A Grammar
of the Ugaritic Language

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Section One

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

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A GRAMMAR
OF THE UGARITIC LANGUAGE

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Daniel Sivan

Second Impression with Corrections

SBL

A GRAMMAR
OF THE UGARITIC LANGUAGE

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

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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 Gordon's work, though thorough and basic, is out of date and Segert's basic grammar was intended as a student's grammar.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. Fruchtman, 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.

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Daniel Sivan
Beer Sheva
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ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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, Yariḫ, 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 doc-
uments recount the legend of king Keret and his military campaign
against Udum, 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 writ-
ten 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 moth-
er 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 numer-
ous conflicting opinions among the scholars engaged in their study.

The Ugaritic alphabetic texts have been assembled in several edi-
tions. 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-Ḫâni 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-Ḫâni 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 (*KTU²* 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 $z > \underline{t}$ and $z > \dot{g}$.
2. The absence of the shift $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$.
3. There is no definite article.
4. Instead of the shift $\underline{d} > z$ there exists the shift $\underline{d} > d$.
5. It does not have the relative pronouns *š-*, *'š* or *'ašer*.
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

יָפֵחַ, יָפִיחַ (Prov. 14:5,25; 19:8,9) — Prior to the discovery of Ugaritic, the forms יָפֵחַ, יָפִיחַ were taken as verbs from the root *PWḤ*. 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 יָפֵחַ are in parallel with עֵד "witness", for example עֵד שְׁקָרִים לֹא יִנָּקֶה וְיָפִיחַ כְּזָבִים יֹאבֵד (Prov. 19:9). As a result of this solution, it was possible to make better sense of another difficult verse, עוֹד חָזוֹן לַמּוֹעֵד וְיָפֵחַ לַקֵּץ וְלֹא יְכַזֵּב כִּי (Hab. 2:3), where לַמּוֹעֵד is paralleled to לַקֵּץ and יָפֵחַ should be paralleled to עֵד. Therefore, the original of the verse may have read כִּי עֵד(!) חָזוֹן לַמּוֹעֵד "because the vision (has been written down) as a witness to the appointed time".

בֵּית חָבֵר (Prov. 21:9; 25:24) — In the light of the *LXX* οἴκῳ κοινῷ (Prov. 21:9) and οἰκίᾳ κοινῇ (Prov. 25:24) the Biblical Hebrew expression was assumed to be the result of metathesis, the original

having been בַּיִּח רָחָב "wide house", which would stand in contrast-
ing parallelism to פַּנַּת־גָּג "the corner of a roof". But in the light of
bt ḥbr in Ugaritic (1.14 II,29) and Akkadian *bīt ḫubūri* (cf. *CAD* Ḫ,
p. 220b) with the meaning "house of noise", "noisy house", the
Proverbs passage may be understood in a different manner, name-
ly 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; בית חבר
is parallel to כעס "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: כֶּסֶף סִיגִים מְצֻפֶּה עַל־חָרֶשׂ שְׂפָתַיִם דֹּלְקִים וְלֶב־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. כספסגם מְצֻפֶּה "as coated glazure" with the preposition *k-* and
enclitic *mem*. The *mem* can also be taken as the result of dittogra-
phy (cf. Albright 1955:12-13 and Cohen 1978:122-123). That sug-
gestion suits the parallelism and finds some support from the fact
that כסף סיגים is not found elsewhere in the Bible (one does find .
סִגִים כָּסֶף one time, Ezek. 22:18). In the verses הָגוֹ סִיגִים מִכָּסֶף "Take
away the dross from the silver" (Prov. 25:4) and כַּסְפֵּךְ הָיָה לְסִיגִים
"Your silver has become dross" (Isa. 1:22) the word סיגים 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 num-
bered 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:

ṯn dbḥm šn'a b'l ṯlṯ 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:

שֶׁשׁ־הֵנָּה שָׂנֵא יְהוָה וְשֶׁבַע תּוֹעֲבוֹת [תּוֹעֲבַת] נַפְשׁוֹ "Six, these the Lord hates
and seven are the abomination of his soul" (Prov. 6:16).

שְׁלֹשָׁה הֵמָּה נִפְלְאוּ מִמֶּנִּי וְאַרְבָּע [וְאַרְבָּעָה] לֹא יְדַעְתִּים "Three are they that

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

תַּחַת שָׁלוֹשׁ רָגְזָה אֶרֶץ וְתַחַת אַרְבַּע לֹא־תוּכַל שְׂאֵת "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 par-
ticle (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 'ibk b'lm ht 'ibk tmḫṣ "Behold your enemies, O Baal, behold
your enemies you will smite" (1.2 IV, 8-9).

'irš ḥym l 'aqht ġzr ⌈'i⌉rš ḥym w 'atnk "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 פֹּרָת יוֹסֵף בֵּן פֹּרָת עֲלֵי־עָיִן "Joseph is a fruitful bough, a fruitful
bough by a spring" (Gen. 49:22).

עַד־יַעֲבֹר עַמְּךָ יְהוָה עַד־יַעֲבֹר עַם־זוּ קָנִיתָ "Till the people pass over, O
Lord, till the people pass over which you have purchased"
(Exod. 15:16b).

רָאוּךָ מַּיִם ׀ אֱלֹהִים רָאוּךָ מַּיִם יָחִילוּ "The waters saw you, O God,
the waters saw you, they were afraid" (Ps 77:17).

כִּי הִנֵּה אֹיְבֶיךָ יְהוָה כִּי־הִנֵּה אֹיְבֶיךָ יֹאבֵדוּ "For behold your enemies, O
Lord, for behold your enemies will perish" (Ps 92:10).

לִבַּבְתִּנִי אֲחֹתִי כַלָּה לִבַּבְתִּינִי [בְּאַחַת] מֵעֵינָיִךְ "You have ravished
my heart, my sister, (my) bride, you have ravished my heart
with one of your eyes" (Cant. 4:9).

שׁוּבִי שׁוּבִי הַשּׁוּלַמִּית שׁוּבִי שׁוּבִי וְנֶחֱזֶה־בָּךְ "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), *'arṣ//'pr* "earth// dust"

(1.2 IV,5), *ks*//*krpn* "cup//goblet" (1.3 I,10-11), *bt*//*ḥẓr* "house//
courtyard" (1.14 III,28-29), *'lm*//*drdr* "era//generations on gen-
erations" (1.2 IV,10) *'ib*//*ṣrt* "enemy//oppressor" (1.2 IV,9),
r'iš//*qdqd* "head//top of head" (1.16 VI,56-57), ⌈*ḥ*⌉*lb*//*ḥm'at*
"milk//butter" (1.23,14), *ksp*//*ḥrṣ* "silver//gold" (1.24,20-21),
⌈*t*⌉*rṯ*//*yn* "new wine//wine" (1.17 VI,7-8), *ḥym*//*bl mt*
"life//immortality" (1.16 I,14-15), *mlk*//*ṯpṯ* "king//judge" (1.4
IV,43-44).

METHOD OF PRESENTATION

1. Books, articles and journals are cited by the accepted abbre-
viations. 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 estab-
lished 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 gram-
matical 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 archa-
ic 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 for-
eign, 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 [*'ibbīru*],
while the Proto-Ugaritic reconstruction is (*'abbīru*).

6. Proper names comprised of two components joined by the *w*-
conjunction (such as *gpn 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.

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	ḫ	d	h	w	z	ḥ	ṭ

y	k	š	l	m	ḏ	n	ẓ	s	

ʿ	p	ṣ	q	r	ṯ	ġ	t	'i	'u

ś									

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*, *ś* seem superfluous and the common assumption is that they were added at a later stage. The original

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

The sign *š* 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]ᵓu¹ *škn* (4.36,3) beside *mrᵓu skn* "the officer's troops" (4.99,13); *ššw* (4.427,22; an Indo-European word) beside *sswm* "horse(s)" (1.20 II,3); *ksᵓu* (1.4 VIII,12) beside *ksᵓu* "chair" (1.53,7). Likewise in personal names (Indo-European names) such as 'aršwn (4.35 II,4) beside 'arswn (4.54,10); *šm* (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 *š* does express vowelless [s], but also can stand for the syllabic values [su] and [sŏ]. 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 foriegn 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):

'a, 'i, 'u b g d (*ḏ*) h w z ḥ (*ḫ*) ṭ (*ẓ*) y k l m n s (*š*) ʿ (*ġ*) p ṣ q r š t (*ṯ*)

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 'a(*lpu*) "ox", *be* for *bê(tu)* "house", *ga* for *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 *ṯ*, *k* and *w*, *ḥ* and *ṭ*, *'u*, *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 *ṣadi* 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 *ḫ* for both *ḫ* and *ḥ*; and there is a text which uses a circle, Ø, to represent *š*, *ś*, and *ṯ* (cf. 4.31,2).

The Ugaritian scribes were not consistent in dividing words. Usually, words were separated by a small wedge, ᛏ (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); ⌈*l*⌉ *ʾaʿṣ¹ṣʾi.hm* "let me verily bring them out" (1.2 IV,2); *ym.ġyn* "he arrives" (1.19 IV,8); *l.qḥ* "they took" (4.188,18,20); *bn.šm* "men" (4.243,6); *l.ʾiʿkʾt* "you

(m.s.) sent" (2.45,25); ⌈*np*⌉.*š* "soul" (1.5 I,14). Likewise in personal names, e.g. *n.rn* [*Nūrānu*] (4.188,12); ⌈*p*⌉*dr.*⌈*y*⌉ [*Pidrāya*] (1.106,11); *dn.'il* [*Dān(î)'ilu*] (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/tḥs* [*timtaḥaṣu/timtaḥiṣu*] "you (m.s.) smite" (1.3 II, 5-6); *yšl/ḫ* [*yišlaḫu*] "he melts" (1.4 I,25-26); *yṣq/m* [*yaṣiqu-ma*] "he pours, casts" (1.4 I,27-28); *l 'aq/ht* "to Aqhat" (1.19 IV, 15-16); *ṯl/ṯ* [*ṯalāṯu*] "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 *ṯṯ* [*ṯiṯṯatu*] "six" (4.341,9); *tš'u* [*tiṯṯa'u*] "she lifts up" (1.6 I,14); *ym* [*yammu*] "sea" (2.46,14); *'um* [*'ummu*] "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* [*mittā*] "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 *mitVtā*, 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.: *'amt* can mean "handmaiden" ['*amatu*], "cubit" ['*ammatu*], "cubits" ['*ammātu*] or "I will die" ['*amūtu*]; the spelling *'alpm* can be "two thousand" or "thousands"; *'n* can be "eye" ['*ênu*] 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:

⌐*m*⌐*r*ʾ*i*ʾa [*marīʾa*] "fatling (accusative)" (1.4 VI,41-42) beside the standard spelling *mrʾa* (1.4 V,45); *ṣbʾiʾa* [*ṣabīʾa/ṣabaʾa*] "the army (accusative)" (1.15 V,19) beside *ṣbʾa* (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:

yrʾaʾun "he fears him" (1.5 II,6; from the root *YRʾ*).

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

One problematic spelling is found in the following:

tlʾuʾan [*tilʾuwannū?*] (< *tilʾayanhū/tilʾawanhū?*) "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 *tlʾunn* [*tilʾun(n)annū?*] (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 **ki*). 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:

'umy ['*ummī*] "my mother" is in the nominative in 2.30,21 and 2.16,6 (the expected spelling would have been **'*um*). This also holds true for *bny* [*binī/bunī/banī*] "my son (nominative)" in 2.14,11,16 (for the expected **bn*) and *mnty* [*manâtī/manêtī*] "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); *tqṣrn ymy b'lhn* "the days [*yômū/yamū*] (*ymy* for the expected spelling **ym*) of their (f.pl.) master will be shortened" (1.103+1.145,33-34); *'adty td'* "may my lady ['*adat(t)ī*] ('*adty* for **'adt*) know" (2.33,19; cf. Pardee 1984:219 and 228 n. 49); the combination *'ily 'ugrt* "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:

'ahdy 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*); *m'msy* [*mu'ammisī*] "the one who carries me" (1.17 II,20). The latter form is from a context in parallel with *sp'u* [*sāpi'u*] "the one who eats" (line 21) which is also in the nominative (the parallel text in 1.17 I,27 also has *mšṣ'u* [*mušôṣi'u*] "the one who brings forth", a nominative participle of the Š stem); *'mn n⌐k⌐l ḥ⌐t⌐ny* "with Nikkal is my wedding" (1.24,32), where *ḥ⌐t⌐ny* is the subject and therefore should be written **ḥtn* (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:26). In the passage *'atty 'il ylt* "the two women of El gave birth" (1.23,60) the *yod* on the word *'atty* is otiose, and it stands for a vowel, that is **attatê*, 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 *qryy* [*qiriyî*?] "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 *tmğyy* [*tamğiyā*] "(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 *'aḫym* "brothers" (1.6 VI,10,14), *ṯmnym* "eighty" (4.171,4) and *šmym* "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 *'aḫyh* "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 *KTU²*, p.166, n. 2).

With the spellings *šlyṭ*, an epithet of Lôtānu meaning "power-ful(?)" (1.5 I,3) and *pḫyrh* "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 *šlyṭ* is a Shaphel formation from the root *LWṬ/LYṬ*; 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'šītu*] "beginning", "first (fruit)(?)" (1.119,25; cf. *Ug* 7, p. 35 n. 8 and *TO* II, p. 209 and n. 201) and *'lyt* ['alîtā] "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 con-
traction of a diphthong or triphthong as seen in the following exam-
ples:

'*u* — '*udn* ['*udnu*] "ear" (1.103+1.145,37); '*um* ['*ummu*] "moth-
er" (1.14 I,9); *mr'um* [*mur'ūma*] "officers" (4.68,69); *rp'um*
[*rāpi'ūma*] "Rephaim" (1.21 II,3,11); '*u* ['*ô*/'*û*] (< '*aw*) "or"
(1.40,22).

'*a* — '*ad* ['*adu*] "father" (1.23,32); '*alp* ['*alpu*] "ox" (1.4 V,45);
'*arb*' ['*arba'u*] "four" (1.41,51); '*ard* ['*aridu*] "I go down" (1.5
VI,25); *ks'a* [*kissi'a*/*kussi'a*] "chair" (1.100,12); '*ar* ['*āru*] "light"
(1.4 I,16); *m'at* [*mi'ātu*] "hundreds" (4.171,1); '*aklm* ['*ākilūma*] "the
eaters" (1.12 I,26); *g'an* [*ga'ânu*] (< *ga'wānu*/*ga'yānu*) "pride" (1.17
VI,44).

'*i* — *s'id* [*sa'ida*] "he served food" (1.3 I,3); *l'ikt* [*la'iktī*] "I sent"
(2.14,7); *ks'i* [*kissi'i*/*kussi'i*] "chair" (1.16 VI,23); '*il* ['*ilu*] "god"
(1.4 I,12); *mr'im* [*marī'īma*] "fatlings" (4.128,1); *rp'im* [*rāpi'īma*]
"Rephaim" (1.21 II,9); '*in* ['*êna*/'*îna*] (< '*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:

*b'*i*r* [*bī'ru*] "well" (1.13,25); *l'im* [*lu'mu?*] "nation" (1.6 I,6); *s'in*
[*su'nu?*] "hem(?)" (1.6 II,10; cf. Akkadian *sūnu* and Syriac ܣܘܢܐ);
s'inm [*sa'nūma?*] "presents" (1.164,2); *r'is* [*ra'su*] "head" (1.23.36;
the word is always written this way and it may have been pro-
nounced *n'su*; the possibility of a *qatl* formation is supported by
the syllabically written place name from Ugarit, URU*ra-a-sa-sa-ir*
[*Ra'sasa'ir*] "Stormy headland(?)" [*PRU* VI 10,8']; the meaning

of *r̃uš* [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 *ā > ō* shift in this word); *y'iḫd* [*ya'ḫudu*] "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); *ǧm'it* [*ǧami'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 *ā*, 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 תְּאַסֵּף [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'aḫd "he seizes" (4.44,28) — The reading may be [*ya'ḫudu*] or in the D stem [*ya'aḫḫidu/yu'aḫḫidu*] (it is less likely that the form is in the N stem, see Verreet 1983a:237).

y'ᵃ'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'aḥdym* [*ma'ḫadīyūma*] "people from Ma'ḫadu (4.263,5) beside the customary spelling with '*i*, thus *m'iᵗḥd¹* (4.172,6) and *m'iḫdym* (4.611,1). Syllabic spellings confirm that the prefix vowel is *a* and not *i* (ᵁᴿᵁ*ma-a-ḫa-di* [*PRU* III, p. 195 A,6] and ᵁᴿᵁ*ma-ḫa-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 abundence" [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 '*ḪD* "to grasp, seize, hold" there are several examples: the form *y'uḫdm* "he grasps, holds" (1.4 IV,16) may be reconstructed [*ya'ḫudu-ma*], but also [*ya'uḫudu-ma*] (< *ya'ḫudu-ma*; for such an assimilation, cf. *infra*, p. 45); *qrt t'uḫd* (1.127,30) may be for [*qarītu tu'ḫad*] "the city was taken" but it could also be [*qarīta ta'ḫudū*] "they took the city"; *t'uḫd* "(Athtart) holds, seizes" (1.2 I,40) may be [*ta'ḫudu*] or [*ta'uḫudu*] (< *ta'ḫudu*); *y'uḫd* "he holds, seizes" (1.103+1.145,17) may be [*ya'ḫudu*] or [*ya'uḫudu*] (< *ya'ḫudu*). 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'hubu*); *t'usᵗp¹* "you/she gather(s)" (1.1 IV,11; cf. *TO* I, p. 308, n. *l*) may be [*ta'supu*] or [*ta'usupu*] (< *ta'supu*); *t'uṣl* "you (m.s.) gather(?), essemble(?)" (1.106,25; cf. *TO* II, p. 187, n. 141) may be [*ta'ṣulu*] or [*ta'uṣulu*] (< *ta'ṣulu*); *y'ukl* "he will eat/eats" (4.244,16) may be [*ya'kulu*] or [*ya'ukulu*] (< *ya'ku-lu*); *t'uᵗbd* "(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:

'*u* = '*u*, '*ū*, '*ô* (rarely '*Ø*).

'*a* = '*a*, '*ā*, '*â* (rarely '*Ø*).

'*i* = '*i*, '*ī*, '*ê*, '*î*, and often for '*Ø* (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 '*u* and '*a* reflect the vowel of the *aleph* (i.e. *yqtlu* and *yqtla* modal forms, plurals in -*ū*, 3rd m.s. *qtla*, etc.; cf. discussions *infra*, pp. 110 and 101) and '*i* reflects vowelless *aleph* (i.e. the *yqtlØ* forms of verbs with final *aleph*), viz. preterite forms *yṣ'i* [*yaṣi'*] "it went forth" (1.14 II,34) and *tṣp'i* [*tispa'*] "she ate" (1.96,3); jussive *tṣ'i* [*taṣi'*] "may it (f.s.) go out" (1.18 IV,24).

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

ḏ > *d* — The Proto-Semitic consonant *ḏ* is generally shifted to *d* in Ugaritic. Thus, for example: *dˤqˀn* [*daqanu*] (< *ḏaqanu*) "beard" (1.5 VI,19); *dbḥ* [*dabḥu*] (< *ḏabḥu*) "sacrifice" (1.4 III,19); *d* [*dū/dā/dī*]) (< *ḏū/ḏā/ḏī*) "which", "of" (1.4 III,31 and elsewhere; cf. Biblical Hebrew זו [Exod. 15:13; Isa. 42:24], Aramaic די [Ezra 4:11] and Phoenician ז [*KAI* 1,1; 4,1]; see also Dahood 1965:7 and the bib-

liography cited there); *mġd* [*maġdū*] (< *maġdayu?*) "food, rations(?)" (1.14 II,31; perhaps the form is from the root *ĠDW*, cf. Renfroe 1992:60-61).

In several words this shift did not take place and etymological *ḏ* was preserved. These words often contain a guttural or *r*, e.g. in forms of the root '*ḎR* "to help", *y'ḏʿrʾk* [*ya'ḏurukū*] "he will help you (m.s.)" (1.18 I,14) and '*ḏrt* ['*iḏirtu*] "help" (1.140,8); *ḏrʿh* [*ḏirā'uhū*] "his arm" (1.5 VI,20; 1.6 I,4); *ḏmr* [*ḏamīru?*] "trooper" (1.3 II,14); *yḏmr* [*yaḏammiru/yuḏammiru*] "he sings" (1.108,3); *pḏh* [*paḏuhū*] "his (fine) gold" (1.2 I,19,35; for discussion cf. Smith 1994:293-294); *ḏnb* [*ḏanabu*] "tail" (1.114,20).

In the texts 1.12 and 1.24 the *ḏ* is written in words where the shift had already taken place, e.g.: '*aḫḏ* ['*aḫaḏa*] "he grasped" (1.12 II,32; usually written '*aḫd* in Ugaritic); the relative pronoun *ḏ* (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 [*ḏ*] (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 *ḏ* > *d* took place in Ugaritic after the invention of the Ugaritic alphabet (in contrast to the shift *ḍ* > *ṣ* [cf. below] which has taken place prior to the use of that alphabet, since *ḍ* is not represented at all in Ugaritic writing). Once the shift *ḏ* > *d* occurred, the sign for *ḏ* 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 *ḏ*-sign was pronounced *ž* (cf. Garr 1986:47 n. 21), but there is no firm basis for this.

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

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

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

The term '*aḏḏḏy* ['*Aḏḏādīyu*] "Ashdodite" (4.635,16 and elsewhere) is always written with *ḏ*. The Egyptian spelling of this place name is *isdd*, indicating that the Egyptian *s* (*š*) stood for Semitic *ṯ* (cf. Cross and Freedman 1964:48-49). If this explanation is correct, then the Ugaritic spelling may represent an assimilation of the voiceless *ṯ* to the next voiced *d*, that is, the phoneme *ṯ* became *ḏ* (cf. Blau 1977b:79 and Huehnergard 1987:225 n. 73). On the other hand, it may be that the Ugaritic scribe really heard *ṯ* in that geographical name; since in his own language that phoneme was already pronounced *š* (or less likely *ś*), he avoided the *ṯ*-sign and chose the *ḏ*-sign which represented the closest phoneme in his repertoire.

The *ḏ*-sign stands for *š* in the word *kḏd* "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 *ḏd* 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 *ḏ* 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 *ḏ* and *š* are somewhat similar in shape (cf. *TO* I, p. 242, n. *r*).

d — The *d*-sign represents the original *d* and also Proto-Semitic *ḏ* which had shifted to *d*. The root *DRˤ* "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 *DRˤ* and *ZRˤ* were both in use (cf. Gordon 1965:27) or else the Ugaritic *DRˤ* is a contamination of *ḎRW* "to scatter" and *ZRˤ* "to sow" (cf. Dahood 1965:7; Blau 1977b:85 and Loewenstamm 1980:161). On the other hand, it is possible that Phoenician *ZRˤ* (< *ḎRˤ*) was borrowed into Aramaic and passed

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

ḍ > ṣ — The phoneme *ḍ* had always shifted to *ṣ* in Ugaritic, e.g. *'arṣ* [*'arṣu*] (< *'arḍu*) "land, ground" (1.3 III,16) and *ṣ'in* [*ṣa'nu*] (< *ḍa'nu*) "small cattle" (1.6 I,22).

On occasion one may find *ẓ* instead of *ṣ*, e.g. from the root *YṢ'* (< *YḌ'*) "to go out" — *ẓ'i* [*ẓi'i*] "go out! (f.s.)" (1.12 I,14,19); from the root *ṢḤQ* (< *ḌḤQ*) "to laugh" — *yṣḥq* [*yiṣḥaqu*] "he laughs" (1.4 IV,28), but also *yẓḥq* [*yiẓḥaq*] "he laughed" (1.12 I,12). The change to *ẓ* may have come about after the shift *ḍ > ṣ* took place (cf. Greenfield 1969:95; Garr 1986:48). However, it is also possible that the *ẓ*-sign simply represents *ṣ* in that particular text, namely 1.12 (cf. Blau 1972:71). For the form *mḫšt* [*maḫašti*] (< *maḫaṣti* < *maḫaḍti*) "I destroyed" (1.3 III,38,41,43,45) see *infra*, p. 28.

ẓ > ġ — The Proto-Semitic consonant *ẓ* is normally preserved in Ugaritic (as in Arabic). In other Semitic languages it shifts to *ṣ* (Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian) or *ṭ* (Aramaic).

Examples of Ugaritic words with *ẓ*: ⌈*ẓ*⌉*by*⌈*h*⌉ [*ẓabyuhu*] "his gazelle" (1.15 IV,18); *ẓl* [*ẓillu*] "shadow" (1.14 III,55); *'ẓm* [*'aẓmu*] "bone" (1.19 III,11); *'ẓm* [*'aẓūmu/'aẓīmu/'aẓimu*] "mighty, strong" (1.2 IV,5; 1.3 I,12); *qẓ* [*qêẓu/qîẓu*] "summer" (1.20 I,5); *ḥẓr* [*ḥaẓiru*] "courtyard" (1.4 IV,51).

The Proto-Semitic consonant *ġ* is also found in Ugaritic, in words such as: *ġlm* [*ġalmu/ġulāmu?*] "boy" (1.15 II,20); *ṣġr* [*ṣaġīru*] "young" (1.22 I,4); *rġbt* [*raġibti*] "(are you) hungry (f.s.)?" (1.4 IV,33). Ugaritic is the only Northwest Semitic language in which the consonant *ġ* has been preserved. (Contrary to the opinion that the *ġ*-sign was only another symbol for the consonant ' as was claimed by Ružička 1954:221-233; Rössler 1961:158-172; cf. also Emerton 1982:31-50). In addition, the *ġ*-sign also served in the spelling of foreign words (cf. Segert 1989:287-300).

Nevertheless, the phoneme *ẓ* sometimes shifts to *ġ*. The nature of this shift is not clear (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1967:300-315; for an explanation of interpreting the sign *ġ* as polyphonic, representing the *ẓ* also, cf. Ginsberg 1946:48). The shift *ẓ > ġ* finds expression in the following words: *ġr* [*ġūru*] "mountain" (1.4 VIII,5; 1.5 V,13); *ġm'it* [*ġami'ti*] "(are you) thirsty (f.s.)?" (1.4 IV,34; cf. the form *mẓm'a* [*muẓamma'a*] "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 $N\acute{G}R$ "to guard" (1.23,73; 2.47,2); from the root $M\acute{G}Y$ "to arrive" (1.4 III,24; 1.12 I,36); and from the root $YQ\acute{G}$ "to be awake, to wake up" or "to attune (the ear)" (only in 1.16 VI,30,42).

These examples of the shift $z > \acute{g}$ may reflect dialectical mixture. On the other hand, the particular forms may be explained by other means. The form w $tq\acute{g}$ can be interpreted as the Gt imperative of the root $YQ\acute{G}$ (< YQZ), but the root might also be $TQ\acute{G}$ "to incline (the ear)" in parallel to the Gt of the root $\check{S}M^c$ "to heed" (cf. Oberman 1946:244 n. 25 and Blau 1977b:71 n. 13). The word $\acute{g}r$ "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־מֵרֹאשׁ צֻרִים אֶרְאֶנּוּ וּמִגְּבָעוֹת אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ "From the top of the cliffs I see him, from the hills I behold him", the meaning of צֻרִים can be "elevated cliffs"). The root $\acute{G}M^c$ might represent a mixture of ZM^c and $\acute{G}MY$ (cf. Blau 1977b:72). Therefore, one may say that the shift $z > \acute{g}$ is quite restricted and somewhat doubtful.

$z > t$ — The word hzr "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 $mzll$ "shelter" (1.4 I,12,17) is written once mt^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 hzr and $mzll$ 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. $lzpn$ (1.24,44) beside the normal $ltpn$ "compassionate" (1.6 III,4 and elsewhere); $zhrm$ (1.24,21) beside $thrm$ "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 Sanmartin 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 *z̧* was shifted to *ṭ* (in the form *ḫṭr*). Since the scribe was familiar with that shift, he made hyper corrections and the *ṭ* was written with *z̧* (cf. Blau 1978b:43; for the possibility that we deal here with a shift and not with an interchange see Albright 1950a:387).

š > *ṯ* ? — A possible example of this shift may appear in Ugaritic *ḫṯbn* [*ḫiṯbānu/ḫuṯbānu*] "account" (4.158,2; 4.337,1). There are indications that the root *ḤŠB* is Proto-Semitic, at least as indicated by Aramaic *ḤŠB* (not *ḤṮB*) and Arabic *ḤSB*. The Biblical Hebrew root *ḤŠB* could, of course, derive from either *ḤṮB* or *ḤŠB*. On the other hand, the Egyptian verb *ḤŠB* "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 *ḤṮB* "to reckon" with *ḤŠB* "to think" (cf. Rainey 1966:260-261; 1970b:535; 1971a:159; Blau and Greenfield 1970:13; Blau 1977b:74).

š > *š* — The phonemes *š* and *ś* are both written with one sign which was evidently pronounced as *š*. Thus one finds *šm'al* [*šim'ālu*] (< *śim'ālu*) "left" (1.2 I,40; 1.23,64); *šd* [*šadû*] (< *śadayu*) "field" (1.3 III,17; 1.4 VIII,25); *š* [*šû*] (< *śayu?*) "sheep" (1.40,17; 1.43,6); *bšr* [*bašaru*] (< *baśaru*) "flesh" (1.4 II,5; 1.15 IV,25). Among verbs there are *NŠ* (< *NŚ*) "to lift up, carry" (1.6 I,14; 1.19 II,56); *ŠN'* (< *ŚN'*) "to hate" (1.4 III,17; VII,36); *ŠMḪ* (< *ŚMḪ*) "to be happy" (1.4 VI,35; 1.10 III,37); *BŠR* (< *BŚR*) "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 *yrḫ* [*yarḫu*] (< *warḫu*) "month" (1.105,15 and elsewhere). In verbs with 1st *waw*: *YBL* (< *WBL*) "to bring, transport" (1.4 V,17 and elsewhere); *YṮB* (< *WṮB*) "to sit" (1.5 VI,12 and elsewhere); *YŠN* (< *WŠN*) "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 *WṬP* "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 'aślw ['aśluwa] "let me repose" (1.14 III,45) and 'atwt ['atawat] "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

ḫ/ḥ — In a small number of texts both these consonants are represented by the *ḫ*-sign which might be an indication of an interchange of *ḫ/ḥ* or it could less probably indicate a shift of *ḥ* > *ḫ* (cf. Speiser 1964:42-47). Note, for example, *yph̬* "witness" (4.31,9) beside the regular orthography in the other texts, *yph* (4.258,5 and elsewhere); also *qmḫ* "flour" (5.22,17) beside the normal spelling *qmḥ* (1.71,25); or *ḫln* "window" (5.22,27) instead of *ḥln* (1.4 VII,17); *mptḫ* "key" (5.22,12) instead of the expected form **mptḥ*; 'aḫnnn ['aḫāni-nannū/'aḫanninannū] "I shall favor him" (2.15,9) beside the form in the same text *ḫnny* [ḫāninī/ḫanninī] "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).

s̄/t̠/š — In the combination *b* ⊘⊘ '⊘r ⊘mn "with sixteen (jars of) oil" (4.31,2) the circle (written here with ⊘) stands here for Proto-Semitic *t̠*, *s̄* and *š*, i.e. normal Proto-Ugaritic would have been: *b t̠t̠ 'šr šmn*. Since *š* and *s̄* 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 *t̠*, *š*, and *s̄* were all pronounced the same, either as *š* or as *s̄* (cf. Ullendorf 1962:348-351). For that reason, the scribe evidently used the ⊘ 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 *s̄īn/šīn* today) used for all three phonemes.

l/r — Note *qr* [qāru/qôru?] "voice, sound" (1.14 III,16) beside the normal *ql* [qālu/qôlu] (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 *g'igt* [*ga'ig(a)tu*] "bellowing" (1.14 III,16) beside *g'iqt* (1.14 V,8).

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

ġ/ḫ — This interchange is attested in personal names, such as *'bdyrġ* [*'abduyarġu*/*'abdiyarġu*] (4.277,2) instead of the expected **'bdyrḫ*; *ġyrn* [*ġiyyārānu?*] (4.277,3) instead of *ḫyrn* (4.75 III,11; IV,11); *šġr* (4.277,13) beside *šḫr* (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. מִבְכִּי נְהָרוֹת "sources of rivers" [Job 28:11] and the suggested emendation by Albright [1955:8] in Prov. 8:24 בְּאֵין־תְּהֹמוֹת חוֹלָלְתִּי בְּאֵין מַעְיָנוֹת נִבְכֵּי(!)־מָיִם "When there were no depths I was brought forth, when there were no springs of water sources[!]", substituting נִבְכֵּי for נככדי "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 tpky* [*wa-tapkiyu*] "and you (m.s.) weep" (1.107,11; in line 8 the word is written with *b*). Note *ḫbṭ* [*ḫubṭu*] "yeoman, type of soldier" (2.17,1; 3.3,4) beside *ḫpṭ* (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'L* "to do, to make, to work" (1.13,21) beside *yb'l* [*yib'alu*] "he will make" (1.17 VI,24; cf. Grabbe 1979:307-324) and *b'lm* [*bā'ilūma*] "workers" (4.360,2,5,7,11) and *yrḫ 'ib'lt* "(a name of a month)" (1.119,1) instead of the expected **yrḫ p'lt* (cf. ירח פעלה in Phoenician [*KAI* 38 B,2]).

mš > pš — The frequent Ugaritic form *špš* [*šapšu*] "sun" (1.78,3 and elsewhere) can be explained as a shift of *šamšu* to *šapšu* 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-maqāri*] "at the water source" (1.14 V,2) beside *b bqr* [*bi-baqāri*] (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 > ṭq — This assimilation is attested in the personal name *ṣṭqšlm* (2.19,4,10,14) beside *ṣdqšlm* (4.165,11). It seems that *d* became *ṭ* 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).

ṣt > št — This assimilation is found only in the verbal form *mḫšt* [*maḫaštī*] "I destroyed" (1.3 III,38,41,43,45). It seems that the original form was **mḫṣt* [**maḫaṣtī*] which became *mḫšt* [*maḫaštī*] through partial assimilation of the emphatic *ṣ* 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 *ṭ* 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 *YṮB* "to sit, dwell" and from *ṮWB* "to return": *yṯb* [*yaṯaṯbu/yuṯaṯbu*] (< *yašaṯbu/ yušaṯbu*) "he will return" (1.41,45); *w ṯb* [*wa-ṯaṯib*] (< *wa-šaṯib*) "and send (m.s.)!" (1.14 III,32); *yṯᶜbn¹* [*yaṯôṯibannū/yuṯôṯibannū*] (< *yašawṯiban- hū/yušawṯibanhū*) "he seated him" (1.6 VI,33); *ṯṯb* [*ṯaṯaṯib/tuṯaṯib*] (< *tašaṯib/tušaṯib*) "may she send back" (2.12,14); *ṯb* [*ṯaṯbī*] (< *šaṯbī*) "send back! (f.s.)" (2.11,17; 2.13,13).

The form *ṯṯkrn* [*taṯaṯkirūna/tuṯaṯkirūna?*] (< *tašaṯkirūna/tušaṯkirūna*) (1.15 I,3) seems to be from the root *ṮKR*(?), but the meaning is uncertain (cf. *TO* I, p. 536, n. *b*).

A similar assimilation occurred in the ordinal number *ṯdṯ* [*ṯādiṯu/ṯadiṯu?*] (< *šādiṯu/šadiṯu?*) "sixth" (1.41,45; in Arabic the *ṯ* assimilated to the *s* [*sādisu*] while both of the *š*'s appear as *s*, viz. *sādisu*). The same assimilation appears in the cardinal number *ṯṯ* [*ṯiṯṯu*] (< *šidṯu*) "six" (4.244,19 and elsewhere). It may be that a similar shift took place in the cardinal number *ṯlṯ* [*ṯalāṯu*] "three" (4.616,1 and elsewhere). There is a reasonable basis for the assumption that the original root was *ŠLṮ* (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:56,68 and Blau 1972:80). Since in Ugaritic the *š* has shifted to *s*, it would seem that that language reflects here the process [*ṯalāṯu*] (< *šalāṯu?* < *salāṯu?*) (cf. Fronzaroli 1955:59-60).

Assimilation of d to the Following ṯ or t — Such as *ṯṯ* [*ṯiṯṯu*] (< *šidṯu* < *šidṯu*) "six" (4.244,19 and elsewhere; note that the radical *d* is preserved in the ordinal number *ṯdṯ*, cf. above); *'aḥt* [*'aḥ(ḥ)attu*] (< *'aḥ[ḥ]adtu*) "one (f.)" (4.410,6 and elsewhere); in the verbal dual form *y¹lᶜt* [*yalattā?*] (< *yaladatā*) "they gave birth (f.du.)" (1.23,53; cf. the Biblical Hebrew form לָלֶדֶת "to give birth" [1 Sam. 4:19] for לָלֶדֶת [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); *'aḥt* [*'aḥattā*] (< *'aḥadtā*) "you (m.s.) took, grasped" (1.16 VI,51; following Rainey 1973:55, *contra* Segert [1984:143] who interpreted the form as "sister"); *mṣmt* [*maṣmattu*] (< *maṣmadtu?*) "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 *ṢMM* "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: 'iqḥ ['iqqaḥu] (< 'ilqaḥu) "I will take" (1.14 IV, 41); yqḥ [yiqqaḥu] (< yilqaḥu) "he will take" (1.23,35); and also in the noun mqḥm [maqqaḥāma/i] (< malqaḥāma/i) "tongs" (4.127,4; cf. the syllabic documentation ma-qa-ḥa me-e [maqqaḥā mē] "water tongs" [PRU VI 157,14]). As in Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician (cf. נלקח in KAI 122,2), the l did not assimilate in the N stem, e.g. nlqḥt [nalqaḥat] "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); tšʾu [tiššaʾu] (< tinšaʾu) "she lifts up, she rases" (1.6 I,14; II,11); yšʾqʾ [yiššaqu] (< yinšaqu) "he kisses" (1.23,49); tġrk [taġġurūkī] (< tanġurūkī) "may they protect you (f.s.)" (2.11,8; for the suggestion that this form derives from the root ĠWR, cf. Loewenstamm 1972:67-70); ytšʾi [yittaša'/yittaší'] (< yintaša'/yintaší') "he raised himself" (1.40,24); ytt [yatattī] (< yatantī) "I gave" (1.100,75); šʾmʾt [šūmattu] (< šūmantu) "fat" (1.19 III,33); mʾtʾdb[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-maMEŠ [maqqabūma] (< manqabūma) "hammers" (PRU VI 142,5); at-ta ['attā] (< 'attā) "now" (PRU III, p. 19,11). The form 'adty "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: mgntm [maggintumā/magantumā] "(have) the two of you entreated?" (1.4 III,30); ytnt [yatantī] "you

(m.s.) gave" (1.6 VI,14); *štnt* [*šêtintā/šôtintā*] (< *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* [*yinpahiyu*] "(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 *ᵗyphy* [*yippahiyu*] (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 [*'adantiya*] (< *'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 *kbkb* [*kabkabu*] "star" (1.4 IV,17; 1.163,7) and *kbkbm* [*kabkabūma*] "stars" (1.3 III,25; 1.164,15) are attested once in the form *kkbm* (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 כּוֹכָב [< *kawkab*] [Num. 24:17]) which in Ugaritic would create a diphthong that would contract, i.e. [*kôkabūma*] (< *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 *sᵗbᵗsg* (4.205,14). One may add here the word *šph* [*šaphu?*] "family, heir" (1.14 I,24) which is also documented once as *ᵗšᵗbh* (1.14 VI,25). This kind of dissimilation is also documented in personal names, e.g. *ṭpṭbᶜl* (4.102,13; 4.425,12) along with *ṭbṭ* (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, ḥ* or *ṭ*) and became voiced.

Dissimilation is apparently attested in *lḥmd* [*laḥmadu*] (< *maḥmadu*) "desirable thing" (1.4 V,39), beside *mḥmd* [*maḥmadu*] (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 bᶜl 'ugᵗrᵗtᵗ* "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 com-
pared to Biblical Hebrew פַעַם. If this is true, then Ugaritic p'n
reflects dissimilation of the two labials, i.e. the m dissimilated
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. ṯn'id [ṯinā-'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 ṯṯd [ṯiṯṯa-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 ṯn'id šb'd [ṯinā-'id(a) šab'a-
d(a)] "two times seven times" (2.64,14). In all these instances it can-
not 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 'aḫdhm ['al 'âḫudhum(î)?] (< 'al
'a'ḫudhum[û]) "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
[yiṯ(t)amiru/yiṯ(t)amaru or yîtamiru/yîtamaru] (< yi'tamiru/yi'tamaru) "he
views" (1.3 I,22) beside the form with the aleph, y'itmr [yi'tamiru/yi'-
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 tqġ
[wa-ṯ(t)aqiġ/wa-ṯ(t)aqaġ] (< wa-'iytaqiġ/wa-'iwtaqaġ[?]) "and attune (the)
ear!" (1.16 VI,30,42; cf. most recently Tsumura 1991:431; for anoth-
er 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 eli-
sion in w tkms [wa-ṯ(t)akammisa/wa-ṯ(t)akammasa or wâtakammisa/wât(ta)
kammasa] (< 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: mḫdy [mâḫadîyu] (< ma'ḫadîyu) "one from Ma'ḫadu" (4.635,17)

beside instances when the *aleph* is preserved, e.g. the plural *nisbe* form *m'iḫdym* [*ma'ḫadīyūma*] "people from Ma'ḫadu" (4.383,1; 4.611,1; cf. the syllabic documentation ^{URU}*ma-a-ḫa-di* [*ma'ḫadi/mâḫadi*] (*PRU* III, p. 195 A,6) and the noun *ma-á'-ḫa-⌐du⌐* "town, quay" (*Ug* 5 137 II,21'; *contra* Huehnergard [1987:279 n. 54] who reads *ma-aḫ-ḫa-[du]*, i.e. *ma'ḫadu > maḫḫadu*).

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* ['*êka-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: *'ištm*' ['*ištamaʿ/'ištamaʿ*] "give heed!" (1.16 VI,42); *yrḫ 'ibʿlt* "(month name)" (1.119,1) along with the Phoenician month name ירח פעלת 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 *'î* in the personal name אִיזְבֶל "Jezebel" [2 Kgs 16:31] in the Bible and בעלאזבל in Phoenician cf. Benz 1972:289 and Herdner 1978:31). A prosthetic *aleph* is probably to be seen in *'udmʿt* ['*udmūʿātu*?] "tears" (1.14 I,28; perhaps the form should be compared to ⌐*dmʿt*⌐ [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*⌐*tml* ['*itmālu*?] "yesterday" (1.119,19; cf. Xella 1981:32) and *'irby* ['*irbiyu/'irbīyu*] "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-bêtiw*] (< *bi-bêtihû*) "in his house" (3.9,4; cf. Freedman 1979:192; cf. Biblical Hebrew פיו "his mouth" [2 Kgs 4:34] alongside פִּיהוּ [Prov. 16:23], אָבִיו "his father" [Gen. 2:24] alongside אָבִיהוּ [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. *KTU²*, 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* ['*âlumu*] (< '*ahlumu*) "I will strike, I will smite" (1.82,8; cf. *TO* II, p. 66, n. 182); *ylm* [*yâlumu?*] (< *yahlumu*) "he strikes, he smites" (1.2 IV,16,24) and with suffix pronoun *y.lmn* [*yâluman(n)û*] (< *yahluman[n]û*) "he strikes/smites him" (1.114,8). However, it is also possible that two roots were in use in Ugaritic, namely *HLM* and *ΥLM* and both served in suppletion (cf. *HLK* and *ΥLK* in Ugaritic and in Biblical Hebrew; cf. Ginsberg 1936:76).

It would appear that the consonant *h* elides from the root *HDΥ* "to lacerate, to cut" (cf. Renfroe 1992:45-48) in the form *ydy* [*yâdiyu*] (< *yahdiyu?*) "he lacerates" (1.5 VI,18; cf. Tropper and Verreet 1988:344; Tropper 1990a:376-377; or perhaps the root is *ΥDΥ*) alongside the normal form *yhdy* [*yahdiyu*] 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; *KTU²*, p. 203 reads wrongly *km*); *w hn* [*wa-hinnî?*] "and behold" (1.23,46) but *w n* [?] (< *wa-hinnî*) "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 *PNΥ* "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* [*ma"attâ/mâ'attâ*] (< *mah 'attâ*) 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* ['*amahâtu*] "handmaidens" (1.4 III,21,22; cf. Biblical Hebrew הַשְּׁפָחֹת [Gen. 31:33]); alongside the regular plural *'ilm* ['*ilûma*] "gods" (1.4 V,1 and elsewhere) there is the expanded form *'ilhm* ['*ilahûma*] "deities" (1.39,3,5,9; 1.41,12) and in the feminine *'ilht* ['*ilahâtu*] "goddesses" (1.4 VI,48,50; the base for these plurals may be *'ilâhu* and not *'ilu*); and also *bhtm* [*bahatûma*] "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* [*bêtūma*] (< *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); *drt* [?] (1.14 III,47) "dream, vision" alongside the expanded variant *dhrt* [?] (1.14 I,36); *qrht* [*qarāhātu/qarahātu*] or [*qarīhātu/qarihātu*] "towns, citadels" (4.95,1; 4.235,1; the base for this form may be bi-consonantal, cf. Biblical Hebrew קִיר־מוֹאָב [Isa. 15:1] and קִר "town" in the Mesha' 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
ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ,θ	ʾ	ʾ	ỉ	ỉ	ỉ-(ʿ)	ỉ
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
ḏ	d*,ḏ	ḏ	z*	z*	d*		ʔ		
h	h	h	θ,ʾ*	h	h	h	h	h	h
w	w	w	w,θ,ʾ*	w	w	w	w	w	
z	z	z	z	z	z	ś	ś	ś	
ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	θ,ʾ*,ḫ*	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	
ḫ	ḫ	ḫ	ḫ	ḥ*	ḥ*	ḫ	ḫ	ḫ	
ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	d,t	d	d,t	
ẓ	ẓ,ǵ*	ẓ	ṣ*	ṣ*	ṭ*	ś	ś		
y	y	y	y,ʾ*	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,ś	ś		ś
ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	θ,ʾ*	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ
ǵ	ǵ	ǵ	θ,ʾ*,ḫ*	ʿ	ʿ	q*,g*	g*	g*	q
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p,f	p,f	p,f
ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ś	ś	ś	ś
ḍ	ṣ*	ḍ	ṣ*	ṣ*	ʿ	ś	ś	ś	ś
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	ś	š	š*	s*	š*	š	š*	š	ś
ś	s*	š	ś	š	ś	š	ś	š	ś
ṯ	ṯ	ṯ	š*	š*	t*	ś	ś	ś	ś
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t

Table of consonants including transcriptions in Egyptian of Northwest Sen
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 *ō* 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 *'ar* the theme vowel must be long, i.e. *'āru* "light" because of Biblical Hebrew אוֹר (< *'āru*), 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*[*tu*] (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 *bhtm* [*bahatūma*] [1.4 VI,27]; cf. *TO* II, p. 167); *qz* [*qêẓu*] (< *qayẓu*) "summer" (1.20 I,5; cf. the example from a Byblos Amarna letter *qè-e-ṣi* [*qêṣi*] [*EA* 131,15]); *zt* [*zêtu*] (< *zaytu*) "olive" (1.5 II,5); *yn* [*yênu*] (< *yaynu*) "wine" (1.4 III,43); *'ik* [*'êka*] (< *'ayka*) "how" (1.6 VI,24,26); *št* [*šêtu*] (< *šaytu*) "thorn bush" (1.175,5; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297); *ḥmt* [*ḥêmatu*] (< *ḥaymatu*) "tent" (1.14 III,55); *mrt* [*mêratu?*] (< *mayratu?*) "new wine" (2.34,32; cf. *TO* II, p. 345, n. 32); *mtntm* [*mêtanātāma/i*] (< *maytanātāma/i*) "two gifts" (1.109,7; cf. *Ug* 5,

p. 593; this form might also be [*môtanātāma/i*] ,[< *mawtanātāma/i*]);
ntn [*nêtana*] (< *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* [*banêtū*] (< *banaytū*) "I built" (1.4 VI,36; it can also
reflect [*banîtū*] [< *baniytū*], cf. Biblical Hebrew בָּנִיתִי [1 Kgs 8:27]
and the Amarna form ⌈*ba*⌉-⌈*ni*⌉-⌈*ti*⌉ [*EA* 292,29]).

These contractions are also expressed in the syllabic transcriptions
of Ugaritic words, e.g. *ḫé-qu* [*ḫêqu*] (< *ḫayqu*) "bosom" (*Ug* 5 137
I,9"); *mì-te* [*mi°tê*] (< *mi°tay*) "two hundred (of)" (*PRU* III, p. 169,14).

ay > â ? — This contraction is probably known from the par-
ticle *'an* ['*âna*?] (< *'ayna*) "where" (1.6 IV,22; cf. Biblical Hebrew אָן
[1 Sam. 10:14] and אָנָה [Gen. 37:30] alongside מֵאַיִן [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 tran-
scribed 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*) "foun-
dations, fundaments" (1.4 I,40); *md°* [*môda°u*?] (< *mawda°u*?) "why"
(1.107,10; cf. Biblical Hebrew מַדּוּעַ [Gen. 26:27 and elsewhere] with
assimilation of the *waw* or the *yod*; cf. *TO* II, p. 98, and n. 301);
mṯb [*môṯabu*] (< *mawṯabu*) "seat" (1.4 I,14,16), a contraction attested
also in syllabic spelling, *mu-ša-bu* [*môṯabu*] "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);
'uśn ['*ôśānu*?] (< *'awśānu*?) "gift" (1.14 III,31; the root is probably
'*WŚ*, cf. Renfroe 1992:16); *'nn* ['*ônānu*?] (< *'awnānu*?) "servant" (1.4
IV,59; the root seems to be '*WN*, cf. Renfroe 1992:22); *yṣ°a*
[*yašôṣi°a/yušôṣi°a*] (< *yašawṣi°a/yušawṣi°a*) "he will bring forth" (2.15,5;
contra *KTU²*, p.166 which reads *ṣ°a*); *mṣ°u* [*mušôṣi°u*] (< *mušawṣi°u*)
"the one who brings forth" (1.17 I,27,45); *l tššy* [*lā tašôśiyu/tušôśiyu*]
(< *lā tašawśiyu/tušawśiyu*) "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* [*šanôtî?*]
(< *šanawtî?*) "I am fast" or "I do quit" (1.3 IV,33). Its root is prob-
ably *ŠNW* (cf. *TO* I, p. 171 and Smith 1995:792-793).

iy > î — *ḥmt* [*ḥāmîtu*] (< *ḥāmiytu*) "city wall" (1.14 II,22; IV,4;
cf. the syllabic attestation *ḫa-mì-ti* [*PRU* III, p. 137,4]); *qrt* [*qarîtu*]
(< *qariytu*) "town, citadel" (1.23,3; cf. the syllabic documentation *qa-
rí-tu₄* [*Ug* 5 130 III,18']); *g't* [*ga'îtu*] (< *ga'iytu?*) "neighing" (1.14
III,18); *ṭnt* [*ṭanîta*] (< *ṭaniyta*) "(the) second time" (1.175,16; cf.
Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297); *štt* [*šatîtî*] (< *šatiytî*) "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'ip* [*ya'pî*] (< *ya'piy*)
"let him bake" (1.14 II,30); *yr* [*yîrû*] (< *yiyrayu*) "he shoots" (1.23,38).
    This contraction also seems to be reflected in syllabic attestation:
ši-tu [*šîtu*] (< *šiytu*) "to put, place" (*Ug* 5 130 III,10'); *ši-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?*] (< *yuwtan*) "may it be given" (1.3 V,3; cf.
an alternate explanation on p. 127).

ya > î ? — This contraction is probably reflected in syllabic cor-
roboration: *i-ṣá-'a* [*îṣa'a*] (< *yaṣa'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 (per-
haps 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* [*maqāru*] (< *maqwaru/maqyaru*) "(water) source" (1.14 V,2); *mqmh* [*maqāmuhū*] (< *maqwamuhū/maqyamuhū*) "his place" (1.14 II,1; III,23); *mṣd* [*maṣādu*] (< *maṣwadu/maṣyadu*) "provisions" (1.14 II,26); *mṣdh* [*maṣādah*] (< *maṣwadah/maṣyadah*) "to the fort" (1.112,19; cf. *Ug* 7, pp. 25-26); *mṣqᵗtᵗ* [*maṣūq(a)tu*] (< *maṣwuq[a]tu/maṣyuq[a]tu*) "stress" (1.103+1.145,19; cf. Herdner 1978:60 and Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:122; this can also be considered as [*maṣāq[a]tu*] [< *maṣwaq[a]tu/maṣyaq[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 *b mrmt* [*bi-marāmāti*] (< *bi-maryamāti*) "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 מָדוֹן "contention" (Jer. 15:10) one finds מִדְיָנִים "contentions" (Prov. 18:18 and elsewhere in Proverbs) and מְדוֹנִים (Prov. 18:19; Qeri מִדְיָנִים; and elsewhere, e.g. Prov. 21:9,19); beside מָעוֹן "shelter" (1 Sam. 2:29, from *'WN*) there is מַעְיָן "spring" (Lev. 11:36, from the root *'YN*).

Examples of contraction in word final position: *pr* [*pirû/parû*] (< *piryu/paryu*) "fruit" (1.5 II,5; 1.85,14); *'aḫ* ['aḫû?] (< *'aḫwu?*) "meadow" (1.10 II,9,12; cf. Rainey 1971a:169); *hr* [*hirû/harû?*] (< *hiryu/haryu?*) "pregnancy, impregnation" (1.23,51,56); *ṣp* [*ṣipû/ṣapû*] (< *ṣipyu/ṣapyu*) "viewing, seeing" (1.14 III,45; the form might be an infinitive, i.e. [*ṣapâ* < *ṣapāyu*]); *'un* ['unû?] (< *'unyu?*) "mourning" (1.5 VI,15); *šbm* [*šibû-ma/šabû-ma*] (< *šibyu-ma/šabyu-ma*) "captivity" (1.83,8; cf. *CDUL* [forhcoming], *contra* others who interpret the form from the root *ŠBM* "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: ⸢ẓ⸣*by* [*ẓabyu*] "gazelle" (1.15 IV,18); *ẓrw* [*ẓurwu?*] "balm(?)" (4.402,11; cf. the syllabic transcription from El-Amarna letters *ṣú-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 *ṣi-il-yu* [*ṣilyu*] "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: ⁱgⁱd [*gadû*] (< *gadyu*) "kid" (1.23,14; cf. *TO* I, p. 371, n. *p*) along with the plural *gdm* [*gadûma*] (< *gad[a]yûma*) "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* [*bikû/bakû*] (< *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 *qitl* 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, *'aylm* [*'ayyalûma*] "bucks" (1.6 I,24); *'wr* [*'awwiru/'iwwiru*] "blind (m.s.)" (1.14 II,46; IV,24); *'wⁱrⁱt* [*'awwir(a)tu/'iwwir(a)tu*] "blind (f.s.)" (1.19 IV,5); and perhaps *ṣwⁱdⁿ[t]* [*ṣawwâd(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: *ša-du-ú* [*šadû*] (< *šadayu*) "field" (*Ug* 5 137 II,35'); *ma-aš-nu-ú* [*matnû*] (< *matnayu/matniyu*) "response, a repeated saying" (*Ug* 5 137 II,41'); *ḥu-wu-ú* [*ḥuwwû*] (< *ḥuwwayu*) "to give life" (*Ug* 5 137 II,17'); *ma-aš-na* [*matnâ*] (< *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

'apy [*'âpiyu*] "baker" (4.362,4,5); *bny* [*bâniyu*] "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); *yqⁱnⁱy* [*yaqniyu*] "he creates" (1.19 IV,58); *tgly* [*tagliyu*] "she reaches" (1.16 VI,4); *'atwt* [*'atawat*] "she came" (1.4

IV,32); *mġyt* [*maġayat*] "she arrived" (1.4 II,23; III,24); *'lyt* [*'alayat*] "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); *tštyn* [*tištayūna*] "they drink" (1.22 I,22,24); *ššqy* [*šašqiyī*] "give to drink! (f.s.)" (1.17 V,19); ⌈*šty*⌉ [*šatayū*] "drink! (m.pl.)" (1.23,6).

