [*matla(a)tu*] “third”, but others interpret “three times”. The same applies to the other numerics in this context, viz. *mrb't* “fourth” (line 17); *mhmst* “fifth” (line 18); *mtdt* “sixth” (line 19); *mšb't* “seventh” (line 20). For more discussion on number and numerical forms, cf. *supra*, p. 94; *klym* [*kôtarūma?*] “birth gods”; their female counterparts *klyt* [*kôtarātu*/*kôtarūtu*] “birth goddesses”.
- Line 17. *zbln* [*zab(b)alānu*] “sickness, infirmity”.
- Line 18. *'SP* “to collect” (G), “to be collected” (Gt).
- Line 19. *ršp* [*rašpu*] “Resheph” (DN, a deity responsible for destruction and sickness); *GLM* “to conceal, hide(?)” (G or D), others read here “youth”.
- Line 20. *šlh* [*šilhu*] “sword”.
- Line 21. *NPL* “to fall” (usually G but apparently Gt here); *'YN* “to eye”, “to see” (G); *htk* [*hatūku*/*ḥatīku*/*ḥatiku*] “offspring” (cf. *htkn* in line 10).
- Line 24. *šph* [*šaphu?*] “heir, family”.
- Line 25. *phyr* [?] “completeness, entirety” or “assembly(?)”; *YRT* “to inherit” (G), here a participle, *yrt* [*yārītu*] “heir”.
- Line 26. *'RB* “to enter” (G); *hdr* [*huduru*] “room, chamber” (cf. the syllabic [*h*] *u-du-ru* [*Ug* 5 137 II,11']).
- Line 27. *INY* “to repeat, recount” (G? most likely D); *DM'* “to shed tears” (G).
- Line 28. *NTK* “to pour forth (tears)” (G), “to be poured forth” (N).
- Line 29. *ql* [*liqlu*] “shekel”, pl. *qlm* [*liq(a)lūma*]; *'arsh* [*'aršah*] “earthward” (with locative suffix *-h*).
- Line 30. *mhmst* [*maḥmas(a)tu*] “fifth (of a shekel)”, or “fifths (of a shekel)”; *mṯh* [*maṯtatah*] “towards the bed” (with locative suffix *-h*).

- Line 31. *bm* [*bimā*] “in the very . . .”; *bky* [*bikyu/bakyu*] “weeping”; *YŠN* “to sleep” (G).
- Line 32. *nħmmt* [?] “he slept, drowsed(?)” (from *NWM?* “to slumber”, or *NHM?* “to roar, groan” or “to slumber” (*NHM* < *NWM?*)).
- Line 33. *šnt* [*šinatu*] “sleep”; *L’Y* “to overcome” (for the orthography, cf. *supra*, pp. 13 and 165).
- Line 34. *ŠKB* “to lie down” (G).
- Line 35. *QMS* “to contract”, “to curl up(?)” (G?).
- Line 36. *đhrt* [?] and also *đrt* [?] (1.14 III,47) “dream, vision”.
- Line 37. *’adm* [*’adamu*] “man(kind)”. The combination *’ab ’adm* “Father of Man(kind)” is an epithet of El; *QRB* “to draw near” (G).
- Line 38. *ŠL* “to ask” (G); *m’at* [*ma’(?)attā?*] (< *mah ’attā?*) “what is your (problem)” (literally: “What—you”).
- Line 40. *n’mn* [*nu’ mānu/na’ mānu* or *na’ imānu*] “nice, beloved”.

Text 20 (KTU² 1.14 II,1-51)

- (1) [*ħrs* .]^l*y*¹*d* . *mq*¹*m*¹*h*
- (2) [*w* [’]*b*]^l*d*¹ . [’]*lm* . *ħt*
- (3) [*ssw*]^l*m*¹ . *nrkbt b trbš bn* . [’]*amt*
- (4) []^l*nm* . [’]*aqny*
- (5) []^l*šrm* . [’]*am*[’]*id*
- (6) *w* [*ył*]^l*b*¹ . *tr* . [’]*abh* . [’]*il*
- (7) *d*[]^l*k*¹ . *b bk* . *krt*
- (8) *b d*^l*m*^{1c} . *n’mn* . *glm*
- (9) [’]*il* . *tr*^l*ħš* . *w* [’]*adm*
- (10) *rh*^l*š*¹[. *y*]^l*d*¹*k* . [’]*amt*
- (11) [’]*usb*[[’]*tk* .] [’]*d* [.]^l*k*¹*m*¹
- (12) [’]*rb* [. *b zl* . *ħm*]
- (13) *qh* . [’]*im*[*r* . *b yd*]^l*k*¹
- (14) [’]*imr* . ^l*d*¹[*bħ* . *bm*] . *ymn*
- (15) *lp a* . *k*^l*l*^l[[’]*atn*]^l*m*¹
- (16) *klt* . *l*[*ħmk* .]^l*d*¹ *nzl*
- (17) *qh* . *m*^l*s*¹[*rr* .][’]*sr*
- (18) *dbħ* . *š*^l*q*¹[. *b g*]^l*l*¹ . *ħt*
- (19) *yn* . *b gl* . [*ħ*]^l*r*¹*š* . *nbt*
- (20) [’]*l* . *l zr* . ^l*m*¹[*g*]*dl*
- (21) *w* [’]*l* *l zr* . ^l*mg*¹*dl* . *rkb*
- (22) *tkmm* . *ħm*^l*t*¹ . *š a* . *ydk*
- (23) *šmm* . *db*^l*ħ*¹ . *l tr*

- (24) 'abk . 'il . šrd . b'l
 (25) b dbhk . bn . dgn
 (26) b mšdk . w yrd
 (27) krt . 'l' ggt . 'db
 (28) 'akl . 'l' qryt
 (29) h̄tt . 'l' bt . h̄br
 (30) y'ip . 'l'hm . d h̄mš
 (31) m̄gd [.] tdt . yrhm
 (32) 'dn [.] ngb . w ys'i
 (33) šb'ul . šb'i . ngb
 (34) w 'y's'i . 'dn . m'
 (35) šb'uk . 'ul . m'ad
 (36) ilt . m'at . rbt
 (37) h̄pt . d bl . spr
 (38) tnn . d bl . hg
 (39) hlk . l 'alpm . h̄dd
 (40) w l rbt . km . yr
 (41) 'a'tr . tn . tn . hlk
 (42) 'atr . ilt . klhm
 (43) yhd . bth . sgr
 (44) 'a'lmnt . škr
 (45) 'tš'kr . zbl . 'ršm
 (46) 'y's'u . 'wr . mzl
 (47) ymzl . w ys'i . trh̄
 (48) h̄dt . yb'r . l tn
 (49) 'a'tth . lm . nkr
 (50) 'm'ddth . k 'irby
 (51) 'l'skn . šd

NOTES

- Line 1. *yd* [*yadu?*] “with”(?), but perhaps “portion”, or “stele (in a sacred place)(?)”; *mq'm* [*maqâmu*] “place”.
- Line 3. *ssw* [*suswu/sisewu?*] “horse”, pl. *sswm* [*suswūma/sisewūma?*]; *mrkbt* [*markabtu*] “chariot”; *trbš* [*tarbašu*] “corral”; *bn* [*bunu/binu/banu*] “son”, pl. *bnm* [*banūma/bunūma/binūma*]; *'amt* [*am(a)tu*] “hand- maiden”.
- Line 4. *QNY* “to create”, “to acquire” (G).
- Line 5. *MD* “to increase, multiply” (D).
- Line 9. *RHS* “to wash” (G); “to wash oneself” (Gt); *'DM* “to redden oneself” (N).

- Line 10. 'amt [ʾammatu] "cubit, forearm", here in adverbial accusative [ʾammata] "as far as the forearm".
- Line 11. *tkm* [tikmu/takmu] "shoulder".
- Line 12. *zl* [zillu] "shadow"; *hmt* [hēmatu] "tent".
- Line 14. 'imr [ʾimmaru/ʾimmiru] "lamb"; *DBH* "to sacrifice" (G); *ymn* [yamānu] "right(hand)".
- Line 15. *lpu* [lal(i)ʿu] "lamb, kid"; *klatnm* [kiʿatānāma/i] "both (of them)" (note the -ān suffix).
- Line 16. *klt* [kullatu] "all", perhaps [kāl(a)tu] "measurement" (from *KYL* "to measure"); *lhm* [lahmu] "food, nourishment, bread"; *nzl* [nuzlu?] "excellant(?)", "food for guests(?)", "nectar(?)", or possibly a geographical name.
- Line 17. *msrr* [?] "type of bird", or "entrails".
- Line 18. *YŠQ* "to pour out", "to cast (metal)" (G); *gl* [gullu] "goblet"; *hṭt* [hattutu] "silver" (evidently Hittite word).
- Line 19. *nbt* [nubtu] "honey".
- Line 20. Extra, superfluous line.
- Line 21. 'LY "to ascend, go up" (G); *zr* [zūru/zāru] "back"; *mgdl* [magdalu] "tower"; *RKB* "to mount" (G).
- Line 22. *hmt* [hāmātu] "wall" (cf. the syllabic attestation, *ḥa-mà-ti* [PRU III, p. 137,4]).
- Line 24. *YRD* "to descend, go down" (G), "to make a sacrifice" (Š).
- Line 26. *mšd* [mašādu] "food, provisions", or *bm šdk* [bimā šēdikā] "with your hunt".
- Line 27. *gg* [gaggu] "roof", pl. *ggt* [gaggātu].
- Line 28. 'akl [ʾaklu] "food"; *qrrt* [qaryatu] "town" (cf. the orthography without *yod*, *qrṭ*), in this context perhaps "granary", "threshing floor" (cf. TO I, p. 515, n. x).
- Line 29. *hṭt* [hiṭṭatu] "wheat"; *bt ḥbr* [bētu ḥubūr] "brewery" (according to Akkadian), perhaps "storehouse" or "noisy place", cf. כַּיָּר כַּיָּר (Prov. 21,9; 25,24). The word *ḥbr* could also be a place name (Keret's capital city; cf. 1.15 IV,8-9;19-20).
- Line 30. 'PY "to bake" (G); *hms* [?] "fifth".
- Line 31. *mgd* [?] "vituals" (cf. Arabic *ĠDW* "to feed"); *tdt* [?] "sixth", the meaning of *tdt yrhm* "the sixth month" (the *mem* is enclitic).
- Line 32-34. Obscure lines. 'DN "to collect", "to equip(?)", "to call together(?)"; *ngb* [?] "type of troops" ("equipped?"); *šb'u* [šaba'u/šabū'u] "soldier" or "troop, army".
- Line 35. 'ul [ʾūlu] "force" (cf. Biblical Hebrew כֹּחַם their force" [Ps. 73,4]); *m'ad* [ma'(a)da] "much".

- Line 36. *tl̄t* [*talātu*] “three”; *m’at* [*mi’ātu*] “hundreds”; *rbt* [*ribbatu*] “myriad”.
- Line 37. *hpt* [*huptu*] “yeoman farmers, foot soldiers”; *bl* [*bal*] “without”; *spr* [*sipru?*] “number, counting”.
- Line 38. *tn* [*ṭannānu*] “bowman”; *hg* [?] “number, counting” (according to Arabic *hajjā* “to count letters”).
- Line 39. *hdd* [?] “type of soldiers”.
- Line 40. *yr* [*yārū*] (< *yāriyu*) “early rain” others read *kmyr* “type of soldiers” (Gordon.).
- Line 43. *yhd* [*yahīdu*] “single, lone”; *SGR* “to close” (G).
- Line 44. *’almnt* [*’almanatu*] “widow”; *ŠKR* “to hire” (G or D).
- Line 45. *zbl* [*zābilu/zabbālu*] “sick one”; *’rš* [*’aršū*] “bed” (with enclitic *mem*).
- Line 46. *’wr* [*’awwiru/’ūwiru*] “blind”; *MZL* obscure.
- Line 47. *trḥ* [*tarrāḥu/tāriḥu*] “groom”.
- Line 48. *hdt* [*ḥadātu*] “new”; *B’R* “to lead” (G); *tn* [?] “second, another”.
- Line 49. *lm* [*lemā?*] “to the very . . .”; *nkr* [?] “foreigner, stranger”.
- Line 50. *mddt* [*mēdadatu/mōdadatu* or *mēdūdatu/mōdūdatu*] “beloved, friend”; *’irby* [*’irbiyu/’irbiyu*] “locust”.
- Line 51. *KWN* “to be” (Š) or *ŠKN* “to dwell” (G).

Text 21 (KTU² 1.14 III,1-49)

- (1) *’k¹m . ḥsn . p’at . mabr*
- (2) *’k¹ . ym . w tn . tl̄t . rb^c ym*
- (3) *’ḥm¹š . tdt . ym . mk . špšm*
- (4) *’b¹ šb^c . w tmgy . l ’udm*
- (5) *rbḏ . w l . ’udm . trrt*
- (6) *w gr . nn . ’rm . šrn*
- (7) *ḥdm . s’t . b šdm*
- (8) *ḥḥbḥ/t . b grnt . ḥpšt*
- (9) *s’t . b n<p>k . Šibt . b bqr*
- (10) *mm’at . dm . ym . w tn*
- (11) *tl̄t . rb^c . ym . ḥ/mš*
- (12) *tdt . ym . ḥzk . ’al tš^cl*
- (13) *qrth . ’abn . ydk*
- (14) *mšdpt . w hn . špšm*
- (15) *b šb^c . w l . yšn . pbl*
- (16) *mlk . l qr . ḥ’igt . ’ibrh*

- (17) *l ql . nhqt . hmrvh*
 (18) *l g't . 'alp . hrt . zgt*
 (19) *klb . spr . w yPak*
 (20) *mPakm . lk . m' . krt*
 (21) *mswvh . thm . pbl . mlk*
 (22) *qh . ksp . w yrq . hrs*
 (23) *yd . mqmh . w 'bd . 'lm*
 (24) *ilt . sswm . mrkbt*
 (25) *b trbs . bn . 'amt*
 (26) *qh krt . slmm*
 (27) *slmm . w ng . mlk*
 (28) *l bty . rhq . krt*
 (29) *l hzry . 'al . tsr*
 (30) *'udm . rbt . w 'udm . trrt*
 (31) *'udm . ytnl . 'il . w 'uśn*
 (32) *'ab . 'adm . w tlt*
 (33) *mPakm . lh . lm . 'ank*
 (34) *ksp . w yrq . hrs*
 (35) *yd . mqmh . w 'bd*
 (36) *'lm . tlt . sswm . mrkbt*
 (37) *b trbs>t< . bn . 'amt*
 (38) *p d . 'in . b bty . ttn*
 (39) *tn . ly . mlt . hry*
 (40) *n'mt . šph . bkrk*
 (41) *l d¹ k . n'm . 'nt . n'mh*
 (42) *km . tsm . 'trrt . ts¹mh¹*
 (43) *d 'qh . 'ib . 'iqn'i . 'p[^cp]l¹h¹*
 (44) *sp . trml . thgrn . [d]l¹m*
 (45) *'aštw . b šp . 'nh*
 (46) *d b hlmv . 'il . y¹n¹*
 (47) *b drty . 'ab . 'adm*
 (48) *wld . šph . l krt*
 (49) *w glm . l 'bd . 'il*

NOTES

- Line 1. *hsn* [?] “grasshopper(?)”; *p'it* [*pi'tu*] “corner, extremity”, pl. *p'at* [*pi'ātu*]; *mabr* [*madbaru*] “steppe land”.
- Line 2. *ym* [*yōmu*] “(first) day” (for this usage of a noun as the first in a chain of ordinals, cf. *supra*, p. 93); and the numerals *tn*, *ilt*,

- rb'*, *hms̄*, *tdt* are ordinals, viz. "second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth".
- Line 3. *mk* [?] "behold"; *špšm* [*šapšam(a/i)*] "at sunrise" (with the adverbial suffix *-m*).
- Line 4. *b šb'* [?] "on the seventh (day)"; *'udm* [*'Udumu?*] place name.
- Line 5. *rbt* [*rabbatu*] "great, large"; *trrt* [?] "small(?)", parallel to *rbt* (cf. *TO* I, p. 519, n. j).
- Line 6. *GRY* "to attack(?)" (cf. Akkadian *garū*); *'rm* [*'rūma*] "cities"; *ŠRY* "to turn, overturn" (G) (following Aramiac; cf. also *TO* I, p. 520, n. k for extensive discussion).
- Line 7. *pdm* [?] "towns"; *S'T* "to scatter(?)", following Arabic.
- Line 8. *hṭb* [*hāṭibu/hattābu*] "hewer of wood"; *b* [*bi-*] "from"; *grn* [*gurnu*] "threshing floor", pl. *grnt* [*gur(a)nātu*]; *hṭšt* [*hāpīšatu/hāpīšātu?*] "straw gatherer(s)" (cf. 𐤇𐤍 in Biblical Hebrew).
- Line 9. *nḫk* [*nāḫku*] "water source"; *s'ibt* [*šā'ibātu*] "drawers of water" (G participle); *bqr* [*baqāru*] (< *maqāru*) "(water) source" (phonetic variant or orthographic error).
- Line 10. *mmḷat* [*mumall'ātu*] "fillers of water" (D participle); *DMM* "to be silent" (G), others interpret "behold" (presentation participle, cf. Gordon 1965:385).
- Line 12. *hṣ* [*hūzzu*] "arrow"; *LY* "to raise" (Š).
- Line 13. *qrth* [*qarūtah*] "towards the city"; *'abn ydk* [*'abnū yadēkē*] "your (m.s.) sling stones".
- Line 14. *mšdpt* [?] "those who are released(?)" (Š from *NDP*); *hn* [*hinnū*] "behold".
- Line 15. *pbl* [?] personal name of the king of *'udm*.
- Line 16. *qr* [*qāru/qōru?*] "voice" (variant of *ql'*); *l'igt* [*la'ig(a)tu*] "roar"; *'ibr* [*'ibbūru*] "stallion".
- Line 17. *ql* [*qālu/qōlu*] "voice"; *nhqt* [*nahqatu/nahaqtu*] "braying" (of a jackass); *hmr* [*himāru*] "jackass".
- Line 18. *g't* [*ga'itu*] "neighing"; *hrt* [*hāritu/harrātu*] "plow, cultivator"; *z'gt* [?] "barking, howling".
- Line 19. *klb* [*kalbu*] "dog"; *špr* [?] "watch", others interpret "shepherd" (cf. *TO* I, p. 523, n. w).
- Line 20. *mḷak* [*maḷaku*] "messenger".
- Line 21. *mswnh* [?] "to the camp" (with locative *-h*).
- Line 26. *šlmm* [*šalāmam(a/i)* or *šulmām(a/i)*] "in peace", others interpret "peace offerings" (cf. Gordon 1965:490).
- Line 27. *NGY* (?) "to flee" (G?, following Arabic), here imperative 2nd f.s. [*nigī?*].