Reduced Triphthongs

šd [*šadū*] (< *šadayu*) "field" (1.6 II,34; cf. the syllabic corroboration *ša-du-ú* [*Ug* 5 137 II,35']); *š* [*šū*] (< *šayu/šiyu*) "sheep" (1.39,2; 1.43,6); *'l* [*'alū?*] (< *'aliyu/'alayu*) "leaf(?)" (1.85,21); *dw* [*dawū*] (< *dawiyu*) "sick, ill" (1.16 II,20,23); *mks* [*maksayu/maksiyu*] "covering, garment" (1.4 II,5); *mṭ* [*maṭṭū*] (< *manṭiyu*) "staff" (1.23,37,40); *qṣ* [*qaṣū*] (< *qaṣayu/qaṣiyu?*) "edge" (1.6 II,11; some derive this form from the root *QṢṢ* "to cut", cf. Gordon 1965: 479, no. 2259); *'l* [*'alā*] (< *'alaya*) "he has attacked" (2.30,17) and with suffix pronoun *'nhm* [*'anâhum(ū)*] (< *'anayahum[ū]*) "he answered them" (1.23,73; *contra KTU²*, p. 69 which separates it into two forms, i.e. *'n hm*); *yd* [*yadâ/yaddâ*] (< *yadaya/yaddiya*) "he tossed(?)" (1.17 I,3,4; cf. *TO* I, p. 419); *n'n* [*na'nâ*] (< *na'naya*) "it was answered" (1.24,31; cf. Gordon 1967:100 and n. 53; Herrmann 1968:18; Rainey 1970b:535, *contra KTU²*, p. 70 which reads *wn 'n*, viz. two forms); *'lt* [*'alât*] (< *'alayat*) "she went up" (1.82,9,10); *'iḫd* [*'iḫdû* (< *'iḫdayu?*) "I am happy" (2.33,21) and *'iḫd* [*'iḫdâ?*] (< *'iḫdaya?*) "I am happy" (2.15,10; it is a *yqtla* form according to the previous verb *yšš'a* [*yašôṣi'a/yušôṣi'a*] in line 5; cf. also Verreet 1983a:229 and 1988:218-219); ⌈*'iph*⌉ [*'iphū*] (< *'iphayu*) "I will see" (1.10 II,32; cf. Verreet 1988:136); *yd'u* [*yid'û*] (*yid'ayu*) "he soars" (1.103+1.145,42); *yr* [*yirû*] (< *yiyrayu*) "he shoots" (1.23,38); *td'u* [*tid'û*] (*tid'ayu*) "she soars" (1.16 VI,6); *tgl* [*taglû*] (< *tagliyu*) "she turns" (1.3 V,7); *tzġ* [*tazġû*] (< *tazġuwu/tazġuyu?*) "she moans" (1.15 I,5; cf. Ginsberg 1946:22,33; Verreet 1988:58 n. 53); *wld* [*wâlādu*] (< *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* [*wâtinu*] (< *wa-yatinu*) "and (Baal) gives" (1.4 V,8).

Contractions of triphthongs with long vowel: *t*⌈*š*⌉*t*⌈*n*⌉ [*tištûna*] (< *tištayūna*) "they drink" (1.114,3); *t'it* [*tî'tû*] (< *ti'tayū*) "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.); *d'i* [*da'î*] (< *da'ayī*) "take wing!, soar! (f.s.)" (1.16

V,48); *'at* ['*aû*] (< *'atawī/'atayī*) "come! (f.s.)" (1.1 III,16); *qnm* [*qanû-ma*] (< *qanayūma/qaniyūma*) "reeds" (4.158,12); *ypm* [*yapûma*] (< *yapi-yūma?*) "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 *l'a šmm* "the heavens became strong" (1.3 V,18; 1.4 VIII,22-23; 1.6 II,25). As for *l'a* [*la'â*] (< *la'āyu*), 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 'aṭt ym* "and the Lady Ashera of the Sea answered (*wa-'anâ*] (< *wa-'anāyu*)" (1.6 I,53) and perhaps also *mġ hw* "he arrived [*maġâ*] (< *maġāyu*)" (1.23,75).

There are some words that preserve the triphthong in some instances but contract it in others: *šmm* [*šamûma*] "heavens" (1.5 I,4; 1.23,38) beside *šmym* [*šamayūma*] (1.19 IV,24,30); *'aḫm* ['*aḫ(ḫ)ûma*] "brothers" (1.22 I,5) beside *'aḫym* ['*aḫ(ḫ)iyûma*] (1.6 VI,10,14; it seems that the *yod* is a root radical here and not a vowel sign; cf. Biblical Hebrew אֲחוֹתֵךְ "your sisters" [Ezek. 16:52], אַחְוָה "brotherhood" [Zech. 11:14]); *my* [*mayu*] "water" (1.19 II,6) alongside *mh* [*mûhâ*] (< *mayuhâ*) "her waters (fluids)" (1.3 IV,42); *ṭy* [*ṭayu?*] "donation(?)" (2.13,14; cf. Biblical Hebrew שַׁי [Isa. 18:7]) beside *ṭh* [*ṭûhâ* (< *ṭayuhâ*) "her donation(?)" (2.33,29); *bd* [*bâdi*] (< *biyadi*) "in/from the hand of . . ." (4.144,2; cf. the syllabic form from the Amarna letters *ba-di-ú* [*bâdihû*] "from his hand" [*EA* 245,35]) beside *byd* [*biyadi*] (1.4 VIII,23; 1.6 II,25). One may add here the verb *tštyn* [*tištayûna*] "they drink" (1.22 I,22,24) alongside *tˀšˁtˁnˀ* [*tištûna*] (< *tištayûna*) "they drink" (1.114,3).

Assimilations

Assimilation of Vowels to a Labial Consonant

This is found in *'um* ['*ummu*] (< *'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:

ʾ*ulp* [ʾ*ullūpu*] (< ʾ*allūpu*) "chief" (1.40,3,20,29; cf. the syllabically written personal name *ul-lu-pi* [ʾ*Ullūpi*] [*PRU* III, p. 194,11]); ʾ*ibr* [ʾ*ibbīru*] (< ʾ*abbīru*) "stallion, noble warrior" (1.4 VII,56; cf. the syllabic personal name *i-bi-ra-na* [ʾ*Ibbīrāna*] [*PRU* VI, 45,3,15]); ʾ*uḫy* [ʾ*uḫūya*] (< ʾ*aḫūya*) "my brother (nom.)" (2.41,20); ʾ*iḫy* [ʾ*iḫīya*] (< ʾ*aḫīya*) "my brother (gen.)" (2.41,18; 2.44,2); ʾ*uḫh* [ʾ*uḫūhu*] (< ʾ*aḫūhu*) "his brother (nom.)" (4.80,10); ʾ*iḫh* [ʾ*iḫīhu*] (< ʾ*aḫīhu*) "his brother (gen.)" (4.123,23); ʾ*iy* [ʾ*iyyu?*] (< ʾ*ayyu?* cf. Biblical Hebrew אֵיָה [Zech. 1:5]) "where" (1.6 IV,4,5,15,16); ʾ*irby* [ʾ*irbīyu*/ʾ*irbiyu*] (< ʾ*arbīyu*/ʾ*arbiyu*; cf. Biblical Hebrew אַרְבֶּה [Jer. 46:23]) "locust" (1.14 II,50; IV,29); ʾ*iršt* [ʾ*irištu*] (< ʾ*arištu*) "request" (4.626,1; cf. the attestation without the shift, ʾ*aršt* [2.45,24] and the Biblical Hebrew אֶרֶשֶׁת שְׂפָתָיו [Ps 21,3]); ʾ*iqnʾu* [ʾ*iqnīʾu*/ʾ*iqnīʾu*] (< ʾ*aqnīʾu*/ʾ*aqnīʾu* or ʾ*uqnīʾu*/ʾ*uqnīʾu*) "lapis lazuli" (3.1,23; cf. Akkadian *uqnû*; 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); ʾ*urbt* [ʾ*urub(b)atu*] (< ʾ*arub[b]atu*) "window, transom" (1.4 V,61,64; the gemination in the biblical cognate מְאָרְבָּה [Hos. 13:3] seems to be secondary; for the possibility that the biblical form was originally *qutul*, cf. Sperber 1938:209); ʾ*udmʿt* [ʾ*udmuʿātu*] "tears" (1.6 I,10; the *aleph* in this form may be prosthetic); ʾ*itn* [ʾ*itinu*] (< ʾ*atinu*) "I give" (2.15,4; cf. Verreet 1983a:229 n. 65); ʾ*irš* [ʾ*irriš?*] (< ʾ*arriš?*) "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); ʾ*ištn* [ʾ*ištun(n)ă*/ʾ*ištan(n)ă*] (< ʾ*aštun[n]ă*/ʾ*aštan[n]ă*) "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*); ʾ*adʿ* [ʾ*adaʿu?*] (< ʾ*idaʿu?*) "I know" (2.34,30; cf. Sivan 1990a:313-315; Pardee [1984:227] and *TO* II, p. 345, n, 28 read ʾ*agdʿ; KTU²* reads ʾ*axdʿ*) alongside the regular form ʾ*idʿ* [ʾ*idaʿu*] (1.6 III,8); ʾ*amr* [ʾ*ammaru?*] (< ʾ*immaru?*) "lamb" (1.20 I,10; cf. *TO* I, p. 196, n. *r* and p. 478, n. *e*) beside the regular form ʾ*imr* [ʾ*immaru?*] (1.6 II,8,22 and elsewhere); ʾ*ibkⁱy* [ʾ*ibkiyu*] (< ʾ*abkiyu*) "I will weep" (1.161,13) alongside the regular form ʾ*abky* [ʾ*abkiyu*] (1.19 III,5,20,34; it is possible that both forms represent different original patterns, i.e. *yaqtil* and *yiqtal*). One may add here the word ʾ*uzr* [ʾ*uzūru?*] (< ʾ*azūru?*) "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-ni* [*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]); *'aᶠsᶦr* [*'asīru*/*'asiru*] "prisoner" (1.2 I,37; cf. the syllabic attestation ᴸᵁ*a-si-ni* [*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 *'aḫm* [*'aḫ(ḫ)īma*] "brothers (obliq.)" (1.22 I,5); *'aḫh* [*'aḫ(ḫ)ūhū*] "his brothers (nom.)" (1.12 II,48) beside *'iḫh* [*'iḫ(ḫ)ūhū*] "his brothers (nom.)" (1.24,35); *'aḫh* [*'aḫ(ḫ)īhū*] "his brothers (obliq.)" 1.4 VI,44); *'aḫh* [*'aḫīhū*] "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); *'aᶜiyn* [*'aᶜīyānu*] "strong, mighty" (1.4 III,23 and elsewhere); *'amṣ* [*'ammīṣu?*] "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'uḫdm* [*ya'uḫudu-ma*] (< *ya'ḫudu-ma*) "he grasps, holds" (1.4 IV,16); *y'uḫd* [*ya'uḫudu*] (< *ya'ḫudu*) "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 *ṭhrm* "pure ones" (1.4 V 19,34) is documented thus: *ṭu-ú-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 *thm* "deep" (1.23,30) and *thmt* "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-tu₄* [*tahāmatu*] (*Ug* 5 137 III,34').

Other syllabic examples without alphabetic counterparts are: [ᴸᵁ].ᴹᴱˢ*bi-ḫi-ru* [*biḫīrū*] (< *baḫīrū?*) "selected ones, elite troops" (*PRU* VI 17:B II,5'); and so too, forms without a guttural consonant in the root: ᴬ.ˢᴬ*ṣi-ib-bi-ri* [*ṣibbīrī*] (< *ṣabbīrī?*) "collective (fields)" (*PRU* III, p. 79,6; cf. Heltzer 1977:47-55); *ḫe-en-ni-ṣu* [*ḫinnīṣu?*] (< *ḫannīṣu?*) "piglet" (*Ug* 5 137 II, 26'; cf. Huehnergard 1987:269); *mì-ḫi-ʾṣuʾ-ma* [*miḫīṣūma*] (< *maḫīṣūma*) "(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-ẓi-ir* [ʿ*iḏir*] (< ʿ*iḏr*) "help" (*Ug* 5 130 III,7'; it is less likely to read *i-ẓi-ir-[tu₄]*, cf. Huehnergard 1987:53-54); with a vowel other than the cardinal one ᴬ.ˢᴬ.Ḫᴵ.ᴬ*mi-ṭá-ar* [*miṭar*] (< *miṭr*) "(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 *mi-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: ᵀᵁᴳ*šá-ḫar-tu/šá-ḫir-tu* [*šaʿartu/šaʿirtu*] (< *šaʿrtu*) "wool" (*PRU* VI 128,5; cf. Sivan 1984a:58-59). One may add here the place name ᵁᴿᵁ*ia-ar-ti* [*yaʿartì*] (< *yaʿrtì*) (*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: *ti-tar-ʾḫuʾ* [*tit(t)arḫu?*] (< *tiytarahu/tiytariḫu*) "she will hurry" (*Ug* 5 3 v, 10'; it is a Gt form, cf. Huehnergard 1987:109-110); ʾᴸᵁʾ*ḫa-ma-ru-ú* [*ġamaruhū*] "his tiro" (*PRU* VI 79,11) and ʾḫaʾ-*ma-ru-ʾmaʾ* [*ġamarūma*] "tiros" (*PRU* III, p. 196,1) alongside ᴸᵁ*ḫa-am-ru-<šu>-nu* [*ġamrušunu*] "their tiro" (*PRU* VI 79,9) and ᴸᵁ.ᴹᴱˢ*ḫa-am-ru-ma*ᴹᴱˢ [*ġamrūma*] "tiros" (*PRU* VI, p. 150 n. 3). One may find elision of vowels in pesonal and geographical names (cf. Sivan 1984a:34-36), e.g. *ḫa-ga-ba-na* [*Ḥagabāna*] (*PRU* III, p. 166,6) but *ḫa-*

ag-ba-na [*Ḫagbāna*] (*PRU* III, p. 86,5; *PRU* VI 45,29); URU*ú-ga-ri-it* ['*Ugarīt*] (*Ug* 5 22,3) alongside URU*u-ga-ar-ti-ya* ['*Ugartīya*] (*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 [*kissi'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* [*mi'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]); *ḫa-mi-ti* [*ḫāmīti*] "(city) wall" (*PRU* III, p. 137,4; cf. the form from a Beirut Amarna letter, *ḫu-mi-tu* [*ḫōmītu*] [*EA* 141,44]); LÚ*sà-ki-ni* [*sākini*] "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'); ┌*ḫa*┐-*ra*-┌*šu*┐ [*ḫarāšu*] "to plough" (*Ug* 5 137 III,18'); *ia-ṣi-ru-ma* [*yāṣirūma*] "potters" (*PRU* III, p. 195 B I,12); even the negative particle, *l* "no", is attested syllabically, ┌*la*┐-*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 *ā > ō*, i.e. [*'adōnu*]. But if it must be assumed that this is a Ugaritian name, then it could be formed by *'adu* "father" plus the nominal suffix [-*ūnu*] that serves alongside the suffixes [-*ānu*] and [-*īnu*]. If that be so, then such forms have no connection with the *ā > ō* shift (*contra* Segert 1984:35).

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

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.	'an ['anā] "I" alongside 'ank ['anākū] = syllabic attestation a-na-ku (*Ug* 5 130 III,12').
2nd m.s.	'at ['attā] (< 'antā) "you" = syllabic at-ta (*Ug* 5 130 II,4').
2nd f.s.	'at ['attī] (< 'antī) "you".
3rd m.s.	hw [huwa] "he" = syllabic ú-wa (*Ug* 5 137 II,28').
3rd f.s.	hy [hiya] "she".
1st c.pl.	Unattested.
2nd m.pl.	'atm ['attum(ū)] (< 'antum[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 אָנֹכִי) 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 energic 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:

ṭ ktnm ḥmšt w nṣp ksp hn which could mean either "two garments, five (shekels) and a *nṣp* of their silver" or "two garments, five (shekels) and a *nṣp* 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 šu'āti), for example:

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

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

kbd hyt [kabbidā hiyāti] "honor her (both of you)!" (1.3 III,10); ⌜*ḏ*⌝*'iy hyt* [dā'iyu hiyāti] "her pinion" (1.19 III,31-32); *ḏrʿ ḫwt hyt yḫsl* "he will destroy the strength(?) of its land [ḫuwwati hiyāti]" (1.103+1.145,55; cf. Ditriech and Loretz 1990b:154).

3rd m.pl. — *hmt* [humūti?] "them", "theirs, of them", e.g.: *ḏ'iy h⌜m⌝t* [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⌜t⌝* [kulla dabarīma humūti] "all of their things" (2.32,8).

3rd f.pl. — No documentation.

3rd c.du. — *ḥmt* [*humāti*] "the two of them (m./f.)", e.g.:
kbd ḥmt [*kabbidī humāti*] "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:
            ∅ [-*ī*] "my" (on nouns in the nominative case);
            -*y* [-*ya*] "my" (on nouns in the accusative or the gen-
            itive 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 nomina-
            tive.
            -*n* [-*nū*/-*nī*?] "our" (on nouns in accusative or geni-
            tive).
            -*n* [-*nū*/-*nī*?] "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".

3nd f.pl.   *-hn* [*-hin(n)ā?*] "theirs", "them".

Dual

1st c.du.   *-ny* [*-nịyā/-nặyā*] "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 energic *nun* which strengthens verbal forms, e.g. *yqr.'un* [*yiqra'unī*] "he calles me" (1.5 II,22). The same pronominal *-n* is carried over to the various prepositions, such as *'mn* [*'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 'irty npš [*wa-tanuḫ bi-'irtiya napšī*] "and may my soul rest in my breast" (1.6 III,19); *'atn bty lh* [*'atinu bêtiya lehū*] "I will give my house to him" (2.31,66); *l ks'iy* [*le-kussī'iya/kissī'iya*] "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:

'umy td' ky 'rbt l pn špš [*'ummī tida' kî 'arabtī le-panī šapši*] "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}*ḫa-ma-ru-ú* [*ǵamaruhū*] "his tiro"
(*PRU* VI 79,11) and ^{LÚ}*ḫa-*⌐*am*⌐-⌐*ru*⌐-*ú* [*ǵamruhū*] (*PRU* VI 79,13; cf.
the Amarna forms *ba-di-ú* [*bâdihū*] "from his hand" [*EA* 245,35], *ma-
aḫ-ṣú-ú* [*maḫṣūhū*] "they had smitten him" [*EA* 245,14] and *aḫ-ru-un-
ú* [*'aḫrōnhū*] "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-bêtiw?*] "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 indi-
cate 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 energic *nun* carried over
from verbal forms. Sometimes the *h* is assimilated, so that the ortho-
graphy 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 sug-
gestion of Good [1981:119-120] that the suffix -*nn* indicates gemi-
nation).

Examples of 3rd m.s. suffixes include *'a*⌐*q*⌐*brnh* [*'aqburan(n)ahū*] "I
will bury him" (1.19 III,5); *tš*⌐*ḳnh* [*taša'ḳiyan(n)ahū/tuša'ḳiyan(n)ahū*] "she
takes him up" (1.6 I,15); *tbḳynh* [*tabḳiyan(n)ahū*] "she weeps for him"
(1.6 I,16; the form might also be from the D stem); *tbq'nn*
[*tibqa'an(n)annū?*] (< *tibqa'an(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); *tṭḥnn* [*tiṭhanannū?*]
(< *tiṭhananhū?*) "she grinds him" (1.6 II,34).

Examples of 3rd f.s. suffixes include ⌐*'m*⌐*nh* [*'imman(n)ahā*] "with
her" (1.5 V,20); *yblnh* [*yabilan(n)ahā*] "he brings her" (1.100,67); *ytnnn*
[*yatinan(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 distin-
guished in form from one another, in the dual the masculine and
the feminine suffixes are identical in orthography. The following are
examples: ⌐*gh*⌐*m* [*gūhumā/guhumā*] "their (du.) voice" (1.14 VI,39);
špthm [*šipātuhumā/šip(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.'un* [*yiqra'unī*] "he calles me" (1.5 II,22;
here it is separated together with the root radical *aleph*); *y'msn.nn*

[*yaʿammisan(n)an(n)annū/yuʿammisan(n)an(n)annū*] "he conveys him" (1.114,18); *bʿl ymšḫ.hm* [*baʿlu yimšaḫuhumā*] "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 yatinuhumā 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: *bʿlny* [*baʿlunīyā/baʿlunīyā*] "our (du.) lord" (2.70,1,8); *ʾadtny* [*ʾadat(t)unīyā/ʾadat(t)unīyā*] "our (du.) lady" (2.11,1,5,15); *ʿmny* [*ʿimmanīyā/ʿimmanīyā*] "with/to the two of us" (2.16,14); *qḥny* [*qaḥanīyā/qaḥanīyā*] "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 *ḏū*, Biblical Hebrew זו/זֶה and Aramaic די).
f.s.	*dt* [*dātu/a/i*] "which", "of which".
m.pl.	*dt* [*dūtu/i?*] (cf. Akkadian *šūt*).
f.pl.	*dt* [*dūtu/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/qidmi*] "he goes around(?) the city of the east (accusative)" (1.100,62; cf. Pardee 1988:215 and n.88); *w y'n ltpn 'il d p'i*[*d*]¹ [*wa-ya'nî laṭpānu 'ilu dū pa'idi*] "and the Compassionate, God of Mercy, answered" (1.4, IV, 58); *spr npš d 'rb bt mlk* [*sipru napši dū 'araba bêta malki*] "document of the personnel (soul[s]) that have entered the king's house" (4.338,1-2); *'irštk d ḫsrt* [*'irištukā dū ḫasirtā*] "your (m.s.) request that you were lacking" (2.41,16-17); likewise in the sentence *bd rb ḫršm d šṣ'a ḫuyh* [*bâdi rabbi ḫarrāšīma dī šôṣi'a ḫuyh(?)*] ". . .in the charge of the chief of the craftsmen who has produced his *ḫuy*" (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 td *šmm rgm l td* *nšm* [*'abnū baraqi dū lā tida'ū šamûma rigmu 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 š'rt* [*'aš(a)r(u) paladūma/paladīma dūtu/i ša'arti/ ša'irti*] "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 š'rt* [*'aš(a)r(u) paladu/i ša'arti/ša'irti*] "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:

<div align="center">

d [dū/dā/dī]

</div>

Masculine Singular:

w y'n ltpn 'il d p'i[*d*]¹ "and the Compassionate, the God of (*dū*) Mercy, answered" (1.4, IV, 58); *m'i*[*t*]¹*m yn ḫsp d nkly b db*[*ḫ*]¹ "two hundred (jars) of wine of pouring(?) which (*dī*) has been expended at the feast" (4.213,24); *mrzḥ d qny šmmn* "the *marziḥu* which (*dū*) Shamumānu established" (3.9,1-3).

Feminine Singular:

> ḥry . . . ⸢dⁱ⸣ k nᶜm ᶜnt nᶜmh . . . d b ḥlmy 'il ytⁿnⁱ "Ḥurāya . . . whose (*dū*) charm is like the charm of Anat . . . whom (*dū*) El bestowed in my dream" (1.14 III,39-46).

Masculine Plural:

> ṯṯm ḥzr w ᶜšt ᶜšr ḥrš d tbᶜln b 'ugrt "twelve *ḥzr*-personnel and eleven craftsmen who (*dū/ī*) are working in Ugarit" (4.141 III,7-8); tḥt 'adᵈrⁱm d b grn "beneath the mighty ones that (*dī*) are in the threshing floor" (1.17 V,6-7).

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

> ṯṯm ḥzr w ᶜšt ᶜšr ḥrš d tbᶜln b 'ugrt ṯṯm ḥzr dt tbᶜln b gt ḥrṯm "twelve *ḥzr*-personnel and eleven craftsmen who (*dū/ī*) are working in Ugarit; twelve *ḥzr*-personnel who (*dūtu/ī*) are working in Gath-Ḥāriṯūma" (4.141 III,7-11).

Feminine Plural:

> ksp 'anyt d ᶜrb 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); ṯlṯ mrkbt mlk d l ṣpy "three chariots of the king that (*dū/ī*) were not plated" (4.167,5-6).

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

Feminine Singular:

> 'anykn dt lⁱikt mṣrm "the ship that (*dātu*) you sent to Egypt" (2.38,10-11; the component *kn* is not clearly understood); tqḥ mlk ᶜlmk drkt dt drdrk "take your eternal kingdom, your everlasting dominion (*dūta*)" (1.2 IV,10).

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

> šd 'ubdy 'ilštmᶜ dt bd skn "indentured(?) field of Ilištamᶜu 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 dt n'at "a feast/sacrifice of (*dātu*) n'at" (1.127,3-4; following Loewenstamm 1980:69 n. 73a; still, *dt* here might be plural); kbd dt 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 'iṯ '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 gpnm dt ksp dt yrq nqbnm* "he placed harness of (*dūti*) silver, of (*dūti*) trappings (of) gold" (1.4 IV,10-11); *<b>hty bnt dt ksp hkly ⌈dt⌉m ḫrṣ '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:

> *ṯmn 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 'lmk* "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 *'anš dt ẓrh* "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⌈k⌉l pdy 'agdn* [*le-yômi hānādū 'Iwrikallu padaya 'Agdena*] "from this day Iwrikallu ransomed Agdenu" (3.5,1); *mkr*

hnd [*mākiru hānādū*] "this seller" (2.42,25); *'alpm ššwm hnd* ['*alpā-ma/i šswūma/šswīma hānādū*] "these two thousand horses" (2.33,32); *mPakty hnd yPak* '*my* "may he send to me this (*hānādū*) embassage 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 mṣrm hndt b ṣr "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 [*mīyu/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 ⌜*b*⌝ ⌜*'ilm*⌝ "who among the gods?" (1.16 V,14); *my* ⌜*im bn
dgn my ḥmlt 'ay b'l* "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 'ib yp' l b'l "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 'ib yp' l b'l* "who is the enemy
(that) has appeared against Baal?" (1.3 IV,4); *mn bnš d l.'i*⌜*kt*⌝
"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) hiya*] "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>y*). The pronoun under discussion is
apparently found in the sentence:

m'at 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)* [*mīnu(ma)*?] in the same meaning:

mn yrḫ k m[rṣ] mn k dw k⌜*r*⌝[*ṣ*] "(since) which month is he ver-
ily sick, (since) which (month) is Keret verily ill?" (1.16 II,19-
20); *'m 'adtny mnm šlm* "with our (du.) lady, what is (her) wel-
fare?" (2.11,16) and *'m 'adty 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 'm 'umy* "and
what is the welfare with my mother?" (2.16,16-17).

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Personal

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

mnk m⌜*n*⌝*km 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 [*mahkīma/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 'aḫy 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 ŠÀ-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* [*mīnuma?*] occurs in other epistles:

> *w mnm rgm d tšm' ḫnt 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 'irštk d ḥsrt* "whatever your request that you were lacking" (2.41,16-17).

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'śiru*) "tithe" (Gen. 14:20) was *ma'śaru* in Ugaritic; Biblical Hebrew שָׁקֵד (< *ṯaqidu*) "almond" (Jer. 1:11) was *ṯuqdu* in Ugaritic; Biblical Hebrew קִרְיָה (< *qaryatu*) "city, citadel" (Deut. 2:36) was *qarîtu* (< *qariytu*) in Ugaritic; and Biblical Hebrew תֹּרֶן (< *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 [*šû*] (< *šayu?*) "sheep" (1.109,8); *p* [*pû*] (< *piyu?*) "mouth" (1.45,3);
g [*gû*] "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); '*aḫ* ['*aḫu*] "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); '*aḫt* ['*aḫātu*] "sister" (4.147,13); '*adt* ['*adatu*] "lady" (2.11,1;
but possibly '*adattu* [< '*adāntu?*]; cf. the example with a preserved
nun, '*adny* "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 possi-
ble, cf. Fox 1996:140); '*il* ['*ilu*] "god" (1.4 I,12); **feminine** — *gt*
[*gittu*] (< *gintu*) "wine-press" (4.243,12,14); *bt* [*bittu*] (< *bintu*) "daugh-
ter" (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* [*pi'tu*] "corner", "brow, temple" (1.13,15;
1.17 II,9); *m'it* [*mi'tu*] "one hundred" (1.49,10; 3.4,13); *šnt* [*šinatu*]
"sleep" (1.14 I,33); *ṣ'at* [*ṣi'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.ŠÀ.MEŠ*ṣa-a-i* [*ṣā'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** — *ṣí-ṣú-ma* [*ṣīṣūma*] "salt fields" (*PRU*
III, p. 124,12; its origin may be *qitl*, i.e. *ṣiyṣūma).

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'šu*] "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'šātu*] "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'irty'm* [*Bi'rātyūma*] "Beirutians" (3.4,15; the form may be Canaanite in which case it should be interpreted *Bi'rōtyūma*); forms with identical second and third radicals: *rbm* [*rabbūma*] "many (m.pl.)" (1.3 III,39); *ḥẓm* [*ḥiẓẓūma*] "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* [*ḥiṭṭūma*] (< *ḥinṭūma*) "wheat (collective)" (4.269,25,32); forms with second radical *waw* and *yod:* *ṯrm* [*ṯōrūma*] (< *ṯawrūma*) "oxen" (1.4 VI,41; 1.12 I,31; cf. Biblical Hebrew שְׁוָרִים [Hos. 12:12]); *'nt* [*'ēnātu*] (< *'aynātu*) "springs" (1.3 IV,36; cf. Biblical Hebrew עֵינֹת [2 Chron. 32:3]); *ztm* [*zêtūma*] (< *zaytūma*) "olives" (4.284,8; 4.429,2,3,4,5; cf. Biblical Hebrew זֵיתִים [Ps 128:4]); *btm* [*bêtūma*] (< *baytūma*) "houses" (1.48,4; 1.94,24; these are the only occurrences of this form in Ugaritic, the regular one is *bhtm* [*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-ap-ki-ma* [*napkīma*] [*PRU* VI 56 v, 9']); GIŠ*mà-áš-wa-tu* [*maswatu/masyatu*] "cypress log" (*PRU* VI 114,7)

beside the plural ^{GIŠ.MEŠ}ma-sa-wa/ya-tu-^{'ma'} [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 'ẒR unless one may conjecture ma'zaru > mâzaru > mazru) was in the plural ^{TÚG.MEŠ}ma-za-^rru¹-ma^{MEŠ} [mazarūma] (*PRU* VI 126,4). The form ^{A.Š.À.MEŠ}ḫa-ba-li-ma [ḫabalīma] "fields of ropes(?)" (*PRU* III, p. 46,8) may represent a plural form of the singular ḫbl (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 [ṯalṯūma] "implements (for agriculture)" (*Ug* 5 84,11); ^{GIŠ}šu-uq-du-ma [ṯuqdūma] "almonds" (*PRU* VI 159,4'; cf. Sivan 1992:235-238) and perhaps ^{A.ŠÀ.MEŠ}ḫa-ar-ṣa-ti [ḫarṣāti] "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 m'id [ma'da] "much, very" or [ma'du] "abundance" is attested in syllabic transcription as plural ma-a-du-ma "much", "abundance(?)" (*Ug* 5 137 II,36'). It may reflect ma'dūma or ma'adūma. The same holds with the word b'l [ba'lu] "owner" that its plural ba-a-lu-ma "owner" (*Ug* 5 130 III,14'; 137 II,30',33') may reflect ba'lūma or ba'alūma.

qatl — 'ahl ['ahlu] "tent" (1.15 III,18; cf. Arabic 'ahl, but Biblical Hebrew אֹהֶל [Exod. 28:43]); yrḫ [yarḫu] "new month" (1.41,1; cf. Akkadian warḫu); '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,13'; 137 II,32']); 'arṣ ['arṣu] "land, ground" (1.6 II,19; cf. the syllabic attestation ar-ṣu [*Ug* 5 137 III,14']); r'iš [ra'šu] "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]); špš [šapšu] "sun" (1.6 I,9; cf. the syllabic transcription ša-ap-šu [*Ug* 5 138,3']); ^{GIŠ}ta-ar-ni [tarni] "mast" (*PRU* VI 19,4'; cf. *PRU* VI, p. 21 n. 2 and *AHw*, p. 1331a); **feminine** — mlkt [malaktu/malkatu] "queen" (2.12,1); ṣ'rt [ṣa'artu/ṣa'irtu] "wool" (4.144,6; cf. the syllabic spelling ^{TÚG}sà-ḫar/ḫirtu [*PRU* VI 128,5]); **masculine plural** — r'ašm [ra'ašūma] "heads" (1.3 III,42); mlkm [mal(a)kūma] "kings" (1.22 I,17); krmm [kar(a)mūma] "vineyards" (2.61,10); **feminine plural** — r'išt [ra'šātu] "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** — *'aṭṭ* [*'aṭṭatu*] (< *'anṭatu*) "woman" (1.14 I,14). **Roots with second *waw* or *yod*** — *r* [*ṭôru*] (< *ṭawru*) "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* [*'ênu*] (< *'aynu*) "young ass" (1.4 IV,9); **masculine plural** — *rm* [*ṭôrūma*] (< *ṭawrūma*) "oxen" (1.4 VI,41; 1.12 I,31; cf. Biblical Hebrew שְׁוָרִים [Hos. 12:12]); *ztm* [*zêtūma*] (< *zaytūma*) "olives" (4.284,8; 4.429,2,3,4,5; cf. Biblical Hebrew זֵיתִים [Ps 128:4]); *btm* [*bêtūma*] (< *baytūma*) "houses" (1.48,4; 1.94,24; these are the only occurrences of this form in Ugaritic, the regular one is *bhtm* [*bahatūma*] [1.4 VI,27 and elsewhere]; cf. *TO* II, p. 167); **feminine plural** — *'nt* [*'ênātu*] (< *'aynātu*) "springs" (1.3 IV,36). **Roots with third *waw* or *yod*** — *gdy* [*gadyu*] "kid" (1.79,4); *ẓby* [*ẓabyu*] "gazelle" (1.15 IV,7,18); *'ẖ* [*'aẖû*] (< *'aẖuwu?*) "meadow" (1.10 II,9,12; cf. Biblical Hebrew אָחוּ [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* [*'ammu*] "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-rù* [*sarru*] "false" (*Ug* 5 137 II,37'); **feminine** — *'amt* [*'am(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-tù* [*maddatu*] "measurement" (*Ug* 5 5,9); **masculine plural** — *rbm* [*rabbūma*] "many" (1.6 V,2); syllabic spelling: DUG*ka-du-ma*MEŠ [*kaddūma*] "jars" (*PRU* VI 147,4,6).

qatal > *qatl* (cf. Sivan 1984a:73) — This process can be discerned in syllabic attestations only, e.g. LÚ*ḫa-ma-ru-ú* [*ġamaruḫû*] "his tiro" (*PRU* VI 79,11) and ⌈*ḫa*⌉-*ma-ru-ma* [*ġamarūma*] "tiros" (*PRU* III, p. 196,1) alongside the forms LÚ*ḫa-am-ru-<šu>-nu* [*ġamrušunu*] "their tiro" (*PRU* VI 79,9) and LÚ.MEŠ*ḫa-am-ru-ma*MEŠ [*ġamrūma*] "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* [*ši'ru*] "flesh" (1.96,3); *qdš* [*qidšu*] "holy place" (1.17 I,26,44; cf. the syllabic documentation *qi-⌈id⌉-⌈šu⌉* [*Ug* 5 137 III,29"] and Biblical Hebrew קֹדֶשׁ [Exod. 3:5; a *qutl* form]); *'ikl* [*'iklu*] "food", "eating" (1.22 I,24; cf. Biblical Hebrew אֹכֶל [Gen. 41:35, a *qutl* form], Arabic *'aklu*, likewise Akkadian [a

qatl form]); syllabic forms: *ti-ib-nu* [*tibnu*] "straw" (*Ug* 5 130 III,17'); *ni-iḫ-rù* [*niġru*] "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** — *ṯqlm* [*ṯiq(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** — ʰḥ¹ṭṭ [*ḥiṭṭatu*] (< *ḥinṭatu*) "wheat" (1.16 III,9); **masculine plural** — '*zm* ['*izzūma*] "goats" (1.80,4); *ḥṭm* [*ḥiṭṭūma*] "wheat (collective)" (4.269,25,32). **Roots with second yod** — *dn* [*dīnu*] (< *diynu*) "legal case" (1.17 V,8); and perhaps also '*r* ['*îru*] (< '*iyru*) "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* [*piru̇?*] (< *piryu?*) "fruit" (1.5 II,5; a *qatl* pattern is also possible); syllabic form: *si-il-yu* [*silyu*] "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* [*ḥizzu*] "arrow" (1.14 III,12, *qatl* and *qutl* are also possible); *lb* [*libbu*] "heart" (1.6 II,6,7); '*ṣ* ['*iṣṣu*] "wood", "tree" (1.101,4; cf. the syllabic transcription *iṣ-ṣi* [*Ug* 5 130 III,8']; in Biblical Hebrew עֵץ [Jer. 11:19] [a *qil* form] but Aramaic עָע [a *qal* form]; cf. Fox 1996:139); *pi-rù* [*pirru?*] "flight", "separation" (*Ug* 5 137 II 44'; cf. Huehnergard 1987:92); **feminine** — *rbt* [*ribbatu*] "myriad" (1.4 V,3); **masculine plural** — *ḥzm* [*ḥizzūma*] "arrows" (4.141 III,19); '*ṣm* ['*iṣṣūma*] "trees" (1.23,66); **feminine plural** — *pnt* [*pinnātu?*] "corners(?)", "vertebrae(?)" (1.2 IV,17,26); *rbbt* [*ribabātu*] "myriads" (1.4 I,28,43).

qutl — '*udn* ['*udnu*] "ear" (1.13,23; 1.18 IV,23); syllabic forms: GIŠ.MEŠ*ùr-nu* ['*urnu*] "laurel" (*PRU* VI 114,1); LÚ*mur-u* [*mur'u*] "commander, officer" (*PRU* III, p. 194,22); **feminine** — '*uṯpt* ['*uṯpatu*] "quiver" (4.53,15; cf. Akkadian KUŠ*iš-pa-tu* [*PRU* VI 162,5] and Biblical Hebrew אַשְׁפָּה [Isa. 22:6]); **masculine plural** — Syllabic forms: GIŠ*šu-uq-du-ma* [*ṯuqdūma*] "almonds" (*PRU* VI 159,4'); LÚ.MEŠ*mur-ú-ma* [*mur'ūma*] "commanders, officers" (*PRU* VI 116,5). **Roots with second waw** — *ġr* [*ġūru*] (< *ġuwru*) "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); *mḫ* [*muḫḫu*] "marrow", "upper head" (1.16 I,27); *ṯp* [*ṯuppu*] "drum" (1.113,1,5); **feminine** — '*umt* ['*ummatu*] (< '*immatu*) "nation" (1.14 I,6).

qatal — *knp* [*kanapu*] "wing" (1.10 II,10,11); *ḥdṯ* [*ḥadaṯu*] "new" (4.205,19); *'adm* [*'adamu*] "man(kind)" (1.3 II,8); syllabic forms: *da-ka-rù* [*dakaru*] "male" (*Ug* 5 137 III,5); *la-ba-nu* [*labanu*] "white" (*Ug* 5 138,4'); ^A.ŠA.MEŠ*na-ḫa-li* [*naḫali*] "(fields of) inheritance" (*PRU* III, p. 108,7); ^LÚ*ḫa-ma-ru-ú* [*ǵamaruḫû*] "his tiro" (*PRU* VI 79,11); **masculine plural** — *lbnm* [*labanūma*] "white" (4.182,4); syllabic form: ^⌜*ḫa*⌝-*ma-ru-*⌜*ma*⌝ [*ǵamarūma*] "tiros" (*PRU* III, p. 196,1). **Roots with third waw or yod** — Syllabic form: *ša-du-ú* [*šadû*] (< *šadayu*) "field" (*Ug* 5 137 II,35'); **masculine plural** — *šmm* [*šamûma*] (< *šamayūma*) "skies" (1.13,26; cf. the syllabic spelling *ša-mu-ma* [*Ug* 5 137 III,13']).

qatil — *yrḫ* [*yariḫu*] "moon" (1.92,16); **feminine** — *ml'it* [*mali'-tu*] "full" (2.2,7); syllabic form: *qa-diš-ti* [*qadištu*] "devotee" (*Ug* 5 7,14); **masculine plural** — *y'lm* [*ya'ilūma*] "wild goats" (1.6 I,26); *ḫbrm* [*ḫabirūma*] "friends" (1.169,10; cf. *TO* II, p. 56, n. 135); syllabic form: ^TÚG*pa-*⌜*li*⌝-*du-ma* [*palidūma*] "(type of garment)" (*PRU* VI 127,4; it also can be interpreted as a *qatil* form). **Roots with third yod** — *dw* [*dawû*] (< *dawiyu*) "ill" (1.16 II,20); **feminine** — *qrt* [*qarîtu*] (*qariytu*) "town, citadel" (1.46,12; cf. the syllabic attestation *qa-ri-tu₄* [*Ug* 5 130 III,18']).

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

qutul — *ḫdr* [*huduru?*] "room" (1.14 I,26; cf. the syllabic transcription ⌜*ḫu*⌝-*du-rù* [*Ug* 5 137 II,11']); syllabic form: *bu-nu-šu* [*bunušu?*] "man" (*Ug* 5 137 II,31'); **feminine** — *'urbt* ['*urub(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** — *ḫdrm* [*hudurūma?*] "rooms" (4.195,3); *bnšm* [*bunušūma*] "men" (4.243,8).

qutil/qutīl ? — Syllabic forms: *ḫu-zi-rù* [*ḫuziru/ḫuzīru*] "pig" (*Ug* 5 137 II,25', 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: *ši-a-ru* [*šiharu?*] "crescent-shaped sickle" (*PRU* VI 168,6).

qatāl — *ŧlŧ* [*ŧalāŧu*] "three" (4.158,7); ⌜*šlm*⌝ [*šalāmu*] "peace" (1.23,7; *qutl* is also possible); *thm* [*tahāmu?*] (< *tihāmu*) "depth", "primordial sea" (1.23,30); *'adn* [*'adānu*] "father", "master" (1.24,33; for the possibility of seeing it as *'adu* with the nominal suffix -*ānu* see *infra*); **feminine** — *ŧlŧt* [*ŧalāŧ(a)tu*] "three" (4.158,5); *'atnt* [*'atānatu*] "she-ass" (1.4 IV,7,12); syllabic form: *ta-a-ma-tu₄* [*tahāmatu*] (< *tihāmatu*) "the deep, the primordial sea" (*Ug* 5 137 III,34"); also in this form are many G stem infinitives (cf. examples *infra*, p. 123); **dual** — *thmtm* [*tahāmātāma/i*] "the two deeps" (1.4 IV,22); **masculine plural** — *ŧlŧm* [*ŧalāŧūma*] "thirty" (1.41,19).

qatīl — *mr'u* [*marī'u*] "fatling" (1.4 V,45); *'aⸯsⸯr* [*'asīru*] "prisoner" (1.2 I,37; *qatil* is possible also); the passive participle of the G stem can take this pattern and *qatil* respectively. Cf. also the syllabic attestation *ha-ri-mu* [*harīmu*] "divided" (*Ug* 5 137 II,39',40',42'; *qatil* is also possible), which can also be an active participle (cf. *infra*, p. 122); **feminine** — *mr'at* [*marī'atu*] "fat (f.s.)" (4.247,20); **masculine plural** — *mr'im* [*marī'īma*] "fatlings" (4.128,2).

qatūl — *'ʒm* [*'aʒūmu*] "mighty" (1.2 IV,5; this can also be from *qatīl*); note also a G passive participle, *l'uk* [*la'ūku*] "sent", "an envoy" (2.17,4).

qitāl — *hmr* [*himāru*] "donkey" (4.380,5); *'ipd* [*'ipādu*] "vest" in the word *'ipdk* (1.5 I,5; one can interpret it as a verbal form; cf. de Moor 1979:642; Ditriech and Loretz 1980b:407; Margalit 1980:93-94; Verreet 1988:182); *bdl* [*bidālu?*] "merchant" (4.85,6; it can be a *qital* form); *'inš* [*'ināšu*] "man" (1.171,5); **masculine plural** — *hmⸯrⸯm* [*himārūma*] "donkeys" (4.380,20); syllabic form: LÚ.MEŠ.DAM.GÀR.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*⌝-*hi-ru* [*bihīrū*] (< *bahīrū?*) "elite troops" (*PRU* VI 71 B II,5'); *mì-hi-*⌜*şu*⌝-

ˈmaᵀᴹᴱˢ [miḫīṣūma] (< maḫīṣūma) "(kind of implements)" (PRU VI 142,4).

qutāl — ḫrṣ [ḫurāṣu] "gold" (1.43,10; cf. the syllabic spelling ḫu-ˈraᵀ-ˈṣuᵀ [Ug 5 137 II,4']).

qutūl ? — Syllabic forms: ṭu-ú-ru [ṭuhūru] "pure" (Ug 5 130 III,19'); É-tu₄\qú-bu-ri [bêtu qubūri?] "burial" (PRU III, p. 51,8); masculine plural — ṭhrm [ṭuhūrūma] "pure" (1.4 V,19).

qitūl ? — yˈbᵀl [yibūlu?] "produce" (2.34,29; cf. TO II, p. 345, n. 26 and Biblical Hebrew יְבוּל [Judg. 6:4]).

qātal — ʿlm [ʿālamu] "world", "eternity" (1.2 IV,10; 2.42,7); dual — ʾapnm [ʾāpanāma/i] "two wheels" (4.88,3,4,5); feminine plural — ʾapnt [ʾāpanātu] "wheels" (4.145,3); ʿlmt [ʿālamātu] "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: spʾu [sāpiʾu] "eater" (1.20 II,10; for another interpretation cf. p. 124); mḫˈṣ¹ [māḫiṣu] "smiter" (1.19 IV,39); rˈyᵀ [rāʿiyu] "sheep herder" (1.21 II,6); syllabic form: ka₄-bi-ˈsúᵀ [kābisu] "launderer" (PRU VI 136,8); feminine — qrʾit [qārīʾtu] "(she) calls" (1.100,2); qnyt [qāniyatu] "creatress" (1.4 I,4); and the noun ḥmt [ḥāmītu] (< ḥāmiytu) "(city) wall" (1.14 IV,22; cf. the syllabic attestation \ḫa-mi-ti [PRU III, p. 137,4]); masculine plural — ʾaklm [ʾākilūma] "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 — šʾibt [šāʾibātu] "(water) drawers" (1.12 II,59); b/kyt [bākiyātu] "weepers, mourning women" (1.19 IV,9-10); and the noun ḥmyt [ḥāmiyātu] "(city) walls" (1.40,36).

qattal — ʾayl [ʾayyalu] "buck" (4.617,14, a personal name; cf. the syllabic attestation a-ia-li [PRU III, p. 89,4]); feminine — ʾaylt [ʾayyal(a)tu] "fawn" (1.92,11); masculine plural — ʾaylm [ʾayyalūma] "bucks" (1.6 I,24).

qattil — ʿwr [ʿawwiru?] "blind (m.s.)" (1.14 II,46; though this form may have been qittil); ʾimr [ʾimmiru] "sheep" (1.6 II,8; this form

may have been *qittal*); **feminine** — ʿ*w*⌐*r*⌐*t* [*ʿawwir(a)tu*] "blind (f.s.)" (1.19 IV,5; though the form may have been *qittil*).

quttal — *ḥwt* [*ḥuwwatu*] "country" (2.47,13; cf. the syllabic writing ⌐*ḥu*⌐-*wa-tu₄* [*Ug* 5 137 II,10']); syllabic forms: *tu-un-na-nu* [*tunnanu*] "serpent" (*Ug* 5 137 I,8'); *pu-la-ṭu* [*pullaṭu*] "to save" (*Ug* 5 137 II,20'; an infinitive form of D stem). **Roots with third *waw* or *yod*** — Syllabic form: *ḥu-wu-ú* [*ḥuwwû*] (< *ḥuwwayu*) "to give life" (*Ug* 5 137 II,17'; an infinitive form of D stem).

qattāl — *ḥrš* [*ḥarrāšu*] "craftsman" (4.141 III,7; this could also be *ḥārišu*); *ṯnn* [*ṯannānu*] "archer" (1.14 II, 38; cf. the syllabic attestation ᴸᵁ*ša-na-ni* [*PRU* III p. 194,5,6]); syllabic forms: ᴸᵁ*la-*⌐*ba*⌐*-nu* [*labbānu*] "brick maker" (*PRU* III, p. 199 III,55); ᴸᵁ*ga₅-la-b*[*u*] [*gallābu*] "barber" (*PRU* VI 136,10); ᴬ·ˢᴬ·ᴹᴱˢ*al-la-an* [*ʾallān*] "oak fields" (*PRU* III, p. 131,4; *contra* Fox [1996:142] who takes it as *qatl* plus the suffix -*ān*); **masculine plural** — *šaʿlm* [*šaʿʿālūma*] "investigators" (3.3,5); *ḥršm* [*ḥarrāšūma*] "craftsmen" (4.155,1); *kšpm* [*kaššāpūma*] "wizards" (1.169,9); *ṯnnm* [*ṯannānūma*] "archers" (4.173,1; cf. the syllabic documentation ᴸᵁ*ša-na-nu-ma* [*PRU* VI 93,6]).

qittāl — *knr* [*kinnāru*] "lute" (1.108,4; cf. the divine name in syllabic attestation ᵈᴳᴵˢ*ki-na-rù* [*Ug* 5 18,31]).

qattīl — *ʾamṣ* [*ʾammīṣu*] "brave (m.s.)" (2.33,5; cf. *TO* II, p. 328, n. 7).

qittīl — *ʾibr* [*ʾibbīru*] (< *ʾabbīru*) "cavalier" (1.10 III,20; cf. the personal name in syllabic attestation *i-bi-ra-na* [*PRU* VI 45,3,15]).

qattūl — *ʾadr* [*ʾad(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*[*i*]*ul*, i.e. *ʾad*[*d*]*uru*); syllabic form: ⌐*ba*⌐*-aḫ-ḫu-rù* [*baḫḫūru*] "young fellow" (*Ug* 5 137 II,24'); **feminine singular** — *ʾadrt* [*ʾad(d)ūr(a)tu*] "upper-class (woman)" (4.102,4; the form can be interpreted as *ʾad*[*d*]*ur*[*a*]*tu*).

quttūl — *ʾulp* [*ʾullūpu*] (< *ʾallūpu*) "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 *pi-lak-ku* [*Ug* 5 137 II,22']).

qutull — '*unt* ['*unuṭṭu*] "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(d)ati?*] "honorary gift" (*PRU* III, p. 99,8).

Prefixed Forms

Prefixed *mem*

maqtal — *ml'ak* [*mal'aku*] "messenger" (1.13,25); *m'r⸢b⸣* [*ma'rabu*] "sunset" (1.87,21); *m'ṣd* [*ma'ṣadu*] "hoe" (4.625,3; cf. the syllabic writing *ma-ṣa-du* [*PRU* VI 157,15]); syllabic form: *ma-am-ṣa-ar* [*mamṣar*] "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]); *mlḥmt* [*malḥam(a)tu*] "battle" (1.3 IV,8); *mrḥqt* [*marḥaq(a)tu*] "distance" (2.12,10); *mšm't* [*mašma'(a)tu*] "discipline" (2.72,14) **dual** — *mṣbṭm* [*maṣbaṭāma/i*] "tongs" (1.4 I,24); syllabic form: *ma-aš-la-ḥa-ma* [*mašlaḥāma/mašlaḥāma*] "two (bolts?) of *m*.-cloth" (*PRU* VI 123,3); **masculine plural** — *mḥllm* [*maḥlalūma?*] "(a cultic functionary)" (1.119,23; cf. Xella 1981:32-33; the form can be a participle of D or L stem); *ml'akm* [*mal'akūma*] "messengers" (1.14 III,33); syllabic forms: *ma-ṣa-du-ma*^MEŠ [*ma'ṣadūma*] "hoes" (*PRU* VI 142,3); ^TÚG.MEŠ.GIŠ.MÁ*ma-aš-ḫa-ṭu-ma* [*matḫaṭūma?*] "(a type of garment)" (*PRU* VI 126,1). **Roots with first *nun* and the root *LQḤ*** — 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); **feminie singular** — *mṭṭh* [*maṭṭâtah*] (< *manṭayatah?*) "on the bed" (1.14 I,30, from the root *NṬY*); **dual** — Syllabic form: *ma-qa-ḫa* [*maqqaḫā*] (< *malqaḫā*) "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* [*môṯabu*] (< *mawṯabu*) "seat" (1.4 I,13; cf. the syllabic attestation *mu-ša-bu* [*Ug* 5 137 III,32"]); *md'* [*môda'u*] (< *mawda'u*) or [*mêda'u*] (< *mayda'u*) "acquaintance" (4.609,4); *md/d* [*môdadu*] (< *mawdadu*) or [*mêdadu*] (< *maydadu*) "beloved, friend" (1.4 VIII,23-24; the form may be *maqtūl*); *mrṯ* [*mêraṯu*] (*mayraṯu*) "new wine" (2.34,32; cf. *TO* II, p. 345, n. 32); **feminine** — ⸢m⸣ddt [*môdadatu*] (< *mawdadatu*) or [*mêdadatu*] (< *maydadatu*) "beloved, friend" (1.14 II,50;

the form may be *maqtūl[a]tu*); **feminine plural** — *mṯbt* [*môṯabātu*] "seats" (1.41,51). **Roots with second *waw* or *yod*** — *mrym* [*maryamu*] "height" (1.4 V,23); *mqr* [*maqâru*] (< *maqyaru/maqwaru*) "(water) source" (1.14 V,2); *mṣd* [*maṣâdu*] (< *maṣwadu/maṣyadu*) "provisions, food" (1.14 II,26); *mqʿmᵗ* [*maqâmu*] (< *maqwamu/maqyamu*) "place" (1.14 II,1); **feminine** — *mknt* [*makânatu*] (< *makwanatu/makyanatu*) "place" (1.14 I,11); **feminine plural** — *mrmt* [*marâmātu*] (< *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* [*maštû*] (< *maštayu*?) "banquet" (1.108,9); *mdw* [*madwû*] (< *madwayu*?) "sickness" (1.16 VI,35); **feminine singular** - *mštt* [*maštêtu*?] (*maštaytu*?) "beverage" (4.230,8); *mṯth* [*maṭṭâtah*] (< *manṭayatah*?) "on the bed" (1.14 I,30, from the root *NṬY*).

maqtil — *mdbḥ* [*madbiḥu*?] "altar" (1.41,41); *mrzḥ* [*marziḥu*] "funerary/cultic association" (4.642,4,5,6; cf. *TO* II, p. 76, n. 237; cf. also the syllabic writing ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢ*ma-ar-zi-ḥi* [*Syria* 28, p. 173, line 3] and Biblical Hebrew מַרְזֵחַ [Jer. 16:5]); **masculine plural** — *m/rqdm* [*marqidūma*?] "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** — *mdbḥt* [*madbiḥātu*?] "altars" (1.41,24). **Roots with identical second and third radicals** — Syllabic forms: *ma-aḫ-zi-zi* [*maʿziztzi*?] "(a type of field)" (*PRU* III, p. 148,17; cf. Boyd 1975:72-73); ᴸᵁ*ma-ṣi-lu* [*maṣillu*] "cymbalist" (*PRU* VI 93,25; cf. Rainey 1973:45); **dual** — *mṣltm* [*maṣiltāma/ī*] "cymbals" (1.108,4; from the root *ṢLL*; cf. Biblical Hebrew מְצִלְתַּיִם [Neh. 12:27]).

maqtul — **Roots with second *waw* or *yod*** — *mṣqʿtᵗ* [*maṣûqatu*?] (< *maṣwuq[a]tu/maṣyuq[a]tu*?) "stress" (1.103+1.145,19; cf. Herdner 1978:60; Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:122; the form may be considered as *maqtal*, i.e. *maṣâq[a]tu*).

maqtūl — *mʾiʿ ḫdᵗ* [*maʾḫūdu*] "plated" (4.172,6); *mlbš* [*malbūšu*] "clothing" (4.182,3); **feminine** — *mtrḫt* [*matrūḫ(a)tu*] "(purchased) bride" (1.24,10; the form could be a D stem passive participle). **Roots with first *nun*** — **dual** — *mpḫm* [*mappūḫāma/ī*] (< *manpūḫāma/ī*) "bellows" (1.4 I,23).

Prefixed *taw*

trbṣ [*tarbaṣu*] "corral" (1.14 II,3; cf. the syllabic corroboration *É-tu₄\ta-ar-bá-ṣí* [*PRU* III, p. 91,17]); *tgmr* [*tagmVru*] "total" (1.91,35); *tšlm* [*tašlūmu*] "payment" (1.111,23; cf. *TO* II,196, n. 164); *t'išr* [*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'išrm* [*ta'šūrūma*] "boxwood trees(?)" (4.91,7); *tlmdm* [*talmīdūma?*] "apprentices" (4.384,8). **Roots with second *waw* or *yod*** — **feminine** — *tmtt* [*tamūtatu*] (< *tamuwutatu?*) "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* [*tôpî/tēpî*] (< *tawpiy/taypiy*) "the beauty of (her brother)" (1.96,2; cf. *TO* II, p. 43, n. 92); **feminine** — *t'l'iyt* [*tal'iyatu?*] "victory(?)" (1.10 III,31; for another interpretation cf. Pope and Tigay 1971:123); syllabic form: *ta-ap-di₁₂-ti* [*tapdīti*] (< *tapdiyti*) "exchange", "redemption (price)" (*PRU* III, p. 95,14; p. 129,9).

Prefixed *aleph*

'arb' [*'arba'u*] "four" (4.48,7); *'irby* [*'irbīyu/'irbiyu*] (< *'arbīyu/'arbiyu*) "locust" (1.14 II,50); *'iqn'i* [*'iqnī'i/'iqnī'i*] (< *'aqnī'i/'aqnī'i* or *'uqnī'i/'uqnī'i*) "lapis lazuli" (1.14 III,43); **masculine plural** — *'iqn'im* [*'iqnī'īma/'iqnī'īma*] "lapis lazuli" (1.4 V,19); **feminine plural** — *'udm't* [*'udmu'ātu?*] "tears" (1.6 I,10; the *aleph* in this form may be prosthetic); *'uṣb't* [*'uṣbu'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*r'ġbn* [*rag(g)abānu?*] "starvation" (1.103+1.145,5); *zbln* [*zab(b)alānu?*] "infirmity" (1.14 I,17); *dbḥn* [*dab(b)aḥānu?*] "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** — ᵣ*bnm* ['*urubānūma*] "guarantee", "guarantors" (3.3,1,7); syllabic form: A.ŠA.ḤI.A*di-ip-ra-ni-ma* [*diprānīma*]

"(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. *knʿny* [*Kinaʿnīyu*] "canaanite" (4.96,7); *ḥty* [*Ḥattīyu*] "Hittite" (1.40,37); *ʾugrty* [*ʾUgar(i)tīyu*] "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); *ʿrʿr* [*ʿarʿaru*] "juniper" (1.100,64); *ʿpʿp* [*ʿapʿapu*] "eyelid" (1.14 VI,30); *kbkb* [*kabkabu*] "star" (1.4 IV,17) beside the plural *kkbm* [*kakkabūma*] (< *kabkabūma*) or [*kôkabūma*] (< *kawkabūma*) "stars" (1.10 I,4); *kkr* [*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: *ḫur-ḫu-ra-ti* [*ḫurḫurati*] "(a plant)" (*PRU* VI 8,9); **masculine plural** — Perhaps *ssnm* [*sassanūma?*] (< *sansanūma?*) "tamarisks(?)" (1.100,66; cf. Biblical Hebrew סַנְסִנָּיו [Cant. 7:9] which is סַסִּנָּיו 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. *ʾum* [*ʾummu*] "mother" (1.23,33); *ʾarṣ* [*ʾarṣu*] "land, earth" (1.6 I,65); *yd* [*yadu*] "hand" (1.14 II,22); *ʾuz* [*ʾūzu?*] "goose" (4.247,20; this clause, *ʾuz mrʾat 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 -*t* [-*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 *ʾa* indicated the suffix [-*atu*], while the presence of *ʾi* 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]

qrʾit [*qāriʾtu*] "she cries" (1.100,2; a participle of the G stem); *mʾit* [*miʾtu*] "one hundred" (1.49,10; 1.50,9; the plural is *mʾat* for which see below); *mlʾit* [*maliʾtu*] "full" (2.2,7); *bt* [*bittu*] (< *bintu*) "daughter" (3.4,11; 4.659,7); *gt* [*gittu*] (< *gintu*) "wine/oil press" (3.5,7); *ʾaḫt* [*ʾaḫ(ḫ)attu*] (< *ʾaḫ[ḫ]adtu*) "one (f.)" (1.48,13); *qrt* [*qaritu*] (< *qariytu*) "town, citadel" (1.4 VIII,11; cf. the syllabic attestation *qa-ri-tu₄* [*Ug* 5 130 III,18ʾ]) beside *qryt* [*qaX(i)yatu*] (1.14 II,28; the preservation of the *yod* proves that the suffix must have been [-*atu*]); *ḥmt* [*ḥāmîtu*] (< *ḥāmiytu*) "(city) wall" (1.14 III,4; cf. the syllabic attestation *ḥa-mì-ti* [*PRU* III, p. 137,4]) beside the plural *ḥmyt* [*ḥāmiyātu*] "(city) walls" (1.40,36); *kst* [*kisûtu*] (< *kisuwtu*) or [*kisîtu*] (< *kisiytu*) "garment" (4.206,5); *gʿt* [*gaʿîtu*] (< *gaʿiytu?*) "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-ti₇* [*markabti*] (*PRU* III, p. 96,28; cf. Biblical Hebrew מֶרְכָּבָה [Gen. 41:43] resulting from the same suffix); likewise on *šʿrt* "wool" (4.270,5,8) the suffix is [-*tu*] according to the syllabic documentation ᵀᵁᴳ*šá-ḫar-tu/šá-ḫir-tu* [*šaʿartu/šaʿirtu*] (*PRU* VI 128,5).

The Feminine Suffix [-atu]

ḥmʾat [*ḥimʾatu/ḥamʾatu*] "butter" (1.23,14); *ṣat* [*ṣiʾatu*] "going out, sunrise" (1.3 II,8); *mrʾat* [*mariʾatu*] "fat" (4.247,20); *ṣat* [*ṣuʾatu?*] "sheep" (1.6 II,29); *qnyt* [*qāniyatu*] "creatress" (1.4 I,22); *qryt* [*qar(i)yatu*] "town, citadel" (1.14 II,28); *tnth* [*ṯînatuhû/ṯênatuhû*] "his urine" (1.114,21); *ʾalmnt* [*ʾalmanatu*] "widow" (1.16 VI,33,46; cf. Akkadian *almattu* and

Phoenician אלמה which indicate a [-*tu*] suffix, while Biblical Hebrew אַלְמָה [Gen. 38:11] reflects original [-*atu*]); *šnt* [*šanatu*] "year" (2.2,7; cf. Biblical Hebrew שָׁנָה [Gen. 6:3] which reflects -*atu* with Aramaic שַׁתָּא and שׁו in Moabite and the Samaria Ostraca which have [-*tu*]); *mknt* [*makânatu*] "place" (1.14 I,11); *l tmntk* [*le-tamūnatikī*] "for your (m.s.) image" (1.169,6); '*nt* ['*anatū*] "now" (1.19 III,55,56; cf. the syllabic form *at-ta* ['*attū*] "now" [*PRU* III, p. 19,11] which indicates a [-*tu*] suffix); '*atnt* ['*atānatu*] "she-ass" (1.4 IV,7,12); ⸢*m*⸣*ddt* [*mēdūdatu/môdūdatu*] or [*mēdadatu/môdadatu*] "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); ⸢*ḥ*⸣*ṭt* [*ḥiṭṭatu*] (< *ḥinṭatu*) "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.ŠÀ.MEŠ*ḫu-wa-*⸢*ti*⸣ [*ḫuwwati*] "land" (*RŠ* 8.145,5) and ⸢*ḫu*⸣*-wa-tu* [*ḫuwwatu*] (*Ug* 5 137 II,10'); *ma-ad-da-tù* [*maddatu*] "measurement" (*Ug* 5 5,9); *ku-bu-da-ti* [*kubud(d)ati*] "honoring gift" (*PRU* III, p. 99,8); *ra-ba-ti* [*rabbati*] "great" (*Ug* 5 7,4).

<center>PLURAL NOUN FORMS</center>

<center>*Masculine Plural*</center>

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* [*rāpi'ūma*] "Rephaim" (1.21 II,3,11); syllabic forms: LÚ.MEŠ.DAM.GÀR. MEŠ*bi-da-lu-ma* [*bidālūma/bidalūma*] "merchants" (*PRU* III, p. 199 II,12); *ia-ṣi-ru-ma* [*yāṣirūma*] "potters" (*PRU* III, p. 195 B I,12); *ma-ṣa-du-ma*MEŠ [*ma'ṣadūma*] "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* [*maqqabūma*] "hammers" (*PRU* VI 142,5; 157,4); LÚ.MEŠ*ḫa-am-ru-ma* [*ġamrūma*] "tiros" (*PRU* VI, p. 150 n. 3); *ša-mu-ma* [*šamûma*] (< *šamayūma*) "the heavens" (*Ug* 5 137 III,13'; cf. Biblical Hebrew שָׁמַיִם which seems

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

[*-īma*] — *rp'im* [*rāpī'īma*] "Rephaim" (1.21 II,9); *l ṣb'im* [*le-ṣabī'īma/ṣaba'īma*] "to the troops", "to the soldiers" (1.3 II,22); *'iqn'im* ['*iqnī'īma/'iqnī'īma*] "lapis lazuli" (1.4 V,19); syllabic documentations: *na-ap-ki-ma* [*napkīma*] "springs, water sources" (*PRU* III, p. 49,5; *PRU* VI 56,v.5') and its variant *na-pá-ki-mi* [*napakīmi*] (*PRU* III, p. 79,8; it may reflect a scribal error, cf. Huehnergard 1987:299); *zi-qá-ni-ma* [*ziqanīma?*] "(type of fort)" (*Ug* 5 96,1); A.ŠA.MEŠ*ša-ri-ma* [*šarīma*] "(type of fields)" (*PRU* III, p. 148,7); A.ŠA.Ḫ.I.A*di-ip-ra-ni-ma* [*diprānīma*] "(fields of) junipers" (*PRU* III, p. 64,4); A.ŠA.MEŠ*ḫa-ba-li-ma* [*ḫabalīma*] "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* [*bidālūna/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 dialectical 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 sākini*] "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* [*bâdi mur'ī sākini*] "from/in the hands of the officers of the commissioner" (4.92,2-3); *mr'i 'ilm* [*marī'ī 'ilīma*] "fatlings of the gods" (1.22 I,13); *b tk rp'i* ⌜*ar*⌝[*ṣ*] [*bi-tôki rāpi'ī 'arṣi*]

"in the midst of the earth's Rephaim" (1.15 III,14); syllabic documentation: LÚ.MEŠ*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 kaspī*] "those who melt silver" (4.68,74); *bdl 'ar dt 'inn mhr lhm* "merchants [*bidālū/ 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/kurīkāt?*] "(agricultural implements)" (*PRU* VI 157,3); GIŠ.MEŠ*ma-sa-wa/ya-tu-*'*ma*' [*masawātu/masayātu*] "cypress logs" (*PRU* VI 113,5; the enclitic *mem* [-*ma*] is not part of the word); A.ŠÀ.MEŠ*ha-ar-sa-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* [*kussi'ātu/kissi'ātu*] "chairs" (1.4 VI,52) beside the singular *ks'u* [*kussi'u/kissi'u*] "chair" (1.4 V,46); *k^r bd^l thm* [*kabidātihum(ū)*] "their livers (acc.)" (1.19 III,10) alongside the singular *kbd* [*kabidu*] "liver" (1.143,1); likewise *tlhnt* [*tulhānātu/talhānātu*] "tables" (1.4 IV,36) with a singular *tlhn* [*tulhānu/talhānu*] (1.4 I,38); *qrnt* [*qar(a)nātu*] "horns" (1.17 VI,22) with the dual *qrnm* [*qarnāma/i*] "(pair of) horns" (1.12 I,30); *grnt* [*gur(a)nātu*] "threshing floors" (1.20 II,6) beside the singular *grn* [*gurnu*] (1.19 I,30); *bnt* [*binātu/banātu/bunā-tu*] "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 *'ahtth* ['*ahātātuhā*] "her sisters" (1.24,36; instead of **'ahth*; cf. the same phenomenon in Biblical Hebrew שָׂפָה "language" [Gen. 11:1] but שְׂפָתָיו "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 ˹dˀbḫt˺ [dab(a)ḫātu] (1.142,1; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:12); rˀašm [ra'ašūma] "heads" (1.5 I,3) beside rˀaškm [ra'ašātikum(ū)] "your (m.pl.) heads (acc.)" (1.2 I,27) and rˀišthm [ra'šātihum(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 לְשֹׁנוֹת [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); m'itm "two hundred" (2.77,4); qrtm "two towns" (1.3 II,20); rbtm "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); ḥṭbm "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. mṣltm "cymbals" (1.3 I,19) is in Biblical Hebrew מְצִלְתַּיִם (Neh. 12:27); mznm "scales" (4.385,5) is in Biblical Hebrew מֹאזְנַיִם (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 מָתְנַיִם (Deut. 33:11); *qrnm* "horns" (1.12 I,30) is in Biblical Hebrew קַרְנַיִם (Hab. 3:4); *pʿnm* "feet" (1.4 V,21; the Biblical Hebrew parallel is רַגְלַיִם [Lev. 11:42]).

Forms with the -*m* suffix can be considered dual if their plural is formed with -*t* [-*ātu*]. For example *ṭlḥnm* "two tables" (1.3 II,30) beside plural *ṭlḥnt* (1.3 II,36); *ʿnm* "eyes" (1.2 IV,22,25) beside plural *ʿnt* "springs" (1.3 IV,36).

In many instances the number *ṭt/ṭn* "two" precedes a dual form, e.g. *ṭt mrkbtm* "two chariots" (4.145,6); *ṭt ʾaṭtm* "two wives" (4.102,7,11); *ṭn ʾalpm* "two thousand" (4.295,13); *ṭn dbḥm* "two sacrifices" (1.4 III,17); ⸢ṭ⸣*n 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-*⸢*ru*⸣-⸢*ma*⸣ [*šina kakkarūma*] "two talents" (*PRU* III, p. 51,23); 2 ^TÚG.MEŠ*mu-ru-ú-ma*^MEŠ [*šina murʾūma*] "two m.-garments" (*PRU* VI 126,3); 2 *ma-qa-bu-ma*^MEŠ [*šina maqqabūma*] "two hammers" (*PRU* VI 142,5; 157,4; cf. the alphabetic *ṭn mqbm* [4.625,5]); 2 *qà-da-ru-ma*^MEŠ [*šina qadarūma*] "two bowls(?)" (*PRU* VI 158,12); ⸢2⸣ *ku-ri-ka-*⸢*at*⸣ [*šitta kurikāt/kurīkāt*] "two (agricultural tools)" (*PRU* VI 157,3); 2 ^URUDU*ḫa-ar-mì-ša-tu* [*šitta ḫarmiṭātu*] "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 *kwt* which also appears with the numeral "two" in the following: *ṭt kwt 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 שָׁנָתַיִם [Gen. 11:10] and שְׂפָתַיִם [Exod. 6:30] alongside לֻחֹתַיִם [Ezek. 27:5] and דְּלָתֹתַיִם [Jer. 52:7]). The following are examples:

Forms Built on the Singular — *mʾitm* "two hundred" (2.77,4; 4.247,28), the singular is *mʾit* [*miʾtu*] "hundred" (1.49,10), while the plural is *mʾat* [*miʾātu*] "hundreds" (4.91,2,4); *rbtm* "two myriad" (1.4 I,30), the singular is *rbt* [*ribbatu*] "myriad" (7.47,5), while the plural is *rbbt* [*rib-*

abātu] "myriads" (1.4 I,28); *ṯṯm* "12 (= 6x2)" (4.141 III,7,9), the plural is *ṯm* "sixty" (1.4 VII,9); *ṯṯm* "6 (= 3x2)" (4.360,6,7), the plural is *ṯṯm* "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 זָנָב [Judg. 15:4] alongside הַזְּנָבוֹת [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/-āmi*], thus on the words *ma-aš-la-ḫa-ma* [*mašlaḫāma/mašlaḫāma*] "two (bolts?) of m.-cloth" (*PRU* VI 123,3); 2 *ḫi-nu-ta-mi* "two ḫ.'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 [-*êma/-êmi*] (< -*ayma/-aymi*). Documentation for this oblique suffix is found outside of Ugarit, such as *ma-ga-re-ma* [*magarêma*] (< *magarayma*) "two wheels" (Taanach Letters, No. 8,2), and the geographic name in the Amarna letters ^KUR*na-aḫ-re-mi* [*nahrêmi*] (< *nahraymi*) "the land of Nahrêmi (= the two rivers)" (*EA* 194:23).

When the dual form is in construct (bound form) the -*m* [-*ma/-mi*] is elided while the vowel, either *ā* (nominative) or *ê* (genitive/accusative) is preserved. In the syllabic texts one finds *ma-qa-ḫa* IZI.MEŠ [*maqqaḫā išāti*] "a pair of tongs for fire" (*PRU* VI 157,13; cf. the form from Amarna letter *ḫe-na-ia* ['*ênāya*] "my [two] eyes [nom.]" [*EA* 144,18]; see Rainey 1975a:13 and 1996: I,92,136) and *ma-qa-ḫa me-e* [*maqqaḫā mê*] "pair of tongs for water" (*PRU* VI 157,14); *i-na* 2 *mi-te* KÙ.BABBAR *kàs-pu* [*ina šina mi'tê kaspu*] "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. ᵓkpᵓ ᵓmzᵓnm [*kappê môz(a)nêma/i*] "pans of the scales" (1.24,35); *l pᶜn bᶜly* [*le-paᶜnê baᶜliya*] "at the feet of my lord" (2.64,13); in construct with a clause, ᵓyᵓ *ᵓatt ᵓitrḫ* [*yā ᵓattatā ᵓitraḫ(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 lqḥ ṯqlm ksp* "and he took (two?) shekels (of) silver" (2.70,18-19). It is highly probable that the form *ṯqlm* is either plural or dual and *ksp* is in apposition to it, i.e. [*ṯiqlêma/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 [*ṯiqlê-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:

ʿdb ksʾu "a chair (nom.) was set" (1.4 V,46); *št . . . mrʾa* "they placed . . . a fatling (acc.)" (1.4 V,45; or "he placed . . . a fatling"); *qṣ* [*m*]ʿrʾi "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.:

ksʾu ṯbth [*kussîʾu/kissîʾu ṯib(a)tihû*] "the throne of his dwelling" (1.4 VIII,13-14); *l yhpk ksʾaʾ mlkk* [*lū-yahpuku kussîʾa/kissîʾa mulkikâ*] "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 npš d ʿrb bt mlk "document of the personnel (soul[s]) [*sipru napši*] that have entered the king's house [*bêta malki*]" (4.338,1-2).

Illustrations can be brought from the syllabic texts:

ka₄-ka₄-ra ḫurāṣi [*kakkara ḫurāṣi*] "a talent (acc.) of gold" (*PRU* III,

p. 153,20,22); *tap-di₁₂-tu₄ eqlāti* [*tapdītu eqlāti*] "redemption price (nom.) for the fields" (*PRU* III, p. 139,19); *É-tu₄\ta-ar-bá-și* [*bêtu tarbaṣi*] "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 'aš⁴ l'd* "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 [-*āti*]. 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/-āmi*] and in the oblique cases it is [-*êma/-êmi*]. The construct forms drop their final [-*ma/-mi*]; 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*⸣ *'aṭ 'iṭḫ* "O, two wives (nom.) (whom) I have betrothed" (1.23,64), where *'aṭ* is a construct form and the verb *'iṭḫ* 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 *ḥmyt 'ugrt* "the walls

of Ugarit" (1.40,36) could be either [*ḥāmiyātu 'ugarīta*] or [*ḥāmiyātu 'ugarīti*]; also *'aṯr b'l* "the place of Baal" (1.5 VI,24-25) could be ['*aṯru ba'la*] or ['*aṯru 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* ['*iḏir*] "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.ŠA.MEŠ*al-la-an* ['*allān*] "fields of oak" (*PRU* III, p. 131,4); 2 URUDU*ma-am-ṣa-ar bu-li* [*mamṣar 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\ ṣí-ṣú-ma [*ina ṣiṣūma*] "in the canebrakes(?)" (*PRU* III, p. 125, v, 4'), which should be *ina* *ṣiṣīma (cf. Sivan 1984a:114-123); *'ily 'ugrt tǵrk* ['*ilū 'ugarīta/'ugarīti taǵǵurūkī*] "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 mṣrm* ['*ilū miṣrêma/i*] "the gods of Egypt" (2.23,22).

Another scribal error in case marking is *'aṯy 'il ylt* ['*aṯtatâ 'ili yalatā*] "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. *aṯtatā (cf. Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:26).

One may add the sentence *mrḥy mlk tdlln* "the spears of the king will be subjugated" (1.103+1.145,7). It seems that *mrḥy* 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
tqṣrn ymy bʿlhn "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).

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 Ⲧ expresses "one" and the ⟨ has the value of "ten". The tens precede the units, for example ⟨Ⲧ = 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 [*mī't(u) 'iqnī'i/'iqnī'i*] "one hundred (shekels of) lapis lazuli" (3.1,30,32); *'arbʿ 'alpm 'iqn'i* [*'arbaʿ(u) 'al(a)pūma/'al(a)pīma 'iqnī'i/'iqnī'i*] "four thousand (shekels of) lapis lazuli" (4.203,5). Another example is from the syllabic texts, *i-na 2 mì-te KÙ.BAB-BAR kàs-pu* [*ina šina mī'tê kaspu*] "for two hundred (shekels) of silver" (*PRU* III, p. 169,14). The form *mī'tê* is genitive after the numeral *šina* "two".

Numerals in Apposition

ṯlṯm 'iqn'u [*ṯalāṯūma 'iqnī'u/'iqnī'u*] "thirty (shekels of) lapis lazuli"

(4.182,12); ⌈ḫ⌉mšm 'iqn'u [ḫam(i)šūma 'iqni'u/'iqnī'u] "fifty (shekels of)
lapis lazuli" (4.182,16); m'itm 'iqn'u [mi'tāma/i 'iqnī'u/'iqnī'u] "two
hundred (shekels of) lapis lazuli" (4.247,28); 'šr mr'um [ʿaš(a)r(u)
mur'ūma] "ten officers" (4.137,7; 4.163,3; 4.173,6); [ḫm]š [m]'at
'iqn'u [ḫam(i)š(u) mi'ātu/i 'iqnī'u/'iqnī'u] "five hundred (shekels of)
lapis lazuli" (3.1,23).

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

2 ka₄-ka₄-⌈ru⌉-⌈ma⌉ [šina kakkarūma] "two talents" (*PRU* III, p. 51,23;
if the numeral was in construct with its noun, we would have
expected *kakkarīma); 2 TÚG.MEŠmu-ru-ú-maMEŠ [šina muru'ūma] "two
m.-garments" (*PRU* VI 126,3); 2 ma-qa-bu-ma [šina maqqabūma] "two
hammers" (*PRU* VI 157,4); 2 qà-da-ru-maMEŠ [šina qadarūma] "two
bowls(?)" (*PRU* VI 158,12); 2 URUDUḫa-ar-mi-ša-tu [šitta ḫarmišātu]
"two sickles" (*PRU* VI 141,3); 2 ḫi-nu-ta-mi [šina ?] "two ḫ'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 [-êma/i]).

The Cardinals 1-10

(1) 'aḥd [ʾaḫ(ḥ)ad(u)] (cf. the syllabic attestation [a]-⌈ḫ⌉a-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).
'aḥt [ʾaḫ(ḥ)att(u)] (< 'aḥ[ḥ]adt[u]) — It serves with feminine nouns.

(2) ṯn [ṯinā] — It goes with both masculine and feminine nouns in
the nominative. With masculine or feminine nouns in the oblique
cases the form was [ṯinê] (< ṯinay).
ṯt [ṯittā] (< ṯintā) — It is found with feminine nouns in the nomi-
native; [ṯittê] (< ṯintay) 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) *ṯlṯ* [*ṯalāṯ(u)*]	*ṯlṯt* [*ṯalāṯ(a)t(u)*]
(4) *'arbꜥ* [*'arbaꜥ(u)*]	*'arbꜥt* [*'arbaꜥ(a)t(u)*]
(5) *ḫmš* [*ḫam(i)š(u)*]	*ḫmšt* [*ḫam(i)š(a)t(u)*]
(6) *ṯṯ* [*ṯiṯṯ(u)*] (< *ṯidṯ*[*u*])	*ṯṯt* [*ṯiṯṯat(u)*] (< *ṯidṯat*[*u*])
(7) *šbꜥ* [*šabꜥ(u)*]	*šbꜥt* [*šabꜥat(u)*/*šabaꜥt(u)*]
(8) *ṯmn* [*ṯamānû/î*]	*ṯmnt* [*ṯamānît(u)*]
(9) *tšꜥ* [*tišꜥ(u)*]	*tšꜥt* [*tišꜥat(u)*/*tišꜥt(u)*]
(10) *ꜥšr* [*ꜥaš(a)r(u)*]	*ꜥšrt* [*ꜥaš(a)r(a)t(u)*]

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: *ṯnt* [*ṯinêtu*] (< *ṯinaytu*), *'aḥdm* [*'aḥ(ḥ)adāma/i*] (cf. Biblical Hebrew אַחְדִים [Ezek. 37,17]) and *ṣmdm* [*ṣamdāma/i*]. The following are examples: *ḫmš ṯnt 'alpm* "five pairs (= ten) of oxen" (4.402,5; cf. Virolleaud 1965:127); *ṯ ṯnt d 'alp* "two pairs (= four) of oxen" (4.203,13); *ḫmš ṯnt d m'it* "five pairs (= ten) of hundred" (4.203,10); *ṯrm 'aḥdm* "a pair of *ṯr*'s" (4.167,3); *'arbꜥ ṣmdm '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 šbꜥ* [*pa'(a)mātu šabꜥ(u)*] "seven times" (1.23,20; 1.41,52) beside the regular construction *šbꜥ p'amt* (1.43,7,26). Likewise when the number is in the tens, *p'amt ṯlṯm* [*pa'(a)mātu ṯalāṯūma*] "thirty times" (1.109,30) beside the normal arrangement [*ṯ*]*lṯm p'amt* (1.173,15).

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

4. The number 8 can be expressed by the combination *ʾaᶜrᵓ[b]ᶜ ʾarbᶜ* [*ʾarbaᶜ(u) ʾarbaᶜ(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:

šbᶜ šnt yṣrk bᶜl tmn rkb ᶜrᵓptᵓ "seven years may Baal fail, eight (years), the Rider of the Clouds" (1.19 I,42-44); *tn dbḥm šnʾa bᶜl tlt rkb ᶜrpt* "Baal hates two sacrifices, three (sacrifices), the Rider of the Clouds" (1.4 III,17-18); *ʾarbᶜt* "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. Cowely 1910:433). Note the following examples:

tlt mʾat [*talāt(u) miʾātu/i*] "three hundred" (1.14 II,36); *ʾarbᶜ ᶜṣm* [*ʾarbaᶜ(u) ᶜiṣṣūma/ᶜiṣṣīma*] "four trees" (2.26,9); *tlt sswm* [*talāt(u) sīswūma/sīswīma*] "three horses" (1.14 III,24).

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

tmn ḫzr [*tamānû/î ḫzr*] "eight *ḫzr*-personnel" (4.141 III,4); *šbᶜ kbd* [*šabᶜ(u) kabidu/i*] "seven heavy (shekels)" (4.123,22).

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

ʾarbᶜ att [*ʾarbaᶜ(u) attātu/attātū*] or [*ʾarbaᶜ(u) attatu/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", *ᶜšr* [*ᶜaš(a)ru*] or *ᶜšrh* [*ᶜišrêh?*] (< *ᶜišrayh?*; 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, *ᶜšrt* [*ᶜaš(a)r(a)t(u)*] is employed.

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

tlt ᶜšr mkrm [*talāt(u) ᶜaš(a)r(u) mākirūma/mākirīma*] "thirteen merchants" (4.163,7); *tlt ᶜšr bnš* [*talāt(u) ᶜaš(a)r(u) bunušu/i*] "thirteen men" (4.618,2); *ʾarbᶜt ᶜšrt bᶜl* [*ʾarbaᶜ(a)t(u) ᶜaš(a)r(a)t(u) bāᶜilu/i*] "fourteen

workers" (1.105,17); *'arb‛t ‛šrt ḫrṣ* [*'arba‛(a)t(u) ‛aš(a)r(a)t(u) ḫurāṣu/i*] "fourteen (shekels of) gold" (4.341,16); *ṯ̱ ‛šrh yn* [*ṯiṯ(u) ‛išrêh yênu/i*] "sixteen (jars of) wine" (4.284,5); *ṯmnt ‛šrt ksp* [*ṯamānît(u) ‛aš(a)r(a)t(u) kaspu/i*] "eighteen (shekels of) silver" (4.337,15); *ṯmn ‛šrh mrynm* [*ṯamānû/î ‛išrêh maryannūma/maryannîma*] "eighteen charioteers" (4.173,2).

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

4. The unit numeral generally precedes that of the tens, e.g.: *ṯn ‛šrh* [*ṯinā ‛išrêh*] "twelve" (4.363,3); *ḫmš ‛šrh* [*ḫam(i)š(u) ‛išrêh*] "fifteen" (4.344,2); *ṯmn ‛šrh* [*ṯamānû/î ‛išrêh*] "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 ṯn [*‛aš(a)r(u) ṯinā*] "twelve" (4.244,21); *‛šr 'arb‛* [*‛aš(a)r(u) 'arba‛(u)*] "fourteen" (4.244,18); *‛šrt ḫmš* [*‛aš(a)r(a)t(u) ḫam(i)š(u)*] "fifteen" (4.158,9-10; 4.226,8); *‛šrt ṯṯ* [*‛aš(a)r(a)t(u) ṯiṯat(u)*] "sixteen" (4.226,7).

The Cardinals for the Tens

1. The form for "twenty" is *‛šrm* (4.22,5 and elswhere) 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 עֶשְׂרִים).

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: *ṯlṯm* [*ṯalāṯūma*] "thirty" (4.243,22 and elsewhere); *'arb‛m* [*'arba‛ūma*] "forty" (4.257,4 and elsewhere); etc. "eighty" is always written *ṯmnym* (4.213,20 and elsewhere). The *yod* is an original radical and not a *mater lectionis*, thus the form was [*ṯamāniyūma*].

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 'aḥd [*‛aš(a)rūma or ‛ašrāma/i 'aḥ(ḫ)ad(u)*] "twenty-one" (4.137,10); *‛šrm ḫmš* [*‛aš(a)rūma or ‛ašrāma/i ḫam(i)š(u)*] "twenty-five" (4.92,4-5); *ṯlṯm ṯṯ* [*ṯalāṯūma ṯiṯ(u)*] "thirty-six" (4,392,4); *ḫmšm ṯlṯ* [*ḫam(i)šūma ṯalāṯ(u)*] "fifty-three" (1.148,20); *ḫmšm ṯmn* [*ḫam(i)šūma ṯamānû/î*] "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:

ṯlṯm w šbʿ [*ṯalāṯūma wa-šabʿ(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:

ḫmš l ʿšrm [*ḫam(i)šu) le-ʿaš(a)rīma* or *ʿašrāma/i*] "twenty-five" (4.213,9);
ṯmn l ʿarbʿm [*ṯamānū/î le-ʿarbaʿīma*] "forty-eight" (4.144,5); *šbʿ l ʿšrm*
[*šabʿ(u) le-ʿaš(a)rīma* or *ʿašrāma/i*] "twenty-seven" (4.775,9); *ṯṯ l ṯṯm*
[*ṯiṯ(u) le-ṯiṯṯīma*] "sixty-six" (1.4 VII,9).

The Cardinals for the Hundreds

1. The word for "hundred" is *mʾit* [*miʾtu*] (4.203,10 and elsewhere;
probably the combination *ʿšrt ʿšr* [4.158,7-8] means "hundred" [lit.:
"ten of tens"]). The dual is *mʾitm* [*miʾtāma/i*] "two hundred" (2.77,4; cf.
the construct form in syllabic documentation, 2 *mi-te* [*šina miʾtê*] "two
hundred of" [*PRU* III, p. 169,14]). The plural is *mʾat* [*miʾātu*] "hun-
dreds", e.g.:

ṯlṯ mʾat [*ṯalāṯ(u) miʾātu/i*] "three hundred" (1.148,20); *ʾarbʿ mʾat*
[*ʾarbaʿ(u) miʾātu/i*] "four hundred" (4.296,6), and others.

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

mʾit ʾarbʿm [*miʾtu ʾarbaʿīma*] "one hundred forty" (4.213,25); *ṯlṯ mʾat*
ṯlṯm [*ṯalāṯ(u) miʾātu/i ṯalāṯīma*] "three hundred thirty" (4.171,1); *ḫmš*
mʾat ʾarbʿm [*ḫam(i)š(u) miʾātu/i ʾarbaʿīma*] "five hundred forty"
(4.338,10).

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

ḫmšm mʾitm [*ḫam(i)šūma miʾtāma/i*] "two hundred fifty" (4.143,2; con-
tra *KTU²*, p. 268 which reads *ḫmšm <l> mʾitm*).

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

ḫmšm l mʾit [*ḫam(i)šūma le-miʾti*] "one hundred fifty" (4.163,14); *šbʿm*
l mʾitm [*šab(a)ʿūma le-miʾtêma/i*] "two hundred seventy" (4.243,45);
ṯmnym l mʾit [*ṯamāniyūma le-miʾti*] "one hundred eighty" (4.243,15).

4. The hundreds are joined to the tens and the units without a con-
junction:

mʾit ʿšrm ṯn [*miʾtu ʿaš(a)rūma* or *ʿašrāma/i ṯinā*] "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 ṯn [’arba‘ūma le-mi’ti ṯinā] "one hundred and forty-two" (4.179,16-17); ḥmšm l m’it ’arb‘ [ḥam(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:

ṯn’id [ṯinā-’ida] "twice" (2.64,14; it seems that the form ṯnm means "twice", thus, hlmn ṯnm qˡdqˡd "strike him twice" [1.18 IV,22,33]; ṯnm tšqy msk ḥwt "twice she drinks that mixture" [1.19 IV,62]); ṯlṯ’id [ṯalāṯa-’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:

ṯn’id šb‘d [ṯinā-’ida šab‘a-da] "two times, seven times" (2.64,14); with enclitic mem, šb‘dm [šab‘a-da-ma] "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 qᵊṭīlī, in Aramaic it is qᵊṭīlāy, in Arabic it is qātil, in Akkadian it is qatul, while Ethiopic uses qātel and qattūl. 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‘* in *ym pr‘* (4.279,1) and *’aḥd* in *ym ’aḥd* (1.115,14) apparently mean "first" (cf. *infra*); *ṯn* "second"; *ṯlṯ* "third"; *rb‘* "fourth"; *ḥmš* "fifth"; *ṯdṯ* "sixth"; *šb‘* "seventh"; *ṯmn* "eighth"; *tš‘* "ninth"; *‘šr* "tenth".

NOTES

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

The expression *ym ’aḥd* may be compared with Biblical Hebrew יוֹם אֶחָד "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 ṯn ṯlṯ rb‘ ym "they went (the first) day and the second, the third and the fourth day" (1.14 IV,44-45).

ym w ṯn ṯlṯ rb‘ ym ḥmš ṯdṯ ym "(the first) day and the second, the third, the fourth day, the fifth, the sixth day" (1.14 III,10-11).

hn ‘y¹m w ṯn ṯikl ’išt 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 שׁוּר is "first row" as it is translated in the Targum of Onkelos, סִדְרָא קַדְמָאָה).

3. The ordinals for "fourth" and "sixth" are different from their cardinal counterparts: *’arb‘* "four", beside *rb‘* "fourth"; *ṯṯ* "six" beside *ṯdṯ* "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 forth 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 š'b¹['] b y'm¹m "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 forth (day)" (1.14 IV,46; 4.279,4; cf. Xella 1981:45); b hmš "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); mtlt "third", mrb't "fourth", mhmšt "fifth", mtdt "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 [mutallal(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 [ma'šara] "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 מַעֲשֵׂר "tithe" (Num. 18:26) in the *maqtil* form, and Arabic *mi'šāru* in the form *miqtāl*.

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

ṯqlm 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".

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 *tttbn* [*tatatbūna/tutatbūna*] "they will return" (3.4,17); *'rb* ['*arabū*] "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*]*ph rgm l ys'a* "from his mouth a word verily went (/had not gone) forth [*yaṣa'a*]" (1.2 IV,6).

npš hsrt bn nšm npš hmlt 'arṣ mġt l n'my 'arṣ dbr "a soul I removed [*hasirtū/hassirtū*] from among mankind, a soul from the masses of the earth; I arrived [*maġêtū*] at the goodness of the land of Dbr" (1.6 II,17-20).

štt hptr l 'išt "she put [*šatat*] *hptr* on the fire" (1.4 II,8).

<*b*>*hty bnt dt ksp hkly* ⸢*dt*⸣*m hrṣ 'dbt* "my house(s) I built [*banêtū/banîtū*] of silver, my palace of gold have I made ['*adabtū*]" (1.4 VI,36-38; for the possibility of taking these forms as 2nd m.s. cf. *TO* I, p. 213, n. *i*).

qšthn 'aḥd b ydh "his bow he grasped ['*aḥada*] in his hand" (1.10 II,6).

npl b'⸢l⸣ "Baal fell [*napala*]" (1.12 II,53).

The following are examples from prose:

ʾiwrᵏkᵗl pdy ʾagdn "Iwirkallu ransomed [padaya] Agdenu" (3.4,2-3).

ʾanykn dt ᶠikt mṣrm "your ship which you sent [laʾiktĩ] to Egypt" (2.38,10-11).

l pʿn bʿly … qlt "at the feet of my lord … I have fallen [qiltĩ]" (2.64,13-16).

lḥt spr d ᶠikt ʿm ṭryl "the tablets of the document which I sent [laʾiktĩ] 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 ʾilm l ḥkmt "you are great [rabbatã], El, verily you are wise [hakamtã/ḥakimtã]" (1.4 V,3).

ydʿt k rḥmt "I know that you are merciful [raḥamtã/raḥimtã]" (1.16 I,33).

ydʿᵗkᵗ bt k ʾanšt "I know you daughter, that you are meek [ʾanaštã/ʾaništã]" (1.18 I,16; cf. Smith 1995:792).

w l šbʿt "she is not satisfied [šabiʿat]" (1.3 II,19).

ʾatm bštm w ʾan šnt "you (m.pl.) are slow [buštum(ũ)] and I am fast [šanõtũ?]" (1.3 IV,33; cf. Ginsberg 1969:137; Smith 1994:44 and n. 44 and 1995:792).

rġb rġbt … hm ġmʾu ġmʾit "are you verily hungry [raġibã] or are you verily thirsty [ġamiʾã] ?" (1.4 IV,33-34).

With transitive verbs:

ydʿt k rḥmt "I know [yadaʿtã] that you are merciful" (1.16 I,33).

ydʿᵗkᵗ bt k ʾanšt "I know you [yadaʿtũkã] daughter, that you are meek" (1.18 I,16; cf. Smith 1995:792).

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

ṯn dbḥm šnʾa bʿl ṯlṯ rkb ʿrpt "two sacrifices Baal hates [šaniʾa], 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 [nãrũ] upon us" (2.13,17-18).

With transitive verbs:

hn ʾibm ṣ̣q ly "behold, the enemies are afflicting [ṣaṣīqũ] me" (2.33,27).

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

ḥwt 'aḫt "may you live [*ḥawwītī*], my sister!" (1.10 II,20).

'm 'lm ḥyt "may you (m.s.) live [*ḥayêtī/ḥayîtī*] forever!" (1.4 IV,42).

l yrt b npš bn 'ilm mt "may you go down [*lū/la yarattī*] 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 ḥm ḫt 'l w ľikt 'mk "and if the Hittite has attacked, then I will send [*wa-la'iktī*] (a letter) to you ..." (2.30,17-18).

[*w*] [*'u*]ᵗ*n*ᵗʸ *'inn ľh*ᵗ*m 'd ttbn ksp 'iwrkl w tb l 'untḥm* "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 *yqtlØ* (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 *yqtlØ* expressed the jussive and *yqtla* expressed the volitive. To both modes, there was an energic, *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		**Injunctive**	
Preterite	*yaqtul, taqtulū*	Jussive	*yaqtul, taqtulū*
Imperfect	*yaqtulu, taqtulūna*	Volitive	*yaqtula, taqtulū*
Energic	*yaqtulun(n)a*	Energic	*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 *yqtlu* singulars had final *nun* (based, e.g. on the 3rd m.pl. *taqtulūna*). The 2nd f.s. of the *yqtlu* pattern also had a final -*n* (i.e. *taqtulīna*). The plurals and 2nd f.s. of the preterite, the jussive and the volitive (*yqtlØ* and *yqtla*) did not have the final -*n* (thus, *taqtulū* 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 energic 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 *yqtlØ* without vocalic suffixes having plurals and 2nd f.s. forms without final *nun* (cf. Biblical Hebrew יָצֶב "he established" [Deut. 32,8] along with יָצֶב "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:

⌐y'ip¬ *lḥm d ḥmš* "he baked [*ya'pi*] bread for the fifth (month)" (1.14 IV,11).

mǵy ḥrn l bth w yštql l ḥzrh "Ḥoron arrived at his house and entered [*wa-yištaqil/wa-yištaqal*] his courtyard" (1.100,67-68).

b nš'i 'nh ⌐w¬ ⌐yp¬<h>⌐n¬ *yhd hrgb 'ab* ⌐n¬⌐š¬⌐r¬*m* "upon lifting his eyes, then he saw him [*wa-yiphan(n)ū*], he sighted [*yahdī*] Hargab, the father of the eagles" (1.19 III,14-15).

tǵly 'ilm r'išthm "the gods lowered [*taǵliyū*] their heads" (1.2 I,23).

yšⁿḥ¬m ⌐k¬*trt w yššq bnt* ⌐h¬*ll* "he fed [*yašalhim/yušalhim*] the Kotharot, he gave drink [*yašašqi/yušašqi*] to the daughters of Hilālu" (1.17 II,30-31).

'd šb't šnt ybk l 'aqht "until the seventh year they wept [yabkû] (< yabkiyû) for Aqhat" (1.19 IV,14-16).

tš'u 'ilm ra'šthm l ẓr brkthm "the gods lifted [tišša'û] their heads from off their knees" (1.2 I,29).

[k]bkbm ṭm ṭpl k ˹lb˺nt "the stars fell [tappulû] there like bricks" (1.13,13).

w ymǵ ml'akk 'm d˹t˺n "your messenger reached [yamǵi] Ditanu" (1.124,10-11; this example is from a ritual text).

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

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

The following are examples from poetry:

šmm šmn tmṭr˹n˺ "the heavens rain down [tamṭurûna] oil" (1.6 III,12).

tlḥmn 'ilm w t˹š˺t˹t˺n˺ tštn y<n> 'd šb' trt ˹'d˺ ˹škr˺ "the gods eat [tilḥamûna] and drink [tištûna], they drink wine to satiety, new wine to drunkenness" (1.114,2-4).

'n˹t˺ w 'ṭtrt tṣ˹d˺n˺ "Anat and Athtart prepare victuals [taṣûdāni]" (1.114,22-23).

yml'u lbh b šmḫt "her heart is filled [yimla'u] with happiness" (1.3 II,25-26).

tbky pǵt b˹m˺ lb tdm' bm ˹kbd˺ "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'lûna] seven times" (1.112,6-8; this example is from a retual text).

The following are examples from prose:

'd tṯbn ksp 'iwrkl w ṯb l 'unṯhm "(they do not have a feudal obligation) until they return [taṯaṯîbûna/tuṯaṯîbûna] Iwirkallu's money, then they will return to their feudal obligation" (3.4,16-19).

'ank 'aṣṣ˹'˺uk˺ "I will bring you (m.s.) out ['aṣôṣi'ukâ]" (2.3,17).

w mnm 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 qrš 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 [tištahwiyu], she honors [takabbidan(n)ahū/ tukabbidan(n)ahū] him" (1.4 IV,20-26).

Thus it can be seen that yqtlØ expressed the past while yqtlu expressed the present-future. On the other hand, there are a few contexts in which yqtlØ 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 qrš 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 dᵈdˡ 'ꝫ⌈lˡ ⌈wˡ tb'u [qr]š m[l]k 'a⌈bˡ [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 [taglû] (< tagliyu).

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

yks m'izrtm ġr b 'abn ydy psltm b y⌈'rˡ yhdy lhm w ⌈dqˡn "(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 [yakassû/yukassû] (< yakassiyu/yukassiyu).

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

ykly ... 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 *yd'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:

בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם אֵין מֶלֶךְ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ הַיָּשָׁר 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 ṯn "they went [*talikūna*] one day and then a second" (1.14 IV,31-32; the verb may mean "they go").

šbʿ šnt tmt ṯmn nqpt ʿd ᵗᵗᵗ'ilm nʿmm ttlkn šd tṣdn pʾat mdbr "seven complete years, eight cycles, the goodly gods were still going (/went) [*tit(t)alikūna/tit(t)alakūna*] in the field and they were still hunting (/hunted) [*taṣūdūna*] 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:

yrʾaun ʾalʾiyn bʿl "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 [*yîraʾunnû*] (< *yîraʾun(n)hû*). 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. [*yarāʾunnû*] (cf.

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

šnt tl'u'an "sleep overcame him [*til'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 (*KTU²* [p. 36, n. 3] is mistaken in reading *tl'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 **tl'unn*, that is [*til'un(n)annū*] (< *til'ûn(n)annū* < *til'ayun(n)anhū?*). If that restoration be correct, then we have another example of the energic of the indicative mode.

The next example would be indicative energic 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*] energic forms serve with questions [cf. Zewi 1987:72-73] where the indicative energic of Amarna Canaanite is not present).

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

⌈*bk*⌉*m tmdln* '*r bkm tṣmd phl 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* [*tiššả'u*] and *tṣmd* [*taṣmudu*] represent indicative and therefore they indicate that *tmdln* should be interpreted as energic, namely *tamdulun(n)a*.

THE INJUNCTIVE MODE

Jussive — The jussive is expressed by the short forms, *yqtl0*. 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:

tṣ'i km rh npšh "may his soul go forth [*taṣi'*] like the wind" (1.18 IV,24-25).

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

y'ip ⌈*l*⌉*ḥm* *d* *ḥmš* "let him bake [*ya'pi*] bread of (/for) a fifth" (1.14 II,30).

'a⌈*kl*⌉ ⌈*m*⌉*kl*⌈*y*⌉ [']*l* ⌈*'um*⌉*ty* "let me destroy [*'akalli*] the destroyer of my nation" (1.19 IV,34-35).

yṣḥ *'aṭrt* *w* *bnh* "may Ashera and her sons shout [*yaṣiḥū*]" (1.3 V,36-37).

tšmḥ *ht* *'aṭrt* *w* *bnh* "now may Ashera and her sons rejoice [*tišmaḥū*]" (1.6 I,39-40).

w *'al* *tṣ*⌈*'u*⌉ "and do not go forth (m.pl.) [*taṣi'ū*]" (1.164,19).

[*l* *p'n* *'il*] ⌈*'a*⌉*l* *tpl* *'al* *tšthwy* *pḥr* [*m'd*] "[at the feet of El], do not fall (du.) [*tappulā*], do not do ˌobeisance [*tištaḥwiyā*] to the council of [the assembly]" (1.2 I,14-15).

Volitive — The form of the volitive is *yqtla*. 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 *'iqr'akm* [*'iqra'akum(ū)*] "let me invoke you" [1.21 II,10]).

tḥṭ'a *l* *gbk* *w* *trš* *l* *tmntk* "you (m.s.) sin [*tiḥṭa'a*] against your body(?) and act wickedly [*wa-tirša'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* *npšh* "(may) Môt cry out [*yiqra'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.*).

ymǵy *'aklm* *w* *ymẓ'a* *'qqm* "he reaches [*yamǵiya*] the 'eaters', he comes [*yimẓa'a*] to the 'devourers'" (1.12 I,36-37).

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

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

⌈*t*⌉*n* ⌈*'aḥd*⌉ *b* *'aḫ*⌈*k*⌉ ⌈*'isp'a*⌉ "give one of your brothers, so that I

may devour ['*išpa'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 ḥyk 'abn nšmḥ b l mtk ngln "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 'arṣ "onto the shoulders of Anat she verily places him ... she places him [*taštlan(n)anū*] in the grave of the deities of the earth" (1.6 I,14-15,17).

dn'il bth ym.ǵyn yštql dn'il l hklh "Daniel arrives [*yamǵiyan(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*¹ *'ilm n'mm* (1.23,23) with the same meaning.

It would appear that the morpheme for the Ugaritic injunctive energic 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 energic morpheme became the particle נ, viz. אֶעְבְּרָה־נָּא "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 energic morpheme was not geminated [cf. Blau 1977a:29-30]).

The initial vowel of the energic morpheme was *a* as can be deduced from forms like *'iqr'an*¹ ['*iqra'an(n)a*] "let me invoke" (1.23,23) and *yṣ'an* [*yaṣi'an(n)a*] "let him go forth" (1.165,3). These examples show that the volitive *yqtla* is the form that took the energic ending. Since most of the examples in Ugaritic are not from

verbs with third *aleph*, one cannot know if they are the energic 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:

> ⌜'aṯ⌝bn 'ank w 'anḫn "let me sit ['aṯiban(n)a] and let me rest ['anūḫan(n)a]" (1.17 II,12-13).
>
> tn ks yn w 'ištn "give a cup of wine so that I may drink it ['ištan(n)ū/'ištan(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 energic forms of the indicative mode or of the injunctive (cf. Rainey 1996 II:264 and the bibliography cited), e.g.:

> l pʿn ⌜'i⌝l thbr w tql tšthwy w tkbdnh "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 lbn⌜t⌝ ⌜y⌝ʿmsnh "if he will erect it as a house of bricks [yuʿammisan(n)ahū/yaʿammisan(n)ahū]" (1.4 V,11; sometimes the 3rd m.s. suffix pronun 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 *yqtlØ* 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 nḫlm 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* [*talikūna*] (in parallelism with *tmṭrn*[*tamṭurūna*]). Of course the *-n* on *tmṭrn* could be an optional energic marker though that explanation is somewhat forced.

> tlḥm rp'um tštyn ṯ⌜l⌝ṯ rbʿ ym ḫmš ṯdṯ ym tlḥmn rp'um tštyn "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* [*tilhamūna*] and *tštyn* [*tištayūna*] are imperfect forms, i.e. *yqtlu*, they indicate that *tlḥm* [*tilhamū*] 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 tbnn ... 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 [tabnûna] (< tabniyûna) and it is doubtful that the final -n is merely energic (as suggested by Verreet 1988:63). The second form is short [tarāmimū/turāmimū].

> ⌜t⌝q⌜tn⌝ṣn w tldn ⌜tld⌝ [ʾi]⌜lm⌝ nʿmm "they (du.) bow down in childbirth and give birth, they give birth to the goodly gods" (1.23,58).

The forms ⌜t⌝q⌜tn⌝ṣn [tiqtaniṣāni/tiqtanaṣāni] and tldn [talidāni] are dual forms of the yaqtlu conjugation in contrast to ⌜tld⌝ [talidā] which belongs to yqtlØ, i.e. we would have expected that the latter would be *tldn also.

> [y]⌜ḥr⌝kn w yšḥmm "they burn(?) and they are scorched(?)" (1.175,7; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297).

The form [y]⌜ḥr⌝kn [yaḥrukūna?] belongs to yqtlu beside yšḥmm [yašaḥmimū/yušaḥmimū] which belongs to yqtlØ.

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

> [... rp]⌜ʾ⌝uʾm tⁱdbḥn⌝/[...]ym ⌜tlⁱḥmn/[...]rm tštyn/[...]⌜tdⁱbḥ⌝ ʾamr "[...] the Rephaim sacrifice [...]day(?), they eat [...], they drink [...], they sacrifice a lamb" (1.20 I,1,6-7,10; concerning the word ʾamr cf. TO I, p. 478, n. e and supra, p. 44).

The forms tⁱdbḥn⌝ [tidbaḥūna], ⌜tlⁱḥmn [tilḥamūna] and tštyn [tištayūna] are from the yaqtlu pattern beside ⌜tdⁱbḥ [tidbaḥū] which is of the yqtlØ pattern (where we would have expected *tdbḥn). The attempt to see ⌜tdⁱbḥ 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:

> knp nšrm bʿl yṭbr bʿl ṭbr dⁱiy hmt "the wings of the eagles may Baal break [yaṭburu], Baal broke [ṭabara] the pinions of them" (1.19 III,8-9).

št ... *b ṯlḥny qlt* ⸢*b*⸣ *ks 'ištynh* "I drank [*šatītī*] ... from my table,
scorn from a cup do I drink it [*'ištayan(n)ahā*]" (1.4 III,14-16).
brky tkšd r'umm 'n kdd '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[ḥ b']l y'db hd 'db ... *hklh* "his house(s) Baal prepare [*ya'dubu*],
Haddu prepared ['*adaba*] ... his palace" (1.4 VI,38-40).
y⸢d⸣ mḫṣt 'a⸢q⸣[ḥ]⸢t⸣ ġzr tmḫṣ 'alpm 'i⸢b⸣ "the hand (that) smote
[*maḫaṣat*] the hero Aqhat will smite [*timḫaṣu*] thousands of foes"
(1.19 IV,58-59).

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

As in all the Semitic languages, also in Ugaritic there are conju-
gation patterns with suffixes as the person markers (henceforth *qtl*),
and conjugation patterns with prefixes as the person markers (hence-
forth *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 rad-
     ical, generally reflexive in meaning; it appears in Moabite,
     Phoenician and Aramaic; it survives in Biblical Hebrew in
     the two place names אֶשְׁתָּאֹל (Jos. 15:33; 19:41) and אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ
     (Jos. 21:14) and possibly אֶלְתְּקֵא (Jos. 21:23), אֶלְתְּקֵה (Jos.
     19:44). One may perhaps add the forms וַיִּתְפָּקְדוּ (Judg. 20:15)
     and הִתְפָּקְדוּ "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 שֻׁלַּד "it was de-
     stroyed" [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''ēl.*

Dp   Passive of D stem.

tD   Reflexive of D with affixed *t*-morpheme; corresponds to Biblical Hebrew *Hithpa''ēl.*

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 *Pōlēl.*

Lp   Passive of L.

R   Corresponds to the D stem, but is applied to bi-radical roots; the two radicals are reduplicated and produce quadraliteral 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'īl*) of Biblical Hebrew.

Šp   Passive of Š.

Št   A rarely documented stem; perhaps in Ugaritic only with one verb, *yštḥwy/tšthwy* (root *ḤWΥ*).

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 (*QTL*) MORPHEMES

The personal suffix morphemes are as follows:

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st c.	-t [-tū]	*-n [-nā, -nū]	-ny [-nāyā?/nīyā?]
2nd m.	-t [-tā]	-tm [-tum(ū)?]	
2nd m.& f.			-tm [-tumā]
2nd f.	-t [-tī]	-tn [-tinā/tinna?]	
3rd m.	ø [-a]	ø[-ū]	ø [-ā]
3rd f.	-t [-at]	ø [-ā?]	-t [-tā]

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 [-tū] (cf. -tī 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 [-tī] (< -tū) developed in languages where the final vowel of the 1st c.s. independent pronoun shifted from -ū to -ī (carried over from the 1st c.s. possessive suffix), i.e. ['anōkī] (< 'anōkū < 'anākū) as in Biblical Hebrew and the Amarna letters from Canaan. Therefore, since the 1st c.s. independent pronoun in Ugaritic is ['anākū] (as confirmed by the syllabic attestation of a-na-ku [Ug 5 130 III,12']), Blau conjectures that the vowel of the Ugaritic 1st c.s. verbal suffix did not shift to -ī and must have remained [-tū].