- Line 28. *RHQ* “to go away” (G).
 Line 29. *ŠWR* “to besiege” (G).
 Line 31. *ynt* [?] “gift”; *’ušn* [’ôšānu] “gift”.
 Line 39. *mtt* [?] “lady”; *hry* [*Hurāya?*] PN, the daughter of king Pbl.
 Line 40. *n’mt* [*na’īm(a)tu*] “pleasant”; *bkr* [*buk(u)ru?*] “first born”.
 Line 42. *tsm* [?] “beauty”.
 Line 43. *’q* [?] “iris(?)”; *’ib* [’*ibbu?*] “precious stone(?)”, “pure”; *’p’p* [’*ap’apu*] “eyebrow”.
 Line 44. *sp* [*sappu*] “goblet, cup” (cf. Biblical Hebrew *שֵׁבַע* [Exod. 12:22; Zech. 1:2] and *שֵׁבַעִים* [Jer. 52:19]); *tml* [?] “a kind of precious stone”; *HGR* “to gird” (G).
 Line 45. *ŠLW* “to be at ease” (G); *šp* [*šipū*] (< *šipyu?*) “viewing, seeing”, but the form might be an infinitive [*sapā*] (< *šapāyu*).
 Line 48. *YLD* “to give birth”. Here it is an infinitive absolute as predicate introduced by the *wa* conjunction, vix. [*wālādu*] (< *walādu*), cf. *supra*, p. 150.

Text 22 (*KTU*² 1.17 I,1-47)

- (1) [*dn’il . mt . rp*]¹’i¹ . ’aph<n> . ¹g^{zr}1
- (2) [*mt . hrmy .*] ’uzr . ¹i¹lm . ylh^m
- (3) [*’uzr . yšqy .*]bn . qdš . yd
- (4) [*sth . y^l .*] ¹w¹ yškb . yd
- (5) [*m’izrth .*]¹p¹ yln . hm . ym
- (6) [*wln . ’uzr .*] ¹i¹lm . dn’il
- (7) [*’uzr . ’ilm .*] ylh^m . ’uzr
- (8) [*yšqy . b*]¹n¹ . qdš . tl . rb^c ym
- (9) [*’uzr . ’i*]¹l¹m . dn’il . ’uzr
- (10) [*’ilm . y*]¹l¹hm . ’uzr . yšqy . bn
- (11) [*qdš .*]¹h¹mš . tdt . ym . ’uzr
- (12) [*i*]¹l¹m¹ . dn’il . ’uzr . ’ilm . ylh^m .
- (13) [*uz*]¹r¹ . yšqy . bn . qdš . yd . šth
- (14) [*dn*]¹i¹l . yd . šth . y^l . w yškb
- (15) [*yd .*] m’izrth . p yln . mk . b šb^c . ymm
- (16) [*w*] ¹y¹qrb . b^cl . b hnth . ’byn ¹at¹
- (17) [*d*]¹n¹i¹l . mt . rp²i . ’anh . g^{zr}
- (18) ¹mi¹ . hrmy . d ’in . bn . lh
- (19) km . ’ahh . w . šrš . km . ’aryh
- (20) bl . ’it . bn . lh . k!m ’ahh . w šrš
- (21) km . ’aryh . ’uzym . ’ilm . ylh^m

- (22) ^ʾuzrm . yšgy . bn . qdš
 (23) l tbrknn l tr . ʾil ʾaby
 (24) tmrnn l bny . bnwt
 (25) w ykn . bnh . b bt . šrš . b qrb
 (26) hklh . nšb . skn . ʾilʾibh . b qdš
 (27) ztr . ʿmh . l ʾars . mššʾu . qtrh
 (28) l ʿpr . dmr . ʾatrh . t̄bq . lht
 (29) nʾiṣh . grš . d . ʿšy . lnh
 (30) ^ʾa¹ḥd . ydh . b škrn . mʿmsh
 (31) [k]^ʾs¹b⁶ yn . spʾu . ksmh . bt . b⁶l
 (32) [w]^ʾm¹nth . bt . ʾil . t̄ḡ . ggh . b ym
 (33) [ḏ¹i]^ʾi¹ . rhš . npšh . b ym . r̄t
 (34) [ks .]^ʾy¹iḥd . ʾil ʿbdh . ybrk
 (35) [dnʾi]l . mt . rpʾi . ymr . ḡzr
 (36) [mt . h]^ʾr¹nmy . nṣš . yh . dnʾil
 (37) [mt . rp]^ʾi¹ . brlt . ḡzr . mt hrnmy
 (38) [] . hw . mḡ . l ʿršh . y⁶l
 (39) [w yšk]^ʾb¹ . bm . nšq . ʾatth
 (40) [] . b ḥbqh . ḥmḥmt
 (41) [] ylt . ḥmḥmt
 (42) [mt . r]^ʾp¹i . w ykn . bnh
 (43) [b bt . šrš] . b qrb . hklh
 (44) [nšb . skn . ʾi]ʾibh . b qdš
 (45) [ztr . ʿmh . l ʾa]^ʾr¹š . mššʾu
 (46) [qtrh . l ʿpr . d]mr . ʾa^ʾtrh¹
 (47) [t̄bq . lht . nʾiṣh . gr]^ʾs¹ . d . ʿšy¹

NOTES

Line 1. *dnʾil* [*dān(ṭ)ʾilu*] personal name “Daniel”; *mt* [*mutu*] “man” *rpʾu* [*rāpiʾu*] and pl. *rpʾum* [*rāpiʾūma*], proper name of the gods of the under-world, though the word might also mean “healer”. The combination *mt rpʾi* is an epithet of Daniel; *ʾaphn* [ʔ] “and behold” (combination of *ʾp* + *hn*, cf. *infra*, 1.17 II,28); *ḡzr* [*ḡazṛu?*] “hero, fighting youth”.

Line 2. *hrnmy* [ʔ] — place name, the dwelling of Daniel; *ʾuzr* [*ʾuzūru?*] (< *ʾazūru?*) “food” or “drink” offered to the gods(?); *LHM* “to eat” (G), “to feed” (Š; also possible in G with *i*-theme [*yaqlil(u)*] or D).

- Line 3. *ŠQY* “to drink” (G), “to give to drink” (Š or D or G with *i*-theme [*yaqtil(u)*]); *qdš* [*qudšu*] “holiness, sanctity”; *YDY* “to cast, throw” (G or D), and here 3rd m.s. [*yaddā*] (< *yaddiya?*) or [*yadā*] (< *yadaya?*) “he cast, threw” (following *TO I*, p. 419; for other views cf. Gordon 1967:124 and Ginsberg 1969:150).
- Line 4. *št* [?] “garment, cloak(?)” (cf. Akkadian *āṣītu* “garment”).
- Line 5. *m'izrt* [*ma'zirātu/ma'ziratu, ma'zarātu/ma'zaratu*] “loin covering; cf. Biblical Hebrew מִצְרֹת; *LWN* “to spend the night” (G), here 3rd m.s. with metathesis, *ynl* for *yn* (cf. line 15 *infra*).
- Line 8. *tl̄t* [?] “third”.
- Line 15. *b šb' ymm* “on the seventh day” (singular *ym* [*yōmu*] with enclitic *mem*); cf. the appropriate section of the grammar, *supra*, p. 94.
- Line 16. *HNN* “to plead” (G), thus *b hnth* [*bi-hinnatihū*] “while he beseeched” (infinitive as gerund); *'abyn* [*'abyānu*] “poor (m.s.)”. The combination *'abyn 'at* means “you are poor”; *TO I*, p. 420, reads *'aby* “my father” and does not translate the rest of the form; Gordon (1967:122) reads *'abynt* “poverty”.
- Line 17. *'NH* “to toil, sigh” (G); *'in* [*'ēnu*] “not, there is not”.
- Line 19. *šrš* [*šuršu*] “scion”.
- Line 23. *BRK* “to bless” (D).
- Line 24. *MRR* “to bless”, (G) or “to strengthen”,
- Line 26. *NSB* “to erect, set up” (G), here the participle *nšb* [*nāšibu*]; *skn* [?] “stele”; *'iPibh* [*'ilū'ibihū*] “his paternal deities”.
- Line 27. *ztr* [?] “stele(?)” or perhaps a verbal form, “to protect” or “to offer up incense”, thus a participle [*zātiru*]; *'m* [*'ammu*] “people, family”; *l 'arš* [*le-'aršu*] “from the earth”; *YŠ* “to go out” (G), “to bring out” (Š); *qtr* [*qutru/qūṭāru*] “vapor, smoke”.
- Line 28. *DMR* “to guard, protect, strengthen” (G or D); *'atr* [*'atru*] “trance, step”, or “(sacred) place”; *TBQ* “to remove, drive away” (G or D); *lht* [*lōhātu/lūhātu?*] “tablets(?)”.
- Line 29. *N'S* “to revile” (G), here the participle [*nā'īšu*]; *'ŠY* “to disturb, to harass(?)” (G or D), cf. Akkadian *ešū*; *ln* [*lōnu/lānu*] “visage” (cf. Akkadian *lānu* and Arabic *lawnu*).
- Line 30. *skrn* [*šak(k)arānu*] “drunkenness”; *MS* “to load up” (D).
- Line 31. *ŠB'* “to be satiated” (G); *SP* “to eat” (G); *ksm* [*kismu?*] “cultic portion” (cf. Akkadian *kismu*).
- Line 32. *TWH/TYH* “to plaster” (G); *l'it* [*l'a'tu?*] “mud”; *nḫš* [*nīpāšu?*] “garment”; *rt* [*rattu?*] “mud, mire(?)”.
- Line 36. *HYY* “to live” (G).

Line 37. *brlt* [?] “spirit, soul”.

Line 38. *mḥ* [*muḥḥu*] “brain, upper head”; *NŠQ* “to kiss” (G); *H̄BQ* “to hug, embrace” (G or D); *H̄M̄H̄M̄* “to arouse” (possibly < *H̄M̄M̄*).

Text 23 (KTU² 1.17 II,1-46)

- (1) *z[tr . ‘mk . l ’arṣ . mšṣ’u . qṭrk]*
- (2) *l . ‘pr . ‘dm¹[r . ’atr¹ . ṭbq]*
- (3) *lḥt . n’is¹k¹ . g¹r¹[š . d ‘šy . lnk]*
- (4) *sp’u . ksmk . bt . [b¹l . w mntk]*
- (5) *bt ’il . ’aḥd . yd¹k¹ [.] ‘b¹ ‘s¹[krm]*
- (6) *m^cmsk . k šb^ct . yn . ṭ¹ḥ¹*
- (7) *ggk . b . ym . ṭ¹iṭ . rḥṣ*
- (8) *nṣk . b ym r¹ . b dln’i[ḏ]*
- (9) *pnm . išmḥ . w ‘l . yṣhl p’i¹i¹*
- (10) *yprq . lṣb . w yṣḥq*
- (11) *p’n . l hdm . yṭpd . yṣ’u*
- (12) *gh . w yṣḥ . ‘aṭb¹n . ’ank*
- (13) *w ’anḥn . w ‘tn¹ḥ . b ’irty*
- (14) *nṣš . k yld . bn . ly . km*
- (15) *’aḥy . w šrš . k¹m¹ . ’aryy*
- (16) *nṣb . skn . ’iṭ¹iby . b qd¹s¹*
- (17) *ztr . ‘my . l ‘pr [.] dmr . ’at¹r¹[y]*
- (18) *ṭbq . lḥt . n’isy . grš*
- (19) *d ‘šy . ‘l¹n . ’aḥd . ydy . b š*
- (20) *krm . m^cmsy . k šb^ct y¹n¹*
- (21) *sp’u . ksm^y . bt . b¹l . ‘w¹ ‘mn¹[ḏ]*
- (22) *y . bt . ’il . ṭḥ . g¹g¹y . b ym . ṭ¹i¹ḥ¹*
- (23) *rḥṣ . nṣy . b ym . r¹*
- (24) *dn . ’il . bth . ymgyn*
- (25) *yštql . dn’il . l hklh*
- (26) *‘rb . b bth . kṭrt . bnt*
- (27) *hll . snnt . ’apnk . dn’il*
- (28) *mt . rṣ¹i . ’ap . hn . ḡzr . mt*
- (29) *hrm^y . ’alp . yṭbh . l k¹ḏ¹*
- (30) *rt . yš¹ḥ¹m . ‘k¹ṭrt . w y*
- (31) *ššq . bnt . ‘h¹ll . snnt*
- (32) *hn . ym . w tn . yšlhm*
- (33) *kṭrt . w yš¹s¹q . bnt . h¹l¹[ḏ]*

- (34) *snnt* . *tl̄t̄* . ¹r¹b^c *ym* . *yšl*
 (35) *hm ktrt* . ¹w¹ *yšš^fq¹*
 (36) *bnt* . *hll* . ¹s¹n¹nt . ¹hm¹š
 (37) *tdt* . ¹y¹m¹ . *yšlhm* . ¹kt¹rt
 (38) *w* ¹y¹šš^q¹ . ¹b¹nt . *hll* . ¹s¹nm¹
 (39) *mk* . ¹b¹ ¹šb^c¹ . *ymm* . *tb^c* . *b bth*
 (40) *kt^fr¹t* . ¹b¹nt . ¹h¹ll . *snnt*
 (41) ¹m¹d^fd¹t . ¹n¹c¹my . ^cr^fš¹ . ¹hrt¹
 (42) ¹y¹smsmt . ¹rš¹ . ¹hllt¹
 (43) *ytb* . ¹d¹n²il . [*ys*] ¹p¹r ¹yrh¹
 (44) ¹yrh¹ . ¹yrh¹ ¹tn¹ [.] ¹yš²i¹
 (45) *tl̄t̄* . ¹r¹b^c []
 (46) *yrhm* . ¹ymgy¹

NOTES

- Line 9. *ŠMH* “to be happy” (G), here *tšmh* [*tšmaḥū*] “(the face [pl.]) rejoice(d) (short form of 3rd m.pl.); *w l* [*wa-‘alē*] “and on him” (lit.: “and on”); *ŠHL* “to brighten up” (G), the subject is *p’it* [*p’itū*] “sideburn” (others take it to mean “mouth” [TO I, p. 424, n. c]), which is feminine. It might appear that there is no agreement between the verb and its subject. So *p’it* might be the object with Daniel as the subject, i.e. “he brightens up on the sides of his face”.
- Line 14. *YLD* “to give birth” (G), here *Gp yld* [*yūlad*] “(he) was born”.
- Line 25. *ŠQL* “to arrive, enter” (Gt).
- Line 26 *ktrt* [*kōtarātu/kōtarātu*] “divine birth goddesses”; *bnt* [*binātu/banātu/bunātu*] “daughters”; *hll* [*Hilālu?*] PN(?), or noun meaning “praise, rejoicing”, or [*hilālu*] “the crescent moon” (cf. Arabic *hilāl*); *snnt* [?] “sparrows(?)”.
- Line 30. *LHM* “to feed” (Š); *ŠQY* “to give to drink” (Š).
- Line 42. ^crš [*aršū*] “bed, cot”.
- Line 43. *SPR* “to count” (G).