3. Concerning the final [-a] of the 3rd m.s., one may see it on forms of verbs with final aleph, e.g. yṣ'a [yaṣa'a] "he (/it) went worth" (1.2 IV,6; 4.341,21); šn'a [šani'a] "he hates" (1.4 III,17); ml'a [mal-i'a] "it was full" (1.4 I,38). It is probably attested also in syllabic documentation, viz. i-ṣá-a [îṣa'a] (< yaṣa'a) "it went out" (PRU VI 101,4'; cf. Rainey 1973:45-47, contra Huehnergard 1987:133); ṣa-ma-ʰtaʰ [ṣamata] "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 *yṣ'at* [*yaṣa'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* ['*abadat*] "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'u*[1] [*qara'ū*] "they have invoked" (1.161,8). Cf. the syllabic documentation *ṣa-ma-tù* [*ṣamatū*] "they transferred property" (*PRU* III, p. 90,13) and the Amarna forms [*la*]-*qa-ḫu* [*laqaḫū*] "they took" (*EA* 287,36) and the N stem form *na-az-a-qú* [*naz'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:

נִלְכְּדָה הַקְּרִיּוֹת וְהַמְּצָדוֹת נִתְפָּשָׂה "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
1st c.	' - - - (*u*)	*n* - - - (*u*)	
2nd m.	*t* - - - (*u*)	*t* - - - *ū*(*na*)	
2nd m.& f.			*t* - - - *ā*(*ni*)
2nd f.	*t* - - - *ī*(*na*)	*t* - - - *nā*	
3rd m.	*y* - - - (*u*)	*y/t* - - - *ū*(*na*)	
3rd m.& f.			*y/t* - - - *ā*(*ni*)
3rd f.		*t* - - - (*u*)	*t* - - - *ū*(*na*)

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 energic 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
2nd m.	[-*ø*]	[-*ū*]	
2nd m.& f.			[-*ā*]
2nd f.		[-*ī*]	[-*ā?*]

NOTES

There is no certain attestation to the 2nd f.pl. The form *šm'* (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. *ʾik* [*laʾika*] "he sent" (2.46,9); *sʾid* [*saʾida*] "he served food" (1.3 I,3); ⌈*sʾ*⌉*ʾil* [*saʾila*] "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. *ṣa-ma-*⌈*ta*⌉ [*samata*] "the property was transferred" (*PRU* III, p. 51,16); *ta-ba-ʾa* [*tabaʿa*] "he went away, departed" (*PRU* VI 77,1; cf. Rainey 1973:40); *ṣa-ma-tù* [*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 שָׁכַב [Gen. 26:10]); *mrṣ* [*maruṣa*] "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. — *ʾikt* [*laʾiktû*] "I sent" (2.14,7); *šmʿt* [*šamiʿtû*] "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-ti₇* [*šamiʿti*] [*EA* 362:5]); *ʿdbt* [*ʿadabtû*] "I have arranged" (1.4 VI,38); *rgmt* [*ragamtû*] "I spoke" (1.2 IV,7); *ʿrbt* [*ʿarabtû*] "I entered" (2.16,7); *šbʿt* [*šabiʿtû*] "I have been satisfied" (1.17 II,20).

2nd m.s. — *ʾikt* [*laʾiktâ*] "you have sent" (2.39,18); *ḥsrt* [*ḥasirtâ*] "you were lacking" (2.41,17; the form may be D stem); *šbʿt* [*šabiʿtâ*] "you have been satisfied" (1.17 II,6); *l yrt* [*lū/la yarattâ*] (< *lū/la yaradtâ*)

"may you go down" (1.5 I,6); *'aḫt* [*'aḫattī̆*] (< *'aḫadtī̆*) "you seized, you held" (1.16 VI,51; following Rainey 1973:55 and *contra* Segert [1984:143] who sees a numeral here); *rgmt* [*ragamtī̆*] "you said" (2.45,23); *rḥmt* [*raḥamtī̆/raḥimtī̆*] "you are merciful" (1.16 I,33).

2nd f.s. — *rġbt* [*ragibtī̆*] "are you verily hungry?" (1.4 IV,33; cf. Biblical Hebrew pausal 3rd m.pl. רְעֵבוּ [Ps 34:11]); *ġmʾit* [*ġamiʾtī̆*] "are you verily thirsty?" (1.4 IV,34); *ʾikt* [*laʾiktī̆*] "you sent" (2.82,3; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:360); *'anšt* [*'anaštī̆/'aništī̆*] "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); *'aḫd* [*'aḫada*] "he grasped" (1.10 II,6); *sʾid* [*saʾida*] "he served food" (1.3 I,3); *šmḫ* [*šamiḫa*] "he was happy" (1.6 III,14); *šnʾa* [*šaniʾa*] "he hates" (1.4 III,17); *lqḥ* [*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); *'rbt* [*'arabat*] "(the sun) went down" (1.78,2); *ḫlqʿtʾ* [*ḫalaqat*] "it perished" (2.61,13) and perhaps *mʾlʾaʾ<t>* [*malʾat*] "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. — *lqḥ* [*laqaḥū*] "they took" (4.630,7); *'rb* [*'arabū*] "they entered" (3.3,2); *ḫlq* [*ḫalaqū*] "(the vineyards) perished" (2.61,11); *qrʾuʾ* [*qaraʾū*] "they have invoked" (1.161,8). From First *waw/yod* verbs: *ytb* [*yatabū*] "they were sitting" (1.2 I,21; the form could be G stem *yqtl*, cf. *infra*, p. 148).

3rd f.pl. — *'rb* [*'arabā?*] "they entered" (1.17 II,26; 1.19 IV,9; 4.145,2); *tbʿ* [*tabaʿā?*] "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)*, *yaqtil(u)* and *yaqtal(u)*. *Yaqattal* 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 *yaqtal(u)* shifted to *yiqtal(u)* (cf. Ginsberg 1939:319-322). In fact Barth believed that *yiqtal(u)* was actually the original pattern and that *yaqtal(u)* in Arabic was a later development by analogy with *yaqtul(u)* and *yaqtil(u)* (cf. Bloch 1967:22-29). In view of Akkadian and Amorite evidence, the *yaqtal(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)*] (< *yaqtal[u]*) occurred with verbs in which the *qtl* had the form *qatila* (or perhaps *qatula*). For example, *lʾik* [*laʾika*] "he sent" (2.46,9) alongside *ʾiʾak* [*ʾiʾaku*] "I will send" (2.30,20); *ʾšʾil* [*šaʾila*] "he asked" (2.63,12) beside *ʾišʾal* [*ʾišʾalu*] "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. *ʾibqʿ* [*ʾibqaʿu*] "I will cleave" (1.19 III,3); *ʾilhm* [*ʾilhamu*] "I eat" (1.16 VI,18); *yšʾal* [*yišʾalu*] "he asks" (1.124,3); *tmtʿ* [*timtaʿu*] "she tears (her clothing)" (1.4 II,6; cf. Ginsberg 1969:132); *yspʾu* [*yispaʾu*] "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. *yšʾul* [*yašʾulu*] "he asks" (5.11,2); *tlʾik* [*talʾiku*] "you are sending" (2.26,4) and *tlʾikn*

[*taPikÌna*] "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 *yiqtal(u)* pattern (cf. Segert 1983b:219-221; note also the Biblical Hebrew מָעֲלָה "it acted unfaithfully" [Lev.5,15] and אֶזְעֹם "I am indignant" [Num. 23,8] where one would expect the *yiqtalu* 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)ahÌÌ*] "I will bury him" (1.19 III,5,34); ⌐*'arg¹mk* [*'argumukÌÌ*] "I will tell you" (1.3 IV,13); *'al 'aḥdhm* [*'al 'âḥudhum(û)?*] (< *'al 'a'ḥudhum(û)?*) "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* [*'âlumu*] (< *'ahlumu*) "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* [*'amûtu*, from the root *MWT*] "I will die" (1.17 VI,38); *'anḥ¹n¹* [*'anûḥan(n)a*, from the root *NWḤ*] "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); *'amǵy* [*'amǵiyu*, from the root *MǴY*] "I arrive" (1.21 II,7; this may also be D stem); *'aṯb* [*'aṯibu*, from the root *YṮB*] "I will sit" (1.16 VI,38,53); *'ard* [*'aridu*, from the root *YRD*] "I will go down" (1.5 VI,25); *'ašr* [*'ašìru*, from the root *ŠYR*] "I will sing" (1.24,38,40); *'aštk* [*'aštukÌ*, from the root *ŠYT*] "I will place you (f.s.)" (1.18 IV,17). One may add here the syllabic documentation [*i*]*a-ab-ṣi-ru* [*yabṣiru*] "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*]); *tšlmk* [*tašlimūkī*] "may they see to your (f.s.) welfare" (2.16,6; this is also most likely D stem, i.e. [*tašallimūkī/ tušallimūkī*]).

yiqtal(u) — *'il'ak* [*'il'aku*] "I will send" (2.30,20); *'iš'al* [*'iš'alu*] "I will ask" (2.32,4); *'isp'i* [*'ispa'*] "let me eat" (1.5 I,5; a jussive form); [*'isp'a*] [*'ispa'a*] "may I eat" (1.6 V,20; a volitive form); [*'i*]*šlḥ* [*'išlaḥu*] "I will send" (1.24,21); *'ilḥm* [*'ilḥamu*] "I eat" (1.16 VI,18); *'iṯrm* [*'iṯramu*] "may I dine" (1.16 VI,18); *yr'aš* [*yir'ašu*] "(the horse) suffers from head sickness" (1.85,18; cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:32-35); *ybr'* [*yikra'u*] "he knees" (1.10 II,18); *ymlʾu* [*yimla'u*] "(her heart) is full" (1.3 II,25); *ytb'* [*yitba'u*] "he departs" (1.16, VI,39); *yspʾu* [*yispa'u*] "he will eat" (1.103+1.145,51); *tqr'u* [*tiqra'u*] "she calls" (1.100,8,14; 1.107,9,15); *tsʾad* [*tis'adu*] "she serves food" (1.17 V,30); *'iqḥ* [*'iqqaḥu*, from the root *LQḤ*] "I will take" (1.14 IV,41); *'ibġyh* [*'ibġayuhā*, from the root *BĠY*] "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); *'ištn* [*'ištannū/'ištannī*] "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* [*'iphan(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'gm* [*targumu*] "you shall say" (2.3,18); *trp'a* [*tirpa'a*] "may you heal" (1.114,28); *tḥṭʾa* [*tiḥṭa'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 *yqtla* form after *tḥṭʾa*; this is the only occurrence of the root *RŠ'* in Ugaritic; cf. Caquot and Borderuil 1980:348; Caqout 1984:167-168 and *TO* II, p. 56, n. 133).

2nd f.s. — *tṯbrn* [*tatburīna*] "you will break" (2.72,16). Short forms: *'al tdḫl(!)* [*'al tidḫal*] "do not be afraid!" (2.30,21; *contra* Pardee [1984:221] who reads *'al twḫln* "may she not be discourage"); *tmḫṣ* [*timḫaṣī*] "may you smite" (1.19 IV,39); *'al t'šr'gn* [*'al tašrugīnī*] "do not deceive me, (O Virgin)!" (1.17 VI,34).

3rd m.s. — *yml'u* [*yimla'u*] "(her heart) is full" (1.3 II,25); *yṣḥq* [*yiṣḥaqu*] "he laughs" (1.17 II,10); *yp'r* [*yip'aru*] "he pronounces (their names)" (1.12 I,28); *'yp'tḥ* [*yiptaḥu*] "he will open" (1.4 VII,25); *ylḥm* [*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); *yš'm'ḫ* [*yišmaḫu*] "he will rejoice" (1.10 III,37); *ykr'* [*yikra'u*] "he knees" (1.10 II,18); *ymr'u* [*yimra'u*] "he will command" (1.4 VII,50); *ytrḫ* [*yitraḫu*] "he will pay the bride-price" (1.24,33); *ysġd* [*yisgadu*] "he advances" (1.174,1; cf. Bordreuil and Caqout 1980:346); *yšlm* [*yišlam*] "may it be well" (2.16,4); *yqr'a* [*yiqra'a*] "may he call" (1.4 VII,47). With suffix pronouns: *yqr.'un* [*yiqra'unī*] "he calls me" (1.5 II,22); *y.lmn* [*yâlumannī?*] (< *yahlumanhī*, from the root *HLM*; concerning the absence of the *hé*, cf. *supra*, p. 34) "he strikes him" (1.114,8); *yḥmdnh* [*yaḥmudan(n)ahū*] "(Baal) desires him" (1.92,29).

3rd f.s. — *tṯbḥ* [*titbaḫu*] "she slaughters" (1.6 I,18); *tš'ad* [*tiš'adu*] "she serves food" (1.17 V,30); *tqr'u* [*tiqra'u*] "she calls" (1.107,9,15); *ttb'* [*titba'u*] "she departs" (1.16 VI,2); *tsp'i* [*tispa'*] "she ate" (1.96,3); *tmz'* [*timza'u*] "she rends (the garment of Daniel)" (1.19 I,36; cf. Ginsberg 1969:153); *tṯkl* [*tatkulu*] "she bereaves" (1.100,61; cf. Astour 1968:22); *tšpkm* [*tašpuku-ma*] "she spills" (1.17 VI,15); *tmdln* [*tamdulun(n)a*] "she harnesses" (1.19 II,8). With suffix pronouns: *tšrpnn* [*tašrupan(n)annī*] (< *tašrupan(n)anhī*) "she burns him" (1.6 II,33); *tqbrnh* [*taqburan(n)ahū*] "she buries him" (1.6 I,17).

PLURAL

1st c.pl. — *ndbḥ* [*nidbaḫu*] "we will sacrifice" (1.40,41); *nḫt'u* [*niḫta'u*] "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); *nlḫ'm'* [*nilḫamu/nilḥama*] "we eat" (1.23,72); *nšmḫ* [*nišmaḫ*] "let us be happy" (1.16 I,14); *nf'n* [*nif'anu*] "we will thrust" (1.10 II,24; cf. Ginsberg 1969:142).

2nd f.pl. — *tḫṭʾin* [*tiḫṭaʾnū*] "you are sinning" (1.40,22,23; for the interpretation "you make purification" cf. *TO* II, p. 147).

3rd m.pl. — *tlḥmn* [*tilḥamūna*] "they are eating" (1.114,2); *ʾikln* [*taʾkulūna*] "they are eating" (1.12 I,10); *tmṭrⁿ* [*tamṭurūna*] "(the heavens) rain down" (1.6 III,12); *tbʿln* [*tibʿalūna*] "they are working" (4.141 III,6,8,10); *tqṣrn* [*tiqṣarūna?*] "they will be short(?)" (1.103+1.145,33; cf. Verreet 1988:214); ⌐*t*⌐*šnpn* [*tašnupūna?*] "they offer a *šnpt*-offer" (1.50,6; this form is probably denominative, cf. Verreet 1988:59). Short forms: *tlḥm* [*tilḥamū*] "they eat" (1.22 I,21); *tšmḫ* [*tišmaḫū*] "may they rejoice" (1.6 I,39); *ydmʿ* [*yidmaʿū*] "they shed tears" (1.19 IV,12,16; cf. Verreet 1988:69); ⌐*t*⌐*ẓ*⌐*p*⌐*n* [*tazpunū?*] "they hided themselves(?)" (1.13,15; perhaps the root *ẒPN* is related to Biblical Hebrew *ṢPN*; cf. Verreet 1988:73; *TO* II, p. 25 interprets the form as 2nd m.s.).

3rd f.pl. — *tḥspn* [*taḥsupūna*] "they pour (water)" (1.3 II,38; IV,42); *ʾtqn* [*taʿtuqūna*] "they will pass" (2.36,17; cf. *TO* II, p. 408, n. 189). A short form: *ʾiḫd* [*taʾḫudū*] "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. — *tḫṭʾan* [*tiḫṭaʾāni*] "both of you (= the messengers) crushed (/defeated)" (1.4 VIII,20; cf. Margalit 1980:84); *ʾdbn* [*taʿdubāni*] "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: *ʾal tqrb* [*ʾal tiqrabā*] "the two of you must not draw near!" (1.4 VIII,15-16).

3rd c.du. — Short forms: *ttbʿ* [*titbaʿā*] "the two (messengers) departed" (1.14 VI,35); *tlḥk* [*tilḥakā*] "(the two tongs) lick (the heavens)" (1.83,5; the form may be D stem); *trpʾa* [*tirpaʾā*] "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 *yqtl(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-mì* [*nupul-mì*] "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 *shewa* 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*⌝*rš* ['*iriš*] "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); *l'ak* [*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* [*šapal*] "lower yorself!" (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*⌝*'an* [*qara'an(n)ī*] "call me!" (1.5 I,23; this form may be energic without a suffix pronoun, i.e. [*qara'an(n)a*]).

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

Plural

2nd m.pl. — *lh*⌜*m*⌝ [*lahamū*] "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' ⌐*i*⌐lht k*[tr*⌐[t] "hear, O goddesses, Kotharot!"
(1.24,11) where we would have expected *šm'n. The form could pos-
sibly 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 — '*aḥd ydy* ['*āḫidu 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'iš'k*⌐ [*nā'iṣukā*] "(he who) reviles you (m.s.)" (1.17
II,3); *n'iṣy* [*nā'iṣiya*] "(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); *nġr* [*nāġiru*] "guard" (1.23,68,69,73; cf. the syl-
labic attestation ^{LÜ}*na-ḫi-ru* [*PRU* VI 136,9]).

Feminine — *qr'it* [*qāri'tu*] "(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* [*qāniyatu*] "(the one who)
creates, creatress" (1.4 I,22; III,26,30; from the root *QNY*); *rḥpt*
[*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 — *mḫṣm* [*māḫiṣūma*] "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); *yṣrm* [*yāṣirūma*, from
the root *YṢR*] "potters" (4.99:11; 4.126,28; it is confirmed by the
syllabic form *ia-ṣi-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 — *š'ibt* [*ša'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 *qaūl* (as in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic [in Aramaic it has become *q'ūl*]), or it can be *qatil* (like the verbal adjective in Akkadian), or it can be *qaūl* (as in Biblical Hebrew and in the Canaanite of the Amarna tablets; cf. *ha-mu-du* [*hamūdu*] "desirable" [*EA* 138:126]).

In the syllabic texts from Ugarit one finds *ha-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 [*harīmu*] or [*harimu*]. But it could be an active participle, i.e. [*hārimu*]. Also the form ᴸᵁ*a-si-ri* [*'asīri/'asiri*] "prisoner" (*PRU* III, p. 8,24) may be either *qaūl* or *qatil*.

It would seem that *qatūl* also served as a passive participle in Ugaritic. Thus may be adduced from the alphabetic form *l'uk* [*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 — *l'uk* [*la'ūku*] "sent", "an envoy" (2.17,4; contra *TO* II, p. 306, n. 7 which interprets it as a *qutul* form); �'*kly* [*kalūyu/kalūyu/kaliyu*] "used up" (1.16 III,13; from the root *KLY*); *spy* [*sapūyu/sapūyu/sapiyu*] "plated, overlaid" (2.79,10; from the root *SPY*; the form could be 3ʳᵈ m.s. or m.pl. of *qtl*, viz. [*supaya*] "it was plated" or [*sapayū*] "they plated"); *'uzr* [*'uzūru?*] (< *'azūru?*) "girded" (1.17 I,2,7 and *passim*.; cf. Sanmartin 1977:369-370 and Dietrich and Loretz 1978:65-66); *brr* [*barūru/barīru/bariru*] "(the king) is purified" (1.41,7; cf. *TO* II, p. 154, n. 45). With suffix pronoun: *šbyn* [*šabūyunū/ū, šabūyunū/ū* or *šabiyunū/ū*] "our prisoner(?)" (1.2 IV,30; from the root *ŠBY*).

Feminine singular — *lṭš* [*laṭūš(a)tu/laṭš(a)tu/laṭiš(a)tu*] "burnished" (1.2 I,32); perhaps also ᵇ*r̄ktm*ˀ [*barūk(a)tu-ma/barīk(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); *spyt* [*sapūyātu/sapīyātu/sapiyātu*] "plated, overlaid" (4.167,2; from the root *SPY*).

There were apparently some passive participles built on the *maqtūl* pattern (as in Arabic), for example *m'i'ḥd* [*ma'ḥūdu*] "plated" (4.172,6); *md/d* [*môdūdu/mêdūdu*] (< *mawdūdu/maydūdu*) "beloved, friend" (1.4 VIII,23-24; the form could also be *maqtal*; cf. Biblical Hebrew מוֹדָד [Num. 11:26,27]). Feminine singular: *mddt* [*môdūdatu/ mêdūdatu*] "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); *mḥrṯt* [*maḥrūṯ(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 לְקִשְׁטוֹ "to resist him" [Zach. 3:1], בְּבִגְדוֹ־בָהּ "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 yqrb b š'al krt "and he drew near while asking [*bi-ša'āli*] Keret" (1.14 I,37-38); *l'akm 'il'ak* [*la'āku-ma 'il'aku*] "I will surely send" (2.30,19-20); and likewise in the syllabic documentations: *ʰal-ra-šu* [*ḥarāṯu*] "to plough" (*Ug* 5 137 III,18'); *ba-ta-qú* [*batāqu*] "cut off" (*Ug* 5 137 II,38'; *contra* Huehnergard [1987:88] who reads *ba-ṭá-lu*); *pí-iṭ-ʳrù* [*piṭru*] "to divide" (*Ug* 5 137 III,2); *ni-iḥ-rù* [*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.: *ġm'u ġm'it* [*ġamā'u ġami'ti*] "are you verily thirsty?" (1.4 IV,34); *rġb rġbt* [*raġābu raġibti*] "are you verily hungry?" (1.4 IV,33); *mẓl ymẓl* [*maẓālu yamẓulu*] "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); *ʳad'm ṯidm* [*'adāmu ti'dam?*] "she did indeed rouge (herself)" (1.19 IV,42; cf. Pardee 1975:376, nn. 69,70); forms with the addition of enclitic *mem*: *l'akm 'il'ak* [*la'āku-ma 'il'aku*] "I will surely send" (2.30,19-20); *ḥmdm yḥmdm* [*ḥamādu-ma yaḥmudu-ma*] "verily he will covet" (1.12 I,38); *yd'm l yd't* [*yadā'u-ma lā yada'tī*] "verily you (m.s.) knew not" (2.39,14). Forms from middle weak verbs: *b'u tb'u* [*bū'u/ bā'u tabū'u*] "verily she comes" (1.16 VI,3); *šr yšr šr* [*šāru/šīru yašīru*

šīra] "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* [*yispa' 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 (אֲנִי שַׁבֵּחַ "and I praised" [Eccl. 4,2]; וְנִשְׁלֹחַ סְפָרִים "and epistles were sent" [Esth. 3,13]; וְנַהֲפוֹךְ הוּא "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:

šmḫ btlt 'nt [*šamāḫu batūl(a)tu 'anatu*] "the Virgin Anat rejoiced" (1.4 V,20); ⌈*š*⌉*mḫ rbt 'a⌈ṯ⌉⌈rt⌉ ⌈y⌉m* [*šamāḫu rabbatu 'aṯir(a)tu yammi*] "the Lady Ashera of the Sea rejoiced" (1.4 II,28-29); *ṣḥq btlt 'nt* [*ṣaḥāqu batūl(a)tu 'anatu*] "the Virgin Anat laughed" (1.4 V,25); *w ptḥ* ⌈*h*⌉*w* [*patāḫu huwa*] "and he opened" (1.23,70; it also can be taken as *qtl* 3rd m.s.); *ḫt'u hw* [*ḫatā'u huwa*] "he is crushed(?)" (1.6 II,23; *KTU²*, p. 26 reads <*n*>*ḫt'u hw*; if this is the case then the form may be considered as absolute infinitive or participle of N stem); *tb' 'ank* [*tabā'u 'anāku*] "I departed" (2.17,6); ⌈*'a*⌉*rk yd 'il* [*'arāku yadu 'ili*] "the 'hand' of El grew long" (1.23,34); *'bdnn 'ank* <*k*> *'imr b py* [*'adābun(n)annū 'anāku ka-'immari/'immiri bi-pīya*] "I made him as a lamb in my mouth" (1.6 II,22; for examples of absolute infinitives with energic suffixes cf. Verreet 1988:95); ⌈*m*⌉*ǵy hy* [*maǵāyu hiya*] "she arrived" (2.31,45); *mǵy*⌈*y*⌉ ⌈*'d*⌉*t* ⌈*'i*⌉*lm* [*maǵāyu 'idatu 'ilūma*] "the council of the gods arrived" (1.15 II,11; from the root *MǴY*); *l'a šmm* [*la'ā šamūma*] (< *la'āyu*) "the heavens became strong" (1.6 II,25; from the root *L'Y*); *'n rbt 'aṯrt ym* [*'anā rabbatu 'aṯir(a)tu yammi*] "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.:

tẓ'r ks'at l mhr ẓ'r tḫnt l ṣb'im "she prepares [*tiẓ'aru*] chairs for

the soldiers, prepares [*ṭa'ānu*] 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:

šmᶜ ⁱ·ⁱ*lht* *ḵṯṛᵗ*[*t*] "hear, O goddesses, Kotharot!" (1.24,11).

Since comparison with other Semitic languages indicates that the imperative should have been *šmᶜn*, it is possible here that *šmᶜ* is a command expressed by the infinitive (i.e. *šamā'u*). At the same time, there is the possibility that *šmᶜ* 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 kṯr k yᶜn [*halāka/hilka kôṯari kî-ya'īnu*] "the going of Kothar he verily sees" (1.17 V,10-11).

hlk bᶜl 'aṯrt k tᶜn [*halāka/hilka ba'li 'aṯir(a)tu kî-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 tphn [*bi-naša'i/niš'i 'ênêhā wa-tiphan(n)a*] "upon lifting her eyes, then she saw" (1.4 II,12).

w yqrb b š'al krt [*wa-yiqrab bi-ša'āli karta*] "and he drew near while asking Keret" (1.14 I,37-38).

b dᵗmᵁ n'mn ǵlm [*bi-damā'i/bi-dim'i na'māni ǵalmi/ǵulami*] "while the goodly lad wept" (1.14 II,8).

b ᵗdᵗm'h [*bi-damā'ihū/bi-dim'ihū*] "during his weeping" (1.14 I,32).

yrḫ b ᶜlᶜ[yh] [*yarḫu bi-'alāyihū/bi-'iḷyihū*] "during the (moon's) ascendant" (1.163,12; from the root *'LY*).

b yṣ'ih[m] [*bi-yaṣā'ihum(ū)/bi-yiṣ'ihum(ū)*] "with their going out" (3.8,9; from the root *YṢ'*).

With enclitic *mem*:

bkm tṣmd phl [*bakâ-ma/bikâ-ma taṣmudu pahla/puḥāla*] "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:

npš l lḥm tptḥ [*napšahū le-laḥāmi/le-liḥmi tiptaḥu*] "she opens his

throat (appetite) to eat" (1.16 VI,11).

'ap 'ilm l <l>ḫ[m] yṯb ['appa 'ilūma le-laḥāmi/le-liḥmi yaṯabū] "now
the gods were sitting to eat" (1.2 I,20-21).

l lḥm l šty ṣḥtkm [le-laḥāmi/le-liḥmi le-šatāyi/le-šityi ṣaḥtukum(ū)/ṣiḥtu-
kum(ū)] "to eat and to drink have I called you" (1.15 IV,27;
V,10; VI,4).

ᵖ'aᵗḫᵗtᵗh šib yṣ'at ['aḫātuhū šiʼba yaṣa'at] "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 identi-
fication 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 'aᵗᵗiᵗyn¹ bʻl (1.4 V,12) "may it be said [yurgamu or yir-
ragimu (N stem)] to Mighty Baal" or (less likely) "may they say
[yargumū] to Mighty Baal".

ksp yʻdb (1.50,11) "silver will be prepared [yuʻdabu or yiᵡʻadibu (N
stem)]", but it might be "they will prepare [yaʻdubū] silver" (cf.
Verreet 1988:112).

tʻdb ksʼu (1.4 V,46) "a chair was prepared [tuʻdab or tᵡʻadib (N
stem)]".

w l ll tᵗᵗrᵗ[k] ksʼu (1.106,27-28) "a chair was arranged [tuʻrak or
tᵡʻarik (N stem)] for Ll". (These latter two examples show that
ksʼu "chair" is the subject of the respective verbs; it is feminine
as in Akkadian and in Phoenician).

yᵗptḥ¹ ḥln 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 tᵗakn ǵlmm (1.4 V,42-43) "when the two lads are sent [tuᵗakāni]"
(cf. Rainey 1996 II:75-76, but this could also be passive D stem)
or "when they send [tiᵗakūna] the two lads" (cf. Verreet
1988:226).

hm qrt t'uḫd (1.127,30) "if the city was taken [*tu'ḫad*]" or "if they took [*ta'ḫudū*] the city" (cf. Verreet 1988:234 and Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:34 n. 199).

ḫrdn yhpk l mlk (1.103+1.145,52) "our *ḫrd* will (then) become [*yuhpaku* or *yihhapiku* (N stem)] king" or "they will make [*yah-pukū*] our *ḫrd* 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 'al̕p¹ l tš'n mṣrm tmkrn (3.8,13-16) "and if the thousand (men) do not travel, they will be sold [*tumkarūna* or *timmakirūna* (N stem)] to Egypt".

⌜t⌝*šnpn* (1.50,6) "they are sacrificed [*tušnapūna* or *tiššanipūna* (N stem)] (cf. *TO* II, p. 171; the form can also be interpreted with an active meaning, viz. [*tašnupūna*] "they sacrifice").

Examples from weak roots:

First *yod* Verbs:

l ytn bt l b⌜'l¹ *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 *YTN*).

mlbš ytn lhm (4.168,7-8) "clothing has been given [*yūtan*] to them" or "they gave [*yatanū/yatinū*] clothing to them".

'ap qšth ⌜l¹ ⌜u¹n 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 'aḫy (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*).

yṣq b 'aph (1.85,6) "(and the remedy) should be poured [*yuṣṣaqu/yūṣaqu*] into his nose" (cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:18) or "they should pour [*yaṣiqū*] (the remedy) into his nose" (from the root *YṢQ*).

First *nun* Verbs:

spsg ysk [l] ⌜r¹'iš (1.17 VI,36-37) "glaze was poured [*yussak*] (< *yunsak*) on the head" or "they poured [*yassukū*] glaze on the head" (from the root *NSK* 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 [*yubnê*] (< *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 tbnn (1.4 VI,16) "his house(s) will be built [*tubnûna*] (< *tubnayûna*)" or "they will build [*tabnûna*] (< *tabniyûna*) his house(s)", (the form could have been N stem, i.e. [*tibbanûna*] [< *tinbaniyāna*]).

ṯlṯ mrkbt mlk d l ṣpy (4.167,5-6) "three chariots of the king that were not overlaid [*ṣupayā/ṣupiyā?*]" (cf. Gordon 1965:88) or "three chariots of the king that they have not overlaid [*ṣapayū*]" (from the root *ṢPY*; the form could also be 3ʳᵈ m.pl. from the D stem [*ṣappiyū*]).

Thus also with regard to the sentence:

ṣpy b ḫrṣ nʿmm (2.79,10) "... it was overlaid [*ṣupaya*] with choice gold" or "...they overlaid [*ṣapayū/ṣappiyū*] 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 אֶשְׁתָּאֹל (Jos. 15:33; 19:41) and אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ (Jos. 21:14) and possibly אֶשְׁתְּמֹא (Jos. 21:23) and אֶלְתְּקֵה (Jos. 19:44). One may perhaps add the forms וַיִּתְפָּקְדוּ (Judg. 20:15) and הָתְפָּקְדוּ "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 (התחסף and יתמסך [*KAI* 1,2]) and in Moabite (e.g. ואלתחם [Mesha' 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.:

mḫmšt y'itsp ršᵖp¹ "the fifth, Resheph gathered up (to himself)" (1.14 I,18-19).

ytmr b'l 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 *Š*ᵓ*R* "to remain", viz.:

'išt'ir "It remained ['*išta'ira*] (in the fields)" (1.18 IV,15).

'arbʿ ʿšrh šmn d lqht tlgdy w kd 'išt'ir ʿm qrt "fourteen (jars) of oil which Tlgdy has taken and (one) jar remained ['*išta'ira*] for the

city" (4.290,1-3; for the view that *'iš'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 commodi-
ty, cf. Pardee 1976:250).

If Hoftijzer's proposal is correct, then the Gt *qtl* has a prosthet-
ic *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 documenta-
tion for the thematic vowel is *Š'L* "to ask", and the attested forms
are *tš'il* and *yš'al*. These examples show both *i* and *a*. The inven-
tory 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 *tš'il* [*tišta'ilu*] "you will inves-
tigate, 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, *tš* '*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 *tš'il*, name-
ly one word). Therefore, this is not a firm context on which to
base the thematic vowel.

The form that supports an *a*-vowel is *yš'al* [*yišta'alu*] "he will
inquire" (2.42,23; 2.70,12; 2.71,10). In all three instances the con-
text is solid and the meaning is perfectly clear. Some recognized
here 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 devel-
oped 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 evi-
dence 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. — *'iḫtrš* [*'iḫtarašu*/*'iḫtarišu*] "I will perform sorcery" (1.16 V,26); *'iᶜmˡtẖṣ* [*'imtaḫaṣu*/*'imtaḫiṣu*] "I will smite" (1.3 III,46); *'ištql* [*'ištaqala*/*'ištaqila*] "I may enter" (1.100,72; the root is *ŠQL* and not *QTL* 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. — *tmtᶜḥṣˡ* [*timtaḫaṣu*/*timtaḫiṣu*] "you will smite" (1.6 VI,24-25).

3rd m.s. — *y'itmr* [*yi'tamaru*/*yi'tamiru*] "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* [*yîtamaru*/*yîtamiru* or *yittamaru*/*yittamiru*] (< *yi'tamaru*/*yi'tamiru*) "he views (his daughters)" (1.3 I,22; cf. Rainey 1996 II:93); *yrtḥṣ* [*yirtaḫaṣu*/*yirtaḫiṣu*] "he washes himself" (1.14 III,52); *y'itsp* [*yi'tasap*/*yi'tasip*] "(the pestilence) gathered in" (1.14 I,18); *y'itm* [*yi'taṭamu*/*yi'taṭimu*] "he is guilty" (4.398,5); *ᵞy'iˡtbd* [*yi'tabadu*/*yi'tabidu*] "he will be lost" (1.14 I,24); *yštql* [*yištaqalu*/*yištaqilu*] "he enters" (1.100,68; 1.114,17); *yštkn* [*yištakanu*/*yištakinu*] "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. — *tmtḥṣ* [*timtaḫaṣu*/*timtaḫiṣu*] "she fights" (1.3 II,5-6); *tḥtṣb* [*tiḫtaṣabu*/*tiḫtaṣibu*] "she struggles" (1.3 II,6); *tštql* [*tištaqalu*/*tištaqilu*] "she enters" (1.3 II,18); *tptᶜrˡᶜ* [*tiptaraᶜu*/*tiptariᶜu*] "she washes herself" (1.13,19; cf. *TO* II, p. 25 and n. 26; *contra* *KTU²* which reads *tkrᶜ*) and with the energic suffix: *tmtḥṣn* [*timtaḫaṣan(n)a*/*timtaḫiṣan(n)a*] "she fights" (1.3 II,23).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *t'itṃn* [*ti'taṭamūna*/*ti'taṭimūna*] "they will be guilty" (4.398,2,3; cf. Sanmartín 1978:351).

Dual

3rd c.du. — *ᵗtˡqᶜtnˡṣn* [*tiqtanaṣāni*/*tiqtaniṣāni*] "(the two of them) bow down in childbirth" (1.23,58; cf. *TO* I, p. 376, n. *h*).

Imperative

The imperative has a prosthetic [*'i-*] as can be demonstrated from the form *'ištmᶜ* [*'ištamaᶜ*/*'ištamīᶜ*] "give heed!" (1.16 VI,29,42). Another

form is *w tqǵ* [*wa-t(t)aqaǵ/wa-t(t)aqiǵ*] (< *wa-ʾiwtaqaǵ/wa-ʾiwtaqiǵ* or *wa-ʾiytaqaǵ/wa-ʾiytaqiǵ*) "and attune (the ear)!" (1.16 VI,30,42; for another explanation that sees this form as being G stem from the root *TQǴ*, 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: *t¹rt¹ḥṣ* [*tirtaḥaṣ/tirtaḥiṣ*] "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-ṭa-ru* [*napṭarū*] "they exchanged" (*PRU* III, p. 89,5; cf. Huehnergard 1987:167). The same morpheme is preserved in Biblical Hebrew (נֹולַד [< *nawlaḏa*] [Eccl. 4:14], נָצֵב [< *nasbaba*] [Jos. 18:14], etc.) and the Amarna letters from Canaan as seen in the forms *na-az-a-qú* [*naztaqū*] "they hastened" (*EA* 366,25), *na-aq-ṣa-ap-ti* [*naqṣaptī*] "I am upset" (*EA* 93,4-5) and *na-aq-ṣa-pu* [*naqṣapū*] "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. — *nšlḥ* [*našlaḥa*] "he was sent" (2.34,14); *nškḥ* [*naškaḥa*] "it was found" (2.38,15; cf. Pardee 1976:289 and n. 634); *nplṭ* [*naplaṭa*] "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. — *nlqḥt* [*nalqaḥat*] "it was taken" (4.659,1).

Plural
3rd m.pl. — *nḫtʾu* [*naḫtaʾū*] "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-ṭa-ru* [*napṭarū*] "they exchanged" (*PRU* III, p. 89,5; cf. Huehnergard 1987:167).

yqtl
Singular
1ˢᵗ c.s. *'ilḫmn* [*'illaḫiman(n)a*] (< *'inlaḫiman[n]a*) "let me make war"
(2.82,20; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:360; the root *LḪM* in this
same meaning appears in *mlḫmt* [*malḫam(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. — *tntkn* [*tinnatikūna*] "(the tears) are poured out" (1.14 I,28;
from the root *NTK*).

Dual
3ʳᵈ c.du. — *ymṣḫn* [*yimmaṣiḫāni*] (< *yinmaṣiḫāni*) "they tread on each
other" (1.6 VI,20); *tḫgrn* [*tiḫḫagirāni*] (< *tinḫagirāni*) "both of them are
girded" (1.23,17).

Imperative
There are no attestations for the imperative; however, the jussive is
used, thus:

⌈*t*⌉*rtḥṣ w t'adm rḥṣ* [*y*]⌈*dk*⌉ *'amt* "wash yourself and redden
[*ti''adim*] (< *tin'adim*) 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 *KTU²*, p. 74); *npẓl* [*napẓalu?*] " ? "
(1.169,15; the root *PẒL* is unknown elsewhere, perhaps it should be
compared with Biblical Hebrew *PṢL* "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 *naqtalu*.
Thus, *na-ap-ṭá-\ra* [*napṭara*] "exchange, to exchange" (*PRU* III, p.
80,14-15; cf. Huehnergard 1987:167); with Akkadian pronoun: *na-
ba-dì-*⌈*šu*⌉*-*⌈*nu*⌉ [*na'badišunu*] "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. — *ḫsrt* [*ḫassirtī*] "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. אֲדַבֵּר). 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 possibil-
ity, viz. an *i*-vowel; note e.g. *la-a ti-ka-pí-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
אֲבַקֵּשׁ [2 Sam. 4:11] as D stem ['*abbaqiṭu*]. As a G stem form, it
might be something like ['*abqiṭu*].

Sometimes the texts themselves help us to distinguish the stem,
e.g. *'išlḥ* ['*išlaḥu*] "I will send" (1.14 V,21; 1.24,21) is G stem, while
'ašlḥk ['*ašalliḥukā*] "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* ['*abbaqiṭu*] "I will request" (1.6 IV,20);
'angh ['*anaggiḥu*] "I will gore" (1.172,8); *'arḫp* ['*araḫḫipu*] "I will
hover" (1.18 IV,21; it can also be interpreted as G stem). With suf-
fix pronouns: *'agrškm* ['*agaršukum(ū)*]ᵢ "I will expel you (m.pl.)" (3.9,6-
7); ʳ*a¹bšrkm* ['*abašširukum(ū)*)] "I bring you (m.pl.) tidings" (1.19 II,37;
cf. *TO* I p. 448, n. *k*); *'abkᶠm¹* ['*abakkirannā*] (< '*abakkiranhā*) "I will
give her birthright" (1.15 III,16); *'almdk* ['*alammidukā*] "I will instruct
you (m.s.)" (1.18 I,29); ʲ*am.lkn* ['*amallikannū*] (< '*amallikanhū*) "I will
enthrone him" (1.6 I,46; possibly a G stem).

2ⁿᵈ m.s. — *tl'ik* [*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. — *t'arš'n*[1] [*ta'arrišína/tu'arrišína*] "you are requesting" (1.3 V,28; here it is virtually impossible to take the form as G stem because the '*a* almost never acts as vowelless *aleph*, cf. *supra*, p. 17); *tl'ikn* [*tala"ikína/tula"ikína*] "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: *t'd'br* [*tadabbirt/tudabbirt*] "you manage(d)" (2.72,18); *'al t'apq* ['*al ta'appiqt/tu'appiqt*] "do not restrain(?)" (1.169,12; cf. Caquot and Bordreuil 1980:349).

3rd m.s. — *ymľu* [*yamallľu/yumallľu*] "he will fill" (1.16 V,28); *y'arš* [*ya'arríšu/yu'arríšu*] "he will request" (1.14 I,42); *yḫmš* [*yaḫammišu/yuḫammišu*] "he will quintuple" (1.16 V,17); *yšb'* [*yašabbľu/yušabbľu*] "he will multiply seven times" (1.16 V,20); *ybqt* [*yabaqqiṭu/yubaqqiṭu*] "he will seek out" (2.42,26); *yb'r* [*yaba"íru/yuba"íru*] "he will destroy, exterminate" (1.103+1.145,58); *ydmr* [*yaḑammiru/yuḑammiru*] "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); *yqlṣn* [*yaqallišan(n)a/yuqallišan(n)a*] "he cries defiance(?)" (1.4 III,12; cf. Ginsberg 1969:132); *y'a'š'p* [*ya'assipu/yu'assipu*] "he assembles" (1.107,36; cf. the G stem orthographies, *y'isphm* [*ya'supuhum(ü)*] "he collects them" [1.12 II,24] and *t'ispk* [*ta'supukä*] "[the hand of Aqhat] collects you (m.s.)" [1.19 II,17], and cf. *supra*, p. 17).[1] With suffix pronouns: *ypľk* [*yapallipukä/yupallipukä*] "he will deliver you (m.s.)" (1.18 I,13); *yḫslnn* [*yahassilan(n)annä/yuhassilan(n)annä*] "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)ahü/tukabbidan(n)ahü*] "she honors him" (1.6 I,38).

Plural
1st c.pl. — *nmľu* [*namallľu/numallľu*] "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. — *trḫpn* [*taraḫḫipūna/turaḫḫipūna*] "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: *tbrk* [*tabarrikü/tubarrikü*] "may (the gods) bless" (1.15 III,17).

Dual

2ⁿᵈ c.du. — *tmgnn* [*tamagginäni/tumagginäni*] "are (the two of) you entreating?" (1.4 III,28; this could also be G stem).

3ʳᵈ c.du. — *tmgnn* [*tamagginäni/tumagginäni*] "both of them should entreat" (1.4 III,25; this could also be G stem). With suffix pronoun: *y'msn.nn* [*ya'ammisan(n)an(n)annü/yu'ammisan(n)an(n)annü*] "(Tkmn 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'ä/turappi'ä*] "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* [*baqqit*] "seek (him)!" (2.39,34); ⌜'⌝*i'rš* ['*irriš*] (< '*arriš*) "request!" (1.17 VI,27; in accordance with the *yqtl* 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'* ['*ammisī ma*] "load up!" (1.6 I,12); *kbd* [*kabbidī*] "honor!" (1.17 V,20).

Dual
2ⁿᵈ c.du. — *kbd* [*kabbidä*] "(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* [*munaḫḫimu*] "Menahem" (*PRU* VI 40,31), cf. *mnḥm* (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, *NḤM* "to console", is not native to Akkadian. It is highly likely, therefore, that the D participle in Ugaritic was *muqattilu*.

Singular
Masculine — *mlḫš* [*mulaḫḫišu*] "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 *'aḫr*). With suffix pronoun: *m'msh* [*mu'ammisuhā*] "he carries her" (1.17 I,30); *m'msy* [*mu'ammisī*] "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 — *mml'at* [*mumalli'ātu*] "the ones who fill" (1.14 III,10; V,2).

Infinitive

The infinitive is documented in the syllabic texts, *pu-la-ṭu* [*pullaṭu*] "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, *ḫal-li-iq* [*ḫalliq*] "to destroy, to cause loss" (*EA* 250:7; cf. Rainey 1996 II:379). An apparent alphabetically D infinitive is also documented: *brkm ybrk* [*burraku-ma yabarriku/yubarriku*] "he verily will bless" (1.15 II,18).

THE Dp STEM(?)

The form *tl'akn* (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. [*tala''akāni/tula''akāni*] "(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:

tqṣn ymy b'lhn "the days of their (f.pl.) lord will be short(?) [*taqaṣṣarūna/tuqaṣṣarūna*]" (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 *mzm'a* (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
3[rd] 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
2[nd] m.s. — *tbšr* [*tabaššar/tabaššir*] "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 infixed 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. *ḫi-iḫ-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. *šaqtila* (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)û*] "(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. — *š°ly̆t* [*ša°liyat*] "she raised up" (6.13,1; from the root *°LY*).

Plural
3rd m.pl. — *šqrb* [*šaqribū*] "they offered a sacrifice" (1.40,26).

yqtl
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 *Š°L* "to ask", namley *yšš°il* [*yašaš°ilu/yušaš°ilu*] "he causes to ask" (2.18,5). Note the following examples:

Singular
1st c.s. — *°ašrb°* [*°ašarbi°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* [*°ašahliku*] "I will lead" (1.3 V,24; for the root *HLK* cf. p. 146). With suffix pronoun: *°ašsprk* [*°ašaspiruki*] "I will cause you (m.s.) to count" (1.17 VI,28).

2nd m.s. — With suffix pronouns: *w °al tš°iḫrh⌜m⌝* [*wa-°al taša°ḫirhum(ū)/ tuša°ḫirhum(ū)*] "do not cause them (m.pl.) to delay" (2.79,4; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:306).

3rd m.s. — *yšš°il* [*yašaš°ilu/yušaš°ilu*] "he causes to ask" (2.18,5); *yšlḫm* [*yašalḫimu/yušalḫimu*] "he causes to eat" (1.17 II,32).

3rd f.s. — *tšlḫm* [*tašalḫimu/tušalḫimu*] "she causes to eat" (1.17 V,29); *tš°rb* [*taša°ribu/tuša°ribu*] "she causes to enter" (1.15 IV,17); *tšsḥq* [*tašasḥiqu/tušasḥiqu*] "she causes to laugh" (2.25,5).

Plural
3rd m.pl. — *tššlmn* [*tašašlimūna/tušašlimūna*] "they render (service or taxtes)" (4.95,1; cf. Gordon 1965:491a; according to *KTU²* the form is an error for **tšlmn*). One may add here the form *tttkrn* [*tatatkirūna/tutatkirūna*] " ? " (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: *tšḫʾa.nn* [*tašaḫtʾan(n)annū/tušaḫtʾ an(n)annū*] "they aroused(?) him" (1.19 III,45; the *aleph* may be a *mater lectionis* and the root is *ḪWT*; cf. Caquot 1956:39; Gordon 1965:401; Verreet 1988:28).

Imperative
2nd m.s. — *šʿqrb¹* [*šaqrib*] "present!" (1.16 I,44); *iskn mʿ* [*šaskin maʿ*] "give heed (to)!" (1.4 I,20; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1990b:78-79).

2nd f.s. — *šlḫm* [*šalḫimī*] "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 — *mšspʿdⁿt* [*mušaspidātu*] "mourners" (1.19 IV,10).

Infinitive
šbʿr [*šubʿaru?*] "to illuminate", "to gleam" (1.4 IV,16; perhaps *šbʿr* is a noun meaning "torch"); *šmtr* [*šumtaru?*] "cutting(?)" (1.41,2; cf. Levine and de Tarragon 1993:93-94).

The First NUN Verbs and the Root LQḪ

THE G STEM

qtl
Singular
2nd m.s. — *npʿlⁿt* [*napalta*] "you fell" (1.107,10).

3rd m.s. — *npl* [*napala*] "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. — *lqḥt* [*laqaḥat*] "she took" (4.290,2); *nš'at* [*naš'at/naša'at*] "she lifted up" (1.92,27).

Plural
3ʳᵈ m.pl. — *nš'u* [*naš'ū/naša'ū*] "they lifted up, raised" (1.16 III,12); *ndr* [*nadarū*] "they devoted" (2.13,14; 2.30,13).

yqtl
The first radical *nun* verbs and the *lamed* of the root *LQḤ* 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 *LQḤ* is also typical of Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician. Examples of the various forms follow:

Singular
1ˢᵗ c.s. — *'iqḥ* [*'iqqaḥu*] (< *'ilqaḥu*) "I will take" (1.14 IV,41); *'ask* [*'assuku*] (< *'ansuku*) "I pour out" (1.3 IV,24,29).

3ʳᵈ m.s. — *ypl* [*yappulu*] (< *yanpulu*) "he falls" (1.2 IV,5); *yš'q¹* [*yiššaqu*] (< *yinšaqu*) "he kisses" (1.23,49); *ytk* [*yattuku*] (< *yantuku*) "he pours forth (tears)" (1.19 II,33); *yš'u* [*yišša'u*] (< *yinša'u*) "he lifts" (1.10 II,13,14 and elsewhere); *yqḥ* [*yiqqaḥu*] (< *yilqaḥu*) "he will take" (1.23,35). A short form: *'al yp'* [*'al yippa'*] (< *'al yinpa'*) "let it not flourish" (1.19 III,54).

3ʳᵈ f.s. — *tš'u* [*tišša'u*] (< *tinša'u*) "she carries", "she raises" (1.6 I,14; II,11); *tġṣ* [*taġġuṣu*] (< *tanġuṣu*) "she trembles" (1.3 III,34; 1.4 II,19); *l tbṭ* [*lū/la tabbuṭu/tabbiṭu*] (< *tanbuṭu/tanbiṭu*) "verily she looks" (1.4 III,21); *tˤqḥ¹* [*tiqqaḥu*] (< *tilqaḥu*) "she takes" (1.19 IV,55).

Plural
2ⁿᵈ m.pl. — *tš'un* [*tišša'ūna*] (< *tinša'ūna*) "you raise" (1.119,27; cf. *TO* II, p. 210).

3ʳᵈ m.pl. — *tġrn* [*taġġurūna*] (< *tanġurūna*) "they protect" (2.23,22); *l tšˤn* [*lū/la/lū tissaˤūna*] (< *tinsaˤūna*) "they will not (or: they will verily) travel" (3.8,12,14; cf. Verreet 1988:216); *tqhn* [*tiqqaḥūna*] (< *tilqaḥūna*) "they will buy" (4.395,2,4). Short forms: *ys'* [*yissaˤū*]

(< *yinsa'ū*) "they paid(?)" (3.9,17; cf. Friedman 1979:204); ⌜*y*⌝*š'u*
[*yišša'ū*] (< *yinša'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* [*tap-
pulū*] (< *tanpulū*) "(the stars) fell" (1.13,13; *TO* II, p. 24 interprets
the form as jussive). With suffix pronoun: *tġrk* [*taġġurūkī*] (< *tanġurūkī*)
"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: ⌜'*a*⌝*l tpl* ['*al tappulā*] (< '*al tanpulā*) "don't
fall down!" (1.2 I,15).

3rd c.du. — ⌜*tš'a*⌝[*n*] [*tišša'āni*] (< *tinša'āni*) "the two of them raise
(their voice)" (1.14 VI,2). Short forms: *tš'a* [*tišša'ā*] (< *tinša'ā*) "the
two of them raised (their voice)" (1.5 II,16); ⌜*t*⌝*pl* [*tappulā*] (< *tan-
pulā*) "(the two messengers of Yammu) fell" (1.2 I,31).

Imperative
In the attested imperative forms, the first radical *nun* and the *lamed*
of *LQḤ* are absent. Perhaps that is accidental. In the Northwest
Semitic languages there are some forms in which the *nun* is pre-
sent. For example in Biblical Hebrew, נְהַג "drive! (m.s.)" (2 Kgs
4:24), נְשָׂא "lift up! (m.s.)" (Ps 10:12); נְצֹר "keep! (m.s.)" (Ps 34:14)
and in the Amarna letters from Canaan, *nu-pu-ul-mì* [*nupul-mi*] "fall!
(m.s.)" (*EA* 252,25). In Biblical Hebrew there are four instances
where the *lamed* of *LQḤ* is present, thus לְקַח "take! (m.s.)" (Exod.
29:1; Ezek. 37:16; Prov. 20:16) and לְקְחִי "take! (f.s)" (1 Kgs 17:11).
The following are examples from Ugaritic:

Singular
2nd m.s. — *qḥ* [*qaḥ*] "take!" (1.4 II,32); *š'a* [*ša'a*] "lift!" (1.4 VIII,5;
1.14 II,22). With suffix pronoun: *qḥny* [*qaḥanīyā/qaḥanīyā*] "take (both
of us)!" (1.82,8; cf. *TO* II, p. 66).

2nd f.s. — *sk* [*sukī*] "pour!" (1.3 III,16; the root may be *SWK*); *qḥn*
[*qaḥīn(n)a?*] "take!" (1.19 IV,53).

Plural
2nd m.pl. — *š'u* [*ša'ū*] "lift up!" (1.2 I,27; 1.23,54,65).

Participle
Singular
Masculine — *ngr* [*nāgiru*] "guard" (1.23,68,69,73) and in syllabic
script *na-ḫi-ru* [*nāgiru*] "guard" (*PRU* VI 136,9); *nṣb* [*nāṣibu*] "the one
who erects (a stele)" (1.17 I,26). With suffix pronoun: *n'iṣh* [*nā'iṣuhū*]
"(he who) reviles him" (1.17 I,29).

Plural
Masculine — *nskn* [*nāsikūma*] "pourers" (4.43,4; 4.337,3; this could
be a noun on the *qattāl* pattern).

Infinitive
Construct — *b nš'i 'nh w tphn* "upon lifting [*bi-naša'i/bi-niš'i*] her
eyes, then she saw" (1.4 II,12).

THE Gp STEM

yqtl
3ʳᵈ m.s. — *spsg ysk* [*l*] ⌜*r*⌝*'iš* "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 infixed *-t-*. The *qtl*
conjugation pattern is not documented for this class of verbs.

yqtl
Singular
3ʳᵈ m.s. — *ytš'u* [*yittaš'u/yittaša'u*] (< *yintaš'u/yintaša'u*) "he lifts him-
self up" (1.17 V,6; 1.19 I,21). A short form: *ytš'i* [*yittaš'/yittaša'*]
(< *yintaš'/yintaša'*) "indeed he lifts himself up" (1.40,16,25,33).

3ʳᵈ f.s. — *ttp⌜l⌝* [*tittapilu/tittapalu*] (< *tintapilu/tintapalu*) "(one-seventh)
fell (by sword)" (1.14 I,21; cf. Verreet 1985:324-329).

Participle
Plural
Masculine — *m⌜t⌝db*[*m*] [*muttadibūma?*] (< *muntadibūma?*) "volunteers(?),
donors(?)" (4.775,1; cf. Bordreuil and Caqout 1980:364).

THE N STEM

qtl
Singular
3rd f.s. — *nlqht* [*nalqahat*] "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. *KTU²*, 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. — *tngsn* [*tinnagisūna*] "they are shaken(?)" (1.2 IV,17,26); *tntkn* [*tinnatikūna*] "(the tears) are poured out" (1.14 I,28).

Dual
3rd c.du. — *ynghn* [*yinnagihāni*] "the two of them gore one another" (1.6 VI,17; the form can be taken as D stem); *tnšʾan* [*tinnašiʾāni*] "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 assimilatied as in the G stem; thus, there must have been a vowel after it.

Singular
1st c.s. — ʾ*anšq* [ʾ*anaššiqu*] "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); *ynht* [*yanahhitu/yunahhitu*] "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); *ynṣl*

[*yanaṣṣilu/yunaṣṣilu*] "(the king) will get gifts" (1.90,22; cf. *TO* II, p. 173, n. 103). With suffix pronoun: *yn'mh* [*yana"iran(n)ahā/ yuna"iran(n)ahā*] "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: *tngth* [*tanaggiṭuhū/tunaggiṭuhū*] "she seeks him" (1.6 II,6; the root is *NGṬ* and it cannot be associated with the Biblical Hebrew root שׁם; cf. Ginsberg 1936:61 and Smith 1994:124 n. 14).

Dual
3rd c.du. — *yntkn* [*yanaṭṭikāni/yunaṭṭikāni*] "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 šš'n "here is the silver which he brought to me [*šassi'anī*] (< *šanši'anī*)" (2.81,24; from the root *NŠ*).