Text 24 (KTU² 1.114,1-31)

- (1) ²il d^fbh¹ . *b bth* . *mšd* . *šd* . *b qrb*
 (2) *hkl^fh¹* . ¹šh¹ . *l qš* . ²ilm . *tlhmn*
 (3) ²ilm . *w t^fš¹tn* . *tštn* . *y<n>* ‘*d šb^c*
 (4) *trt* . ¹c¹d¹ . ¹škr¹ . *y^cdb* . *yrh*

- (5) *gbh . km . 'k!lb' . yqtqt . tht*
 (6) *llht . 'il . d yd'nn*
 (7) *y'db . lhm d mšd . lh . w d l yd'nn*
 (8) *y . lmn b qr<'> htm . tht . llhn*
 (9) *'ttrt . w 'nt . ymgy*
 (10) *'ttrt . fdb . nšb lh*
 (11) *w 'nt . ktp bhm . yg'r . tgr*
 (12) *bt . 'il . pn . lm . k!lb . fdbn*
 (13) *n's'ab . l 'inr . fdbn . ktp*
 (14) *b 'il' . 'ab'h . g'r . yf'b' . 'il . 'kr'*
 (15) *'a'sk' [] 'il . yf'b' . b mrzfh*
 (16) *y'st' . [y]'n' . 'd 's'bc . trt . 'd škr*
 (17) *'il . h'l'k . l bth . ystql .*
 (18) *l hzrh . y'msn . nn . tkmn*
 (19) *w šnm . w <y>ngšnm . hby*
 (20) *b'l . qnm . w dnb . yf's'n*
 (21) *b hr'ih . w tnt . ql . 'il . k'm' 'mt'*
 (22) *'il . k yrdm . 'arš . 'n't'*
 (23) *w 'ttrt . ts'dn' . []*
 (24) *'qdš' [] b'l []*
 (25) *[]*
 (26) *['t'rt . w 'n't' []*
 (27) *w bhm . tttb . [a]hdh*
 (28) *'km' . trp'a . h'n' n'r*
 (29) *d yšt . l lsbh š'r klb*
 (30) *'w' r'š . pqq . w šrh*
 (31) *'y'št 'ahdh . dm zt . hrpnt*

NOTES

- Line 1. *DBH* “to sacrifice”, “to prepare a sacrificial meal(?)” (G); *mšd* [*mašādu*] “victuals offered in a sacrifice”; *šWD/šYD* “to prepare food” (G), cf. Biblical Hebrew קָרַח .
- Line 2. *šWH/šYH* “to call, shout” (G); *qš* [?] “breast (of meat)”, cf. 1.3 I,8 where this word is parallel to *td* “breast”, but the word might just mean “meal”.
- Line 3. *šb'* [*šub'u?*] “satiation”.
- Line 4. *trt* [*tīrātu?*] “new wine”; *škr* [?] “drunkenness”; *yrl* [*yarihu*] “Moon”, personal name of the moon-god.
- Line 5. *gb* [*gabbu*] “back”; *rlb* > *k!lb* [*kalbu*] “dog”; *QTQT* “to swish,

- to switch"; *ḥt* [*taḥtu/tahta*] "bottom", "beneath".
- Line 6. *YD* "to know" (G) and here *ya'nn* [*yida'an(n)annū*] "he knows him".
- Line 7. *ḥm* [*lahmu*] usually means "food" but here it seems to mean "meat" (cf. *TO* II, p. 74).
- Line 8. *HLM/YLM* "to smite" (G); *qr* [?] "rope(?)" (cf. comparison with Arabic), or perhaps an infinitive meaning "to strike, kick"; *ḥt* [*ḥattu*] "staff, rod", pl. *ḥtm* [*ḥattūma*].
- Line 10. *nšb* [?] some kind of meat.
- Line 11. *ktp* [*kat(i)pu*] "shoulder"; *bhm* [*bi-humā*] "by the two of them (f.)"; *G^cR* "to rebuke" (G); *igr* [*tāgīru*] "gate keeper".
- Line 12. *pn* [?] (< *p hm?*) "and behold(?)".
- Line 13. *'inr* [?] "cur" (for other parallelisms between *klb* and *'inr*, cf. 1.16 I,2,15-17; II,38-39).
- Line 15. *mrzḥ* [*marzihu*] "banquet (hall)", and/or "religious celebration", or "funerary banquet" (cf. 3.9,1).
- Line 18. *ḥṭr* [*ḥaṭīru*] (< *ḥazīru*) "courtyard" (for the phonetic shift, cf. *supra*, p. xxx); *MS* "to load" (D), and here *y'amsn.nm* [*ya'ammisan(n)an(n)annū* or *yu'ammisan(n)an(n)annū*] "the two of them carry him"; *tkmn* [*Tīkmānu/Taknānu?*] DN.
- Line 19. *šnm* [?] name of a deity; *NGŠ* "to arrive, approach" (N or D), and here *w* <*y*>*ngšnn* [*wa-<ya>naggišan(n)annū* or *wa-<yu>nag-gišan(n)annū*] "he approached him"; the root *NGŠ* could also mean "to bite" (in comparison with Biblical Hebrew שׁננ); *ḥby* [?] PN (?).
- Line 20. *qmm* [*qarnāma/i*] "horns" (du.); *dnb* [*danabu*] "tail"; *LWŠ* "to wallow(?)" (G), and here *yšn* [*yalūšīna*] "they (both) wallow", cf. *TO* II, p. 77, n. 241; or *LŠN* "to revile, make fun of", *yšn* [*yalaššīnu/yulaššīnu*] "he mocks (him)"; cf. also Mishnaic Hebrew מְשֵׁל מְשֵׁלָה poultry manure".
- Line 21. *ḥr'u* [*ḥara'u?*] "excrete"; *ḥnt* [*ḥnatu?*] "urine"; *QYL* "to fall, to bow down" (G); *MWT* "to die" (G).
- Line 22. *RDM* "to drowse, pass out" (G or N).
- Line 23. *'ahdh* [*ah(h)adah?*] "together".
- Line 27. *YTB* "to sit" (G), "to seat" (Š).
- Line 28. *RP* "to heal" (D), and here *trp'a* [*tarappi'ā/turappi'ā*] "(the two of them) healed"; *n'r* [*na'ru*] "youth".
- Line 29. *ŠTY* "to drink" (G).
- Lines 29-31. These lines are very obscure; perhaps they contained the names of various medicinal plants.

INDICES

Ugaritic Words in Alphabetic Texts

'BD			'PY		
	'abd	133		y'ip	39,99,104
	y'abd	17	'PK	l'apq	135
	y'ibbd	130	'SL	l'ušl	18
	l'ubd	18	'RK	'ark	124
'DM			'RŠ	'irš	44,120,136
	'adm	123		y'arš	135
	l'adm	132		l'aršn	135
	l'idm	123	'TW	161	
'HB				'at	42,120,166
	y'uhb	18,45		'atwt	26,41,161,162
'WR				'atm	166
	'ar	158		y'it	42
	y'ark	156		l'it	165
'HD				l'ity	165
	'ahd	96,114,121	'TM		
	'ahdhm	32,116		y'ittm	130
	'ah̄t	29,114		l'ittm	130
	y'ah̄d	17		'ab	62
	y'ih̄d	17		'abn	39
	y'uḥd	18,45		'ad	16,62
	y'uḥdhm	45		'adm	67
	l'ih̄d	119		'adn	68
	l'uḥd	127		'adnty	31,62
'HD				'ad̄ (see YD')	
	'ah̄d	21		'adr ("mighty")	70
'HR				'adrt	70
	lš'ihrh̄m	139		'adi	62
'KL				'ady	14
	'aklm ("eaters")	16,69,121		'adnty	54
	y'ukl	18,45		'adddy (GN)	22
	l'ikln	119		'ahl	64
'MR ("look, see")				'ahd(m)	87,88,90,93,182
	y'amr	17		'ahdh	182
	y'itmr	32,130		'ahdy	14
	yimr	32,128,130		'ahi	29,75,87
'NŠ				'ah̄ ("brother")	40,62
	'anšt	97,114		'ah̄ ("meadow")	65
'SP				'ahh	45
	y'asp	17,135		'atyh	15
	y'isp	17		'atym	15,43
	y'isphm	135		'atm	43,45
	y'it̄sp	128,130		'ahnmn (see HNN)	
	l'asp	17		'ahr	181,198
	l'isp	17		'ah̄t ("sister")	62,98
	l'ispk	135			
	l'usp	18			

- 'aht (see 'HD)
 'ahth 78
 'ay 45
 'ayl(m) 41,69
 'aylt 69
 'al ("don't") 32,183,184
 'al ("verily") 184
 'aPyn 45
 'abm (see HLM)
 'abng 45
 'abmt 75
 'alp ("ox") 16,64
 'alp(m) ("thousand[s]") 12,79,86,93
 'alpm 'ib 193
 'amht 34
 'amš 45,70
 'amr ("lamb") 44
 'amrk (see MRR)
 'amrr (DN) 7
 'amt ("cubit") 12,62
 'amt ("handmaiden") 12,65
 'amth 179
 'an ("where") 38,182,183
 'an (pronoun) 49,50
 'ank 33,49,50
 'ankn 50
 'anšt (see 'NŠ)
 'asr 45,68
 'ap ("even, also") 11,188
 'ap ("nose") 30,64
 'apy 41
 'apnk 181
 'apnm 69
 'apnt 69
 'apr (see PRR)
 'aqht (PN) 6,12
 'ar ("light") 16,47,62
 'ar (PN) 78
 'arb' 16,73,88,86,89,90,91,92,93
 'arb'm 90,91,92
 'arb't 88,89,90
 'arw 40
 'arz 64
 'arswn (PN) 10
 'aršwn (PN) 10
 'arš 6,23,64,74,77
 'aršh 179
 'aršt 44
 'at ("you" m.s.) 30,49
 'at ("you" f.s) 49
 'at (see 'TW)
 'atm 49
 'abnt 68,76
 'atr 84,198
 'att 65,81,83,89
 'atty 14,84
 'i ("where") 182
 'i ("verily") 190
 'ib ("enemy") 7,158
 'ib ("pure") 208
 'ib 'iqn'i 208
 'ib'li 28,33
 'ibr 7,43,70
 'igr (see GWR)
 'id 32,181
 'id ("when, after") 188,223
 'idk 181
 'iḥh 44,45
 'iḥy 44
 'iy 44,182
 'ik 37,182
 'iky 182
 'ikl 65
 'ikm 33,182
 'il (DN) 14,62,84
 'il(m) 34,77,84
 'ilhm 34
 'ilht 34
 'ily 14,84
 'ilm 'arš 193
 'im 35,189,221
 'imr 44,69
 'in 16,187,202
 'inn 78,187
 'inš 68
 'ipd 68
 'ipak 68
 'iqn'im 73,77,207
 'iqn'u 44,86,87
 'irby 33,44,73
 'irš (see 'RŠ)
 'iršt 44
 'irty 52
 'išbm (see ŠBY)
 'ištn (see ŠYT)
 'itml 33
 'itn (see YTN)
 'iḷ 187,202
 'u 38,188
 'ugrt (GN) 14,31,83
 'ugrty (GN) 74
 'udm't 33,44,73
 'udn 16,66
 'uz 74
 'uzr 44,122
 'uḥh 44
 'uḥy 44
 'ulp 44,70

- ²um 12,14,16,35,43,66,74
²umht 35
²umy 11,14,52
²umt 66,76
²un 40
²unt 71
²ušt^t 73
²urbt 44,67
²ušn 38
²utšt 66
b 14,26,28,33,194,195
b'ir 16
bd 43,77,198
bdl 68,78
bhtm 34,37,63,65
BW^p
²ub²a 45,105,156
b²at 155
b²u 123,155,158
tb²a 156
tb²i 156
tb²u 101,123,156,158
tb²un 157
BWŠ
bštm 97,155
bwtm 35
BWT
bš 157
ybš 156
by 12,195
byd 43
BYN
bn 155,157
bk 41
BKY
²abky 44,116
²ibky 44,163
bk 167
bkyt ("weepers") 12,42,69,122,167
ybk 100
ybky 164
tbky 100,164
tbkyk 164
tbkynh 53,164
tpky 27,163
bky 41,66
bkyh 167
bkm 125,179
BKR
²abkrkm 134
bl(t) ("no, without") 7,184,185
BL^c
ybl^c 115
bm 195
bn ("son") 62
bn (prep.) 198
bny 14
bnm ²il 193
bnm ²umy 193
BNY
²abn 163
bn 165
bnwt 122,167
bny ("builder") 41,166
bnt 38,96,162
ybn 127
tbnn 106,128
bnš(m) 11,67,89
bnt 78
bnth 53
b²d 198
b²dh 198
b²dn 199
b²l (DN) 5,31,64,77,84
B²L 28
yšb²l 139
tb²ln 119,218
b²l(m) ("worker[s]") 28,89,90
b²lhn 14,85
b²lny 54
B²R
yb²r 135
šb²r 140
BGY
²ibgyh 117,163
ybg² 164
BQ^c
²ibq^c 115
tbq^cnn 53
BQR
tbqrm 135
bqr 28
BQT
²abqt 134
bqt 136
ybqt 135
BRK
brkm 137
ybrk 137
ybrkn 135
tbrk 135
brktm 122
brr 122,173
BŠR
²abšrkm 134
tbšr 138
bšr ("flesh") 25
bštm (see *BWŠ*)

- bt* ("house") 7,31,37,52,65,82
bt ("daughter") 62,75,78
bt hbr 5
btw 33
btm 35,37,63,65
g 62
g'an 16,47,73
gd 41
gdy 65
gdm 41,65
ghm 53
GWL
tgwln 157
GWR
'igr 156
GZZ
gzzm ("shearers") 69,173
ygz 172
GYL
ygl 156
ngln 105,157
GLY
tgl 42,101
tgby 41,101,164
gm 179
g't 39,75
gpn (DN) 7
GRŠ
'agrškm 134
gm(t) 78
gt 30,62,75
d 14,20,21,54,55,56
d ("that, which") 188,189,219
D'Y
d'i 42,166
d'it 166
d'u 166
yd'u 42,101,164
td'u 42,164
DBĤ
ndbh 118
tdbh 107
tdbhn 107
dbĥ(m) 5,20,73,78
dbĥt 79
DBR
tdbr 135
dw 42,67
DWK
ydk 158
tdkn 158,174
DWN/DYN
ydn 156
DĤL
- tdĥl* 118
DLL
yddll 12,175
tdlln 14,175
dlt 12
dm ("blood") 62
DMM
dm 173
tdm 172
DM'
dm' 125
dm'h 125
ydm' 119
tdm' 100
dm't 33
dn 66
dn'il (PN) 12
dqn 20
dqt 76
drdr 7
DR' 22
dt 54,56,57,78
DTT
ydt 174
d 21
dhrt 35
DMR
ydmr 21,22,135
dmr ("trooper") 21,22
dnb 21,81
dnbtm 81
DRW 22
d'r'h 2
-h ("his") 51
-h ("hers") 51
HBR
hbr 121
thbr 101
HDY 34
ydy 34,101
yhdy 34,101
hw 41,49
hwt 50
hy 15,41,49
hyt 50
hl(m) 185
HLK 146
'alk 147
'ašhlk 139,152
'itlk 151
hlk 115,125,150
hlkt 146
ytlk 151
lk 149

HLK continuation

<i>ilk</i>	106,148
<i>ilkn</i>	102,148
<i>itlk</i>	151
<i>itlkn</i>	102,151
<i>hlk</i> ("behold")	186
<i>HLM</i>	34
<i>'alm</i>	34,116
<i>hlm</i>	120
<i>ylm</i>	34
<i>ylmn</i>	34,118,120
<i>hlm</i> ("here")	180
<i>hlm</i> ("when")	189,223
<i>hln</i>	186
<i>hlby</i>	180
- <i>hm</i> (m.pl.)	52
- <i>hm</i> (du.)	52
<i>hm</i> ("they", m.)	49,50
<i>hm</i> ("they", du.)	49
<i>hm</i> ("if")	34,35,189,216,221,222
<i>hmt</i>	11,50,51
- <i>hm</i> (f.pl.)	52
<i>hn</i> ("behold")	34,185,186
<i>hn</i> ("they", f.)	49,50
<i>hnd</i>	57,58
<i>hndt</i>	58
<i>hnk</i>	58
<i>hnkt</i>	58
<i>hnny</i>	180
<i>HPK</i>	202
<i>yhpk</i>	82,127,202
<i>hr</i>	40
<i>HRG</i>	
<i>hrg</i>	120
<i>HRY</i>	
<i>thrn</i>	164
<i>HRR</i>	
<i>yhrm</i>	174
<i>ht</i>	6,180,181
<i>w</i> (conjunction)	6,11,17,27,29,31,32, 33,34,43,95,188
<i>WLD</i> (see <i>YLD</i>)	26,145
<i>wm</i>	186
<i>WSR</i>	26,145,152
<i>ywsrnn</i>	152
<i>tsrk</i>	148
<i>WPT</i>	26,145,152
<i>wptn</i>	152
<i>ywptn</i>	152
<i>WŠY</i>	
<i>tšy</i>	38,153,170
<i>wtn</i> (see <i>YTM</i>)	
<i>zbln</i>	73

ŽGW

<i>tzg</i>	164
<i>HGR</i>	
<i>thgm</i>	132
<i>HDY</i>	
<i>hd</i>	165
<i>yhd</i>	99,164
<i>thdy</i>	164
<i>hbrm</i>	67
<i>hbr(m)</i>	67
<i>hđl</i>	66
<i>HWY(1)</i>	170
<i>'ahw</i>	169
<i>'ahwey</i>	169
<i>hwt</i>	98,169
<i>thw</i>	169
<i>HWY(2)</i>	171
<i>tšthwy</i>	101,104,171
<i>HWS</i>	
<i>'ahš</i>	155
<i>hwt</i>	70
<i>hšbm</i>	79
<i>hšm</i>	63,66
<i>hšr</i>	24
<i>hšt</i>	66,76
<i>hž(m)</i>	63,66
<i>hžr</i>	7,23,24
<i>HYY</i>	
<i>hyt</i>	98
<i>yh</i>	164
<i>hym</i>	6,7
<i>HKM</i>	
<i>hkmt</i>	97
<i>hīb</i>	7
<i>HLL</i>	
<i>hl</i>	171
<i>hln</i>	26
<i>HMD</i>	
<i>hmdm</i>	123
<i>yhmdm</i>	123
<i>yhmdnh</i>	118
<i>hmhmt</i>	176
<i>hmyt</i>	69,75,83
<i>HMM</i>	
<i>yšhmm</i>	107,176
<i>hmr(m)</i>	68
<i>hmt</i>	39,69,75
<i>HNN</i>	
<i>'ahnnn</i>	26,174
<i>hnny</i>	26,175
<i>hnth</i>	173
<i>hnny</i> (see <i>HNN</i>)	
<i>hnth</i> (see <i>HNN</i>)	

- HSL*
yhslnn 135
HSP
thspn 119
HRK
yhrkn 107
HRR
thrr 172
HRŠ
'ihtrš 130
hrs(m) ("craftsman") 70
HŠB 25
hšbn 25
hšl (PN) 27
HDY
'ihd 42,117,163
HT?
nhf'u 118,131
thf'a 104,117
thf'an 119
thf'in 119
tšhf'ann 140
hym (PN) 27
hln 26
HLO
hlq 114
hlqt 114
hm'at 7,75
hmnh (PN) 179
HMS
yhmš 135
hmš ("fifth") 93,94
hmš(t) ("five") 87,88,90,91
hmšm 87,90,91,92
hmt 37
HSS
yhssk 174
thss 174
HSR
hsrt 96,113,133
hpl (PN) 27
HŠB
thšyb 130
hrs 7,69
HRR
hr 171
HT?
ht'u 124
hty (GN) 74
htny 14
htnm b'l 193
TBH
tbh 120,160
ttbh 118
thrm 24,45,69,207
thrm 'iqn'im 193
THN
thnn 53
TLL
yll 172
tlmyn (PN) 27
T'N
nf'n 118
z'i (see *YŽ?*)
zby 40,65
zbyh 23
zhrm 24,207
ŽHQ
yzhq 23
zl 23
ŽPN
tzpn 119
zrw 40
-y (pronoun) 51
y (vocative) 187
YBL 25
'abl 147
bl 149
ybl 127,146
yblnh 53,148
yblt 146
nbln 148
ybl ("produce") 69
ybmt 28
yd ("love") 65,74
yd ("hand") 6,42,62
yd ("with") 199
yddl (see *DLL*) 12
ydm ("hands") 62,80
YD'
'ad' 44,147
'id' 44,147
d' 149
yd'm 123
yd't 97,123
yd'tk 97,146
id' 14
ydl (see *DTI*)
YŽN
yzn 147
YŽ?
z'i 23,149
ykr (see *KRR*)
ykrkr 176
YLD 26,145
'ašld 83,153
wld 42,150
yld 127

YLD continuation

<i>ylt</i>	14,29,84,147
<i>tld</i>	107,148,149
<i>tdn</i>	107,148,149
<i>ylm</i> (see <i>HLM</i>)	
<i>ylmn</i> (see <i>HLM</i>)	
<i>ym</i> ("sea")	12,65
<i>ym(m)</i> ("day[s]")	38,79,85,93
<i>ymy</i>	14
<i>ymn</i>	6
<i>ymm</i> (du.)	79
<i>ymmt</i>	28
<i>ymr</i> (see <i>MRR</i>)	
<i>ymt</i> ("days")	79
<i>yn</i>	7,37,65,90
<i>ynphy</i> (see <i>PHY</i>)	
<i>YNQ</i>	
<i>ynqm</i>	149
<i>mšnqt</i>	153
<i>y^clm</i>	67
<i>yphm</i> (see <i>PHY</i>)	
<i>yph</i>	4,26
<i>ypl^t</i> (PN)	27
<i>yplm</i> (PN)	27
<i>ypm</i>	43
<i>Y^p</i>	
<i>y^p</i>	146
<i>yprsh</i>	177
<i>Y^s</i>	23
<i>'ašš'ihm</i>	11
<i>'ašš'u</i>	153
<i>'ašš'uk</i>	100,153
<i>yš^a</i>	96,110,146
<i>yš^{an}</i>	105,147
<i>yš^{at}</i>	111,126,146
<i>yšⁱ</i>	19,147
<i>yšⁱhm</i>	125,150
<i>yš^u</i>	101,147
<i>yš^{unn}</i>	148
<i>yšš^a</i>	38,42,153,163
<i>yššⁱ</i>	153
<i>mšš^u</i>	14,38,153
<i>š^at</i>	150
<i>šš^a</i>	152
<i>šš^{at}</i>	153
<i>šš^u</i>	153
<i>tšⁱ</i>	19,103,148
<i>tš^u</i>	104,148
<i>tš^{un}</i>	148
<i>YŠQ</i>	
<i>yšq</i>	127,148
<i>yšqm</i>	12
<i>šq</i>	149

YŠR

<i>yšrm</i>	69,121,149
<i>YQG</i>	24
<i>tgq</i>	32,131,151
<i>yqt</i> (see <i>QTI</i>)	
<i>yqlql</i>	177
<i>yr</i> (see <i>YRY</i>)	
<i>YR²</i>	
<i>yr^a'un</i>	12,102,148
<i>yrⁱin</i>	146
<i>yr^u</i>	147
<i>yr^a'un</i> (see <i>YR²</i>)	
<i>YRD</i>	25
<i>'ard</i>	16,116,147
<i>yrd</i>	147
<i>yrdm</i>	149
<i>yrdn</i>	148
<i>yrt</i>	29,98,113,146
<i>nrd</i>	148
<i>rd</i>	149
<i>šrd</i>	152,153
<i>trd</i>	148
<i>YRH</i>	151
<i>yrh(m)</i>	28,33,64,67,94
<i>YRY</i>	
<i>yr</i>	39,42,164
<i>tr</i>	148,164
<i>yrq h^rš</i>	207
<i>yrt</i> (see <i>YRD</i>)	
<i>YRT</i>	
<i>'artm</i>	147
<i>'itrⁱ</i>	151
<i>YŠN</i>	25
<i>yšn</i>	147
<i>yštql</i> (see <i>ŠQL</i>)	
<i>ytmr</i> (see <i>'MR</i>)	
<i>YTN</i>	146
<i>'atn</i>	147
<i>'atnk</i>	6
<i>'itin</i>	44,147
<i>wtn</i>	42
<i>ytn</i>	39,53,127,147,149
<i>ytnm</i>	148
<i>ytnnm</i>	11,53
<i>ytnⁱ</i>	30,146
<i>ytt</i>	30,97,146,215
<i>ntn</i>	38,152
<i>štn^t</i>	31,152
<i>tn</i>	149
<i>tnn</i>	101,127,148,149
<i>ytt</i> (see <i>YTN</i>)	
<i>YTB</i>	25,29
<i>'atb</i>	116
<i>'atbn</i>	106,147

- y**lb*** 114,146,148
*y**l**l**b*** 154
*y**l**l**b**n* 29,154
l**b** 149
l**b**i**h** 150
YTQ****
*y**l**q***** 147
-k (pronoun, m.s.) 51
-k (pronoun, f.s.) 51
k(y) ("which") 13,189,197,219
k ("if") 221,222
k(y) ("verily") 190,191
k(y) ("when") 222
*k**b**k**b**(m)* 31,74
KB**D**
*y**k**b**d*** 135
*k**b**d* 136
*n**k**b**d*** 132
*t**k**b**d*** 135
*t**k**b**d**n**h*** 101,106,135
*k**b**d* ("heavy") 89
*k**b**d* ("liver") 56,78
*k**b**d* ("midst") 199
*k**d**m* 79
*k**d**d* 22,108
*k**w**(t)* 80
KW**N** 206
*'a**š**k**n*** 160
*y**k**n* 202
*k**n*** 155
*t**k**n* 157
*t**k**n* 96,100,157,218
*t**š**k**n*** 160
*k**k**b**m*** 31,74
*k**k**r(m)* 31,74,79
*k**l*** 178
KL**Y**
*'a**k**l* 104,169
*'a**k**l**y*** 169
*y**k**l* 170
*y**k**l**y*** 101,169
*k**l**y* 122,167
*k**l**t* 168
*m**k**l**y*** 104,169
*n**k**l**y*** 131,168
*t**k**l* 103,169
*t**k**l**y*** 169
KL**L**
*y**k**l**l**n**h*** 174
*-k**m*** (pronoun, m.pl.) 51
*-k**m*** (pronoun, du.) 52
*-k**n*** (pronoun, f.pl.) 51
*k**n*** ("behold") 186
*k**m*** ("as") 11,197
*k**m**m* 198
KM**S**
*t**k**m*s 32,138
*k**n**'n**y*** (GN) 74
*k**n**p* 67
*k**n**r* 70
*k**s*** 7,62
*k**s**'a**t*** 47,78
*k**s**'y* 52
*k**s**'u* 10,16,78,82
*k**š**'u* 10
KS**Y**
*y**k**s* 101,169
*k**š**m*m 77
*k**š**m*n 77
*k**s**t* 39,75
*k**p*** 81
*k**r**m*m 64
KR**'**
*y**k**r'* 117,118
*k**r**p*n 7
*k**r**p*n**m** *y*n 193
KR**R** 172
*y**k**r* 172
KŠ**D**
*t**k**š**d*** 22,108
*k**š**p*m 70
*k**t**n(t)* 78
l (prep.) 6,11,52,12,17,91,92,195,196
l (negative) 183
l (asseverative) 29-38,191,192
l (vocative) 186,187
l'a (see *L'Y*)
L'Y
l'a 43,124,167
l'i 166
l'u 164
l'u'an 13,103,165
L'K
*'i**l**'a**k*** 115,117,123
*l'a**k*** 120
*l'a**k**m* 123
*l'i**k*** 113,114
*l'i**k**t* 11,16,97,98,113,114
*l'u**k*** 68,122
*l'u'a**k**n* 126,137
*l'u'i**k*** 115,134
*l'u'i**k**n* 115,135
l'im 16
*l**b*** ("heart") 11,66
*l**b**'im* *thw* 193
*l**b**n(m)* 67
LB**Š**
*š**l**b**š**n* 138

- lbš(m)* 27
lhm 78
LWN
yln 156
LWŠ
ylšn 157
LHK
lšk 119
LHM
ʾilhm 115,117
ʾilhmn 132
yšlhm 99,139
lhm 120,125,126
nllhm 118
šlhm 140
ilhm 106,119
ilhmn 100,106,107,119
išlhm 139
lhmd 31
LḤŠ
mlḥš 136
lḥpn (PN) 24
lḥšt 122
lzḥpn 24
lm ("why") 183
lm (prep.) 196
LMD
ʾalmdk 134
lpm 199
lpnk 199
lpš 27
LQH 30,71,141
ʾiqh 30,117,141
yqh 30,141
lqh 11,82,114
lqht 141
nlqht 30,131,144
qh 142
qhn 142
qhny 54,142
iqh 141
iqhn 141,218
lšnm 79
lšnt 79
-m ("if") 34
m (enclitic part.) 192,193
m(n) (prep.) 196,197
MʿD
ʾamʿid 117,134
mʿab 18,197
mʿad 18,208
mʿahdh (GN) 179
mʿahy 136,197
mʿat (=mh+ʿat) 34,59
mʿat ("hundreds") 16,47,75,78,80,87,91
mʿid(y) 17,18,64,185,208
mʿiḥd ("plated") 72,123
mʿiḥdym 18,33
mʿit 17,62,75,78,80,86,91,92
mʿitm 79,80,87,91
mʿud 18
mbk 27,30
MGN
mgnm 30,115,133
nmgn 119
tmgnn 119,136
mdbh(t) 72
mdd(t) 71,76,123,149,150
mddih 150
mdw 72
MDL
tmldn 103,118
mdʿ 38,71,183
mh 15,34,59
mh ("her water") 43
mhy (=mh+hy) 15,59
mhk 60
mhkm 60
mhr 78
MWT
ʾamt 12,45,116,124,155
mt 103,155
mtm 124,158
mtt 12,155
mttn 103,156,158
MZL
ymzl 123
mzl 123
mzny 38
mznm 79,81
MZ
tmzʿ 118
mḥllm 71,175
mḥmd 31
mḥrtt 123
mḥ 66
mḥdy (GN) 32
MḤŠ
ʾimḥš 130
mḥš 69
mḥsm 121
mḥst 108
**mḥst* 28
tmḥš 6,108,118
tmḥš 12,130
tmḥšn 130
mḥmšt 94
mḥšt 23,28

mł 42
młll 24
młbn 179
MTR

mšmtr 140
tmtrm 100,106,119
młth 71,72,179

MZY
ymzy 104

mžll 24
mžm'a 23,137
my ("who") 41,58,59
my ("what") 59
my ("water") 43
mk 186
mknt 72,76
mks 42

MKR
mkrm 89,121
tmkrn 127,132

ML'
ymł'u 100,117,118,135
mł'a 110
mł'at 67,75,114
mmł'at 137
nmł'u 135

mł'ak(m) 71
mlbš 72
młhmt 71,132
młhš (see *LHŠ*)

MLK
²*amlk* 116
²*amlkn* 134
ymlk 14
mlk 114
nmk 116,135

mlk ("kingship") 82
mlk(m) ("king[s]") 7,14,64,82
mlkt 64

MLL
tmll 172

mmł'at (see *ML'*)
mn 59
mn(m) 59
mnh̄m (PN) 136
nmkm 59,60
nmn 59,60

MNN
ymnn 175
mmnnm 175

mnt(y) 14
msdi 38
msw̄h 179
MSS

ymsš 10,175

m' 194
m'msh (see '*MS*)
m'msy (see '*MS*)
m'šd 71
m'rb 71
m'gd 21
m'gz 165
MGY 24

²*amgy* 116,163
ymg 100,164
ymgy 104,164,165
ymgyn 11,105,164
m'g 43,162,165,167
m'gy 124,162,167
m'gyt 42,162
m'gny 163
m'gt 96,162
tmg 164
tmgy 163
tmgyy 15,165
tmgyn 165

m̄p̄hm 72
m̄p̄th 26
m̄p̄th 26
m̄šb̄tm 71
m̄sd 40,72
m̄sdh 40,179
MSH

ymšhn 132
m̄šltm 72,79
m̄šmt 29
m̄šs 173
m̄šqt 40,72
m̄šrm (GN) 84
m̄qhm 30
m̄qm 72
m̄qmh 40
m̄qr 28,40,72
MR'

ymr'u 118
mr'at ("fat") 68,75
mr'ā 13
mr'u(m) ("fading[s]") 13,16,68,82
mr'u(m) ("officer[s]") 10,16,76,77,78,87
mrb' 94,95
mrzh 72
mrh(y) 14,84
mrhqm 179,197
mrhqt 71
mrhqt̄m 179,197
mr̄ym 40,72
mrkbt(m) 71,75,79,80
mrmt 40,72

MRS

<i>mrš</i>	113
<i>mrqdm</i>	72,137
MRR	172
² <i>amrk</i>	172
<i>ymr</i>	172
<i>mr</i>	173
<i>tmr</i>	173
<i>tmrn</i>	172
<i>mrī</i>	37,71
<i>mšb't</i>	94
<i>mšp't</i>	145
MŠH	
<i>ymšh'm</i>	54
<i>mšmr</i> (see MTR)	
<i>mšm't</i>	71
<i>mšt</i>	72
<i>mšt</i>	72
<i>mt</i> ("death")	7,38,65
<i>mt</i> ("man")	62
<i>mtdbm</i>	30,143
<i>mtnm</i>	80
<i>mtntm</i>	37
MT	
<i>mtf</i>	115
MTR	
<i>šmtr</i>	140
<i>mtrht</i>	72,123
<i>mtt</i> (see MWT)	
<i>mtb(t)</i>	38,71,72
<i>mtđt</i>	94
<i>mtłt</i>	94
<i>mtn</i>	181
-n (pronoun)	51
<i>nbk(m)</i>	27
NŠ	
<i>n'ish</i>	143
<i>n'isy</i>	121
<i>n'isk</i>	121
NBT	
<i>tbł</i>	141
<i>ng</i> (see NGY)	
NGH	
² <i>angh</i>	134
<i>ynghn</i>	144
NGY	
<i>ng</i>	165
NGŠ	
<i>ngšnn</i>	140
NGT	
<i>tngh</i>	145
NDD	
<i>ydd</i>	172
<i>ndd</i>	171

<i>td</i>	172
NDR	
<i>ndr</i>	141
NWH	
² <i>anh'n</i>	106,116,155
<i>nht</i>	154
NWR	
<i>nr</i>	97,155
NHT	
<i>ynht</i>	144
NTI	
<i>nłtt</i>	171
<i>łtt</i>	173
-ny (pronoun)	52
<i>nkl</i> (PN)	14
NSK	
² <i>ask</i>	116,141
<i>ynsk</i>	144
<i>ysk</i>	127,143
<i>nškn</i> ("pourers")	121,143
<i>sk</i>	142
NS	
<i>ys^c</i>	141
^š <i>s'n</i>	145
^š <i>s'n</i>	141
N'R	
<i>yn'mh</i>	145
NGŠ	
<i>tnğš</i>	141
<i>tnğšn</i>	144
NGR	24
<i>ngr</i>	121,143
<i>łgrk</i>	30,84,142
<i>łgrn</i>	141
<i>npk</i>	27
NPL	
<i>ypl</i>	141
<i>npl</i>	96,140
<i>nplt</i>	140
<i>łpl</i>	100,104,142
<i>łtpl</i>	143
NP^x	
<i>ynp^c</i>	144
<i>yp^c</i>	141,144
<i>npš</i>	12,52,82
NŠB	
<i>nšb</i>	143
NŠL	
<i>ynšl</i>	144
<i>nqdm</i>	121
<i>nm</i> (PN)	12
<i>nt</i>	66
NŠ^o	25
<i>ys^ou</i>	141,142