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 perserved: the root *WPṮ* "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* [*yabaltū/yabiltū*] "I have brought" (1.4 V,27; 2.17,1); *ytt* [*yatattū*] (< *yatantū*) "I give" (1.100,75). With suffix pronoun: *yd'tk*¹ [*yada'tūkī*] "I know you (f.s.)" (1.18 I,16; cf. Smith 1995:792)

2nd m.s. — *ytnt* [*yatantū*] "you have given" (1.6 VI,14; concerning the non-assimilated *nun*, cf. *supra*, p. 30); *l yrt* [*lū/la-yarattū*] (< *lū/la -yaradtū*] "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); *yp'* [*yapa'a*] "he has appeared" (1.3 III,37); *i-bi-la* [*ibila?*] (*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. — *yr'itn* [*yari'tinā/yari'tinna*] "you feared" (2.31,45).

3rd m.pl. — *ybl* [*yabalū/yabilū*] "they brought" (4.272,7); *ytb* [*yatabū*] "they sat down" (4.86,29).

Dual

3rd f.du. — *y'l'ʰt* [*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 *yaqtil*.

Singular

1st c.s. — *'ard* [*'aridu*] "I go down" (1.5 VI,25); *'atn* [*'atinu*] "I will give" (1.14 IV,43) beside *'itn* [*'itinu*] (< *'atinu*) "I will give" (2.15,4; further remarks on that form, cf. *supra*, p. 44); *'artm* [*'ariṯu-ma*] "I would inherit" (1.2 I,35); likewise ^ʳ*aṯb*ˈ*n* [*'aṯiban(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 'aṯib*] "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); *a*ʳ*lk*ˈ [*'aliku*] "I will go" (1.19 IV,32); *'id'* [*'ida'u/'id'u?*] "I know" (1.6 III,8) along with *'ad'* [*'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'*; *KTU²* reads *'axd'*).

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* ʳ*l*ˈ *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); *yṣ'u* [*yaṣi'u*] "it goes (/will go) forth" (1.103+1.145,45); *yšn* [*yišanu*] (< *yiyšanu*) "he falls asleep" (1.14 I,31); *yzn* [*yazinu*] "he weighs" (2.81,22; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:358); *ytq* [*yaṭiqu*] "he binds, ties" (1.100,17; cf. Astour 1968:18 and Cunchillos 1990:123); *yr*ʳ*'u*ˈ [*yira'u*] (< *yiyra'u?*) "he fears" (1.6 VI,30); *yṣ'an* [*yaṣi'an(n)a*] "let him go forth" (1.165,3). Short form: *yṣ'i* [*yaṣi'*] "it went forth" (1.14 II,32,34). With suffix pronouns:

[y]ʳtˡnn [yatinannū] (< yatinanhū) "he˙ gives him" (3.2,8); yrʾaʾun [yîraʾunnū] (< yîraʾunhū) "he fears him" (1.5 II,6; following Rainey 1987:399; this could also be an infinitive functioning as a finite verb, i.e. [yarʾaʾunnū], cf. Gordon 1965:12; Herdner 1952:170 and finally Verreet 1988:27); yblnh [yabilan(n)ahū] "he fetches her" (1.100,67).

3ʳᵈ f.s. — tld [talidu] "she will give birth" (1.15 III,7,8,9,10; 1.24,5); trd [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); tldn [talidan(n)a] "she gives birth" (1.5 V,22). Perhaps one may add here the form tr [tûrû?] (< tiyrayu?) "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: tṣʾi [taṣiʾ] "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, הַיֹסֵר גּוֹיִם "he who disciplines the nations" [Ps 94:10], וְאֶסָּרֵם "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: ʾal tṣfʾuˡ [ʾal taṣiʾū] "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); yṣʾunn [yaṣiʾūnan(n)a] "they go forth" (2.31,36; KTU², p. 174 incorrectly reads yṣʾu; cf. [tṣ]ʾun [taṣiʾūna] "they go forth" [1.83,3]); yrdn [yaridūna] "they go down" (1.112,18). A short form: tṣʾu [taṣiʾū] "they went out" (1.169,2).
  The following could be either qtl or yqtl:
  ysq šmn šlm b ṣˤ "they poured whole oil into the chalice" (1.3 II,31-32), where ysq could be suffix conjugation [yaṣaqū] or prefix conjugation [yaṣiqū].
  ˡʾaˡp ʾilm l <l>ʳhˡ[m] ytb (1.2 I,20-21) "now the gods were sitting to eat", where ytb could be suffix [yaṯabū] or prefix [yaṯibū].

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. — ᵗ*t'ldn* [*talidāni*] "the two of them give birth" (1.23,52). Short forms: ᵗ*tld*ⁿ [*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); ⁱ*q*¹ [*saq/suq*] "pour!" (1.14 II,18); *d* [*da*ᶜ] "know!" (2.61,13); *bl* [*bil*] "bring (the word)!" (1.100,2; cf. Blau and Greenfield 1970:14).

2nd f.s. — *z'i* [*zi'ī*] "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 — *ysrm* [*yāṣirūma*] "potters" (4.99,11; in syllabic script *ia-ṣi-ru-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 *maqtal* pattern; cf. the Biblical Hebrew personal name מֵידָד [Num. 11:26]).

Feminine — *mddt* [*môdūdatu/mêdūdatu*] (< *mawdūdatu/maydūdatu*) "beloved, friend" (1.14 IV,28) and with suffix pronoun: ⸢*m*⸣*ddth* [*môdūdatuhŭ/mêdūdatuhŭ*] "his beloved, friend" (1.14 II,50).

Infinitive

In Ugaritic there seem to be two infinitive formations, one that pre-serves all three radicals and another in which the first radical is missing and which bears the feminine *t*-suffix (cf. Biblical Hebrew לֶכָה "to go" [2 Sam. 19:25], וְעֵת "to know" [Jos. 4:24], שֶׁבֶת "to sit" [Deut. 1:6], רֶדֶת "to do down" [Deut. 28:52]). The following are examples:

hlk kbkbm [*halāku/hilku kabkabīma*] "the course of the stars" (1.19 II,3,7; IV,38); *ṣ'at ṣ*⸢*p*⸣*ṣ* [*ṣi'atu šapši*] "the going forth of the sun" (1.3 II,8); *ṣ'at npš* [*ṣi'atu napšihā*] "the outpouring of her soul" (1.16 I,35). With suffix pronouns: *b yṣ'ih*[*m*] [*bi-yaṣā'ihum(ū)/bi-yiṣ'ihum(ū)*)] "on their going forth" (3.8,9); *ṯbth* [*ṯib(a)tuhŭ*] "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 w*⸢*ld*⸣ *bn* ⸢*l*⸣*h* "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. [*wâlādu*] (< *wa-yalādu*) (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.

THE 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 com-pensatory 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. — *'itlk* [*'i(t)talaku/'i(t)taliku*] "I go (around)" (1.6 II,15); *'itrt* [*'i(t)taratu/'i(t)taritu*] "I will inherit" (1.3 III,47).

3ʳᵈ m.s. — *yᵗtᵗlk* [*yi(t)talaku/yi(t)taliku*] "he goes (around)" (1.12 I,34).

3ʳᵈ f.s. — *ttlk* [*ti(t)talaku/ti(t)taliku*] "she goes (around)" (1.5 VI,26). It would appear that the root *TRḤ* "to hurry" is attested in syllabic documentation, viz. *ti-tar-ḫ[u]* [*tit(t)arḫu?*] (< *tiytaraḫu/tiytariḫu?*) "she will hurry(?)" (*Ug* 5 3 rev.,10'; for the possibility of viewing it as from the root *'RḤ* cf. Huehnergard 1987:109-110).

Plural
3ʳᵈ m.pl. — *ttlkn* [*ti(t)talakūna/ti(t)talikūna*] "they were going (/went)" (1.23,67).

Dual
3ʳᵈ c.du. — A short form: *twtḥ* [*tiwtaḥâ/tiwtiḥâ?*] (< *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 *THY* 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 *'ištm' wtqġ* "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 **itqġ* [*'i(t)taqaġ/'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* [*nêtana/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 *WPṬ* "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. — *wpṭn* [*wappiṭa-ma*] "he spit" (1.4 VI,13).

yqtl
3rd m.s. — With suffix pronouns: *ywpṭn* [*yawappiṭunī/yuwappiṭunī*] "he spits on me" (1.4 III,13; cf. *TO* I, p. 200; the *nun* may simply be energic and not a 1st c.s. pronominal siffix, i.e. [*yawappiṭan(n)a/yuwappiṭan(n)a*]); *ywsrnn* [*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, *'ašhlk* [*'ašahliku*] "I will cause to go" (1.18 I,11).

qtl
Singular
2nd m.s. — *štnt* [*šêtintā/šôtintā*] (< *šaytintā/šawtintā*) "you caused to give" (2.36,13; cf. *TO* II, p. 402, n. 174).

3rd m.s. — *šrd* [*šôrida*] (< *šawrida*) "he brought down", "he entreated (by sacrifices)" 1.14 IV,6); *šṣ'a* [*šôṣi'a*] (< *šawṣi'a*) "he has produced" (4.145,10).

3rd f.s. — [*š*]ꞌ*š*¹ꞌ*at* [*šôṣiꞌat*] (< *šawṣiꞌat*) "she caused to go out" (1.19 II,38).

yqtl
Singular
1st c.s. — 'a*š*ᶠ*l*¹*d* ['a*šôlidu*] (< 'a*šawlidu*) "I will beget" (1.23,65); 'a*šš*ꞌ*u* ['a*šôṣiꞌu*] (< 'a*šawṣiꞌu*) "I will cause to go out" (2.34,31,33). With suffix pronoun: 'a*šš*ꞌ*uk*¹ ['a*šôṣiꞌukā*] (< 'a*šawṣiꞌukā*) "I will bring you (m.s.) out" (2.3,17).

2nd m.s. — *l tšš̌y* [*lā ta*š*ôš̌iyu*/*tu*š*ôš̌iyu*] (< *lā ta*š*aw*š*iyu*/*tu*š*aw*š*iyu*) "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" as suggested by de Moor and Spronk 1984:239; *TO* II, p. 64).

3rd m.s. — *yšš̌ꞌa* [*yašôṣiꞌa*/*yušôṣiꞌa*] "he will bring forth" (2.15,5; contra *KTU*² which reads *šṣꞌa* and puts the *yod* at the end of the previous word). A short form: *yšš̌ꞌi* [*yašôṣiꞌ*/*yušôṣiꞌ*] (< *yašawṣiꞌ*/*yušawṣiꞌ*) "he causes to go out" (1.15 V,24).

Imperative
Singular
2nd m.s. — *šrd* [*šôrid*] (< *šawrid*) "bring down!", "entreat (by offerings)!" (1.14 II,24).

Participle
Singular
Masculine — *mšš̌ꞌu* [*mušôṣiꞌu*] (< *mušawṣiꞌu*) "the one who brings forth" (1.17 I,27,45).

Plural
Feminine — Ꞌm¹*šn*ꞋqtꞋ [*mušêniqātu?*] (< *mušayniqātu?*) "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
šš̌ꞌu [*šûṣaꞌu?*] (< *šuwṣaꞌu?*) "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:

b'f *[l]* *[y]ʧf bn¹* [*l ks'i*] *mf k¹h* (1.6 VI,33-34).

The meaning may be: "Baal is seated [*yatôtaban(n)a/yutôtaban(n)a*] [on the throne] of his kingdom", in which case the verb would be Šp and the *nun* would be energic. On the other hand, the meaning could also be: "they seat [*yatôtabūna/yutôtibūna*] Baal [on the throne] of his kingdom".

f db ks'u w yttb (1.4 V,46-47)

This sentence may be rendered: "a chair was arranged and (Kothar and Ḥasis) was seated [*wa-yatôtab/wa-yutôtab*] (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-yatôtibū/wa-yutôtibū*] (Kothar and Ḥassis to the right of Baal)" (cf. Verreet 1988:68; concerning the form *f db*, 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 *'aleph*. 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 *yqtl* 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. — *nht* [*nahtū/nuhtū?*] "I rested" (2.11,14; cf. Biblical Hebrew pausal form נַחְתִּי [Job 3:26] and the syllabic attestation *nu-uḫ-ti* [*nuhtī*] (*EA* 147:56) from Canaan; the latter reflects the same use of the original thematic vowel in a closed syllable as in Arabic); *qlt*

[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 shoud be transcribed *mitVtū*, i.e. there exists a vowel between the *taw*'s).

3rd m.s. — *qm* [qāma] "he stood (/was standing)" (1.2 I,21); *št* [šāta] "he placed" (1.4 IV,10); *mt* [mīta?] "(Mighty Baal) has died" (1.6 I,41); *ṣd* [ṣāda] "he prepared provisions" (1.114,1); *l bn* [lā bāna/bīna] "he did not understand" (1.107,6).

3rd f.s. — *mtt* [mītat?] "(the ship) has died" (2.38,13; *contra KTU²*, p. 178 which reads <t>mtt); *b'at* [bā'at] "she has come" (1.19 IV,51); *štt* [šātat] "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. — *qlny* [qīlVnāyā/qilVnāyā] "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* ['ašīru] "I will sing" (1.24,1,38); *'anḫn* ['anūḫan(n)a] "I will rest" (1.17 II,13); *'ištn* ['išttu/an(n)a] (< *'ašttu/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 likey 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. — *ṯb* [*taṯūbu*] "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 energic). A short form: *'al tšt* [*'al tašītī*] "do not put!" (2.30,23-24).

3rd m.s.— *yṯb* [*yaṯūbu*] "he returns" (1.6 VI,12); *w l yṯb* [*wa-lā yaṯūbu*] "and he will not return" (1.5 I,9); *ygl* [*yagīlu*] "he will rejoice" (1.82,1); *ybṯ* [*yibāṯu*] "he is ashamed" (1.2 IV,31; cf. Ginsberg 1936:75 and 1969:131; the root might be *BṮṮ*, cf. Verreet 1988:94); *yštn* [*yašītan(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* [*yi'ārukī*] "(the moon) will illuminate you (f.s.)" (1.24,39; in the *yiqtal(u)* pattern; note that the cognate Biblical Hebrew וַתָּאֹרְנָה [*K'tib* וַתִּרְאֶינָה] [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* [*tašītu*] "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* [*tašītan(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. — *tbʾun* [*tabīʾūna?*] "they come" (1.15 IV,21); *tqln* [*taqīlūna*] "they will fall, bow" (1.103+1.145,1; 1.109,4); *tṣdn* [*taṣūdūna*] "they were hunting (/hunted)" (1.23,68); *ytbʿnⁱ* [*yatūbūna*] "they return" (1.23,56); *ʿpn* [*taʿūpūna*] "they fly" (1.19 III,44); *tknn* [*takūnūna*] "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); *ylʿšⁱn* [*yalūšūna*] "they wallow" (1.114,20; it seems that Ṭkmn, Šnm and Ḥby are the subject of this verb; cf. *TO* II, p. 77 and n. 241). Short forms: *yṣḥ* [*yaṣīḥū*] "may they shout" (1.3 V,36); *tšⁱtⁱ* [*tašītū*] "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. — *tṣhn* [*taṣīhāni*] "the two of them shout" (1.23,46); *tṣʿdnⁱ* [*taṣūdāni*] "the two of them prepare victuals", or "the two of them hunt" (1.114,23). A short form: *tṣḥ* [*taṣīhā*] "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* [*šit*] "put!" (1.3 IV,41; this could be a *qtl* form i.e. [*šīta*]); *bt* [*bat*] "be ashamed!" (1.2 IV,28,29; if the root is *BTT*, then the form could be [*but*], cf. *TO* I, p. 139). With suffix pronoun: *štn* [*šītannī*] (< *šītanhī*) "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 *YTB*, cf. *supra*, p. 149).

Dual
2nd c.du. — *ql* [*qīlā*] "(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/*
qīlu] "(Môt) falls" (1.6 VI,21); *rš* [*rāšu*] "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. syl-
labic attestations: *e-bu* [*Ug* 5 130 III,15'] beside Canaanite *i-bi* ['*ībī*]
"my enemy" [*EA* 252,28]).

Plural
Masculine — Accusative construct *qm 'aḫk* [*qāmī 'aḫīkā*] "the ene-
mies of your (m.s.) brother" (1.10 II,25).

Infinitive
The syllabic attestations reveal that the infinitive for verbs with sec-
ond *yod* were formed on the *qīlu* pattern, e.g. *ši-i-ru* [*šīru*] (< *šiyru*)
"to sing" (*Ug* 5 130 III,7'; but perhaps this form is simply the noun,
"song" and not an infinitive); *ši-tu* [*šītu*] (< *šiytu*) "to put, place" (*Ug*
5 130 III,10'). The infinitive of verbs with second *waw* may have
been on the pattern *qalu* or *qūlu* (cf. Cowley 1910:198). For ex-
ample, *b'u tb'u* [*bū'u/bā'u tabū'u?*] "verily you come" (1.16 VI,3); *b*
'*p* [*bi-'āpi/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 (?)

yqtl
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. — *tdᵏkᵉn* [*tudākūna*] "they should be pulverized" (1.72,39;
the root might be *DKK*, cf. Cohen and Sivan 1983:43).

THE Gt STEM

yqtl
3rd m.s. — *l yttn* [*lā yittinu/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.

yqtl
Singular
2nd m.s. — A short form: *'al ttbb* [*'al tatābib/tutābib*] "do not return!" (transitive) (1.169,19; and cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:349).

3rd m.s. — With suffix pronouns: *yrmmh* [*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'āpipu/tu'āpipu*] "she propitiates(?) (him)" (1.4 II,10; the root might be *'PP*). With suffix pronoun: *t'rn'k* [*ta'āriruki/tu'āriruki*] "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. — *rmm* [*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* [*šaqtla*] "he felled" (1.4 VI,41; 1.22 I,12; in those contexts *šql* is in parallel with *ṭbḫ* [*ṭabaḫa*] "he slaughtered", cf. Loewenstamm 1984:357-358); *šṣq* [*šaṣīqa*] "(the enemy) harassed" (2.33,27; the form could be 3rd m.pl., i.e. [*šaṣīqū*] "[the enemies] harassed"). In the clause *ṯb rgm* (1.106,23) it is likely that a *ṯ* has dropped, i.e. it should be *ṯṯb [*ṯaṯība*] as corrected by *KTU²,* p. 122, n. 2; and the meaning should be "he replied" (lit.: "he returned a word"). Another suggestion is to take *ṯb* as Gp, i.e. [*ṯība*] (cf. *Ug* 7, p. 30).

yqtl

Singular

1st c.s. — *'aškn* [*'ašakīnu*] "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. — *tšknn* [*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. — *yṯṯb* [*yaṯaṯību/yuṯaṯību*] "he brings back", "he causes to return" (1.41,45).

3rd f.s. — *tṯṯb* [*taṯaṯību/ tuṯaṯību*] "she brings back", "she causes to return" (2.16,19); *tštr* [*tašaṯīru/ tušaṯīru*] "she brings back" (1.22 I,11; from the root *ṮWR*, cf. Ginsberg 1936:433). With suffix pronoun: *tššq⌈n⌉[h]* [*tašaṣīqan(n)ahū/ tušaṣīqan(n)ahū*] "she harasses him" (1.6 II,10).

Plural

3rd m.pl. — *tṯṯbn* [*taṯaṯībūna/ tuṯaṯībūna*] (< *tašaṯībūna/ tušaṯībūna*) "they will return" (1.41,54; 3.4,17).

Imperative

2nd m.s. — *ṯb* [*ṯaṯib*] (< *šaṯib*) "cause to return!" (2.34,9).

2nd f.s. — *ṯb* [*ṯaṯibī*] (< *šaṯibī*) "send back (a message)!" (2.11,17).

Infinitive

ṯb 'ank [*ṯuṯābu* '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

yqtl
Singular
3rd f.s. — *ṯṯb* [*tuṯaṯabu?*] "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, *ŠLW* "to repose", in the form *'ašlw* ['ašluwa?] "let me repose" (1.14 III,45) and the root *'TW* "to come", in the form *'atwt* ['atawat] "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 *ŠNW* "to hasten" in the form *šnwt* [*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).

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* [*banêtû/banîtû*] (< *banaytû/baniytû*) "I built" (1.4 VI,36; cf. the syllabic form from Amarna letters ⌈*ba*⌉-⌈*ni*⌉-⌈*ti*⌉ [*banîtû*] [*EA* 292,29] and Biblical Hebrew בָּנִיתִי [2 Chron. 6:2]); *mġt* [*maġêtû/maġîtû*] (< *maġaytû/maġiytû*) "I arrived" (1.6 II,19); *štt* [*šatîtû*] (< *šatiytû*) "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* [*tanêtû/tanîtû*] (< *tanaytû/taniytû*) "I recounted" (1.2 IV,8; it is more likely that this form is D stem, cf. below); *šnt* [*šanôtû?*] (< *šanawtû?*) "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. — *'ly* [*'alaya*] "he went up" (1.4 I,23), beside *'l* [*'alâ*] (< *'alaya*) "he has attacked" (2.30,17,19); *pdy* [*padaya*] "he ransomed" (3.4,2); *qny* [*qanaya*] "he acquired" (3.9,2); *mġy* [*maġaya*] "he arrived" (1.100,67). With suffix pronoun: *'nhm* [*'anâhum(û)*] (< *'anayahum[û]*) "he answered them" (1.23,73; *KTU²*, p. 69 separates the form into two, i.e. *'n hm*, this separation does not make any sense).'

3ʳᵈ f.s. — *'atwt* [*'atawat*] "she came" (1.4 IV,32); *'ryt* [*'arayat*] "(your ship) came back(?)" (2.38,25; cf. *TO* II, p. 357 and n. 29 for other interpretations); *mġyt* [*maġayat*] "she arrived" (1.4 IV,31); *'lyt* [*'alayat*] "she went up" (1.176,6; the form can be interpreted as 2ⁿᵈ m.s., cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:351) beside *'lt* [*'alât*] (< *'alayat*) "she went up" (1.82,9; cf. Biblical Hebrew עָשְׂתָה "she did" (Lev. 25:21), היה [*hayât*] "it was" (Siloam Inscription, line 3; cf. Blau 1983:158-159); *šnwt* [*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. — *mġy* [*maġayū*] "(the Rephaim) arrived" (1.20 II,6) beside *mġ 'ilm* [*maġû 'ilūma*] (< *maġayū*) "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); *spy* [*sapayū*] "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* [*maǵĕnⱥyā/maǵĕnⁱyā*] (< *maǵaynⱥyā/maǵaynⁱyā*) "the two of us have come" (1.5 VI,5,8).

2ⁿᵈ c.du. — *ǵẓtm* [*ǵaẓĕtumā*] (< *ǵaẓaytumā*) "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. — *'aślw* [*'ašluwa?*] "let me repose" (1.14 III,45; for this reconstruction, cf. Ginsberg 1946:40); *'amǵy* [*'amǵiyu*] "I arrive" (1.21 II,7); *'iphn* [*'iphan(n)a*] "I see" (2.31,39); ᴵ*'iph*ᴵ [*'iphû?*] (< *'iphayu*) "I will see" (1.10 II,32; the root is *PHY* and not *PWH*, cf. below); *'iḥd* [*'iḥdû*] (< *'iḥdayu*) "I am happy" (2.33,21; cf. Verreet 1983a:230, n. 72) and *'iḥd* [*'iḥdâ*] (< *'iḥdaya*) "I am happy" (2.15,10; the form is *yqtla* as can be deduced from *yṣ'a* [*yašôṣi'a/yušôṣi'a*] in line 5; cf. also Verreet 1983a:229); ᴵ*'ibk*ᴵ*y* [*'ibkiyu*] (< *'abkiyu*) or [*'ibkayu*] "I will weep" (1.161,13; cf. *supra*, p. 44). A short form: *'abn* [*'abnî*] (< *'abniy*) "I will repair" (1.18 IV,40; but most likely it is D stem [*'abannî*] [< *'abanniy*]). With suffix pronouns: *'ibǵyh* [*'ibǵayuhⱥ*] "I will seek her" (1.3 III,29); *'atnyk* [*'atniyukⱥ*] "I will recount to you (f.s.)" (1.3 III,22; this is most likely factitive D stem); *'ištn* [*'ištannⱥ/'ištannⱥ*] "I may drink it (m. or f.)" (5.9 I,16); *'ištynh* [*'ištayan(n)ahⱥ*] "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: *'al tǵl* ['al *taǵlī*] (< *'al taǵliy*) "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* [*yamǵiyan(n)a*] "he arrives" (1.17 II,24); *y'ny* [*ya'niyu*] "he answers" (1.107,12); *ytny* [*yatniyu*] "he tells" (1.4 VII,30; most likely factitive D stem); *ybky* [*yabkiyu*] "he weeps" (1.107,8); *y'l* [*ya'lū*] (< *ya'liyu*) "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); *yd'u* [*yid'ū*] (< *yid'ayu*) "he will take wing" (1.103+1.145,42); *yhd* [*yahdū*] (< *yahdiyu*) "he sees" (1.19 III,15); *yr* [*yīrū*] (< *yiyrayu*) "he shoots" (1.23,38). Short forms: *ymǵ* [*yamǵī*] (< *yamǵiy*) "he arrived" (1.15 V,18); *yšt* [*yištē*] (< *yištay*) "he drank" (1.175,13); *y'l* [*ya'lī*] (< *ya'liy*) "he went up" (1.6 I,57); *yph* [*yiphē*] (< *yiphay*) "he saw" (1.19 II,14); *ybǵ* [*yibǵē*] (< *yibǵay*) "he desired" (1.172,20); *yh* [*yaḥī*] (< *yaḥyiy*?) "may he live!" (1.17 I,36; 2.7,9; 6.30,1); *yphn* [*yiphan(n)a*] (< *yiphayan(n)a*) "he sees" (1.17 V,9). With suffix pronoun: *y'dynh* [*ya'diyan(n)ahū*] "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); *thdy* [*tahdiyu*] "she sees" (1.3 II,24); *tbky* [*tabkiyu*] "she cries" (1.16 I,55; this could also be D stem meaning "she mourns"); *td'u* [*tid'ū*] (< *tid'ayu*) "she takes wing" (1.16 VI,6,7); *tl'u* [*til'ū*] (< *til'ayu*) "she overcomes" or "she becomes weak" (1.100,68; contrary to the view of Verreet [1988:44], who sees here an original [*tal'uwu*]); *tzǵ* [*tazǵū*] (< *tazǵuwu*?) "she moans" (1.15 I,5); *tr* [*tīrū*?] (< *tiyrayu*?) "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*); *thr'n* [*tahrân(n)a*?] (< *tahriyan[n]a*) "she conceives" (1.5 V,22). Short forms: *tšt* [*tištē*] (< *tištay*) "she drank" (1.96,4); *t'l* [*ta'lī*] (< *ta'liy*) "she ascended" (1.10 III,29; 1.13,20); *tmǵ* [*tamǵī*] (*tamǵiy*) "she arrived" (1.5 VI,28); *tph* [*tiphē*] (< *tiphay*) "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* [*tabkiyukū*] "she bewails you (m.s.)" (1.16 I,6; II,44; the form is most likely D stem); *tbkynh* [*tabkiyan(n)ahū*] "she bewails him" (1.6 I,16; the form is

most likely D stem); *tl'u'an* "(sleep) overcame him" (1.14 I,33; the scribe may have intended to write **tl'unn* [*til'un(n)anndl*?], cf. *supra*, p. 13); *tpnn* [*tapnan(n)ll*] (< *tapniyanhll*) "he turns towards him" (1.96,5).

Plural

1st c.pl. — Short forms: *nšt* [*ništî*] (< *ništay*) "let us drink" (1.23,72; the form could be [*ništâ*] [< *ništaya*?], cf. Verreet 1988:167); *n'l* [*na'lî*] (< *na'liy*) "let us go up" (1.119,33).

3rd m.pl. — *tštyn* [*tištayûna*] "they drink" (1.22 I,23) beside *t'šʔt'nʔ* [*tištûna*] (< *tištayûna*) "they drink" (1.114,3); *t'nyn* [*ta'niyûna*] "they answer" (1.23,12); *t'ln* [*ta'lûna*] (< *ta'liyûna*) "they ascend" (1.20 II,4; 1.112,7). Short forms: *t'ity* [*tiʔtayû*] "they came" (1.15 III,17,18); *tgly* [*tagliyû*] "they bowed (their heads)" (1.2 I,23); *t'it* [*ta'tû*] (< *ta'tiyû*) "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.); *t'l* [*ta'lû*] (< *ta'liyû*) "they will go up" (2.33,37; cf. *TO* II, p. 340, n. 46).

Dual

1st c.du. — Short forms: [*n*]*'gz'* [*nagzû*?] (< *nagziyu*?) "the two of us entreat" (1.4 III,35). The form *mgz* (1.4 I,22) indicates that this verb could be D stem, but this latter form could be simply a noun.

2nd c.du. — *tgzyn* [*tagziyâni*] "(how) the two of you entreat (the Creatress of the Gods)?" (1.4 III,29).

3rd c.du. — *tmgyn* [*tamgiyâni*] "the two of them arrive" (1.2 I,30) and *l tmgyn* [*lā tamgiyâni*] "(his feet do not) reach (the footstool)" (1.6 I,59). Short forms: *ymgy* [*yamgiyâ*] "(Anat and Athtart) arrive" (1.114,9); *tmgy* [*tamgiyâ(y)*] "(two thousand horses) arrive" (2.33,31; concerning the otiose *yod*, cf. *supra*, p. 15).

Imperative
Singular

2nd m.s. — *'l* ['*ilî*] (< '*iliy*) "go up!" (1.14 II,20,21); *hd* [*hidî*] (< *hidiy*) "watch!" (2.77,8); *mg* [*migî*] (< *migiy*) "come!" (1.3 VI,11); *b'n'* [*binî*] (< *biniy*) "build!" (1.2 III,7; 1.4 V,18,33); *ng* [*nigî*] (< *nigiy*) "flee!" (1.14 III,27); *ph m'* [*pahê ma'*] (< *pahay*) "see!" (1.15 III,28; for the root *PHY*, cf. below); *w št'm'* [*wa-šaiê-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. *ṯny* "recount!" (1.16 VI,28; a command given to Yaṣibu). The possible forms would then be G stem [*ṯanāyu*] or D stem [*ṯunnayu*]. 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. [*ṯinìya*] or (most likely) of the D stem, i.e. [*ṯanniya*]).

2nd f.s. — There are both, forms that preserve the final *yod* and those that do not. The following are examples: *qryy* [*qiriyī(y)?*] "meet!" (1.3 IV,8; for the otiose *yod* cf. *supra*, p. 15); *št* [*šatî*] (< *šatayì*) "drink!" (1.4 IV,36) and also with enclitic *mem*, *štym* [*šatayī-ma*] "drink!" (1.4 IV,35); ⌈*l'i*⌉ [*la'î*] (< *la'ayì*) "conquer!, overcome!" (1.16 VI,2); *d'i* [*da'î*] (< *da'ayì*) "take wing!, soar!" (1.16 V,48; in 1.108,8 *d'i* 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 propably should delete *d'i* as dittography before the next form *d'it*; cf. Loewenstamm 1980:327, n. 16a); *'at* [*'atî*] (< *'atawī/'atayì*) "come!" (1.1 III,16; IV,17) and also with enclitic *mem*, *'atm* ['*atî-ma*] (< *'atawī-ma/'atayì-ma*) (1.3 III,28).

Plural
2nd m.s. — ⌈*šty*⌉ [*šatayū*] "drink!" (1.23,6); *d'u* [*da'û*] (< *da'ayû*) "take wing!" (1.19 III,14).

Dual
2nd c.du. — *ṯny* [*ṯinìyā*] "(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* [*qāniyatu*] "creatress" (1.4 I,22) and the nominal form *ha-mì-ti* [*ḥāmîti*] (< *ḥamiytì*) "wall" (*PRU* III, p. 137,4); *d'it* [*dā'î-tu*] (< *dā'iytu*) "she flies" (1.108,8; cf. Rainey 1974:187-188; Loewenstamm 1980:327, n. 16a and *TO* II, p. 116, n. 356).

Plural
Masculine — *r'ym* [*rā'iyūma*] "shepherds" (4.243,45). With suffix pro-

nouns: *šsk* [*šāsūkd*] (< *šāsiyūkd*) "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 — ⌐*k*⌐*ly* [*kalūyu/kalīyu/kalīyu*] "used up, finished" (1.16 III,13,14); *spy* [*sapūyu/sapīyu/sapiyu*] "plated" (2.79,10; the form could be 3rd m.pl. [*sapayū*] and it could thus be D stem). With suffix pronoun: *šbyn* [*šabūyunū/d̄, šabīyunū/d̄* or *šabiyunū/d̄*] "our prisoner" (1.2 IV,30).

Plural
Feminine — *bnwt* [*banūwātu*] (< *banūyātu?*) "created things" (1.6 III,5,11; here the *waw* may have developed as a glide); *spyt* [*sapūyātu/ sapīyātu/sapiyātu*] "overlaid, coated" (4.167,2).

Infinitive
⌐*m*⌐*ģy hy* [*maģāyu hiya*] "she arrived" (2.31,45); ⌐*bm*⌐ *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: *l'a šmm* [*la'ā šamūma*] (< *la'āyu šamūma*) "the heavens became strong" (1.6 II,25; concerning this type of contraction, cf. *supra*, p. 43); *w 'n rbt 'aṯt ym* "and Ashera of the Sea answered [*wa-'anā*] (< *wa-'anāyu*)" (1.6 I,53); *b bk krt* "when Keret weeps [*bi-bakā/bikī*] (< *bi-bakāyi/bikyi*) " (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 'n 'al'i[yn] b'l "and Mighty Baal answered" (1.4 VI,7), 'n could be 3rd m.s. ['anā] (< 'anaya) or absolute infinitive ['anā] (< 'anāyu). w k mģ 'ilm "and when the gods arrive(d)" (1.82,42), mģ could be 3rd m.pl. [*maģū*] (< *maģayū*) but is more likely an absolute infinitive, e.g. [*maģā*] (< *maģāyu*).

Likewise with the following forms: *mģ hw* [*maģā huwa*] (< *maģaya*) or [*maģā huwa*] (< *maģāyu*) "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-ma*] (< '*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. — *nkly* [*naklaya*] "finished, used up" (4.279,1); *n'n* [*na'nâ*] (< *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:
tlt 'id ynphy yrḫ b yrḫ 'aḫrm "three times the moon is seen in the month of Aḫram" (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 [*yinpahiyu*] 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* [*kallîtî*] (< *kalliytî*) "I destroyed" (1.3 III,46).

2nd f.s. — *ḥwt* [*ḥawwîtî*] (< *ḥawwiytî*) "may you live (my sister)" (1.10 II,20).

yqtl
Singular
1st c.s. — Beside long forms as '*aḥwy* ['*aḥawwiyu*] "I will grant life" (1.17 VI,32) and *'akly*¹ ['*akalliyu*] "I will destroy" (1.6 V,25), there are also short forms: '*aḥw* ['*aḥawwî*] (< '*aḥawwiy*) "I will grant life" (1.82,19); *l* '*aḥw* [*lā* '*aḥawwî*] (< *lā* '*aḥawwiy*) "I did not give life" (1.19 I,16; for the use of D stem *ḤWY* alongside G stem *ḤYY*, cf. Marcus 1972:76-82); '*aᵉkl*ˡ ['*akallî*] (< '*akalliy*) "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*] (< *takalliyī/tukalliyī*) "may you destroy" (1.19 IV,40) and perhaps *tᵉḥ*¹[*wy*] [*taḥawwiyī/tuḥawwiyī*] "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); *yṣly* [*yaṣalliyu/yuṣalliyu*] "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-yapattîhumā/yupattîhumā*] (< *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 — *mᵉk*¹*l*¹*y*¹ [*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 *ḤWY* there is *ḫu-wu-ú* [*ḫuwwû*] (< *ḫuwwayu*) "to grant
life" (*Ug* 5 137 II,17'). Of course, one could transcribe *ḫu-wa-ú*, but
then it is hard to explain why there is no orthographic represen-
tation of the *yod*.

THE Dp STEM

yqtl
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 posses-
    sion of [...]" (1.91,1).
    The verbal form can very well be Dp [*yakallê/yukallê*]
(< *yakallay/yukallay*).

THE Š STEM

qtl
Singular
3rd m.s. — *šʿly* [*šaʿliya*] "he set up" (6.14,1).

3rd f.s. — *šʿlyt* [*šaʿliyat*] "she set up" (6.13.1).

yqtl
Singular
2nd m.s. — *l tššy* [*lā tašôššyu/tušôššyu*] (< *lā tašawššyu/tušawššyu*) "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 tšʿl ['al *tašaʿlī/tušaʿlī*] (< *'al tašaʿliy/tušaʿiy*) "do not cause to go
up!" (1.14 III,12).

3rd m.s. — ⸢*yšʿly*⸣ [*yašaʿliyu/yušaʿliyu*] "he causes to go up" (1.19
IV,23). A short form: *yššq* [*yašašqî/yušašqî*] (< *yašašqiy/yušašaqiy*) "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: *tšʿlynh* [*tašaʿliyan(n)ahû/tušaʿliyan(n)ahû*] "she brings
him up" (1.6 I,15).

Imperative
2nd f.s. — *ššqy* [*šašqiyī*] "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* [*tištaḥwiyā*] "do obeisance" (1.3 III,10; 1.4 VIII,28).

3rd c.du. — *l tšthwy* [*lā tištaḥwiyu*] "both of them do not obeisance" (1.2 I,31).

The root of these verbal forms is debated. If one assumes that it is *ḤWY*, then the forms must represent Št stem. On the other hand, if the root was *ŠḤW/ŠḤY*, then they are Gt stem (cf. Emerton 1977:41-56; Fenton 1980: 273; Blau 1985:294). The Ugaritic forms are strongly in favor of *ḤWY* as the root. The Biblical Hebrew cognate forms also support *ḤWY* 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); *ḥl* [*ḥalla*] "he profaned" (1.119,24; the form can be a participle of G stem, cf. *TO* II, p. 209); *ḥr* [*ḥarra*] "(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: *ntṭ* [*naṭaṭat*] "she trembled(?)" "she jumped(?)" (1.82,9; cf. *TO* II, p. 66, n. 184).

yqtl
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* ['*amurrukĺ*] "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: *tmrnn* [*tamurran(n)annĺ*] "you
bless him" (1.17 I,24).

3rd m.s. — *ygz* [*yaguzzu*] "he will shear" (1.80,5; from the root *GZZ*);
ymr [*yamurru*] "he blesses" (1.17 I,35); *ysb* [*yasubbu*] "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); *yql* [*yaqutu*] "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: *ytll* [*yatlulu*] "(the dew) comes down" (1.19
I,41; this could have another vocalization or even a different stem).
Short forms: ⌐*y*˥*śdd* [*yaśdud*] "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 hous-
es)" (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); *tgll* [*taglulu*] "she wades" (1.3 II,27; this could be either
D or L stem); *tmll* [*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); *tgdd* [*tagdudu*] "she exults" (1.3 II,25).

Plural
2nd m.pl. — Short forms: ⌐*tp*˥*r* [*tapurrĺ*] "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. — *tqṭn* [*taqṭuṭnā*] "you transgress" (1.40,23,40).

3rd m.pl. — A short form: *tmᵣrᵣ* [*tamurrū*] "(the heavens) blessed" (1.13,26); *td⁽d⁾* [*taddudū*] (< *tandudū*) "they wander, leave" (1.20 II,2);

Dual
3rd c.du. — *ṭṭ* [*taṭṭuṭā*] (< *tanṭuṭā*) "(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); *ᶜz* [*ᶜazzu*] "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: *mṣṣ* [*māṣiṣu*] "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* [*barūru/barīru/bariru*] "(the king is) purified" (1.41,7; cf. *TO* II, p. 154, n., 45).

Infinitive
b ḥnth [*bi-ḥinnatihū*] "while he beseeched" (1.17 I,16; cf. Biblical Hebrew חַנֹּתִי [Ps 77:10]).

THE Gp STEM

yqtl
Singular
3rd m.s. — *ydṭ* [*yudaṭṭu?*] "he will be crushed(?)" (1.18 I,19; from the root *DṬṬ*, cf. Ginsberg 1969:152 and *TO* I, p. 436 and n. *f*).

Plural
3rd m.pl. — *tdᶜkⁱn* [*tudakkūna*] "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.

yqtl
Singular
1st c.s. — *'arnn* ['*arāninu/'aranninu*] "I will exalt" (1.82,6; cf. van Zijl 1975:73 and 83). With suffix pronoun: *'aḥnnn* ['*aḥāninannū* or '*aḥanninannū*] "I shall favor him" (2.15,9; concerning *ḤNN* for *ḤNN* cf. *supra*, p. 26).

3rd m.s.— *yšnn* [*yašāninu/yušāninu* or *yašanninu/yušanninu*] "he grinds his teeth" (1.16 I,13); *yhrrm* [*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: *yḥssk* [*yaḥāsisukā/yuḥāsisukā* or *yaḥassisukā/yuḥassisukā*] "it excites you (m.s.)" (1.4 IV,39); *ykllnh* [*yakālilan(n)ahū/yukālilan(n)ahū* or *yakallilan(n)ahū/yukallilan(n)ahū*] "let him complete it" (1.4 V,10).

3rd f.s. — *ťpp* [*taʿāpipu/tuʿāpipu* or *taʿappipu/tuʿappipu*] "she propitiates(?) (him)" (1.4 II,10; the root might be *ʿWP*); *tḥsᵣsⁱ* [*taḥāsisu/*

tuḫāsisu or *taḫassisu/tuḫassisu*] "(Ashera) remembers" (1.15 III,25).

Plural
3rd m.pl. — With suffix pronoun: *ʿzzk* [*taʿāzizūkā/tuʿāzizūkā* or *taʿazzizūkā/tuʿazzizūkā*] "may (the gods) make you (m.s.) strong" (5.9 I,4).

Participle
Plural
Masculine — *mḫllm* [*muḫālilīma/muḫallilūma*] "those who profane" (1.119,23; cf. *TO* II, p. 209).

Imperative
Singular
2nd m.s. — With suffix pronoun: *ḫnny* [*ḫāninī/ḫanninī*] "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

yqtl
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"); *ymss* [*yamāsasu/yumāsasu* or *yamassasu/yumassasu*] "it shoud be liquified" (1.85,3; this might be active 3rd m.pl. "they melted", cf. Verreet 1988:112-113); *yd>d<ll* [*yadālalu/yudālalu* or *yadallalu/yudallalu*] "(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 respesenting 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 — *mmnnm* [*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. *yt'dd* [*yata'ādidu/yuta'ādidu* or *yata'addidu/yuta'addidu*] "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. — *šsb* [*šasibba*] (< *šasbiba?*) "it turns (transitive)" (4.167,8).

yqtl

Plural

3rd m.pl. — Short form: *yšḥmm* [*yašaḥmimū/yušaḥmimū*] "they are scorched(?)" (1.175,7; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297).

The form *škllt* (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 quadriliteral stem form).

qtl

3rd f.s. — *ḥmḥmt* [*hamḥimat?*] "she became sexually aroused" (1.17 I,41; 1.23,51; the original root may be *ḤMM* or *YḤM*); *ṣḥrt* [*ṣaḥrirat?*] "(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* [*yaqatqiṭu/yuqatqiṭu*] "he swishes (his tail)" (1.114,5; cf. Pardee 1988:42-43 and *TO* II, p. 74, n. 227); *yprsḥ* [*yaparsiḥu/yuparsiḥu*] "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.).

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 tṣd kl ġr ... kl gbʿ "she goes around and she hunts in every mountain [*kulla ġurri*] ... 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* ⌈*k*⌉*rt tbʾun* "to the house [*bêta*] of Keret they come" (1.15 IV,21); *rḥṣ* [*y*]⌈*d*⌉*k ʾamt* "wash (m.s.) your arms to the forearm [*ʾammata*]" (1.14 II,10; cf. 1.14 III, 53, where *ʾamt* has the directive *-h*); *w bʿl tbʿ mrym ṣpn* "and Baal departed for the height of Ṣapānu [*maryāma Ṣapāni*]" (1.4 IV,19); *w trḥṣ ṭl šmm šmn ʾarṣ* "and she may wash with dew of heaven [*ṭalla šamîma*], (with) oil of earth [*šamna ʾarṣi*]" (1.3 IV,42-43); *ʿd* ⌈*ʾi*⌉*lm nʿmm tlkn šd* "until the goodly gods were going (/went) in the field [*šadâ*] (< *šadaya*)" (1.23,67-68); *šʾu* ⌈*db*⌉ *tk mdbr qdš* "raise an offering in the midst [*tôka*] of the holy steppe land" (1.23,65); *w tr ʾarṣ* "and she returned to the earth [*ʾarṣa*]" (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 ⌈*tk*⌉*mm ḥmt* "he mounted the shoulder of the wall [*takma-ma/tikma-ma ḥāmîti*]" (1.14 IV,3-4).

Suffix *ʾid* [*ʾida?*] (< *yada?*)—Attached to numerals to express distributive, or multiplicative, e.g.:

tnʾid [*tinaʾida*] "twice" (2.64,14) and *šbʿʾid* [*šabʿaʾida*] "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:

'*lmh* ['*ālamah*] "forever" (1.19 IV,6); *šmmh* [*šamûmah*] "heavenward" (1.23,38) alongside *b šmm* [*bi-šamîma*] "heavenward" in the same context (1.23,38) where the scribe preferred to use prepositional *b-* instead of directive -*h*; *qrth* [*qarîtah*] "to the city" (1.14 III,13); '*amth* ['*ammatah*] "up to the forearm" (1.14 III,53; cf. 1.14 II,10 where the adverbial -*h* is absent); *mtth* [*maṭṭâtah*] (< *manṭayatah*?) "on the bed" (1.14 I,30); '*arṣh* ['*arṣah*] "earthward" (1.14 I,29); *ms'wnh* [?] "to the camp" (1.14 III,21); *mṣdh* [*maṣâdah*] "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.:

m'aḫdh [*Ma'ḫadah*] "to Ma'ḫadu" (4.149,5); *ṯn šm ḫmnh* "two lambs for Ḫamānu [*Ḫamānah*] (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 רֵיקָם [Gen. 31:42], חִנָּם [Exod. 21:2] and El-Amarna letters *ḫa-ia-ma* "alive" [*EA* 245,6], *le-lā-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); *mṭm* [*maṭ-ṭâm(a/i)*] (< *manṭiyam[a/i]*) "with a staff" (1.3 II,15); *šlmm* [*šalā-mam(a/i)/šulmam(a/i)*] "in peace" (1.14 III,26; *contra* Gordon [1965:490] who interprets "peace offerings"); *mrḥqtm* [*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 *mrḥqm* [*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); '*il yštk 'rm* "El will put you in town ['*îram(a/i)*]" (1.169,13; cf. Bordreuil and Caqout 1980:349).

Sometimes this adverbial -*m* is appended to a preposition, e.g. *w 'lm* [*wa-'alêm(a/i)*] "and above all" (1.164,10).

LOCATIVE ADVERBS

ṯm [*ṯamma?*] "there"—(1.14 IV,36; 2.31,54). There are also other variants:

    ṯmt [*ṯammat(a)?*] "there" (2.10,18; perhaps Biblical Hebrew שָׁמָּה "there" [Gen. 43:30] derives from *ṯmt*, while שָׁמָּה "to there" [Deut. 32:52] is from *ṯm* plus locative -*h*; cf. Blau 1985:296); *ṯmn* [*ṯamman?*] "there" (2.41,21); *ṯmny* [*ṯammanīya?*] "there" (2.34,7; 2.38,7; 2.46,7).

hlm [*halumma?*] "here, hither":

    b'at b hlm "she has entered here" (1.19 IV,52; cf. Biblical Hebrew הֲלֹם [Gen 17:13]; *KTU²*, p. 61 and Pardee [1975:341] read *b'at b <'a>hlm* "she has come to the tents", this reading is also possible).

hlny [*hallinīya?*] "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).

hnny [*hanninīya?*] "here"—(2.11,10; 2.38,6). In both these contexts *hnny* stands in contrast to *ṯmny* "there" (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:451-454).

TEMPORAL ADVERBS

'nt [*'anatī?*] "now"—(1.19 III,55; 1.19 IV,6; cf. Biblical Aramaic עֲנָת, עַת and עֵין and עַתָּה in Biblical Hebrew). It would appear that this vocable is documented syllabically with assimilation of the *nun*, thus *at-ta* [*'attī*] (< *'antī?*) "now" (*PRU* III, p. 19,11; cf. *PRU* III, p. 19 n. 2 and Sivan 1984a:131).

'tn [?] "now"—(2.16,13). This could be the adverb *'nt* with metathesis (cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartin 1974b:34), or it may be that the *nun* is a suffix appended to *'t* (cf. *ṯmn* above which seems to be *ṯm* plus suffix -*n*). If the latter possibility is correct, then the reconstruction may have been [*'attan*] (< *'antan?*).

ht [*hitta?*] (< *hinta?*) "now"—There is no cognate to this vocable in the other Semitic languages. Its interpretation is revealed by its parallelism with *'nt* "now" (cf. Loewenstamm 1980:500). The following are examples:

tšmḫ ht 'aṭrt w bnh 'ilt w ṣbrt '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 tmḫṣ "behold your enemies, O Baal, behold your enemies will you smite" (1.2 IV,8-9; cf. Biblical Hebrew ו כִּי־הִנֵּה אֹיְבֶיךָ יְהֹוָה כִּי־הִנֵּה אֹיְבֶיךָ יֹאבֵדוּ [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 lṭpn 'il d p'iᵈdⁿ ᵧr¹d l kš'i "thereupon the Compassionate, God of Mercy, went down from the throne" (1.5 VI,11); *'apnk dn'il ... gm l 'aṯth* "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 yṯn pnᵣm¹ ṯk 'ḫ 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").

'aḫr ['*aḫra/'aḫrē*] (< '*aḫra/'aḫray*) "afterwards, after":

'aḫr mġy 'al'iyn b'l "afterwards, Mighty Baal arrived" (1.4 III,23); *'aḫr mġy kṯr w ḫss št 'alp qdmh* "afterwords, 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⌉ḫr špšm "after the sunrise" (1.14 IV,32,46).

MULTIPLICATIVE ADVERBIALS

ṯnt [*ṯanīta*] (< *ṯaniyta*) "for the second time", "secondly"—(1.175,16; the context is not clear enough, cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1979:297).

maṯnâ (< *maṯnaya*?) "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

'aḥdh ['aḥ(ḥ)adah?] "together":

> *w k l yḫr'u w l yṭn šśw* [ms]ᵗsᵗ *št qlql w št 'rgz* [yd]k *'aḥdh* "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 *'aḥd* ['aḥ(ḥ)adu] "one" and the adverbial *-h* (cf. Akkadian *ištēniš* and Biblical Hebrew יַחְדָּו [Gen. 13:6], see Cohen and Sivan 1983:21-22).

INTERROGATIVE ADVERBIALS

'ik ['êka] (< 'ayka) and with the enclitic *mem* ['êka-ma] (1.16 I,20) "how", e.g.:

> *'ik tmgnn rbt 'aṯrt 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 mġy gpn w 'ugr* "why have Gupānu and Ugaru come?" (1.3 III,36).

Another variant is *'iky* ['êkya?] (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 ['iyyî?] (< 'ayyî?) "where":

> *'iy 'al'iyn b'l 'iy zbl b'l 'arṣ* "where is Mighty Baal? where is the Prince, Lord of Earth?" (1.6 IV,4,5,15,16; cf. Biblical Hebrew אַיֵּה "where" [2 Kgs 2:14] and El-Amarna *a-ia-mi* "where" [*EA* 131,43]).

This particle is also written *'i* ['î?] (< 'ay? cf. Biblical Hebrew אֵי "where" [Gen. 4:9]), thus *yš'u gh* [w yṣḥ] *'i 'ap b'[l] 'i hd* "he lifts up his voice [and cries out]: 'where then is Baa[l], where is Hadadu?'" (1.5 IV,5-7).

'an ['âna?] (< 'ayna) "where"—(Cf. Hebrew אָן [1 Sam. 10:14] and אָנָה

[Gen. 37:30] alongside אָ֫יֹו [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-mâ?/lam(m)a?*] "why, for what"—The following are two examples:

lm ṯb bn 'yn w lqḥ ṯqbm ksp bd 'amtk "why did Bn 'yn return and take shekels of silver from your maiden?" (2.70,16-19; *bn 'ank ksp w yrq ḥrṣ* "what (use have) I for silver and green(ish-yellow) gold?" (1.14 III,33).

For *lm* with the meaning "to, from" (cf. below).

mdʿ [*môdûʿ(a)/mêdûʿ(a)?*] (< *mawdûʿ[a]/maydûʿ[a]?*) or perhaps [*maddûʿa?*] "why"—(Cf. Biblical Hebrew מַדּ֫וּעַ [Gen. 26:27 and elsewhere]). This particle is known from only one passage in all Ugaritic literature, viz.:

mdʿ np⌜l⌝t "why did you (m.s.) fall down?" (1.107,10; cf. *TO* II, p. 98 and n. 301).

NEGATIVE PARTICLES

l [*lâ*] "not"—(Cf. the syllabic documentation ⌜*la*⌝-*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 tdʿ šmm rgm l tdʿ 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 yḥrʾu w l yṯn išw* "or if a horse does not defecate or urinate ..." (1.85,9).

On occasion this particle negates adjectives, e.g.:

ḥmš 'šr yn ṯb w tšʿm kdm kbd yn d l ṯb "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 tašîtî*] "don't put! (f.s.)" (2.30,24-25); *'al tdḥl(!)* ['*al tidḥalî*] "do not fear! (f.s.)" (2.30,21); *'al thbṯ* ['*al tahbuṯ*] "don't abase (m.s.)"

(the family)!" (2.47,16); *'al yšt* ['al *yašit*] "may he not place" (2.38,27); *'al ťrgm¹*['al *targum*] "don't tell!" (1.16 I,31); ''*a¹l tpl* ['al *tappulā*] "(the two of you) don't fall!" (1.2 I,15); *'al yšm'ťk¹* ['al *yišma'kā*] "may he not heed you (m.s.)" (1.6 VI,26); *'al tṣ¹'u¹* ['al *taṣi'ū*] "don't go forth (pl.)!" (1.164,19); *'al yb'rn* ['al *yib'amī*] "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]ʳ*l¹* ʳ*t¹dy* ['al *tad(d)iya*] "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 ttn pnm "then, she verily did direct her face" (1.3 VI,12-13; 1.4 VIII,1,10-11); *'al tg̣ʳl¹* "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 ʳ*ṭ¹l 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 'iṭ 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־יֵשׁ־רוּחַ 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); *ḫpṭ d' bl spr* "yeomen without number" (1.14 II,37); *b ḥyk 'abn nšmḫ bl mtk ngln* "by your life, our father, let us be happy, (by) your immortality let us rejoice" (1.16 I,14-15); *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).

bl also serves in rhetorical sentences in which it has positive significance. For example:

bl 'aŝt 'urbt b b⌐h¹[tm] "shall I not put a window in the house(s)?"
(1.4 V,61); *bl nmlk yd' yl⌐ḥ¹n* "shall we not enthrone Yd'-Ylḥn?" (1.6
I,48).

This particle has a variation with the suffix *-t* [*balû/bilû?*], thus in the
following sentence:

blt nmlk 'ṯtr 'rẓ "shall we not enthrone Athtar the Terrible?" (1.6
I,54).