<i>yt^ɔi</i>	30,143	<i>spsg</i>	5,31
<i>yt^ɔu</i>	143	<i>SPR</i>	
<i>n^ɔat</i>	141	<i>'ašspr</i>	139
<i>n^ɔi</i>	125,143	<i>spr</i> ("letter")	65,82
<i>n^ɔu</i>	111,141	<i>šm</i> (PN)	10
<i>ša</i>	142	<i>sm</i> (PN)	10
<i>šu</i>	142	<i>'bd</i>	64
<i>t^ɔa</i>	142	<i>'bdyrh</i> (PN)	27
<i>t^ɔan</i>	142,144	<i>'bdyrg</i> (PN)	27
<i>t^ɔu</i>	12,30,100,103,141	<i>'gl(m)</i>	66
<i>t^ɔun</i>	141	<i>'glt</i>	66
<i>NŠQ</i>		<i>'d</i>	190,199,223
<i>'anšq</i>	144	<i>'DB</i>	
<i>ynšq</i>	144	<i>y^ɛdb</i>	108,126
<i>yšq</i>	30,141	<i>'db</i>	108,120
<i>tnšq</i>	145	<i>'dbnn</i>	124,215
<i>NTK</i>		<i>'dbt</i>	93,96,113
<i>ytk</i>	141	<i>ɛdb</i>	126
<i>tnlkn</i>	132,144	<i>ɛdbn</i>	119
<i>NTK</i>		<i>'DD</i>	
<i>ynlkn</i>	145	<i>yɛdd</i>	176
<i>nlk</i>	144	<i>'DY</i>	
<i>S^ɔD</i>		<i>y^ɛd^ɔnh</i>	164
<i>s^ɔad</i>	120	<i>'DR</i>	
<i>s^ɔid</i>	16,113,114	<i>y^ɛdrk</i>	21
<i>t^ɔad</i>	117,118	<i>'drt</i>	21
<i>s^ɔin</i>	16	<i>'WP</i>	
<i>SBB</i>	202	<i>'p</i>	158
<i>ysb</i>	172	<i>ɛpn</i>	157
<i>nsb</i>	174,202,203	<i>ɛpp</i>	159
<i>sb</i>	171,202,203	<i>'WR</i>	
<i>šb</i>	176	<i>ɛrk</i>	159
<i>sbsg</i>	31	<i>'wr</i>	41,69
<i>SGR</i>		<i>wrt</i>	41,70
<i>sgr</i>	114	<i>'z(m)</i> ("goat[s]")	66
<i>špr</i> (PN)	27	<i>'z(m)</i> ("strong")	23,63
<i>SKN</i>		<i>'ZZ</i>	
<i>škn</i>	140	<i>y^ɛzz</i>	172
<i>skn</i> ("commissioner")	77	<i>'z</i>	173
<i>škn</i>	10	<i>ɛzzk</i>	175
<i>ššw</i>	10	<i>'zm</i> ("bone")	23
<i>ssw(m)</i>	10,89	<i>'zm</i> ("mighty")	68
<i>sswm</i>	74	<i>'YN</i>	
<i>igr</i> (PN)	27	<i>ɛn</i>	156
<i>SP^p</i>		<i>'l</i> ("leaf")	42
<i>'isp^ɔa</i>	105,117	<i>'l</i> (prep.)	199
<i>'isp^ɔi</i>	117	<i>'LY</i>	
<i>ysp^ɔi</i>	124	<i>y^ɛl</i>	164
<i>ysp^ɔu</i>	101,115,117	<i>yš^ɛly</i>	170
<i>sp^ɔu</i>	14,69,121,124	<i>n^ɛl</i>	165
<i>tsp^ɔi</i>	19,118	<i>'l</i>	42,162,165
<i>SPD</i>		<i>'ly</i>	162
<i>mšpdt</i>	140	<i>'lyh</i>	125
<i>spl</i>	64	<i>'lyt</i>	15,42,162

'LY continuation
'li 42,162
'ly 170
'lyt 139,170
'l 164,165
'ln 100,165
'l 170
'lynh 53,170
'lm(t) 7,69,179
'lmh 179
'm ("with") 199,200
'm ("people") 65
'my 200
'mm (prep.) 200
'mn 14,52,199
'mnh 53
'mny 54,199
'MS
y'msnh 106
y'msnn 54,136
m'msh 137
m'msy 14,137
'ms 136
'mq 208
'mq nsm 208
'n(m) ("eye[s]") 80
'NY
y'ny 164
n'n 42,168
'n 43,124,167
'nhm 42,162
'ny 33
'nyn 165
'nn 38
'nt ("springs") 63,65,80
'nt ("now") 76,180
'p'p 74
'PP
'pp 174
'pr 6
's(m) 66,89
'r ("young ass") 65
'r ("town") 66
'RB
'rb 82,96,114
'rbt 113,114
'rbn 218
'rb 139
'rbn(m) 73
'RY
'ryt 162
'RK
'rk 126
'm 179

'r 74
'rpt 5
'sr 87,88,89,90,91,93
'srh 89,90
'srn 90,91
'srt 88,89,90,91
's(y) 87,90
'tn 180
'TQ
'tqn 119
GDD
t'gdd 172
g'zr 6
GZY
ngz 165
g'ztn 163
t'gzyn 165
gym (PN) 27
GLY
y'gby 99
t'gl 164
t'gby 165
GLL
t'gll 172
g'lm 23
GM
g'm'it 17,23,97,114,123
g'm'u 97,123
gr 23,24,66
t'grk (see *NGR*)
pdty (PN) 12
p ("mouth") 62
p (conjunction) 188
p'amt 88
p'it 62
PDY
pdty 96,97,162
pdh 21
PHY 168
'iph 42,117,163
'iphn 163
ynphy 31,168
yph 164
yphn 99,117,164
ph 165
tph 164
phryh 15
PZL
npzl 132
PLT
ypltk 135
npkt 131
PLY
yphy 169

- plk* 71
PNY 34
 tpnm 165
pnt 63,66
PL 28
p'n(m) 31,80,81
PR
 yp'r 118
pr ("fruit") 40,66
pr(m) ("bull[s]") 12
PR^c
 tptr^c 130
pr^c 93
PRR
 'apr 172
 tp 172
prt 12,76
PTH
 ypth 118,126
 pth 120,124
 tpth 125
PTY
 ypt 30
 ypthm 169
š'at 62,75
š'in 23
sb'a 13
sb'v'a 13
sb'im 77
šdqšlm (PN) 28
šWD
 šd 155
 tšdn 100,102,156,
 157
šwdt 41
šWH/šYH
 yšh 104,157
 šhtkm 126,155
 tšh 157
 tšhn 157
šWQ
 ššq 97,160
 tššqnh 160
šWR
 tšr 156
šHQ
 yšhq 23,118
 šhq 124
 tššhq 139
šhrt 176
štqšlm (PN) 28
šLY
 yšly 169
šMD
- tšmd* 103
šmdm 88
šGD
 yšgd 118
šgr (PN) 23
šp 40
šPY
 špy 122,128,162,167
 špyt 122,167
šrt
QB^p
 qb'itm 114
QBR
 'aqbrmh 53,116,118
qdm 200
qdmh 200
qdqd 7,12,74
qds 65
QWM
 qm 155,158
 tqm 156
QIT
 tqtn 173
qtn 67
QYL
 ql 157,158
 qbny 155
 qlt 97,154
 šql 160
 šqlt 160
 tql 101,156
 tqln 157
qz 23,37,93
ql ("voice") 26
QLš
 yqlšn 135
qmh 26
qmš 26
QNY
 'aqny 116
 yqny 41
 qny 162
 qnyt ("creatress") 75,121,166
qnm 43
QNS
 tqtnsn 107,130
qs 42
QSR
 tqsrn 85,119,137
qr ("voice") 26
QR^p
 'igr'a 104,105
 'igr'an 105
 'igr'akm 104

- QR*² continuation
yqr'a 104,118
yqr'un 52,53,118
qr'a 114,120
qr'an 120
qr'at 111,114
qr'it 69,75,121
qr'itm 114
qr'u 111,114
tqr'u 117,118
- QRB*
šqrb 139,140
tqrb 119
- qrb* ("midst") 200
qrht 35
- QRX*
qxy 15,166
tqxy 164
- qxyt* 75
qxmm 78,80
qmt 78
qri(m) 18,39,67,75,79
qrth 179
qštm 79
- QTT*
yqt 172
- RŠ*
yr'aš 17,117
r'ašm 64,79
r'ašt(hm) 63,79
r'iš 7,16,63,64
r'išyt 15
r'išt(hm) 63,64,79
r'uš 17
rb(m) 63,65
- RBB*
rb 173
rbt 97,171
rbbt 63,66,80,93
- RB*^c
'ašrb' 139
rb'(t) 93,94,95
rbt(m) ("myriad[s]") 66,79,80,83,93
rbt ("large, great") 65,173
rbt ("lady") 76
- RGM*
'argmk 116
yrgm 126
rgm 11,120,121
rgmt 113,114
trgm 117
- RWM*
yrmmh 159
rm 159
- trmm* 106,159
trmmn 159
- RHM*
rhmt 97,114
- RHŠ*
yrthš 130
trthš 131
- RHQ*
šrhq 138
- RHP*
'arhšp 134
ršbt 121
trhšp 135
- RTŠ*
rš 158,172
- RKB*
rkb 5,120
- RNN*
'arnn 174
- r'y(m)* 69,166
- RGB*
rgb 97,123
rgbt 23,97,114,
 123
rgbn 73
- RP*²
trp'a 117,119,136
rp'u(m) 16,76,77
rš (see *RYŠ*)
RŠ^c
trš 104,117
š 25,42,62
- ŠB*
š'ib 121,126
š'ibt 69,122
- ŠL* 129
'iš'al 115,117
yš'al 115
yš'ul 115
yšš'il 139
yšš'il 129
š'al 123,125
š'il 113,114
tš'al 129
- ŠR*
'išl'ir 128
- š'alm* 70
š'inm 16
š'ir 65
šbh 31
- ŠBY*
'ištbm 168
- šbyn* 122,167
ŠBM 40,168

- šbm* 40
ŠB^c ("to be satisfied")
šb't 97,113
ŠB^c ("multiply 7 times")
yšb^c 135
šb'(t) 88,89,91,93
šb'id 32,92,178
šb'd(m) 32,92
šb'm 91
šd 25,42
ŠDD
yšdd 172
ŠYR
ʔašr 116,155
yšr 123
šr 123
ŠYT
ʔaštk 116,215
ʔištn 44,155
yštk 215
yštn 156
št 155,157
štn 157
štt 96,155
tšt 156,156,157
tštn 215
tštnn 105,156
ŠKB
škb 113,114
ŠKH
nškh 131
škllt 176
ŠKN
ʔaškn 160
yštkn 130
tškn 160
ŠKR
yškr 123
škr 123
šlbšn (see *LBŠ*)
ŠLW 161
ʔašlw 26,161,163
šl 167
ŠLH
ʔašlhk 134
ʔišlh 117,134
yšlh 12
nšlh 131
šlyt 15
ŠLM
yšlm 118
šlm 133
tšlmk 117
tšlmn 139,218
šlm 68
šlmn 179
šm 62
šm'al 25,47
ŠMH 25
yšmh 118
nšmh 118
šmh 114,124
tšmh 104,119
šmym 15,43
šmm 43,67,167,179
šmmh 179
šmn 26
ŠM^c
ʔišm^c 33,130
šm^c 24,112,121,
125
šm't 113
šmt 30
šmtr (see *MTR*)
ŠN^c 25
šn'a 5,97,110,114
šn'u 77
ŠNW 161
šnw 161,162
šnt 39,97,162
ŠNN
yšn 174
ŠNP
tšnpn 119,127
šnt (see *ŠNW*)
šnt ("year") 62,76
šnt ("sleep") 62
šntm 79
ššb (see *SBB*)
ŠSY
šsk 167
šsk (see *ŠSY*)
šrt 64,75
šph 31
ŠPK
tšpkm 118
ŠPL
špl 120
špš 28,64
špšm 179
špt(hm) 53,62
šsq (see *ŠWQ*)
ŠQY
yšsq 99,170
ššqy 42,171
tššqy 170
tšqy 164
tšqym 164

ŠQL

ʔišṭql 130
yšṭql 99,130
tšṭql 130

ŠRG

tšrgn 118

ŠRP

tšrpnn 53,118

št ("thorn bush") 37

ŠTY

ʔišṭynh 108,117,163
ʔišṭn 106,117,163
yšṭ 164
nšṭ 165
šṭ 166
šty 42,126,162,166,167
šṭym 166
šṭm 165
šṭ 39,108,162,
tšṭ 164
tšṭyn 42,106,107,165
tšṭn 42,43,100,165

šṭnt (see *TYN*)

šṭšr(m) 73

TB^c

yṭb^c 117
ṭb^c 114,115,121,124
ṭṭb^c 118,119

ṭgwln (see *GWL*)

ṭgnr 73

ṭgrgr 177

ṭd (see *NDD*)

ṭdrq 73

ṭhw 40

ṭhm(t) 45,68,81

ṭhmtm 68,81

TWR

tštr 160

ṭwth 151

ṭzḡ (see *ZḠW*)

ṭḥt 200

ṭḥḥ 200

ṭk 38,65,77,200

ṭkms (see *KMS*)

ṭp^cyṭ 73

ṭlmdm 73

ṭlmyn (PN) 27

ṭmṭk 76

ṭnr (see *MRR*) 173

ṭmt 73

ṭsrk (see *WSR*)

ṭ^cglṭ 73

ṭp ("drum") 66

ṭp ("beauty") 73

ṭpky (see *BKY*)

ṭpnn (see *PNT*)

TQG 24,151

ṭqḡ (see *YQG*)

ṭr (see *YRI*)

ṭrbs 73

TRḤ

ʔitrḥ 81,83

ytrḥ 118

ṭrṭ 7

tšlm 73

tš^c(t) 88,93

tšṭy (see *WSY*)

tšṭhwy (see *HWY*)

tštr (see *TWR*)

ṭṭkrm (see *TKR*)

ṭ^cat 48,75

ṭ^cigt 27

ṭ^cigt 27

ṭ^cut 48

ṭbt (PN) 31

TBR

yṭbr 107

ṭṭbm 118

ṭbr 107

ṭdt 29,93,94

ṭh 43

TWB 29

yṭb 156

yṭbn 157

yṭṭb 29,160

ṭṭb 156

ṭṭb 29,159,160,161

ṭṭbn 96,100,160,218

ṭb 98,157,160

ṭṭb 29,161

TYN

yṭtn 159

TKL

ṭṭkl 118

ṭkmm ḥmt 193

TKR

ṭṭkrm 29,139

ṭṭhn(m) 78,80

ṭṭhnt 78,80

ṭṭi(t) 5,12,29,68,88,89,90,91,93,94

ṭṭ^cid 92

ṭṭm 68,81,90,91,94

ṭṭtm 89

ṭm(t) 180

ṭmn(y) 180

ṭmn(t) 88,89,90,91,93

ṭmnym 15,90,91

ṭn ("two, second") 80,87,90,92,93

bn'id 92,178
INY
 ^ʾ*abyk* 163
 ^y*by* 164
 ^{by} 166
 bt 162
bnm 92
bn(m) 70
bn ("pairs") 88
bn ("second time") 39,181
bnh ("his urine") 75
IR
 ^y*r* 124
 ^ʿ*r* 124
ʾpt 7
ʾptb'l (PN) 31
ʾql(m) 66,81,95
ʾtr(m) 63,65
IRM
 ^ʾ*ym* 117
tt 80,87
tt(t) 12,26,29,88,90, 91,93
tt 32
ttm 81,91
tttm 81,89

Ugaritic Words in Syllabic Texts

ibila 39,146
ʾsa'a 39,110,146
^ʾ*adānu* 47,73
^ʾ*ad(d)urū* 45,70
^ʾ*admāni* 73
^ʾ*adūnu* (PN) 47
^ʾ*aḥadu* 87
^ʾ*ayyali* (PN) 69
^ʾ*allān* 70,84
^ʾ*anākū* 47,49,110
^ʾ*astri* 45,122
^ʾ*appu* 30,65
^ʾ*arzu* 64
^ʾ*arṣu* 64
^ʾ*attā* ("you") 30,49
^ʾ*apīb* 147
^ʾ*ebu/ʾību* 158
^ʾ*ibbīrāna* (PN) 44,70
^ʾ*išdu* 66
^ʾ*ugarīl* (GN) 47
^ʾ*ugarīya* (GN) 47,74
^ʾ*ullūpi* (PN) 44,70
^ʾ*umūta* 71
^ʾ*urnu* 66
baḥhūru 70
bā'(a)lūma 64,76

batāqu 123
be 37
bētu gubūri 69
bētu tarbaši 73,83
bi 194
bidālūma 68,76
bidālūna 68,77
bihīrū 46,68
bitta 30,62
bitti 30,62
bunušu 67
gallābu 70
dakaru 67
dīprānūma 73,77
dū 54
hallinīya 180
huwa 41,49
ziqanūma 77
ḥabalūma 64,77
ḥagabānu (PN) 46
ḥagbāna (PN) 47
ḥamūti 39,47,69,75,166
ḥarātu 47,123
ḥarīmu 68,122
ḥarṣāti 64,78
ḥuduru 67
ḥuwuwatu 70,76
ḥuwuwū 41,70,170
ḥurhurati 74
ḥarmūyātu 80,86
ḥēqu 38
ḥinnīšu 46
ḥi-nu-ta-mi 81
ḥuzḥru 67
ḥurāšu 69
ḥuhūru 45,69
yabṣīru 116
ya'arti (GN) 46
yāšīrūma 47,69,76,121,149
yarqāni 73
yōmu 39
kābisu 69
kaddūma 65
kakkara 74,82
kakkarūma 80,86
kināru 70
kubud(d)ti 71,76
kurḥkāt 67,78,80,84
kurḥku 67,84
lā 47
labanu 67
labbānu 70
le 195
ma'(a)dūma 17,64,185,208

- ma'ḥadi* (GN) 18,33
ma'ḥadīya 18
ma'ḥadu 33
maddatu 65,76
mazru 64
mazrūma 64
ma-aḥ-ḥa-[du] 33
malku 64
manṣar 71,84
masu/yatu 63
masaw/yātu 64,78
ma'zizi 72
ma'ṣad(ūma) 71,76
ma'ṣariša 95
ma'ṣaru 61,94
maṣillu 72
maqgab(ūma) 30,71,76,80,86
maqgadu 30,71
maqqaḥā 30,71,81
marziḥi 72
maryannī 78
markabti 71,75
mašlah/hāma 71,81
maḥḥatūma 71
maḥrū 41,182
maḥrū 41
mi'tē 38,81,86,91
miḥiṣūma 46,69
miḥar 46
mōbali 38
mōtabu 38,71
munahḥimu (PN) 136
mur'u 66
mur'ūma 66,80,86
na'badīšunu 132
naḥali 67
nāḡiru 121,143
napakīma 63
napakīmi 77
naḥtara 132
naḥtarū 131
naḥkīma 63
naḥku 63
niḡru 66,123
sākini 47
saplu 64
sarru 65
'abdu 64
'attā ("now") 30,76,180
'idīr 46,84
'idirtu 46
'iṣṣu 66
'urubānu 73
ḡamaruhīl 46,53,67
ḡamarūma 46,65,67
ḡamaruhīl 53,65
ḡamarūma 46,65,76
ḡamrušunu 46,65
ḡalidūma 67
ḡiṣru 123
ḡilakku 71
ḡirru 66
ḡullaṭu 70,137
ṣamata 110,113
ṣamatū 111,113
ṣā'i 62
ṣibbēri 46
ṣilyu 40,66
ṣiṣūma 62,84
qadarūma 80,86
qadišti 67
qaṭuna (PN) 67
qarītu 39,67,75
qidšu 65
ra'ṣasā'ir (GN) 16
rabbati 76
ṣadū 41,42,67
ṣallīma 133
ṣamūma 67,76
ṣā'a/irtu 46,64,75
ṣapšu 64
ṣarūma 77
ṣiharu 68
ṣīru 39,158
ṣītu 39,158
taba'a 113
tahāmatu 46,68
tapdīti 73,83
tarni 64
tibnu 66
tūt(ar)ḥu 46,151
tunmanu 70
ṭalḫūma 64
ṭannāni 70
ṭannānūma 70
ṭuqdūma 64,66
- Akkadian**
- almattu* 75
bīt ḫubūri 5
ešrā 90
išpatu 66
išlēmīš 182
ištu rūqiš 197
lišānātu 79
QU-(sign) 48
sūnu 16

<i>šī'āti</i>	50
<i>šū'āti</i>	50
<i>šūt</i>	54
<i>uqnū</i>	44
<i>warḥu</i>	64

Arabic

' <i>ahl</i>	64
' <i>aklu</i>	65
<i>dū</i>	54
<i>ZMR</i>	21
<i>HSB</i>	25
<i>yā</i>	187
<i>kawkabu</i>	31
<i>la-</i>	191
<i>mašdar</i>	123
<i>mī šāru</i>	95
<i>fa</i>	188
<i>sādisu</i>	29
<i>quḏām</i>	200
<i>ŠBM</i>	168

Aramaic

איה	187
איוי	187
אע	66
באחר	198
די	20,54
סור	24
מיומא דנן ולעלם	196
מן יומא דנן ולעלם	196
סאונא	16
סורא קדמאה	93
ען	180
ענב	180
עח	180
קדם	200
שקא	76
<i>HSB</i>	25

Egyptian Documentations

<i>šdd</i>	22
<i>HSB</i>	25
<i>na-ḥa-ri-na</i>	77
<i>na-ʿá-rú-na</i>	77

El-Amarna Tablets

<i>a-ba-da-at</i>	111
<i>a-nu-ki</i>	47
<i>i-bi</i>	158

<i>ú-bi-li-mi</i>	193
<i>ú-ša-ar</i>	137
<i>ba-di-ú</i>	198
⌈ <i>ba</i> ¹ -⌈ <i>mī</i> ¹ -⌈ <i>tī</i> ¹ ⌋	38,162
<i>ḥal-lī-iq</i>	137
<i>ḥa-ia-ma</i>	179
<i>ḥa-mu-du</i>	122
<i>ḥe-na-ia</i>	81
<i>ḥi-iḥ-bi-e</i>	138
<i>ḥu-mi-tu</i>	47
<i>yi-iš-ta-al</i>	129
<i>la-a ti-ka-pi-lu</i>	134
[<i>lá</i>]- <i>qa-ḥu</i>	111
<i>le-lá-ma</i>	179
<i>mi-im-am-ma</i>	60
<i>na-az-a-qi</i>	111,131
<i>na-aḥ-re-mi</i>	81
<i>na-aq-ša-ap-ti</i>	131
<i>na-aq-ša-pu</i>	131
<i>nu-uḥ-ti</i>	154
<i>nu-pu-ul-mi</i>	120,142
<i>ri-qa-mi</i>	179
<i>šú-ur-wu</i>	40
<i>qè-e-ší</i>	37
<i>ša-mi-ma</i>	77
<i>ša-mi-ti</i>	113
<i>šú-šú-mi</i>	193
<i>ta-aḥ-ta-mu</i>	200

Hebrew

אָבִיָּהוּ	33
אָבִיו	33
אָבִיקָשׁ	134
אָבִיבֵר	134
אָהֵל	64
אָוֵר	37
אָזַעַם	116
אָחֵדִים	88
אָחוּ	65
אָחִיָּהּ	43
אָחִיָּסָד	43
אָי	182
אָיָהּ	44,182
אָיִזְבֵּל (PN)	33
אָכַל	65
אָכָן	190
אָלֵהִים וְצַבָּאוֹת	193
אָלֵקָנָה	76
אָלֵחָקָא (GN)	108,128
אָלֵחָקָה (GN)	108,128
אָן	38,182
אָנִי	49
אָנָה	38,182

- אָנְכִי 49
אַרְבָּה 44
אַרְשַׁח שְׁפִלְיוֹ 44
אַשְׁפָּה 66
אַשְׁמֹאֵל (GN) 108,128
אַשְׁמֹעַ (GN) 108,128
בְּבִגְדֵי־קָה 123
בֵּירְקָק חֲרוֹץ 207
בֵּית חֶבֶר 4,5
בְּמוֹ 193,195
בְּנֵי־תִי 38,162
דָּעַה 150
ה־ 216
הֶאֱמַחַת 34
הֶאֱבֹחַת 81
הִי־סָר גֹּיִם 148
הִיחַ 162
הִלֵּם 180
הִקָּה 185
הֶעֱלֹחַת 63
הֶחֱפְקֹדִי 108,128
וְאֶסְרֵם 148
וַיִּבְקַל כְּמֵאֲדָרָה 208
וַיֶּחֱפְקֹדֵי 108,128
וַיִּלְאֵה נְחֹמִי 154
וַיִּנְהַפֹּךְ הוּא 124
וַיִּשְׁלַח סִפְרֵי־ם 124
וַיִּשְׁבַּח אֲנִי 124
וַיִּתְאַרְנֶה 156
זָה 54,188
זוֹ 20,54,188
זִיתִים 63,65
זָבַל 81
חֲמַתִּים 80
חֲנֹנִת 173
חָנָם 179
חֹרֵד 93
יְבֹלֵל 69
יְבִים 80
יּוֹם אֶחָד 93
יִחְדְּוּ 182
יָפַח 4
יָפִיחַ 4
יָצִיב 99
יָצַב 99
יָשׁ 187
יִשְׁכָּב 31
קָמוּ 193,197
קָן 186
קֶסֶף סִינַיִם 5
לְאֲדִירִים עַם 193
לְחֹתִים 80
לִכְתּוּב 150
לְלֶדַת 29
לָלַח 29
לְמוֹ 193,196
לְמִפְרַע 93
לְפָנַי 199
לָקַח 142
לָקַחְוִי 142
לְשִׁטְנוֹ 123
לְשֹׁנוֹת 79
מֵאוֹנִים 79
מֵאֵין 38,183
מֵאֶסְפָּה 17
מֵאֲרָבָה 44
מִבְּכֵי וְהִרְוֹת 27
מִדְּרוֹן 40
מִדְּוֵינַיִם 40
מִדְּוֵיעַ 38,183
מִדְּוֵינַיִם 40
מִדְּרַד 123,149
מִעֲזֹן 40
מִעֲנָן 40
מִעֲשֶׂר 61,95
מִעֲלֻתִים 72,79
מִרְזֵן 72
מִרְחֹק 197
מִרְכַּבְתָּה 75
מִרְחָנִים 80
מִתְנַיִם קָמוּ 193
נָא 194
נֶהְגַּי 131
נִלְדַד 142
נִסְבַּ 131
נִצַּר 142
נִשָּׂא 142
סִימֵי כֶסֶף 5,193
סִסְגִּינִי 74
סִפְרָה 65
עַד 4
עָץ 66
עֲשִׂירִים 90
עֲשָׂה 162
עֲתָה 180
פִּירוֹ 33
פִּיּוֹ 33
פִּנְחֵי־נֶגֶד 5
פָּעַם 32
צִיר 24
צָרִים 24
קָדַשׁ 65
קָטָן 67
קִיר־מוֹאָב 35
קִרְיָה 61
קִרְיָנִים 80
רִגְלֵי־ם 80
רָדַח 150

רִיָּקִים	179
רַעְבּוֹ	114
שָׁבַח	150
שָׁרִים	63,65
שִׁי	43
שָׁכַב	113
שָׁמָּה	180
שָׁמַיִם	76
שָׁמַעַי	113
שָׁמַעַי	113
שָׁנָה	76
שָׁנָיִם	80
שָׁפָּה	78
שָׁפְחוּתֵי	78
שָׁפְטִים	80
שָׁקַד	61
חֲבַעַל	116
חָרָן	61

Kâmed el- Lôz

<i>tu-wa-as-sa-ru-na</i>	137
--------------------------	-----

Moabite

ואלחחם	128
קַר	35
שַׁח	76

Phoenician

אלמת	76
בעלאובל (PN)	33
ז	20
זֶרֶא	22
זֶמֶר	21
ירח פעלת	33
לפג	199
נלקחא	30
חורתפף	128
חורתספף	128

Taanach Letters

<i>ma-ga-re-ma</i>	81
--------------------	----

Ugaritic Alphabetical Texts

1.1 III.	16	43,166
IV.	11	18
	17	166
1.2 I.	11	211
	14-15	104
	15	142,184

	19	21
	19-20	191
	20-21	126,148,213
	21	114,155
	23	63,64,79,99,165
	27	63,79,142
	28	33
	29	63,100
	30	165
	31	142,171
	32	32,122,130
	35	21,147
	36	24,187
	37	45,68
1.2 I.	39	6,195
	40	18,25,47,211
II.	30	80
III.	7	165
	19	204,217
IV.	2	11,192
	3	133
	4	144
	5	7,23,68,141
	6	96,110,146,192,212
	7	113,200,209
	7-8	192
	8	158,162
	8-9	6,181
	9	7,158
	10	7,56,69,211
	11	62,144,211
	14	62,73,80
	14-15	198
	16	34,80
	17	63,66,144
	18	144
	19	173
	21	120
	21-22	12
	22	177,198
	24	34
	25	177
	26	63,66,144
	27	169,172
	28	157,193
	29	157
	29-30	224
	30	122,167,203
	31	156
	32-33	191
1.3 I.	1	164,184
	3	16,113,114
	8	209
	10-11	7

1.3 I. *continuation*

2	23
9	79
22	32,130
22-23	128
II. 2	41,65
3	150
4	164
5	186
5-6	12,130
6	130
7	150
8	62,67,75,150
9	200
14	21
15	179
17-18	186
18	130,211
19	97
20	79
20-22	125
21	47
22	77
23	130,185
24	164
25	117,118,172
25-26	100
25-28	224
27	172
29	117,190,223
31-32	148
33	12,173
36	47,80
38	119
40-41	220
III. 10	50,136,158,171,214
11	121
12	28,166
15	132
16	23,142
17	25
20	151
20-21	187,202,204
22	163
25	31
26-27	55,182,219,221
28	166
29	163
32	164
34	141
35	57,215
36	182
37	59,146
38	23,28

39	63
40	168
41	23
42	63,64
43	23,28
45	23,28
46	130,168
47	151
IV. 4	59
5	212
8	15,71,132,166
12	151
13	116
24	116,141
28	132
29	116,141
33	39,97,155,162
34	191
36	63,65,80
38	150
39-40	213
40	138
41	157,200
42	43,119
42-43	178
V. 3	39,127,211
7	42
7-8	101
18	43
22	32,115,116
24	139
28	135
31	200
34	148
36	157
36-37	104
38	187,202,204
VI. 11	165
12-13	184
14-15	203
14-16	217
15-16	203
20	50,214
1.4 I. 4	69
12	16,24,62
13	65,71,203
13-15	203
14	38,65
16	16,38,62
17	24
19-20	188
20	140,194
22	75,121,165,166
23	72,162

1.4 I. continuation

24	198,205
25-26	12
26-28	212
27-28	12
28	63,66,81,92
28-29	193
30	79,80,92
38	78,110
40	38
43	63,66
II. 3	71
5	25,42
6	115
8	96
10	159,174
12	125,143
13-14	125,190,212
15	28,73
19	141
23	42
28	76
28-29	124
29	179
32	142
39	59
III. 11	176
12	135
13	38,65,152
13-14	200
14	39,162
14-16	108
15-16	218
16	62,117,163,195,214
17	25,80,110,114,215
17-18	5,89,97
19	20
21	34,141
22	34
23	45,181,198
24	24,42
25	119,136
28	136
28-29	182
29	165
30	30,115,121,133
31	20,65,163
32	166
33	119
35	165
36	50,214
43	37,193
IV. 6	207
7	68,76
9	65
9-10	214
10	155
10-11	57
11	207
12	68,76
14	156
16	18,45,140
17	31,74,203
18	198
19	40,115,178
20	181
20-26	101
21	27,30
22	68,81
24	62
25	123,156
27	185,189,190,223
28	23
29	176-177,212
30	62
31	162
32	26,41,161,162
33	23,114,123
33-34	97,189
34	23,114,123
35	166,189
36	78,166
38	62,65
39	159
42	98
43-44	7
44	204,218
50	34,37,65,186
50-51	202,204
51	23
58	55,189
59	50
59-62	216
60	50
62	37
62-V,1	127
V. 1	24,34,197
3	63,66,97,171
4	148
8	42
10	174
11	106
12	126
15	208
17	25
18	165
19	24,45,69,73,77,194
20	124

1.4 V. *continuation*

21	80
23	72
24	178
25	124
26	138
27	146,211
32	31
33	165
33-35	207
34	24,45
38	208
39	31
42	137
42-43	126
44-45	181,198
45	13,16,64,68,82,155
46	78,82,126
46-47	154
52	159
54	159
59-60	187
60	157
61	44,67,185
61-62	200
64	44
VI. 2	156
4	194
7	167
13	26,152
15	156
16	128
16-18	106
17	159
22	157
24	186
24-25	93
26	94
27	34,37,63,65
32	172
34	17
34-35	202,203
35	25,120,174
36	38,162
36-38	57,96
38	113
38-40	108
41	63,65,160
41-42	13
42	66
44	45
48	34
50	34
52	47,78

55	162
57-58	82
VII. 4	74
9	66,81,91
17	26,126
17-19	200
23	192
25	118
30	164
36	25,77
40	200,204
41	64
42	223
43	184,188,216
44	130
45-46	184
47	118
47-48	104
49-50	14,214,218
50	118
52-53	190
56	44
VIII. 1	149,184
5	23,142
7	149
10-11	184
11	75
12	10
13-14	82
15-16	119
20	119
22-23	43
23	43
23-24	71,123,149
25	25
27	157,158
28	121,171
1.5 I. 1	189,222
2	169
3	15,79
4	43
5	68,117
6	29,114,146
6-7	98,191
7	65
9	115,156
11	40
14	12
15	40
16	22
16-17	108
17	22
23	120
25	165