QUANTITATIVE M'ID

The word *m'id* [*ma'da*] "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 ŝpŝ nr by m'id "the face of the Sun shines upon me very much"
(2.16,9-10); *m'id tmtḫṣn* "she smites fiercely" (1.3 II,23); *m'id r⌐m¹*
[*krt*] "[Keret] is very exalted" (1.15 III,13); *w yd 'ilm ... 'ẓ m'id*
"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* [*ma'(a)adûma*] "much" (*Ug* 5 137 II,36'; 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 [*halû/halâ?*] "behold", "is it not?"—(Cf. Brown 1987:202-207 [espe-
cially p. 203 n. 4]; Rainey 1988a:214-219 and most recently Sivan and
Schniedewind 1993:209-226). For example:

hl ġl⌐mt¹ t⌐l¹d b⌐n¹ "behold, the maiden is bearing a son" (1.24,7).
It also occurs with the enclitic *mem*:

hlm 'il yphnh "behold, El verily sees her" (1.4 IV,27; perhaps *hlm*
should be considered a subordinating particle, cf. *infra*, p. 189).

hn [*hinnî?*] "behold, here"—(Cf. Biblical Hebrew הִנֵּה [Gen. 34:21 and
elsewhere]). The following are examples:

hn ym w ṯn t'ikl 'išt b bhtm "behold, a day and a second the fire eats

into the house" (1.4 VI,24); *w hn 'aṭṭm tṣḥn* "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:

un 'in bt l b'l "and behold, there is no house for Baal" (1.4 IV,50).

hlk [*halāka?/halūka?*] "behold"—In the sentences:
hlk l 'alpm ḫdd "behold, *ḫdd*-troops by the thousands" (1.14 II,39;
cf. Loewenstamm 1980:62; *hlk* could also be interpreted as a ver-
bal form, i.e. [*halakū*] "they marched", cf. Ginsberg 1946:17); *hlk
qšt y'b'ln* "behold, he fetches an arc" (1.17 V,12).

hln [*halān?/halūn?*] "behold"—in the sentence:
w hln 'nt tmtḫṣ b 'mq "and behold, Anat fights in the valley" (1.3
II,5); *w hln 'nt l bth tmǵyn 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'l' "behold, Baal has fallen" (1.12 II,53; cf. Biblical
Hebrew כן with the same meaning in Neh. 2:16).

mk [?] "behold":
mk špšm 'b' šb' w tmǵy l 'udm "behold, at sunrise on the seventh
(day) you will arrive at Udumu" (1.14 III,3-4); *mk b šb' šnt'*
"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 ele-
ments (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).

<center>VOCATIVE PARTICLES</center>

l [*la?/lū?*] "O"—Examples:
šm' m' l krt "listen please, O Keret!" (1.16 VI,41); *mh t'aršn l btlt 'nt*
"what are you requesting, O Virgin Anat?" (1.6 II,13-14); *'šm' l*

'al'iyn b'l bn l rkb 'rpt "listen, O Mighty Baal, understand, O Rider of the Clouds!" (1.4 V,59-60); *šm' m' l bn 'ilm 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 'ad 'ad* "O father, father!" (1.23,43); *y ⌈k⌉r⌈t⌉* "O Keret!" (1.15 II,21); *y bn* "O (my) son!" (1.16 VI,55); *y nġr* "O guard!" (1.23,69).

With enclitic *mem* connected to the noun that follows the *y* (cf. Singer 1948:102-103):

'al t⌈šr⌉gn y btltm "do not deceive me, O Virgin!" (1.17 VI,34); *y b'⌈l⌉m* "O Baal!" (1.119,28); *y ymm* "O Yammu!" (1.2 I,36).

EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES (POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE)

'it [*'iθ*] (< *'itay*) "there is"—(Cf. Biblical Hebrew יֵשׁ and Aramaic אִית, אִיתַי, see Blau 1972:61). This particle serves in nominal clauses such as: *rgm 'it ly* "I have a word" (1.3 III,20-21); *w hm 'it zbl b'[l 'arṣ]* "and if the Prince, Lord of the Earth, exists" (1.6 III,3); *'it yn* "there is wine" (1.23,74).

'in [*'êna*] (< *'ayna*) "there is not"—This particle negates nominal clauses, e.g.:

w 'unt 'in bh "and no feudal obligation is attached to him" (3.5,20-21); *w 'in 'ṣr* "and there is no bird" (1.50,8); *'in bt l b'l* "Baal has no house" (1.3 V,38); *'in šmt 'in 'ẓm* "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 'akl b hwtk 'inn "because there is no food in your house" (2.39,19-20; the *-n* may be the 3rd m.s. suffix, i.e. [*'ênannû*] "it is not"; cf. *infra*, p. 217); *mdrġlm d 'inn 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 btlt ⸢n⸣[t] w p n'mt ⸢'a⸣ḫt ⸢b⸣[ʿl]* "and the Virgin Anat, and the fearest of Baal's sisters" (1.10 III,9-10).

'ap ['*appa?*] "also":

> *'ap mṯn rgmm 'argmk* "also something else I will tell you" (1.4, I,19-20); *'ap 'nt ttlk w tṣd kl ġr* "also Anat goes around and she hunts in every mountain" (1.5 VI,25-26).

'u [*'ô*] (< *'aw*) "or"—This is the adversative conjunction; it is usually written adjacent to the following word, e.g.:

> *bn 'il krt špḥ lṭpn w qdš 'u 'ilm tmtn špḥ lṭpn 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 likt 'ky nplṭ '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 די and Biblical Hebrew זוּ [Isa. 43,21; Ps 9:16] and זֶה [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⌐* "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 lṣb w yṣhq* "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); *lḥm hm štym* "eat (f.s.) or drink" (1.4 IV,35); *rġb rġbt ... hm ġm'u ġm'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⌐ḥd⌐ b* '*a⌐ḥk⌐* "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:

הֲיָם־אָנִי אִם־תַּנִּין כִּי־תָשִׂים עָלַי מִשְׁמָר "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 [*ki*] (< *kiy/kay?*) "since, because, if, when, which"—The meaning of this particle depends on its various contexts. The following are examples:

w lḥt '*alpm ḥrtm k rgmt ly* "and the tablets of the ploughing oxen which [*ki*] you said to me (about)" (2.45,22-23); *k tmḥṣ ltn bṭn brḥ* "since/when [*ki*] you smote Lôtānu, the evil serpent ..." (1.5 I,1); *w* '*id' k ḥy* '*al'iyn* ⌐*b'l*⌐ "so I will know that [*ki*] Mighty Baal lives!" (1.6 III,8); *w tnḥ b* '*irty npš k ḥy* '*al⌐'i⌐yn b'l k* '*iṯ zb⌐l⌐ b'l* '*arṣ* "and may my soul rest in my breast because [*ki*] Mighty Baal lives, because [*ki*] the Prince, the Lord of the Earth exists" (1.6 III,19-21); *w k* '*aḥd* '*akl ššw* "and if [*ki*] 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 t'ikt bt mlk "the message that [*ki*] the king's daughter sent (to me)" (2.36,14).

For additional uses of this particle, cf. below.

'**d** ['ad(ê)] "until":
'**d** *tšb' tmtḫş* "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** ['î?] "verily, surely" (cf. Arabic '*i*[*y*]), e.g.:
'*i 'itt 'aṭrt ṣrm w 'ilt ṣdynm* "(as) surely (as) Ashera of the Two Tyres exists, the Goddess of the Ṣidonians" (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 אָכֵן כְּאָדָם תְּמוּתוּן "you (pl.) will verily die like [mortal] men" [Ps 82:7]. This comparison proves that semantically Ugaritic '*i* parallels Biblical Hebrew אָכֵן "surely, truly, verily"; cf. *CDUL* [forthcoming]).

k [kî-?] (< *kiy/kay*?) "verily, certainly"—This particle precedes the verb and strengthens its force. This same use is attested in Biblical Hebrew, e.g.:

זַעֲקַת סְדֹם וַעֲמֹרָה כִּי-רָבָּה וְחַטָּאתָם כִּי כָבְדָה מְאֹד "the outcry of Sodom and Gomorah is verily great and their sin is certainly very heavy" (Gen. 18:20).

אַךְ-אֱלֹהִים יִפְדֶּה נַפְשִׁי מִיַּד-שְׁאוֹל כִּי יִקָּחֵנִי "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-tašttuhû*]" (1.6 I,14-15); *gm* [...] *b'l k yṣḥ* "loudly [...] Baal verily calls out [*kî-yaṣiḥu*]" (1.4 VII,52-53); *hlk b'l 'aṭrt k 'n* "the going of Baal Ashera verily sees [*kî-ta'ĩnu*]" (1.4 II,13-14); *hlk kṭr k y'n* "the going of Kothar he verily sees [*kî-ya'ĩnu*]" (1.17 V,10-11); *hlm 'il k yphnh* "As soon as (/when), El verily sees her [*kî-yiphan(n)ahû*]" (1.4 IV,27); in prosaic text: *lḥt 'akl ky l'ikt 'm špš b'lk* "tablets of food

have you verily sent [*kĩ-la'iktã*] to the Sun your lord" (2.39,17-19; in this instance the particle [*kĩ*] is written fully, cf. *supra*, p. 13).

Examples with stative verbs:

mn yrḫ k m[rṣ] mn k dw kᵣrᵀ[i] "(since) which month is he verily sick [*kĩ-maruṣa*], (since) which (month) is Keret verily ill [*kĩ-dawũ*]?" (1.16 II,19-20); in prosaic text: *mlbš ḫrmnm k yḫn* "clothing of the diners has been verily worn out [*kĩ-yaṯana*]" (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 yʿn ⌈*lꜥḫn* 'il l⌉ ⌈*dᵀ* ⌈*pꜥiᵀ*[d]* "verily answered [*kĩ yaʿni*] the Compassionate, God of Mercy" (1.16 IV,9).

l [*la-*?] (following Geʿez and Arabic) or [*lũ-*?] (following Akkadian) "truly, verily". A similar usage may be present in Biblical Hebrew, e.g.: אִם־תִּהְיֶה לְטוֹב לָעָם 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 ttn pnm "then she verily sets her face" (1.6 IV,7); ⌈ᵀi⌉[dk] [pnm] *l ytn tk ǵr ll* "then he verily turn sets his face) towards mount Ll" (1.2 I,19-20); *l yhpk ksᵀaᵀ 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 tꜥikl w l tšᵀ[t]* "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 npš bn 'ilm mt* "may you go down into the throat of the son of the gods, Môt" (1.5 I,6-7); *tsp'i šᵢrh 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 bʿl nᵀpᵀl l 'arṣ* "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 ṯr '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*
[krt] "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]"); *yʾirh l tʾikl ʿṣʾrmⁱ* "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 writen *l-*. Therefore, it is frequently
difficult to establish the correct function of a particular *l-* in various
clauses, e.g.:

l tdn dn ʾalmnt tpṭ tpṭ qṣr npš "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); *pʿnh l tmġyn hdm* "his feet do not (or: "verily")
reach the footstool" (1.6 I,59-60; the positive nuance seems prefer-
able 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 rhetori-
cal question or as a positive affirmation); *b ph rgm l yṣʾa* "from my
mouth a word had not gone forth (or: "verily went forth")" (1.2
IV,6; 1.19 II,26); *l tšʿn* "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 tṣʾi [lū/la taṣīʾ] "you (/it) must certainly go forth" (2.8,2).

The *ʾi* is not capable of being taken as the negative particle, since
the negative *l [lā]* would require an imperfect form, **tṣʾu [taṣīʾu]* but the
form is jussive here. The same holds true for this senteces:

⌈l⌉ *ʾaⁱšⁱṣʾi [lū/la ʾašôṣīʾ]* "let me verily bring (them)" (1.2 IV,2); *ʿrb*
špš l ym⌈ġ⌉ 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 **ymġy* or perhaps suffix form **mġy* or perhaps
it is a short form functioning as past tense, i.e. *[yamġí]* (< *yamġíy*).

m *[-ma* or *-māʾ]*—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:

ʾan mtm ʾamt "I will verily *[mātu-ma/mūtu-ma]* die" (1.17 VI,38); *bʿl*
hmdm yhmdm "Baal verily *[hamādu-ma]* desires" (1.12 I,38).

With finite verbal forms:

ʾib tʿrbm b bhth "enemies entered *(taʿrubū-ma)* his palace" (1.24,18-

19); *ḫrṣ yṣqm l rbbt* "gold he pours out [*yaṣiqu-ma*] in myriads" (1.4 I,28-29); *tgʿrm ʿṯtrt* "Athtart rebukes [*tigʿaru-ma*]" (1.2 IV,28); *t̕irkm yd ʾiˡ lˡ k ym* "El's 'hand' becomes long [*t̕raku-ma*] as the sea" (1.23,33); *tšpkm* "she spills [*tašpuku-ma*]" (1.17 VI,15).

With nouns:

ʾal t̕ šrˡgn y btlm "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 bˡ r lˡm* "O Baal [*yā-baʿlu-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 בְּמוֹ, לְמוֹ and כְּמוֹ). 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 l צְבָאוֹת "the God of Hosts" [Ps 59:6 intended for אֱלֹהֵי־ם צְבָאוֹת], סִים כָּסֶף "dross of silver" [Ezek. 22:18, instead of סִיגִים כָּסֶף], לְאַדִּירִים עָם "the mighty one of the people" [Judg. 5:13, for לְאַדִּירֵי־ם עָם], and finally מְחַץ מָתְנַים קָמָיו "smite the loins of his attackers" [Deut. 33:11, for מְחַץ מָתְנַי־ם קָמָיו]; a similar use is found in the Amarna letters: *šu-sú-mì abīya* [*šōsūmi ʾabīya*] "the plunderers of my father" [*EA* 252,30] and *ú-bi-li-mi ḫarrānāt 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 ḫtˡnˡm bʿl [*la/lū ḫatnu-ma baʿli*] "he is verily the son-in-law of Baal" (1.24,25-26); *ˡkˡrpnm yn* [*karpānū-ma yêni*] "goblets of wine" (1.4 III,43); *bnm ʾumy* [*binu-ma/binū-ma ʾummiya*] "son(s) of my mother" (1.6 VI,11,15); *ˡkrˡt bnm ʾil* [*Keret binu-ma ʾili*] "Keret is the son of El" (1.16, I,10); *tkmm ḥmt* [*takma-ma/tikma-ma ḥāmîti*] "the shoulder of the wall" (1.14 II,22; IV,4); *ʾilm ʾarṣ* [*ʾilū-ma ʾarṣi*] "the gods of the earth" (1.5 V,6; 1.6 I,18); *lbʾim thw* [*lab(ī)ʾī-ma tuhwi*] "lions of (/in) the wasteland" (1.133,3; cf. Pardee 1988:157); *ʾalpm ʾiˡbˡ* [*ʾal(a)pī-ma ʾibi*] "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 ṯhrm ʾiqnʾim [*bahatū ṭuhūrī-ma ʾiqnʾīma*] "houses of pure lapis

lazuli" (1.4 V,19; cf. Ginsberg 1936:32; less probable to interpret *ṯhrm* as an adjective preceding the noun and not construct at all, for discussion cf. *infra*, p. 207).

mʿ [*maʿ?*]—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 נא in Hebrew after imperatives. Note the following examples:

ph mʿ [*pahê maʿ*] "look (m.s.)!" (1.15 III,28); *ʿm^rs¹ mʿ* [*ʿammiśt maʿ*] "load (f.s.)!" (1.6 I,12); *šmʿ mʿ* [*šamaʿ maʿ*] "listen (m.s.)!" (1.4 VI,4; 1.6 VI,23); *ṣkn mʿ* [*ṣaškin maʿ*] "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 ks'i* [*le-kussŕi / le-kissŕi* "from the throne" (1.5 VI,12), *et al.* Prepositions take the entire range of personal pronominal suffixes. Thus for example: *bh* [*bi-hû*] "with him", *bhm* [*bi-hum(û)*] "with them", *ʿly* [*ʿalêya*] "on me", *ʿmh* [*ʿimmahû*] "to him, with him", *'aṯrh* [*'aṯrahû*] "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 tbq'nn "with a sword she cleaves him" (1.6 II,31-32); *'ag⌈r⌉tn b'at b ḏdk* "our lady employer has come to your (m.s.) dwelling" (1.19 IV,51); *'ard b 'arṣ* "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* [-*mā*?] (cf. Biblical Hebrew בְּמוֹ [< *bimā*] [Isa. 43:2]; cf. Robertson 1972:109-110), e.g.:

tbky p̄ǵt b⌈m⌉ lb tdm' bm ⌈kbd⌉ "Puǵatu weeps within (her) heart, she sheds tears within (her) liver" (1.19 I,34-35); *⌈b⌉m nšq w hr* "with kissing and (there is) pregnancy" (1.23,51); *bm ymn mḫṣ* "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 'aḫd b b⌈nk⌉ 'am.lkn* "give (f.s.) one of your sons (so that) I may enthrone him" (1.6 I,45-46); *⌈b⌉ ks 'ištynh* "from a cup I drink it" (1.4 III,16); *lḥm b lḥ⌈m⌉* "eat (f.s.) from the bread (/food)" (1.23,6; the same combination is attested in Biblical Hebrew, thus: וּבַל־אֶלְחַם בְּמַנְעַמֵּיהֶם "and let me not eat from their dainties" [Ps 141:4] and לְכוּ לַחֲמוּ בְלַחֲמִי "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 yṣ'a* "from his mouth the word had not gone forth (or: "verily went forth")" (1.19 II,26); *kll ylḥm bh* "he will eat everything from it" (1.115,10; cf. Rainey 1974:191, *contra* Gordon [1965:553] who interprets *kll* as "all"); *w pdy.h[m] 'iwrkl ⌈m⌉'it ksp b ⌈yd⌉ b'irtym* "and Ewirkallu ransomed them with one hundred (shekels) of silver from the hands of the Beirutians" (3.4,12-15); *w ⌈yqḥ⌉ ⌈b⌉hm ⌈a⌉qht* "and he took Aqhat from them" (1.19 III,39-40).

Similar usage is attested in Biblical Hebrew. Note the following examples:

וְהַנּוֹתָר בַּבָּשָׂר וּבַלָּחֶם "and the remainder from the flesh and from the bread" (Lev. 8:32); וְהַנּוֹתָר בַּשָּׁמֶן "and the remainder from the oil" (Lev. 14:18); וַאֲסָרוּךָ בָּהֶם וְלֹא תֵצֵא בְּתוֹכָם "and they will bind you with them so that you cannot go forth from among them" (Ezek. 3:25); עַל־כֵּן ׀ תֶּאֱבַל הָאָרֶץ וְאֻמְלַל כָּל־יוֹשֵׁב 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); לְכוּ לַחֲמוּ בְלַחֲמִי וּשְׁתוּ בְּיַיִן מָסָכְתִּי "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 לְמוֹ [Job 29:21], cf. Robertson 1972:109-110; this form must be distinguished from *lm* "why", "for what" discussed above). Example:

yb'r l ṯn ⌈ʾa⌉*ṯṯh 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:

yṯb l kḥṯ ⌈ʾa⌉*lʾiyn b'l* "he sat on the throne of Mighty Baal" (1.6 I,58); *yṯb l ksʾi 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 מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם "from now and forever" [Isa. 9:6; 59:21 *et al.*], Imperial Aramaic מן יומא דן ולעלם [cf. Yardeni 1995:28] and Babylonian Aramaic מיומא דן ולעלם [*Giṭṭin* 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 *ištu ūmi annîm*); *lṯpn ʾil d pʾiⁿdⁿ yrd l ksʾi* "the Compassionate, God of Mercy, went down from the throne" (1.5 VI,11-12); *w yrd krt* ⌈*lⁿ*⌉ *ggt* "and Keret came down from the roofs" (1.14 II,26-27); *l ymm l yrḥm l yrḥm l šnt* "from days to months, from months to years" (1.19 IV,13-14); *w mlk ynṣl l ṯy* "and the king will get gifts from Tʿy" (1.90,20-21).

Similar usage is known from Biblical Hebrew. Note the following examples:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן אֶל־אַנְשֵׁי הַצָּבָא הַבָּאִים לַמִּלְחָמָה "and Eleazar the priest, said unto the men of war who come from the war" (Num. 31:21; cf. verse 14: הַבָּאִים מִצְּבָא הַמִּלְחָמָה "who come from the army of the war"); וַיָּבֹא שְׁלֹמֹה לַבָּמָה 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 לַזָּהָב וְלַכָּסֶף ... הֶעֱלָה שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר "all the vessels of gold and of silver ... Sheshbazzar brought up" (Ezra 1:11); וְכָל־דָּם לֹא תֹאכְלוּ בְּכֹל מוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם לָעוֹף וְלַבְּהֵמָה "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 מֵרָחוֹק [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 *maqtal* 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 'um tšmḥ m'ab* (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 *m'ab* may be corrected to *m'ad*(!) (cf. Deitrich and Loretz 1980a:186 n. 35; Blau 1978a:296-297; Verreet 1988:87, *contra* Pardee 1976:270,287;1984: 220 who interprets *m'ab* as a personal name, i.e. Ma'ābu).

3. *m'aḫr* (1.166,7)—Some try to see here a combination of the preposition *m(n)* and the preposition *'aḫr* "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. [*mu'aḫḫiru*] "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":
ᵏ*k¹* ᵏ*k¹lb* [*ki/ka-kalbi*] "like a dog" (1.16 I,2); *k 'inr* [*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 כְּמוֹ [Isa. 26:17]). The following are some examples:
km 'ilm "like the gods" (1.4 V,1); *km d'iy* "like a bird" (1.18 IV,18); *km špš* "like the sun" (2.19,2); *km* ᵏ*k¹*[*l*]ᵏ*b¹ yqtqt* "(the moon god)

swishes (his tail) like a dog" (1.114,5). With enclitic *mem*(?): *kmm* [*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.

'aḥr ['*aḥra*/'*aḥrê*] (< '*aḥra*/'*aḥray*) "after, afterwards":
'*aḥr špšm* "after the sunrise" (1.14 IV,32,46); '*aḥr mǵy 'aľiyn bʿl* "afterwards, Mighty Baal arrived" (1.4 III,23); '*aḥr mǵy kṯr w ḥss št 'alp qdmh* "afterwords, 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.).

'aṯr ['*aṯra*?] "after" (cf. Aramaic באתר):
'*aṯr btlt ʿnt* "after the Virgin Anat" (1.4 IV,18); '*aṯr ṯn ṯn hlk 'aṯr ṯlṯ klhm* "after two by two, they marched, after three, all of them" (1.14 II,41-42; unless '*aṯr* is a verb here meaning "they marched"); '*aṯr bʿl 'ard b 'arṣ* "after Baal I will go down into the earth" (1.5 VI,24-25).

bd [*bâdi/bâdê*?] (< *bi-yadi/bi-yaday*) "In the hand(s), from the hand(s)"—(Cf. the syllabic attestation from the Amarna letters *ba-di-ú* [*bâdihī*] "from his hand" (*EA* 245,35; cf. Rainey 1965:4). Examples:
bnš mlk d bd prṯ "men of the king who are in the charge of Prṯ" (4.144,1-2); *w ytn 'ilm bdhⁱmˡ* "and he gave the gods into their hands" (2.4,21); *bd ḥss mṣbṭm* "in the hands of Ḥasis are tongs" (1.4 I,24); *w lqḥ ṯqlm ksp bd 'amtk* "and he took two shekels of silver from the hand(s) of your handmaid" (2.70,18-19); *bnš bnšm l yqḥnn bd bʿln* "no one will take it from the hand(s) of Baʿlānu" (3.5,16-18).

bn [*bêna*] (< *bayna*) "between":
bn ʿnm "between the eyes" (1.2 IV,22); *bn nšrm* "between the vultures" (1.18 IV,21); *hlm ktp zbl ym bn ydm [ṯp]ṭ nhr* "he smote the shoulder of the Prince of the Sea, between the arms, the Judge River" (1.2 IV,14-15); *bnny* [*bênanīyā/bênanǎyā*] "between the two of us" (2.33,34; *contra TO* II, p. 339; cf. *ibid.* n. 42 for other interpretations).

bʿd [*baʿdu/baʿda*?] "behind":
bʿdh bhtm "behind it, the houses" (1.100,70); *w ptḥ ⌈hⁱw prṣ bʿdhm*

"and he broke through an opening behind them" (1.23,70); *b'dn ksl ṭbr* "behind her you will break the back" (1.3 III,33).

yd [*yada?*] "with" (cf. Virolleaud 1965:105):
yrḫm yd ṯn bnh "Yrḫm with his two sons" (4.360,4); *yd npsh* "with his clothes" (4.107,1,2,3); *ṯmn mrkbt dt 'rb bt mlk yd 'apnth yd ḥẓhn* "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 ġr l kbd 'arṣ 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-pani?*] "before (temporal)", "in front of"—Cf. Biblical Hebrew לִפְנֵי and Phoenician לפם):
lpnk "before you" (1.16 VI,48); *ḥnny lpn mlk* "favor me before the king" (2.15,3); *'umy td' 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":
tštn y<n> 'd šb' trṯ ┌'d┐ ┌škr┐ "(the gods) drink wine until satiety, new wine until drunkenness" (1.114,3-4); *'d 'lm* "forever" (2.19,5,15); *yrtḥṣ w y'adm yrḥṣ ydh 'amth 'uṣb'th 'd ṯkm* "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 nšrm t┌r┐ḫ┌pn┐* "over the house of his father the vultures hover" (1.19 I,32); *'arb' 'ṣm 'l 'ar w ṯlṯ 'l 'ubr'y* "four trees (logs) on (the account of) Aru and three on (the account of) Ubar'āyu" (2.26,9-12).
It may be that *'l* means "in the presence of" in the following passage:
yṣb ġlm 'l 'abh y'rb "the lad Yaṣibu entered in the presence of his father" (1.16 VI,39-40).

'm ['*imma?*] "with, towards, to" (cf. Rainey 1965:2), e.g.:
'mny ['*immanïyā/'immanïyā*] "with the two of us" (2.11,10); *'mn* ['*immanï?*] "with me" (2.38,6); *'mn* ['*immanû/û*] "with us" (2.77,17);

'm 'adty mnm šlm "with my lady, what is the news?" (2.12,12-13);
'm 'lm ḥyt "may you (m.s.) live forever" (1.3 V,31); *lk 'm krt* "go
towards Keret!" (1.14 III,20); *w t'l ⸢'⸣m¹ 'il 'abh* "and she went up
towards El her father" (1.13,20); *ybnn hlk 'm mlk 'amr* "Yabnīnu
went to the king of Amurru" (2.72,25-26); *'my ttb rgm* "to me may
she send back word" (2.16,19-20); *'aššprk 'm b'l šnt 'm bn 'il tspr yrḥm*
"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 ⸢mlk⸣ "then they turned to Pbl the king" (1.14
   VI,36-38).

qdm [*qudāma?*] "before, in front of"—(Cf. Aramaic קֳדָם 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":
   ⸢yptḥ⸣ ḥln b bhtm 'u⸢rb⸣t b qrb ⸢h⸣klm "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 b⸢h⸣[tm] ḥln 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).

tḥt [*taḥtu/taḥta?*] or [*taḥtē*] (< *taḥtay?*) "under, beneath"—(Cf. the syl-
labic attestation in an Amarna letter, *ta-aḥ-ta-mu* "beneath them" [*EA*
252:26]):
   tḥth [*taḥtahā?*] "beneath her" (1.3 II,9); *tḥt ks'i zbl ym* "under the
   throne of the Prince of the Sea" (1.2 IV,7); *km ⸢k⸣[l]⸢b⸣ yqtqt tḥt ṯlḥnt*
   "like a dog he swishes (his tail) beneath the tables" (1.114,5-6).

tk [*tôku/tôka*] (< *tawku/tawka*) "within, inside, midst":
   ⸢y⸣qm w ywptn b tk ⸢pḥ⸣r 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.š'iy* "within the steppe land of Ilša'iya" (1.12 I,21); *š'u ⸢'db⸣ 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 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 close. 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 šrš 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 'iṯ 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).

⸢*'in*⸣ *b'l b bhth* ⸢*il*⸣ *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 r⸢q⸣m ḫrṣ nsb l lbnt "The silver turned into blocks, the gold was turned into bricks" (1.4 VI,34-35).

ḫrdn yhpk l mlk "Our *ḫrd* 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:

špthm mtqtm "Their lips are sweet" (1.23,50).

mt 'z b'l 'z "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:

npʰšm¹ npš lb²im 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 *ÌR LUGAL a-na-ku* [EA 289,51]).

kptr ks²u ṯbth "Kaphtor is the throne of his dwelling" (1.3 VI,14-15).

ḫkpt 'arṣ nḥlth "Ḫkpt is the land of his inheritance" (1.3 VI,15-16).

šbyn ṯpṭ nhr "Our captor is Judge River" (1.2 IV,30).

ᵣmʰ[t]ʰb¹ 'il mẓlᶠlᵃ bnh "The abode of El is the shelter of his son" (1.4 I,13).

mṯb rbt 'aṯrt ym mṯb klt knyt "The abode of Lady Ashera of the Sea is the abode of the perfect brides" (1.4 I,13-15).

spr 'ilmlk "The scribe is Ilmilku" (1.6 VI,54).

'udm ytnt '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 rᶠq¹m ḫrṣ 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.

ḫrdn yhpk l mlk "Our ḫrd 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 'ṯtrt tsʰmh¹ "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

COMMITATIVE CLAUSES

The predicate in these clauses is preceded by the preposition '*m* "with, together with", and as such expresses the notion of accompaniment (partnership and companionship), as may be seen in the following examples:

> '*mn n⸢k⸣l ḥṯny* "With Nikkalu is my wedding" (1.24,32).
> '*mk šb't ǵlmk* "With you your seven lads" (1.5 V,8-9).
> '*mk pd⸢r⸣y b⸢t⸣ 'ar* "With you is Pidrāya, the girl of light" (1.5 V,10).

LOCATIVE CLAUSES

> '*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).
> ⸢'⸣*n b'l b bhth* ⸢'i⸣*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 'in d 'lnh* "And there is none that is above him" (1.4 IV,44; in this sentence the nucleus "something/someone" is omitted).
> '*akl b ḥwtk 'inn* "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).
> *[rǵ]⸢b⸣n ykn b ḥwt* "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' [ʾa]ḥm lh ṯmnt bn 'um* "He who had seven brothers, eight sons from (one) mother" (1.14 I,8-9).
> *rgm 'iṯ ly* "I have a word" (1.3 III,20-21).
> *ṯ⸢ʾa⸣r 'u⸢m⸣ tkn lh* "He had flesh of kinship" (1.14 I,15).
> '*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).
> '*ank 'in bt [l]⸢y⸣ [km] ⸢'ilm⸣* "As for me, I have no house like the gods" (1.2 III,19; this sentence is a *casus pendens*, see below).

mnm 'iṯ l 'bdk "What does your servant have?" (2.70,29).

[ʿu]ʿn¹ṯ 'inn ʿh¹m "They do not have feudal obligation" (3.4,16; this sentence should be interpreted as *casus pendens*, see below).

mḏrġlm d 'inn msgm lhm "*m*.-s that have no weapons(?)" (4.53,1-2).

w l ṯ mrkbtm 'inn 'uṯpt "And the two chariots have no quiver" (4.145,6-7).

'iṯ 'alpm lhm "They have oxen" (4.422,1).

There are some instances in which the noun *bʿl* is used instead of the preposition *l-*, namely:

ḥby bʿl qrnm w ḏnb "Ḥby has horns and a tail" (1.114,19-20).

'admny bʿl 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 sʿp¹rhn 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 ḥt ṯkl bdh ḥt 'ulmn "In his hand(s) is the scepter(?) of childlessness, in his hand(s) is the scepter(?) of widowness" (1.23,8-9).

bhm qrnm km ṯrm "Upon them are horns like bulls (= they have horns like bulls)" (1.12 I,30-31).

bd ḫss mṣbṯm "In the hand(s) of Ḥasis 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 ṣtqšlm 'd 'lm "This document of the king is in the hand(s) of Ṣtqšlm forever" (2.19,13-15).

Existential Clauses

Existential and non-existential clauses include the adverbs of existence *'iṯ* "there is" and *'in* "there is not". Both words always precede their

subjects. The following are examples of existential and non-existential clauses:

> '*iṯ šmt* ... ⌜'*i*⌝*[ṯ]* '*ẓm* "There is fat ... there is bone" (1.19 III,4-5).
>
> '*iṯ zbl b'l* '*arṣ* "The Prince, the Lord of the Earth, exists" (1.6 III,3; IV,5).
>
> '*iṯ yn* "There is wine" (1.23,74).
>
> '*in šmt* '*in* '*ẓm* "There is no fat, there is no bone" (1.19 III,11).
>
> '*in b* '*ilm* '*nyh* "There is none among the gods who answers him" (1.16 V,19,22).

Occasionally the word *bl* is used instead of '*in* as predicate in non-existential clauses, such as:

> *bl* ⌜*ṭ*⌝*l bl rbb bl* ⌜*šr*⌝ *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:

> '*ḏrt 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* '*adr* "a strong rain" (2.38,14).
>
> *šnt mP̄it* "one year" (2.2,7).
>
> *ytmt dlt* "a poor orphan(m.f.)" (1.82,22).
>
> *b'lt šmm rmm* "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 kbkbm* "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⸢n⸣km l yqḥ "Nobody (lit.: Anybody of anybodies) will take ..." (3.2,12-13).

The attribute is a dependent pronoun in:
'aṭṭ ṣdqh "his legitimate wife" (1.14 I,12).

The attribute is a prepositional phrase in:
tn ksp ṯql d ʿmnk "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 ǵr ... kl gbʿ "every mountain ... every hill" (1.5 VI,26-27; 1.6 II,16).
kl dbrm "all things (= everything)" (2.32,8).
⸢k⸣l npš "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

qḥ ksp w yrq ḫrṣ "Take silver and green(ish-yellow) gold" (1.14 III,22).
The phrase *yrq ḫrṣ* seems to be correspond to a construction of an adjective followed by a noun (cf. Biblical Hebrew בִּירַקְרַק חָרוּץ [Ps.68:14]; cf. Blau 1972:76). If so, the Ugaritic construction is different from the Akkadian *ḫurāṣu 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).
⸢ʾ⸣išlḥ ẓhrm ⸢ʾ⸣iqnʾim "I will send pure lapis lazuli" (lit.: "I will send pure of lapis lazuli") (1.24,21-22).
w bn bht ksp w ḫrṣ bht ṭhrm ʾiqnʾim "And build a house of silver and gold, a house of pure lapis lazuli" (1.4 V,33-35).
In both sentences the word *ẓhrm/ṭhrm* is most probably an adjective, meaning "pure", which stands in the construct state and is followed by the genitive *ʾiqnʾim* "lapis lazuli" (cf. Blau 1972:77). The construct chain

is interrupted by the insertion of enclitic *mem* of *ǯhrm/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, *ʾibbu 'iqnʾi/'iqnʾi* is semantically identical with 'iqnʾu/'iqnʾu '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 וּבְכָל־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 ˹m˺ [krt] "Be very exalted, Keret" (1.15 III,13).

˹m˺ud ṣ'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 ᵈŠamši (UTU-ši) gab-bu dan-˹niš˺ 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:

> *ṣb'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^rd¹* "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:

> *qṣ mr'i* "ribs of fat beef" (1.3 I,8).

Construct State of Preposition + Noun:

> *tḥt 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^rl¹d* "O sons (whom) I have begotten" (1.23,65).
>
> *y aṭṭ 'itrḫ* "O two wives (whom) I have betrothed" (1.23,64).

The nouns *bn* and *'aṭṭ* 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⸢k⸣l pdy 'agdn* "From this day, Iwirkallu has redeemed Agdenu" (3.4,1-2).

Object-Subject-Verb-Object:
> *'iršt 'aršt l 'aḫy* "I asked a request for my brother" (lit.: "A request I asked for my brother") (5.9 I,7-8).

Subject-Object-Verb:
> *'šr ksdm yd lmdhm lqḥ* "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 ťrb 'ttrt šd bt mlk k ťrbn 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 ḫbtm//'ap ksphm l yblt* "I did (not) bring the *ḫ*'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:

tqḥ mlk ʿlmk "You will take your eternal kingdom" (1.2 IV,10).

ydn dn ʾalmnt "He judges the case of the widow" (1.17 V,7-8).

ᵓ*ʾiˡšlḥ ẓhrm* ᵓ*ʾiˡqnʾim* "I will send pure lapis lazuli" (1.24,21-22).

Verb-Subject-Object:

w tḥˡsˡ ʾaṭt ndrh "And remembers Ashera his vow(s)" (1.15 III,25).

Verb-Subject-Object-Adverb:

l ytn bt l bˡʿˡlˡ k ʾilm "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:

tštql ʾilt l hklh "The goddess enters her house" (lit.: "Enters the goddess her house") (1.3 II,18).

Subject-Adverb-Verb:

dnʾil bth ym.ǵyn "Daniel reaches his house" (lit.: "Daniel his house reaches") (1.19 IV,8).

šršˡkˡ b ʾarṣ ʾal ypʿ "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:

kṯr ṣmdm ynḥt "Kothar brings down two clubs" (lit.: "Kothar two clubs brings down") (1.2 IV,11).

ʾil ʾaṭtm k ypt.hm "El, he surely seduced the two women" (lit.: "El, the two women he surely seduced them") (1.23,39).

Object-Verb-Subjec:

ᵓ*mˡlʾakm ylʾak ym* "Yammu sends the messengers" (lit.: "The Messengers sends Yammu") (1.2 I,11).

šmʾalh tʾuḥd ʿṭrt "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).

hlk b'l 'aṯt k ʿn "The going of Baal Ashera verily sees" (1.4 II,13-14).

Adverb-Subject-Verb:

'l bt 'abh nšrm ťrʰḫ'pnˑ "Over her father's house vultures hover" (1.19 I,32).

Object-Adverb-Subject-Verb:

p'nh l hdm yṯpt "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:

yṣq ksp l 'alpm//ḫrs yṣqm l rbbt "He pours silver by thousands (of shekels)//gold he casts by myriads" (1.4 I,26-28).

šmm šʰmˑn tmṭrn//nḫlm tlk nbṯm "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 ġlmm y'nyn "The lads answered" (lit.: "Answered the lads, the lads answered") (1.3 IV,5).

The word *ġlmm* "lads" is the subject and functions as pivot between two verbs in one colon.

tlḥm rp'um tštyn ... tlḥmn rp'um tštyn "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] ph rgm l yṣ'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 yṣ'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.

npš l lḥm tptḥ brlth l ṯrm "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 *tpth* "she opens" serves as predicate of both cola.

⌜*a*⌝*p 'ilm l* <*t*>⌜*h*⌝*[m] ytb bn qdš l trm* "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 *ytb* "they were sitting" functions as the predicate of both cola.

Subject and Verb as "Pivot":

hlk 'aḫth b'l y'n tdrq ybnt 'abh "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 *b'l y'n* "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 זַמְּרוּ לַיהוָה בְּכִנּוֹר בְּכִנּוֹר וְקוֹל זִמְרָה "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 "straircase parallelism" or climactic parallelism structure. Note, for example, the following cases:

w yšu 'nh 'aliyn b'l w yšu 'nh w y'n w y'n btlt 'nt n'mt ⌜*b*⌝*n 'aḫt b'l* "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 tšu 'nh w t'n w t'n 'arḫ w tr⌝ *b lkt* "She lifts her eyes and sees, she sees a cow and proceeds in walking" (1.10 II,27-28).

tbrk ⌜*i*⌝*lm t'ity t*⌜*i*⌝*ty 'i*⌝*l*⌝*m* ⌜*l*⌝ *'ahlhm dr 'il* ⌜*mš*⌝*k*⌝*n*⌝*thm* "The gods blessed (him and) came, came the gods to their tents, El's entourage to their habitations" (1.15 III,17-19).

kt'at ⌜*t*⌝*q*⌜*tn*⌝*ṣn w tldn* ⌜*tld*⌝ *[i]lm n'mm 'agzrym 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).

yhbr špthm yš⌜*q*⌝ *hn špthm mtqtm mtqtm k lmn[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 ytbr 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 smd pḥl 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 *[kussi'a/kissi'a]* and sits" (1.100,7).

2. By means of prepositions:

'aḥdy d ymlk 'l 'ilm "I alone will rule over the gods" (1.4 VII,49-50).

w mlk yšt'al b hn "May the king inquire about them(f.)" (2.42,23).

3. By means of dependent pronouns:

⌜b⌝ *ks 'ištynh* "From the cup I will drink it" (1.4 III,16).

tn 'aḥd b b⌜nk⌝ '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 hwt "And honor (both of you) him!" (1.3 VI,20).

nmgn hwt "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", *L'K* "to send", *ŠLḤ* "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 ḫ⸢b⸣[šy] "I make you like an eagle in my sheath" (1.18 IV,17).

tštn k nšr b ḫbšh ⸢k⸣m ḏi b ḫrth "She makes him like an eagle in her sheath, like a bird in her scabbard" (1.18 IV,28).

'w⸢r⸣t yštk b'l "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:

ṯn dbḥm šn'a b'l ṯlṯ 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 ẓrh "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 ksp w yrq [ḫrṣ] (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 [ḫrṣ].

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 -הֲ is used to introduce such questions.
The fact that a question is at stake is decided on the basis of mere con-
textual arguments, as may be illustrated by the following double rhetor-
ical questions:

> *mlk ⸢ṯ⸣r 'abh y'arš ⸢h⸣m dʳrk⸣[t] ⸢k⸣ ⸢ʾab⸣ 'aʳdm⸣* "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 'aṯrt ... hm 'amt 'aṯrt tlbn lbnt* "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.:

> הֲנֵלֵךְ אֶל־רָמֹת גִּלְעָד לַמִּלְחָמָה אִם־נֶחְדָּל "Shall we go against Ramoth
> Gilead to battle, or shall we forbear?" (1 Kgs 22:15).
> הֲמָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ אִם־מָשׁוֹל תִּמְשֹׁל בָּנוּ "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 khnm rb nʳqdʳm "The disciple(?) is Atn-prln, chief

of the priests (and) chief of the herdsmen" (1.6 VI,55-56).
*[l lɟ*ḥm¹ *l šly ṣḥtkm* "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 'z b'l 'z "Môt is strong (and) Baal is strong" (1.6 VI,20).
kptr ks'u ṯbṯh ḥkpt 'arṣ nḥlth "Kaphtor is the throne of his
dwelling (and) Ḫkpt is the land of his inheritance" (1.3 VI 14-
16).
šm' l rbt 'aṯ⌐r¹[t] ⌐y¹m tn 'aḫd b b⌐nk¹ 'am.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).
⌐t¹n ⌐¹aḫd¹ b 'aḫ⌐k¹ ⌐¹isp'a¹ "Give one of your brothers, (so
that/and) I may devour (him)" (1.6 V,19-21).
k t'rb 'ṯtrt šd bt mlk k t'rbn 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 ret-
rospective pronoun within the sentence replaces the extrapositional ele-
ment. The following are examples of the various extrapositional place-
ments:

Subject as Extrapositional Element:
> ***'akl b ḥwtk 'inn*** "There is no food in your land" (lit.: "Food,
> it is not in your land") (2.39,19-20; *'akl* is extrapositional and
> *'inn* includes its anaphoric pronoun; yet the -*n* can be consid-
> ered as a suffix typical especially of administrative texts, cf.
> *supra*, p. 187).

Predicate as Extrapositional Element:
> ***'ank 'in bt [l]y [km] ⌐¹ilm¹*** "As for me, I have no house like the
> gods" (1.2 III,19).
> ***ṯtqt 'mh bq't*** "Ṯtqt, with her is Bq't" (1.24,48; cf. Hermann
> 1968:24).

Object as Extrapositional Element:
> ***ṣġrthn 'abk⌐rn¹*** "Their youngest, I will give her birthright"
> (1.15 III,16).

qlt ⸢b⸣ ks 'ištynh "Scorn, from a cup I drink it" (1.4 III,15-16).
ḥrb b bšr tštn "A knife, she puts it into the meat" (1.15 IV,25).
'il '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 *yqtlu*, and do not necessarily have the so-called subjunctive form *yqtla*. The verbal forms in the following examples of subordinated clauses are no doubt indicative *yqtlu*-forms:

'arbʿ ḥršm dt tbʿln b pḫn "Four craftsmen who are working [*tibʿalūna*] in Pḫn" (4.141 III,5-6).
w mnm šalm 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 *yqtlØ*).
qrht d tššlmn "Cities that render [*tašašlimūna/tašaššimūna*] (service or taxes)" (4.95,1; cf. Verreet 1988:146).
šbʿ dt tqḥn ššlmt "Seven (men) who take [*tiqqaḥūna*] Ššlmt" (4.395,4-5).
k ʿrb ʿttrt šd bt mlk k tʿrbn ršpm bt mlk "When Athtart of the Field enters the house of the king, when the r's enter [*taʿrubūna*] the house of the king" (1.91,10-11).
ʿd tttbn ksp 'iwrkl "Until they return [*tataṯibūna/tuṯaṯibūna*] Iwirkallu's money" (3.4,17-18).

Subject Clauses

w 'in d ʿlnh "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

'aḥdy d ymlk ʿl 'ilm "It is I alone who will rule over the gods" (1.4 VII,49-50).

In this sentence the topic *'aḫdy* 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 mṭt ḫry nʿmt špḫ bkrk ⌈*dˈ* *k nʿm ʿnt nʿmh* "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 tdʿ šmm rgm l tdʿ nšm w l tbn hmlt 'arṣ "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 bʿlh "The tribute of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, which he brings to the Sun, the great king, his master" (3.1,24-26).

ʿšrm yn ḫsp l ql d tbʿ mṣ⌈rˈ(?)m "Twenty (jars) of ḫsp-wine belonging to Ql, who left Egypt(?)" (4.213,27).

w šbʿ ʿšr šmn d l yṣ'a bt mlk "And 17 (jars) of oil which did not go to the house of the king" (4.341,20-21).

'ašlw b ṣp ʿnh d b ḫlmy 'il yt⌈nˈ b ḏrty '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 ⌈*'atˈ* *[d]⌈tˈn⌉'il mt rpʾi 'anḫ ġzr* ⌈*miˈ hmmy d 'in bn lh km 'aḫh 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]⌈tˈlˈk 'itdb d šbʿ ⌈*'aˈḫm lh ṯmnt 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 lḥt 'alpm ḥrṯm k rgmt ly "And tablets of ploughing oxen which you told me (about)" (2.45,22-23).

lḥt bt mlk 'amr ⌈*kyˈ tˈdˈbr 'umy lpn qrt* "Tablets of the king's daugh-

ter of Amr, that you, my mother, will discuss before the city (coun-
cil)" (2.72,17-19).
lḥt šlm k ʿikⁱtⁱ ʾumy "The letters of greetings that my mother sent"
(2.34,5-6).

ASYNDETIC 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 fol-
lowed by a nomen rectum. Clear examples of such a structure are
attested in the following sentences:
  y bn ʾašⁱlⁱd "O sons (whom) I have begotten" (1.23,65).
  ⁱyⁱ ʾatt ʾitrḫ "O two wives (whom) I have betrothed" (1.23,64).
  k ʾirby ⁱtⁱškn šd "Like the locusts (that) dwell on the steppe" (1.14
  II,50-51; one can also interpret *ʾirby* as singular collective; cf.
  Verreet 1988:136).
  The situation is less clear in a sentence like:
  ṭl šmm tskh [r]ⁱbⁱb 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, *šamî-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 fem-
inine (singular and plural), as in:
  yⁱdⁱ mḫṣt ʾaⁱqⁱ[h]ⁱtⁱ ġzr tmḫṣ ʾalpm ʾiⁱbⁱ "The hand (that) smote the
  hero Aqhat will smite thousands of foes" (1.19 IV,58-59).
  ʿrpt tmṭr b qẓ ṭl yṭll l ġnbm "Clouds (that) rain on the summer fruit,
  dew (that) distills upon the grapes" (1.19 I,40-42).
  ʾaṭⁱtⁱ [tq]ⁱhⁱ y ⁱkⁱrⁱtⁱ ʾatt tqⁱhⁱ ⁱbⁱ tⁱkⁱ [ġ]ⁱlmtⁱ tšʿrb ḥzrⁱkⁱ "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 td̲ šmm rgm l td̲ nšm w l tbn hmlt 'arṣ "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 ḥry bty 'iqḥ 'aš̀rb ǵlmt ḥẓry t̲nh kspm 'atn t̲lt̲h ḫrṣm "If Ḥurāya 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 t̲'uḫd hm mt y'l bnš bt bn bnš yqḥ 'z w yḥdy mrḥqm "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** ḫt 'l w t̲'ikt 'mk w hm l 'l w t̲'akm 'it̲'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 yrḥ b 'f 'l̲[yh] w pḥm n'mn yḫ̲'r'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 t̲lt̲ 'id ynpḥy yrḥ b yrḥ 'aḫrm [   ]lt mẓrn ylk "If the moon will be seen three times in the month Aḫrm, (then) ... Mẓrn will go" (1.163,5-6; contra Dietrich and Loretz 1990a:99).

hm ymt w 'ilḥmn 'ank "If he should die, I will go on fighting on my own" (2.82,18-21).

'**im** mlkytn yrgm "If Milkuyatanu says, (then) ..." (2.15,8).

k yg'r śśw št 'qrbn ydk w ymsś "If a horse roars, a št-measure of the scorpion-like plant should be pulverized and liquefied" (1.85,2-3).

w **k** l yḫr'u w l yt̲tn śśw [ms]'s' št qlql w št 'ġz [yd]k 'aḫdh "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 *tld* ⌜*'a*⌝*[ṯ]* *'ḏrt* *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).

knp nšrm b'l yṯbr b'l y⌜*ṯ*⌝*br d'iy hmt* **hm** *t'pn 'l qbr b*⌜*ny*⌝ "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

ttn w tn w l ttn w 'al ttn 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 kr' y⌜*d*⌝*h ... yḫlq bhm*⌜*t*⌝ ⌜*ib*⌝⌜*h*⌝ "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'a*⌝*l bh ḫwt 'ib tḫlq* "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'al ⌜*b*⌝*[h]* ⌜*mlkn*⌝ *yšdd ḫwt 'i*⌜*bh*⌝ *w yḫslnn* "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 *tmḫṣ ltn brh bṯn tkly bṯn 'qltn* "When you smote Lôtānu, the evil serpent, (and) you destroyed the crooked serpent ..." (1.5 I,1).

ky *l'ik bny lḥt 'akl 'my m'idy* "When (/After) my son sent me letters (/a reqisition) for food, my abundance ..." (2.46,9-11).

'aqht km yṯb l lḥ[m] bn dn'il l ṯrm "As Aqhat sat down to eat, the son

of Daniel to dine ..." (1.18 IV,29; the subordinating particle ends in enclitic mem).

ʿd tšbʿ tmtḫṣ b bt "She smites in the house until she is satisfied" (or: "Until she is sated, battling in the house") (1.3 II,29).

ʿd ⌐*ʾ*¬*ilm nʿmm ttlkn šd tṣdn pʾat mdbr* "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).

ʿd tšbʿ bk "... until she is sated with weeping ..." (1.6 I,9).

ʾid lʾikt ʿky nplṭ ʿbdmlk "After you sent (the message) to Akko, Abdimilku was saved" (2.82,3-5; cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 360).

ʾid yph mlk ršp "When the king saw Reseph ..." (1.90,1-2; 1.168,1; cf. *TO* II, p. 172 and n. 100).

hlm ʾil k yphnh yprq lṣb w yṣḥq "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 yqrb b šʾal krt "And he approached while asking Keret" (1.14 I, 37-38).

⌐*bk*¬*m tmdlm ʿr bkm tṣmd phl b*⌐*km*¬ *tšʾu ʾabh* "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 nšʾi ʿnh w yphn "Upon lifting his eyes, he sees" (1.17 V,9).

⌐*bm*¬ *bkyh w yšn* ⌐*b*¬ ⌐*d*¬*mʿh nhmmt* "As he weeps, he falls asleep, as he sheds tears, slumber" (1.14 I,31-32).

bkm ytb bʿl 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 tdʿ ʾi⌐*l*¬*m*¬ *k mtt* "And El may know that you are dead" (1.5 V,16-17).

w ʾidʿ k ḥy ʾalʾiyn ⌐*bʿl*¬ *k ʾiṯ zbl bʿl ʾarṣ* "So I know that Mighty Baal is alive, existent is the Prince, the Lord of the Earth" (1.6 III,8).

... *ʾaḥd hm ʾiṯ šmt hm ʾi[ṯ] ʿẓm* "... (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 ḫlmy 'il yt'n¹ b ḏrty '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 ⌈'⌉i¹n 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:

⌈'⌉aṯb¹n 'ank w 'anḫn w ⌈tn¹ḫ b 'irty npš *k yld bn ly km 'aḫy w šrš k⌈m¹ 'aṛy* "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).

tšmḫ ht 'aṯrt w bnh 'ilt w ṣbrt 'aryh k mt 'al'iyn b'l k ḫlq zbl b'l 'arṣ "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 coordinated asyndetically).

yml'u lbh b šmḫt ... k brkm tġll b dm ḏmr "Her heart is filled with joy ... for knees she plunges in the blood of soldiery" (1.3 II,25-28).

bṯ l rkb 'rpt k šbyn ⌈zb¹[l ym k] šbyn ṭp[ṭ] 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 yqtla mode as can be discerned from verbs with final aleph (whereas in Arabic *yqtlu* mode is used, cf. Wright 1933 II:19-20).

There are cases where waw consecutive is used the final clause, thus:

ptḥ bt w 'ub'a hkl w 'ištql "Open a house so that I may come, a palace so that I may enter" (1.100,72).

ṭbḫ 'imr w 'ilḥm mgt w 'itrm "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 ⌈'¹aḥd¹ b 'aḫ⌈k¹ ⌈'¹isp'a¹ "Give one of your brothers (so that) I may devour (him)" (1.6 V,19-20).

š'ink 'itn t' 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 lḥm tptḥ 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 mġy "I hurry (in order) to arrive" (2.34,10-11; cf. Pardee 1984:227 and *TO* II, p. 343).

Circumstantial Clauses

y⸢'r⸣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 sircumstantial clauses cf. Arabic in Wright 1933 II:20).

[mlk] ytb brr "The kink sat purified" (1.41,7; cf. *TO* II, p. 154, n. 45).

⸢'a⸣l⸢k⸣ ⸢b⸣r⸢ktm⸣ "I will go blessed" (1.19 IV,32; cf. Gordon 1965:78 and Ginsberg 1969:155).

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TEXT SELECTIONS

Text 1 (*KTU*² 2.11)

(1) *l 'umy . 'adtny*
(2) *rgm*
(3) *thm . tlmyn*
(4) *w . 'ahtmlk 'bdk*
(5) *l . p'n . 'adtny*
(6) *mrhqtm*
(7) *qlny . 'ilm*
(8) *tġrk*
(9) *tšlmk*
(10) *hnny . 'mny*
(11) *kll . m'id*
(12) *šlm*
(13) *w . 'ap . 'ank*
(14) *nht . ṭmny*
(15) *'m . 'adtny*
(16) *mnm . šlm*
(17) *rgm . ṭtb*
(18) *l . 'bdk*

NOTES

Line 1.   *'um* [*'ummu*] "mother"; *'adt* [*'adat(t)u*] "lady"; *-ny* [*-nîyā/-nîyā?*], 1ˢᵗ c.du. suffix pronoun.

Line 2.   *RGM* "to say, speak" (G).

Line 3.   *thm* [*tahummu?*] "word, announcement"; *tlmyn* [*Talmîyānu*] PN.

Line 4.   *'ahtmlk* [*'Aḫātu/i-malku*] PN (cf. the syllabic attestation *a-ḫa-tu₄-LUGAL* [*PRU* III, p. 53,11] and *a-ḫa-ti-LUGAL* [*PRU* III, p. 53,8]); *'bd* [*'abdu*] "slave, servant".

Line 5.   *p'n* [*pa'nu?*] "foot".

Line 6.   *mrhqtm* [*marhaqātam(a/i)/marhaqātum(a/i*] or [*marhaq(a)tam(a/i)/marhaq(a)tum(a/i)*] "from afar".

Line 7.   *QYL* "to fall, kneel, bow down" (G); *'il* [*'ilu*] "god".

Line 8. *NĠR* "to guard, keep" (G).

Line 9. *ŠLM* "to grant well being" (D?).

Line 10. *hnny* [*hanninīya?*] "here"; *'m* [*'imma?*] "with, to".

Line 11. *kll* [*kalīlu*] "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); *ṯmny* [*ṯammanīya*] "there".

Line 16. *mnm* [*mīnuma*] "what".

Line 17. *rgm* [*rigmu?*] "word, announcement"; *ṮWB* "to return" (G), "to return (transitive), send back" (Š).

Text 2 (*KTU²* 2.12)

(1) *l . mlkt*
(2) *'adty*
(3) *rgm*
(4) *ṯm . tlmyn*
(5) *'bdk*
(6) *l . p'n*
(7) *'adty*
(8) *šb'd*
(9) *w . šb''id*
(10) *mrḥqtm*
(11) *qlt*
(12) *'m . 'adty*
(13) *mnm . šlm*
(14) *rgm . ṯṯb*
(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''id* "seven times").