1.5 II.	5	37,40,65,66	14-15	105,190
	6	13,102,148	15	53,170
	8	121	16	53,164
	9	166	17	105,118,156
	12	57,215	18	118,193
	16	142	22	23
	17	157	24	41,69
	19-20	57	26	67
	22	52,53,118	32	148
III.	17	209	34-36	101
	22	18	36-38	106
	23	18,208	38	135
	24-25	208	39	119,181
IV.	5-7	182	39-40	104
	8	144	39-43	224
V.	6	193	41	155
	10	204	43	179
	13	23	44-46	217
	14	149	45-46	195,214
	16-17	223	46	134
	17	12,155	48	116,135,185
	18	12,18,45,66,76	53	43,124,167
	19	113,114	54	117,135,185
	20	53	57	164
	22	148,164	58	196
	23	138	59	165
VI.	1	156	59-60	192
	5	163	62	116
	8	163	65	74
	8-9	191	II.	6
	11	181	7	66,145
	11-12	196	7	66
	12	25	8	44,69
	15	40	9	38
	16	27,169	10	16,160
	16-19	101	11	30,42,141
	18	34	12	120
	19	20,34	13-14	186
	20	21	15	50,151
	23-24	59	16	66,207
	24-25	84,198	17	133,199
	25	16,116,147	17-20	96
	25-26	188,195,207	19	64,162
	26	151	22	44,50,124,215
	26-27	178	23	124
	28	164	24	66,176
1.6 I.	4	21	25	43,124,167
	6	16	26	79
	7	148	29	11,48,75
	8	148	31-32	195
	9	41,64,190,223	33	53,118
	10	65,73,179	34	42,53
	12	136	35-36	192
	14	12,25,30,141	36	169
			III.	3
				187,206

1.6 III. *continuation*

4	24	8	181
5	41,122,167	9	40,65,114
6-7	106,212	10	67
8	44,147,188,223	11	67,148,164
11	41,122,167	12	40,65
12	100,119	13	141
12-13	106	13-16	213
14	114	14	141
18	116	17	172
19	52	18	117,118
19-21	189	20	98,169
IV. 1	187	23	54,158
3	123	24	118,158
4	44,182	25	158
5	44,182,206	27	156
7	148,181,191	27-28	213
12	187	32	42,117,163
14	123	III. 3	30
15	44,182	9-10	188
16	44,182	20	70
19	76	29	164,179
20	134	31	73
22	38,183,187	37	25,118
V. 2	65	1.11 3	17
19-20	105,217,224	6	64
20	117	1.12	21,23
21	35	I. 10	119
21-22	189	12	23
25	169	13	63
VI. 10	15,43	14	23,149
11	43,193	16	76
12	156	19	23,149
14	15,31,43,146	21	38,200
15	193	23	45
17	144	26	16,69,121
19	145	28	118
20	132,173,202,217	30	78,80
21	158	30-31	205
23	194	31	65
23-24	187	34	151
24	37	36-37	104
24-25	130	38	123,192
26	37,184	39	174
28	82,191	II. 24	17,135
30	147	32	21
33	29	38	80
33-34	154	48	45
54	203	50	15
55-56	217	53	96,140,186
1.9 9	159	54	32,138
1.10 I. 4	31,74	59	69,122
II. 4-5	202,204	1.13 12	
6	96,114	4	12
		5	12,120

1.13 continuation

6	12,167
11	30
13	100,142
15	62,119
19	130
20	164,200
21	28
23	66
25	16,71
26	67,173

1.14 I.

6	66
7-9	219
8-9	204
9	16,35
10	158
11	72,76
12	207
13	123
14	65
15	157,204
16-20	94
17	73
18	130
18-19	128
21	143
22	158,173
23	17,18,150
24	31,71,130
25	15
26	67
26-27	225
28	33,132,144
29	66,179
30	71,72,179
31	25,147,167
31-32	223
32	125
33	13,62,103,165
36	35
37-38	123,125,223
38	34
38-39	59
41-43	216
42	17,135

II.

1	40,72
3	62,73
4	116
5	117,134
7	167
8	125
9	131
9-10	132
10	65,178,179

18	149
20	165
21	120,165
22	39,74,142,193
24	153
26	25,40,72
26-27	147,196
28	75
29	5
30	39,104
31	21,94
32	147
34	19,147
35	18,209
36	89
37	27,184
38	70
39	186
41	115
41-42	198
43	114
46	41,69,142
48-50	196
50	33,44,71,73,76,123,150
50-51	220

III.

3-4	186
4	75,163
5	65
9	28
10	38,137,173
10-11	93
11	94
12	66,170
13	62,179
14	145,179
16	26,27
17	26
18	39,75
20	200
21	179
22	207
23	40
24	71,89
26	179
27	165
28-29	7
29	156
30	173
31	38
31-32	203
32	29
33	71,183
38	188
39	149

1.14 III. *continuation*

39-41	219
39-46	56
41	203
42	203
43	73,208
45	26,40,161,163
45-47	219
46-47	224
47	35
48	26,42,150
52	130
52-54	199
53	178,179
55	23,37
IV. 3-4	178
4	39,193
6	152
11	99
22	69
22-23	123
24	41
28	123,150
29	44
31	148
31-32	102
32	181,198
36	180
38-39	190
40-41	189
40-43	221
41	30,117,141
43	147
44	12
44-45	93
45	12
46	94,181,198
47	164
59	38
60	49
V. 1	27
2	28,40,72,137
8	27
21	134
VI. 2	142
17-18	215
22-23	224
25	31
29	208
30	74
33	26,150
35	119
36-38	200
37	149

39	53
1.15 I. 2	23,137
3	29,139
5	42,164
6	35
II. 11	124
12	203
14-15	192
18	137
20	23
21	187
21-23	220
27	173
28	153
III. 7	148
8	148
9	148
10	148
13	185,208
14	78
15	15
16	134,217
17	135,165
17-19	213
18	64,165
20	150
22	186
25	175,211
28	165
30	172
IV. 7	65
17	139
18	23,40,65
21	157,178
25	25,218
27	126,155,167,217
V. 10	126,155,217
18	164
18-19	192
19	13
24	153
VI. 4	126,155,217
1.16 I. 2	197
3-4	103,158,190
4	156
6	164
10	193
13	147,174
14	118
14-15	7,105,184
15	157
17	33
17-18	158
18	156

1.16 I. *continuation*

20	33,182
20-23	188
22	38
25-26	172
26-27	103
27	66
31	184
33	97,114
35	150
36	13
44	140
51	126
55	27,164
56	113
59	113
II. 19-20	59,191
20	42,67
23	42
28	176
41	41,66
44	164
III. 9	66,76
12	111,141
13	122,167
14	167
IV. 9	191
14	41,59
17	135
19	206
20	135
22	206
24	149,157
26	130
27	160
28	135
48	42,166
VI. 2	118,166
3	123,156,158
4	41,156,164
6	42,164
7	164
11	126
11-12	213,225
17	120
17-18	224
18	115,117
23	16
23-24	196
26	26,152
27	149
28	166
29	130
30	24,32,131,151

33	75
35	72
38	116
39	117
39-40	199
41	186
42	24,32,33,130,132,151
44	160
45-47	192
46	75
48	199
51	29,113,114
53	116
55	187
56-57	7
1.17 I. 2	44,122
3	42
4	42
7	44,122
14	164
15	94,156
16	173
17-19	219
20	184
23	192
24	172
25-26	202,204
26	65,143
27	14,38,65,153
29	143
30	137
35	62,172
36	164
41	176
44	65
45	38,153
II. 3	121
6	113
9	62
10	118
12	147
12-13	106
12-15	224
13	155
14-15	127
17	65
18	121
19	121
20	14,113,137
21	14,121
24	12,164
26	114
30-31	99
32	139

1.17 II. <i>continuation</i>		22	92,120		
	33	170	23	66	
	35	170	24	19,148	
	38	170	24-25	103	
	39	114	28	215	
V.	3	139	29	223	
	3-4	94	31	135	
	6	143	33	92	
	6-7	56	36	111,146	
	7	156	40	39,163	
	7-8	211	1.19 I.	9	12,119
	8	66		14	12
	9	164,223		16	169
	10-11	125,190		16-17	127
	12	186		18	93
	13	181		21	143
	19	42,140,171		30	78
	20	51,120,136,214		32	199,211
	29	139,170		34-35	100,195
	30	117,118,135		36	118
VI.	7-8	7		39	169
	15	118,193		40-42	220
	9	28		41	12,172
	20	45		42-44	89
	21	41,45,65		44	184
	22	45,78		44-45	206
	24	28	II.	3	150
	26	44		5	150
	26-27	6		6	43
	27	120,136,184,215		7	206
	28	134,139		8	118
	28-29	200		8-9	103,223
	32	50,169		9	125
	34	118,187,193		10	156
	35	59		14	164
	36	5,31,59		15	144
	36-37	127,143		16	144
	38	50,116,124,155,192		17	17,135
	40	156		19	172
	44	16,47,73		26	192,195
	45	208		30	92
1.18 I.	9	116		33	33,141
	11	152		37	25,134
	13	135		38	153
	14	21		56	25
	16	97,114,146	III.	3	115
	19	174		4-5	206,223
	29	134		5	44,53,115,116
IV.	13	169		8-9	107,214
	15	128		10	78
	17	116,215		11	23,187,206
	18	197		13	50
	20	135		14	166,172
	21	134,198		14-15	99

1.19 III. <i>continuation</i>	5	148,173
15	6	78,162
20	10	42,69,121,124,165
23	2	104
25	3	16,76
31-32	6	69
33	7	116,163
34	9	16,77
39-40	10	104
42-44	11	16,76
44	5	23,145
45	8	77
53-54	11	160
54	12	160
55	13	57,77
56	17	64
IV. 5	21	119
5-6	21-24	106,212
6	22	42,43
8	23	165
8-9	24	42,43,65
9	1	104,105
9-10	3	39
10	6	42,45,120,166,195
12	7	68
13-14	8-9	205
16	14	7,41,75
14-16	15	92
15-16	17	132
23	20	88
24	23	105
30	24	149
32	30	45,68,81
34	32	16,62
34-35	33	74,193
38	34	124
39	35	30,141
40	36	16
42	37	42,175
45	38	39,42,43,164,179
51	39	169,211,218
52	40	42,175
53	42	203
55	43	187
58	44	172,175
58-59	46	34,157,186
59	47	175
62	49	30,62,141
1.20 I. 1	49-50	213
5	50	53,202
6-7	51	176,195
10	52	127,149
II. 3	53	29,147
4		

1.23 <i>continuation</i>			16	143
	54	120,142	17	25
	55	53	20	44,70
	56	40,157	22	16,119
	58	107,130,149,213	23	119,173
	59	127	24	30
	60	14,84	25	143
	61	149	26	139
	63	171	29	44
	63-64	188	32	73,79
	64	25,47,81,83,209,220	33	143
	65	83,142,153,178,200, 209,220	36	69,75,84
	66	66,177,200	37	74
	66-68	102	40	173
	67	151	41	118
	67-68	178,223	1.41	1
	68	121,143,157		64
	69	121,143,187		2
	70	120,124		140
	72	118,165		7
	73	24,42,121,143,162		122,173,223
	74	187,206		12
	75	43,167		34
				13
				76
				19
				68
				24
				72
				28
				76
				38
				94
1.24	21		41	72
1.24	1	155	45	29,94,160
	5	148	50	64
	7	185	51	16,33,72,89
	10	72,123	52	88
	11	112,121,125	54	43,160
	18-19	192	1.43	6
	20	92		25,42
	20-21	7		88
	21	24,117,134		10
	21-22	207,211	1.45	69
	25-26	193		88
	31	42,168		26
	32	14,204	1.48	8
	33	68,73,118		3
	35	45,81		62
	36	78	1.49	12
	38	47,116,155,158		67
	39	156	1.48	4
	40	116		35,37,63,65
	44	24	1.49	13
	45	21	1.50	75
	45-47	205		10
	48	217	1.52	62,75,80
				6
				119,127
				8
				16,187
				9
				75,78
				11
				126
			1.52	12
			1.53	7
			1.62	10
			1.71	66
				6
				30,65
				8
				30
1.39	2	42,132		159
	3	34,76		11
	4	76		65
	5	34		25
	9	34	1.72	26
			1.77	39
				158,174
1.40	3	44	1.78	2
				135
				2
				114

1.78 <i>continuation</i>		1.93	2	73	
	3	28	1.94	24	63,65
	5	135	1.96	1	146,161,162
1.79	4	65		2	73
1.80	3	48		3	19,65,118
	4	63,66		3-5	184,191
	5	172		4	164
1.82	1	144,156		5	165
	2	155	1.100	2	69,75,121,149
	4	157		4	14,144
	5	38,153,170		7	214
	6	174		8	117
	7	63		9	14
	8	34,54,116,142		12	16
	9	12,42,43,162,171		14	117
	10	42,149		15	14
	18	78		17	147
	19	169		20	14
	22	206		42	136
	24	12		53	136
	33	147		61	118
	39	156		62	55,172
	42	162,167		63	173
1.83	3	148		64	74
	5	79,119		65	145
	7	81		66	74,164
	8	40		67	53,148,162
1.84	9	79		67-68	99
1.85	2-3	221		68	24,130,164
	3	10,158,175		70	198
	5	171		72	45,105,130,156,224
	6	127		75	30,97,146,215
	7	171	1.101	4	66
	9	183		5	169
	9-10	182,222		6	172
	14	40	1.103+1.145		
	15	189		1	157
	18	117		3	204
	21	42,71		5	73
1.88	3	191		7	14,17,84,175
1.90	1-2	188,223		15	222
	20-21	196		17	18,45
	22	145		19	40,72
1.91	1	170		31	205,222
	10-11	210,217,218		33	119,137
	35	73		33-4	14,85
1.92		11		37	16,172,205
	2	41		37-8	222
	5	45,81		38	135
	9	47		40	169
	11	69		40-51	101
	16	67		42	42,164
	27	141		45	147
	29	118		46	12,14,175

1.103+1.145	<i>continuation</i>	5	177,198
	47	5-6	200
	51	8	34,118
	52	9	165
	57	11	49
	58	12	34,165
	59	13	119
1.105	9	17	130
	10	18	24,54,136
	13	19	140
	15	19-20	205
	17	20	21,81,157
1.106	11	21	75
	15-16	22	149
	23	22-23	100
	25	23	157
	27-28	27	161
1.107	6	28	117,119,136
	8	30	64
	9	1.115	1
	10	10	118,195
	11	14	93
	12	1.116	2
	15	1.117	6
	36	1.119	1
	41	3	32
	42	13	191
	43	19	33
1.108	12	23	71,175
	3	24	171
	4	25	15
	4-5	27	141,184
	7	28	193
	8	31	135
	9	32	135
	21	33	165
	24	1.124	3
	26	10-11	115
1.109	4	1.127	3-4
	7	30	56
	8	30-32	18,127
	30	31	221
1.111	33	32	66,197
1.112	3	32	179
	6-8	1.133	2-4
	7	3	203
	18	8	193
	19	7-8	22
1.113	1	1.140	7-8
	5	8	222
	2	1.142	1
	2-4	1.143	1
	3	1.148	20
	3-4	1.161	2
		4	114,120
		5	114,120

1.161 <i>continuation</i>		2.3	8 34,35
6	114,120		17 100,153
7	114,120		18 34,35,117
8	111,114,120	2.4	2 120
13	44,163		21 198
16	115	2.7	9 164
22	120	2.8	2 192
27	87	2.10	7 113
1.163	5 31,168		8 118
	5-6 221		10 118,120,131
	7 31,94		11-13 185,209
	12 125		13 173
	12-13 221		16-19 60
1.164	2 16		18 155,180
	7 198	2.11	1 54,62,66
	8 198		3 27
	10 179		4 64
	15 31		5 32,54
	19 104,148,184		7 155
1.165	3 105,147		8 30,142
1.166	7 197		10 180,199
	8 136		13 11
1.168	1 188,223		14 154
	3 198		15 54
	8 188		16 59
	10 198		17 29,161
1.169	5 117	2.12	9
	5-6 104		1 64
	6 76,117		2 30
	7 40,72		4 27
	9 70		8 32
	10 67,149		9 32,92,178
	12 135		10 71
	15 132		11 155
	18 156		12-13 59,200
	19 159		14 29
1.171	4 135	2.13	6 11
	5 68		9 180
1.172	8 134		13 11,29
	12 47		14 43,141
	20 164		17-18 97
	22 17		18 155
1.173	15 88	2.14	6 182
1.174	1 118		6-8 97
	9 140		7 16,113
1.175	3 17		9 15,59,114
	5 37		11 14
	7 107,176		16 14
	13 164	2.15	3 26,175,199
	16 39,181		4 44,147
1.176	6 15,42,162		4-6 225
2.1	3 180		5 38,153
2.2	7 67,75,76,206		8 35,189,221
	9 78		9 26,174

2.15	<i>continuation</i>			31	75
	10	42,117,163		36	148
2.16	4	118		39	117,163
	4-5	14,84		45	124,146,167
	6	14,117		54	180
	6-7	52,199		65	222
	7	13,113		66	52
	9-10	185	2.32	4	115,117
	10-11	197		8	50,207
	11	18	2.33	3	179
	13	180		5	45,70
	14	54		13	172
	16-17	59		19	14
	19	160		21	42,163
	19-20	200		23-24	58
2.17	1	27,146		24	79,92
	1-3	210		25-26	54
	4	68,122		27	97,160
	6	124		29	43
	13	13		31	15,165
	15	129		32	58,79
2.18	5	139		34	198
2.19	2	197		35-36	58
	4	28		37	165
	5	199		38	79
	8-9	57,210	2.34	5	114
	10	28		5-6	220
	12	59		7	180
	13	65		9	161
	13-15	205		10-11	225
	14	28		11	155
	15	199		12	156
2.23	22	84,141		14	131
2.25	5	139		29	69
2.26	4	115,134		30	44,147
	5	160		31	153
	9	89		32	37,71,162
	9-12	199		33	153
2.30	8	180	2.36	5	114
	12	180		7	155
	13	141		13	31,152
	16	34,35		14	114,189
	16-20	221		17	119
	17	42,162	2.38	6	52,180
	17-18	98		7	180
	18	34,35		10-11	56,97
	19	162		10-12	58
	19-20	123		13	14,155,195
	20	115,117		14	70,206
	21	118,183		15	131
	22-24	60		16	73
	23-24	156		20	207
	24-25	183		22	73
2.31	15	52		23	161