Text 3 (*KTU²* 2.30)

(1) *l mlkt . ⌈'u⌉[m]⌈y⌉*
(2) *⌈r⌉gm ṯm*
(3) *mlk . bn⌈k⌉*
(4) *l . p'n . ⌈'u⌉m⌈y⌉*

(5) ᵓqⁱⁿt . ⸢lⁱy ⸢ᵓuⁱ[m]y

(6) yšlm . ᵓil[m]

(7) iḡʳⁱk . tš[l]ⁱmⁱk

(8) ⸢hⁱbny . ʿmny [. š]lm

(9) w . ṯmⁱnⁱ . ⸢ʿmⁱ . [ᵓu]my

(10) mnm [.] ⸢šlⁱ[m]

(11) w . rgm . [ṯb.] ⁱlⁱy

(12) hlny . ʿmn

(13) mlk . b . ṯy ndr

(14) ᵓiṭ . w . ht

(15) ysny . ᵓuḏrh

(16) w . hm . ḫt .

(17) ʿl . w . lᵓikt

(18) ʿmk . w . hm

(19) l . ʿl . w . lᵓakm

(20) ᵓilᵓak . w . ᵓat

(21) ⸢ᵓuⁱmy . ᵓal . tdḫl(!)

(22) w . ᵓap . mhkm .

(23) b . lbk . ᵓal .

(24) tšt

NOTES

Line 3. *bn* [*bunu/binu/banu*] "son".

Line 5. *ly*—obscure component.

Line 12. *hlny* [*hallinīya?*] "here, hither".

Lines 13-15. These lines are obscure; perhaps *ṯy* [*ṯayyu*] (< *ṯaʿyu?*) means "offering(?)"; *ᵓiṭ* [?] "fire/food offerings"; *NDR* "to vow".

Line 16. *hm* [*him(ma)*] "if"; *ḫt* [*Ḫatti*] "Hittite".

Line 17. *ʿLY* "to go up, ascend" (G); *ʿl* [*ʿalā*] (< *ʿalaya*) "he has attacked" (G); *LᵓK* "to send" (G).

Line 19. *l* [*lā*] "no".

Line 20. *ᵓat* [*attī*] "you (f.)".

Line 21. *ᵓumy* [*ᵓummī*] "my mother" (the *yod* is a vowel marker); *ᵓal* [*ᵓal*] "don't"; *DḤL* "to fear" (G), cf. Aramaic דחל.

Line 22. *mhkm* [*mahkīma/i(?)*] "anything".

Line 23. *lb* [*libbu*] "heart".

Line 24. *ŠYT* "to put, place" (G).

Text 4 (*KTU*² 2.16)

(1)   *tḥm . tḥm[y]*ᵗ*n*¹
(2)   *l ṭryl . 'umy*
(3)   *rgm*
(4)   *yšlm . lk . 'ily*
(5)   *'ugrt . tǵrk .*
(6)   *tšlmk . 'umy*
(7)   *id° . ky . °rbt*
(8)   *l pn . špš*
(9)   *w pn . špš . nr*
(10) *by . m'id . w 'um*
(11) *tšmḫ . m'ad(/b)*
(12) *w 'al . tdḫln*
(13) *°tn . ḥrd . 'ank*
(14) *°mny . šlm*
(15) *kll*
(16) *w mnm .*
(17) *šlm . °m*
(18) *'umy*
(19) *°my . ttṯb*
(20) *rgm*

NOTES

Line 2.   *ṭryl* [*ṭaryillu*] 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* [*'ilī 'Ugarīti*] "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* [*'ummī*] "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.   *lpn* [*le-panī?*] "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. *ŠMḪ* "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. *DḪL* "to fear" (G).

Line 13. *'tn* [*'attan?*] (< *'antan*) "now"; *ḫrd* [*ḫāridu/ḫarrādu?*] "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) *'iwrᵏk¹l . pdy*
(3) *'agdn . bn . nwgn*
(4) *w ynḫm . 'aḫh*
(5) *w . b'ln 'aḫh*
(6) *w . ḫttn bnh*
(7) *w . btšy . bth*
(8) *w . 'ištrmy*
(9) *bt . 'bdmlk 'aṯ t¹[h]*
(10) *w . snt*
(11) *bt . 'ugrt*
(12) *w . pdy . h[m]*
(13) *'iwrkl . ᵏm¹'it*
(14) *ksp . b yd*
(15) *b'irtym*
(16) *[w . 'u]ᵏn¹t 'inn*
(17) *ᵏh¹m 'd tttbn*
(18) *ksp . 'iwrkl*
(19) *wtb . l 'unthm*

NOTES

Line 1. *l ym hnd* [*le-yômi hānādū*] "from this day".

Line 2. *'iwrkl* ['*Iwrikallu*] PN; *PDY* "to ransom, redeem" (G).

Line 3. *'agdn* ['*Agdenu*] PN; *nwgn* [?] PN.

Line 4. *ynḫm* [*Yanḫamu*] PN from *NḪM* "to console" (G); *'aḫ* ['*aḫu*] "brother".

Line 5. *bʿln* [*baʿlānu*] PN.
Line 6. *ḥṭn* [?] PN.
Line 7. *btšy* [?] PN (f.); *bt* [*bittu*] "daughter".
Line 8. *ʾištmy* [*ʾIštarummīya*] PN (f.) "the goddess Ištar is my mother(?)".
Line 9. *ʿdbmlk* [*ʿAbdimalku*] PN; *ʾaṭṭ* [*ʾaṭṭatu*] "woman, wife".
Line 10. *snt* [?] PN.
Line 11. *ʾugrt* [*ʾUgarītu*] "Ugarit".
Line 13. *mʾit* [*miʾtu*] "hundred".
Line 14. *ksp* [*kaspu*] "silver"; *byd* [*biyadi*] "from the hand of".
Line 15. *bʾirtym* [*Biʾrōtiyūma*] "Beirutians".
Line 16. *ʾunt* [*ʾunuttu*] "feudal obligation"; *ʾin* [*ʾêna*] "there is not" (here with energic *nun*, or perhaps the *nun* is an anaphoric pronoun).
Line 17. *lhm* [*lehum(ū)*] "to them, for them"; *ʿd* [*ʿad(ê)*] "until".

Text 6 (*KTU²* 1.4 I,12-28)

(12) ⌜*m*⌝[*ṯ*]⌜*b*⌝ . *ʾil* . *mẓl*⌜*l*⌝
(13) *bnh* . *mṯb* . *rbt*
(14) *ʾaṯrt* . *ym* . *mṯb*
(15) *klt* . *knyt*
(16) *mṯb* . *pdry* . *b<t>* *ʾar*
(17) *mẓll* . *ṭly* . *bt rb*
(18) *mṯb* . *ʾarṣy* . *bt* . *yʿbdr*
(19) *ʾap* . *mṯn* . *rgmm*
(20) *ʾargmk* . *ššḳn mʿ*
(21) *mgn* . *rbt* . *ʾaṯrt ym*
(22) *mġz* . *qnyt* . *ʾilm*
(23) *hyn* . *ʿly* . *l mpḥm*
(24) *bd* . *ḥss* . *mṣbṭm*
(25) *yṣq* . *ksp* . *yšl*
(26) *h* . *ḫrṣ* . *yṣq* . *ksp*
(27) *l ʾalpm* . *ḫrṣ* . *yṣq*
(28) *m* . *l rbbt*

NOTES

Line 12. *mṯb* [*môṯabu*] "abode"; *mẓll* [*maẓlalu?*] "shelter".
Line 13. *rbt* [*rabbatu*] "lady".

Line 14. *'aṯrt ym* [*'Aṯir(a)tu yammi*] DN "Ashera of the Sea", perhaps "she who treads on the sea".

Line 15. *klt 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 'āri*] "daughter of the light".

Line 17. *ṭly* [*Ṭallāya*] DN, one of the daughters of Baal built on *ṭl* [*ṭallu*] "dew"; *bt rb* [*bittu rabbi*] "daughter of the light rain" (a daughter that aided Baal in furnishing rain).

Line 18. *'arṣy* [*'Arṣāya*] DN, one of the daughters of Baal, from *'arṣ* [*'arṣu*] "earth"; *bt y'bdr* [*bittu* (?)] "daughter of (?)", *y'bdr* is apparently a proper noun.

Line 19. *mṯn* [*maṯnû*] "response, a repeated saying", cf. the syllabic attestation *ma-aš-nu-ú* [*maṯnû*] (*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. *mǵẓ* [*maǵẓû?*] "honor"; the form could also be the D participle from *ǴẒY* "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 'ilima*] "Creatress of the gods" is an epithet of Ashera.

Line 23. *hyn* [?], an epithet of the craftsman god, *kṯr w ḫss*; *mpḫm* [*mappūḫā-ma/i*] "bellows".

Line 24. *bd* [*bâdi/bâdê*] "in the hand(s) of"; *ḫss* [*ḫasīsu/ḫāsisu*] "wise, intelligent", name of the craftsman god; the full name is usually *kṯr w ḫss* [*Kôṯaru wa-Ḥasīsu/Ḥāsisu*]; *mṣbṭm* [*maṣbaṭāma/i*] "tongs".

Line 25. *YṢQ* "to pour" (G); *ŠLḤ* "to send" (G), here the meaning seems to be "to melt" (perhaps a metathesis of *ḤŠL*).

Line 26. *ḫrṣ* [*ḫurāṣu*] "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 (*KTU*² 1.4 III,13-35)

(13) ⌜y⌝qm . w ywpṯn . b ṯk

(14) ⌜pḫ⌝r . bn . 'ilm . štt

(15) p[g*l*]⌈*t*⌉ . b *ṯlḥny* . *qlt*

(16) ⌈*b*⌉ *ks* . *'ištynh*

(17) ⌈*b*⌉*m* . *ṯn* . *dbḥm* . *šn'a* . *b'l* . *ṯlṯ*

(18) *rkb* . *'rpt* . *dbḥ*

(19) *bṯt* . w *dbḥ* >. w *dbḥ*<

(20) ⌈*d*⌉*nt* . w *dbḥ* . *tdmm*

(21) *'amht* . k *bh* . *bṯt* . l *tbṯ*

(22) w *bh* . *tdmmt* . *'amht*

(23) *'aḥr* . *mǵy* . *'al'iyn* . *b'l*

(24) *mǵyt* . *btlt* . *'nt*

(25) *tmgnn* . *rbt* [.] ⌈'a⌉*ṯrt* *ym*

(26) *tǵzyn* . *qnyt* *'ilm*

(27) w *'n* . *rbt* . *'aṯrt* *ym*

(28) *'ik* . *tmgnn* . *rbt*

(29) *'aṯrt* . *ym* . *tǵzyn*

(30) *qnyt* . *'ilm* . *mgntm*

(31) *ṯr* . *'il* . d *p'id* . *hm* . *ǵztm*

(32) *bny* . *bnwt* w *'n*

(33) ⌈*b*⌉*tlt* . *'nt* . *nmgn*

(34) ⌈*k*⌉*m* . *rbt* . *'aṯrt* . *ym*

(35) [*n*]⌈*ǵz*⌉ . *qnyt* . *'ilm*

NOTES

Line 13. *QWM* "to rise, to stand" (G); *WPṮ* "to spit" (D); *b tk* [*bi-tôki*] "in the midst of".

Line 14. *pḥr* [*puḥru*] "assembly, council"; *ŠTY* "to drink" (G).

Line 15. *ṯlḥn* [*ṯulḥānu/ṯalḥānu*] "table"; *qlt* [*qalâtu?*] "shame(?)".

Line 16. *ks* [*kāsu*] "cup".

Line 17. *bm* [*bimā*] "in the very . . .", "behold(?)" (*KTU²* reads ⌈*d*⌉*m*); *ṯn* [*ṯinā*] "second, two"; *dbḥ* [*dabḥu*] "sacrifice"; *ŠN'* "to hate" (G); *b'l* [*ba'lu*] "Baal"; *ṯlṯ* [*ṯalāṯu*] "three".

Line 18. *rkb* '*rpt* [*rākibu* '*urpāti*] "Rider of the Clouds", an epithet of Baal, cf. Biblical Hebrew רֹכֵב בָּעֲרָבֹות (Ps. 68:5).

Line 19. *bṯt* [*buṯ(a)tu/bāṯ(a)tu*] "shame, shamefulness".

Line 20. *dnt* [*dinūtu?*] "fornication, shame(?)"; *tdmm* [*tadmimu/tadmamu/tadmumu*] "intrigue(?)".

Line 21. *'amt* ['*am(a)tu*] "handmaiden", pl. *'amht* ['*amahātu*]; *l* [*lū/la*] "verily, surely"; *NBṮ* "to behold" (G), perhaps passive, "to be seen" (Gp).

Line 23. *'aḫr* [*'aḫra/'aḫrê*] "afterwards"; *MĠY* "to arrive" (G or D); *'al'iyn b'l* [*'al'iyānu Ba'lu*] "Mighty Baal".

Line 24. *btlt* [*batūl(a)tu*] "virgin", epithet of Anat; *'nt* [*'Anatu*] DN.

Line 26. *ĠZY* "to honor, to entreat" (G or D).

Line 27. *'NY* "to answer" (G).

Line 28. *'ik* [*'êka*] "how" or "how is it?"

Line 31. *ṯr* [*ṯôru*] "bull, ox, steer", epithet of El; *d* [*dū*] "of"; *p'id* [*pa'īdu?*] "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 (*KTU*² 1.4 IV,5-62)

(5) *ṣmd . pḥl . ˹š˺[t . gpnm . dt]*

(6) *ksp . dt . yr˹q˺ [. nqbnm]*

(7) *'db . gpn . 'atn˹t˺[y]*

(8) *yšm' . qd<š> . w 'amr[r]*

(9) *mdl . 'r . ṣmd . pḥl*

(10) *št . gpnm . dt . ksp*

(11) *dt . yrq . nqbnm*

(12) *'db . gpn . 'atnth*

(13) *yḥbq . qdš . w 'amrr*

(14) *yštn . 'aṯrt . l bmt . 'r*

(15) *l ysmsmt . bmt . pḥl*

(16) *qdš . y'uḫdm . šb'r*

(17) *'amrr . k kbkb . l pnm*

(18) *'aṯr . btlt . 'nt*

(19) *w b'l . tb' . mrym . ṣpn*

(20) *'idk . l ttn . pnm*

(21) *'m . 'il . mbk . nhrm*

(22) *qrb . 'apq . thmtm*

(23) *tgly . ḏd . 'il . w tb'u*

(24) *qrš . mlk . 'ab . šnm*

(25) *l p'n . 'il . thbr . w tql*

(26) *tšthwy . w tkbdh*

(27) *hlm . 'il . k yphnh*

(28) *yprq . lṣb . w yṣḥq*

(29) *p'nh . l hdm . yṯpd . ˹w˺ ˹y˺lkrkr*

(30) 'uṣbʿth . yšʿu . gh . w y⌈ṣ⌉[ḥ]

(31) 'ik . mġyt . rbt . 'aⱦ⌈r⌉[t . y]m

(32) 'ik . 'atwt . qnyt . 'i[lm]

(33) rġb . rġbt . w ⌈tġt⌉[r]

(34) hm . ġmʾu . ġmʾit . w ⌈ʿš⌉[t]

(35) lḥm . hm . štym . ⌈ḥ⌉[m]

(36) b ṭlḥnt . lḥm št

(37) b krpnm . yn . b k<s> . ḫ⌈rṣ⌉

(38) dm . ʿṣm . hm . yd . 'il ⌈mlk⌉

(39) yḫssk . 'ahbt . tr . tⱦ⌈rr⌉k

(40) w tʿn . rbt . 'aṯrt ym

(41) thmk .ʾil . ḥkm . ḥkmt

(42) ʿm ʿlm . ḥyt . ḥẓt

(43) thmk . mlkn . 'alʾiy[n .]⌈bʾl⌉l

(44) ṭpṭn . w ʾin . d ʿlnh

(45) klnyn . ⌈q⌉[š]⌈h⌉ . ⌈nb⌉[ln]

(46) klny⌈n⌉ [.] ⌈nb⌉l . ksh

(47) [ʾan]y [.] ⌈l⌉ ⌈yṣḥ⌉ . ⌈ṯ⌉r ʾil . 'abh

(48) [ʾi]⌈l⌉ . mlk . d yknnh . yṣḥ

(49) ⌈ʾaⱦ⌉rt . w bnh .ʾilt . w ṣbrt

(50) ⌈ʾa⌉ryh . wn . ʾin . bt . l bʿ⌈l⌉

(51) ⌈k⌉m . ʾilm . w ḥẓr . k bn . 'aṯrt

(52) mṯb 'il . mẓll . bnh

(53) ⌈mṯb⌉ [.] rbt . 'aṯrt . ym

(54) m⌈ṯb⌉ . klt [.] knyt

(55) mṯb . pdry . bt . 'ar

(56) mẓll . ṭly . bt rb

(57) mṯb . 'arṣ<y> . bt yʿbdr

(58) w yʿn lṭpn 'il d pʾi⌈d⌉

(59) ⌈p⌉ ʿbd . 'an . ʿnn . 'aṯrt

(60) ⌈p⌉ ʿbd . 'ank . 'a⌈ḥ⌉d . ʾu⌈l⌉ṯ

(61) hm . 'amt . 'aⱦ⌈r⌉t . tlb⌈n⌉

(62) lbnt . ybn . bt . l bʿl

NOTES

Line 5. ṢMD "to harness (G?); pḥl [paḥlu/puḥālu] "young ass"; gpnm [gap(a)nūma? or gap(a)nāma/i?] "harness(?)"; dt [dūtu] "of, belonging to".

Line 6. yrq [yarqu/yaruq(q)u?] "yellow (gold)"; nqbnm [naqbānūma or

naqbā-nām/i(?)] "reins, straps(?)", others interpret "mines".

Line 7. *'DB* "to prepare" (G); *'atnt* [*'atānatu/'atānātu*] "she ass(es)".

Line 8. *ŠMʿ* "to hear (G); *qdš w 'amrr* [*Qudšu wa-'Amraru?*] 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* [*'êru*] "(young) ass".

Line 10. *ḤBQ* "to hug, embrace" (D).

Line 14. *bmt* [*bam(a)tu*] "back, rib cage".

Line 15. *ysmsmt* [*yasamsamtu*(?)] "beauty" (feminine adjective).

Line 16. *'ḤD* "to grasp, to take" (G); *BʿR* "to lead, to enlighten" (Š), perhaps *šbʿr* is a noun meaning "torch".

Line 17. *kbkb* [*kabkabu*] "star"; *l pnm* [*le-panīma*] "forward, in front".

Line 18. *'aṯr* [*'aṯra*] "from behind".

Line 19. *TBʿ* "to leave, depart" (G); *mrym* [*maryāmu*] "height(s)"; *ṣpn* [*ṣapānu*] "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?); *ḍd* [*ḍadu*] "abode(?)", "tent(?)", "mountain(?)"; *BWʾ* (or: *BÂʾ*?) "to come".

Line 24. *qrš* [*qaršu*(?)] "abode(?)"; *mlk* [*malku*] "king"; *'ab* [*'abu*] "father"; *šnm* [*šanīma*] "years" (singular: *šnt* [*šanatu*]); others take *šnm* as a proper noun.

Line 25. *HBR* "to bow down" (G).

Line 26. *ḤWY* "to do obeisance" (Št); some see this as *ŠḤY* (Gt) (cf. *supra*, p. 171); *KBD* "to honor" (D).

Line 27. *hlm* [*halumma?*] "when"; *k* [*kī*] "thus, verily"; *PHY* "to see" (G).

Line 28. *PRQ* "to open(?)" (G or D); *lṣb* [*lisbu*] "opening between the lips(?)"; *ṢḤQ* "to laugh" (G).

Line 29. *hmd* [*hidāmu*] "footstool"; *ṬPD* "to put, place" (G) (cf. Biblical Hebrew root רפד); *KRKR* "to entwine (the fingers)" or "to twiddle (the fingers)".

Line 30. *'ṣbʿt* [*'uṣbuʿātu*(?)] "fingers"; *NŠʾ* "to raise, lift up" (G); *g* [*gû*]

"voice"; *ṢWḤ/ṢYḤ* "to call, to shout" (G).

Line 31. *MĠY* "to reach, arrive" (G or D).

Line 32. *'TW* "to come" (G).

Line 33. *RĠB* "to hunger, be hungry" (G).

Line 34. *ĠMʾ* "to thirst, be thirsty" (G).

Line 35. *LḤM* "to eat" (G).

Line 37. *krpn* [*karpānu*] "bowl".

Line 38. *dm ʿṣm* [*damu ʿiṣṣīma*] "the blood of trees" (parallel to *yn* [*yênu*] "wine"); cf. Biblical Hebrew דַּם־עֲנָבִים (Gen. 49:11) also parallel to יַיִן "wine"; *yd* [*yaddu*] "affection, love" (from the root *YDD*).

Line 39. *ḤSS* "to excite, to incite" (D or L); *'ahbt* [*'ahabtu/'ahbatu*] "love"; *ʿWR* "to arouse" (L).

Line 41. *ḤKM* "to be wise" (G); or adjective *ḥkm* "wise"; *ʿm* [*ʿimma*] "to, towards".

Line 42. *ʿlm* [*ʿālamu*] "world, eternity"; *ḤYY* "to live" (G), "to give life" (D); *ḥẓt* [*ḥiẓẓatu*(?)] "good fortune".

Line 44. *ṭpṭ* [*ṭāpiṭu*] "judge, ruler"; *ʿlnh* [*ʿalên(n)ahû/ʿalan(n)ahû*] "on him".

Lines 45-46. Obscure lines

Line 47. *'any* [?] "moan(?)" or perhaps "loudly".

Line 48. *KWN* "to be" (G), "to establish" (L).

Line 49. *'ilt* [*'il(a)tu*] "goddess"; *ṣbrt* [*ṣibbūr(a)tu*] "group, band".

Line 50. *'ary* [?] "associate, relative, kinsman"; *wn* [?] "and behold(?)", cf. *w hn* [*wa-hinnī*]; *bt* [*bêtu*] "house".

Line 51. *ḥẓr* [*haẓiru*] "court(yard)".

Line 58. *lṭpn* [*laṭipānu*(?)] "compassionate, gracious",epithet of El.

Line 59. *ʿbd* [*ʿabdu*] "slave, servant"; *'an* [*'anû*] "I"; *ʿnn* [*ʿônānu*] "servent", or "follower(?)".

Line 60. *'aḫd 'ulṭ* obscure; *'aḫd* is probably from the verb *'ḪD* "to grasp, hold" (G) and *'ulṭ* [?] may be "an implement for building".

Line 61. *'amt* [*'am(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 . 'ilm . w ḥẓr . k bn . 'aṯrt*

(2)   *w ʿn . rbt . 'aṯrt ym*

(3)   *rbt . 'ilm . l ḥkmt*

(4) *šbt . dqnk . l tsrk*

(5) *rḫn>n<t(?) . dᵈ tˡ . l 'irtk*

(6) *wn 'ap . ʿdn . mṭrh*

(7) *bʿl . yʿdn . ʿdn . tkt . b glt̠*

(8) *w tn . qlh . b ʿrpt*

(9) *šrh . l 'arṣ . brqm*

(10) *bt . 'arzm . ykllnh*

(11) *hm . bt . lbnˡtˡ . ˡyˡʿmsnh*

(12) *l yrgm . l 'aPiˡynˡ bʿl*

(13) *ṣh . ḫrn . b bht(!)k*

(14) *ʿḏbt . b qrb . hklk*

(15) *tblk . ǵrm . m'id . ksp .*

(16) *gbʿm . mḥmd . ḫrṣ*

(17) *yblk . 'udr . 'ilqṣm*

(18) *w bn . bht . ksp . w ḫrṣ*

(19) *bht . ṭhrm . 'iqn'im*

(20) *šmḫ . btlt . ʿnt . tdᵈṣ*

(21) *pʿnm . w tr . 'arṣ*

(22) *'idk . l ttn . pnm*

(23) *ʿm . bʿl . mrym . ṣpn*

(24) *b 'alp . šd . rbt . kmn*

(25) *ṣhq . btlt . ʿnt . tiˀu*

(26) *gh . w tṣh . tbšr bʿl*

(27) *bšrtk . yblt . yˡtnˡ*

(28) *bt . lk . km . 'aḫk . w ḥẓr*

(29) *km . 'aryk . ṣh . ḫrn*

(30) *b bhtk . ʿḏbt . b qrb*

(31) *hklk . tblk . ǵrm*

(32) *m'id . ksp . gbʿm . mḥmd*

(33) *ḫrṣ . w bn . bht . ksp*

(34) *w ḫrṣ . bht . ṭhrm*

(35) *'iqn'im . šmḫ . 'aPiyn*

(36) *bʿl . ṣh . ḫrn . b bhth*

(37) *ʿḏbt . b qrb hklh*

(38) *yblnn . ǵrm . m'id . ksp*

(39) *gbʿm . lḥmd . ḫrṣ*

(40) *yblnn . 'udr . 'ilqṣm*

(41) *y<l>'ak . l ktr . w ḫss*

(42) *w tb l mspr .. k tPakn*

(43) *ǵlmm*

(44) *'aḫr . mġy kṯr . w ḫss*
(45) *št . 'alp . qdmh . mr'a*
(46) *w tk . pnh . ʿdb . ks'u*
(47) *w yṯṯb . l ymn . 'al'iyn*
(48) *b'l . 'd . lḥm . šˈtyˈ [. 'ilm]*
(49) *[w]ˈyˈʿn . ˈˈal'ˈ['iyn . b'l]*
(50) *[ḥl t]ˈb'ˈ. ˈk'ˈ[ṯr w ḫss]*
(51) *ˈḫšˈ . bḫtm . [t]ˈb'ˈ[nn]*
(52) *ḫš . rmm . hk[lm]*
(53) *ḫš . bḫtm . tbˈn'ˈ[n]*
(54) *ḫš . trmmn . hˈk'ˈ[lm]*
(55) *b tk . ṣrrt . ṣpn*
(56) *'alp . šd . 'aḫd bt*
(57) *rbt . kmn . hkl*
(58) *ˈwˈ y'n . kṯr . w ḫss*
(59) *ˈšˈm' . l 'al'iyn . b'l*
(60) *bn . l rkb . 'rpt*
(61) *bl . 'ašt . 'urbt . b bˈh'ˈ[tm]*
(62) *ḥln . b qrb . hklm*
(63) *w y'n . 'al'iyn b'ˈlˈ*
(64) *'al . tšt . 'urbt . b [bḫtm]*
(65) *[ḥl]ˈn'ˈ . b qˈr'ˈb . hk[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.   *rḥn>n<t* [?]—obscure word; *'irt ['ir(a)tu]* "breast, chest" (cf. Akkadian *irtu* and Biblical Hebrew רְאָה 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"; *mṭr [maṭaru/miṭaru(?)]* "rain".
Line 7.   *'DN* "to set a time" (G or D); *ṯkt* [?] obscure; *glṯ [galṯu?]* "snow(?)" with metathesis (cf. Arabic *ṯalǧ* and Biblical Hebrew שֶׁלֶג).
Line 8.   *YTN* "to give" (G) and here *wtn [wātinu]* (< *wa-yatinu*) "(Baal) gives"; *ql [qālu/qôlu]* "voice"; *'rpt ['urpātu]* "clouds".
Line 9.   *ŠRH* "to glow(?)" "to flash(?)" (G or D), cf. Biblical Hebrew

תָּחַ־תְּכָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׁרֵהוּ וְאוֹרוֹ עַל־כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ; "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. *'arẓ* [*'arẓu*] "cedar" (pl. *'arzm* [*'ar(a)zūma*]); *KLL* "to complete" (D or L).

Line 11. *'MS* "to load", "to erect (a house)" (D).

Line 13. *ḥm* [?] "planks (of wood)(?)"; others interpret: "caravans" (cf. Akkadian *ḥarrānu*)".

Line 14. *'ḏbt* [?] obscure in parallel to the equally obscure *ḥm* (some interpret: "weeds, plants" and compare Biblical Hebrew עֵשֶׂב plant"); *hkl* [*hêkalu*] "palace".

Line 15. *YBL* "to bring, deliver" (G); *ǵr* [*ǵūru*] "mountain".

Line 16. *gbʿ* [*gabʿu*] "hill" (pl. *gbʿm* [*gab(a)ʿūma*]; *mḥmd* [*maḥmadu*] "desirable thing".

Line 17. *'udr* [?] "quarry(?)"; some compare Akkadian *udru* "camel"; *'ilqṣm* [?] "precious stones".

Line 18. *BNY* "to build (G): *bn* [*banâ*] (< *banāyu*), absolute infinitive as predicate; *bht*[*bahātī*] "houses of" (construct of plural *bhtm*).

Line 19. *ṭhr* [*ṭuhūru*] "pure" (pl. *ṭhrm* [*ṭuhūrūma*]); some take this form as plural construct with enclitic *mem* (cf. *supra*, p. 193); *'iqn'u* [*'iqnî'u*/*'iqnî'u*] "lapis lazuli".

Line 20. *DʿṢ* "to stamp (with the foot)(?)" (G?), cf. Aramaic דעע.

Line 21. *pʿnm* [*paʿnāma/i*] "feet" (du.); *TWR* "to travel around" (G), some interpret "to return" in the light of Akkadian *târu*. The form here is an absolute infinitive, [*tāru*].

Line 24. *'alp* [*'alpu*] "thousand"; *šd* [*šadû*] "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* [*yûtanu?*] 3rd m.s. "it will be given" (Gp) or 3rd m.pl. [*yatinū*] "they will give" (G).

Line 39. *lḥmd* variant of *mḥmd* [*maḥmadu*] "delightful thing", perhaps the form is a scribal error and should be corrected to *mlḥmd*.

Line 41. *L'K* "to send" (G).

Line 42. *TWB* "to return" (G); *mspr* [*maspāru*] "number, measure" or [*musappāru*] "narrative, thing recounted"; *tl'akn* [*tul'akāni*] 3rd m.du. "(the two lads) are being sent" (Gp) or 3rd m.pl.

[*tiṯʾakūna*] "they are sending (the two lads)".

Line 43. *ǵlmm* [*ǵalmāma/i* or *ǵulamāma/i*] "the two lads".

Line 45. *'alp* [*'alpu*] "ox, steer"; *qdm* [*qudāma*] "before"; *mr'a* [*marʾa*] "fatted ox, fatling" (acc.); *'DB* "to prepare" (G) and here *ťdb* [*tuʿdab*] "(Gp)" or [*tiˣʿadib*] (N); *ks'u* [*kussīʾu/kissīʾu*] "chair" (s.f.).

Line 46. *YTB* "to sit" (G), "to seat" (Š), here [*yaṯōṯab/yuṯōṯab*] "he was seated" (Šp) or less likely [*yaṯōṯibū/yuṯōṯibū*] "they seated (him)" (Š); *ymn* [*yamīnu*] "right (hand)".

Line 51. *ḥš* [*ḥiš?*] "hurry, hasten!"

Line 52. *RWM* "to raise up, erect (a house)" (L).

Line 55. *srrt* [?] "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. *ḥln* [*ḥallānu?*] "window".

Line 64. *'al* [*'al*] "don't" or "verily".

Text 10 (*KTU*² 1.5 I,1-16)

(1) *k tmḫs . ltn . bṯn . brḥ*

(2) *tkly . bṯn . ʿqltn*

(3) *šlyṭ . d . šbʿt . rʾašm*

(4) *ttkḥ . ttrp . šˢmˡm . krs*

(5) *'ipdk . 'ank . 'ispʾi . 'uṯm*

(6) *ḏrqm . 'amtm . l yrt*

(7) *b npš . bn 'ilm . mt . b mh*

(8) *mrt . ydd . 'il . ǵzr*

(9) *tbʿ . w l . yṯb . 'ilm . 'idk*

(10) *l ytn . pnm . ʿm . bʿl*

(11) *mrym . ṣpn . w yʿn*

(12) *gpn . w 'ugr . tḥm . bn 'iˡmˡ*

(13) *mt . hwt . ydd . bn 'il*

(14) ⌈*ǵzr*⌉ . ⌈*p*⌉ ⌈*np*⌉ . *š . npš . lbʾiˡmˡ*

(15) *thw . hm . brlt . 'anḫr*

(16) *b ym*

NOTES

Line 1. *k* [*kî*] "if" or "if also"; *MḪṢ* "to smite" (G); *ltn* [*Lôtānu?*] "sea dragon" (a monster, one of Baal's enemies; cf. Biblical Hebrew לִוְיָתָן [Isa. 27:1; Ps. 75:15]); *bṭn* [*baṭnu?*] "snake" (Akkadian bašmu, Biblical Hebrew פֶּתֶן [Ps 58:5]); *brḥ* [*barīḥu*] "fleeing", cf. נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ לִוְיָתָן [Isa. 27:1] and Cassuto 1972:75).

Line 2. *KLY* "to destroy" (D); *'qltn* [*'aqal(l)atānu?*] "writhing".

Line 3. *šlyṭ* [?] "powerful(?)", but others derive from *LWṬ* "to hide" (Š); *šb't* [*šab'atu*] "seven"; *r'iš* [*ra'šu*] "head", pl. *r'ašm* [*ra'ašūma*].

Line 4-6. Obscure lines; some suggestions: *ṬKH* "to ignite(?)" (G); *ttrp* "teraphim(?)", plural construct, or from *RPY* "to be weak" (tD); *šmm* [*šamûma*] "heavens"; *KRS* "to bind(?)" (by metathesis from *RKS*); *'ipd* [*'ipādu*] "vestment"; *SP* "to eat" (G); *'uṭm* [*'uṭṭūma*] "bites(?)", "demons(?)", cf. אִטִּים [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 yaratā*] (< *lū/la yaradā*) "may you go down".

Line 7. *npš* [*napšu*] "soul"; *mt* [*môtu*] "Môt" (deity name of the god of death); *mhmrt* [*mahmūrātu?*] "caverns" (cf. בְּמַהֲמֹרוֹת [Ps. 140,11]).

Line 8. *ydd* [*yadūdu/yadīdu*] "friend, beloved"; *ǵzr* [*ǵazīru?*] "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*); *ṬWB* "to return" (G).

Line 12. *gpn w 'ugr* proper names of the divine messenger(s).

Line 13. *hwt* [*hawātu?*] "word".

Line 14. *lb'u* [*lab(i)'u?*] "lion".

Line 15. *thw* [*tuhwu*] "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 (*KTU*² 1.5 II,1-21)

(1) [ ] ⸢ḫm⸣

(2) [*špt . l 'a*]*rṣ . špt . l šmm*

(3)   [yšt .]�'*l*ᵓš*n* . *l kbkbm* . *yʿrb*

(4)   �'*b*ᵓ*ʿl* . *b kbdh* . *b ph* . *yrd*

(5)   *k ḥrr* . *ẓt* . *ybl* . ᵓ*arṣ* . *w pr*

(6)   ʿ*ṣm* . *yrᵓaᵓun* . ᵓ*aPiyn* . *bʿl*

(7)   *ṯʿ* . *nn* . *rkb* . ʿ*rpt*

(8)   *tbʿ* . *rgm* . *l bn* . ᵓ*ilm* . *mt*

(9)   *ṯny* . *l ydd* . ᵓ*il ǵzr*

(10) *ṯhm* . ᵓ*aPiyn* . *bʿl* . *hwt* . ᵓ*aPiy*

(11) *qrdm* . *bḥṯ* . *l bn* . ᵓ*ilm mt*

(12) ʿ*bdk* . ᵓ*an* . *w d* ʿ*lmk*

(13) *tbʿ* . *w l* . *yṯb* . ᵓ*ilm* ᵓ*idk*

(14) ᵓ*l* ᵓ*ytn*ᵓ . ᵓ*p*ᵓ*n<m>* . ʿ*m* . *bn* . ᵓ*ilm* . *mt*

(15) *tk* . *qrth* . *hm*ᵓ*r*ᵓ*y* . *mk* . *ksᵓu*

(16) *ṯbt<h>* . *ḫḫ* . ᵓ*arṣ* . *nḥlth* . *tšᵓa*

(17) *ghm* . *w tṣh* . *ṯhm* . ᵓ*aPiyn*

(18) >*bn<* . *bʿl* . *hwt* . ᵓ*aPiy* . *qrdm*

(19) *bḥṯ* . *bn* . ᵓ*ilm* . *mt* . ʿ*bdk* . ᵓ*an*

(20) *w d* ʿ*lmk* . *šmḫ* . *bn* ᵓ*ilm* . *mt*

(21) [*tn* .]ᵓ*g*ᵓ*h* . *w* ᵓ*aṣh* . ᵓ*ik* . *yṣḥn*

(22) [*bʿl* .] . *yqr* .ᵓ*un* [.] *hd*

NOTES

Line 2. *špt* [*šp(a)tu*] "lip"; *šmm* [*šamûma*] "heavens".

Line 3. *lšn* [*lašānu*] "tongue"; ʿ*RB* "to enter" (G).

Line 4. *kbd* [*kabidu*] "liver", *kbdh* [*kabiduhā*] "inside her"; *p* [*pû*] "mouth".

Line 5. *ḥrr* [?] "cake, wafer(?)" or perhaps "scorched"; *ẓt* [*zêtu*] "olive"; *ybl* [*yibūlu*(?)] "produce"; *pr* [*parû/pirû*(?)] "fruit".

Line 6. *YR*ᵓ "to fear", thus *yrᵓaᵓun* [*yîraᵓunnû*] "(Baal) fears him" (for other possibilities for interpreting this form, cf. *supra*, p. 13); ᵓ*aPiyn* [ᵓ*aPiyānu?*], an epithet of Baal, apparently means "mighty" (from *L*ᵓ*Y* "to overcome"). Sometimes in a short form, ᵓ*aPiy* (e.g. in lines 10,18).

Line 7. *TTʿ* "to fear" (G) (as in Azatiwada, col. 2, line 4), the Citadel Inscription from Amman (line 6) and Biblical Hebrew אל־תֵּרָא (Isa. 41,10).

Line 9. *TNY* "to tell, recount" (G or D).

Line 11. *qrdm* [*qarrādu-ma*] "hero"; *BHT* "to entreat" (G or D).

Line 12. ᵓ*an* [ᵓ*anā*] "I".

Line 15. *qrt* [*qarîtu*] "city"; *hrmy* [?] 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. *t̠bt* [*t̠ib(a)tu*] "seat"; *h̠h̠* [?] ?; *nh̠lt* [*nah̠latu/nahaltu*] "inheri-
 tance".
Line 21. *KTU²* reads *ylh̠n*.
Line 22. *QR'* "to cry, call out" (G); the form has a suffix pronoun
 [*yiqra'ūnī*] "they call to me".

Text 12 (*KTU²* 1.5 VI,5-31)

(5) ⌈m⌉ǵny
(6) l n'my . 'arṣ . ⌈d⌉br
(7) l ysmt . šd . šh̠lmmt
(8) mǵny . l b'l . n⌈p⌉l . l 'a
(9) rṣ . mt . 'al'iyn . b'l
(10) h̠lq . zbl . b'l . 'arṣ
(11) 'apnk . lt̠pn . 'il
(12) d p'i⌈d⌉' . y⌈r⌉d . l ks'i . yt̠b
(13) l hd⌈m⌉ . w l . hdm . yt̠b
(14) l 'arṣ . ⌈yṣ⌉q . 'mr
(15) 'un . l ⌈r'i⌉šh . 'pr . plt̠t
(16) l . qdq⌈d⌉h . lpš . yks
(17) m'izrtm . ǵr . b 'abn
(18) ydy . psltm . b y'⌈r⌉
(19) yhdy . lh̠m . w d⌈q⌉n
(20) yt̠lt̠ . qn . dr'⌈h⌉ [.] yh̠rt̠
(21) k gn . 'ap lb . k 'mq . yt̠lt̠
(22) bmt . yš'u . gh [.] w yṣh̠
(23) b'l . mt . my . l'im . bn
(24) dgn . my . hmlt . 'at̠r
(25) b'l . 'ard . b 'arṣ . 'ap
(26) 'nt . tt̠lk . w tṣd . kl . ǵr
(27) ⌈l'⌉ ⌈k⌉bd . 'arṣ . kl . gb'
(28) l ⌈kb⌉d . šdm . tmǵ . l n'⌈m⌉[y]
(29) ['arṣ .] dbr . ysmt . šd
(30) [šh̠l]mmt . ⌈t⌉m⌉[ǵ .] l b'l . n⌈p⌉[l]
(31) [l 'a]⌈rṣ⌉ [. lpš] . tks . m'i⌈z⌉[rtm]

NOTES

Line 5. *MĠY* "to arrive" (G), a dual, *mġny* "the two of us arrived".

Line 6. *nʿm* [*nuʿmu*] "pleasantness"; *dbr* [?] place name.

Line 7. *ysmt* [?] "beauty"; *šḥlmmt* [?] place name.

Line 8. *l bʿl* [*lū/ la baʿlu*] "verily Baal".

Line 9. *MWT* "to die" (G).

Line 10. *ḤLQ* "to perish" (G); *zbl* [*zibūlu?*] "prince" (epithet of Baal).

Line 11. *ʾapnk* [*ʾappūnaka?*] "then"; *ltpn* [*laṭpānu?*] "compassionate" (epithet of Baal).

Line 12. *pʾid* [*paʾīdu*] "merciful".

Line 14. *ʿmr* [?] "ash, dirt (?)".

Line 15. *ʾun* [*ʾunû*] "mourning" (from *ʾNY*); *ʿpr* [*ʿaparu*] "dirt"; *plṭ* [?] "to groving", "sprinkling"; cf. Biblical Hebrew עָפָר הִתְפַּלָּשְׁתִּי [הִתְפַּלָּשְׁתִּי] "grovel in the dirt" (Micah 1:10).

Line 16. *qdqd* [*qadqadu/ qudqudu*] "head, top of head"; *lpš* [*lipšu/ lupšu*] "clothing"; *KSY* "to cover" (D).

Line 17. *mʾizrtm* [*maʾzarātāma/i* or *maʾzar(a)tāma/i*] "double mourning garment"; *ġr* [*ġāru/ġuru?*] "skin"(?); *ʾabn* [*ʾabnu*] "stone".

Line 18. *YDY* (?) "to cut, scratch(?)". The clause *ġr b ʾabn ydy* apparently means "he lacerates (/scratches) the skin with a stone" (other proposals have been made); *psltm* [?] "sideburns, locks (of hair)"; *yʿr* [?] "razor(?)".

Line 19. *HDY* "to cut(?)" (G); *lḥm* [*laḥāma/i* or *liḥāma/i*] "cheeks"; *dqn* [*daqanu*] "beard".

Line 20. *TLṮ* "to pluck" (G or D), or "to plow (in three rows)"; *qn* [*qanû*] "reed" (here for "the upper arm"); cf. also Biblical Hebrew וְאֶזְרֹעִי מִקָּנֶה תִשָּׁבֵר [Job 31,22]); *drʿ* [*dirāʿu*] "arm"; *ḤRṮ* "to plow" (G).

Line 21. *gn* [*gannu/ginnu*] "garden"; *ʾap lb* [*ʾappa-libbi*] "chest(?)"; *ʿmq* [*ʿamqu/ʿimqu*] "valley".

Line 23. *my* [*mīya*] "who"; *lʾim* [*luʾmu?*] "nation"; *bn dgn* [*binu/ bunu/ banu Dagani*] "son of Daganu" (epithet of Baal).

Line 24. *hmlt* [*hamūl(a)tu*] "people, masses"; *ʾaṯr* [*ʾaṯra?*] "after", or "place", or else "footsteps".

Line 26. *YLK/HLK* "to go" (G) and Gt "to go around"; *ṢWD/ṢYD* "to hunt" (G); *kl* [*kullu*] "all" (adverbial [*kulla*] "in all"); *ġr* [*ġūru*] "mountain".

Line 27. *gbʿ* [*gabʿu*] "hill".

Text 13 (*KTU*² 1.6 I,1-65)

(1) *l bʿl*

(2) *ǵr . b ʾab<n> . td . ⌐pslⁿfᵓm⌐ [. b yʿr]*

(3) *thdy . lḥm . w dqn . t[ṯ]l[ṯ]*

(4) *qn . ḏrʿh . tḫrt . km . gⁿⁿ*

(5) *ʾap lb . k ʿmq . tṯlṯ . bmt*

(6) *bʿl . mt . my . lʾim . bn dgn*

(7) *my . hmlt . ʾaṯr . bʿl . nrd*

(8) *b ʾarṣ . ʿmh . trd . nrt*

(9) *ʾilm . špš . ʿd . tšbʿ . bk*

(10) *tšt . k yn . ʾudmʿt . gm*

(11) *tṣⁿḥⁿ . l nrt . ʾilm . špš*

(12) *ʿmⁿsⁿ . mʿ . ly . ʾalʾiyn . bʿl*

(13) *tšmʿ . nrt . ʾilm . špš*

(14) *tšʾu . ʾalʾiyn . bʿl . l ktp*

(15) *ʿnt . k tšth . tšʿlynh*

(16) *b ṣrrt . ṣp>ʿ<n . tbkynh*

(17) *w tqbrnh . tštnn . b ḫrt*

(18) *ʾilm . ʾarṣ . ttbḫ . šbʿm*

(19) *r̂umm . k gmn . ʾalʾiyn*

(20) *ⁿbⁿʿl . ttbḫ . šbʿm . ʾalpm*

(21) *[k] ⌐gⁿmn . ʾalʾiyn . bʿl*

(22) *[t]ⁿbⁿḫ . šbʿm . ṣʾin*

(23) *[k g]ⁿmⁿn . ʾalʾiyn . bʿl*

(24) *[t]ⁿbḫⁿ . šbʿm . ʾaylm*

(25) *[k gmn . ʾal]ⁿʾiⁿn . bʿl*

(26) *[ttbḫ . š]ⁿbⁿʿm . yʿlm*

(27) *[k gmn .] ʾalʾiy . bʿl*

(28) *[ttbḫ . šbʿm .]ḥmrm*

(29) *[k gm]ⁿnⁿ . ʾalⁿʾiⁿyn [.] bʿⁿlⁿ*

(30) *[b š]ⁿpⁿhh . tšt bm . ʿ[nt]*

(31) *[kd . ǵ]zrh . ybm . l ʾilm*

(32) *[ʾid]ⁿkⁿ . l ttn [.] ⁿpⁿnm . ʿm*

(33) *[ʾi]ⁿlⁿ . mbk nⁿhⁿrm . qrb*

(34) *ⁿʾaⁿpq . thmtm . tgly . ḏd*

(35) *ʾil . w . tbʾu . qrš .*

(36) *mlk . ʾab . šnm . l pʿn*

(37) *ⁿʾiⁿl . thbr . w tql*

(38) *tšthwy . w tkbdnh*

(39) *tš'u . gh . w tṣḥ . tšmḫ ht*

(40) *'aṯrt . w . bnh . 'ilt . w ṣb*

(41) *rt . 'aryh . k mt . 'al'iyn*

(42) *b'l . k ḫlq . zbl . b'l*

(43) *'arṣ . gm . yṣḥ 'il*

(44) ⸢l⸣ *rbt . 'aṯ⸢r⸣t ym . šm'*

(45) *l rbt . 'a⸢ṯr⸣[t] ⸢y⸣m . tn*

(46) *'aḥd . b . b⸢nk⸣ . 'am . lkn*

(47) *w t'n . rbt . 'aṯrt ym*

(48) *bl . nmlk . yd' . yl⸢ḥ⸣n*

(49) *w y'n . ltpn . 'il ⸢d⸣ ⸢p'i⸣*

(50) *d . dq . 'anm . l yr⸢ẓ⸣*

(51) *'m . b'l . l y'db . mrḥ*

(52) *'m . bn . dgn . k tmsm*

(53) *w 'n . rbt . 'aṯrt ym*

(54) *blt . nmlk . 'ṯr . 'rẓ*

(55) *ymlk . 'ṯr . 'rẓ*

(56) *'apnk . 'ṯr . 'rẓ*

(57) *y'l . b ṣrrt . ṣpn*

(58) *yṯb . l kḥṯ . ⸢'⸣al'iyn*

(59) *b'l . p'nh . l tmġyn*

(60) *hdm [.] r'išh . l ymġy*

(61) *'apsh . w y'n . 'ṯr . 'rẓ*

(62) *l 'amlk . b ṣrrt . ṣpn*

(63) *yrd . 'ṯr . 'rẓ . yrd*

(64) *l kḥṯ . 'al'iyn . b'l*

(65) *w ymlk . b 'arṣ . 'il . klh*

NOTES

Line 1.   *l b'l [le-ba'li/a]* "(the series) about Baal, pertaining to Baal".

Line 8.   *nrt [nūr(a)tu]* "luminary" (the Sun-goddess is called here *nrt 'ilm [nūr(a)tu 'ilīma]* "luminary of the gods").

Line 9.   *špš [šapšu]* "the Sun-goddess; *'d ['ad(ê)?]* "until, as far as" (preposition); *ŠB'* "to be satiated, satisfied" (G); *bk [bikû/bakû]* "weeping".

Line 10. *ŠTY* "to drink" (G); *yn [yênu]* "wine"; *'udm't ['udmu'ātu?]* "tears"; *gm [gāma]* "loudly"; *m' [ma']* particle accompanying imperatives like Hebrew נ.

Line 14. *ktp [kat(i)pu]* "shoulder".

Line 15. *k* [*kī*] "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); *ḥrt* [*ḥirtu*] "grave, cemetary" (cf. the syllabic attestation *É* \ *ḫi-ri-ti* [*PRU* III, p. 52,17]).

Line 18. *ṬBḤ* "to slaughter" (G); *šbʿm* [*šab(a)ʿūma*] "seventy".

Line 19. *rʾumm* [?] "buffaloes"; *gmn* [?] "funerary offering" (perhaps to revive the death). Perhaps related to Biblical Hebrew גְּמֻל compensation" (Isa. 59:18).

Line 20. '*alp* ['*alpu*] "ox, steer", pl. '*alpm* ['*al(a)pūma*].

Line 22. *ṣʾin* [*ṣaʾnu*] "small cattle".

Line 24. '*ayl* ['*ayyalu*] "deer, buck", pl. '*aylm* ['*ayyalūma*].

Line 26. *yʿl* [*yaʿilu*] "wild goat", pl. *yʿlm* [*yaʿilūma*].

Line 28. *ḥmr* [*ḥimāru*] "ass", pl. *ḥmrm* [*ḥimārūma*] (*KTU²* reads [*y*]*ḥmrm* "roe bucks".

Lines 30-31. Obscure lines.

Line 39. *ht* [*hitta?*] (< *hinta?*) "now".

Line 42. *bʿl* [*baʿlu*] "lord", "Baal".

Line 44. *l*[*lū/la*] "O" (vocative particle).

Line 45. *YTN* "to give" (G).

Line 46. '*aḥd* ['*aḥ(ḥ)adu*] "one"; *b* [*bi-*] "from"; *MLK* "to reign" (G) or "to cause to reign" (D or G).

Line 48. *ydʿ ylḥn* [?] personal divine name(?) (perhaps "who knows and is wise").

Line 50. *dq* [*daqqu?*] literally "thin", and here "weak"; '*anm* ['*ānūma?*] "strengths"; others interpret "now" like Akkadian anūma (*TO* I, p. 256) but this suggestion is hardly convincing; *RWẒ* "to run" (G).

Line 51. '*DB* "to arrange, to use" (G); *mrḥ* [*murḥu*] "spear" (also in Late Egyptian mrḥ, 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* [*balti/bilti*] "not", "no", or "verily"; '*ṯtr* ['*Aṯtaru*] DN, male counterpart of Ištar/Astart, written עשתר in Moabite (Mesha' Inscription, line 17) and in Phoenician (cf. Bentz 1972:385-386); '*rẓ* ['*arīẓu*] "terrible".

Line 58. *kḥṯ* [*kaḥṯu*] "throne" (cf. the syllabic attestation in *EA* 120:18, *ka-aḥ-šu*).

Line 60. '*aps* ['*apsu*] "extremity" (cf. Biblical Hebrew אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ [Deut. 33:17]).

Text 14 (*KTU*² 1.6 II,6-37)

(6) *tngth . k ⌈b⌉ . ⌈'ar⌉[ḫ]*
(7) *l 'glh . k . lb . ṯ'a[t]*
(8) *l 'imrh . km . lb . ⌈'n⌉[t]*
(9) *'aṯr . b'l . ṯ'iḫd . m⌈t⌉*
(10) *b s'in . lpš . tḵsq⌈n⌉[ḫ]*
(11) *b qṣ . 'all . tš'u . gh . w ⌈t⌉[ṣ]*
(12) *ḫ . 'at . mt . tn . 'aḫy*
(13) *w 'n . ⌈b⌉n . 'ilm . mt . mh*
(14) *ṯ'aršn . l btlt . 'nt*
(15) *'an . 'itlk . w 'aṣd . kl*
(16) *ġr . l kbd . 'arṣ . kl . gb'*
(17) *l kbd . šdm . npš . ḫ⌈s⌉rt*
(18) *bn . nšm . npš . ḥmlt .*
(19) *'arṣ . mġt . l n'my . 'arṣ*
(20) *dbr . ysmt . šd . šḫlmmt*
(21) *ngš . 'ank . 'al'iyn . b'l*
(22) *'dbnn 'ank . <k> 'imr . b py*
(23) *k l'i . b ṯbrn q<n>y . ḫṯ'u hw*
(24) *nrt . 'il⌈m⌉ . špš . ṣḥrrt*
(25) *ṯ'a . šmm . b yd . bn 'ilm . mt*
(26) *ym . ymm . y'tqn . l ymm*
(27) *l yr⌈ḫ⌉m . rḥm . 'nt . tngth*
(28) *k lb . 'arḫ . l 'glh . k lb*
(29) *ṯ'at . l 'imrh . km . lb*
(30) *'nt . 'aṯr . b'l . ṯ'iḫd*
(31) *bn . 'ilm . mt . b ḥrb*
(32) *tbq'nn . b ḫṯr . tdry*
(33) *nn . b 'išt . tšrpnn*
(34) *b rḥm . tṭḥnn . b šd*
(35) *tdr' . nn . š'irh . l ṯ'ikl*
(36) *'ṣ⌈rm⌉ . mnth . l tkly*
(37) *npr[m] . ⌈š⌉'ir . l š'ir . yṣh*

NOTES

Line 6. *NGṮ* "to seek" or "to draw near" (D); *lb* [*libbu*] "heart" *'arḫ*
         [*'arḫu*] "cow".
Line 7. *'gl* [*'iglu*] "calf"; *ṯ'at* [*ṭa'tu*] "ewe".

Line 8. 'imr ['immiru/'immaru] "lamb".

Line 9. 'aṭr ['aṭra?] "after", "towards".

Line 10. s'in [su'nu?] "hem, (of "shoe)(?)"; ṢWQ "to seize, to press" (Š).

Line 11. qṣ [qaṣû] "edge", "extremity", but others interpret as derived from QṢṢ "to cut off"; 'all [?] a type or garment.

Line 13. mh [mah] "what".

Line 14. 'RŠ "to seek, request" (G or D).

Line 17. ḤSR "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 נגשׂ), but others interpret "to approach, to meet" (Gordon 1965:441) or "to bite, to eat" (Ginsberg 1936:150); 'ank ['anāku] "I".

Line 23. lPu [laḵ(i)'u?] "lamb"; ṯbrn [ṯubrānu/ṯabrānu] "opening, tear"; qn [qanû] "reed", "tube (of the throat)"; ḤṮ' "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. ṢḤRR "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'â] (< la'āyu) is absolute infinitive as predicate.

Line 26 ym [yômu] "day", pl. ymm [yômūma]; 'ṬQ "to pass", to pass by" (G).

Line 27. yrḫ [yar(i)ḫu] "month", and the expression l ymm l yrḫm "from days to months"; rḥm [raḥmu] "girl, lass" (cf. רַחַם רַחֲמָתַיִם לְרֹאשׁ רָכֵי one or two girls for each man" [Judg. 5:30]), the combination rḥm 'nt [raḥmu 'Anatu] parallels btlt 'nt [batūl(a)tu 'Anatu] "the Virgin Anat".

Line 31. ḥrb [ḥarbu] "sword".

Line 32. BQ' "to cleave" (D or perhaps G); ḫṯr [?] "winnowing fork", and cf. ḤŠR "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. rḥm [riḥāma/i] "grind stones"; ṬḤN "to grind" (G); DR' "to sow" (G).

Line 35. š'ir [ša'ru/š'ru] "remains, remnants", though some prefer the meaning "flesh", that word is written š'ir or š'ar; 'KL "to eat" (G).

Line 36. 'ṣr ['iṣṣūru] "bird"; mnt [manêtu/manâtu] (< manaytu/manayatu) "form, shape" as in Akkadian.

Line 37. npr [nappāru?] a type of fowl(?).

Text 15 (*KTU*² 1.6 III,1-24)

(1) k ⸢ḫlq⸣ . ⸢zb⸣[l . bʿl . ʾarṣ]

(2) w hm . ḥy . ʾa[lʾiyn . bʿl]

(3) w hm . ʾiṯ . zbl . bʿ[l . ʾarṣ]

(4) b ḥlm . lṭpn . ʾil . d pʾid

(5) b ḏrt . bny . bnwt

(6) šmm . šⁱmⁱn . tmṭrn

(7) nḫlm . tlk . nbtm

(8) w ʾidᶜ . k ḥy . ʾalʾiyn . ⸢bʿlⁱ⸣

(9) k ʾiṯ . zbl . bʿl . ʾarṣ

(10) b ḥlm . lṭpn ʾil d pʾid

(11) b ḏrt . bny . bnwt

(12) šmm . šmn . tmṭrn

(13) nḫlm . tlk . nbtm

(14) šmḫ . lṭpn . ʾil . d pʾid

(15) pʿnh . l hdm . yⁱṯpdⁱ

(16) w yprq . lṣb . ⸢wⁱ⸣ yṣḥq

(17) yⁱšⁱʾu . gh . w yṣḥ

(18) ʾaṯbn . ʾank . w ʾanḫⁱnⁱ

(19) w tnḫ . b ʾirty . npš

(20) k ḥⁱyⁱ . ʾalʾiyⁱnⁱ . bʿl

(21) k ʾiṯ . zbⁱlⁱ . bʿl . ʾarṣ

(22) gm . ⸢yṣⁱḫ . ʾil . l btlt

(23) ʿnt . šmᶜ . l btlt . ʿnⁱtⁱ

(24) rgⁱmⁱ . l nrt . ʾil<m> . špš

NOTES

Line 2. ḥy [ḥayyu] "alive".

Line 3. ʾiṯ [ʾiṯê] "is" (existential particle).

Line 4. ḥlm [ḥilmu/ḥulmu/ḥilāmu] "dream".

Line 5. ḏrt [?] "vision".

Line 6. šmn [šamnu] "oil"; MṬR "to rain" (G or D).

Line 7. nḫl [naḫlu] "stream(bed)", pl. nḫlm [naḫ(a)lūma]; HLK/YLK "to go" (G); nbtm [nubtu-ma?] "honey" (probably b/p interchange; cf. Biblical Hebrew נֹפֶת).

Line 8. YDᶜ "to know" (G).

Line 18. YṮB "to sit" (G).

Text 16 (*KTU*² 1.6 IV,1-17)

(1) *pl . ʿnt . šdm . y špš*
(2) *pl . ʿnt . šdm [.] ⌈ʾiʾl . yštk*
(3) ⌈bʾʿl . ʿnt . mḫrṭṭ
(4) ⌈ʾiʾy . ʾalʾiyn . bʿl*
(5) *ʾiy . z⌈bl⌉ . bʿl . ʾarṣ*
(6) *ttbʿ . btlt . ʿnt*
(7) *ʾidk . l ttn . pnm*
(8) *ʿm . nrt . ʾilm . špš*
(9) *tšʾu . gh . w tṣḥ*
(10) *tḥm . ṯr . ʾil . ʾabk*
(11) *hwt . lṭpn . ḥtk⌈ʾkʾ*
(12) *pl . ʿnt . šdm . y špš*
(13) *pl . ʿnt . šdm . ʾil [.] ⌈yštk⌉*
(14) *bʿl . ʿnt . mḫr⌈ʾṭṭh⌉*
(15) *ʾiy . ʾalʾiyn . bʿl*
(16) *ʾiy . zbl . bʿl . ʾarṣ*
(17) *w ʿn . nrt . ʾilm . ⌈špšʾ⌉*

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); *ʿnt* [*ʿēnātu?*] "springs(?)"; *y* [*yā*] "O!" (vocative particle).
Line 3. *mḫrṭṭ* [*maḫrūṯ(a)tu*] "plowed (land)(?)"; in line 14 the same word may be misspelled.
Line 4. *ʾiy* [*ʾiyyī*] "where".
Line 11. *ḥtk* [*ḥatūku/ḥatīku/ḥatiku*] "offspring".

Text 17 (*KTU*² 1.6 V,1-20)

(1) *yʾiḫd . bʿl . bn . ʾaṯrt*
(2) *rbm . ymḫṣ . b ktp*
(3) ⌈dʾkym . ymḫṣ . b ṣmd*
(4) *ṣ⌈hʾr ⌈mtʾ . ym⌈sḫʾ . l ʾarṣ*
(5) ⌈pʾ ⌈yʾ[ʿl .]⌈bʿlʾ . l ksʾi . mlkh*
(6) [*bn . dgn*] *. l kḫṯ . drk⌈tʾh*
(7) ⌈lʾ [y]⌈mmʾ . l ⌈yʾr⌈ḫʾm . l yrḫm*

(8) *l* ⌜*šn*⌝*t* . ⌜*m*⌝[*k*] . ⌜*b*⌝ *šb*ᶜ
(9) *šnt* . ⌜*wrk*⌝ . ⌜*b*⌝*n* . ⌜ʾ*il*⌝*m* . *mt*
(10) ᶜ*m* . ʾ*aPiyn* . *b*ᶜ*l* . *yš*ʾ*u*
(11) *gh* . ⌜*w*⌝ *ysh* . ᶜ*lk* . ⌜*b*ᶜ*l*⌝*m*
(12) *pht* . *qlt* . ᶜ*lk* . *pht*
(13) *dry* . *b* *hrb* . ᶜ*lk*
(14) *pht* . ⌜*šrp*⌝ . ⌜*b*⌝ ⌜ʾ*iš*⌝*t*
(15) ᶜ*lk* . [*pht* . *th*]*n* . *br*⌜*h*⌝
(16) *m* . ᶜ[*lk*] . ⌜*pht*⌝ [. *dr*]⌜ʾ*y*⌝ . ⌜*b*⌝ ⌜*k*⌝*brt*
(17) ᶜ⌜*tk*⌝ . *pht* . ⌜*ġl*ʾ*y*⌝ . [ ]
(18) *b* *šdm* . ⌜ᶜ*lk*⌝ [.]. ⌜*pht*⌝
(19) *dr*ᶜ . *b* *ym* . ⌜*t*⌝*n* . ⌜ʾ*ahd*⌝
(20) *b* . ʾ*ah*⌜*k*⌝ . ⌜ʾ*isp*ʾ*a*⌝ . *w* *ytb*

NOTES

Line 1.   *rb* [*rabbu*] "great, large", pl. *rbm* [*rabbūma*].

Line 3.   *dkym* [*dākiyu-ma*] "oppressor(?)", others divide the form into two words, "rage of the sea" (*TO* I, p. 265, n. c with bibliography; cf. also דִּכְיָם [Ps. 93:3]); *ṣmd* [*ṣamdu/ṣimdu*] "rod, club".

Line 4.   *ṣhr mt* — obscure words; some take them to mean "heat of the day" (*TO* I, p. 265), while others take *ṣhr* as a verbal form meaning "to fall" (Gordon). The editors of *KTU*² read one word here, namely *ṣġrm; MṢḤ* "to kick", "to tread down(?)".

Line 5.   *mlk* [*mulku*] "reign, rule".

Line 6.   *drkt* [*darak(a)tu/daraktu/darkatu?*] "rule".

Line 9.   ⌜*wrk*⌝, obscure word.

Line 16. *kbrt* [*kabar(a)tu?*] "sieve".

Line 17. *ĠLY* "to bow" (G).

Line 20. *SP* "to eat" (G).

Text 18 (*KTU*² 1.2 IV,5-31)

(5) [ ]*h/ptm* . *l* ʾ*arṣ* . *ypl* . ʾ*ulny* . *w* *l* . ᶜ*pr* . ᶜ*zm*⌜*n*⌝*y*
(6) [*b*] *ph* . *rgm* . *l* *yṣ*ʾ*a* . *b* *špth* . *hwth* . *w* *ttn* . *gh* . *yġr*
(7) *tht* . *ks*ʾ*i* . *zbl* . *ym* . *w* ᶜ*n* . *ktr* . *w* *hss* . *l* *rgm*t
(8) *lk* . *l* *zbl* . *b*ᶜ*l* . *tnt* . *l* *rkb* . ᶜ*rpt* . *ht* . ʾ*ibk*
(9) *b*ᶜ*lm* . *ht* . ʾ*ibk* . *tmhṣ* . *ht* . *tṣmt* . *ṣrtk*
(10) *tqh* . *mlk* . ᶜ*lmk* . *drkt* . *dt* . *drdrk*

(11) *kṯr ṣmdm . ynḥt . w ypʿr . šmthm . šmk ʾat*

(12) *ygrš . ygrš . grš ym grš ym . l ksʾih*

(13) ⌜*n*⌝*hr l kḥṯ . drkth . trtqṣ . bd bʿl . km . nš*

(14) *r . b ʾuṣbʿth . hlm . ktp . zbl . ym . bn ydm*

(15) [*ṯp*]*ṯ nhr . yrtqṣ . ṣmd . bd bʿl . km . nšr*

(16) ⌜*b*⌝ ⌜ʾ*u*⌝*ṣbʿth . ylm . ktp . zbl ym . bn . ydm . ṯpṯ*

(17) ⌜*n*⌝*hr . ʿz . ym . l ymk . l tnĝṣn [.] pnth . l ydlp*

(18) *tmnh . kṯr . ṣmdm . ynḥt . w ypʿr . šmthm*

(19) *šmk . ʾat . ʾaymr . ʾaymr . mr . ym . mr . y*⌜*m*⌝

(20) *l ksʾih . nhr . l kḥṯ . drkth . trtqṣ*

(21) *bd bʿl . km . nšr b ʾuṣbʿth . hlm . qdq*

(22) *d . zbl ym . bn . ʿnm . ṯpṯ . nhr . yprsḥ ym*

(23) ⌜*w*⌝ *yql . l ʾarṣ . w yrtqṣ . ṣmd . bd bʿl*

(24) ⌜*km*⌝ [.] ⌜*n*⌝*šr . b ʾuṣbʿth . ylm . qdqd . zbl*

(25) ⌜*ym*⌝ *. bn ʿnm . ṯpṯ . nhr . yprsḥ . ym . yql*

(26) *l ʾarṣ . tnĝṣn . pnth . w ydlp . tm*⌜*n*⌝*h*

(27) *yqṯ bʿl . w yšt . ym . ykly . ṯpṯ . nhr*

(28) *b . šm . tĝʿrm . ʿṯtrt . bṯ l ʾalʾiyn . ⌜b⌝[ʿl]*

(29) *bṯ . l rkb . ʿrpt . k šbyn . z⌜b⌝[l . ym . k]*

(30) *šbyn . ṯpṯ . nhr . w yṣʾa . b[ ]*

(31) *ybṯ . nn . ʾalʾiyn . bʿl . w[ ]*

NOTES

Line 5. *NPL* "to fall" (G); *ʾulny* [?] "strong, mighty(?)"; *ʿpr* [*ʿaparu*] "dirt, dust"; *ʿẓmny* [?] "huge, mighty(?)".

Line 6. *YṢ* "to go out" (G): *l yṣʾa* [*lā yaṣaʾa*] "he did not go out", or [*lū/a yaṣaʾa*] "he verily went out"; *yĝr* [?] — obscure word, possibly from *ĜWR* "to descend", or a noun [*yaĝru*] "confusion" (in comparison with Arabic).

Line 7. *tḥt* [*taḥtu/taḥta?*] "beneath"; *zbl* [*zibūlu?*] "prince, noble"; *ʿNY* "to answer, reply" (G), the form *ʿn* may be [*ʿanā*] (< *ʿanāyu*), absolute infinitive as predicate or it could be 3rd m.s.; *l rgmt* [*lū/la ragamtū*] "verily I said", or [*lā ragamtū*] "did I not say?"

Line 8. *TNY* "to say, recount" (G or more likely D); *ht* [*hitta?*] "behold" (presentation particle); *ʾib* [*ʾēbu/ʾebu*] "enemy".

Line 9. *bʿlm* [*baʿlu-ma*] "Baal (plus enclitic mem); *ṢMT* "to destroy" (G or D); *ṣrt* [*ṣarratu/ṣarrūtu*] "oppressor(s)" (collective).

Line 10. *LQḤ* "to take" (G); *mlk* [*mulku*] "rule, reign"; *drkt* [*darak(a)tu/dāraktu/darkatu?*] "rule, authority"; *dt* [*dātu*] "of", or "which"; *dr* [*dāru*] "generation".

Line 11. *ṣmd* [*ṣamdu/ṣimdu*] "rod, club", here in the dual, *ṣmdm* [*ṣamdā-ma/i* or *ṣimdāma/i*]; *NḤT* "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* [*garriš*] "expell!"; *l* [*lē*] "from".

Line 13. *kḥt* [*kaḥtu*] "throne, chair"; *RQṢ* "to swoop, fly" (Gt); *bd* [*bādi*] "in the hand"; *nšr* [*našru/nišru*] "vulture, eagle".

Line 14. *HLM* "to smite" (G), in the prefix conjugation, the first radical, *hē*, elides, i.e. *ylm* [*yālumu?*] (< *yahlumu*) "he smites" (cf. lines 16, 24). The conjugated root may be *YLM* (cf. *HLK* beside *YLK*); *ktp* [*kat(i)pu*] "shoulder"; *bn* [*bêna*] "between"; *yd* [*yadu*] "hand, arm", here in the dual *ydm* [*yadāma/i*].

Line 17. *ʿz* [*ʿazzu*] "strong"; *MWK* "to be low(?)"; *NGṢ* "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. *ʿn* [*ʿênu*] "eye", dual here: *ʿnm* [*ʿênāma/i*]; *PRSḤ* "to collapse, to cave in" (D).

Line 27. *QTT* "to draw, drag" (G).

Line 28. *GʿR* "to rebuke" (G), here with enclitic *mem*; *ʿṯrt* [*ʿAṯtartu*] "Ashtart, Ashtoreth" female deity; *BWṮ* "to be ashamed" (G); the root is most likely bi-consonantal, *BᾹṮ*.

Line 29. *šby* [*šabīyu/šabiyu/šabūyu*] "captive".

Text 19 (*KTU*² 1.14 I,1-43)

(1) ⌈*l* ⌉⌈*kʾ*⌉*t* [ ]

(2-5) . . . .

(6) [ ]*d nhr . 'umt*

(7) [*krt* .]⌈*rwt . bt*

(8) [*m*]⌈*lʾk* . *'itdb d šb*⌉

(9) [*'a*]*ḫm . lh ṯmnt . bn 'um*

(10) ⌈*kʾ*⌉*rt . ḥtkn . rš*

(11) *krt . grdš . mknt*

(12) *'aṯt . ṣdqh . l ypq*

(13) *mtrḫt . yšrh*

(14) *'aṯt . trḫ . w tbʿt*

(15) ⌈*tʾ*⌉*'a*⌉*r 'u*⌈*mʾ* . *tkn lh*

(16) *mṯlṯt . kṯrm . tmt*
(17) *mrbˁt . zblnm*
(18) *mḫmšt . yʾitsp*
(19) *ršᵈp]* [.] *mṯdṯt . ġlm*
(20) ⌈*yʾm* . ⌈*mšᵈbˁthn . b šlḥ*
(21) *ttpˡlˡ . yˁn . ḥtkh*
(22) *krt . ⌈yˁnˡ . ḥtkh rš*
(23) *mʾid . grdš . ṯbth* .
(24) *w b ⌈klˡhn . špḥ . yˡʾiˡtbd*
(25) *w b . pḫyrh . yrṯ*
(26) *yˁ⌈rˡb . b ḥdrh . ybky*
(27) *b ṯn . r(?)ġmm . w ydmˁ*
(28) *tntkn . ʾudmˁth*
(29) ⌈*kˡm . ṯqlm . ʾarṣh*
(30) ⌈*kˡ mḫmšt . mṭth*
(31) ⌈*bmˡ . bkyh . w yšn*
(32) ⌈*bˡᵗ⌈dˡmˁh ˑ nhmmt*
(33) *šnt . tlˀuˀan*
(34) *w yškb . nhmmt*
(35) *w ⌈yˡqmṣ . w b ḥlmh*
(36) *ʾil . yrd . b dhrth*
(37) ⌈*ʾabˡ . ʾaᵗdˡm . w yqrb*
(38) *b šˀal . krt . mʾat*
(39) *krt . k ybky*
(40) *ydmˁ . nˁmn . ġlm*
(41) *ʾil . mlk [.] ⌈ṯ̣ˡr ʾabh*
(42) *yʾarš . ⌈hˡm . drˡkˡ[ṯ]*
(43) ⌈*kˡ ⌈ʾabˡ . ʾaᵗdmˡ*

NOTES

Line 1. *l* [*lĕ-*] "pertaining to, concerning", and cf. *l bˁl* "pertaining to Baal" (1.6 I,1); *krt* [?] (PN of the hero of this epic, usually normalized as Keret).

Line 6. *ʾumt* [*ʾummatu*] "people, nation".

Line 7. *ˁrwt* [?], obscure form.

Line 8. *ʾBD* "to be lost, here Gt ʾitbd "lost"; *šbˁ* [*šabˁu*] "seven".

Line 9. *ṯmnt* [*tamānîtu*] "eight".

Line 10. *ḥtkn* [*ḥatīkānu/ḥatūkānu/ḥatikānu?*] "heir, offspring" (cf. *ḥtk* in line 21); *RŠŠ* "to be attenuated, weakened" or *RWŠ* "to be impoverished" (G).

Line 11. *grdš* [?] "ruined?" (on the basis of camparison with Syriac) or this form may be a noun, viz. "As for Keret, (his) place is a ruin"; *mknt* [*makânatu*] "place".

Line 12. *ṣdq* [*ṣidqu*] "righteousness, honesty"; *PWQ* "to find, to produce" (G) or *NPQ* "to go forth, to leave".

Line 13. *mtrḫt* [*matrūḫ(a)tu/mutarrḫ(a)tu*] "woman for whom the bride-price has been paid"; *yšr* [*yušru*] "honesty".

Line 14. *TRḪ* "to take a wife after the bride price is paid" (G).

Line 15. *ṯar* [*ṯa'aru?*] "flesh" (literally), apparently here in pl. construct in the meaning "offspring", for another spelling, cf. *ṯirk* (1.18, I,25); *KWN* "to be" (G).

Line 16. *mṯlṯ* [*maṯlaṯ(a)tu*] "third", but others interpret "three times". The same applies to the other numerics in this context, viz. *mrbʿt* "fourth" (line 17); *mḫmšt* "fifth" (line 18); *mṯdṯt* "sixth" (line 19); *mšbʿt* "seventh" (line 20). For more discussion on number and numerical forms, cf. *supra*, p. 94; *kṯrm* [*kôṯarūma?*] "birth gods"; their female counterparts *kṯrt* [*kôṯarātu/kôṯarūtu*] "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); *ĠLM* "to conceal, hide(?)" (G or D), others read here "youth".

Line 20. *šlḫ* [*šilḫu*] "sword".

Line 21. *NPL* "to fall" (usually G but apparently Gt here); *ʿN* "to eye", "to see" (G); *ḫtk* [*ḫatūku/ḫatūku/ḫatūku*] "offspring" (cf. *ḫtkn* in line 10).

Line 24. *šph* [*šaphu?*] "heir, family".

Line 25. *phyr* [?] "completeness, entirety" or "assembly(?)"; *YRṮ* "to inherit" (G), here a participle, *yrṯ* [*yāriṯu*] "heir".

Line 26. *ʿRB* "to enter" (G); *ḫdr* [*ḫuduru*] "room, chamber" (cf. the syllabic [ḫ]u-du-ru [*Ug* 5 137 II,11']).

Line 27. *ṮNY* "to repeat, recount" (G? most likely D); *DMʿ* "to shed tears" (G).

Line 28. *NTK* "to pour forth (tears)" (G), "to be poured forth" (N).

Line 29. *ṯql* [*ṯiqlu*] "shekel", pl. *ṯqlm* [*ṯiq(a)lūma*]; *'arṣh* [*'arṣah*] "earthward" (with locative suffix -*h*).

Line 30. *mḫmšt* [*maḫmaš(a)tu*] "fifth (of a shekel)", or "fifths (of a shekel)"; *mṯṯh* [*maṯṯatah*] "towards the bed" (with locative suffix -*h*).

Line 31. *bm* [*bimā*] "in the very . . ."; *bky* [*bikyu*/*bakyu*] "weeping"; *YŠN* "to sleep" (G).

Line 32. *nhmmt* [?] "he slept, drowsed(?)" (from *NWM*? "to slumber", or *NHM*? "to roar, groan" or "to slumber" (*NHM* < *NWM*?).

Line 33. *šnt* [*šīnatu*] "sleep"; *L'Y* "to overcome" (for the orthography, cf. *supra*, pp. 13 and 165).

Line 34. *ŠKB* "to lie down" (G).

Line 35. *QMṢ* "to contract", "to curl up(?)" (G?).

Line 36. *ḏhrt* [?] and also *ḏrt* [?] (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. *Š'L* "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'īmānu*] "nice, beloved".

Text 20 (*KTU*² 1.14 II,1-51)

(1) [*ḫrṣ* .]�'*y*'*d* . *mq�'*m*'*h

(2) [*w* '*b*]�'*d*' . '*lm* . *ṯ̣ṯ̣*

(3) [*ssw*]�'*m*' . *mrkbt b trbṣ bn* . '*amt*

(4) [ ]*nm* . '*aqny*

(5) [ ]*šrm* . '*am'id*

(6) *w* [*yṯ̣*]�'*b*' . *ṯr* . '*abh* . '*il*

(7) *d*[ ]�'*k*' . *b bk* . *krt*

(8) *b dᵉ*m*'ᶜ . *n'mn* . *ǵlm*

(9) '*il* . *ṯrᵉt*'*ḫṣ* . *w ṯ'adm*

(10) *rḫ*ᵉ*ṣ*'[. *y*]ᵉ*d*'*k* . '*amt*

(11) '*uṣb*['*ṯk* .] '*d* [.] ᵉṯ̣'*kᵉm*'

(12) '*rb* [. *b ẓl* . *ḥmt*]

(13) *qḥ* . '*im*[*r* . *b yd*]ᵉ*k*'

(14) '*imr* . ᵉ*d*'[*bḥ* . *bm*] . *ymn*

(15) *ll'a* . *kᵉl*'['*aṯn*]ᵉ*m*'

(16) *kll* . *l*[*ḥmk* .]ᵉ*d*' *nzl*

(17) *qḥ* . *m*ᵉ*s*'[*ṯr* .]'*ṣr*

(18) *dbḥ* . *ṣ*ᵉ*q*'[. *b g*]ᵉ*l*'. *ḥṯ̣*

(19) *yn* . *b gl* . [*ḫ*]ᵉ*r*'*ṣ* . *nbt*

(20) '*l* . *l ẓr* . ᵉ*m*'[*g*]*dl*

(21) *w* '*l l ẓr* . ᵉ*mg*'*dl* . *rkb*

(22) *ṯkmm* . *ḥm*ᵉ*t*' . *š'a* . *ydk*

(23) *šmm* . *db*ᵉ*ḥ*' . *l ṯr*

(24)   'abk . 'il . šrd . bʿl

(25)   b dbḫk . bn . dgn

(26)   b mṣdk . w yrd

(27)   krt . ⌈l⌉ ggt . ʿdb

(28)   'akl . ⌈l⌉ qryt

(29)   ḥtt . ⌈l⌉ bt . ḫbr

(30)   y'ip . ⌈l⌉ḥm . d ḫmš

(31)   mgd [.] ṯdṯ . yrḫm

(32)   ʿdn [.] ngb . w yṣ'i

(33)   ṣbⁱ'uⁱ . ṣb'i . ngb

(34)   w ⌈y⌉ṣ'i . ʿdn . mʿ

(35)   ṣb'uk . 'ul . m'ad

(36)   ṯlṯ . m'at . rbt

(37)   ḫpṯ . d bl . spr

(38)   ṯnn . d bl . hg

(39)   hlk . l 'alpm . ḫdd

(40)   w l rbt . km . yr

(41)   ⌈'a⌉ṯr . ṯn . ṯn . hlk

(42)   'aṯr . ṯlṯ . klhm

(43)   yhd . bth . sgr

(44)   ⌈'a⌉lmnt . škr

(45)   ⌈tš⌉kr . zbl . ʿršm

(46)   ⌈y⌉ṣ'u . ʿwr . mzl

(47)   ymzl . w yṣ'i . trḫ

(48)   hdṯ . yb'r . l ṯn

(49)   ⌈'a⌉ṯth . lm . nkr

(50)   ⌈m⌉ddth . k 'irby

(51)   ⌈t⌉škn . šd

NOTES

Line 1.   *yd* [*yadu?*] "with"(?), but perhaps "portion", or "stele (in a sacred place)(?)"; *mq⌈m⌉* [*maqâmu*] "place".

Line 3.   *ssw* [*suswu/siswu?*] "horse", pl. *sswm* [*suswūma/siswūma?*]; *mrkbt* [*markabtu*] "chariot"; *trbṣ* [*tarbaṣu*] "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.   *MʾD* "to increase, multiply" (D).

Line 9.   *RḤṢ* "to wash" (G); "to wash oneself" (Gt); *'DM* "to redden oneself" (N).

Line 10. *'amt* [*'ammatu*] "cubit, forearm", here in adverbial accusative [*'ammata*] "as far as the forearm".

Line 11. *ṯkm* [*ṯikmu/ṯakmu*] "shoulder".

Line 12. *ẓl* [*ẓillu*] "shadow"; *ḥmt* [*ḥêmatu*] "tent".

Line 14. *'imr* [*'immaru/'immiru*] "lamb"; *DBḤ* "to sacrifice" (G); *ymn* [*yamīnu*] "right(hand)".

Line 15. *ll'u* [*lal(i)'u*] "lamb, kid"; *kl'atnm* [*kil'atānāma/i*] "both (of them)" (note the *-ān* suffix).

Line 16. *klt* [*kullatu*] "all", perhaps [*kāl(a)tu*] "measurement" (from *KYL* "to measure"); *lḥm* [*laḥmu*] "food, nourishment, bread"; *nzl* [*nuzlu?*] "excellant(?)", "food for guests(?)", "nectar(?)", or possibly a geographical name.

Line 17. *mṣr* [?] "type of bird", or "entrails".

Line 18. *YṢQ* "to pour out", "to cast (metal)" (G); *gl* [*gullu*] "goblet"; *ḥṭ* [*ḥaṭṭupu*] "silver" (evidently Hittite word).

Line 19. *nbt* [*nubtu*] "honey".

Line 20. Extra, superfluous line.

Line 21. *'LY* "to ascend, go up" (G); *ẓr* [*ẓūru/ẓāru*] "back"; *mgdl* [*magdalu*] "tower"; *RKB* "to mount" (G).

Line 22. *ḥmt* [*ḥāmītu*] "wall" (cf. the syllabic attestation, *ḥa-mi-ti* [*PRU* III, p. 137,4]).

Line 24. *YRD* "to descend, go down" (G), "to make a sacrifice" (Š).

Line 26. *mṣd* [*maṣādu*] "food, provisions", or *bm ṣdk* [*bimā ṣêdikā*] "with your hunt".

Line 27. *gg* [*gaggu*] "roof", pl. *ggt* [*gaggātu*].

Line 28. *'akl* [*'aklu*] "food"; *qryt* [*qaryatu*] "town" (cf. the orthography without *yod*, *qrt*), in this context perhaps "granary", "threshing floor" (cf. TO I, p. 515, n. x).

Line 29. *ḥṭ* [*ḥiṭṭatu*] "wheat"; *bt ḥbr* [*bêtu ḥubūri*] "brewery" (according to Akkadian), perhaps "storehouse" or "noisy place", cf. בֵּית־ חֶבֶר (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); *ḥmš* [?] "fifth".

Line 31. *mġd* [?] "vittuals" (cf. Arabic *ĠDW* "to feed"); *ṯdṯ* [?] "sixth", the meaning of *ṯdṯ yrḥm* "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"?); *ṣb'u* [*saba'u/ṣabī'u*] "soldier" or "troop, army".

Line 35. *'ul* [*'ūlu*] "force" (cf. Biblical Hebrew אוּלָם ,their force" [Ps. 73,4]); *m'ad* [*ma'(a)da*] "much".

Line 36. *ṯlṯ* [*ṯalāṯu*] "three"; *m'at* [*mi'atu*] "hundreds"; *rbt* [*ribbatu*] "myriad".

Line 37. *ḫpṯ* [*ḫupṯu*] "yeoman farmers, foot soldiers"; *bl* [*bal*] "without"; *spr* [*sipru?*] "number, counting".

Line 38. *ṯnn* [*ṯannānu*] "bowman"; *ḥg* [?] "number, counting" (according to Arabic *ḥajjā* "to count letters").

Line 39. *ḥḏḏ* [?] "type of soldiers".

Line 40. *yr* [*yārū*] (< *yāriyu*) "early rain'" others read kmyr "type of soldiers" (Gordon.).

Line 43. *yḥd* [*yaḥīdu*] "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* [*'aršu*] "bed" (with enclitic mem).

Line 46. *'wr* [*'awwiru/'iwwiru*] "blind"; MZL obscure.

Line 47. *trḫ* [*tarrāḫu/tāriḫu*] "groom".

Line 48. *ḥdṯ* [*ḥadaṯu*] "new"; BʿR "to lead" (G); *ṯn* [?] "second, another".

Line 49. *lm* [*lemā?*] "to the very . . ."; *nkr* [?] "foreigner, stranger".

Line 50. *mddt* [*mêdadatu/môdadatu* or *mêdūdatu/môdūdatu*] "beloved, friend"; *'irby* [*'irbīyu/'irbiyu*] "locust".

Line 51. KWN "to be" (Š) or ŠKN "to dwell" (G).

Text 21 (*KTU*² 1.14 III,1-49)

(1) ⌈k⌉m . ḥsn . p'at . mdbr
(2) ⌈k⌉ . ym . w ṯn . ṯlṯ . rbʿ ym
(3) ⌈ḫm⌉š . ṯdṯ . ym . mk . špšm
(4) ⌈b⌉ šbʿ . w tmġy . l 'udm
(5) rbṯ . w l . 'udm . ṯrrt
(6) w gr . nn . ʿrm . šrn
(7) pdrm . sʿt . b šdm
(8) ḥṯbḥ/t . b grnt . ḥpšt
(9) sʿt . b n<p>k . š'ibt . b bqr
(10) mml'at . dm . ym . w ṯn
(11) ṯlṯ . rbʿ . ym . ḫ/mš
(12) ṯdṯ . ym . ḥzk . 'al tšʿl
(13) qrth . 'abn . ydk
(14) mšdpt . w hn . špšm
(15) b šbʿ . w l . yšn . pbl
(16) mlk . l qr . ṯigt . 'ibrh

(17) *l ql . nhqt . ḥmrh*

(18) *l ġʿt . ʾalp . ḥrṯ . zġt*

(19) *klb . ṣpr . w yl̉ak*

(20) *ml̉akm . lk . mʿ . krt*

(21) *msunh . ṯhm . pbl . mlk*

(22) *qh . ksp . w yrq . ḫrṣ*

(23) *yd . mqmh . w ʿbd . ʿlm*

(24) *ṯlṯ . ssum . mrkbt*

(25) *b trbṣ . bn . ʾamt*

(26) *qḥ krt . šlmm*

(27) *šlmm . w ng . mlk*

(28) *l bty . rḥq . krt*

(29) *l ḫẓry . ʾal . tṣr*

(30) *ʾudm . rbt . w ʾudm . ṯrrt*

(31) *ʾudm . ytnṯ . ʾil . w ʾušn*

(32) *ʾab . ʾadm . w ṯṯb*

(33) *ml̉akm . lh . lm . ʾank*

(34) *ksp . w yrq . ḫrṣ*

(35) *yd . mqmh . w ʿbd*

(36) *ʿlm . ṯlṯ . ssum . mrkbt*

(37) *b trbṣ>t< . bn . ʾamt*

(38) *p d . ʾin . b bty . ttn*

(39) *tn . ly . mṯṯ . ḥry*

(40) *nʿmt . šph . bkrk*

(41) *⌈d⌉ k . nʿm . ʿnt . nʿmh*

(42) *km . tsm . ʿṯtrt . tsʿmh⌉*

(43) *d ʿqh . ʾib . ʾiqnʾi . ʿp[ʿp]⌈h⌉*

(44) *sp . ṯrml . tḥgrn .[ṯ]⌈dʿm⌉*

(45) *ʾašlw . b ṣp . ʿnh*

(46) *d b ḥlmy . ʾil . yṯⁿn⌉*

(47) *b ḏrty . ʾab . ʾadm*

(48) *wld . šph . l krt*

(49) *w ġlm . l ʿbd . ʾil*

NOTES

Line 1.   *ḥsn* [?] "grasshopper(?)"; *pʾit* [*piʾtu*] "corner, extremity", pl.
          pʾat [*piʾātu*]; *mdbr* [*madbaru*] "steppe land".

Line 2.   *ym* [*yômu*] "(first) day" (for this usage of a noun as the first in
          a chain of ordinals, cf. *supra*, p. 93); and the numerals *ṯn, ṯlṯ,*

rb', *ḥmš*, *ṭdṭ* 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"; *ṭrt* [?] "small(?)", parallel to *rbt* (cf. *TO* I, p. 519, n. j).

Line 6. *GRT* "to attack(?)" (cf. Akkadian *garû*); *'rm* [*'īrūma*] "cities"; *ŠRT* "to turn, overturn" (G) (following Aramiac; cf. also *TO* I, p. 520, n. k for extensive discussion).

Line 7. *pdrm* [?] "towns"; *S'T* "to scatter(?)", following Arabic.

Line 8. *ḥṭb* [*ḥāṭibu/ḥaṭṭābu*] "hewer of wood"; *b* [*bi-*] "from"; *grn* [*gurnu*] "threshing floor", pl. *grnt* [*gur(a)nātu*]; *ḥpšt* [*ḥāpišatu/ḥāpišātu?*] "straw gatherer(s) (cf. ען in Biblical Hebrew).

Line 9. *npk* [*napku*] "water source"; *š'ibt* [*šā'ibātu*] "drawers of water" (G participle); *bqr* [*baqāru*] (< *maqāru*) "(water) source" (phonetic variant or orthographic error).

Line 10. *mml'at* [*mumalli'ātu*] "fillers of water" (D participle); *DMM* "to be silent" (G), others interpret "behold" (presentation particle, cf. Gordon 1965:385).

Line 12. *ḥẓ* [*ḥiẓẓu*] "arrow"; *'LT* "to raise" (Š).

Line 13. *qrth* [*qarītah*] "towards the city"; *'abn ydk* [*'abnū yadēkā*] "your (m.s.) sling stones".

Line 14. *mšdpt* [?] "those who are released(?)" (Š from *NDP*); *hn* [*hinnī*] "behold".

Line 15. *pbl* [?] personal name of the king of *'udm*.

Line 16. *qr* [*qāru/qōru?*] "voice" (variant of *ql?*); *ṭ'igt* [*ṭa'ig(a)tu*] "roar"; *'ibr* [*'ibbīru*] "stallion".

Line 17. *ql* [*qālu/qōlu*] "voice"; *nhqt* [*nahqatu/nahaqtu*] "braying" (of a jackass)"; *ḥmr* [*ḥimāru*] "jackass".

Line 18. *g't* [*ga'ītu*] "neighing"; *ḥrt* [*ḥāriṯu/ḥarrāṯu*] "plower, cultivator"; *ẓġt* [?] "barking, howling".

Line 19. *klb* [*kalbu*] "dog"; *ṣpr* [?] "watch", others interpret "shepherd" (cf. *TO* I, p. 523, n. w).

Line 20. *ml'ak* [*mal'aku*] "messenger".

Line 21. *mswnh* [?] "to the camp" (with locative -*h*).

Line 26. *šlmm* [*šalāmam(a/i)* or *šulmam(a/i)*] "in peace", others interpret "peace offerings" (cf. Gordon 1965:490).

Line 27. *NGT* (?) "to flee" (G?, following Arabic), here imperative 2nd f.s. [*nigī?*].

Line 28. *RHQ* "to go away" (G).

Line 29. *ṢWR* "to besiege" (G).

Line 31. *ytnt* [?] "gift"; *ʾušn* [*ʾôšānu*] "gift".

Line 39. *mṭt* [?] "lady"; *ḥry* [*Hurāya?*] PN, the daughter of king Pbl.

Line 40. *nʿmt* [*naʿīm(a)tu*] "pleasant"; *bkr* [*buk(u)ru?*] "first born".

Line 42. *tsm* [?] "beauty".

Line 43. *ʿq* [?] "iris(?)"; *ʾib* [*ʾibbu?*] "precious stone(?)", "pure"; *ʿpʿp* [*ʿapʿapu*] "eyebrow".

Line 44. *sp* [*sappu*] "goblet, cup" (cf. Biblical Hebrew סף [Exod. 12:22; Zech. 1:2] and ספים [Jer. 52:19]); *ṯrml* [?] "a kind of precious stone"; *ḤGR* "to gird" (G).

Line 45. *ŠLW* "to be at ease" (G); *sp* [*sipû*] (< *sipyu?*) "viewing, seeing", but the form might be an infinitive [*sapâ*] (< *sapāyu*).

Line 48. *YLD* "to give birth". Here it is an infinitive absolute as predicate introduced by the wa conjunction, vix. [*wālādu*] (< *wa-yalādu*), cf. *supra*, p. 150.

Text 22 (*KTU*² 1.17 I,1-47)

(1) [*dnʾil . mt . rp*]⌈ʾi⌉ . *ʾaph<n>* . ⌈*ġzr*⌉

(2) [*mt . hmmy .*] *ʾuzr* . ⌈ʾi⌉*lm . ylḥm*

(3) [*ʾuzr . yšqy .*]*bn . qdš . yd*

(4) [*ṣth . yʿl .*] ⌈*w*⌉ *yškb . yd*

(5) [*mʾizrth .*]⌈*p*⌉ *yln . hn . ym*

(6) [*wṯn . ʾuzr .*] ⌈ʾi⌉*lm . dnʾil*

(7) [*ʾuzr . ʾilm*] *. ylḥm . ʾuzr*

(8) [*yšqy . b*]⌈*n*⌉ *. qdš . ṯlṯ . rbʿ ym*

(9) [*ʾuzr . ʾi*]⌈*lʾm . dnʾil . ʾuzr*

(10) [*ʾilm . y*]⌈*lʾḥm . ʾuzr . yšqy . bn*

(11) [*qdš .*]⌈*ḫ*⌉*mš . ṯdṯ . ym . ʾuzr*

(12) [*ʾil*]⌈*m*⌉ *. dnʾil . ʾuzr . ʾilm . ylḥm .*

(13) [*ʾuz*]⌈*r*⌉ *. yšqy . bn . qdš . yd . ṣth*

(14) [*dn*]⌈ʾi⌉*l . yd . ṣth . yʿl . w yškb*

(15) [*yd .*] *mʾizrth . p yln . mk . b šbʿ . ymm*

(16) [*w*] ⌈*y*⌉*qrb . bʿl . b ḥnth . ʾbyn* ⌈*at*⌉

(17) [*d*]⌈*n*⌉ʾ*il . mt . rpʾi . ʾanḫ . ġzr*

(18) ⌈*mt*⌉ *. hmmy . d ʾin . bn . lh*

(19) *km . ʾaḫh . w . šrš . km . ʾaryh*

(20) *bl . ʾiṯ . bn . lh . kʾm ʾaḫh . w šrš*

(21) *km . ʾaryh . ʾuzrm . ʾilm . ylḥm*

(22) 'uzrm . yšqy . bn . qdš
(23) l tbrknn l ṭr . 'il 'aby
(24) tmrnn l bny . bnwt
(25) w ykn . bnh . b bt . šrš . b qrb
(26) hklh . nṣb . skn . 'il'ibh . b qdš
(27) ztr . 'mh . l 'arṣ . mšṣ'u . qṭrh
(28) l 'pr . ḍmr . 'aṭrh . ṭbq . lḥt
(29) n'iṣh . grš . d . 'šy . lnh
(30) ⌈'a⌉ḫd . ydh . b škrn . m'msh
(31) [k]⌈š⌉b' yn . sp'u . ksmh . bt . b'l
(32) [w]⌈m⌉nth . bt . 'il . ṯḫ . ggh . b ym
(33) [ṭ'i]⌈ṭ⌉ . rḥṣ . npṣh . b ym . rṯ
(34) [ks .]⌈y⌉'iḫd . 'il 'bdh . ybrk
(35) [dn'i]l . mt . rp'i . ymr . ġzr
(36) [mt . ḥ]⌈r⌉nmy . npš . yḥ . dn'il
(37) [mt . rp]⌈'i⌉ . brlt . ġzr . mt hrnmy
(38) [ ] . hw . mḫ . l 'ršh . y'l
(39) [w yšk]⌈b⌉ . bm . nšq . 'aṯth
(40) [ ] . b ḥbqh . ḥmḥmt
(41) [ ] ylt . ḥmḥmt
(42) [mt . r]⌈p⌉'i . w ykn . bnh
(43) [b bt . šrš] . b qrb . hklh
(44) [nṣb . skn . 'i]l'ibh . b qdš
(45) [ztr . 'mh . l 'a]⌈r⌉ṣ . mšṣ'u
(46) [qṭrh . l 'pr . ḍ]mr . 'a⌈ṭrh⌉
(47) [ṭbq . lḥt . n'iṣh . gr]⌈š⌉ . d . ⌈'šy⌉

NOTES

Line 1. *dn'il* [*dān(i)'ilu*] personal name "Daniel"; *mt* [*mutu*] "man" *rp'u* [*rāpi'u*] and pl. *rp'um* [*rāpi'ūma*], proper name of the gods of the under-world, though the word might also mean "healer". The combination *mt rp'i* is an epithet of Daniel; *'aphn* [?] "and behold" (combination of *'p* + *hn*, cf. *infra*, 1.17 II,28); *ġzr* [*ġaztru?*] "hero, fighting youth".

Line 2. *hrnmy* [?] — place name, the dwelling of Daniel; *'uzr* ['*uzūru?*] (< *'azūru?*) "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. [*yaddâ*] (< *yaddiya?*) or [*yadâ*] (< *yadaya?*) "he cast, threw" (following *TO* I, p. 419; for other views cf. Gordon 1967:124 and Ginsberg 1969:150).

Line 4. *ṣt* [?] "garment, cloak(?)" (cf. Akkadian *ṣītu* "garment").

Line 5. *m'izrt* [*ma'zirātu/ma'ziratu, ma'zarātu/ma'zaratu*] "loin covering; cf. Biblical Hebrew אזור); *LWN* "to spend the night" (G), here 3rd m.s. with metathesis, *ynl* for *yln* (cf. line 15 *infra*).

Line 8. *ḏlṯ* [?] "third".

Line 15. *b šb' ymm* "on the seventh day" (singular *ym* [*yômu*] with enclitic *mem*); cf. the appropriate section of the grammar, *supra*, p. 94.

Line 16. *ḤNN* "to plead" (G), thus *b ḥnth* [*bi-ḥinnatihû*] "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. *'NḤ* "to toil, sigh" (G); *'in* [*'êna*] "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. *NṢB* "to erect, set up" (G), here the participle *nṣb* [*nāṣibu*]; *skn* [?] "stele"; *'il'ibh* [*'ilū'ibīhû*] "his paternal deities".

Line 27. *ẓtr* [?] "stele(?)" or perhaps a verbal form, "to protect" or "to offer up incense", thus a participle [*ẓātiru*]; *'m* ['*ammu*] "people, family"; *l 'arṣ* [*le-'arṣi*] "from the earth"; *YṢ* "to go out" (G), "to bring out" (Š); *qṭr* [*quṭru/qiṭāru*] "vapor, smoke".

Line 28. *ḎMR* "to guard, protect, strengthen" (G or D); *'aṭr* ['*aṭru*] "trance, step", or "(sacred) place"; *ṬBQ* "to remove, drive away" (G or D); *lḥt* [*lôḥātu/lūḥātu?*] "tablets(?)".

Line 29. *N'Ṣ* "to revile" (G), here the participle [*nā'iṣu*]; *'ŠY* "to disturb, to harass(?)" (G or D), cf. Akkadian *ešû*; *ln* [*lônu/lānu*] "visage" (cf. Akkadian *lānu* and Arabic *lawnu*).

Line 30. *škrn* [*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. *ṬWḤ/ṬYḤ* "to plaster" (G); *ṭiṭ* [*ṭa'tu?*] "mud"; *npṣ* [*nipāṣu?*] "garment"; *rṭ* [*raṭṭu?*] "mud, mire(?)".

Line 36. *ḤYY* "to live" (G).

Line 37. *brlt* [?] "spirit, soul".
Line 38. *mḫ* [*muḫḫu*] "brain, upper head"; *NŠQ* "to kiss" (G); *ḤBQ* "to hug, embrace" (G or D); *ḤMḪM* "to arouse" (possibly < *ḤMM*).

Text 23 (*KTU*² 1.17 II,1-46)

(1) *z[ṯr . 'mk . l 'arṣ . mšṣ'u . qṭrk]*
(2) *l . 'pr . ʿdmⁿ[r . 'aṯrk . ṭbq]*
(3) *lḫt . n'iṣʿkⁿ . gʿrⁿ[š . d 'šy . lnk]*
(4) *sp'u . ksmk . bt .[b'l . w mntk]*
(5) *bt 'il . 'aḫd . ydʿkⁿ [.] ʿbⁿ ʿšⁿ[km]*
(6) *m'msk . k šb't . ym . ʿḥⁿ*
(7) *ggk . b. ym . ṯiṭ . rḥṣ*
(8) *npṣk . b ym rṯ . b dln'i[l]*
(9) *pnm . tšmḫ . w 'l . yṣhl p'iʿṭⁿ*
(10) *yprq . lṣb . w yṣḥq*
(11) *p'n . l hdm . yṭpd . yš'u*
(12) *gh . w yṣḥ . ⁿ'aṯb¹n . 'ank*
(13) *w 'anḫn . w ʿtn¹ḫ . b 'irty*
(14) *npš . k yld . bn . ly . km*
(15) *'aḫy . w šrš . kⁿm¹ . 'aṛyy*
(16) *nṣb . skn . 'ilⁿiby . b qdʿšⁿ*
(17) *zṯr . 'my . l 'pr [.] dmr . 'aṭⁿr¹[y]*
(18) *ṭbq . lḫt . n'iṣy . grš*
(19) *d 'šy . ⁿlⁿn . 'aḫd . ydy . b š*
(20) *km . m'msy . k šb't yⁿn¹*
(21) *sp'u . ksmy . bt . b'l . ⁿw¹ ⁿmn¹[ṭ]*
(22) *y . bt . 'il . ṯḫ . gⁿgⁿy . b ym . ṯ'iʿṭⁿ*
(23) *rḥṣ . npṣy . b ym . rṯ*
(24) *dn . 'il . bth . ymǵyn*
(25) *yštql . dn'il . l hklh*
(26) *'rb . b bth . kṯrt . bnt*
(27) *hll . snnt . 'apnk . dn'il*
(28) *mt . rp'i . 'ap . hn . ǵzr . mt*
(29) *hrnmy . 'alp . yṭbḫ . l kⁿṯ¹*
(30) *rt . yšʿⁿḥ¹m . ⁿk¹ṯrt . w y*
(31) *ššq . bnt . ⁿh¹ll . snnt*
(32) *hn . ym . w ṯn . yšlḥm*
(33) *kṯrt . w yšⁿš¹q . bnt . hⁿlⁿ[l]*

(34) snnt . ḫlḫ . ⌜r⌝bʿ ym . yšl
(35) ḫm kḫrt . ⌜w⌝ yššʿq⌝
(36) bnt . hll . sʿnʿnt . ⌜ḫmʾš
(37) ṭdṭ . yʿmʾ . yšlḫm . ⌜kṭ⌝rt
(38) w yʿššqʾ . ⌜bʾnt . hll . sʿnntʾ
(39) mk . ⌜bʾ ⌜šbʿ⌝ . ymm . ṯbʿ . b bth
(40) kṭʿrʾt . ⌜bʾnt . ⌜hʾll . snnt
(41) ⌜mʾdʿdʾt . ⌜nʾʿmy . ʿrʾšʾ . ⌜hrtʾ
(42) ⌜yʾsmsmt . ⌜ʿršʾ. ⌜ḫlliʾ
(43) yṯb . ⌜dʾnʾil . [ys]⌜pʾr ⌜yrḫhʾ
(44) ⌜yrḫʾ . ⌜yrḫʾ ⌜ṯnʾ [.] ⌜yšʾiʾ
(45) ṭʿṯʾ . ⌜rʾbʿ [ ]
(46) yrḫm . ⌜ymġyʾ

NOTES

Line 9. ŠMḪ "to be happy" (G), here tšmḫ [tišmaḫū] "(the face [pl.]) rejoice(d) (short form of 3rd m.pl.); w ʿl [wa-ʿalê] "and on him" (lit.: "and on"); ṢHL "to brighten up" (G), the subject is pʾit [piʾtu] "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 pʾit 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 kṯrt [kôṯarātu/kôṯarūtu] "divine birth goddesses"; bnt [bināṭu/banāṭu/bunāṭu] "daughters"; hll [Hilālu?] PN(?), or noun meaning "praise, rejoicing", or [hilālu] "the crescent moon" (cf. Arabic hilāl); snnt [?] "sparrows(?)".

Line 30. LḤM "to feed" (Š); ŠQY "to give to drink" (Š).

Line 42. ʿrš [ʿaršu] "bed, cot".

Line 43. SPR "to count" (G).

Text 24 (KTU² 1.114,1-31)

(1) ʾil dʾbḥ⌝ . b bth . mṣd . ṣd . b qrb
(2) hkⁱʿhʾ . ⌜sḥ⌝ . l qṣ . ʾilm . tlḥmn
(3) ʾilm . w tʾšʾtn . tštn . y<n> ʿd šbʿ
(4) ṯrṯ . ⌜ʿdʾ . ⌜škrʾ. yʿdb . yrḫ

(5) gbh . km . ⌐k!lb¬ . yqtqt . tḥt
(6) ṯlḥnt . 'il . d ydʿnn
(7) yʿdb . lḥm d mṣd . lh . w d l ydʿnn
(8) y . lmn b qr<ʿ> ḫṭm . tḥt . ṯlḥn
(9) ʿṯtrt . w ʿnt . ymǵy
(10) ʿṯtrt . ṯʿdb . nšb lh
(11) w ʿnt . ktp bhm . ygʿr . ṯǵr
(12) bt . 'il . pn . lm . k!lb . ṯʿdbn
(13) n⌐š¬b . l 'inr . ṯʿdbn . ktp
(14) b 'i⌐ṯ¬ . ⌐ʾ¬ab⌐h¬ . gʿr . yṯ⌐b¬ . 'il . ⌐kr¬
(15) 'a⌐ṯk¬[ ]ʾil . yṯ⌐b¬ . b mrzḥḥ
(16) y⌐št¬ . [y]⌐ʿn¬ . ʿd ⌐š¬bʿ . trṯ . ʿd šḫr
(17) 'il . h⌐lʿk¬ . l bth . yštql .
(18) l ḥẓrh . yʿmsn . nn . ṯkmn
(19) w šnm . w <y>ngšnn . ḥby
(20) bʿl . qrnm . w ḏnb . yl⌐ṯš¬n
(21) b ḫrʾih . w ṯnṯh . ql . 'il . k⌐m¬ ⌐mt¬
(22) 'il . k yrdm . 'arṣ . ʿn⌐ṯ¬
(23) w ʿṯtrt . ṯṣ⌐ʿdn¬ . [ ]
(24) ⌐qdš¬ [.] bʿl [ ]
(25) [ ]
(26) [ʿ⌐ṯ¬]⌐tr¬t . w ʿn⌐ṯ¬ [ ]
(27) w bhm . ṯṯb . [ʾa]ḥdh
(28) ⌐km¬ . trpʾa . h⌐ʿn¬ nʿr
(29) d yšt . l lṣbh šʿr klb
(30) ⌐w¬ rʾiš . pqq . w šrh
(31) ⌐y¬št ʾaḥdh . dm zt . ḫrpnt

NOTES

Line 1. *DBḤ* "to sacrifice", "to prepare a sacrificial meal(?)" (G); *mṣd* [*maṣâdu*] "victuals offered in a sacrifice"; *ṢWD/ṢYD* "to prepare food" (G), cf. Biblical Hebrew צָיִד.

Line 2. *ṢWḤ/ṢYḤ* "to call, shout" (G); *qṣ* [?] "breast (of meat)", cf. 1.3 I,8 where this word is parallel to ṭd "breast", but the word might just mean "meal".

Line 3. *šbʿ* [*šubʿu?*] "satiation".

Line 4. *trṯ* [*tirâṯu?*] "new wine"; *šḫr* [?] "drunkenness"; *yrḫ* [*yariḫu*] "Moon", personal name of the moon-god.

Line 5. *gb* [*gabbu*] "back"; *rlb > k!lb* [*kalbu*] "dog"; *QṬQṬ* "to swish,

to switch"; *tḫt* [*taḫtu/taḫta*] "bottom", "beneath".

Line 6.   *YDʿ* "to know" (G) and here *ydʿnn* [*yidaʿan(n)annū*] "he knows him".

Line 7.   *lḥm* [*laḥmu*] usually means "food" but here it seems to mean "meat" (cf. *TO* II, p. 74).

Line 8.   *ḤLM/YLM* "to smite" (G); *qrʿ* [?] "rope(?)" (cf. comparison with Arabic), or perhaps an infinitive meaning "to strike, kick"; *ḫṭ* [*ḫaṭṭu*] "staff, rod", pl. *ḫṭm* [*ḫaṭṭūma*].

Line 10.   *nšb* [?] some kind of meat.

Line 11.   *ktp* [*kat(i)pu*] "shoulder"; *bhm* [*bi-humā*] "by the two of them (f.)"; *GʿR* "to rebuke" (G); *ṯǵr* [*ṯāǵiru*] "gate keeper".

Line 12.   *pn* [?] (< *p hn?*) "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* [*marziḥu*] "banquet (hall)", and/or "religious celebration", or "funerary banquet" (cf. 3.9,1).

Line 18.   *ḥṭr* [*ḥaṭiru*] (< *ḥaẓiru*) "courtyard" (for the phonetic shift, cf. *supra*, p. xxx); *ʿMS* "to load" (D), and here *yʿmsn.nn* [*yaʿammisan(n)an(n)annū* or *yuʿammisan(n)an(n)annū*] "the two of them carry him"; *ṯkmn* [*Ṯikmānu/Ṯakmānu?*] DN.

Line 19.   *šnm* [?] name of a deity; *NGŠ* "to arrive, approach" (N or D), and here *w* <*y*>*ngšn* [*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 נגשׂ); *ḥby* [?] PN (?).

Line 20.   *qrnm* [*qarnāma/i*] "horns" (du.); *dnb* [*danabu*] "tail"; *LWŠ* "to wallow(?)" (G), and here *ylšn* [*yalūšūna*] "they (both) wallow", cf. *TO* II, p. 77, n. 241; or *LŠN* "to revile, make fun of", *ylšn* [*yalaššinu/yulaššinu*] "he mocks (him)"; cf. also Mishnaic Hebrew נלשׁלשׁ "poultry manure".

Line 21.   *ḥrʾu* [*ḥaraʾuʾ?*] "excrete"; *ṯnt* [*ṯinatu?*] "urine"; *QYL* "to fall, to bow down" (G); *MWT* "to die" (G).

Line 22.   *RDM* "to drowse, pass out" (G or N).

Line 23.   *'aḥdh* [*'aḥ(ḥ)adah?*] "together".

Line 27.   *YṮB* "to sit" (G), "to seat" (Š).

Line 28.   *RPʾ* "to heal" (D), and here *trpʾa* [*tarappiʾā/turappiʾā*] "(the two of them) healed"; *nʿr* [*naʿru*] "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 Syllabic Texts

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 (< 'antǎ).

p. 36, line 9 from the bottom of the table correct: Clas. Arab. *f* (instead of *p*)

p. 36, line 3 from the bottom of the table, correct this line as follows:

š   *š**   *š**   *š**   *š*   *š**   *š*   *š*   *š*   *š*

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 [-nǎ /-nǔ ?] "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: *bêtaya* (instead of *bêtiya*)

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|:** [-*î*]; **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 [*'abaqqiṭu*].

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*.