2.38	<i>continuation</i>			15	179,197
	25	14,162,195	2.68	6	32
	26-27	60		14-16	59
	27	184	2.70	1	54
2.39	3-4	208		8	54
	14	123		10	155
	16	79		12	129
	17-19	191		16-19	182
	18	113		18-19	82,198
	19-20	187,204,217		27	140
	21	18		29	205
	34	136	2.71	10	129
	35	157	2.72	10	116,135
2.41	16-17	55,60		14	71
	17	113		16	118
	18	44		17-19	220
	20	44		18	135
	21	180		25-26	200
	22	184	2.77	4	79,80,91
2.42	6	50		8	165,180
	7	69		17	199
	23	129,214	2.79	2	180
	24	50		3	44,156
	25	58		4	139
	26	135		10	122,128,167
2.44	2	44	2.81	22	147
2.45	7	58		24	145,186
	11	208		25	38
	22-23	189,219		26	17
	23	114	2.82	3	114
	24	44		3-5	188
	25	12,59		4	131
2.46	7	180		18-21	221
	9	113,115		20	132
	9-11	222	2.83	5	31,62
	11	18	3.1	13	65
	12-14	58		23	44,87
	14	12		24-26	189,219
2.47	2	24		26	173
	3	160		30	86,209
	5	160		32	86,209
	12	114	3.2	8	148
	13	70		12-13	59,207
	16	184	3.3	1	73
	17	80		2	96,114
2.61	6	41,167		4	27
	10	64		5	60,70
	11	114		5-6	57,218
	13	114,149		5-7	100
2.63	9	17		6	96,157
	12	113,115		7	73
2.64	13	81		9	157
	13-16	97	3.4	1	196,206
	14	32,92,178		1-2	210

3.4 continuation		4.53	1-2	187,205
	2	96,162	4.53	15 66
	2-3	97	4.54	10 10
	4	62	4.63 I.	2 79
	6	62		26 79
	11	75,78		27 79
	12-15	195	4.68	86
	13	62		63 77
	15	63		69 16,76
	16	205		74 78
	16-19	98,100	4.75 III.	2 10
	17	96,160		11 27
	17-18	218	IV.	11 27
	19	71	4.80	10 44
3.5	1	57	4.85	6 68
	7	30,75	4.86	29 146
	10	207	4.88	3 69
	11	11		4 69
	15	69		5 69
	16-17	207	4.91	2 78,80
	16-18	198		4 78,80
	20-21	187		6 79
3.8	9	125		7 73
	12	141		8 45
	13-16	127		9 74
	14	141,192	4.92	2-3 77
	16	132		4-5 90
3.9	1-3	55	4.95	1 35,139,218
	2	162	4.96	7 74
	4	33,53	4.98	6 75
	6	34		9 67
	6-7	134		20 89
	15-16	207	4.99	86
	17	142		11 69,121,149
4.12		12		13 10
4.14	3	47		15 121
	14	47	4.100	86
4.22	5	90	4.102	4 70
4.31	11			7 80
	2	11,26		11 80
	9	26		13 31
4.33	8	74	4.107	1 199
	9	74		2 199
4.35 II.	4	10		3 199
4.36		86	4.110	1-2 56
	3	10	4.123	17 64
4.38		86		22 31,89
4.39	3	10		23 44
4.41	8	79	4.124	1 121
	9	79	4.125	8 210
4.43	4	121,143	4.126	9 121
	6	92		28 121
4.44	28	17	4.127	4 30
4.48	7	73	4.128	1 16

4.128 <i>continuation</i>		5-6	56,128
	2	6	162
4.132	6-7	8	176
4.137	7	4.168	5-6 191
	10		6-8 195
4.141 II.	24		7-8 127
III.	4	4.169	7 88
	5-6	4.171	1 16,91
	6		4 15
	7	4.172	6 18,72,123
	7-8	4.173	1 70
	7-11		2 90
	8		6 87
	9	4.179	16-17 92
	10	4.182	1 62
	13		3 72
	19		4 67
4.142	1		12 81,87
4.143	2		16 87
	4-5	4.188	12 12
4.144	1-2		13 12
	2		18 11
	5		20 11
	6	4.195	3 67
4.145	1-2	4.203	5 86,209
	1-4		10 88,91
	2		11-12 12
	3		13 88
	6	4.205	14 31
	6-7		19 67
	9-10	4.206	5 75
	10	4.213	1-2 183
4.146	1		20 90
	6		24 55,131
4.147	13		25 91
4.149	5		27 219
	8		30 69,173
4.150	3	4.214	4-5 78
4.155	1	4.219	1 38,152
4.158	2	4.226	7 90
	4		8 90
	5	4.230	8 72
	7	4.232	45 136
	7-8	4.235	1 35
	9-10	4.243	6 6
	12		8 67
	14		12 62
4.163	3		14 62
	7		15 91
	14		22 90
4.165	11		45 91,166
4.166	1	4.244	16 18,45
4.167	2		18 90
	3		19 29

4.244	<i>continuation</i>				28
	21	90	4.362	4	41
4.247	20	68,74,75		5	41
	28	80,87	4.363	3	90
4.257	4	90	4.374	1	57
4.258	5	4,26	4.380	5	68
4.263	5	18		20	68
4.269	4	77	4.383	1	33
	20	77	4.384	8	73
	25	63,66	4.385	5	79
	30	77	4.392	4	90
	32	63,66	4.395	1	155
4.270	5	75		2	141
	8	55,75		4	141
	12	55		4-5	218
4.272	7	146	4.398	2	130
4.277	2	27		3	130
	3	27		5	130
	4	27	4.402	5	88
	13	27		11	40
4.279	1	93,168	4.410	6	29
	4	94	4.422	1	57,205
4.284	5	90	4.425	12	31
	8	63,65	4.427	22	10
4.290	1-3	129	4.429	2	63,65
	2	141		3	63,65
	4	90		4	63,65
4.295	13	80		5	63,65
4.296	6	91	4.609	4	71
4.337	1	25		5	65
	3	121,143		7	27
	15	90		15	121
4.338	1-2	55,82		20	79
	2	178		52	90
	10	91	4.611	1	18,33
	11-12	56	4.616	1	29
	15	114	4.617	14	69
4.341	1	38	4.618	2	89
	9	12	4.624	1	155
	16	90	4.625	3	71
	20-21	219		5	80
	21	110	4.626	1	44
4.342	5	133	4.630	7	114
4.344	2	90	4.635	16	22
4.345	2	77		17	32
	3	91	4.642	4	72
4.349	2	89		5	72
4.358	7	90		6	72
4.360	2	28	4.658	48	91
	3	53	4.659	1	30,131,144
	4	199		7	30,75,78
	5	28	4.691	6	80
	6	81,89	4.707	12	95
	7	28,81,89	4.751	9	94

4.751 *continuation*

	10	94
4.771	2	78
4.775	1	30,133,143
	9	91
5.6	9	
5.9 I.	4	79,175
	7-8	210
	9	53
	10	45
	12-16	222
	15-16	106
	15	149
	16	117,163
5.11	2	115
5.13	9	
5.14	10	
	2	37
	13	48
5.17	9	
5.22	12	26
	27	26
6.13	1	139,170
6.14	1	170
6.27	1	29
6.30	1	164
6.62	2	40
7.47	5	63,80
7.130+4.669		
	6	32

Ugaritic Syllabic Texts

<i>PRU III</i>	p. 8,24	45,122
	p. 19,11	30,76,180
	p. 37,7	73,132
	p. 46,8	64,77
	p. 47,12	46
	p. 47,16	63
	p. 49,5	77
	p. 51,8	69
	p. 51,16	110,113
	p. 51,23	80,87
	p. 53,20	71
	p. 64,4	74,77
	p. 79,6	46
	p. 80,14-15	132
	p. 86,5	47
	p. 89,4	69
	p. 89,5	131
	p. 90,13	111,113
	p. 91,17	73
	p. 92,17	83
	p. 93,7	94-5

	p. 95,11	64,78
	p. 95,14	73
	p. 95,20	64,78
	p. 96,28	71,75
	p. 99,8	71,76
	p. 108,7	67
	p. 109,4	41,182
	p. 123,8	73
	p. 123,12	73
	p. 124,12	62
	p.125 v,4 ^p	84
	p. 129,9	73
	p. 131,4	70,84
	p. 136,4	67
	p. 136,6	62
	p. 136,9	143
	p. 137,4	39,47,69,75,166
	p. 139,19	83
	p. 140,6	78
	p. 146,12	30,71
	p. 146,11	95
	p. 148,7	77
	p. 148,8	38
	p. 148,9	73
	p. 148,17	72
	p. 153,20	74,83
	p. 153,22	74,83
	p. 166,6	46
	p. 169,14	38,81,86,91
	p. 194,5	70
	p. 194,6	70
	p. 194,11	44,70
	p. 194,22	66
	p. 195 A,6	18,33
	p. 195 B I,12	47,69,76, 121,149

	p. 196,1	46,65,67
	p. 199, II,12	68,76
	p. 199 III,55	70
	p. 204,14	68,77

PRU VI

	7 B,2	47
	8,9	74
	0,8'	16
	17:B II,5'	46
	19,4	64
	40,31	136
	45,3	44,70
	45,15	44,70
	45,29	47
	56 v,5'	77
	56 v,9'	63
	70,18	46
	71 B II,5'	68
	77,1	113

PRU VI continuation

79,9	46,65	22,3	47
79,10	18	33,3'-4'	208
79,11	46,53,65,67	81,26	147
79,13	53	84,11	64
79,15	47,74	96,1	77,133
93,6	70	96,3	133
93,25	72	96,5	133
101,4'	39,110,146	96,8	133
113,5	64,78	96,16	133
114,1	66	96,18	133
114,3	64	96,21	133
114,7	63	96,23	133
116,5	66	130,7'	47,183
123,2	64	130,12'	47
123,3	71,81	130 II,4'	30,49
126,1	71	130 II,9'	47,73
126,3	80,87	130 III,5'	195
126,4	64	130 III,6'	194
127,4	67	130 III,7'	46,84,158
128,5	46,64,75	130 III,8'	66
134,3	39,146	130 III,10'	158
134,5	39,146	130 III,12'	47,49,110
134,7	39,146	130 III,13'	64
136,8	69	130 III,14'	64,76
136,9	121	130 III,15'	158
136,10	70	130 III,16'	40,66
139,2	47	130 III,17'	66
141,2	71,84	130 III,18'	39,67,75
141,3	80,87	130 III,19'	45,69
142,3	71,76	131,8'	66
142,4	46,69	137 I,8'	70
142,5	30,71,76,80	137 I,9'	38
145,2	39,146	137 I,11'	66
147,4	65	137 II,4'	69
147,6	65	137 II,10'	70,76
157,3	67,78,80,84	137 II,11'	67,123
157,4	76,80,87	137 II,17'	41,70,170
157,12	67,84	137 II,18'	123
157,13	71,81	137 II,19'	30,65
157,14	30,81	137 II,20'	70,137
157,15	71	137 II,21'	33
158,12	80,87	137 II,22'	71
159,4'	64,66	137 II,24'	70
162,5	66	137 II,25'	67
163 v,5'	81,87	137 II,26'	46
168,6	68	137 II,28'	49
168,8	64	137 II,29'	54
168,9	71	137 II,30'	64,76
3 v,10'	46,151	137 II,31'	67
5,9	65,76	137 II,32'	64
7,4	76	137 II,33'	64,76
7,14	67	137 II,34'	45,70
18,31	70	137 II,35'	41,42,67
		137 II,36'	17,64,185,208

Ug 5

Ug 5 continuation

137 II,37'	65
137 II,39'	68,122
137 II,40'	68,122
137 II,41'	41
137 II,42'	68,122
137 II,44'	66
137 III,2	123
137 III,4	64
137 III,5	67
137 III,7	39
137 III,8	63
137 III,10'	39
137 III,13'	67,76
137 III,14'	64
137 III,18'	47
137 III,29"	65
137 III,32"	38,71
137 III,34"	46,68
137 IVa,17	39
138,1'	87
138,2'	39
138,3'	64
138,4'	67
138,5'	180
138 III,2"	39
153,1	116
<i>RS</i> 1957.1,6	62
<i>RS</i> 1957.1,10	30,62
<i>RS</i> 1957.1,18	30,62
<i>RS</i> 8.145,5	76

Biblical Verses Cited

Gen.	18:20	190
	37:38	216
	49:22	6
Exod.	15:16b	6

Lev.	7:26	196
	8:32	195
	14:18	195
Num.	23:9	24
	24:17	31
	31:14	196
	31:21	196
Deut.	21:7	111
Judg.	21:25	102
1 Kgs	22:15	216
Isa.	1:22	5
	9:6	196
	59:21	196
Jer.	48:41	111
Ezek.	3:25	195
Hos.	4:3	195
Hab.	2:3	4
Ps	49:16	190
	77:17	6
	82:7	190
	92:10	6,181
	98:5	213
	135:17	184
	141:4	195
Prov.	6:16	5
	8:24	27
	9:5	195
	19:9	4
	25:4	5
	26:23	5
	30:18	5-6
	30:21	6
Job	7:12	189
Cant.	4:9	6
	7:1a	6
Ezra	1:11	196
2 Chron.	1:13	196
	10:7	191

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CORRECTIONS TO THE FIRST EDITION

- p. xix, line 14 from the bottom read: genitive.
- p. 1, line 4 from the bottom read: Asherah.
- p. 6, line 20 from the bottom read: "your" (instead of "the").
- p. 14, line 7 from the top read: "is probably" (instead of "must be").
- p. 18, line 8 from the top read: abundance.
- p. 23, line 3 from the top read: already (instead of always).
- p. 26, line 13 from the bottom instead of (4.31, 2) read: (4.31, 2; this text probably represents an unusual dialect).
- p. 30, line 6 from the bottom read (< 'antā).
- p. 36, line 9 from the bottom of the table correct: Clas. Arab. *f* (instead of *ḥ*)
- p. 36, line 3 from the bottom of the table, correct this line as follows:
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|
| ś | ś* | ś* | ś* | ś | ś* | ś | ś | ś | ś |
|---|----|----|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|
- p. 40, line 11 from the bottom read: [forthcoming]
- p. 46, line 2 from the bottom read: personal.
- p. 51, line 7 from the bottom instead of "No attestations etc. correct to:
- n [-nā/-nū?] "our" (on nouns in nominative, e.g. 1.4 IV, 43).
- p. 52, line 19 from the bottom read: calls.
- p. 52, line 11 from the bottom read: *bētaya* (instead of *bētiya*)
- p. 63, line 7 add: and is well attested in South Semitic languages.
- p. 65, line 17 from the bottom read [*'ammatu*]
- p. 73, line 11 from the bottom read: **Suffix nun [-ānu]**.
- p. 74, line 10 from the top read: "Canaanite".
- p. 76, line 4 from the bottom read: "owners".
- p. 79, line 14 from the top read: Gordon.
- p. 83, lines 10-11 instead of infra p. 77 read: p. 209.
- p. 94, lines 5 and 17 from the top read: fourth.
- p. 100, line 9 read: **Imperfect**.
- p. 108, line 9 from the bottom add after Aramaic (in Fekheriye).
- p. 111, line 3 from the bottom read: **Person:** 3rd f.; **Singular:** *t* - - - (*u*); **Plural:** *t* - - - *ū(na)*.
- p. 112, line 5 from the bottom read: **Person:** 2nd f.; **Singular:** [-ī]; **Plural:** [-ā?].

- p. 118, line 14 from the top read: Caquot.
- p. 119, line 5 from the bottom read: tongues.
- p. 120, line 12 from the bottom read: yourself.
- p. 121, line 3 from the top read: "serving as an imperative".
- p. 127, line 7 from the top read: *n-apodoseos*.
- p. 129, line 13 from the top read: (as in Arabic).
- p. 129, line 14 from the top read: (as in Akkadian).
- p. 134, lines 12 and 21 from the bottom read [*'abaqqitu*].
- p. 139, line 14 from the top read: fourfold.
- p. 145, line 5 from the bottom read: preserved.
- p. 156, line 10 read: likely.
- p. 157, line 16 from the bottom read: Spronk.
- p. 176, line 8 from the bottom read: quadrilateral.
- p. 181, line 8 from the bottom read: afterwards.
- p. 182, line 13 from the top read: (< *'ayka*).
- p. 188, line 8 read: fairest.
- p. 190, line 14 from the bottom read: Sheol (instead of Saul).
- p. 190, line 13 from the bottom read Muilenburg.
- p. 193, line 16 from the bottom read: Hummel.
- p. 200, line 2 from the bottom read: offering.
- p. 205, line 3 from the top read: see below p. 217f).
- p. 211, line 7 from the bottom read: Subject.
- p. 225, line 4 from the bottom read: king.
- p. 232, line 7 from the bottom read Hummel.
- p. 249, line 4 from the bottom read *hdm*.